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**ANNALS OF THE REFORMATION
VOLUME 4**

(FORMERLY VOLUME 2, 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 4

(FORMERLY VOLUME 2 PART 2)

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[**NUMBER 1.**] A prayer composed by Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, suited to the beginning of the reformation of religion under queen Elizabeth.

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NUMBER 3. Another prayer by the same; against error and popery.

NUMBER 4. Richard, bishop of Carlisle, to the lord treasurer; upon his remove to Durham. *ibid.*

NUMBER 5. The lord treasurer to the queen: in relation to his daughter, and the earl of Oxford her husband, unkind to her. Written March the 3d, 1576.

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NUMBER 7. Sir Nicolas Bacon, lord keeper, to the queen; shewing her three great enemies, France, Spain, and Rome: and the remedies to be used against each of them.

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NUMBER 9. The queen's letter to the bishop of Lincoln, to cause the exercises, called *prophecys*, to cease in his diocese. P. 612.

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- NUMBER 11.** Edward Phaer, condemned for counterfeiting coin, his letter from the Tower to the lord treasurer: offering to make great discoveries of coiners, such as used magic, &c.
- NUMBER 12.** George Buchanan to Mr. Randolph, concerning publishing his history: and his distemper.
- NUMBER 13.** Sandys, archbishop of York, to the lord treasurer, concerning his inquiry into the holy orders of Whittingham, dean of Durham: for which some complaint was made of him at court.
- NUMBER 14.** Cox, bishop of Ely, to the queen: his letter congratulatory to her, now in her progress, and excusing himself for not waiting upon her.
- NUMBER 15.** Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, to the lord treasurer: to hinder a design to impropriate a benefice; or to get a lease of it for 500 years.
- NUMBER 16.** Wilsford denies the queen to be supreme head of the church: better informed, writes to the lord treasurer to obtain her majesties pardon.
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NUMBER 21. Cox, bishop of Ely, to the lord treasurer: upon the queen's leave to resign his bishopric.

[**NUMBER 21.**] A list of papists imprisoned, anno 1579, in divers places in the realm. Their names, qualities, and ages.

NUMBER 22. Prowde, parson of Burton upon Dunmore, to the lord treasurer: exciting him to speak freely to the queen in behalf of religion, (as professed by some,) discountenanced.

NUMBER 23. Mr. Hugh Broughton, of Christ's college, Cambridge, to the high chancellor of that university; complaining of his being wrongfully deprived of his fellowship, being that founded by king Edward VI. Desiring justice against Dr. Hawford, the master.

NUMBER 24. The fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge, to the chancellor of that university in behalf of Mr. Hugh Broughton, against the master of the college; who had declared his fellowship void.

NUMBER 25. The lord treasurer to the earl of Sussex. News at court, concerning the French ambassador, and the prince of Conde from the king of Navar: both together in private conference with the queen.

NUMBER 26. Thomas Randolph, esq.; late the queen's ambassador to Scotland, to the lord chancellor: concerning the Scots king; Daubigny; and Scottish matters.

NUMBER 27. The bishop of Ely to the lord treasurer: informing him of intelligence he had received of 12000 Italians to be sent by the pope and Spaniard against the realm.

NUMBER 28. Rodolphus Gualter, minister of Zurich, to Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury: informing him of many copies of the excommunication of pope Pius V. against the queen, printed at Home; to be dispersed: and of the pope's and Spaniard's preparation for invading England.

[**NUMBER 28.**] The content of a letter written by one Solomon Aldred, (sometime a hosier in Birch-in-lane, London,) from Lions or Rhemes, to Robert Downes, esq. prisoner in the gaol of Norwich. An account of the abovesaid letter, given by Roger Martin, esq. and the occasion of his hearing it read, and of the burning of it.

NUMBER 29. A trewe note of certen artycles, confessed and allowed by Mr. D. Feckenam, as well in Christmas holiedays last past, as also at divers other tymes before that; by conference in lerning before the

reverend father in God, the bi-shoppe of Elye, and before D. Perne, dean of Elye, master Nicolas, master Stanton, master Crowe, Mr. Bowler, chap-leines to my lord of Elye: and divers others, whose names be here subscribe.

[**NUMBER 29.**] Radulphus Gualter to Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury; concerning a purpose in the synod at Frankford, of framing a general confession of all the protestant churches; and an harmony of confessions.

NUMBER 30. The apology of Mr. Robert Horn, (afterward bishop of Winchester,) giving the reasons of his flight abroad in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary. Set before his translation of two sermons of Mr. Calvin.

NUMBER 31. The answer of AElmer, bishop of London, to divers objections made to him, for felling and sale of the woods belonging to the see.

NUMBER 32. A form of government by rural deans, or superintendents; exhibited by the chancellor of Norwich, from the bishop.

NUMBER 33. A letter from the lord Burghley, high chancellor of the university of Cambridge, to the vice-chancellor, and the heads of the said university: sending them his determination of two graces: whereof there had been great debate, between the heads and the other doctors: sent by Dr. Barrow.

NUMBER 34. A part of a letter of the bishop of Ely to the lord Burghley; of the ill state of St. John's college: for want of statutes.

NUMBER 35. The names of all the noblemen and great officers of the queen, from the beginning of her reign till about the year 1580. Drawn up by the lord treasurer Burleigh's own hand.

NUMBER 36. A catalogue of all the English popish books writ against the reformation of the church of England; from queen Elizabeth's first entrance to the year 1580. With the names of such learned divines as answered them.

BOOK 2.

CHAPTER 1.

The plunder and massacre at Antwerp by the Spaniard. The damage sustained by the English merchants there; and the barbarous usage of them. Other cruelties exercised in the Low Countries. Which causeth the queen to interpose in their behalf; and of her own subjects; by embassies to the States; and to the king of Spain. Jealousy of the French's coming into the Low Countries to aid them. The French protestants prepare to fly into England. News out of France. Order for intercepting letters to the Scottish queen. The bishop of Chichester visits his diocese, The disaffected to religion there. Account of his proceedings with them. His letters to the lords of the council. Many of the queen's subjects at mass in the Portugal ambassador's house, at the Charter-house. The recorder of London gives account to the court of what was done there. Name, of popish fugitives; certified into the exchequer.

IN the month of November, the next year, viz. 1576, the king of Spain's soldiers sacked and spoiled the famous city of Antwerp; wherein they committed most cruel massacres, and many barbarous violences and oppressions, not only at the first heats, when they entered and took it, but many days after; killing in cool blood any Walloons they met with, and seizing upon the wealth, treasure, goods, and merchandise of all in the place, the English merchants not excepted, notwithstanding the king's privilege of peaceable living and trade granted them. Which insolences I shall here rather give some brief account of, because of several earnest embassies the queen despatched on this occasion soon after. Which I take from an English gentleman, that was at that very time at Antwerp, and was an eyewitness of what was done, and escaped thence after imminent danger of his life, and faithfully reported when he came home. He seemed to be some public person and agent of the queen's, and (as I am apt to believe) was Dr. Thomas Wylson, who was sent over but the month before. Which account was soon after published by him.

“That there lay seventeen thousand dead bodies of men, *women*, and children, in the town, slain at that time by the Spaniards. That they neither spared age nor sex, time nor place, person nor country, profession nor religion, young nor old, rich nor poor, strong nor feeble; but without any mercy did tyrannously triumph, when there was neither man nor means to resist them. For age and sex, young and old, they slew great numbers of young children, but many more women, more than fourscore years of age. For time and place, their fury was as great ten days after their victory, as at the time of their entry. And as great respect they had to the church and churchyard (for all their hypocritical boasting of the catholic church) as the butcher hath to his shambles or slaughterhouse. For person and country, they spared neither friend nor foe, Portugal nor Turk. For profession and religion, the Jesuits must give their ready coin; and all other religious houses, both coin and plate, with all other things that were good and portable in the church, were spoiled, because they had; and the poor was hanged, because they had nothing. Neither strength could prevail to make resistance, nor weakness move pity to refrain their horrible cruelty. And this was not done when the chase was hot, but when the blood was cold, and they now victors without resistance.

“I refrain to rehearse the heaps of dead carcasses which lay at every trench they entered: the thickness whereof did in many places exceed the height of a man. I forbear also to relate the huge numbers drowned in the new town. I list not to reckon the infinite number of poor Almaines who lay burnt in their armour. Some, their entrails scorched out, and all the rest of the body free. Some, their heads and shoulders burnt off; so that you might look down into the bulk and breast, and take there an anatomy of the secrets of nature. Some, standing upon their wastes, being burnt off by the thighs; and some, no more but the very top of the brain taken off with fire, while the rest of the body did abide unspeakable torments. I set not down the ugly and filthy polluting of every street with gore, and carcasses of men and horses, &c. I may not pass over with silence the wilful burning and destroying of the stately townhouse, and all the monuments and records of the city; neither can I refrain to tell their shameful rapes and outrageous forces presented unto sundry honest dames and virgins. It is a thing too

horrible to rehearse, that the father and mother were forced to fetch their young daughter out of a cloister, (who had fled thither as unto a sanctuary, to keep her body undefiled,) and to bestow her in bed between two Spaniards, to work their wicked and detestable will with her.”

And now to come to their dealing with the English there.

“A poor English merchant, having redeemed his master’s goods for three hundred crowns, was yet hanged until he was half dead, because he had not two; hundred more to give them: and the halter being cut down, and he coming to himself again, besought them upon his knees with bitter tears to give him leave to seek and try his credit and friends in the town for the rest of their unreasonable demand. At his return, because he sped not, (as indeed no money was then to be had,) they hung him again outright; and afterward, of exceeding courtesy, procured the friars minors to bury him. And of the seventeen thousand carcasses found, when the view of the slain was taken, I think in my conscience, that five thousand, or few less, were massacred after their victory, because they had not ready money to ransom their goods at such prices as they pleased to set on them?”

As for the injuries done by them on this nation, he thus described the same.

“We were quiet in the house appointed for the mansion of the English merchants under safe conduct, protection, and placard of their king having neither meddled any way in these actions, nor by any ways assisted the estates of the country with money, *munition*, or any kind of aid. Yea, the [English] governor and merchants (foreseeing the danger of the time) had often demanded passport of the kings governors and officers to depart. And all these, with sundry other allegations, we propounded and protested unto them before they entered the English house, desiring to be there protected, according to our privileges and grants from the king their master; and that they would suffer us there to remain free from all outrage, spoil, or ransom; until we might make our estate known unto the castellane, and other head-officers, which served there for the said king. All which notwithstanding, they threatened to fire the house, unless we would open the door. And being once suffered to enter, they demanded presently the ransom of twelve

thousand crowns of the governor. Which sum being not indeed in the house, neither yet one third part of the same, they spared not, with naked swords and daggers, to menace the said governor, and violently to present him death, because he had not wherewith to content their greedy minds. But in the end, all eloquence notwithstanding, the governor being a comely, aged man, and a person whose hoary hairs might move pity and procure *reverence* in any good mind, (especially the uprightness of his dealing considered,) they forced him with great danger to bring forth all the money, plate, and jewels which was in the house; and to prepare the remnant of twelve thousand crowns at such days and times as they pleased to appoint.

“And of the rest of our nation, which had their goods remaining in their several packhouses and lodgings elsewhere in the town, they took such pity, that four they slew, and divers others they most cruelly and dangerously hurt; spoiling and ransoming them to the utmost value, that might be made or esteemed of all their goods. Yea, some they forced to ransom his goods twice, yea thrice: and all that notwithstanding, took the said goods violently from them at the last. And all these injuries being opened unto their chief governors in time convenient, and while yet the whole sum set for several ransoms of our countrymen, and the English house in general, were not half paid; so that justice and good order might partly have qualified the former rigours proffered by the soldiers; the said governors were as slow and deaf, as the others were quick and light of hearing to find the bottom of every bag in the town.

“So that it seems they are fully agreed in all things. Or if any contention were, the same was by strife who or which of them might do greatest wrongs: keeping the said governor and merchants there still, (without grant of passport or safe conduct,) when there is scarcely any victuals to be had for any money in the town, nor yet the said merchants have any money to buy it where it is. And as for credit, neither credit nor pawn can now find coin in Antwerp.

“In these distresses,” said this writer, “I left them the 12th of this instant November, 1576, when I parted from them; not as one who was hasty to leave and abandon them in such misery, but to solicit

their rueful cases here: and to deliver the same unto her majesty and council, in such sort as I beheld it there.”

So that within three days, Antwerp, which was one of the richest towns in Europe, had now no money nor treasure to be found therein, as the said English gentleman reported, but only in the hands of murderers and strumpets. For every dom Diego must walk strutting up and down the streets, with his harlot by him in her chain and bracelets of gold. And the notable burse, which was wont to be a safe assembly for merchants, and men of all honest trades, had now none other merchandise therein, but as many dicing tables as might be placed round about it, all the day long.

And here we may take a view of bloody duke d’Alva, in the Low Countries, where he set up the inquisition. Under whose government infinite were the numbers and horrible the executions of all people falling under his hands; whose main crime was their profession of the gospel. Whereof take this brief account from the relation thereof given in at a great and solemn assembly of the princes of the empire at Wormes, anno 1578. Where the lord Aldegond made an oration before them, shewing them the miserable state of the Netherlands, and the tyranny of duke d’Alva and don John, and the danger the empire was in thereby. And how that duke, at a banquet made before his departure, boasted, that within the time of his government in those Netherlands, being about six years, he had caused about eighteen thousand six hundred men to be put to death by the common minister of justice, the hangman; besides an innumerable number that were consumed and murdered by the uproars, mutinies, tumults, and cruelties of the soldiers in many places of the same: accounting them also that were killed in the wars, &c. Besides the spoil by the oppression and insolence of the soldiers in all places Where they came. And shewing also, by common account, that they had spent in making war against the two provinces of Holland and Zealand, and in building castles, &c. above thirty-six millions of guilders. And that they sought to conquer the kingdom of England, under pretence of aiding the imprisoned queen of Scotland; and thereby to obtain the dominion of the sea, and therewith the rule of the whole world. For these causes, and upon these considerations, the queen despatched three embassies; all of them chiefly, that she might keep fair with Philip king of Spain, and withal be a seasonable mediator for the suffering Low Countries, as well as for the indignities offered her own subjects. In the month of October, she sent Dr. Wylson, master of the requests, to the States of the Low Countries, to know the cause of the

alteration, and what the States purposed; and whether her majesty might do a good office, to pacify their troubles: and what safety and assurance our merchants might have for their traffick there in these troubles: to discover whether the French would enter that country, and to dissuade it. The instructions bore date the 22d of October; the substance whereof was,

“to know of them the true cause of the arrest and committing to prison of those that were of the king of Spain’s council in those Low Countries; and of the besieging of Gaunt castle, kept by a garrison of Spaniards.

“To let them understand the continuance of desire her majesty always hath had, and yet hath, to help pacify the troubles of that country: if from them she might be advertised which way she might best deal herein.

“To understand of them what safety and assurance our merchants have, during these troubles, for their traffick.

“To procure access unto Rhoda: the better, by talk with him, to discover, whether the said State mind to renounce their obedience to the king his master, and to cast themselves into the protection of any foreign prince.

“To signify to the same Rhoda, that her majesty cannot suffer the States to put themselves under the protection of any foreign prince: and that she would do her best to compound the differences between the king and them.

“To discover what foreign forces either the Spaniard or the States look and hope for: namely, whether they look for any aid of the French.”

The next month, viz. November, sir John Smith was sent ambassador to the king of Spain. The cause of sending him was,

“to declare to that king the cause of her majesty’s sending Dr. Wylson into the Low Countries. And that in her opinion, no way was so good to pacify and retain those countries under his government, as to remove his garrisons, and restore their privileges. And likewise to present to him the supplication and request of the States exhibited to that end to her majesty by monsieur d’Obignie.

Likewise to certify, that nothing was performed that was promised sir Henry Cobham at his being last in Spain. To excuse the going over of Englishmen to serve the prince of Orange. That her majesty would not suffer these Low Countries to be reduced to a martial government. And finally, to crave a general redress of all wrongs done to her subjects:

For thus more at large the instructions given to her said ambassador, ran, dated the of November, 1576

“That notwithstanding heretofore she had often, and all in vain, persuaded him to an honourable composition with his subjects in the Low Countries; yet, now at the request of his States, who of late sent the baron d’Obignie to her, she becometh a mediator to him in that behalf.

“That there were two chief means to the said composition. First, to remove all his garrisons and soldiers of foreign countries from thence, the country being willing to satisfy them touching their pays. Secondly, to restore them to their ancient liberties in as ample manner as they enjoyed them in Charles the Fifth’s time.

“That the cause of her sending Dr. Wylson to the States, was to discover the entrance of foreign powers, of which there was great number brought. And whether they minded to swerve from his obedience: minding to do all her best offices to keep those countries in dutiful subjection to him.

“That the keeping of his garrisons there, which of late had, in Antwerp and Maestricht, committed great outrages, was the way to bring the people and states to such desperation, that of force they must all combine themselves to shake off his government. “That if there were any offence in them, yet that it was more profitable and more honourable for a prince, as he was, to recover them rather by pardon than by sword.

“That there was no part of that performed, that the duke of Alva, and secretary Saias, by their handwriting, *in* his name, promised.

“That he [the ambassador] deal earnestly with the king for the release of the English imprisoned there, and their goods: requiring the continuance of intercourse, without such usage hereafter

towards her subjects. Whereunto if he yielded, to have it assured under the signature of his own hand.

“To excuse the going over of some Englishmen that served the prince in Holland. Which were such as had served in Ireland, and could not work at home; and went over by stealth against her commandment. That their chief captain had been punished for conveying of them. And that they could not find in their hearts to serve the king there; hearing how ill their countrymen were used in Spain by the inquisitors.

“That the denying sir Henry Cobham’s request, made in her majesty’s name, to have an ambassador resident in each other’s dominions, with freedom for exercise of *prayer* in their own families, ministered just cause of suspicion that he made no estimation of her friendship.

“That if he purposed to make a conquest of the Low Countries, and to plant a martial government there, that was so prejudicial to her state, she neither could nor would endure it.

“Lastly, to crave redress generally of all injuries done to her subjects by them of his dominions: and namely, for the late outrageous spoil committed upon them and their goods in Antwerp.”

The next month, viz. December, she despatched sir Edward Horsey to don John of Austria, that became this year governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The cause of sending him was, to declare the reason of Dr. Wylson’s going into Flanders; and of D’Obignie’s coming hither: asalso of sending sir John Smith into Spain. To wish him to grow to some peaceable end with the States, rather than to put in peril the loss of all those countries. And that her majesty would not suffer them, through desperation, to cast themselves into the hands of the French. And lastly, to crave restitution of her merchants’ goods, and liberties for them to depart from Antwerp.

This was in short Horsey’s message; as appears by the instructions more at large given him, bearing date the 14th of December; viz.

“That the cause of sending Dr. Wylson to the States was to discover, whether they had any purpose to withdraw themselves

clean from the obedience of the king of Spain or no. If he should understand that they had no such purpose, but that they stood only upon enjoying of their privileges, to tell them, that she would be glad, if she knew how to be a mean between the king and them, for a good end of these troubles. But if they had any intention to renounce the said kings authority, which he had over them, in the fight of his inheritance of the dukedom of Burgundy, that she would, as a confederate of the said king, aid him and his true servants, to compel them to their ancient obedience.

“That the States had sent monsieur d’Obignie to her majesty, to assure her, that they meant nothing less than to withdraw themselves from the kings obedience; that their taking arms, and doing as now they did, was to defend themselves against the great spoils and intolerable outrages of the Spaniard; and that they desired nothing more than that her majesty would be a mean to the king, that these present calamities there might be appeased otherwise than by arms. To which effect they had a supplication, which they desired to be presented to the king on their behalf by her majesty.

“That thereupon her majesty sent sir John Smith to present the said supplication unto the king in Spain; and the said Mr. Horsey now to don John. Following that course which she had always taken, by good mediation between the king and his ministers in those Low Countries, and the people of the said countries, to do her best endeavour to reduce them to some good pacification.

“That she hoped don John, seeing the present state of those countries, would follow that way of redress which should seem best for the kings honour, and the continuance of these countries under his government, and restore them to such quietness, as the ancient intercourse between her subjects and that nation might be recontinued. Wherein, if he took not present order, the States were entered into such a secret combination with the French, as would put the king of Spain in peril of the loss of all those countries.

“That seeing the open actions of the said States declared that they were otherwise affected than heretofore, and ready to run any course, rather than to endure the oppressions which they have long time felt; making their demands with the sword in their hand; he

should do very well, having large authority thereto, to grow to some peaceable and quiet end with them: and so to be a mean to convert the kings forces against the common enemy of Christendom; against whom he had done himself great honour.

“That if don John shall go on by force, and seek to alter the ancient form of government in these Low Countries, whereby they should be forced to cast themselves into the hand and protection of the French, her majesty saw it a matter so perilous to her state, that, as well in respect of herself, as for the compassion she had for those Low Countries, with which her nation had so long amity, would in no wise suffer the same; but use such remedies as necessity required, both for her own safety, and the preservation of their state.

“That contrariwise, if her majesty might be plainly made to understand, that the States’ meaning was to withdraw themselves from the kings government, in demanding that which was not honourable for him to grant, she would join her forces with his, against them and their fautors.

“That in his way to don John he should confer secretly with some of the chiefest of the States; and to persuade them to demand nothing that was unfit for subjects to ask, or a prince to grant. Otherwise they should, whatsoever in word they professed, declare their inward meaning to be other than they pretended.

“And that if don John should not yield to reasonable requests, but would prosecute the matter with force, she minded not to see them oppressed, but would aid them by all the good means she might.

“That if he could learn the said States’ proceedings and intelligence with France; to dissuade them from the same; as well by offering them assistance from hence, as by threatening; and assuring them, that she would join with don John to impeach their said intelligence.

“That while he remained with don John, to observe all his actions, both secret and other, as much as he could: what forces he had, or was like to have, and from whence: how he was affected towards her majesty: how he was persuaded of her sincere meaning touching the king of Spain: how he accepted and liked that she

should interpose herself as a mediator between the king and his subjects.

“And lastly, that he demand of don John restitution and recompence of all things taken away in Antwerp; and of all wrongs offered to her majesty’s subjects and merchants there, in the late massacre; with liberty and safe conduct for them all to depart from thence, with their goods that were left, and ships; according to the good amity and intercourse betwixt her realms and those Low Countries.”

The queen was the more jealous of the disturbances in those Low Countries, because she was informed of the French designs there, upon their application to them for aid: which she by no means liked of, (as appeared above,) as being a course to betray them to their enemies. And this a notable paper of intelligence discovered, being sent from somebody nameless in those Low Countries; adding this advice in the conclusion, which was as follows:

“They are about to play such a tragedy in this country, touching matters of the state and religion, as if her majesty do not bear therein such a part as she ought, she is like, out of hand, to see what she would not.

“The duke of Alencon prepareth great forces in France, which will be in a readiness before midsummer. He doth openly confess that he doth nothing without his brother’s will and consent; without the which, men of judgment had never any great hope of him. Hereby the end of his departure from the king is known. And indeed it could no longer be hidden from those that are acquainted with Bussis voyage to Paris, and his conference had with the duke of Guise, the Spanish ambassador, and such like. His demands of the States are very small, and in effect almost of no weight. He promiseth to drive don John out of the country at his own costs and charges. After which time, if they do resolve to change their lord, he prayeth to be preferred before any other. He giveth it out, that he will give an example, or pattern, in these countries, of the manner how he meaneth to carry himself in two enterprises, which he intendeth against two kingdoms, which he nameth to be Naples and Sicilia. But it is feared the nations he meaneth are nearer unto France, [viz. England and Ireland.]

“He must needs shoot at one of these two marks. The first, and that which is most to be feared, under colour of assisting the States, to oppress them. Which is gathered by three sound reasons: first, by his former dealing towards these of the religion. Secondly, by the interest that the crown of France hath in the example of dissolving or reforming of this state, [viz. to bring it *under* a more arbitrary government.] And thirdly, by the amity and secret intelligence which the king, his brother, and he, have with the Spaniard: having lately procured a truce between the Turk and him, for the furtherance of his affairs in these parts. By this first mark, the tyrannous authority of the Spaniard shall be established in these countries; to their prejudice that know the in-conveniencies likely to follow of the same, and have opposed themselves thereunto.

“The other mark is, to be pricked forward with desire of greatness, by winning these countries, or a great part of the same, to the crown of France: which, in outward show, he seemeth to pretend. And being come with great forces, and having great intelligence in the said countries, to lay wait for duke Casimire’s person, to despatch him out of the way; the better afterwards to deal with those of the religion: which have none elsewhere to trust unto in Germany but him. And finally, that having possessed himself of these countries, France may be able on every side to overtop England, while they do practise new troubles in Scotland.

“Having these two strings to his bow, he doth so earnestly press the States here in this negociation; as whether it be to their liking or disliking, he is fully resolved to come. The poor men having, as the common proverb is, the wolf by the ears, cannot resolve whether it should be less hurtful and dangerous for them to have his open enmity, by refusing of him; or to have him in continual jealousy, by accepting him to them.

“To meet these two inconveniencies, the queen is to use two remedies. The one is, the war earnestly followed; the other is, to procure a peace. But that would hinder greatly her majesty’s affairs. For that by such means the Spaniard would be put again in authority, if not as great as heretofore, yet likely to come to that, by the only accident of the prince of Orange’s death, if he should happen to die. Besides, her majesty should greatly discourage such

as were devoted unto her here, by procuring unto them a very hurtful and dangerous peace. And further, there is small likelihood here of acceptance of peace, the change of the lord, or alteration of the state, being intended, if not already resolved on.

“It remaineth that the queen should take in hand a secret war, by strengthening duke Casimir, in such sort as he may be able secretly in her name to make head against the king and his brother, as long as he shall be here; and to send him over into France, if need should require, to divert the course of their enterprises. For it will be more profitable and necessary, that in case this state be driven to change master, they should rather choose a new one, than by yielding themselves unto France, to make the same so strong, that they may be able to bridle their neighbours.

“For which purpose it were requisite her majesty did not only secretly strengthen the said duke Casimir with the two thousand corslets already required, but also with as many more at her own charges: to the end, that having armed him to withstand all enterprises against her, he may do her some worthy service in these troublesome times, and upon this so happy occasion; as, if her majesty do not take her benefit of it now, she is not like to have the like again.”

This Casimir was son of Frederick, elector palatine of the Rhine; who came into the Low Countries about this time, or before, to assist the States: to whom queen Elizabeth sent supplies, according to the advice above given. And so also came d'Alencon. But with what success, I leave it to the historians of those Low Country wars to relate.

But the great desire and endeavour of those of the Low Countries, and their friends here, was to bring the queen to receive them under her protection, and to take the government of them upon her, with convenient forces: which they earnestly offered her majesty; having no great inclination to venture themselves with the French: under one of the two they found it necessary to commit themselves. And for what reasons and considerations the queen should accept their offer, a discreet and knowing merchant, (whose manewas W. Villers,) then at Middleburgh, thus wrote to a great lord, lord Burghley, as I think: out of whose original letter, dated March 26, I had the ensuing lines, viz.

“And for further intelligence, it may please your ho-nour to understand, it is no small grief unto me to hear in this country that which I do hear; considering the offers that have been made by his excellency [the prince of Orange] and the states of the countries, to her majesty; and to be utterly refused [viz. to take them into her protection, and openly to aid them against the king of Spain’s tyranny.] I cannot think but that there are some great hinderers of the same; wherein they may have a good meaning. But I beseech Almighty God to open their eyes, and to turn their hearts; that they may rather be helpers and setters forward of noble and worthy deeds, than to be hinderers thereof.

“There never could have happened the like safety to our most worthy queen and country, as for her majesty to have such a government offered unto her; the which without comparison are the strongest, and of the greatest consequence, that be in the world. God preserve and keep her majesty from the malice of her enemies and ours, and grant that she may long reign over us: Amen. If it be true, that her majesty hath utterly refused the offer, (as it is here said she hath,) undoubtedly it will fall into the government of the French, or it be six months. It is of a very truth, that there is at this present with the prince certain commissioners out of France for the same. And it is said there shall come ten thousand men from thence, if her majesty do refuse the same. And for the good wills of the French towards us, we do well know they do make account of us to be their ancient enemies: and if the kings of England, in times past, did find it was not for the safety of our realm to have such a neighbour as Calais was, before it was taken by king Edward the Third, how much more are we to consider of these countries, and of the consequence of them every way; and what will follow, if the French may once possess them? “And on the other side, if the Spaniard should prevail therein, according to his desire, (as I pray God that I do not live to see that day,) unhappy may we then think ourselves to be, and in worse case than if the French have it. For the settled hatred of the Spaniard doth so abound *in* their hearts towards us, that they do not let to utter their minds in such speeches to them at Serick seas against her majesty, that no good subject, with a patient mind, can abide the report thereof. I pray God confound them and their evil inventions. I am not altogether

out of hope, but that her majesty will be a mean that the enemy may be stayed from his purpose. The provision that the prince hath made for the succour of Serick seas is great. God grant them good success: they do stay only for wind and weather.”

Yet in the mean time the States, by their privateers, did great damage to their enemies that traded to and with Spain, and took abundance of their ships and goods; insomuch as the aforesaid merchant writes in the same letter,

“That the great booties they had taken within the two last months were to the value of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. And yet for the means of the great preparation that was made to remove the enemy from Serick seas, and paying off mariners and soldiers, they were stir bare of money.”

I add one piece of intelligence more in this letter, as it relates to England:

“It is said here, there is six hundred Englishmen arrived within this month in Holland. I wish it were, or that it may be very shortly, six thousand; or else I would those that be ready here, to be called home again; else they will be but as a prey to the Spaniard or the French. For undoubtedly the prince must either receive succours from the French, or else be overcome by her enemies, if her majesty do not even shortly assist them with a great force.”

In the mean time the protestants in France were in very ill case, and great resolutions taken up to be rigorous with them; insomuch that those innocent and poor people meditated nothing now but to leave their country, and to fly into England for their safety: against which, France made all the provision she could to stop them. For, notwithstanding the French kings promise to allow them the liberty of their religion, and so some pacification had been made between them, yet now all things looked towards a severe persecution of them. And the popish (called the holy) league, between the pope, the French king, and the Spaniard, was now taking vigorous effect: which those of the religion per-ceding, found it necessary to fly to England for refuge; concerning which, and the present state of affairs in France, as fresh news brought over to Portsmouth, the lord Henry Radcliff, brother to Thomas earl of Sussex, gave him intelligence, in the month of January, to this import.

“That such news as he had received out of France, he thought good to advertise his honour; although he knew, as he wrote, that; he [the earl] received the true certificate, and he [his brother] but report from friends. That on Thursday last, there came a ship from Deep, which arrived there upon Sunday. By which he understood that the French king published and proclaimed, that there should be no more preaching of the gospel in his country. Whereupon divers of the religion were fled; and divers that would fly, could not: for that all the coasts of Normandy, and the seacoast adjoining, were restrained and stopped. That mons. Melleroy, the governor of Normandy, did assemble force for the king; and that there had been brought into Normandy divers bands of soldiers, by small companies, which now were discovered; and that mons. Melleroy had taken order with mons. Sigonie, the governor of Deep, that there should be within Deep four or five ensigns, which Sigonie had agreed to receive. That there should be garrisons also in most towns upon the seacoast. That the protestants, as many as could get away, were gone to the prince of Conde, who had been in Rochel, and had taken order there. That mons. de Montpensier, and mons. de Bedon, being with the king of Navarr, to know what he should do, the kingsanswer was, that if the French king would not keep his promise, he would make war. That there was great preparation made on both sides, and cruel war was thought to follow. That the pope, and king of Spain, and the French king, had all agreed to make the duke of Guise general of these wars. That duke Casimir had sent word to the French king, that he would prepare great numbers of men of war against him. That the merchants and common people of France, upon the seacoasts, were at their wits end, for fear of this war towards. That there was prohibition made that no Frenchman be suffered to fly into England.” And then concluding, “*Thus* have I certified your honour of such news as I have received, although not confirmed. I humbly commit your honour to God. From Portsmouth, Jan. 15, 1576.

Your honour's brother,
 Most humble to command,
Henry Radclyff.”

This news was the more strange, because the king, Henry III. but lately come to the crown, had made a general peace with the confederates,

proclaimed through France, and had done divers things in favour of the protestants, and would have it called his peace. So that they of the religion concluded it the more firm. Yet by the incessant intrigues of the pope, with the duke of Guise, and the popish faction in France, that king soon broke his word, and entered again into a civil war.

And in fine, by another letter from court, namely, from the earl of Leicester to the earl of Shrewsbury, may be observed how matters stood at this critical time between the Low Countries and the queen; and likewise with respect to Scotland; and what great care was then thought to be had for keeping a fair correspondence with that king, for her better security from all her enemies abroad. The words of the said letter, dated February 15, were these.

“For the matters of the Low Countries, they go hardly. And truly, my lord, I look for no good from thence. From Scotland there is even this day some advertisement of better hope of the kings good proceedings there, and with her majesty, than of late we looked for. And it is the greatest care I have,” as he added, “that her majesty may have good amity with that king. For, if so it may be, I have no great fears, as the world standeth, of all the rest of her enemies abroad whatsoever. And I do not see but that this king may be had, without any very great charge to her majesty. We hear that of late he hath dealt very well against his chiefest papists. God grant that he may so go forward. For if both these and the princes join in maintaining the true religion, it will be the safety and preservation of them both, and of their countries. Your lordship doth hear, I am sure, that the ambassadors are departed towards Flanders, on her majesty’s behalf, six days ago; but the wind doth yet hold them on this side. God send their travail to bring forth good and profitable fruit. The best news I can write your lordship is of her highness good and perfect health. Which God long continue,” &c.

As for the dangers at home, the greatest proceeded from the queen of Scots’ between whom and divers in Scotland, there was much secret correspondence, as well as with foreign princes, her friends. But queen Elizabeth was watchful, and had secret intelligence: as in the beginning of this year she knew that there were letters passing, and messengers coming towards that queen’ a matter which required the earl of Shrewsbury to have his eyes about him. Sir Francis Walsingham now let the earl know,

that her majesty gave him order to let him understand, that she was lately and credibly informed of certain secret messengers come out of Scotland, with letters to that queen, his charge; and who were already entered England, and by all likelihood not far from his lordship's house. That her majesty's pleasure therefore was, that he should use all the best and secretest means he could in belaying the country round about, for their apprehension and the intercepting the said letters. And by an enclosed note sent, he should read their names, and some more circumstances hereof. This was dated from the court, the 29th of March, 1576.

Besides these popish practices in the north, in the south parts also the papists increase, and religion went backwards: as appeared by what Richard Curtess, bishop of Chichester, signified to secretary Walsingham, concerning what he found in his triennial visitation, finished this year, viz. that they that were backward in religion, in the county of Sussex, grew worse and worse; and that chiefly upon the coming of don John of Austria, the king of Spain's bastard brother, into the Low Countries this year, to be governor there; to vex the professors of the gospel, and to destroy the liberties of that free people. The bishop, therefore, had cited such as were most suspected, by his ordinary authority in that visitation. And their names, and the articles whereupon he examined them, he thought fit to send withal to the secretary:

“Thinking it fit (as he wrote) to shew the same to his honour, because there were some of them [i. e. justices of the peace] that pretended well, and yet were not sound in religion, that went about to make the worst of it, [that is, of this his examination and course he took with those he suspected.] And therefore he advised, if it might seem good to their honours, and others of her majesty's most honourable privy council, either to have such of them clean put out of the commission of peace as were in it, or else at least that theremight be a *Dedimus potestatem* to some, to take their oaths openly at the next sessions, to the queen's supremacy; which would be a great stay to the country. For it was commonly and credibly thought, that some of them never took that oath, *although* it were otherwise returned. And so with his most humble and hearty prayers, he most humbly and heartily commended his honour to God, his good will and pleasure. Dated from Aldingburn, March 24, 1576. Subscribed, Ri. Cicestren.”

Then follow, in the said bishop's letter, the names of those justices and others so suspected; and the articles ministered to them.

THE NAMES OF THEM THAT WERE CALLED WERE THESE.

Sir Thomas Palmer, the elder knt.
Henry Gosford, of Stansted Lodge, gent.
William Shelly, of Michel Grove esq.
Jasper Gunter, gent.
John Navye, of Racten, yeoman
Rich. Shelley, late of Worminghurst, gent.
John Bickley, gent.
Thomas Lewknor, of Selsey, esq.
John Riman, gent.
One Hare, of Mr. Carrell's house
Wm. Dawtre, of Moor, esq.
Richard Ernly, esq.
Scot, of Iden.
Jeffrey Pole.
One Tichbourn, of Durford, gent
Edw. Gage, of Rentley, esq.
John Gage, of Fides, esq.
Cryer, parson of Westmeston.
Tho. Gage, of Firles, esq.
Gray, parson of Withian.
Edward Gage, of Firles, esq.
The curate of Shepley.
George Gage, of Firles, esq.
John Taylor, parson.
J. Shelley, of Pateham, esq.
Dr. Bayley. With others.

But for summoning so many, he seemed to have some reprimand from above. For which he made his vindication afterwards, as we shall see.

THE ARTICLES WERE THESE.

I. How often have you been at common prayer in your parish church, since the first of January, 1575, last?

II. How often have you been partaker of the sacrament, otherwise *coena dominica*, since the same time?

III. How many sermons have you heard since the same time?

IV. Whether do you send any letters or money, or receive any letters, from such as be fled beyond seas?

V. Whether have you any of the books of Harding, Stapleton, Rastal Saunders, Marshal, or of such others as be supposed to be beyond the seas, and answered by the learned father, bishop Jewel, or some other learned men of the religion; or of such as they have answered, printed without their answers?

VI. Whether do you keep in your house any that come not at all to common prayer: or, whether do you dwell in the house of any that do not come; or doth receive any books or pictures from such as be beyond the seas, since the first of January, 1575?

This visitation was the more carefully managed by the bishop aforesaid, by diligent inquisition after the disaffected in religion; because of certain letters sent from the privy council, and some orders of the ecclesiastical commission. The proceedings and effects whereof, with the discreet method used, the bishop thought fit, the next month, to acquaint the lords withal, to this tenor:

“That it might please their honours to understand the true circumstances of his late proceedings in the matters of religion. That in his late visitation, the ministers, and others of that country, complained to him, that divers had come out of Kent, Surrey, and Hampshire, not sound in religion. And that of late some of them in that country waxed worse and worse. Whereupon he thought it his duty to deal with them. And for the better countenancing and strengthening his ordinary jurisdiction, he mentioned their lordships’ letters, and the authority of the high commission: yet using his own ordinary authority. And thinking with himself that he might be both blamed and charged, if he called some, and left out others, he thought good to cite them all: yet with these cautions, and promises, (which in his opinion might satisfy all reasonable persons,) first, that if any knew himself clear, he might certify him [the bishop] under the hand of the curate and churchwarden of the

parish; and then he should not need to appear. Secondly, if any hereafter meant to conform themselves, notwithstanding any thing past, if they did but write to him, he released them also from appearance. Thirdly, if any were not yet satisfied, and would be content to admit charitable and learned conference; if they would but come to him the day before, they should have that time and respite which they could reasonably desire. As divers did, and had it accordingly granted. And such only to appear, who refused all these. And that for such as *refused* them all, and appeared otherwise than they needed, he granted them both copies of the articles, and what else either for time or manner they themselves desired. Concluding, thus in most humble and hearty wise he beseeched the Almighty long to preserve their honours, to the maintenance of the gospel, Ri. Cicestren.” It bore date April 1577.

But popery was discovered yet nearer the court; mass being publicly said in the Portugal ambassador’s house, at the Charter-house, many English, the queen’s subjects, being present at it, the Spanish ambassador being there. Fleetwood, the recorder of the city, hearing thereof, and by order, as it seems, of the lord treasurer Burghley, from court, interrupted them, while they were at their ceremony. Upon complaint whereof made by the said ambassador to the queen, she was so complaisant as to command the recorder to be committed; and ordered the lords of her privy council to inquire more particularly into the matter, that so she might the better and more fully understand it, and be able to give the ambassador (who made a great clamour) a more absolute answer. Whereupon the lords of the council appointed the lord keeper, the lord treasurer, and sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, to take the examination of this matter: writing thus to them;

“After our hearty commendations to your good lordships. Her majesty being given to understand, that the ambassador of Portugal doth not rest satisfied with the punishment extended by her highness’ order upon the recorder; insisting greatly upon the outrage committed by the said recorder, in the manner of his proceeding, in the late search made by him of the said ambassador’s house; as, the beating the porter, the entering in with naked swords, the laying violent hands upon the lady his wife, the taking of the host and chalice, and the breaking open of *certain* doors; and such other like violences; wherewith the said ambassador hath

acquainted you, the lord treasurer: she thinketh it very convenient, lest happily he might aggravate the matter more than there is cause, that due examination be made by you of the said particularities, by calling before you, as well such strangers as you can learn were there, (not being of the ambassador's family,) *as* also such others as accompanied the said recorder, whom you shall think fit to be examined in that matter. Which examination being by you taken, her pleasure is, you shall send hither with all speed; to the end, that thereupon her majesty may be the better able to answer, in case he shall urge any further satisfaction. And so we bid your lordships heartily farewell. From Hampton Court, the 7th of November, 1576.

(Signed)

E. Lincoln.

T. Sussex.

Arundel.

A. Warwyke.

R. Leycester.

Fra. Walsingham?"

The more regard was now given to this ambassador, because he. was ready to depart, having concluded upon a traffick between both nations. So that the sheriffs and the recorder were sent for before the council; before whom they spake for themselves. And the lords made a true report thereof to her majesty. And at their return they said to them, that they had done but according to law: yet notwithstanding, for honour's sake, and that now seigneur Gi-raldo was upon his despatch; and for that by his good means there was an honourable conclusion of traffick brought to pass: therefore it was thought meet by her majesty that they should go to the Fleet. And thereupon, at the board, they received their warrant to Mr. Warden of the Fleet, to receive them. All this the recorder writ out of the Fleet the same day, (November 7,) wherein they were committed, to the lord treasurer: and lastly, thanking him for his great care for their well doing; and that he would thank the lords, who did as much at that present as possibly they could. But the queen's will must stand.

The lord treasurer had, by a postscript to the council's order, advised the recorder to give a just and true relation of this whole matter in writing. And accordingly so he did, accompanied with his letter: which letter, with

his declaration at large of his proceedings, I will set down from the very original, that the merits of the cause may more fully appear: together with other passages; not unworthy our taking notice of.

In his letter he shewed the treasurer, together with the lord keeper, and the chancellor of the exchequer,

“That he had required Mr. Spinola, [a merchant in London,] *in* time past, to give seignior Giraldie (that was the ambassador’s name) counsel to amend divers things that were amiss; and especially touching the repair of these lewd people, the queen’s subjects, that came to his mass. That seignior Giraldie said to his friends, that he [the recorder] bare him malice, and that he did this for malice. Upon which occasion he used these words: My lord, I refer that to God and your lordship’s own conscience, I never said we heard that your lordship ever touched any man for malice; and I thank God even from my heart, that I never used any man living with any malicious dealings. He added, that seignior Giraldie’s faults were such, that he did not only malice, but did abhor. Our Lord make him a virtuous man. And then he beseeched his *lordship* to thank Mr. Warden [of the Fleet] for his most friendly and courteous using of him. And he thanked God for it, that he was quiet, and lacked nothing that he *or* his bedfellow were able to do for him; and that it was a place where a man might quietly be acquainted with *God*. And so prayed the Lord God to bless his good lordship, the lord keeper, and sir Walter Mildmay. It *was* dated the 9th of November.”

Then he began his information touching his proceedings in the Portugal ambassador’s house, with this preface, that he had, according to the lord treasurer’s postscript, writ with his own hand, set down (and sure he was thereof) the very truth, without adding or informing any thing more or less than the simplicity of the matter was in action.

“*Upon* Sunday last, at eleven o’clock in the forenoon, Mr. Sheriff Kimpton and Mr. Sheriff Barnes, and I, the recorder, did repair unto the Charter-house; and knocking at the gates, no man answered. Mr. Sheriff B. by agreement went upon the back-stairs, to see that no mass-hearers should escape. And after divers knockings at the gate, the porter came, being a Portugal, who did speak English, and said my lord was not at home. Then, quoth we,

let us speak with you, Mr. Porter, for we have brought letters. And the porter answered us very stubbornly. And at the length he opened the gate, and I, the recorder, put in my left leg, meaning to enter in at the gate. And being half in and half out, the porter, knowing me very well; said, *Back, villain*; and thrust the gate so sore upon my leg, that I shall carry the grief thereof to my grave. Sithence that time my pain hath been so great, that I can take no rest. And if Mr. Sheriff Kimpton had not thrust the gate from me, my leg had been utterly bruised into shivers. And besides, the porter began to bustle himself to his dagger, and took me by the throat: and then I thrust him from me; for indeed he was but a testy little wretch. And so I willed Mr. Sheriff and the officers to stay the fellow from doing any hurt to any other in his fury.

“After this we passed quietly, all doors being open, out of the hall up the stairs: and at the stair-head there was a great long gallery, that in length stood east and west. In the same gallery all the mass-hearers, both men and women, were standing. For the priest was at the gospel, and the altar-candles were lighted, as the old manner was. After this, we knocked at the outer door of the gallery, and all they looked back. And then Mr. Sheriff K. and I charged all such as were Englishmen born, and the queen’s subjects, to come forth of that place. And then came all the strangers running towards us: some of them beginning to draw first their daggers, and then after they buckled themselves to draw their rapiers. And by that time two bailiffs, errants of Middlesex, (whose names I remember not,) being at the door, did draw their swords. And immediately Mr. Kimpton caused the strangers to be quiet; and I caused the bailiffs to put up their swords. And then Mr. K. with all the mass-hearers, with seignior Giraldie’s wife, and her maids, were all in a heap, forty persons at once speaking in several languages.

“And then I said to Mr. Sheriff, I pray you, let me and you make a way for my lady. And so he making way before, I kissed my hand, and took my lady Giraldie by the hand, and led her out of the press to her chamber door, and there made a most humble curtsey unto her. And after, I put out my hand to the rest of her gentlewomen, and first kissed it, and delivered them into their chamber also. And Mr. Sheriff Barnes came into the gallery, and so we three examined every man what he was. And first, such as were seignior Giraldie’s

men, we required them to depart. And after many lewd and contumelious words used by them against us, we by fair means got them out of the gallery into their lady's lodging. And then proceeded we to the examination of the strangers that were not of seignior Giraldie's house, nor of his retinue. And they most despitefully, against all civility, used such like words in their language against us, that if our company had understood them, there might have chanced great harm.

"But in plain terms I said unto them, Sirs, I see no remedy but ye must go to prison; for most of you be free denizens. And then I willed the officers to lay hands on them; and immediately every man suddenly most humbly put off his cap, and begun to be suitors, and sought favour. And so upon their submission, we suffered them to depart, all, saving Anthony Guarras; who was not willing to depart from us, but kept us company. And all this done, we examined the English subjects, and sent them to prison; who, to say the truth, provoked the strangers into fury and disorder against us. For if the English then had, according to our direction, departed from the strangers, and come forth unto us, the strangers had been quiet, and we without trouble. But truly the greatest fault was, that as well the English mass-mongers, as also the free denizens, for the covering of their own offences, practised rather to have murder committed, than to be taken as they were.

"All this while the mass-sayer stood at the north end of the altar; and no man living said a word to him, nor touched him; saving that he did give to divers of our servants singing cakes: wherewith I was offended with them for receiving that idolatrous bread. And all being done, and we ready to depart, it was said by a stander by, If ye look in at that door, near the altar, said he, you shall find a number of mass-mongers. And then did the priest take a key out of his pocket, and smiling, opened the door; and Mr. Sheriff Kimpton, with the priest, looked in, and there was nobody.

"*And* then Anthony Guarras took me by the hand, to see the altar, how trim it was. For Mr. Barnes and I stood afar off in the gallery. And I said to Guarras, Sir, if I had done my duty to God and to the queen, I had taken two hundred here upon All Hollown day last, and as many upon All Souls day also. Ho, sir, said Guarras unto

me, become of this religion, and surely you will like it well, and it will be a ready means to make you a good Christian. And so we went near the altar; where neither he nor I touched any manner of thing. And so we bade the priest farewell; who gently saluted us. And I suddenly looking back, saw the priest shake his head at us, and mumbled out words, which sounded diable, and *male croix*, or to that effect. And then I said to Mr. Sheriff, Sirs, let us depart, for the priest doth curse. And so we departed. Anthony Guarras brought us to the utmost gate; where Mr. Sheriff and I invited him to dinner with us: but he departed back to hear out the aforesaid mass.

“*The* foresaid Guarras, at this business, said, that he himself was an ambassador to a greater person than and so did shake his head. What! quoth I, do you mean a greater personage than the queen our mistress? Na, na, said he, I meant not so. No, quoth I, it were not best for you to make comparison with the queen our mistress. Whose ambassador are you then? quoth I. The pope’s? And then he departed further off in an anger. This Guarras was a very busy fellow in this action.

“Among all these strangers, I marked one Swygo, who is a free denizen, married to an English woman. He is a broker, and hath his chief living by our merchants. This fellow made himself more busy than it became him. There was a tall young fellow, an Italian, that was very wanton with us; and it hath been told me sithence, that he and others are kept here for two causes: the one for uttering the pope’s allom; and the other to serve for intelligencer: which, I think, are very spies. This youth was very busy, and bestirred him as though he had been treading of a galliard. There was one John Chivers, an Irishman, student of the inns of the chancery; who, as it appeared unto me; (I having a vigilant eye of all sides,) was a great stirrer of the strangers against us. This young man, when he could not prevail, then he gat up to the south end of the altar; and there he confronted the mass-sayer, with his cap on his head, who was on the other end, and stood there as though he had been an Italian. His garments were a cloak and a rapier, after the Italian fashion. And when I demanded what he was, he bowed on the one side and the other, as though he had not understood me; much like the fashion

of seignior Giraldie: by which I did note that he had been often there.

“This is all that I do remember; and in my conscience, and as I shall answer before God at the latter day, we used ourselves with such humble reverence unto his lady and her family, as more we could not do to the queen, our mistress, save kneeling.

“I sent seignior Giraldie word, as I remember, at Easter last, by Mr. Benedict Spinello, that he should not suffer the queen’s subjects to repair to his mass: yea, and that other things also should be amended; wherewith the people did wonderfully grudge at him: and I am sure Mr. Spinello did my message to him in a decent order. This is not the first time that his house hath been dealt withal by the sheriffs. Strumpets have been gotten with child in his house; and we of the hospital driven to take order for their keeping. The masters shall justify this. I never saw any ambassador sent out of England, but that he was both wise and virtuous, and was not indebted to any. And whether seignior Giraldie was an ambassador or not, surely, my lord, I knew not, until my lords of the council had told me thereof upon Monday last, at the council board.”

This shews how jealous the state at that time was of papists and mass-mongers, as they called them, and what watchfulness to prevent the subjects from lapsing into that religion.

The state was concerned to be watchful in these times, the queen having so many enemies of the popish faction her subjects, both at home and abroad; of the latter sort were the fugitives, entertained by the pope and Spaniard. This year, 1576, Jan. 29, were certified into the exchequer such as were fled over the seas, of noblemen, gentlemen, priests, and schoolmasters, to near the number of fourscore; contrary to the statute reg. Eliz. 13. Their names, conditions, and in what counties they inhabited, may be read, taken from an authentic paper, in the Appendix.

CHAPTER 2

The bishop of Exon sends up some that refused going to church. Another of hls diocese makes nothing, of a book-oath. His dealing with him. He opposeth the sending down a commission ecclesiastical: and why. The bishop of Lincoln preacheth at court. The suitableness of his subject, He is concerned as visitor of king's college, Cambridge. Great differences in that college. Articles of accusation against Dr. Goad, the provost: his answers: his good service to that house. Sandys, bishop of London, translated to York: his farewell sermon at St. Paul's. Endeavours used to get Bishopthorp from that archbishop. His reasons why he will not part with it. Elmer, that succeeded in the see of London, contests with the archbishop about the revenues. The case brought before the lord treasurer.

Now to come to some matters occurring this year, wherein the bishops were concerned both with the papists and with other schismatics and heterodox men, or otherwise employed. It was ordered about these times, that such of either sort, disturbing the peace of the church, and disagreeing to the religion and worship established, should be sent up to the privy council, or to the commission ecclesiastical, held at Lambeth; there to be dealt withal, in order to their reducement.

Bradbridge, bishop of Exeter, had now to deal with both sorts. Some Cornish gentlemen, being of his diocese, came not to church, and were informed of, and brought before him. But he could not prevail with them, to work them to any good conformity.

“Whether the cause was, as he conjectured, the boldness that they had conceived by reason of the lenity used in these days, (mild usage hitherto being exercised towards the papists,) or rather their hope of alteration in time to come: because he saw they craved *ever* respite of time, and in time grew rather indurate than reformable; as the bishop now, December 3, wrote to the lord treasurer; when three of them were sent up, viz. Rob. Beckote, Richard Tremain, and Francis Er-myn; and now commanded to wait there above. As he had in some letters before, so now in this, he desired his lordship to prevail with the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of

London to take some pains with them; they [there of the ecclesiastical commission] wanting no assistance of learned men and books: adding, that the whole country longed and desired to hear of their godly determination; namely, what success they should have with these gentlemen.”

Such letters from the lords were not unusual in those times, to call upon the bishops to look to recusants in their dioceses, that came not to the public service. So afterwards, in the year 1581, the archbishop received a letter, reminding of an act made for the retaining of her majesty’s subjects in their due obedience, as abusing her highness’ former great goodness and lenity, and refusing to conform: and that the bishops should make inquiry as well according to former certificates heretofore made of recusants, as by others. And the next year other letters came from the lords to the archbishop and bishops, against recusants, for a diligent search to be made of such persons; and certificates to be made, under their hands, of such offenders, and their residences, and to send them up.

The same bishop also this year was concerned, and took pains about a dangerous opinion broached in his diocese. There happened a dispute between two, a preacher and a schoolmaster. Whereof the one affirmed, that an oath taken upon a book of the holy evangelists was of no more value, than an oath taken upon a rush or a fly. Because it was nothing, he said, but ink and paper. He that asserted this, was one that lived at Liskerd in Cornwall, and taught a grammar-school; a young man, lately come thither, and not entered into the ministry; licensed to catechise and expound the scripture by Dr. Tremayn, who was in commission to visit for the archbishop of Canterbury, and commissary in all the peculiars. This doctrine being strange, offended the ears of the simple Cornish men. And the bishop fearing (as he wrote to the lord treasurer on this occasion) some danger that might arise thereby, rode himself to the town of Liskerden, which he found in great contention and heat one against another: the young man stoutly bent to stand in that he had taught. His assertion he delivered to the bishop in writing. But the adverse party being then absent; and for that he saw no truth could be well tried in that tumult, he put off the hearing thereof unto the assizes next that should be holden at Launceston about a fortnight after. And hereupon the bishop sent to Dr. Tremayne, and other learned of Exon, to be there with him; that he might be better able to pacify the stir that buzzed in men’s heads. He added,

“That truly the Cornish men were subtle, many of them, in taking an oath. Now, if they should conceive, that in sweating upon a book, no more danger were than upon a rush, the obedience that we owe unto her majesty, the trials that we have in assizes and sessions, wherein the controversies were no otherwise commonly tried but by force of a book oath, it might, as he wrote, open a great gap, and let in a floodgate, as it were, to great disorder, and many mischiefs in a commonwealth.

“For the appeasing of the which, he thought best to have the aid and advice of their judges in the assize, being then *so* nigh at hand.”

The said bishop of Exon was uneasy at this very time about an ecclesiastical commission that he heard was suing out, to be granted to divers persons in Devon and Cornwall, the meaning whereof he much marvelled at. And that divers times before, Dr. Tremain had attempted to have the same granted to him, and certain his cousins and special friends. Which the bishop always withstood: knowing, as he shewed the lord treasurer, that there was no need; he himself having so many officers, and Tremain himself being a commissary in all the peculiars belonging to the church of Exon. That it should be but a burden and an overcharge, to weary the people with so many officers. All which must and would lie, he said, upon the popular cost.

“My most humble and hearty desire therefore is, (as he subjoined his request to that great lord and favourer of religion and peace,) that your lordship will be good unto the country, and suffer no such commission to be sent into these parties: and that the people, as far as I see, may more quietly be ruled by the orders and laws already received, and the officers already known, than by new officers which may be appointed, such as will be hardly ruled themselves, when you have put a new sword in their hands. He said further, that he spake somewhat of experience. That his diocese was great; and that the sectaries daily did increase. And he persuaded himself he should be able easier to rule them whom he partly knew already, than those which by this means might get them *new* friends: which was the only thing he suspected [as he spake now more plainly] in this new commission.”

And one thing more must be remarked of this good bishop; that he found the burden of his episcopal care in that large diocese so heavy, that he

earnestly desired to resign his bishopric, and (which is seldom heard of) to accept a lower office in the church, viz. to return to his deanery of Sarum, then, as it seems, vacant; using these words to the aforementioned lord, to whom he was writing:

“If it please your lordship to send me hence, and to restore me to the *place* from whence I came, you could never do me such a pleasure. The time serveth; the place is open. I wish *your* lordship’s favour were no less bent to drive me hence to Sarum again, than in my first suit for that *deanery*; your lordship’s help was readier than I was to *crave* it. Which benefit, if I should forget, I were the ingratest of all men. I can do no more, (as he concluded,) *than* profess myself to be at your devotion. And so with his most humble prayer recommended his long preservation to God’s most merciful tuition. Dated from Newton Ferres, the 11th of March, 1576.
Subscribing,

Your lordship’s own in Christ,
William Exon.”

From this bishop we turn to another, not less worthy, viz. Cooper, bishop of Lincoln; and take notice of a sermon he preached in Lent this year, at St. Paul’s Cross, upon Luke xvi. *Reddite rationem dispensationis tuae, i.e. Give an account of thy stewardship.* A proper text for magistrates, and all that were in public place and authority: and before such the bishop now preached. His sermon he managed with so great life, and application to his auditory, that Fleetwood, the recorder of London, who was among those that were present, was so affected with the discourse, that he resolved to forsake a speech that he had prepared to use before the queen the next week, when the lord mayor was, on some occasion, to be present before her, and to follow the matter that bishop had taken in hand, although he would not do it (as he said in his letter to the lord treasurer) in that very form, yet to that effect. And that he was moved to do for two causes: the one, for that it gave occasion to remember my lord mayor, his brethren, himself, and all other in London, that had charge and authority of government from her highness, that they should, and we, yield to her *majesty justam rationem dispensationis nostrae*. The other cause was, for that he, the lord treasurer, both could and would use the matter so wisely and learnedly, that it might do the more good to awaken them from their drowsy and negligent dealings, than the fifty weekly sermons, and the

Easter sermons, yearly preached in every mayor's time, either could or should do.

We find the same bishop this year also busy, as being ordinary visitor of king's college in Cambridge. Into which college, at this time, were many evils broken in by intestine jars. Which the lord Burghley, high chancellor of that university, had taken notice of. And some of the college themselves desired a visitation for the redress thereof. But the bishop found he could not visit at that time, whatever need there were of it, unless he had some extraordinary authority committed to him for that purpose. And so first, the bishop, by his letters, acquainted the said chancellor, that divers of the house had made complaint of sundry great and enormous disorders, as well touching the state of the house, as of certain particular persons in the same: exhibiting unto him many articles drawn and set down to that effect; the bishop of Lincoln for the time being, being their visitor. The bishop found the articles were such as touched the state of the house very near; and therefore required speedy amendment. But he answered them, that though he were their visitor by statute, yet he had no authority extraordinary to visit; his visitation being but *a triennio in triennium*; and the time since his last visitation there not yet elapsed. Nor would he take upon him, he said, to visit them extraordinary without authority; lest his proceedings might be frustrate, and to none effect. And though they urged him, yet he would by no means visit; however they urged, that the stay of the visitation would be a great impediment to the state of their college. Then they requested his leave, with great importunity, according to the appointment of their statutes, to seek redress of the higher authority. Whereunto, in the end, the bishop condescended.

He wrote this to the lord Burghley, adding,

“That he was sorry to see so great tumult in a house of study; especially there, where he had beforetime in some part, laboured to join them together in unity and concord. Though he knew not in whether party the cause of trouble was. But that in his opinion it were not ill, if by some lawful and ordinary means the matters might be heard, and some good order set between them. And that if both parties would join together to desire him to visit, he might, by order of statute, deal in it. But because that had not been done, neither could he orderly, nor was he willing to meddle in it. But that indeed, for example sake, he could wish they were visited

rather by such order as statute admitted, than otherwise, if they would on both parts condescend thereunto. But, he added, he was loath to move them unto it, lest he should seem, to some jealous mind, to be desirous more to meddle in their matters than need was. This, as he said, he thought fit to signify to his honour, leaving the rest to his wisdom to consider of: meaning, as it seems, that he should propound it himself to them, being their chancellor.”

The reason of these disturbances was a malice conceived against Dr. Goad, the provost of the college, in several of the fellows, and especially Fletcher, Lakes, Johnson, and Dunning, appearing most in it. The accusations they drew up against him were of two sorts, viz. hinderance of learning in the college, and hinderance of the college revenues: as, granting prejudicial leases; making an ill bargain of grain, to the damage of the college; taking his friends and strangers with him when he went his progress to view the college’s estate; sending some about the college affairs without the college’s consent. Further, they complained of his wife; that she came within the quadrant of the college; (though she came never twice within the quadrant, but kept within the lodgings.) That their statutes did forbid the provost to marry; though the statutes, as the provost in his answer shewed, did not forbid the provost’s marriage: and that the visitor’s statutes in the beginning of the queen’s reign, and the university statutes lately made, allowed heads of colleges to marry. And many more articles they said they had against him, to the number of forty: though they could produce but five and twenty. To all which the provost gave in his answers.

For the matter was now come before the lord Burghley, the university chancellor, and others, the bishop of Lincoln, it is like, being one. Who received their book of articles, and likewise his answers to each, And as to the articles of his being a hinderance to good learning in the college, he gave in a paper, wherein he shewed particularly what he had done for the furtherance of learning since his coming. As, that he had erected a new library, furnished with books, especilly of divinity, of old and new writers; whereas the library before his time was utterly spoiled. For the furtherance of tongues, he had caused an ordinary Greek lecture to be read; and a Hebrew lecture, for students in divinity, to be read in the chapel; and lately in his own lodging, privately, by one Baro, a Frenchman. For the furtherance of the study of divinity, he had procured a divinity lecture to be read publicly in the common hall by the said Mr. Baro: who had a stipend of twenty marks yearly gathered, without any charge to the college, being

supplied by contribution from him and the company. That he himself ordinarily read a divinity lecture twice in the week at morning prayer in the chapel. Besides, he had cate-chised unto the whole house in the chapel, exhorted the whole company to the reading of the scripture, &c. And whereas at his first coming to be provost, there were but four ministers in the house, and but one preacher, now there were half a score ministers, and half a dozen of them preachers. Besides, that he had all ordinary exercises of learning duly observed, as Well for lectures as disputations.

He answered also as well the other branch of complaints made against him, namely, about injuries done to the good estate of the college. As for selling the copes that were found in the house, (which was one article;) he answered, that he turned them into money, and bestowed that money upon the new library, and books for the furnishing it. That he made away with the organs, (which was another;) he answered, he had done it by express command of the bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift, Dr. May, and Dr. Ithel, the queen's commissaries to visit that college some years before, when they came into the chapel to prorogue that visitation. And the money for the organ was converted to the college use.

Another article against him was, that he dined not in the hall on Easter-day. The reason whereof was, as he answered, that he was to preach that afternoon at St. Mary's, by desire of the vice-chancellor; and so omitted being at dinner that day.

One of these fellows was Lakes, of a haughty disposition, who had been provoked by the provost, having reprov'd him for his habit, unbecoming a scholar. For he wore under his gown, a cut taffeta doublet of the fashion, with his sleeves out, and a great pair of galligastion hose. For this disguised apparel, so unmeet for a scholar, the provost punished him a week's commons. This had ever after stuck in his stomach, and he had sundry expostulations afterwards with the provost about it: such was his stout nature and impeniteney to be reprov'd.

After this business had had a full hearing before their high chancellor, the provost was cleared, and the main instruments in this disturbance were censured: some of them were put into the gatehouse at Westminster, for falsely accusing of their provost, and all made their recantations and submissions to the provost. Rob. Johnson, a drawer up of the articles, made his submission to the provost for writing those articles of accusation against him, for carrying them up, and endeavouring to make proof of

them: Dunning and Lakes were committed to the prison of the gatehouse, the lord Burghley finding them the malicious inventors of many lies against the provost. From thence the former writes letters, dated in May, to that lord, wherein he wondered at the blindness of his own mind, and so great a privation of his wit and reason; and calls this his doing, *fa-cinus hoc sceleratum*. He confessed, how he [the lord Burghley] had warned him not to proceed in this wicked enterprise, or to persist in it: foretelling him, that if he did, it would have a bad issue, till it had reduced him in the end to the utter loss of his fortune, liberty, and good name. The occasion of that lord's giving him that advice was, that Dunning had refused at first to stand to his arbitration, and refused his grave counsel. But now he found all true; and did confess, that he hated the provost, and for that reason had raised most false accusations against him, and that he had employed himself, *conscindere male-dictis*, in reproaching and reviling a man worthy to be seen and heard by princes: meaning, I suppose, for the excellent eloquence of his sermons at court. Stephen Lakes, who was also committed to the gate, house, thence wrote letters also to the lord Burghley of *Peccavi*: confessing, that he was one of them that accused their provost *gravissimorum criminum gravioribus verbis*, as of most grievous crimes, so with more grievous words. Then he unrips the whole matter, namely, that enduring a great while many grievances, (and what they were appeared by what Fletcher, another of these accusers, wrote to that lord, viz. that preferments went only by favour, without merit, and according as they stood affected to a party; and no regard had to industry and learning in their college,) and no redress, they agreed to make a complaint; and Lakes, though he pretended very unwillingly, was the man appointed to frame the articles against the provost; others were to supply him with materials for those articles; and then the rest were to peruse what he had drawn up, and to correct, amend, and add what they thought good. For this he was now ashamed, being severely by the lord Burleigh chidden.

In short, the provost and some of the fellows (and they perhaps such as stood not so well affected to religion) had most grievously fallen out and broken to pieces. And the matter being thus opened before their judge, he punished the ringleaders, some by short imprisonment, others by reprimands, all by recantations and submissions: and so reconciled them again; and withal took order for the redress of such things as were grievances indeed.

This provost, Dr. Roger Goad, preached at court about four years before, in the year 1572, in Lent, sir Tho. Smith, secretary of state, present, who gave the lord Burghley this character of him and his sermon, that he preached well, and to him seemed to be a very grave and considerate man. This year, 1576, he obtained the chancellorship of Wells, upon the death of the former chancellor, named Hawthorn; presented by Field, citizen and mercer of London, for this turn, by reason of the grant of the bishop of the diocese.

Edwin Sandes, or Sandys, a man of great note for his piety and learning, sometime an exile and confessor for religion, and who had been master of arts of St. John's college in Cambridge, head of Katharine hall, and vice-chancellor of that university, and after bishop of London, was this year translated and advanced to the see of York, March 8, and installed in the person of William Palmer, chancellor of York, March 13, following. At his departure from London, where he was dearly beloved, he made them a farewell sermon at St. Paul's Cross. His text was in 2 Corinthians 13.

For the rest, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

In this his last discourse to the citizens, as he openly avowed how faithfully and sincerely he had discharged his duty among them, so in most affectionate and endearing expressions he shewed his love to them, and acknowledged theirs to him, their pastor. Much pious and good counsel he leaves with them. And hopes God had placed another very worthy bishop in his room; and so would have the less want of him. He promiseth not to forget to pray for them, as he earnestly desired their prayers for him. But take his own excellent and right Christian words.

“That his conscience bare him record, that he had endeavoured to tread in the same steps [with St. Paul] in his diligence toward this Corinthian church. That of his doctrine, which was the chiefest point, he dared affirm even the same which the holy apostle did; *I have delivered none other unto you, than that which I have received of the Lord.* Yea, safely, in the sight of the most high God, he might say with him, *You have received of us not the word of man, but as it was indeed, the word of God.* And that in the distribution thereof, neither had he used flattery, as they knew, neither coloured covetousness, the Lord would testify. Neither had

he sought his own praise, his heart was witness. And this testimony of conscience, that he had dealt sincerely in the house of God, as touching doctrine, had been his great relief and comfort in all the stormy troubles; which by the mighty assistance of Almighty God, he had waded through.

“*That* concerning diligence in the execution of his office, although he had a ready will, yet his weak body being not answerable to his desire, as all flesh herein was faulty, so for his part he must plead guilty. One debt and duty, with St. Paul, he professed he had truly paid them. For with a tender affection he had loved them. That the nurse was never more willing to give the breast unto the child, than he had been, that they should suck not only milk, but also blood from him, if it stood them in stead, or served to their safety. God he knoweth, added he, that with this love I have loved you. That in using correction, I have sought reformation, and not revenge. That to punish, had been a punishment to himself. That he never did it but with great grief. That he always had laboured rather by persuasion to reclaim transgressors, than by correction. With which kind of dealing, because stubborn minds would not be bowed, his softness, he granted, had rather deserved reproof than praise.

“His life and conversation among them he left wholly to their secret judgments. That he could not say (for who could?) that his heart was clear. That if in many things we offend all, how could any man say he was no Sinner, except he said also, that God is a liar? Howbeit this the God of his righteousness knew, that wittingly and willingly he had wronged no man. If I have, said he, *reddam quadruplum*, I will render four times so much good. That if any had wronged him, he heartily forgave them, and would forget it for ever. That while he lived he would acknowledge, that he had received more good liking, favour, and friendship at their hands, than he could either look for or deserve. That God had, no doubt, his people; that he had many a dear child in that city.

“But now that by God’s providence, not by his own procurement, he was called from thence to serve elsewhere in the church of Christ, he would, with St. Paul, take his leave of them: and that the more willingly, as well because it was God’s good will and appointment, as also for that he trusted the change should be good

and profitable unto them; his hope was, that the Lord had provided one of choice to be placed over them, a man to undertake this great charge so well enabled for strength, courage, gravity, wisdom, skill in government, knowledge, as in many other things, so especially in the heavenly mysteries of God, that he doubted not but his departure should turn very much to their advantage. And that among them, sith a great part of his life was now spent, and a few evil days remained elsewhere to be bestowed, he must use the words of the blessed apostle, For that which remaineth, my brethren, fare ye well. My dear and faithful flock, farewell; my crown and my joy, farewell. Again, with grief I speak it, farewell. I must in body go from you; yet in heart and good-will I shall be ever with you. You shall ever be most dear unto me. And I shall not cease (God forbid I should) to pour out my prayers before the Almighty in your behalf; that the great Shepherd of the sheep, even the Lord Jesus, may take care of you, and by his holy Spirit direct and govern you in all your ways: and in like sort he most heartily craved at their hands, that they would not be unmindful to pray also for him, that he might walk worthy of his calling, &c.”

So grave, so compassionate, so pastor-like, did this truly primitive bishop take his leave of his beloved people: which I thought worthy setting down, as some memorial of this good man, as also of the obliging, Christian behaviour of the citizens of London in these times to their bishop.

But no sooner came the bishop to York, but he had like to have lost one great branch of his bishopric from it: some moving for the president of the council in the north to have Bishopthorp at present for his use. But the archbishop saw the danger thereof, fearing the alienating it at last from the see; the place of the archbishops of that province, their frequent residence. The archbishop was so honest and resolute, that he refused to do it, but in the most submissive manner. I have met with a writing of his own hand, dilating therein his reasons: entitled, *Certain causes and reasons, why the archbishop of York should not depart from his house called Bishopthorp, belonging to the see. Dated January the 28th, 1576.*

“1. The house was purchased by an archbishop of that see, and given to the dean and chapter there, upon special trust to reserve the same to the archbishop for the time being: and not to let the same for any longer time than during his incumbency, as an house for many

opportunities necessary for the archbishop's use. And therefore *especially* provided to meet with any lease or alienation, which otherwise any archbishop might be induced to make.

“Item, The archbishop having no house within the city of York, where his most attendance must be for the execution of his office, this house lying within one mile of the city, doth most commodiously serve his use for that purpose: that it may not, without great prejudice to the execution of his office, be spared.

“Item, Good hospitality, required of a bishop, as one of the things which give credit to his function, and so a special means to win the people the better to believe his preaching, shall be greatly, by want of this house, hindered; specially, for that the city of York, of all other places wherein his charge is, hath the greatest need, and doth greatliest expect relief. In which city, or any thing near it, he hath no house to keep hospitality in.

“Item, The archbishop's other house, called Cawood, besides that it is eight miles distant from York, and so shall be occasion of many troublesome journeys, unmeet for a man of his great years, if he should do his duty there; it is also at certain seasons of the year, by reason of waters and ditches, very unwholesome: and therefore cannot without danger to his health be continually used. The rest of his houses be set so far off in the utter parts of the diocese, and all the commodities appertaining to them so let out, that he cannot make his abode in any of them.

“Item, There appeareth no cause why the archbishop which shall be, should not enjoy the said house, as in the times of this and other our presidents, the archbishops have had and occupied the same. Neither can there be any colour of necessity pretended, that hath not been at other times, or not heretofore not sufficiently satisfied without the grant of the house to the lord president's use.

“Item, The house being once possessed by one lord president, it will hereafter be drawn to like example. And other lords presidents making suit for the use thereof shall more hardly be answered, when there is a former pattern of such grant to the lord president that now is. Whereof will grow matter of grief between the

archbishop and them, to the hinderance of her majesty's service by them both.

“Item, The grant of the house from the archbishop will, in the opinion of that country, seem to tend to the spoil of that see: the blame whereof, wheresoever it shall rest, will be occasion of great discontentation to so many as like the hospitality usually maintained there by the archbishops heretofore.

“Item, It were inconvenient that the archbishop, whose credit must especially further his good government, should enter thither either with the opinion of yielding to the grant of his house, or with note of unworthiness to enjoy the possessions heretofore freely permitted to his predecessors.

“Item, The conscience of the archbishop now named is herein to be favoured. Who, as hitherto he hath always professed, so yet assureth himself, that without offence to his duty, he may not give his private assent to the diminishing of the public patrimony of the church.

“Item, The lord president shall herein much impair the good opinion conceived of him for the defence of religion, and for sincerity. Whereby hitherto his government hath had special success; if he shall give the first example of taking from that see, which before him hath not been attempted by any lord president, neither may be, without the great offence and discontentation of many.”

The same bishop, soon after his translation, met with more trouble, happening by a contest Elmer, that succeeded him in London, (or some busy lawyer for him,) had with him; who required all the incomes of that see, from Michaelmas last. Sandys, on the other hand, would enjoy the benefits from Michaelmas to Candlemas ensuing; having been to that time bishop of London, before he removed to York. And pleaded to the lord treasurer, that he had spent upon the bishopric of London in hospitality what he had received, and 550*l.* more, since Michaelmas last past. That there was no example that he should make any restitution thereof to his successor. That neither bishop Yong, (who was the first archbishop under queen Elizabeth,) neither the late bishop of York [archbishop Grindal] was

so dealt withal; but enjoyed all that they had received, and yet looked so far backward as he [archbishop Sandys] desired. That indeed his said successor had at first required no more than the ensuing Lady-day rent. And that so he had said. And he is able, added the archbishop, and I a beggar. That he had taken the cost and pains, and his successor none. And that if the restitution day looked back to the Purification of our lady, it was as much and more than he looked for.

But it seems bishop Elmer, by the advice of some, altered his mind, and now insisted upon the whole revenue from Michaelmas to be restored to him. And to take off any pleas of the archbishop to the contrary, gave in a note to the lord treasurer, (to whom he laid open this his cause,) specifying what considerable benefits and advantages the archbishop had received since his coming to York: as first, the Lady-day rents, 500*l.* the demeans, amounting to 400*l.* the benevolence of his clergy, 800*l.* and in wood, to the value of 3000*l.* This note the said lord sent to the archbishop, by the hand of one of his servants, that he might hear and understand both sides the better. On the margin thereof, which he soon sent back to the treasurer, with his letter, he gave his answer briefly to each article: viz. to the Lady-day rents, "This is untrue by a great sum; and perhaps some part of the tenths will be required of me." Secondly, to the demeans, he wrote in the margin, "Not five pound." Against the third sum, viz. the clergy's benevolence, he wrote, "In two years to come." Against the value he should make of his woods, thus he answered in the margin, "He might as well have rated the houses *there*, to pull down and sell. He [the bishop of London] hath as much wood left at London."

And his letter was to this tenor:

"My good lord, of late I came out of Buckinghamshire. Since what time I have kept myself here, at the Minoresse, within the doors, cogitating what to say at the Cross for my farewell. If that had not stayed me, I had, according to my duty, visited your lordship ere this. Yesterday I received by William Seres a note from your lordship (as it seems) unto me, delivered unto you by the bishop of London, or by his means. If I should say nothing unto it, I trust your lordship can easily espy what spiteful meaning is in it, and what untruth it setteth forth. But I have set a brief and a true comment to this false text, as by the billet enclosed your lordship may perceive.

“Coloured covetousness, an envious heart, covered with the coat of dissimulation, will; when opportunity serveth, shew itself. My lord, I am sore dealt withal, and most shamefully wronged on every side. My only comfort is, that a clear conscience will answer for me before God: and that when I shall be tried, *veritas liberabit me*. Tomorrow, if I may find your lordship at home, I will attend myself, to open this matter more at large. Thus, much bound unto your lordship, and ever yours to use wherein I can, I recommend you to the good direction of God’s holy Spirit. From my lodging at the Minoress, this last of April, 1577.

Your lordship’s in Christ, ever assured,

E. EBOR.

“I shall pray your lordship to keep these things to yourself, unto such time as I speak with your lordship. At what time I will give you the reason why I desire it.”

In another letter to that lord, I find the archbishop more particularly endeavouring to satisfy him in these matters urged against him;

“That he had served there, at London, until Candlemas last, as bishop, and received the rents thereof, according to equity and law. That the sum was small; and in that time he spent there one thousand pounds and upwards. That he received somewhat of her majesty’s liberality at York, as the lord treasurer knew; but that the new bishop of London, being at no cost, neither serving the bishopric, received of her majesty’s gift in like sort 397*l.*; in truth more, added the archbishop, than he hall deserved any way. And besides, he received in the mean time the revenues of his other livings, which amounted not to a little. Concluding with this reflection upon the bishop, *A greedy desire will never be satisfied*.

“That for the demeans since Michaelmas, at York, being in the lord president’s hands, until our Lady-day past, it was easy to conceive what benefit would grow, thereof to him, the archbishop. But that the demeans in London, saved well in winter, would be as much worth.

“That if it were lawful for the archbishop of York to sell all his woods upon a day, as this bill seemed to insinuate, (rating the

woods at 4000*l.*) then was it lawful for the bishop of London to do the like, who had as much wood left him as his was at York.

“That it was desire of gain, and envy that the archbishop of York should have any thing, or be so dealt with as he himself, that had made him give forth this untruth and envious note: wherein he laboured to hinder the archbishop of York, lest her majesty should shew him further favour; and to set forth the commodities there, as might be thought for a *melius inquirendum*; and hereby not to gain himself. For how came he to look for that, that the bishop of York would give his revenues to so unthankful a man, that so soon as he had holpen him on with his rochet, was transformed, and shewed himself in his own nature?”

CHAPTER 3.

The bishop of Worcester made vice-president of the marches of Wales. The presidents thereof. Curteis, bishop of Chichester, preaches at Paul's Cross. Process against the bishop of Gloucester from the queen. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, dies. His prayers. Dr. May makes interest to succeed him. Bishop of Carlisle is made bishop of Durham: sues for dilapidations. And Dr. May succeeds to Carlisle. Holds the rectory of Darfield in commendam. Dr. May's family.

THIS year, Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, was made vice-president of the marches of Wales; a great honour, as well as trust; sir Henry Sydney, the president, being absent in Ireland, the queen's lieutenant there. That office was first put into the hands of a bishop, viz. Rowland Lee, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, the 26th Henry VIII., being then sent to be president of that king's council in those marches. In whose time the principality and country of Wales was incorporated and united unto the kingdom of England, when this bishop and his associates did notable good service. He died the 34th Hen. VIII. and lieth buried in Shrewsbury. After him another bishop, Richard Sampson, who was removed from Chichester to Coventry and Litchfield, was (35 Hen. VIII.) appointed lord president of the said marches. Then succeeded first a layman, viz. Dudley, earl of Warwick, in the reign of king Edward VI. And next him William Herbert, knight of the garter, earl of Pembroke. After him, 1mo Mariae, Nicolas Hethe, bishop of Worcester, became president. Then, 6^o Mariae, succeeded another bishop, viz. Gilbert Bourn, of Bath and Wells. Then, 1mo Eliz. the lord Williams of Thame. And then sir Henry Sydney, and the bishop of Worcester, vice-president, as aforesaid. Omitted in this account, Yong, archbishop of York, who had been also president or vice-president. And among the presidents of this council of Wales, held at the castle of Ludlow, who were wise governors, and men of great credit, Dr. Powel, the author of the History of Cambria, reckoneth particularly three bishops, Heath, archbishop of York, Yong, archbishop of York, and Whitgift, then living, archbishop of Canterbury.

Curteis, bishop of Chichester, chaplain to the queen, and a great court preacher, preached a sermon this year at St. Paul's Cross, upon Revelation 12:1, &c.

And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upou her head a crown of twelve stars, &c.

It was printed.

Cheny, bishop of Gloucester, was this year in danger of falling under the same fate with Parkhurst bishop of Norwich, in the year 1572, running behindhand with the queen for his clergy's tenths. His vice collector (whose name was Gifford) having brought him 500*l.* in debt to her majesty. So that in the month of October process came down from Mr. Fanshaw and Mr. Godfrey, belonging to the exchequer, to the sheriffs, to seize the bishop's lands and goods for payment. They accordingly called upon the bishop for the debt; who prayed them to forbear executing their office, and promised to save them harmless. And so speedily despatched his letters, dated October 5, to the lord treasurer, in his and their favour. The sum whereof was, that he was ready to pay what was due after some forbearance. Money, he said, he had but little, spending all hitherto in housekeeping. And, in fine, he made two suits to that lord: first, that he might have convenient time to pay the debt, considering his own tenths and subsidies came to 112*l.* yearly, besides fees, servants' wages, liveries, housekeeping, &c. resolving, that he would for the future keep fewer men, cut off his fare, be at less charges, that his debts might be the sooner discharged. His second request was, that the sheriffs might have no fine set upon their heads for forbearing a little time with him. And so in conclusion, humbly craving his lordship's favour; fearing the example (as he said) of the bishop of Norwich. Which what that was, is set under the year 1572.

This bishop, who was a Lutheran and a free-wilier, and touched moreover (as was suspected) with popish principles, lay under some cloud. See somewhat more of him in the Life of Archbishop Parker, under the year 1571. He died in the year 1578, the bishopric lying vacant about three years. One reason whereof might be, for the queen to satisfy her debt out of the revenues of the see.

This year Pilkington, bishop of Durham, (of whom some things have been related elsewhere,) died. And for a memorial of this pious exile and

confessor for religion, I shall record three godly prayers of his composing. One calculated for the beginning of the reformation of religion under queen Elizabeth: a second, for faithful preachers to be sent forth at that needful time to preach the gospel, and for good magistrates to countenance it: and a third, against error and popery. All seasonable, especially at that time. See them in the Appendix. The two former are set at the end of his expositions upon the first and second chapters of Aggeus, printed about 1559. The third at the end of his book, in confutation of a popish paper about the burning of St. Paul's.

Endeavour was now made for John Mey, or May, (who was elected fellow of Queen's college in Cambridge, anno 1550, afterwards created D. D. a dignified man, and well known in the north, being archdeacon of the North Riding, either to succeed in that see of Durham, now vacant; or, if Dr. Barnes, the bishop of Carlisle, were translated thither, that he might obtain that bishopric. His noble friend the earl of Shrewsbury wrote to the great earl of Leicester at court, to move it to the queen, and to deliver to her majesty his letter in Dr. Mey's behalf. To whom the earl of Leicester answered, that her majesty had received the letter, and took his suit in good part; and added, that he knew the said May was like to have good speed for one of those bishoprics. That he had some back-friends, but that he was then past the worst; and was much bound to his lordship. Adding, that he thought the bishop would be appointed shortly.

The same earl of Shrewsbury wrote also a letter to the earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain, recommending to him the said person, in respect of his good preaching and hospitality: wishing him to be preferred to one of those bishoprics, or some other: requesting his furtherance therein, as occasion might serve. That nobleman's answer to the earl of Shrewsbury was to this purport;

"That truly he did not know the man, but giving credit to his lordship's knowledge in those two points, of sound preaching and good hospitality, (which, he said, were the two principal matters to be required in a man to be called to such a ministry,) he would be glad, at his lordship's request, to give him furtherance in this or any thing else whereinso-ever he should see opportunity. As he wished also to do any thing his lordship would at any time commit to him." This was writ from the court, November the 15th, 1576. Subscribing,

*Your assured friend,
T. Sussex."*

In short, Barnes is translated to Durham by the lord treasure's interest, upon the account of some good services he was to do in that capacity for the queen and religion, according as that lord by a letter had suggested to be expected from him. His thankful acknowledgments for this favour in commending him to her highness, and interposing his own credit for his [the bishop's] service, he soon after professed in a letter to the treasurer,

"Protesting to devote himself and his service unto his honour for ever. And as he had desired him now in that place to take some especial care of certain matters,"

(which, I suppose, was to watch any messengers or messages that might come from Scotland to the Scottish queen, or from her that way, and likewise for the service of religion, to check popery in those parts, where especially emissaries were sent to say mass, and to make proselytes, and to stir insurrections,)

"he assured him, that he would not be unmindful to accomplish his lordship's requests, as he trusted should tend to the advancement of God's glory and her majesty's good service. And that he doubted not he should do it, if he were well backed at the beginning by her highness and that lord, and the rest of the privy-council. And that he had served seven years at Carlisle, and he trusted had discharged that promise that his lordship then made unto her highness in his behalf."

The whole letter, with an &c. of shewing himself thankful, may be read in the Appendix, that I may preserve some memorial of bishop Barnes, as I do, as far as I meet with any matters of remark, concerning other bishops of these times.

But there followed a contest between the new bishop and Mrs. Pilkinton, the former bishop's widow, about the dilapidations, which the bishop made to amount to a great *sum*, as by a brief of the special surveys appeared; which he sent up to the lord treasurer, who concerned himself in the same, in order to make some amicable conclusion between them; and was desirous to have the matter ended by arbitration. Which the bishop shewed himself ready to comply with: thus declaring to the said lord,

“what he had done touching his lordship’s request to compromit to order of indifferent men the controversy between Mrs. Pilkinton and him, for dilapidations; that he did the last summer appoint with Dr. kingsmel, her brother, to send up some at Michaelmas term last, to deal with them in that cause. And that accordingly he sent Mr. Richard Frankland and another for him. Who waited there at that term-time, and sought for Mr. kingsmel. And declared unto Mrs. Pilkinton’s proctors, that they attended to that end. But none of them would for her deal that way, nor be known to have any direction to that end from her and hers. But they had feed three doctors and two proctors to answer him, as like would. Whereupon they informed him to commence his suit: and that since they had used such delays, and so dallied in the suit, (the judge more than indifferently inclining to them,) they had driven him, he said, to appeal to her majesty.

“So that the next term, as he proceeded, his lordship should see the original surveys under the hands and seal of gentlemen, wise and right worshipful. And that at his honour’s request he would send up some for him, who should attend upon his lordship four days before the next term. And that it would please his lordship to command those that were for Mrs. Pilkinton, then to be before his honour also. And that those whom he should send should deal with them; and offer such offers on his [the bishop’s] behalf, as he doubted not but his lordship should like of, and think to be reasonable and friendly. Notwithstanding, he would not rehearse how ill he had *been* handled at Mrs. Pilkinton’s hands, and by hers: which his lordship should know hereafter.”

This was written from Aikeland, the 11th day of February, 1577.
Subscribing,

Your honourable good lordship’s,
Ever in Christ Jesu,
At all commandments,
Ri. Dunelm.”

Dr. Mey was at length made bishop of Carlisle, by the intercession of his said friend the earl of Shrewsbury. Which favour he acknowledged by a letter of gratitude, dated June the 1st, 1577, from Huntingdon, being then bishop elect: importing

“that having received so many good turns at his honour’s hands, he thought it his bounden duty to write these his humble letters of thanksgiving unto his good lordship; assuring the same, that as he took himself more bound unto his honour than he could express, so he would never be unmindful of his duty towards his lordship, or any of his lordship’s friends; but to the utmost of his power would always be ready to gratify the same any manner of way that should lie in him.”

Requesting further of the said earl, to obtain a *commendam* for him, where he might reside, Rose castle being at present taken up by a temporal lord, the lord Scroop. Therefore he beseeched him to move the earl of Leicester for his *com-mendam*, that among other things he might still enjoy the benefice of Darfield, which was the only place that he now had to stay in; considering that the lord Scroop had the use of Rose castle till Michaelmas next. And that he had also, at the said earl of Leicester’s request, parted lately with his mastership of St. Katharine’s hall in Cambridge, to one of his lordship’s chaplains, [viz. Edm. Hound.]

This Darfield was a rectory in Yorkshire, containing no less than two thousand souls, young and old: but not coming all to one church, there being two chapels annexed; the one at Wombe, the other at Worseborough. Which town might consist of six hundred souls more. To which parish belonged a parson (who was the bishop) and a vicar. Whose living consisted of a pension of twenty-two marks: the parson’s, of six or seven score pounds by the year. He allowed to the curates of the two chapels (whereof the vicar was one) five pounds each yearly. And the bishop procured quarterly sermons for his head church. But for this, the bishop was unworthily slandered and clamoured at by the puritan faction after this manner: If one asked, why these stipendiaries took so little of the parson, and he receive so much, answer was made, that if they refused, the bishop would take one or other that came next to hand, and create him a shepherd in one day, that would be content to serve him for less. Such slanders were easily raised, and then studiously blown about among the common people.

This bishop bore sable, a cheveron, or, between three cross crolets, fitché, argent. On a chief of the second three roses. Which seemed to be an addition to the bishop’s coat; for his brother, Dr. William May, dean of Paul’s, bore it plain. He married Amy, daughter of Will. Vowel of Creke

abbey in Norfolk, gent. and widow of John Cowel of Lancashire: and had issue, John, his son and heir; Elizabeth, married to Richard Bird, D.D. Alice, married to Richard Burton of Burton in the county of York; Anne, married to Richard Pilkington, D.D. John, the bishop's son and heir, of Shouldham abbey, comitat. Nor. esq. married to Cordela, daughter of Martin Bowes of London, esq. and had issue Henry, John, Stephen, Margaret, married to Richard Fawcet of Catericks, in com. Richmond, clerk; Frances, Fortunata, Frances, Dorothy.

This bishop's death, place of interment, and memorial, follow: being taken from the register of the parish of Dal-ston in Cumberland.

Feb. 15, 1597. Reverendus in Christo pater, Johannes Mey, divina providentia episcopus Carliolensis, hora octava matutina decimi quinti diei Februarii, mortem oppetiit, et hora octava vespertina ejusdem diei, Carliolensi in ecclesia sepultus fuit. Cujus justa celebrabantur die sequenti Dalstonii.

CHAPTER 4.

Rockrey, B.D. of Queen's college, Cambridge, inconform-able to the apparel prescribed by statute: his case signified by the master of the college. One Gawton, a puritan, summoned before the bishop of Norwich. The matters laid to his charge. Is suspended. One Harvey, another puritan minister of Norwich, suspended. Gaw-ton's letter to the bishop, disowning, his jurisdiction. A sect of libertines. Dr. Laurence Humfrey made dean of Gloucester. Observation of the 17th of November. Irish priests, bastards. Dispensed with by the pope to take orders.

WE turn now to the puritanical sort, and such as refused conformity to the customs and practice of the church, enjoined. Of this sort was one Rockrey, B.D. of Queen's college, Cambridge. He was an enemy to the wearing both of the apparel required of the clergy and of the university. And so inconformable he had been some years before; and was cast out of the college for the same fault, by command of the queen's council. But such was the tenderness of the lord Burghley, chancellor of that university, that he prevailed to have him received again, in hopes of better compliance; being a person, it seems, of some merit. But instead thereof, he shewed himself afterwards more averse and obstinate than before. So that still complaint being made thereof by Dr. Chaderton, the master, some time still was allowed him to reform himself. The year being expired, and the man as perverse as before, or more, the said Dr. Chaderton stated the matter at large to the said lord, in a letter dated in October; and requiting his direction how to proceed with him, that would not yet conform to the rites and customs of the church and college, viz.

“That Rockrey, S. T. B. still remained in the college; one not unknown to his honour: who, four years ago, by the public authority of the queen's council, was ejected the college for contumacy; again admitted by his [the chancellor's] entreaty into his fellowship. But that he from that time had been so averse, not from the rites only, and ceremonies, but even *a communi etiam vita*, hardly conversing with the rest, that he had offended very many honest men; and by his evil example had excited others also to the same (*ἀταξία*). That he dealt, as it was fit, with the man at

first friendly and piously, but profited nothing. That afterwards, as their statutes required, he admonished him three times that he should compose himself as well *in habitu* as *in vestitu*, to the common and approved customs of the university. But he refused to wear either the ecclesiastical habit or the university cap. That this he had signified to his lordship the last year, when he was with him at Theobald's. And that then this was his decree, that he [the master] should for one year bear his [*improbitatem*] stubbornness; but that afterwards, unless he conformed himself to the customs of the university, he should pronounce sentence according to the statute. He desired therefore his lordship's advice by letter or message. For that he could not contain others in their duty and in order, if, as he said, every one might live freely according to their own pleasure: nor certainly would the laws of the university have any force, unless rebels and stubborn persons were restrained by punishment prescribed."

One Gauton, formerly of a trade, now curate of a church in Norwich, is called before Freake, the bishop of Norwich, for his principles and practices dissonant from the established discipline of the church; and who had also confuted in his sermon what the bishop's chaplain had preached a little before. Being summoned before the bishop in his house, he began to take notice to Gauton of his taking upon him to confute what his chaplain had preached; and that he admonished his parishioners to beware of such false doctrine. To whom Gauton briskly answered, (as he related the matter himself,)

"Was it not meet for me so to do, since he preached such false doctrine? As, that we had natural motions to draw us unto God: and, that albeit none came to Christ but such whom the Father draweth, yet all come not whom God doth draw; but that it is in man whether he will be drawn or no."

The bishop told him, that he did this but the Sunday next after his chaplain had preached; and that he had in the mean time explained what he had asserted before, to the satisfaction of all. The other replied, Nay, he had made it worse than at first. The bishop asked him, Wherein? Gauton said, for that in his last sermon he said, that *hearing* was [believing]; and that Paul saith, *Faith cometh by hearing*. But hearing is a natural gift. And so we have faith by nature and consequently are saved by nature; as that

minister inferred from the chaplain's argument. Hereupon the bishop said, he would call him to dispute with him upon this point. The other answered, that he was well enough able to confute his false doctrine. But the bishop said, that was not the matter he was sent for: for that he had other matters against him.

Then the bishop charged him, that he wore not the surplice, nor observed the orders of the queen's book, neither in prayers nor administration of the sacrament, He answered, that indeed he wore not the surplice; but otherwise he was not to be charged for not observing the order of the book: and added very confidently, that he had long since heard at the court, that he, the bishop himself, liked not so greatly of the surplice; and that therefore he doubted that worldly dignity and vain glory led him to do against his own conscience; and wished him to look if it were not so. Whereunto the bishop replied, that there was no cause why any should think so of him: for he ware the surplice, or the apparel, that was as ill, in his account: or that if he were now to say service, or to minister the sacraments, he would wear it. To which the other very pertly answered, that he was the more sorry.

By the dean and commissary he was asked, whether, by serving his cure in Norwich, he acknowledged himself subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop. He answered, that he did not acknowledge himself subject to such jurisdiction as the bishop did use and claim. And when they willed him to beware what he answered in denying authority; he answered, he was not afraid to deny the unfaithful authority of bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, commissaries, and such like.

This man, so very impudent and malapert with the bishop, and with his officers, after divers other articles alleged against him, was suspended. And when the bishop told him he would suspend him, and he should go again to his former occupation; he said, he thanked God he had an occupation, and so, he said, had Paul and our Saviour too.

The dean sat a little before at St. George's about such ecclesiastical matters; but now, about the examination of Gawton, he sat in the bishop's chamber: against which he excepted, crying out, This your dealing with me in huggermugger, and in corners, will not further your cause, but hinder it, and further ours. For all men may see that you fear the light. The dean answered, he was so used at St. George's the other day, that he durst not for his life sit there any more. But that Gawton might without peril of his

life come to the bishop's chamber. One Harvy, a non-compiler, and a disowner of the bishop's jurisdiction, was at that time suspended. But Gawton took his part, and said, that Harry was able by the word of God to prove his calling lawful. And further he then said, both to the bishop and the dean, that they had no authority on their side: but, in a confident way of challenge, bade them both take unto them whom they would in England; "We are here not past half a dozen in this city, and (if you dare) confer with us by learning. And if we be not able to prove that we hold by the word of God, we will not only yield, but we will also yield our lives." But the bishop only said to this, that it was uncharitably spoken; they sought not their lives.

I might here subjoin the other articles exhibited at this time against him before the bishop; with his answers: as, that he observed not the orders prescribed by the book. To which he answered, that he did not think himself by law bound precisely to every part of it. *Item*, That he did not read the service appointed, nor the chapters, gospels, and epistles, nor the collects; nor married, and ministered the sacraments according to the book. He answered to this, that by reason of preaching he omitted some of them, as by law he might. That he observed the rest, except in baptism the cross and vows. *Item*, That he preached without renewing his licence, since the day appointed in the bishop's canons. To which he said, he was a minister of the word of God; and therefore that was sufficient authority to preach the word in his own parish without their licence.

One Harvey also, a minister in the city of Norwich, (mentioned before,) was summoned before the bishop of that diocese, May the 13th, for some puritan principles, and particularly for preaching against the government of this church by the hierarchy of bishops, and their dignity, and ecclesiastical officers. The sufficiency of his calling also to the ministry was called into question; and, at a court held at St. George's church, where the court then sat, suspended from his ministry by sentence pronounced by the dean of Norwich. At which Gawton beforesaid was present, and much displeased at the proceedings with him, carrying himself rudely there, and saying afterwards, when his own business was in hand, that the dean behaved himself not like a judge, but very intemperately, like a tyrant against Mr. Harvey: and that he was able, by the word of God, to prove his calling lawful.

But now what more particularly were this man's principles, and how affected he stood to this church's constitution, may be judged by a confident ruffling letter that he sent some days after to the bishop, (for him I take to be R. H. subscribed, the writer,) pretending therein to render a further account of his behaviour before him in the court where he sat as a judge: His protestation, he said, always remembered; meaning the denial of his lawful authority in the church, by warrant of the gospel. He first wished him peace and truth, if he pertained to God. And then began,

“That he might see, if he shut not his eyes, how the man of sin, he of Rome, he meant, did pervert and corrupt the doctrine of Christ; so that not one free spot of it did remain. And that in like manner touching the regiment of the church and discipline, whereas our Saviour, Lord and only King of his church, sate in the seat of judgment, &c. that man plucked him out of his throne, and placed himself there. These things he hoped the bishop knew. That then we had to consider, that when Christ reigned, his officers were bishops and pastors, elders and deacons. In the scriptures of God we found it so. Now when the pope had removed this government, he placed new governors of another kind of name and office, that is to say, cardinals, archbishops, lords bishops, deans, chancellors, commissaries, with the rest of that ungracious guard. Thus doctrine and government being both thrown down, it pleased the Lord, in his time, to bestow upon us some benefit. For he had, by means of our good prince, purged the *doctrine* of Christ from devilish error; being ready also to have restored to us true *discipline*, if our own miserable unthankfulness and lazy slackness had not hindered. But you, (meaning the bishop,) and such as you be, whet the edge of your wooden sword, viz. your counterfeit authority, to stand in the way to shut the gate of paradise, and to keep us from the tree of life.

“But to come to the *government* of the church, he [the bishop] saw, that it was not at all altered; and he knew, that where the pope's officers, whom he created, did bear rule, there he bore rule himself. So that you see, added he, in this state of the church, the reins of government be not in the hands of Christ, but in the hands of Antichrist. And that whereas they shrouded themselves under the shadow of the prince, saying, that she created them and their authority, &c. but he could discourse of that generation better than

so: he knew it of a truth, that the archbishop begat them, and the bishop of Rome begat him, and the Devil begat him. So now, in respect of their offices, they saw who was their grandsire, and who their great grandsire.

“But, as he proceeded, that whereas they said, that though the prince did not create them, yet she allowed of them; he answered, that forasmuch as Christ was the only lawgiver in his church, and the only ordainer of officers therein, if any king or prince in the world ordain or allow other officers than Christ hath already ordained or allowed, we will, said he, rather lay down our necks on the block, than consent thereto. Wherefore do not use to object unto us so oft the name of our prince. For you use it as a cloak to cover your cursed enterprises. That they sought out of her authority to scratch poison, i. e. the hinderance of the gospel of Christ. tie bade them remember what they had done. Have you *not* thrust out some, whom God had placed over his *people*; even such as preached the lively word faithfully and sincerely? Have you not plucked out those preachers, where God set them in? Do you think that this plea, *I did but execute the law*, will excuse you before the high Judge? where you, except you repent with a deep repentance, shall stand and tremble like a thief in the jail, and gnash your teeth.

“But again, turning to their offices, that seeing he had proved that they were not of God, he asketh the bishop, Who made you so malapert as to sit in the seat of judgment in the church, having no warrant for your so doing; sitting and controlling the ministers of Christ? What shall become of those miserable caitiffs that have overthrown the government of the church under the gospel? Well, then, if you be an unlawful judge in the church, (and I have the truth of God on my side,) then you must needs be an idol. So that if I had revered you in your judgment seat, I should have committed idolatry. Wherefore now he saw it was the fear of displeasing God, and not stoutness and contumacy of mind, [as the court had then charged him with,] that caused him to deny the bishop reverence.

“And therefore at last he gave him counsel in Christ, to have a care for his soul, and in haste to renounce that evil office which he had

usurped, and repent him deeply of his horrible iniquity, [in suspending these puritans,] and suffer the flock to enjoy the benefit of their preachers of God's word; and he himself to serve God in some other calling, until he called him to some fight and true function in his church. And these things he bade him do, lest his sin were greater than it was before he told him. And if he would do thus, he, with his faithful brethren, would pray to God, that these things which he had spoken might not fall upon him."

These are some brief extracts taken out of his very letter, and so much esteemed by that party, that it was put in print by them, with several other tracts of the like sort.

There was now another sort of dissenters from the doctrine of the church, as the former were of the *discipline*: a sort of *libertines* they were, that reckoned themselves not bound to the observation of the moral law of the ten commandments; as being obligatory to such only as were Jews. The broacher of this opinion propounded, for the advancement of it, two questions. First, whether the whole law of Moses was given to the Jews, or no? [And not to the Gentiles.] Secondly, whether, if it were given to the Jews and Gentiles, it were abrogated by Christ's coming, in whole or in part? These questions were framed by one Bird, living about Saffron Walden, in Essex; where there was a company or society of *pure brethren*, as they were called. To these questions, sent to Dr. Whitgift, he gave a long and learned answer; which I have set clown elsewhere, and given an account thereof,

Now was Dr. Lawrence Humfrey, the learned public pro-lessor of divinity at Oxford, advanced to the deanery of Gloucester, by the means of the lord treasurer: and upon his motion was at length persuaded to wear the habits; which he, with Dr. Sampson, some time dean of Christ's Church, had refused some years before; and drew up their arguments why they could not comply therewith: which made a very unhappy difference then in the church, as may be read elsewhere at large. And now, in the month of February, from Oxon, he wrote to this tenor to the said lord: "*That* he had received his letter, and perceived his care for the bettering of his state. That he was loath her majesty, or any other honourable person, should think that he was forgetful of his duty, or so far off from obedience, but that he would submit himself to those orders, in that place where his being and living was. And therefore he had yielded."

This year began the keeping of the anniversary day of queen Elizabeth's accession to the crown: and so henceforward to be observed every year on the 17th day of November; or at least this form of prayer was, by appointment, to be used: which may be worthy to be here inserted: printed this year.

“O Lord God, most merciful Father; who, as upon this day, calling thy servant, our sovereign and gracious queen Elizabeth to the kingdom, didst deliver thy people of England from danger of war and oppression, both of bodies by tyranny, and of conscience by superstition: restoring peace and true religion, with liberty both of bodies and minds: and hast continued the same thy blessings without all desert on our part, now by the space of these eighteen years: we who are, in memory of these thy great benefits, assembled here together, most humbly beseech thy fatherly goodness to grant us grace, that we may in word, deed, and heart, shew ourselves thankful and obedient unto thee for the same. And that our queen, through thy grace, may, in all honour, goodness, and godliness, long and many years reign over us; and we obey and enjoy her, with the continuance of thy great blessings, which thou hast by her, thy minister, poured upon us. This we beseech thee to grant unto us, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, our Lord and Saviour, Amen.”

Now to cast an eye over into the queen's other kingdom of Ireland.

This year there was to be an ordination, to supply the popish church there with mass-sayers, and chantry-priests, and for such like offices. At which time there were no less than five bastards, some of them, and perhaps all, sons of priests, that were now to be entered into the priesthood. And, as it seems, such misbegotten persons were bred up to some learning, in order to be made priests; but because of certain ecclesiastical canons, such could not be admitted into sacred orders; the pope was to dispense with them, and to take off the baseness, of their birth. And so he did by a formal bull, and authorized the popish bishop elect, of Dromore, to admit them to orders. This dispensation of pope Gregory (being the original bull) was once in my hands: which ran to this tenor, viz.

Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei; dilecto filio Patricio electo Dromoren. saltem, et aplicam, benedictionem. Ex parte dilectorum filiorum, Joannis Mac Gilmora, et Nicolai Mac Var, ac Terentii O Bengil,

*et Patricii etiam O Bengill, Armacan. dioc. necnon Terentii Mac Gracha, et Remundi Mac Gracha, Clochoren. dioc. et Pelmei O Muri-gan, Dromoren. dioc. clericor, seu scholarium, nobis fuit humiliter suppllcatum, ut cum ipsis asserentib, se defectus natalium de presbyteris et solutis, vel alias genitos, pati; ac paucos in illis partibus, in quibus haeretici catholicis praesunt, existere, qui ad sacros ordines promoveri velint, super defectibus humoi, ut, illis non obstantibus, Joannes, Nicolaus, Terentius, O Bingil et Patricius praefati, ex eo, &c. “The bishop of Armagh being detained then in prison by the heretics: having obtained the letters dimis-sory of the neighbouring ordinaries, or their licence, and the rest by the licence of the ordinaries respectively; by whose testimonies their lives and manners are commended,” &c. Then follows the pope’s indulgence, to allow the foresaid bishop elect to give them orders, and to qualify them for any preferment or benefices whatsoever, in these words: *Ad ordines praedictos licentiam et facultatem con-cedere et impartiri, de benignitate aplica, dignaremur; si Joannes, Nicolaus, &c. sint idonei, nec paternae incontinen-tiae sint imitatores, sed bonae conversationis et vitae, aliaque ipsis merita suffragantur ad humoi, dispensationum gra-tics obtinendas, &c.**

CHAPTER 5

Manchester college: its revenues in danger. The corn act procured for the universities by the lord treasurer. The benefit of Sturbridge fair obtained by him for Cambridge. The lord treasurer's letter to the queen about his daughter, the countess of Oxford. His grave advice to White, master of the rolls in Ireland. An edition of the Bible: some account of it. Other books now set forth. The death of Walter earl of Essex; and of sir Anthony Cook. Sir Thomas Smith, and others of the court, at Buxton well. The queen goes her progress.

THE college of Manchester, in Lancashire, which, maintaining several preachers, fellows there, had a great influence through that whole country for propagating true religion among the inhabitants, many of them ignorant, and many popishly affected. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, born in this county, was much concerned at the dangerous state of it at this time, by reason of the revenue of it leased out to Mr. Killegrew, gentleman of her majesty's privy chamber, at a very small rent, by a late warden thereof, a papist. For the preventing of this great injury, not only to the college, but to the whole country, the good dean interposed, and wrote a letter to the great patron of religion and learning in those days, to this purport:

“That he understood by one Carter, a fellow of that college, that in the mean time of the trim of the truth of Mr. Warden's dealings, as was appointed by his lordship and secretary. Walsingham, the lease of the chief revenues of the college were, under the great seal, passed over unto Mr. Killegrew, upon such condition and small rent as was by the said warden granted; to the utter undoing of the said college, unless some remedy might be had therein. And that, forsomuch as the cause of the said college was by her majesty committed to them two, these were most humbly to beseech their honours, in respect of the good instruction of the whole people of that country, in their duty to God and her majesty, to be a means that the said college might be preserved in some convenient state: and that the said warden, the author of the ruin of the said college, according as their honours had already taken order by their letters, might receive no rents of the said college, until such time as his

doings, by the return of the depositions to the articles, from their honours unto the country directed, were fully examined and tried. And that Mr. Carter's great charge, who by his most necessary suit, as he [the dean] thought, was greatly indebted, might be considered. Whereby their honours should do a deed most acceptable unto Almighty God: who have you (as he concluded) always in his blessed keeping." Dated Oct. 28, 1576.

This great and good lord treasurer was now also very instrumental to the cause of learning and religion, by procuring some favours to the universities; namely, a seasonable act of parliament for increasing the commons of the colleges, there having been but slender allowances to the students. It was called *The corn act*: which Andrew Willet, D.D. commemorates with these words:

"The statute of provision of corn for colleges in both universities, made the 18th of *her* majesty's reign, [i. e. 1576,] whereby it is provided, that in every lease to be made, the third part of the rent should be paid in corn, for the mending and increasing of the common diet: wheat to be served in at 6s. 8d. and malt at 5s. the quarter, or so much money, [to be taken at the will of the colleges.]"

By virtue of which act, the benefit upon new leases, which are actually void, without reservation of such provision, are doubled, to the great relief of the company of students: the benefit whereof may arise to the increase of more than 12,000*l.* per ann. in both universities. This act, saith the beforementioned author, was devised and procured by the prudent and provident care of sir William Cecil, lord treasurer, and chancellor of the university of Cambridge. I know this act is attributed by some to sir Thomas Smith, the queen's secretary; but Dr. Willet, who lived in those times, and was then an university man, no question had good information. It is probable, that both the one and the other joined together in devising and procuring it,

This worthy man procured also the settlement of the benefit of Sturbridge fair upon the university of Cambridge: for which I find the vice-chancellor and senate returning their thanks to him, their chancellor, 8 *id. Mar.* Thanking him for his seasonable interposition with the queen in behalf of the university, for their power in that fair, being in danger, by the petition of the townsmen. And the next year they wrote a letter to the queen,

returning their thanks to her for what she had told the townsmen, bringing her a petition, for Sturbridge fair, “That she would not take away any privileges that she had granted that university, but would rather add to them.” This matter was in transaction a year or two before; having been first moved by Dr. Perne, by whose means many privileges and benefactions were obtained to that university, who, in the year 1574, applying to their chancellor, lord Burghley, shewed him how he was informed, that suit was made by some of her highness’ privy-chamber for Sturbridge fair: for that it had stood seized into her majesty’s hands sithence the time of the reign of her royal father: which, if it might please her highness to bestow on that university, it might be such a worthy and perpetual monument made by the rent thereof, as her majesty had most graciously promised at her last being at Cambridge, in her highness’ oration made there: and the townsmen that were then occupiers thereof, yielding a reasonable rent unto the university for their several booths. Thus, as he concluded, being bold to put his ho-nour in mind of this, referring the whole matter to his ho-nour’s best consideration, to do herein as he should think good.

To which I shall subjoin a passage relating to the above-said excellent nobleman, though of a more domestic concern; especially since it reached as far as the queen’s majesty, About the year 1571, he had matched his daughter Anne (most entirely beloved by him, and one of the queen’s ladies of honour) to the earl of Oxford: who carried himself unkindly towards her, and absented himself from her; and, upon some discontents, went beyond sea. She was very virtuous, but he a great spender; which prodigality put him, as it seems, somewhat behindhand. He had some suit to the queen, that might turn to his benefit; which not succeeding, he reckoned his father-in-law was not so cordial in his business as he expected. This begat estrangements in him, both towards his wife and this lord. Tales and reports in the mean time were spread, and brought even to the queen; which might probably have been prejudicial to the countess of Oxford, and to the lord her father. Therefore, to set himself and his daughter fight in the queen’s opinion, he penned this letter, and sent it to her majesty by Mr. Edward Cary, of the queen’s chamber.

“That as he was wont by her goodness, permission, and by occasion of his place, to be frequently an intercessor for others, and therein found her majesty always inclinable to give him gracious audience; so now, in the latter end of his years, he found a necessary occasion

to be an intercessor, or rather an immediate petitioner for himself, and an intercessor for another next himself; and that in a cause godly, honest, and just.” And after some further humble preface and apology, he proceeded to his suit; That he, by God’s visitation, was stayed from coming to her presence; and his daughter, the countess of Oxford, *occasioned* by her great grief to be absent from her majesty’s court: which nevertheless might be diversely reported to her majesty. But that it would please her to continue her princely consideration of them both: of him, as an old sworn servant, that dared appear with the best, the greatest, the oldest, and the youngest, for loyalty and devotion; and of his daughter, her majesty’s most humble young servant, as one that was toward her majesty, in dutiful love and fear, yea, in fervent admiration of her graces, to contend with any her equals.

“*That* in the case between the earl of Oxford and her, whether it were for respect of misliking in him, [the lord Burghley,] or of misdemeaning in her, he avowed in the presence of God and his angels, (whom he prayed, as ministers of his ire,) if in this he uttered any untruth, he had not, in the earl’s absence, on his part, omitted any occasion to do him good, for himself and his causes; and that he had been as diligent for his causes, as he had been for his own. And that if he should, contrary to his deserts, be otherwise judged or suspected, he should receive great injury.

“That for his daughter, though nature would make him to speak favourably, yet now that he had taken God and his angels to be witnesses, he renounced nature, and pronounced simply to her majesty, that he did never see in her behaviour, in word or deed, or could perceive by any other means, but that she had always carried herself honestly, chastely, and lovingly to him. And now lately, in expectation of his coming, so filled with joy thereof, so desirous to see the time of his arrival approach, as in any judgment no young lover could more excessively shew the same: and whatever things were past, wholly had reposed herself, with assurance to be well used by him; and with that confidence and importunity made to this lord her father, she went to him; but there missed of her expectation; and so attended, as her duty was, to gain some part of her hope.”

And so this lord ended his letter with this request,

“That in any thing that might hereafter follow, wherein he might have wrong offered to him, he might have her majesty’s princely favour, to work his just defence for him and his; though unwilling to challenge any extraordinary favour: for his service had been but a piece of his duty, and his vocation had been too great reward.”

This is in short the sum of this lord’s letter, wrote in the beginning of March this year. But the whole being writ with that elegance of style, and to such a person, must not be lost. I have exemplified it in the Appendix.

I have met with an instance likewise of this great lord’s wisdom and gravity, in the counsel he gave to Nicolas White, (afterwards sir Nicolas,) master of the rolls in Ireland: which falling out in this year, I will insert. He was dear to that lord, and whom he greatly valued for his integrity and virtue. This gentleman was now under some trouble, the lord deputy, sir Henry Sydney, being disgusted at him, something that he had done or spoken being ill taken: which made him shy of intermeddling in public business, to avoid offence as much as he could. And to this he made his friend, the lord treasurer, privy. Who on this occasion thus gave his judgment and advice. “I do allow of your wisdom, to forbear dealing in causes otherwise than you are called unto by him that hath there the superior government. And yet in place and time, you *may* not *ex professo* neglect, by counsel and advice, to further God’s cause, and your country’s. It is likely that some misconceiving hath been of you there; that in so many occasions of services, wherein you are skilful, you *are* not now more used. And so will I think of your abilities to serve, and of your devotion to further good things. And on the other part, I love the governor, and wish him so good success, both for himself and for his office, that if you shall not prohibit me, upon your answer to these my letters, I will make a proof what should be the cause why he doth not make profit of your service.” This was dated from court, the 24th of July, 1576.

But I find this displeasure of the lord deputy against this good man, master of the rolls, was not so easily removed, but rather increased. For a full twelvemonth after, his friend, the lord treasurer, in a letter, takes notice of it, and gives him again his grave advice, to this tenor:

“That he was sorry to find the lord deputy did not use him both as he had formerly done, and as he [the lord treasurer] knew he could

merit. But most certainly he perceived, the lord deputy conceived not well nor kindly of his doings there. But upon what occasions, whether justly or conjecturally, or by means of the accustomed factions and partialities [among them] there, he could not tell. Wherefore his advice was, that he [Mr. White] should dutifully esclarish himself to the lord deputy; and if he would, he might say, that by the lord treasurer he understood the same. For, added the said lord, so well I love my lord deputy privately, and so much I esteem of him publicly, for the place he holdeth, that I wish him assisted with all such as I think are wise; and I also wish, that none such as you are, whom he hath so much in former times avauuced with credit, should for any private respect esloyne your good-will from him.”

But how hard it is to recover a great man’s favour, when he hath once taken a distaste, appears by Mr. White’s case. For all the counsel aforesaid, taken and used, had no success. Whereupon, when the lord treasurer understood, he thus expressed his mind:

“That he was sorry, that upon his advice given him to seek the lord deputy’s favour, and notwithstanding his own writing to him therein, he [Mr. White] could not effectually recover the same. Whereby he feared his lordship had conceived some deep matter of ingratitude, provoked by the said Mr. White. And that *if* he had given his lordship any such cause, he could not blame him; but for God’s cause, who forgiveth us all our faults, though he were hard to be recovered; for, *qui ingratum dixerit, omne malum dixerit*. Yet adding, that he should do well, as he knew his own estate, to pursue by all honest means the obtaining of his favour, or the cancelling of his displeasure.”

All this I write, to preserve, as much as I may, any memorials of one of the greatest and best statesmen this nation ever enjoyed. And this passage, in part, gives some character of his wisdom and virtue.

Now to note a few books that came forth in print this year. One was the Holy Bible, in English, set forth now a second time in the black letter, in quarto, and printed by Christopher Barker, the queen’s printer; with the singing Psalms, and other prayers; which had been printed by John Day, the famous printer: and this not the first time added, and bound up with the English Bible; but so done (and that, as it seems, with allowance) some

years before, viz. 1569; and the said Psalms there set to tunes. Of this Bible, which seems to be one of the first printed in a quarto volume, I think, will deserve some account to be given. The translation is different from the old translation, before *the Bishops' Bible* came forth, which was in the year 1572. Each chapter is continued without any break, but with distinction of verses, which I believe was the first English Bible with verses. The title is, *The holi Bible*, and no more; with a picture of queen Elizabeth. Justice on one side of her, and Mercy on the other, setting or holding the crown on her head. Fortitude and Prudence upholding her throne with their hands. And underneath, a minister in a pulpit preaching, before a great auditory sitting; and on one side of the pulpit a grave senator in his gown, with his book, sitting also: which perhaps was designed to be secretary Cecil. Then is there a preface into the Bible following beginning,

“Of all the sentences pronounced by our Saviour Christ in his whole doctrine, none is more *serious*, or worthy to be borne in remembrance, than that *which* he spake openly in his gospel, *Scrutamini scrip-turas*. These words were first spoken unto the Jews by our Saviour; but by him in his doctrine meant to all: *for* they concern all, of what nation or tongue, of what profession soever any men be. For to all belongeth it to *be* called unto eternal life, &c. No man, woman, or child, is excluded from this salvation: and therefore to every one of them is this spoken; proportionally yet, and in their degrees and ages; and as the reason and congruity of their vocation may ask, &c. If this celestial doctrine is authorized by the Father of heaven, and commanded of his only Son to be heard of us all; biddeth us busily to search the scripture; of what spirit can it proceed, to forbid the reading and studying of it? &c. How much more unadvisedly do such men boast themselves to be either Christ's vicars, or to be of his guard, to loath Christen men from reading, by their covert scandalous reproaches of the scripture; or in their authority, by law or statute, to contract this liberty of studying of eternal salvation, &c. *Search* therefore, good reader, on God's name, as *Christ* bids thee, the holy scripture, wherein thou mayest find thy salvation,” &c.

And thus concludes; “Let us humbly, and on our knees, *pray* to Almighty God with that wise king Solomon, in his very words, thus: O *Lord* God of my fathers, Lord of mercies, thou that hast made all things with thy word, and didst ordain man through thy

wisdom, that he should *have* dominion over thy creatures, &c. O send her out *therefore* from thy holy heavens, and from the throne of *thy* majesty, that she may be with me, and labour with me, that I may know what is acceptable in thy sight, &c. This same preface being before the *Bishops' Bible*, appears to be done by archbishop Parker."

Then, after the calendar and the Common Prayer, the Bible begins. Where at Genesis is a print of the creation of the world, standing before the first chapter: and the first capital letter is set within a picture, that hath archbishop Parker's arms impaled with that of the see of Canterbury; which shews this Bible to have been printed with that archbishop's allowance, order, and care. It hath also some marginal notes all along. The two first are these: at those words, *The earth was without form*, the note is,

"Although the works of God, both in the creation, and in his spiritual operation in man, seem rude and imperfect at the first; yet by the working of his holy Spirit, he bringeth all things to a perfection at the end." The next note is on those words, *The Spirit of God moved upon*, &c. "The confused heap of heaven and earth was imperfect and dark: and yet not utterly dead, but was endued with the power and strength of God's Spirit; and so made lively, to continue unto the world's end."

The title of Genesis is, *The first book of Moses, called in Hebrew Bereshith, in Greek Genesis*. The note in the margin at Bereshith is, "That is, *generation*, or *creation*."

Then, chapter 2. where *paradise* is spoken of, is a picture representing it, with this title;

"This figure is spoken of in the 10th verse, and representeth the situation of *God's garden*." And thus underwritten; "If there be any kingdom under heaven, that is excellent in beauty, in abundance of fruits, in plenteousness, in delights, and other gifts, they who have written of countries, do praise above all, the same that this figure representeth: where with the praises of those writers Moses exalteth this *paradise*, as duly belonging unto it. And it is very well like, that the region and kingdom of Eden hath been situate in that country, as it appeareth in the 27th chap. of Esay, 12 ver. and the 27th chap. of Ezek. 23 ver. Moreover, whereas Moses said, that a

flood did proceed from the place, I do interpret it, from the course of the waters. As if he should have said, that Adam did inhabit in the flood's-side, or in the land which was washed on both *sides*. Howbeit there is no great matter in that: either that Adam hath inhabited in the place where both floods came together towards Babylon and Seleucia, or above. It is sufficient, that he hath been in a place watered of waters. But the thing is not dark to understand, how this flood hath been divided in four heads, &c. But to declare unto you the diversity of the rivers' names, besides their usual and principal appellations, and how they be called, as they pass through each province, with the interpretation of the same, I think it rather tedious and cumbersome, than profitable," &c.

This discourse goes on: but this is enough to shew the intent of it.

In Leviticus, at chap. 18, are set two tables in columns: the one entitled, *Degrees of Kindred, which set matrimony, as it is set forth*, Levit. 18. The other column is entitled, *Degrees of Affinity, which set matrimony, as it is set forth*, Levit. 18.

At Numbers, chap. 33, is a *chart*, shewing the way that the people of Israel passed, the space of forty years, from Egypt through the deserts of Arabia. It containeth also the forty-two journeys, or stations, named in the same chapter.

Before the book of Joshua, there standeth the picture of a phenix, feeding her young ones with her blood: and on each, Prudence and Justice. Underneath this distich:

*Matris ut haec poroprio stirps est satiata cruore,
Pascis item proprio, Christe, cruore tuos.*

Taking occasion for this meditation from Joshua, who was a type as well as a namesake of Jesus Christ.

After the books of Chronicles, just before Esdras, [or Ezra,] is a piece, entitled, *A very profitable declaration for the understanding of the histories of Esdras, Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, and divers other places of scripture, very dark, by reason of the discord that is between historiographers, and among the expositors of the holy scriptures; touching the successive order of the kings or monarchs of Babylon and Persia; of the years that the said monarchies lasted, and the*

transmigration of the Jews under Nebuchadonozor, until the monarchy of the Greeks; and of the confusion that is in the names of the kings of Persia. It stands in three columns, thus:

That which happened to the people of Israel during these monarchies	The monarchy of Babylon	Of the years that the monarchs of Persia reigned. Of the difference of authors therein: and of the diversity and confusion of the names of the said monarchs.
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The Book of Psalms hath set before it a prologue of St. Basil the Great; and a sentence or two of St. Augustin's. Then follow *certain general notes concerning all the Psalms*. Among the rest, these: This [*] mark (where it is set) signifieth the place to be of great difficulty, and hard to be understood or interpreted. Which undoubtedly was intended for an hint to be cautious of putting our own sense upon such places, but modestly to leave them to the learned to be explained. Again, where any word is added to the Hebrew text, it is enclosed within crotchets, thus [].

It is noted likewise, that the venerable word JEHOVAH was thought more aptly to be translated *God*, than *Lord*; for that it might savour of the Jewish superstition: who were persuaded that this word JEHOVAH was not to be spoken or written; but instead of it, ADONAI, in Greek Κύριος, that is, LORD, Exodus 6:3.

Another note was this; That although we use in our tongue to suppose *forbidding* [or permitting] by this word *let*, as, *Let me do it*, or, *Let him do it*: yet it may seem a hard manner of speech, especially when referred to God: as to say, *Let God do it*. Wherefore, seeing in Hebrew such phrases be the future tense, it was thought best to translate them by the moods indicative, optative, potential, or subjunctive. Besides these general notes, each Psalm hath its argument or contents prefixed before it.

Within the capital B, the first letter of the word *blessed*, which begins the first Psalm, there are included the arms of sir William Cecil, secretary of state, with his motto set, viz. *Cor unum, via una*. Whereby I conclude, he had a considerable influence in this edition of the Bible, together with the archbishop. This Book of Psalms varieth somewhat from the translation of them in the Book of Common Prayer; as it doth also from that of Geneva:

reading the first verse thus, in the present tense: *Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.* Where I observe also the note made in the margin, quite different from that of Geneva, at the place, viz. “A man, whether *he* walketh, standeth, or sitteth, ought to eschew all manner of evil devices, works, and words; and also such company as be given to those vices: It follows in the second verse; *But his delight is in the law of God. And in God, his law, exerciseth himself day and night.*

The title before the New Testament is, *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 1569. And at the end is the printer’s name, *Printed at London by Richard Jugg, printer to the Queen’s majesty.* Which shews it to come out with countenance and authority.

Before it is a map, being

“A description of the Holy Land, containing the places mentioned in the four evangelists, with their places about the seacoast. Wherein might be seen the ways and journeys of Christ and his apostles in Judea, Samaria, and GaUilee. For into these three parts that land is divided.”

On the reverse page is,

“A table to make plain the difficulty that is found in St. Matthew and St. Luke, touching the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, and his right successor in his kingdom. Which description begins at David, and no higher; because the difficulty is only in his posterity. The scheme of this table is as follows:

DAVID BEGAT

Solomon, king.— Nathan, the kings son.

The posterity of Solomon left in Ochosias, [which was the sixth from Solomon.] Whereby the kingdom was transported to the line of Nathan, in the person of Joas, son to Judah. Which begat Amasias & Levi/

At the twenty-sixth chapter of Matthew is another table for the better understanding of the said twenty-sixth of St. Matthew, the fourteenth of

St. Mark, the twenty-second of St. Luke, and the nineteenth Of St. John. Being all these evangelists' relations of our Saviour's passion.

Before the epistle to the Romans, or rather at the end of the Acts, is a map, entitled, *The cart cosmographie of the peregrination, or journey of St. Paul, with the distance of the miles*. And another table, entitled, *The order of times*, with this preface: "Here hast thou, gentle reader, for thy better instruction, the description of the journey and peregrination of St. Paul: which is in this second book of St. Luke, called *The Acts of the Apostles*, most *intreated* of. And for because thou readest oftentimes of emperors, or kings, or deputies, thou hast set forth to thee the names, the years, and how long every emperor or king reigned, or deputy governed; or under whom any of these *acts* were done, even until the death of St. Paul." The which table consisted in these columns.

Years of the emporers of Rome

Years of the presidents of the Jews

Years of the Herodians

Years of Christ's Incarnation

Years of St. Paul the apostle

After the end of the New Testament, follow the Psalms in metre, *Imprinted at London by John Day*. Being the same which we now sing in our public assemblies.

At the end of these Psalms are added divers good prayers: as, a form of prayer to be used in private houses every morning and evening. A prayer to be said before meat. A thanksgiving after meat. A thanksgiving before meat. And yet another after meat. Then a prayer for the whole estate of Christ's church; which is long and pious. Then follows a confession of Christian faith. These prayers and devotions appear by many passages in them to have been composed for the use of the laity, toward the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and upon the settlement of the reformation in the church of England.

This excellent and best edition of the holy Bible hitherto was undoubtedly the work of learned hands and heads, and such as were well versed in sacred theology, geography, and chronology: being thereby made so intelligible and useful for common readers. And I make little doubt it was

the effect, both of the pains and directions of good Matthew Parker, now archbishop of Canterbury; who had divers years before in his mind the setting forth of another edition of the holy scripture in the vulgar tongue, corrected according to the Hebrew, for the use and benefit of the common people: which he now brought to pass in a quarto, as he did afterwards in the largest volume, according as hath been shewn in his Life. And thus I have at large given a specimen of this early edition of the Bible, printed again anno 1576. Which may not be unacceptable to some readers.

Another book printed this year was, the *Zodiack of Life*, translated into English long verse by Bernabie Googe, and dedicated to the baron of Burghley. It was written by an excellent Italian Christian poet, Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus, Wherein are contained [under the twelve signs] twelve several labours: “painting out most lively the whole compass of the world; the reformation of manners; the miseries of mankind; the pathway to virtue and vice; the eternity of the soul; the course of the heavens; the mysteries of nature; and divers other circumstances of great learning, and no less judgment,” as the title ran. Which book the translator many years before had dedicated to the same person, and now had perused, and in every point, as near as he could, to perfect. In this book Palingenius had writ some things not so consonant to the Romish religion. For which he made his apology to Hercules II. duke of Ferrara, (to whom he dedicated his book,) viz.

“That if there happened to be something found in it, that should seem in any part to disagree to their religion, he was not to answer for it: for treating on many subjects of philosophical matters, he was driven to allege the opinion of sundry philosophers, especially Plato’s scholars. Whose opinions, if they were false, the blame was theirs, and not his: since his intent was, never to step a foot from the true catholic faith.”

It is a piece of natural philosophy, and aimeth at the drawing of men to morality and piety, and the fear of God, taking his argument from the immortality of the soul, and a future state.

This year was reprinted sir John Cheek’s book, set forth by him in the year 1549, upon occasion of a great insurrection of the commons in the west; when the city of Exeter was besieged by them. Wherein the *true subject* is brought in, making close expostulation with the rebel. The book is entitled, *The hurt of sedition; how grievous it is to a commonwealth*. Perused and

imprinted by Seres, 1576, in a small octavo. It was a very elegant address to the commons; who were for making themselves equal with the gentlemen, under pretence of their grievances to be redressed. Perhaps now printed again, to meet with some present danger and sedition apprehended at this time. The book began;

“Among so many and notable benefits wherewith *God* hath already liberally and plentifully endued us, there is nothing more beneficial, than that we have by his grace kept us quiet from rebellion at this time. For we see such miseries hang over the whole state of commonwealth through the great disorder of your sedition, that it maketh us much to rejoyce, that we have been neither partners of your doings, nor conspirers of your counsels,” &c.

I add the deaths of two men of great quality and worth, that ended their lives this year. Whereof the one was, Walter, the good earl of Essex, who died in Ireland: whither he went to serve the queen against her rebels there; and was thought to have had foul play for his life. The early news of his death, White, master of the rolls there, sent in his letter to the lord treasurer: which with great passion he thus began his relation of:

“O my good lord, here I must among others advertise you of the doleful departure of the earl of Essex; who ended his life to begin a better, the 22d of September, in the castle of Dublin; and felt his sickness first at Talaghe, the archbishop of Dublin’s house, in his journey towards Baltinglass, to meet the earl of Ormond, accompanied with the chancellor, the last of August. That he [White] was much about him in the latter end of his sickness; and that he beheld such true tokens of nobility, conjoined with a most godly and virtuous mind, to the yielding up of his breath, as was rare to be seen. That two days before he died, he had speech with him of his lordship, [the lord treasurer,] and said, he thought he was born to do him and his good. But now, (said he,) I must commit the oversight of my son and all to him. That he spake also lovingly of my lord of Sussex: with many other things which for prolixity he omitted, and otherwise he ought to have writ: adding, that he [the earl] doubted that he had been poisoned, by reason of his violent evacuation which he had: and of that suspicion he acquitted this land: saying, No, not Tirrelaghe Lunnagh himself would do no villainy to his person: but upon the opening of him, which, saith

White, I could not abide, the chancellor told him that all his inward parts were sound; saving that his heart was somewhat consumed, and the bladder of his gall empty. That such as took upon them to be his physicians, as Chaloner, Knel, a preacher, and the deputy's physician, called Dr. Trevor, *applied* him with many glisters, and thereby filled his body full of wind; which was perceived. So as either their ignorance, or some violent cause beyond their skill, ended his life. His flesh and complexion did not decay. His memory and speech was so perfect, that at the last yielding up of his breath, he cried, *Courage, courage: I am a soldier that must fight under the banner of my Saviour Christ.* And as he prayed always to be dissolved, so was he loath to die in his bed. Among others, (as Mr. White added in his letter,) the earl had care of his [White's] second son, who was all this while brought up with the young earl, his son, without any charge to him, [his father,] because his mother was a Devorax: and required Mr. Waterhouse to move his honour, [the lord treasurer,] that he might still attend on his person, and be brought up with him: wherein he referred his cause to his lordship's accustomed goodness.

“That his lordship [the earl] had committed to his keeping the patents of his creation and countries there, and made him one of his feoffees in trust. And he hoped, with the deputy's favour, to turn those lands to a reasonable commodity to his son. He sent likewise inclosed to his lordship, the names of such of the earl's servants as were about him in the time of his sickness, and served him most painfully and diligently. For which respect he thought them worthy the favour of all men.”

All this he thought good to signify to the lord treasurer concerning the sickness and strange death of this truly noble, well-deserving earl. To which I subjoin the relation, by letter to the earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain, of his death and burial.

“That his corpse was brought over by him, [who seems to be his executor,] to be buried at Caermarthen, where his lordship was born: with a request *concerning* the young earl; that whereas his lordship, for the education of his children, and payment of his legacies, by assurance in his lifetime, and by his last will and testament, reposed especially therein his lordship, [the said earl of

Sussex,] forasmuch as his lordship had in his lifetime divers offices, as keeping of the castle of Caermar-then, stewardship of divers her majesty's *seigneuries* in those parts of South Wales, the whole fees accustomed to such offices not amounting to above an hundred marks: which fees his lordship always bestowed upon his under-officers: by occasion of which offices, the inhabitants in those *seigneuries* did the rather depend upon his lordship; and now would be sorry, that any other than the new earl of Essex should have commandment in such office over them: and because he [the writer] well understood, that the having of these small offices might be to the new earl's great continuing of the hearts of these countrymen; and besides might be the better able, when he should come to years, to do service to his sovereign; he therefore was, in behalf of his lordship and my lord treasurer, to request, that all these offices might be bestowed upon this new earl of Essex: which should be as well executed, as if his lordship were of full age. And if occasion of service should require, his lordship might [although he were an infant] have the willing hearts of many to do him service. And so he committed his lordship to the preservation of the Almighty." Dated from Caermarthen, the third of October."

Mr. Waterhouse, (who seems to have been the writer of the former letter,) with the earl's corpse, landed in Caermar-thenshire on Saturday; and from thence by land it was carried to Caermarthen, where his funerals were celebrated with great solemnity. Richard, bishop of St. David's, preached upon this text, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord*, &c. Among his virtuous accomplishments, he spake of his skill in history and heraldry:

"Very few noblemen in England more ready and expert in chronicles, histories, genealogies, and pedigrees of noble men and noble houses, not only within the realm, but also in foreign realms, than this noble earl was. He excelled in describing and blazoning of arms, and in all skill pertaining thereto," &c. Further, he made it a part of true nobility, to distinguish true from false religion. "I received," said the bishop, the preacher, "at his mouth, that there was nothing in the world that could blemish and abase the heroical nature of nobility so much as to have the eyes of the understanding so closed and shut up, that a man of honour should not be able to discern between true religion, and the hypocritical false religion; between the right worshipping of God, and idolatry; between the

traditions of men and God's word; but remain subject to lies and superstition, and to call bad good, and good bad. And that to be free from this servile state was a necessary endowment of true nobility."

The whole sermon, giving a large account of his noble birth and virtuous accomplishments, is worthy reading.

In the foresaid Chronicle may be read this worthy earl's epitaph, in many elegant Latin heroic verses, giving an account of him and his illustrious pedigree. Which, together with the sermon preached at his funeral, was presented, with a large epistle by E.W. to Robert earl of Essex, his son.

This year also died, June the 11th, sir Anthony Cook, of Gyddy hall, in Essex, knt. a man very famous as well for his own virtue and learning, as for his virtuous and learned daughters: the eldest whereof, Mildred, was married to sir William Cecil, lord Burghley, and lord treasurer; the second, Anne, matched sir Nicolas Bacon, lord keeper. This knight was one of the tutors to prince Edward, afterward king Edward VI. and one of the executors of king Henry the Eighth's last will. He was interred in Rumford chapel, according to the order of his last will and testament, and these words added; "To be done by the discretion of his executors, with convenient and not excessive charges." At the upper end of the north wall of that chapel is erected to his memory a fair monument; consisting of a figure of him in armour, of white marble, kneeling before a desk: behind the knight, his two sons, likewise in armour. And on the other side, the figures of his lady, and four daughters kneeling behind her: and over all their heads, their names, and with whom they married; with various inscriptions in Latin and English, and some Greek: which being somewhat long, I have preserved them (as they, and those excellent personages they commemorate, deserve) in the Appendix. Only the inscription over sir Anthony, I will here insert.

Dns. ANTHONIUS COCUS, ordinis equestris miles, ob singularem doctrinam, prudentiam, et pietatem, regis EDOARDI Sexti institutor constitutus. Uxorem habuit ANNAM, filiam GUILIELMI FITZWILLIAMS de Milton, militis, vere piam et generosam. Cum qua diu feliciter vixit, et supervixit. At tandem quum suos, tam natos, quam natas, bene col-locasset, in Christo pie mortuus est, anno aetatis 70.

His last will bare date, May 22, 1576. The contents whereof were: to his son Richard, his best basin and ewer of silver, parcel gilt; his best gilt salt, with other plate. Then to his daughter of Burghley, one other nest of bowls, gilt and pinked. To his daughter Bacon, one other nest of gilt bowls, &c. To his daughter Russel, his second gilt salt, &c. To his daughter Killigrew, one nest of white bowls, &c. To his son William, his second basin and ewer, parcel gilt, &c. To his son Richard, all his household stuff and harness, which he had at Giddy hall, and Bedford's, or any place else. Then for his books, his will was, that his daughter of Burghley should have two volumes in Latin and one in Greek, such as she should choose of his gift. And after her choice, his daughters Russel and Killi-grew, two other volumes in Latin and one in Greek, each in order, of their choice. All the rest of his books he gave to his son Richard, and Anthony his son. A farm in Mynster, in the Isle of Thanet, with all the stock of cattle and corn, to his sons Richard and William jointly, during the term yet to come.

His executors he appointed the right honourable sir Nicolas Bacon, knt. lord keeper of the great seal, and the lord Burghley, lord treasurer, Richard Cook and William Cook, his sons abovenamed.

To the two former he gave each 200*l*.

To William Cook, and his daughter-in-law, the said Cook's wife, he gave his manors of Mawdelyn Laver, Markskalls Bury, and Hanghonns, and Withers, in the county of Essex; in such order and sort, and with such remainders as was by covenant agreed upon by the lady Gray and him, in writing, upon the marriage had between him and his wife. That his daughter-in-law, wife to his son Richard, should have for term of her life the manor of Chaldwel, with the appurtenances, in the county of Essex; and the manor of Ridden-Court, &c. in Havering, in full recompence and satisfaction of all jointure.

Lastly, his son Richard to have to him and his heirs male, immediately after his decease, all the residue of his lands, tenements, hereditaments, &c.

To this learned knight, Peter Martyr, in the year 1558, dedicated his commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans: dated from Tygur, 8. kal. Augusti. And the reason he gave why he chose him above all others for this dedication, was,

“That considering this work was due to the men of the English nation; being lectures read by him at Oxford, he thought sir Anthony the person most meet to whom they should be presented: that as king Edward VI, this knight’s most noble and dear pupil, not long before, received his other commentary upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he might join him, the schoolmaster of so much renown, with his scholar of such excellency. And in respect of that honour and love that he most justly deserved, he added, that when he [P. Martyr] was in the realm of England, he began to love him. And when afterwards God, by his singular providence, so wrought, that he saw him again in Germany, and knew *him* to be the selfsame man he was before, [that is, a sincere lover of true religion, for which he was now a voluntary exile,] he was so affected, that whereas before he did indeed love him, now he loved him most fervently: and oftentimes thought with himself, how he might in something or other signify how much he esteemed his virtues; and how grateful he might shew himself towards him for benefits which sometime he had received from him.”

Sir Anthony Cook was high steward of the liberty of Havering and so was Richard his son, and Anthony his son, and sir Edward his son: and Charles Cook his son died without issue. I have set down so much of this gentleman, especially being in the rank of the most eminently learned and pious in the age, and such as were the restorers of good learning, and furtherers of true religion: by whose means, in a great measure, popery began to be thrown out of this kingdom; and who was an exile for the gospel. And particularly his memory is to be preserved, for having been one of those that first imbued the mind of that excellent prince, king Edward VI. with right principles of religion, and an instrument of his extraordinary attainments in learning.

To all which commendations of this worthy man, I must add one more, in respect of the singular attainments, that by his instruction his incomparable daughters had in learning and godliness: which some of them shewed in their works published. The lady Anne, wife to the lord keeper Bacon, translated into proper English, bishop Jewers Apology for the Church of England; which was printed for common use, and set forth by the special order of archbishop Parker, as hath been taken notice of elsewhere, with some additions Of his own at the end. The lady Elizabeth, his third daughter, wife to the lord John Russel, son and heir to Francis earl of

Bedford, translated likewise out of Latin into English, a tract, called, *A way of reconciliation of a good and learned man, touching the true nature and substance of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament.*

Printed 1605, and dedicated to her only daughter, Anne

Herbert, wife to the lord H. Herbert, son and heir to Edward earl of Worcester. In which epistle, the excellent spirit as well as pen of that good lady may be seen. Beginning thus:

“Most virtuous and worthily beloved daughter; even as from your first birth and cradle I ever was most, careful, above any worldly thing, to have you suck the perfect milk of sincere religion; so, willing to end as I began, I have left to you, as my last legacy, this book, a most precious jewel, to the comfort of your soul; being the work of a good, learned man, made above fifty years since, in Germany; after by travail a French creature, now naturalized by me into English.” Then, proceeding to give the reason, of her publishing this piece, she added, That at first she meant not to set it abroad in print; but *herself* only to have some certainty to lean unto in a matter so full of controversy, and to yield a reason of her opinion. But since lending the copy of her own hand to a friend, she was bereft thereof by some: and fearing lest after her death it should be printed according to the humours of others, [such things, it seems, being sometimes done in those days,] and wrong of the dead: who in his life approved her translation with his own allowance: therefore dreading, she said, wrong to him, above any other respect, she had by anticipation prevented the worst.” And then piously and affectionately she concludes thus: “That she meant it for a new year’s gift;” and then, “Farewell, my good sweet Nanny. God bless thee with the continuance of the comfort of the Holy Spirit; that it may ever work in you, and persevere with you to the end and in the end.” And then she ends with this tetrastic to her said daughter, suitable to the new year:

IN ANNAM FILIAM.

*Ut veniens annus tibi plurima commodet, ANNA,
Voce pia mater, supplice mente, precor,
Ut valeat pariterque tuo cum conjus’e proles,
Officiis junctis, vita serena fluat.*

Elizabetha Russella, Dowager.

Buxton wells were at this time in great request, for helping, by its medicinal virtue, persons afflicted with the gout and other diseases. One of these patients was sir Thomas Smith, the secretary. He was in the summer retired to his house at Hill hall, in Essex, by reason of his distemper; the use of his tongue being clean taken away, that he could not be understood when he spake; such was the continualness of his rheum, that distilled from his head downward: as Mr. Gilbert Talbot wrote in his news from court to his father, the earl of Shrewsbury. And that that day (which was July the 6th) or the next, he set forwards towards the baths in Somersetshire: and from thence, about the latter end of the month, he went to Buxton, to whom Walsingham, the other secretary, sent letters thither about that time, supposing him then to be there. But all would not serve. This his disease proved mortal, and ended his useful life the year after. A more particular of his distemper, chiefly seizing his tongue, and his pious behaviour in his lingering sickness, is related in his Life, written in the year 1698.

There was also here at Buxton sir Walter Mildmay's lady, using the waters for recovery of her health. She was sister to sir Francis Walsingham. Upon both these courtiers' accounts, the earl of Shrewsbury and his lady shewed all respects to that lady. And in acknowledgment thereof, in a letter, dated July 3, he told the earl, "that he had great cause to think himself much bound to his lordship, for the great favour and courtesy his sister Mildmay received at his lordship's hands, at her being then at Bux-ton. For which, as for all other tokens of his good-will heretofore declared unto him, he wished he had always some occasion to shew himself thankful, not in words only, but in deed." He sent the earl herewithal two packets for the queen, his charge, [viz. the queen of Scots,] with other letters to sir Thomas Smith, who at that time, he supposed, was there at Buxton's also.

Nor did sir Walter forbear his thankful acknowledgments to the earl, for the favours shewed to his wife. Writing to him three or four days after, [viz. Aug. 3,] from his seat at Apthorp,

"That the continual advertisement that he had from his wife, of the great courtesy and charge that it pleased his lordship and his good lady daily to bestow upon her, gave him just cause to continue also his most hearty thanks to his lordship for the same. For that, without that favour and help at his lordship's hands, being at

Buxton, in so cold and raw a country, would be very tedious to her. And that therefore they both were the more bound unto his lordship therein; and would to their power be as thankful unto his lordship, as in anywise they might."

The court news now, in the beginning of July, was concerning the queen's progress this summer; which was yet scarcely resolved upon. Her majesty's determination thereof was uncertain, as Mr. Francis Talbot wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury from court, in his letter dated July 11, till the day before it was appointed to Grafton, and so to Ashley, my lord of Huntingdon's house, there to have remained one and twenty days. But that present day it was altered. And she would no farther than Grafton this year. And so the court being dispersed, he having not to do such things there, as otherwise his lordship [his father] had commanded him, he intended to go presently to Wiltshire; where his wife was with my lord her brother. And after some small time of abode there, he would wait on his lordship.

Some days before, his other son, Gilbert, gave his father an account concerning a message he had commanded him to do to the earl of Leicester, the great favourite at court; whom therefore he laboured by all means to keep his friend; lest any misrepresentation might be made of him at court, about that weighty charge committed to his trust and fidelity. The countess of Shrewsbury was lately at court to wait upon the queen: whose carriage was so graceful, discreet, wise, and obliging, that her majesty, and the whole court, was much taken with her. She was the earl's second wife, and was the daughter of Hardwich, of Hardwich of Derbyshire, esq. lately married to her: by whom he had great wealth. These matters were thus represented by letter to the earl, by his son Gilbert then at court.

"I have had some talk with my lord of Leicester since my coming: whom I find most assuredly well affected towards your lordship and yours. I never knew man in my life more joyful for their friends than he, at my lady's noble and wise government of herself, at her late being here: saying, that he heartily thanked God for so good a friend and kinsman as your lordship: and that you are matched with so noble and good a wife. I saw the queen's majesty yesterday in the garden; but for that she was talking with my lord Hunsdon, she spake nothing to me; but looked very earnestly on me," &c.

Some few days after, his other *son*, the lord Francis, shewed, "That upon his coming to court, as soon as her majesty saw him in the privy closet, she

asked him how his lordship and my lady did. To whom he answered, that he had in charge to do both their humble duties to her. And that his lordship and my lady were in best *estate*, when they heard first the prosperous health of her majesty. And she said, she was most assured thereof: *and* told him, that neither of their loves was lost unto her. For that she requited it with the like again; with other good words to that effect. But because the time would not then serve, she had, he added, no further talk or question with him.” The queen began her progress, July the 30th, towards Havering.

CHAPTER 6.

Matters of the Low Countries. The queen's safety concerned therein; especially the French king's brother entering into action for them. The apprehensions of the lord treasurer. The lord keeper's letter of counsel to the queen in this juncture. Reports from abroad concerning the Scottish queen's escape. Advice of it sent to the earl of Shrewsbury from the court. A matter in Ireland about the cess; comes before the queen and council. The rigorous exaction complained of: regulated.

AS the queen had the last year sent her ambassadors to the Low Countries, to find out means, if possible, for the quiet of that people; so now there appeared but little amends of the hard usage and rigorous oppression exercised by king Philip's government. Which could not but awake the queen and her ministers, and warn them of their own danger from that usurping, ambitious prince, so near them, and likewise from France.

And in order to their better success, they thought it advisable to labour to bring over the prince of Orange, the chief defender of those poor people, to quit the reformed religion. Dr. Wylson, the queen's ambassador now at Brussels, sent this intelligence thence concerning that prince:

“That he was sought unto by all means to yield in religion. And that one Dr. Longolius, alias Leoninus, of Lo-vain, was a principal instrument from don John to work it. Wherein if any appearance were of yielding, the prince should have what he would. Yea, that don John offered him a blank, and would come to him in person to S. Gertrudenburg; with further promise, that his son should be sent out of Spain; and by order taken should succeed his father in all his government whatsoever.”

And therefore the said ambassador advised (in his said letter) the lord treasurer Burghley, (to whom that letter was wrote,) that he wished he [that prince] were cherished, so far as conveniently might be. Whereof he doubted not his lordship would ever have good consideration. And one reason, no doubt, was to keep Spain, that enemy of England, at a distance.

About this time, or not long after, in the month of May, there was a *Discourse sent out of the Low Countries* unto secretary Walsingham, dated

May 4. And so it is endorsed by that secretary's own hand: which therefore is of the more weight. It will give a sight of these foreign matters, as reaching unto this kingdom, and the welfare of it: coming, as it seems, from one of that secretary's secret correspondents. Advising, how monsieur, the French king's brother, was going with an army thither, pretending to assist that people, and to work them deliverance, by driving don John out of the country; but how jealous they might justly be of him; and that the issue of his success there would be no more, than to subject them to France, and so to render that kingdom more formidable to its neighbours. So that the queen was concerned to look about her, and to use all the means she could to discourage this enterprise: and rather to assist duke Casimire, that was coming thither with his forces: and secretly to enter into a war, to prevent the States falling either into the hands of France, or further to be oppressed by Spain. The discourse is as followeth:

"They are about to play such a tragedy in this country, touching matters of the state and religion, as if her majesty do not bear therein such a part as she ought, she is like out of hand to see that she would not.

"The duke of Alanson prepareth great forces in France; which will be in a readiness before midsummer. He doth openly confess, that he doth nothing without his brother's will and consent: without the which, men of judgment had never any great hope of him. Hereby the end of his departure from the king is known. And indeed it could no longer be hidden from those that are acquainted with Bussi's voyage to Paris, and his conference had with the duke of Guise, the Spanish ambassador, and such like.

"His demands of the States are very small, and in effect of no weight. He promiseth to drive don John out of the country at his own cost and charges. After which time, if they do resolve to change their lord, he prayeth to be preferred before any other.

"He giveth it out, that he will give an example or pattern in these countries of the manner how he meaneth to carry himself in two enterprises which he intendeth against two kingdoms, which he nameth to be Naples and Sicily. But it is feared the kingdoms he meaneth are nearer unto France. He must needs shoot at one of these two marks. The first, and which is most feared, under colour of assisting the States, to oppress them: which is gathered by three

sound reasons. First, by his former dealings towards those of the religion. Secondly, by the interest that the crown of France hath in the example of the dissolving or reforming of this state. And thirdly, by the *amity* and sincere intelligence which the king his brother and he have with the Spaniard; having lately procured a truce between the Turk and him, for the better furtherance of his affairs in these parts. By this first mark the tyranny of the Spaniards shall be established in these countries, to their prejudice, that know the inconveniences likely to follow of the same; and that have opposed themselves thereunto.

“The other mark is, to be pricked forward with desire of greatness, by joining these countries, or a great part of the same, to the crown of France; which in outward shew he seemeth to pretend: and being come with great forces, and having great intelligence in the said country, to lay wait for duke Casimire’s person, to despatch him out of the way; the better afterwards to deal with these of the religion, who have none else whereto to trust unto in Germany, but him. And finally, that having possessed himself of the countries, France may be able on every side to overtop England, whilst they do practise new troubles in Scotland.

“*Having* these two strings to his bow, he doth so earnestly press the States here in his negotiation; as whether it be to their liking or disliking, he is fully resolved to come. The poor men, having the wolf, as the common saying *is*, by the ears, cannot resolve, whether it should be less hurtful and dangerous for them to have open enmity by refusing him, or to have him in continual jealousy, by accepting him to them.

“To meet with these two inconveniences, the queen is to use two remedies. The one *is*, the war earnestly followed. The other is, to procure a peace. But that would hinder greatly her majesty’s affairs. For that by such means the Spaniard should be put again in authority, if not as great as heretofore, yet likely to come to it by the only accident of the prince of Orange’s death, if he should happen to die. Besides, her majesty should greatly discourage such as are devoted to her here, by procuring unto them a very hurtful and dangerous peace. And further, there is small likelihood here of acceptation of peace, the change of the lord, or alteration of the

state, being intended, if not already resolved on. "There remaineth, that the queen should take in hand a secret war, by strengthening duke Casimire in such sort, as he may be able secretly in her name to make head against the king and his brother, as long as he shall be here: and to send him over into France, if need should require, to divert the course of the enterprises. For it will be more profitable and necessary, that in case this state be driven to change masters, they should rather choose a new one, than by yielding themselves unto France, to make the same so strong, that they may be able to bridle their neighbours.

"For which purpose it were requisite her majesty did not only secretly strengthen the said duke Casimire with the 2000 corselets already required, but also with as many more at her own charges. To the end, that having armed him to withstand all enterprises against her, he may do her some worthy service in these troublesome times. And upon this so apt occasion, as if her majesty do not make her benefit of it now, she is not like to have the like again." This advice, as it seems, took effect.

For of this intelligence, as well as other occurrences of the Low Countries, the secretary Walsingham informed the lord treasurer, now at Buxton Well, being retired thither for his health. And in August he gave the earl of Sussex this short account: viz. That the said secretary had advertised him of the occurrences in the Low Countries: the issue whereof he much feared. Both for that don John had secretly foreseen his power to pursue his attempts; and that he knew the weakness of the States to withstand him long, by reason of their divisions, by lack of conductors. Yet, as he added, that seeing he seemed to mean ill, he hoped God would weaken his power, and infatuate his Italian or Spanish practices. And so thanked God for these diversions of our deserved troubles: reckoning, that these heats abroad would divert the disturbances that threatened this land by those foreign enemies of our welfare.

These apprehensions, and the spite of our neighbours (however secret and close) against us, stirred up that grave counsellor, Sir Nicolas Bacon, lord keeper, to write a large and earnest letter to her majesty, Nov. 20; and being one of the last manifestations of his wisdom, dying just about a quarter of a year after, viz. 20th of Feb. 1578, must needs be acceptable;

therein giving his sage counsel to the queen in this juncture. Being to this purport;

“That, that which, if time and her affairs would have suffered, he meant to have done by present speech, he was driven by absence to do by letter: not doubting nevertheless, that though his pen and speech were not present, yet by her majesty’s great wisdom, considered together with the advice of her grave and wise counsellors, all things should be sufficiently foreseen and provided for. And he trusted, she would take his writing (though not needful) in good part, &c. Wherein he shewed her three great enemies, France, Spain, and Rome, mighty and potent princes. And her danger sought by them very great. The fear whereof was so great in him, that he could not be quiet in himself without remembering her of the same: and that it was better for him to offend by fearing too much, than by hoping too much. That as these three great enemies had three easy ways and means to annoy her; so she had three ready remedies to withstand them, if taken in time. The means that France had, was by Scotland; Spain by the Low Countries; Rome by his musters here in England. Now the helps, according to his understanding, were these. To withstand France, who had his way by Scotland, was to assure Scotland to England: a thing that was not hard to do. The remedy for the better framing of the Low Countries was, that her majesty should send some man of credit, both to confer with the prince of Orange, and to understand what was thought there to be the best remedies to defend them, and to meet with all dangers that might grow that way.

“The remedy to be had here in England against Rome, was her majesty’s good countenance and credit to her good subjects, that were enemies to the usurped authority of Rome; and earnest, severe handling of the contrary party. And that it was high time so to do; because of late times they were grown in their numbers. And besides these remedies, that Casimire might be prepared *and* ready against all chances.” The whole letter, whereof this is but a short and defective account, may be read in the Appendix.

As for Spain, whose king was one of the formidablest of the queen’s back-friends, sir John Smith, who was now returned home from his embassy there, brought this intelligence, that that king, notwithstanding all his

mighty treasure, was in want. Which was no unwelcome news to this as well as other countries: as tending to weaken all his ambitious projects. Which news the lord treasurer communicated to the earl of Shrewsbury in a letter dated in August, "That sir John Smith, now come from Spain, reported, that the king there had great lack of treasure, whatsoever had been said to the contrary. I wish he had plenty of treasure," added this lord, "so we were sure he had plenty of good-will towards us:" meaning how little of that he had for the queen and kingdom.

She was also at this time alarmed by reports brought of secret endeavours from France and the Low Countries, to convey away the Scottish queen this summer: nay, and that she was escaped and gone. The earl of Shrewsbury, who had the keeping of her, had brought her of late to his house at Chatsworth. Where he received a letter, writ in the month of September, from the lord treasurer, that gave him notice of these rumours, and of the apprehensions the queen was in, arising hereupon. And withal gave him advice (though, as he added, he little doubted thereof) to be more watchful, however careful and diligent he had hitherto been; and that the queen herself intended to give him warning of this danger. The substance of which letter, giving account of the particulars of the flying talk at court, was as follows.

"That at his coming to court he found such alarms by news directly written from France, and from the Low Countries, of the queen of Scots escape, either already made, or very shortly to be attempted. But that he surely knowing his lordship's circumspection in keeping of her, and leaving all things in that country about him very quiet, and free from such dangers, he was bold to make small account of the news, although her majesty and the council were therewith perplexed. And that although time did try these enough, for any thing already done, to be false, yet the noise thereof, (as the lord treasurer proceeded,) and the doubt her majesty hath of secret, hidden practices, to be wrought rather by corruption of some of yours [viz. the earl's servants] whom you shall trust, than by open force, moved her majesty to warn your lordship, as she said she would write to your lordship, that you continue, or rather increase your vigilancy, if it might be; that you be not circumvented herein." And then adding his thoughts, "That as he had carried his charge [the Scottish queen] to Chatsworth, so he thought that a very meet

house for good preservation thereof; having no town of resort, where any ambushes of receators [receivers] might lie.

“That in his opinion, surely, although he knew many were desirous that his charge should be at liberty, yet he himself knew no reasonable cause to move him to think, a that she should adventure herself to be conveyed away by stealth, both for the sundry dangers that might light upon her; but especially, for that being at liberty, if her friends should attempt any thing by force for her against this realm, she might provoke the queen’s majesty, and the states of the realm, to work matters to bar her of that interest which she supposed she had.

“But yet, my good lord, as he concluded, even for the preservation of the honour which you have gotten by so circumspect looking to her, in all this long time of practice, I know you will be as watchful to prevent all attempts, as others will be to assail your charge. Thus your lordship seeth how curious I am. All which pro-ceedeth of good-will to your lordship and to your honour.” Thus he wrote from the court at Deptford, my lord admiral’s house, the 7th of September, 1577. Subscribing himself,

Your lordship’s most assured,
W. Burghley.”

Now to look over to the queen’s kingdom of Ireland. Many persons of quality there were burdened with an excess of the tax, called the *cesse*, laid upon them. Which made disturbance in that country: and the lord deputy, sir Henry Sydney, or some of his officers, seemed to have too great hand therein. Insomuch that some lords came over to make complaint. This payment was an exaction of victuals at a certain rate or price, for the maintenance of the lord deputy’s household, and the garrison soldiers. The rigorous demanding where of in some countries, and some that were more civilized, as in Leinster, made divers of the Irish lords refuse to pay it; as the viscount Baltinglass, and some barons and others of the nobility and gentry; and clamoured much against this usage of them: and asserting, that it was not to be demanded but by authority of parliament. However, by the judges of that kingdom, it appeared to be an ancient privilege of the crown, and a royal prerogative. The lords that came over to make their complaint were heard by their counsel, but committed to prison, as endeavouring to abridge the queen of her ancient rights in that kingdom. But yet she was

displeased with the rigorous demand of the *cesse*; and liked not that her officers there should rather be wolves than shepherds; and commanded the lord deputy to use a moderation herein.

Now by a letter of the lord treasurer to the earl of Shrewsbury, we have some further light let into this affair. The lords that were thus grieved had sent over one Skurlock and two others, to make their complaints. But upon this the lord deputy shewed his anger against these lords and others by some severe proceedings against them. This dealing of the lord deputy's came before the queen and council, being heard fully, and gravely considered: as the said lord treasurer wrote to the master of the rolls there: and that they had made distinction thereof, noting herein wherein the complainants, both here and there offended, not ignorantly, but wilfully; and wherein the complaints deserved favourable remedy, in respect of the excess of the *cease*, as it appeared unto them, the queen's council. And therefore for the offence committed, both they here, and their authors there, had deserved exemplary punishment. And that for the remedy of the burden of the *cease*, they hoped the lord deputy either had or would devise means, to the reasonable satisfaction of the parties grieved. And they of the council had also, at that present time, collected in writing some devices to ease the same: which, as things only projected, they sent unto the lord deputy.

The lord treasurer gave the master of the rolls in Ireland this account of that affair, and the sense the court had of the ill management of the queen's prerogative, in another letter, half a year after, using these words:

“So plenteous are the affairs of that country [Ireland] to the worst, as I should be more sorry for them, if I did not hope that either malice or lightness did not increase the evil thereof. The matter stirred up against the queen's prerogative for her relief to victual her army hath been duly corrected. And the parties deserve the more correction, for that in evil handling they hindered a needful matter; which was to have had the excess of the *cesse* remedied: which for my part I think needful; but not in such a strenable sort *as* it was sought.” This was dated from Hampton Court, Jan. 18, 1577.

CHAPTER 7.

The queen's ambassador at the council at Frankford: and why. Sent to the princes of Germany. New books of religion there set forth. The archbishop of York about to visit the church of Durham, is refused. The proceedings thereupon. The bishop of Durham's account of his visitation of his diocese, by order from the queen; and especially of the disorders in that church. His letter to the lord treasurer about it: slandered and hated. His vindication of himself for some words of his against archbishop Grindal, and the exercises. Bishop Barnes' pedigree. Cox bishop of Ely's thoughts upon archbishop Grindal's suspension. The queen's letter to the bishop of Lincoln to forbid prophesyings. The bishop of Chester's troubles. Caldwell, parson of Winwich, his sermon. Dr. Goodman, dean of Westminster, concerning the statutes of that collegiate church.

AND now for the affairs of religion abroad, as well as here at home, this year, I find these occurrences.

There was a great and long desired design among all protestants now in hand, in order to unite them in a profession of the same faith and doctrine. In order to which a council was held this year at Frankford, for the drawing up a common confession of all the reformed churches. To this council, to assist at it, the queen sent her ambassador, shewing her concurrence in this useful affair. The province of drawing up the form was committed to Zacharias Ursinus, the learned professor of Heydelberg, who had formerly been an hearer of Melancthon and Peter Martyr. What the issue was, and what particular esteem the queen obtained for this with the protestants of Germany and Switzerland, will appear from a letter of Ralph Gualter, chief minister of Zurich, to the bishop of Ely, written in the beginning of March.

“That they were in expectation every hour of prince John Casimire's letter (he was brother to Frederick, elector palatine, and deserved well of religion) unto their senate, whereby they might be more certified concerning the writing of a *common confession*, which they had decreed in the synod of Frankford, the ambassador of the most serene queen being present, and moderating the whole business. But that D. Zacharias Ursinus put a delay to the whole

business: who declined to undertake the work of drawing it up, which was committed to him. That they knew not yet who was placed in his room for that affair. He added, that the queen in this regard had performed an excellent work, and worthy a nursing mother of the church.”

She had also sent her ambassador to divers of the princes of Germany about this time on the same account of union. The good effect whereof was signified by the same divine to the same English bishop:

“That in these days he had understood that her embassy to the princes of Germany was very fruitful, especially with Julius, of Brunswick; and that Augustus, the elector of Saxony, did so receive the ambassador, that from the time the business of Jacobus Andreas, [a learned professor at Tubing,] the chief head of their adversaries, [who opposed some doctrines of the Helvetian churches, being a great *ubiquitarian*, and was some hinderance to the finishing this *common confession*,] did altogether begin to shake.” Then he piously added, that God was to be sought to, that the work so happily begun might be brought by him to the wished for end. For it would very much profit, as he subjoined, that there were extant such a *public confession* of so many kingdoms and nations; which might testify of our consent in faith. Our people (said he) [meaning those Helvetian churches] yield themselves ready and cheerful to this business. But, as I said, this is the Lord’s work. I pray that he would here put to his own hand.”

The reverend and learned man on this occasion acquaints him with some books now set forth, relating to the religious controversies then on foot; which will not be amiss to set down with the rest. That at that fair [at Frankford] he had published nothing, besides ten sermons in the German language, of the *bread of life*, Jesus Christ, and the *true* eating of him, from the sixth chapter of St. John; which if he should hereafter put into Latin, he promised to send him. And that Julius [who was a learned man there, and sometime P. Martyrs great friend and assistant, and so was now the more esteemed] had sent him a book of Benedict Tal-man: whereby the new and monstrous doctrine (as he styled it) of the *ubiquity* of Christ’s body was notably confuted. And informed him further, that there was in the press a learned book of the orthodox consent of the ancient church, in the business of the supper of our Lord.

This good bishop had sent by the way of Frankford unto Mr. Gualter and Julius 13 florens and five German ra-gions; which like gifts of money, he and several other bishops, that formerly had lived and been kindly harboured there, often in gratitude did convey by bills of exchange to them and others. For this favour they gave his lordship great thanks; and wished it were in them to gratify him. And concerning Julius, now grown old, and his circumstances low, he added; “You do well, right reverend father in Christ, who have Julius in your regard. For he is worthy to be helped, and hath great, need of it.” The conclusion of this letter (whence I have taken these things) must not be omitted, viz. *Haec habui quae nunc darem: non quod tuam amplitudinem meis opus habere putem, sed tes-tandi officii causa. Deus Pater miserationum tuam senec-tam, mi reverende pater, mitiget, et suo Spiritu regat ad sui nominis gloriam. Tiguri, 4 Martii, 1578.*

Tuae amplitudinis observantissimus,

Superscribed, *Reverendo in Christo Rod. Guatherus. patri, episcopo Eliensi vigilantissimo, domino suo cum omni observantia honorando.*

The contents of this letter being of such public and weighty concern, as it was highly approved of bishop Cox, so that he might be prepared to give some reasonable answer to the same; he soon communicated the same to the lord treasurer Burghley; being sent from that foreigner, whom he styled the most faithful minister of the church of Tygur, and successor of Bullinger: whose letter, he said, he could not answer, nor satisfy his expectation, unless he [the lord treasurer] would in part help him. For that he was altogether ignorant of that which Gualter chiefly wrote about. And what to write he had nothing certain, or what the queen’s majesty had done in that which he [Gualter] made mention of.

“That he seemed to hint magnificum quid, and worthy the highest praise, that the queen should endeavour that there might publicly be a confession and consent of Christian kingdoms in the true religion of Christ. Which very thing, added the bishop, that it might come to pass, I did not sluggishly wish in my sermon, some years ago, preached publicly before the queen. He proceeded, that if he might but get the least notice of such a thing, he should make Gualter’s heart very glad: and that he knew and was persuaded this so pious an en-deavour would be very acceptable to Christ himself, and to

his little flock most delightful, and most safe for the afflicted church. That Constantine the emperor, truly great for his piety, assisted and helped by the holy clergy and pious princes, (the heretics and schismatics either repulsed or bridled by silence,) at last brought the church to the unity of the Holy Ghost, reclaimed from errors and contentions.”

And so concludes his letter to that great counsellor:

“You see my confidence towards you, whereby I talk with you somewhat boldly; whereby I may answer in some measure the wish of a pious brother.” It was writ from Somersham, May the 16th.

Now for some particular occurrences relating to some of our bishops.

Sandys, removed lately from the see of London, succeeded Grindal in that of York; and this year began the visitation of his province. And having heard of some irregularities in the church of Durham; (that see being now void,) begins a visitation thereof: the dean whereof, William Whittingham, he understood was no ordained minister according to the order of the church of England; having received his orders at Geneva in an English congregation there. But that church refused his visitation: which caused a contest between the said church and the archbishop, who claimed, as archbishop of that province, a right to visit there; which proceeded even to an excommunication. And for the better searching into the merits of the cause, and for the putting some good conclusion to this difference, a commission was at length by the lord keeper issued out to some persons to hear it. A short account of this take from Fleetwood, recorder of London; *who*, in a letter, among other his intelligences from court to the lord treasurer Burghley, now, as it seems, at a distance, (and perhaps at Buxton’s well, whither he went this year for his health,) writeth in these words:

“There is a broil of excommunication between my lord archbishop of York and the minister of Durham, about the visitation.” And then gives his judgment: “I think my lord bishop is in the wrong. My lord keeper grant-eth forth a commission for the same cause.”

This continued on to the next year. And the lord treasurer having desired of the archbishop a note of the cause between them, the archbishop, in a letter to the said lord, acquainted him with two persons that were chief in this disturbance, viz. archdeacon Pilkington, and one young Bunnis;

precise men, as he called them, who wrought all the trouble: and that the former was before the council; “and,” addeth the archbishop, “was too gently used; and that made him brag.” And then adding further, “If your lordship knew the usage of that house, verily you would abhor it.” But I forbear to relate more of this visitation until the next year.

But as for the bishop of that see of Durham, Richard Barnes, being advanced the next year to that church, upon the death of Pilkington; he had been counselled from court to make a careful inspection into his diocese, consisting of the northern parts of the land, greatly infected with ignorance and superstition. After diligent and painful travel in his visitation, he gave this account how he found matters and persons affected, and what service he had done there, in a letter, dated February the 11th, to the lord treasurer, to this tenor:

“That though his travel was but simple, yet he praised God it had sorted very good and prosperous success and effect, *ad miraculum usque*, in a short space. And that since his last letter, he had sent throughout Northumberland; and found, such and so humble obedience, and such conformity unto all good orders, even of the wildest of those people, as truly and before God, (as he added,) he thought better and more plausible could not be found (*saltem ad oculum*) in many more civil countries of this land. Yea truly, and he doubted not, but that within this half year his good lordship should see a wonderful alteration there. For presently, albeit that there were those that were of late rebels, and most dissolute gentlemen, that were noted to talk unseemly, and to lie and rail, and deprave good doings in private assemblies, yet openly they all professed an obedience. And that now within all Northumberland he could not find one person, that wilfully refused to come to the church and communicate, a few women excepted. For he had driven out of that country, he said, the reconciling priests and massers, whereof there was store; and that they were gone into Lancashire and Yorkshire: but that they were rid of them. And surely such and so full presentments were daily given in of all defaults, as, he thought, they left almost no little trifle untouched: which did much confirm his hopes of speedy good reformation of that country.”

And then proceeding to give account of them of the county palatine of Durham, he subjoins:

“Yet, in the mean time, I assure your good lordship, those people are far more pliable to all good order than these stubborn, churlish people of the county of Durham, and their neighbours of Richmondshire; who shew but, as the proverb is, *Jack of Napes charity* in their hearts. The customs, the lives of this people, as their country is, are truly salvage; but truly such haste to amend (though it be for some) as is zealous: and yet none extremity shewed to any, otherwise than by threatening: which hath wrought pannicum timorem in their minds; and in the clergy a good readiness to apply their travels to their callings. Only that Augiae stabulum, the church of Durham, exceeds: whose stink is grievous in the nose of God and men; and which to purge far passeth Hercules’ labours.”

Hence it appears what great disorders were in the church of Durham, occasioned perhaps by the too much remissness of the former bishop. The habits enjoined the clergy seem to have been neglected, and a deviating from the orders appointed to be used in divine service. The bishop endeavoured to redress all this; but how small hopes he had of success he shewed by these his following words:

“I have an external show of some dutiful obedience, but their dealings underhand are nothing less. So that he feared he should be enforced to weary his honour and the lords with the reforming of their disorders; which were more than he was as yet well able to undergo: nevertheless promising he would do all his endeavour first even to the uttermost.”

And how it stood with him in the affection of the people for this service, and the malice and slander he underwent from many, take his own words to the same lord:

“The Lord of his endless and infinite mercies bless her highness. And as he hath stirred up her heart to tender my faithful travel in advancing virtue and religion, and in weeding out vices, and banishing popery, superstition, and the remainants of idolatry; whereby the malicious of this country are marvellously exasperated against me: and whereas at home they dare neither by words nor deeds deal undutifully against me; yet abroad, (as he proceeded in his relation of these his ill-willers,) they practised to deface him by all slanders, false reports, and shameless lies; though the same were never so inartificial or incredible, according to the northern guise:

which is never to be ashamed, however impudently they belie and deface him whom they hate, yea, though it be before the honorablest. A vile kind of people, as he saith, *Pessimum hoc hominum genus, ex alicua invidia laudem sibi quaerens*. Yet that her majesty had tendered and pitied his case, and had required his good lordship to defend his innocency and integrity from their slanders and calumnies; as his *good* lordship did advertise him to his greatest comfort. *And* thereupon he beseeched his good lordship to stand *his* good patron under her highness: and as he should need, he would fly under his wing. That the former bruits and slanders were vanished; and a short time had speedily displayed their shameless and impudent untruths. Wherefore that he trusted he need not to trouble his honour therewith, as now; but only most humbly to beseech his lordship to stand his good lord, and not to credit any slanders before they were tried, and he answered the same; and to advertise him [the bishop] what he heard. And if ever he returned untrue answer, let me (said he) be never credited again."

And as he had thus cleared himself of slanders raised upon him by such as were popishly inclined, so he proceeded to vindicate himself in a matter relating to Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, now lying under suspension and the queen's displeasure: who could not obey her command in putting down those exercises called *prophesies*; holding them so useful for promoting learning and knowledge in the clergy, and true religion among the people. For which disobedience the bishop of Durham had freely censured the archbishop. Concerning which, thus he expressed his mind, in order to the setting himself fair to the said lord, to whom he was writing.

"That as touching that he was reported not to have a good mind to the archbishop of Canterbury in the time of his trouble, truly, my good lord, I detest his wilfulness, and contending with the regal majesty, and obstinacy in not yielding to that which your honours [of the privy-council] set down, the same being godly and expedient for the time, the malapertness of brainless men considered; who nowadays, if but a proclamation, a decree, or commandment come forth from her majesty, and by your honours' advice, straightways, and first in their conventicles, will call the same into question, and examine and determine whether with safe conscience they may or *ought* to obey the same. a thing so perilous

as none can be more, and savouring of the anabaptismey; who wish a *popular* government.

“In effect, the *exercises*, though they, being best ordered, be accounted to be de *bene esse*, yet they are not de *esse religionis sinceræ*: and therefore not to be so urged of him, as by the same to contend with her highness or *her* council, to the great hinderance of true religion, &c. Thus much have I said, I think, to two or three persons *at* the utmost; and to no *mo*: and that urged in de-fence of her majesty, when bruits have been that he was cruelly dealt withal, and had not deserved to be *straitened*; and other slanders dispersed, that my lord of Leicester and some others should further his troubles, (which *I* know to be most false,) I have been forced to affirm his *own* wilfulness and undutifulness towards his sovereign to be the just occasion of his troubles. And this is true; and I have said so upon these occasions: and I think it was my duty so to do, in defence of my gracious sovereign, and the right honourable my good lords of the council. And more I have not done in any wise; nor, but that I was enforced, I would not have done or said any thing of him at all.”

When this bishop was lately come up to London, he omitted giving the archbishop a visit. To take off any hard interpretation of that neglect, he added,

“That possibly some might think much that he visited him not at *his* last being in London: indeed he once determined so *to* have done; but that he was warned by those whom he *would* obey, not so to do: which ought, he said, to be his *warrant*.” But that the bishop had taken some offence against the archbishop, appears by his words that follow: “How his grace and his had dealt against him otherwise, he needed not to declare, her highness and his good lordship knew. All which notwithstanding, he never minded, if he might, (as he had no power,) to urge her highness’ indignation against any man, *neque addere afflictionem* afflicto.”

While I am giving some account of bishop Barnes, I thought it not amiss to exemplify this remarkable letter; though some brief notice was given thereof elsewhere.

This bishop was of the ancient family of the barons of Bernes, of Lancashire. He was bred at Brasen Nose college, Oxon: preferred first at York, and was chancellor there; and read divinity publicly there for some years: made suffragan bishop of Nottingham, anno 1567: thence advanced to be bishop of Carlisle: and lastly to this see of Durham. His coat of arms and of his family were confirmed to him by Robert Glover, Somerset. His patent ran as followeth:

Reverendus in Christo pater, et venerabilis vir, Richardus Barnes, S. T. P. sive Dr. in comitat. Lancastr. ex honesta familia, quae a dominis baronibus de Bernes originem traxit, oriundus. Oxonii apud musas in colleg. AEnestiacensi [AEneanasensi] educatus. Cui per aliquot annos pie et provide praefuit. Hinc Eboracum evocatus, almaeque illius ecclesiae metropolitanae cancellarius, ac schelarcha [scholar-cha] creatus, sacram theologiam inibi ad aliquos annos, publice praelegit et professus est. Deinde episcopus factus [Carliolensis.] Novissime Dunelmium translatus. Ubi jam ad Dei gloriam episcopus illius ecclesiae habenas ac gubernacula moderatur.

The ancient coat of the family of the Barnes was, *party per pale, or and vert, on a fesse azure, three estoiles, or*. But the bishop bore quarterly, namely, that paternal coat. And the second quarter was granted to him when bishop of Carlisle, April 23, 13 Eliz.; which was, *azure, a bend arg. charged with a bear passant, or, ready to eat a child naked, or, between two estoiles of the same*. The third as the second: the fourth as the first. He had brothers, Oliver, then Edmund, Edwin, James, Edward, and John; all married: and our Richard, who was the youngest son, married Fredesmond Gyfford, daughter of Ralph Gyfford, of Claidon, in the county of Bucks; bywhom he had Ema-nuel Walter, Elizabeth, wife to Robert Taylbois, son of Rauf; John, Barnabas, Mary, Timothy, Margaret, Anna.

But as for those exercises called *propheysings*, before spoken of, whatsoever good opinion archbishop Grindal and divers other bishops and learned members of this protestant church had thereof, as tending so much to the instruction of the people in true religion, and setting the clergy on study; the queen, as it appeared by what the foresaid bishop wrote, had other conceptions of them, by means of some prejudices she had taken up by reports made to her. Upon the archbishop's sequestration on that account by the queen's command, the aged and learned bishop of Ely was

much troubled. And in June, the next month after the declaration of her displeasure against him, that right reverend prelate signified his mind to the lord treasurer: shewing his judgment, that indeed it had been better for the archbishop at that juncture to have complied with the queen; namely, for the stop of those exercises for the present: and that in convenient time, good rules about them being made and enjoined for regulation of them, they might be renewed again; well knowing how very useful they were for the improving the clergy in knowledge, otherwise in these times ignorant enough. To this purport was the letter of that good bishop to the said lord; which deserves to be preserved, for the letting in some further light into this affair: writing in this pathetic manner.

“That it was not without a deep anxiety of heart that he then writ, that her majesty should be so highly displeased with her principal priest; whose indignation was death. *Deus meliora*. But that a priest should happen to anger so gentle a prince, and such a favourer of sincere religion, it drew a fountain of tears from his eyes.” He proceeded, “That from the beginning of their acquaintance, both of them (for which he gave glory to God’s blessed name) had constantly, through many brunts on all hands, persevered and held out, he [the lord treasurer] especially. And now at this pinch he exhorted him to perform the part of a man; and it should be a matter of comfort and establishment to his heart. That he understood the matter was touching a *conference*, which had been abused, and being not established by authority, was therefore by authority abolished. This, he trusted, no man did maintain. But yet he hoped that hereafter, the thing being duly and considerately weighed, the queen, seeking especially the glory of God, and the quiet and edifying of her people, would be moved to further consideration of the matter. And that when the great idleness and lewdness of a great number of poor and blind priests should be duly weighed and considered of, it would be thought most necessary to call them, nay, to drive them to some travel and exercise of God’s holy word: whereby they might be the better able to discharge their bounden duty towards their flock. And then he earnestly moved that lord to mitigate the queen’s displeasure and indignation against her archbishop: who also had written to the queen [on this subject, as it seems] in all humble manner. And in the conclusion, hints, how such an example in the church of England

did but too much resemble the Roman tyranny against it.” But take this memorable letter *verbatim*, as it is transcribed in the Appendix.

In Hertfordshire these exercises were used. And notwithstanding the queen’s declaration to have them every where cease, yet in some places in this county they were not yet laid aside. Wherefore the queen thought fit to write to the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese part of that county was, to take order, that they be not suffered, according as she had by word of mouth commanded him, and other bishops perhaps besides; and that no other exercises be used; but such as were learned should preach sermons in fit time and place: and the Homilies, set forth by authority, to be read by other ministers less learned. Signifying by her said letter,

“That he [the bishop] should effectually remember her speeches to him, to continue and increase his care over his charge in God’s church, as the warning she gave him of the presumption of some, who by singular exercises in public, after their own fancies, wrought no good in the minds of the multitude, easy to be carried away. And that notwithstanding she was, since that, informed, that in sundry parts of his diocese, namely, in Hertfordshire, those exercises, or, as they termed them, *prophecies*, were yet continued, to the offence of other her orderly subjects. And that therefore, for divers good *respects*, she thought it requisite they should be forborne. Letting him know, that she, desiring to have God’s people under her government guided in an uniformity as near as might be, charged and commanded him, as a person whom by his function she looked should satisfy her in this behalf, within his charge to have dutiful consideration hereof. And to take order through the diocese, that no other exercise should be suffered publicly than preaching, in fit time and place, by persons learned, discreet, *conformable*, and sound in religion: and reading the Homilies, set forth by authority, and the Injunctions appointed, and the order of the Book of Common Prayer. And to signify to her, or her council, the names of such *gentlemen* and others, that had been setters forth and maintainers of these exercises; and in what places; and also such as should impugn this her order.”

The whole letter may be found in the Appendix: which seems indeed to be a form of a circular letter to all the bishops, besides the bishop of Lincoln.

Curtes, bishop of Chichester, met with troubles now from certain gentlemen in his diocese; who were stirred up against him, chiefly by means of a strict inquiry he had lately made in his episcopal visitation, mentioned before, after such as were unsound in religion: and administered divers articles to them for that purpose. Having had information of divers, not only in his diocese, that came thither from Hampshire, Surrey, and Kent, not sound in religion; and among the rest, divers of them justices: this had so provoked them, that they had combined together, and drew up articles against the bishop, and petitioned against him to the court. Among these were sir Thomas Palmer, knt. Richard Ernely, Thomas Lewknor, esq. whose petition ran in this tenor:

“That whereas they were of good fame and credit, according to their calling, they referred themselves to the report of the country, and were called by her majesty as justices of peace within Sussex; the bishop of Chichester had sought by many ways to defame, discredit, and deface them, not only by private talk and speech had with divers persons, and matter gone forth in writing by his lordship to honourable personages, but also in public and disordered manner; far differing from the virtuous, charitable, and good consideration that should be in one of his vocation; had imagined and surmised great matters against us; on purpose, as they had great cause to believe, to bring them undeservedly into discredit with her majesty and their lordships of the privy-council. Therefore they thought it needful for themselves, and also for others, to express their griefs herein; and to desire that they might be admitted to their lordships, to purge themselves of the said undeserved infamy before their lordships, or other judges,” &c.

And likewise to present their complaints in many articles against the bishop. For thus they proceeded in their petition:

“That hearing the lamentable cry and complaint of her majesty’s subjects against the said bishop, whose faults and disorders they hoped by their lordships’ good means might be redressed, and in that behalf needful to be known to their lordships; and so desired, by the consent also of many of the justices of the peace in that shire, for the better service of God and her majesty, and for the better quietness of her majesty’s subjects, to shew unto them the disorders, injuries, and abuses done and committed by the same

bishop, by articles herewith ready to be delivered unto their lordships.”

These articles were very large and long. Some related to his hindering justice and the queen’s service: others, to injuries done to them, and other misdemeanours. Of the first sort was his contending wilfully, and quarrelling with the commissioners joined with his lordship [the said bishop] in commission for ecclesiastical causes, and with the commissioners of the peace: in abusing the authority and trust committed unto him by the said commission, in bearing and maintaining disorderly riots and unlawful acts: in making without discretion fond and unlawful licences for keeping of May-games, &c.: in threatening divers persons that had honestly done their duties in her majesty’s service: in taking order for sparing the punishment of offenders: prohibiting without cause some honest persons from the communion, only for displeasure conceived by his lordship against them: in keeping benefices ecclesiastical without incumbents; employing the profits to his own purse, or at his pleasure: taking rewards simoniacally for ecclesiastical livings granted by him, &c.: openly citing them [the justices] to appear at his consistory, to be reformed in religion, without any just cause of suspicion, information, or presentment, upon untrue surmises of matter, on purpose to vex and trouble them, and to bring them into discredit. Also, they thought he wanted consideration in appointing so many men of such calling and credit [as they themselves were] to appear before his lordship [the bishop] in so open a place, one day, time, and instant, viz. one knight, eighteen squires, some of them justices of peace, and above thirty other persons, most whereof gentlemen. Also, that his lordship came that day with many more men than he was accustomed to ride with, being well weaponed; who stood about the consistory during the time of his lordship’s sitting: and the register being his lordship’s servant, having his sword holden by him in the consistory by a sumner, during the time of his lordship’s sitting. And that he caused two of the servants, upon a surmised warrant made to them, as special bailiffs of the same for that time, in a matter of an action upon the cause, at his lordship’s own suit, to arrest one Rand. Bar-low in his said church near the consistory; and violently to have drawn and carried him away, without shewing any warrant, until a justice of peace within the city, seeing the tumult, commanded them, in her majesty’s name, to keep the peace.

To all these articles the poor bishop was fain to come up, and make answer. “*Imprimis*, The said defendant com-plaineth unto your honourable good lordship, that almost all of the articles were ordered by the right honourable the earl of Leicester, about four years ago. And this defendant did satisfy his lordship’s order, as his lordship know-eth. That almost all of them be very old, and that no subject ought by two statutes,” &c. But I shall add no more of this matter, to avoid prolixity. This is enough to shew the hard circumstances the bishops were often in these times put into by means of many gentlemen in their dioceses, whether popish or puritanically inclined, for the discharge of their duties, and of the commands they received from court.

The bishop of Ely, mentioned above, being grown aged, and wearied with cares and lawsuits, and desiring to retire from the world, had thoughts of resigning his bishopric, and to spend the remainder of his days in peace. And in order to the obtaining of this, he made use of his old friend, the lord treasurer; to whom he thus brake his mind, (leaving further particulars to be opened to him by his son-in-law, Mr. Parker, son to the late archbishop of Canterbury.)

“My very good lord. *Christus ad finem dilexit suos*. I doubt not but you will follow his steps, *et usque ad finem veros diliges amicos*. Sir, I am now *in fine aetatis*; and I heartily pray you help me *in fine aetatis*. Nam *libenter quaero donari rude; et quod superest vitae paulo tranquillius peragere*. You are the only man to relieve me of my desire. My function requireth a perfect man. I wax daily very unperfect, *Ipsa senectus morbus est, cum corporis et membrorum imbecillitate*. I will commit no more to pen and ink, but will desire your honour to give credit to this bearer, my son-in-law, John Parker; with whom I have conferred: desiring your lordship to confer with him at such length as you may most conveniently spare. And so I beseech the Lord Jesus to have you in his blessed keeping, with increase of health and godliness. From my palace at Ely, the 10th of November, 1577.

Your lordship’s assured,
Richard Ely, manu vacillante.”

It was not before the year 1579, when this resignation was prosecuted more vigorously: and with what success will be shewn under that year.

There was now one John Caldwell, parson of the rich rectory of Winwic in Lancashire. Hardly the same with John Coldwel, sometime bishop of Sarum, (though their names were near alike,) who was born at Feversham in Kent, admitted fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, anno 1558; rector of Aldington in the diocese of Canterbury; domestic chaplain to archbishop Parker; hardly ever removing out of Kent till he got the bishopric. But concerning this Caldwell, I have this remark to make, that he preached a sermon this year, 1577, before Henry earl of Darby, his patron, in his chapel at New Park in Lancashire; which was printed by that lord's command. The main subject of it was to shew, what an happy deliverance this church and kingdom obtained by queen Elizabeth's access to the throne; and the blessed reformation established by her, together with her parliament. Wherein he used these expressions:

“When we were ignorant in God's word, and heard nothing but the sound of a tinkling cymbal; did we not think superstition to be religion, deceivers true teachers; vanity to be verity; the gospel to be heresy: to gad abroad on pilgrimages from this saint to that saint, to be a part of God's service; men's traditions the commandments of God; Antichrist, Christ's vicar; the man of Rome, Who is a creature overwhelmed with all wickedness, the beast that did rise out of the bottomless pit, a most holy father? Yea, we thought that God was delighted with incense, perfume, wax candles, golden copes and vestments. And we worshipped those things which our own conscience gave us to understand were no gods. We made no difference almost between Christ and his creatures. We confounded the sign with the thing signified; and worshipped a wafer cake, which is a creature corruptible, instead of the Maker of heaven and earth; and believed it was the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, and slain for our sins upon the cross. The cause of all which errors was the ignorance of Christ and his word. His text was taken out of Romans, chapter 13:11-14. *And that considering the season, that now it is time that we should awake, &c.*”

To the rest of these ecclesiastical persons, and matters, wherein they were about this time concerned, I add the relation of a purpose this year undertaken, of confirming the statutes of the collegiate church of Westminster, Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean; chiefly occasioned upon some neglect of residence in the prebendaries, and for their better observance of

preaching themselves in their turns: which the good dean was minded to redress. And moving it to the lord treasurer Burghley, the said lord required of him an account of the orders of the college, as they were made and observed formerly by his predecessor Dr. Bill; who was the first dean of that church after the settlement thereof by the queen. Which he therefore sent, drawn up with his own hand, in order to a reformation of some things, and for the making of some new statutes. The title it bore was, *The order of the government of the college of WestmInster, sithence the last erection: begun by Dr. Bill, and continued by me; with the assent of the chapter: as appears by divers decrees recorded in the chapter-book.* This I have repositied in the Appendix. And with it the dean thus expressed his desire in a letter to the said lord:

“That he was bold to send his honour a brief declaration of the orders used in the government of the college by Dr. Bill, and him, since the last erection: that it might please him to confer the same with the statutes, and to consider thereof, as he should think good. He prayed God that might be done, which might be to God’s glory, the queen’s honour, and the good example of the church. He wished a convenient residence of both dean and prebendaries. First, That every one might sometime preach in their own persons. Secondly, That they [both dean and prebendaries] might be present in the church to pray, as their most bounden duty was, for her majesty, being their founder. And thirdly, For the better order and government of the church. That unless there were daily commodity for residence in the church, as it was at Windsor, and such like places, he feared (which he was sorry to speak) the residence would not be so well kept. I beseeke your honour, added he, that there may be that moderation used which shall be most convenient for all respects. Hitherto I and the company, I thank God, have agreed very brotherly, and withr great quietness, as any such company, I hope; I would be sorry, if by seek-Ing to better things, dissension should grow, or unquietness. My special trust is in God, that as he hath done under her majesty, with motherly care to his church, and your honour, with godly zeal to virtue and learning, so he will work some good effect of this travail. Thus with my continual prayer for you and all yours, I humbly take my leave. From Westminster college this 15th of November, 1577.

Your honour’s most bounden, — *Gabrielle Goodman.*”

This motion of the dean produced some new statutes; but how long after, I cannot assign; but some years after it was, Whitgift being then archbishop. For I meet With an humble request of the dean of Westminster, for confirmation of the statutes, which had been drawn up and prepared for the signet. And so Dr. Caesar, master of the requests, had signified; but it seems, not well-pleasing to some of the prebendaries, choosing rather to have been left more at their liberty. His Said humble request was,

“That whereas in his last he exhibited an humble petition to her majesty, that it might please her highness, for the better government of that her college, to confirm the statutes for the government thereof, drawn and devised by Dr. Bill, of blessed memory, late her majesty’s high almner: it pleased her highness most graciously to accept thereof; and to will, that her majesty’s learned counsel might peruse the same, and make them ready to the signet; as Dr. Caesar, master of requests, and the mover of the said petition, had signified under his hand. That he [the dean] had imparted the same to my lord of Canterbury. And he likewise had perused the said book of statutes. That he did likewise signify his meaning to proceed herein to his brethren, the prebendaries: whereof some did seem better to like the present government; which is partly according to these statutes, and partly ordered by decrees and discretion. But he [the dean] did hope, that statutes confirmed to govern, and to be governed by, was a more sure rule of government, and more beneficial to posterity.

“That whereas also it had pleased her highness to appoint a statute for the double election of scholars in the time of Dr. Bill the dean, which was then begun, and since always continued, there was in the same statute provided, that of the scholars of her majesty’s school at Westminster there should be three at the least chosen to each University; so it was, that my lord’s grace of Canterbury, being then master of Trinity college; and therefore requested, that there should be of necessity but two chosen every year to each university, and three every third year. Whereunto, upon the request and persuasion of bishop Grindal, then bishop of London, to whom it had pleased his honour [the lord treasurer] to refer the ordering of this statute, it was yielded. And so it had been ever since most commonly used. But he prayed, that the same statute might remain in force, as touching the number, *Ii. e. of three,*] for the better

encouragement of her majesty's scholars; notwithstanding the day of election be altered, which was the same day of the commencement in Cambridge. And so humbly desired his honour's advice and aid. Subscribing,

His honour's most bound,
Gabriel Goodman."

CHAPTER 8.

Maimed professors in these days. Popish books secretly dispersed. Answered by Dr. W. Fulk. Ithel, a fugitive Lovainist, comes to Cambridge: discovered. The council's letter hereupon to the university. Egremont Radcliff, a furtive since the rebellion in the north: his letters for the queen's pardon, and leave to come home: is put into the Tower: set at liberty: his end.

THE papists still used here their old diligence to pervert our people to their errors; sowing their seeds of disobedience and superstition. And many Of the queen's subjects, however they conformed themselves outwardly to the religion established, and the public worship used in the church of England, yet entertained favourable thoughts of divers popish doctrines and practices. Which sort of men was smartly reproved in a sermon preached this year at St. Paul's Cross: the preacher's name unknown: calling them *poisoned protestants and maimed professors*. Using these words, (according to the way of preaching in those days:)

"How many poisoned protestants and maimed professors have we? I mean for opinions. For otherwise, who is whole and sound? You shall have a gospeller, as he will be taken, a jolly fellow, to retain and maintain such patches of popery and infection of Rome; that, methinks, I see the serpent's subtilty as plainly as by the claw you may judge the lion. One holdeth, faith justifieth; and yet works do no harm. Another saith, prayer for the dead is charity; and though it doth no good, yet it doth no hurt. What will you have me say, The Devil go with them? [as the preacher bringeth in one of these men speaking, that are for praying for one deceased.] Another. believeth verily, that infants unbaptized, and dead, cannot but be damned. Another crosseth me his face, and nose, and breast, with thumb and fingers, and cannot pray but toward the east: and some have not forgot their Ave Maria, although their Pater noster was forgot long ago. Some, and a large sum too, do superstitiously, and so sinfully, swear by saints, or every other creature, and think it small offence, or none at all. And when you tell them, it is superstition, and that it is a degree to apostasy to forsake the Lord; Jer. v. that they give to the creature that which is due to the Creator; that swearing

reverently is a piece of the worship of God, and therefore belongs to him alone, and the like; it is a strange doctrine to them, and unheard of before. And thus they fall a wondering at the very principles of religion.”

This discourse indeed touched such as were indifferent in any religion, and grossly ignorant even in these days of the gospel, as well as the other sort who secretly favoured the old religion.

Indeed the papists privately uttered many books in favour of their cause; and diligently dispersed them; which might have made many of these *maimed professors*. William Fulk, D.D. sometime of St. John’s college in Cambridge, and after master of Pembroke hall, a learned man, from this year and after, let not one of these books in English that fell into his hands pass without his answer and confutation of them; for the good service of our reformed church, and establishment of the common sort of men in true religion. This appears by a book which he wrote some years after: wherein he saith, that he had attempted to fight the truth’s cause, within this five or six years past: and that he had set abroad sundry treatises in confuting of popish books written in English: and that he purposed, if God gave him strength, to answer as many as within twenty years of her majesty’s reign had been set forth by papists, and were not yet confuted by any other. And this purpose, he added, the papists had not greatly hindered by replies, except one only, Bristow: (who had defended Allen’s Articles and Purgatory. And none other hitherto had set forth any just replication to the rest of his writings. This I take from a book of his *called, A brief confutation of sundry cavils*. There he shewed how he was reflected on by all the popish writers: every one of them almost, as he said, had endeavoured to have a snatch or two at some one odd thing or other in his books; wherein they would seem to have advantage. And that, belike, they would have their simple readers think to be a sufficient confutation of all that he had ever writ against them. And he thought good, as near as he could, to gather all their cavils together, and briefly to shape an answer to every one of them.

We only give this short note of Fulk here. Hewill shew himself more in defence of religion in some few years after.

These active men of the church of Rome sent their emissaries not only into the countries about, but into the universities, One of these was Ithel, a Lovainist, brother to Dr. Ithel, master of Jesus college, Cambridge. And

upon this occasion following, it was feared his brother gave him countenance, or at least concealed him. This I thel had been for some time using his arts and insinuations with the scholars there. At length he was discovered: and the vice-chancellor sent intelligence of it to their chancellor, the lord treasurer Burghley: and that he was put into the custody of his brother in order to reform him. But he was too well principled at Lovain, that any good should be done to him here. So that his brother was rather to proceed to some restraint and punishment. But he escaped soon, and was gone: which gave some just cause of suspicion of the doctor himself. Which the vice-chancellor thus related to the aforesaid lord in his letter written in July this year.

“That this fugitive Lovainist was returned about three months since secretly to Cambridge. Where he remained, corrupting such as he could from the truth of our religion here received. And being apprehended, he was committed to his brother, Dr. Ithel, as a prisoner, to be further dealt withal, either for reformation or correction. And from hence he escaped. And hereby occasion was given for some sinister dealing of Dr. Ithel. Of whom I would be sorry to conceive as the matter with the circumstances (not only for his escape, but for his former lurking in the university) doth offer cause.”

By the means of this, and perhaps other Romish emissaries, recusancy was crept into the university, as well as other towns and places of the land. Insomuch as it was thought meet by the queen, to require an account of the names of all such scholars, as likewise of every townsman, that came not to church or chapel to hear divine service; and to have an account of the estates of such, and the values thereof, sent up. Such a letter I shall here exemplify, sent to the university from the privy-council.

“After our hearty commendations. The queen’s majesty’s pleasure is, that you shall certify unto us, with all diligence, the names of such persons, as well scholars as townsmen, within the university of Cambridge, as you shall understand do refuse to come to the church to hear divine service. And withal, that you certify their degrees and qualities, with the value of their lands and goods, as you think they are worth indeed, and not as they be valued in the subsidy books. And to the end you may do the same with more expedition and better certainty, we think it meet that you use the

advice of some such persons as you shall know to be well affected in religion, and can best inform you, both for the said university and town, of the particular values of every such recusant: and thereof, as well as you may, to send us a true certificate to be delivered here within seven days after the receipt of these our letters. And for the several colleges and halls of the university, you shall by virtue hereof charge the heads of the same to deliver unto you a true note of the names and degrees of every such person within their charge, as they shall know to be backward in religion, and shall refuse to come unto the church. And that therein neither they nor you, for friendship or otherwise, to use any respect of persons or degrees whatsoever, as they will answer the trust in this behalf committed unto you. So fare you heartily well. From Windsor the 15th of November, 1577.

Your very loving friends,

W. Burghley, E. Lyncoln, T. Sussex, R. Leycester, F. Knollys, Jamys Croft, Fra. Walsingham, Tho. Wylson."

To our very loving friend the vice-chancellor, &c."

Egremond Radcliff was another papist of remark in these times, of whom our histories speak. I shall here insert some remarkable passages concerning him hitherto scarcely known. This man was noble by birth, being the son of Henry earl of Sussex, half brother to Thomas then earl of Sussex, lord high chamberlain of the queen's household. But being young, and of a haughty spirit, and a papist, was engaged in the rebellion in the north, anno 1569, and made a shift after to fly into Spain and Flanders: where he continued rambling about for divers years; as at Bruges and Antwerp. And feeling hardship at length had earnestly solicited, by letters, the lord treasurer, as well as others, for the queen's pardon; and that he might come into England safely; and promising all fidelity to her majesty: and earnestly desiring to shew the same, by being employed by her in some service. But the queen would not. be persuaded to pardon him for some time. However he comes to Calais, anno 1575, perhaps under some confidence that he might enter within the English territories: which he did. But soon after, he was committed to the Tower; as appears by two letters written thence, the one in April, the other in May, anno 1577, to the aforesaid lord.

In his former, he speaks

“of his miserable state and long imprisonment: praying his lordship, according to his accustomed goodness and consideration towards him, to understand the extremity he was in. And that he doubted not, but that God would so work in his noble and pitiful *heart*, that he should find, by some suit made unto her *majesty* in his behalf, a remedy of his sorrows; wherein he pined and consumed, as one weary of life, and utterly void of consolation. For. that in truth he had done all which in him lay, to manifest unto the world both his hearty remorse and contrition for his offence, and also his dutiful and earnest desire to recover her majesty’s favour with his brother’s [the earl’s] good liking: and perceiving, for all that, her majesty’s indignation, and his lordship’s displeasure to continue still most heavily against him; he was driven into so great despair, to consume his days in captivity: which [days] he desired, as became the duty of a faithful subject, to employ to the last of his breath in her majesty’s service. And professed to God, that he rather wished with all his heart present death, than any longer continuance of such misery. Most humbly imploring of her majesty, for God’s sake, to command him rather to be executed, than to let him live in the torment of body and mind he was in. That if her highness’ clemency would not suffer her to have the law pass on him, then he humbly beseeched the same to grant him some further liberty. That he might have some liberty by time to obtain some remission, and her majesty’s favour.

“That he had no power to compass this benefit, but only by his lordship’s favour and aid: to whom he was already so much bound, as he knew not how he might be ever able dutifully to acknowledge the least part of his noble dealings towards him. Howbeit his lordship should always find him undoubtedly so grateful, as the expense of his poor life in any service it should ever please his honour to command him in, might enable him. And thus once again he was bold humbly to beseech his honour to deal for him; and to send him such answer as should stand with her majesty’s pleasure. That through her majesty’s mercy or justice, he might be delivered from this desperation which afflicted his very soul, as knoweth the Almighty, &c. From the Tower, this 20th of April, 1577.
Subscribing,

Your honour's most humble and obedient to command,
Egremond Radeclyff."

By another letter of the same Radcliff's from the Tower, wrote the next month, it appeareth, the queen was inexorable towards him; and all further favour she would grant him was to be sent out of the realm. Which message was brought him by his messenger, one Gray. For to this tenor he wrote again to the lord treasurer; being the last letter I meet with from him.

"That he was given to understand from his honour by the bearer, Mr. Gray, how it had pleased his lordship to move her majesty in his behalf. For the which, and a number of other his favours shewed him, he rendered his most humble thanks; acknowledging himself obliged to him during his life, &c. That the effect of her majesty's pleasure (which the said Gray delivered him from his lordship) was, that it was not her highness' pleasure ever to employ him in her services, or to grant him her pardon; but that he should be dismissed the realm. He protested before God and the world, nothing caused him to yield himself unto her majesty's mercy, but a just remorse of conscience for the offences his ignorant youth committed, and a dutiful desire *to* repair the same by all loyal obedience, the residue of his life. Which humble submission if it should not stand with her majesty's pleasure to accept, he, as became an *humble* vassal, should be contented with whatsoever it should please her majesty and grave council to ordain concerning him. So it might please her highness' clemency to take a charitable compassion on his poor afflicted soul, in delivering it from desperation. For no death could be so bitter, that he had rather suffer it, than to remain in this torment of mind he was in; to find his Soul in his sovereign's indignation, in no assurance of his life: often threatened to be banished his country, forsaken of all his friends, a close prisoner, an occasion to the ill-disposed to blaspheme against her majesty, and *council's* mercy; a laughingstock to all those that are become my enemies, for the great desire I have always had to recover her majesty's favour, and my country again: and in conclusion, void of all comforts and reliefs. These (as he concluded) are the griefs of mind which continually assault me. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your honour, that for pity sake it will please you, to impart to her majesty and the rest of her council, this my wretched state; and to

procure of her majesty that there may be some speedy order taken for me. Wherein your honour shall do a work of great honour and charity, as knoweth the Almighty, who preserve your honour, &c.
From the Tower, the 6th of May, 1577."

And accordingly he went abroad; and out of need perhaps put himself into the service of don John of Austria: but so miserable and unfortunate he *was*, that upon some accusation, as though he and some other English were entered into a plot to murder that governor of Flanders, was executed the next year, though he denied it to the last: being taken in the camp at Namur, with one Gray, (the same, I suppose, mentioned above, his friend,) and that he was set at liberty for that purpose, and encouraged therein by secretary Walsingham: very improbable, by what appears in his own letters, and that little countenance he had with the queen; and her refusal of his service.

What his necessities were, being abroad, and what protestations he made, and methods he used for favour, may be collected from a letter or two, written by him in the years 1574 and 1575. For this poor unhappy rebel, weary of rambling up and down out of his native country, and become poor, was very desirous of coming home two or three years ago; and was soliciting then the lord treasurer for her majesty's gracious pardon for that purpose: attributing his distress to his youthful heat and ignorance, (but not a word of another cause, his zeal for religion.) Insisting very much in those his letters upon his desire to shew his loyalty to the queen, if she would employ him in some service for her; and vowing himself entirely at his lordship's devotion; and expressing such like protestations. Whether any just suspicions might be gathered hence of his guilt, and that he was put to death justly, I leave others to judge.

Thus in the year 1574 he addressed himself to the aforesaid lord from Antwerp: January 28.

"If fortune would so hallilye him, as to send him means by some acceptable *service*, to let his lordship see the earnest desire he had to be found grateful to his honour for the great favour it *had* pleased him to shew him; although it were with the *hazard* of his life, yet surely he would attribute it to one *of* the greatest felicities that could chance unto him, &c. And that although his poor service should never be able to attain to the merit of his honour's great courtesy, yet he affied so much in his lordship's virtue and good

nature, that he would esteem it no less than our Saviour *did* the mite of the poor widow: protesting to Almighty *God*, that he offered himself entirely at his lordship's *command* with no less devotion. He added, that he had *received* divers advertisements from one Avery Philips, *that* at his lordship's earnest suit it had pleased her majesty to pardon his former offence made to her. [But it *seems* Avery's information was not true.] But which offence he would assuredly repair by a dutiful allegiance all *his* life, faithfully and truly, in all services he should be *employed* in."

His brother, the earl, also was highly displeased with him. That he might be reconciled to him, he begged the lord treasurer likewise to procure it.

"That he would be a means to my lord, his brother, that he would pardon *his* offence: which, God knew, proceeded of youth and *ignorance*, not of malice. The fault was committed, and *he* could but be sorry for it, and ready to make any *satisfaction* he should be able, or that it would please his lordship to command him: which he would most willingly *do*. And so humbly beseeched his lordship, even for *God's* sake, to deal with his brother in it. For that, if he *persevered* still in his indignation against him, he knew it would be his destruction, &c. And so humbly desiring his lordship to Consider his extreme poverty, which, as *God* was his judge, as he added, he was utterly unable to abide any longer." The king of Spain's pension, it seems, now grew but low.

About half a year after we have this fugitive gentleman gone to Bruges. And thence in the month of August he continueth his solicitation to the said lord Burghley. Which was to this tenor;

"That, not daring to presume to write to her majesty, his lordship's virtuous inclinations did embolden him to move him to stand his good lord, in being *a* means to her majesty for him: that it would please her, of her accustomable clemency, to pardon those faults, by *which*, through ignorant youth, and not of malice, (*God was* his judge,) he had offended her majesty. Which now ripen understanding and further grace did cause him to be most heartily sorry for; and prostrate at her majesty's feet, humbly craved pardon for the same: hoping her majesty's pitiful nature would follow the precept of our Saviour Christ, who willeth no forgiveness to be refused to him, who with humility and repentance craveth it. For

which most gracious benefit he promised to God and her majesty, his life should be ready at all times to be yielded in any service it should please her majesty to employ him; as well to repair his former fault, as also to win of her majesty a degree of credit. And he hoped these few years of tribulation had taught him to know good from evil, and increased his ability to serve his prince and country: which above all things he most desired.”

And that he had been in Spain likewise it appears by what he addeth;

“That what had passed between Stewkly and him in Spain in defence of her majesty’s honour, for that he spoke most villainous words of her majesty, his lordship had, he thought, already heard. And that he minded to take no entertainment of any prince in the world, before he knew her majesty’s pleasure: whose favour he esteemed more than any worldly preferment. If he did *not*, he assured his lordship on his faith, he could have very sufficiently to maintain him there, according to his calling, as it was well known to many. And so waiting her majesty’s resolution, to be by his lordship’s favour known, &c. Dated August 18. from Bruges in Flanders.”

What fair hopes the next message from England brought him, I know not, but it ‘produced this letter from him now at Calais, the next year, 1575, *as* though ready to come for England:

“That if small benefits did bind good natures, *how* much ought he to think himself bound unto his honour, since by his only friendship he had recovered grace *at* her majesty’s hands, and good liking of my lord his brother. Which, God was his judge, he esteemed more than his life: as he trusted to give sufficient testimony by his faithful service in all it should please her majesty to *employ* him. And that undoubtedly his lordship might assure himself of his service, during his life, with no less *fidelity* and affection, than if he were his own child. He besought his honour to continue so; and so by his good lordship’s favour to intercede with his brother, that he was sure he would at his request support him with sufficient maintenance, until such time as it should please her *highness* to license him to come home. And for fear he should ignorantly offend, he humbly craved of his lordship, that he might have some place appointed him, where *he* should serve. And if it should not displease her majesty,

he should be glad to go against the Turk, where he thought he should see best service.”

And he trusted his endeavours should be such, as neither her majesty, nor my lord his brother, nor his honour should mislike it. This was dated from Calais, March the 25th, 1575.

The next tidings we hear of him was, that he was come over into England with a merchant: and with protestations of his duty repaired to the lord Burghley, in order to that lord's recommending him to the queen. Of his access to him, he sends word to secretary Walsingham. The queen understanding his coming and request, shewed herself displeased, and orders Walsingham to tell that lord, “*that he should*, as of himself, advise Radcliff to slip away; for that he understood secretly from his friends in court, that *her* majesty was greatly displeased with his presumptuous manner of coming over. And that otherwise (as Walsingham proceeded in relating the queen's commands, that he should say) he doubted, her majesty, as in justice she was bound, should be driven, for example sake, to extend the punishment towards him, that for his former offences was due.” And for that the queen was doubtful of his lingering in the realm, whatsoever promises he had made to him, [the lord Burghley,] her pleasure was, that he should so offer the matter, that Reins, the merchant, with whom he came over, should see him embarked: whereby she might be assured that he was departed the realm. But not taking this seasonable warning, he was committed prisoner to the Tower. And what befell him afterwards in another land was related before. But this is enough to have remembered of this unfortunate gentleman and penitent rebel, but of a turbulent spirit, Egremont Radcliff.

CHAPTER 9.

The queen's progress. The lord treasurer, and others of the court, at Buxton Well. The earl of Leicester at Chatsworth, entertained there. The queen's letter of thanks to the earl of Shrewsbury upon that entertainment. The mortality at Oxford. The plague breaks out. The diligence of Fleetwood, the recorder at London. Sessions at Newgate. An intention of robbing the lord treasurer's house. A privy search in Smithfield. Cozeners and cheats, &c. Phaer a notable coiner. His offer; to discover all the coiners, and such as practised magic.

AND now let us turn our eyes to more domestic matters.

The queen this summer took her progress into Kent, Surrey, Sussex. Where, according to her custom, she received the entertainments of the nobles, and persons of the best quality, at their houses: who were glad of the honour, and made very expensive preparations for her.

Now was the lord Buckhurst to receive her at his house in Sussex: and therefore sent to the earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain, to understand when her majesty's pleasure was to come into those parts: that as the earl of Arundel, the lord Mountagu and others, expecting her presence With them, and had made great provisions for her and her retinue, so he might not be wanting with his: being fain to send into Flanders to supply him, the others having drawn the country dry before him. And in what concern that nobleman was on this occasion, his letter will shew, written in the beginning of July:

“That he beseeched his lordship to pardon him that he became troublesome unto him, to know some certainty of the progress, if it might possibly be, the time of provision was so short; and the desire he had to do all things in such sort, as appertained, so great, as he could not but thus importune his lordship to procure her highness to grow to some resolution, both of the time when her majesty would be at Lewes, and how long her highness would tarry there. For that he having already sent into Kent, Surrey, and Sussex for provision, he assured his lordship he found all places possessed by my lord of Arundel my lord Montagu, and others: so as of force he

was to send into Flanders. Which he would *speedily* do, if the time of her majesty's coming and tarri-ance with him were certain. He beseeched his lordship *therefore* (if it might be) to let him know, by his lordship's favourable means, somewhat whereunto to trust. For if her highness should not presently determine, he saw not how possibly they might or could perform that towards her majesty which was due and convenient. He trusted his lordship would measure his cause by his own: that would be loath her highness should come unto him before he were ready to receive her: to hazard thereby his dishonour, and her majesty's dislike." And then (fearing that his house might not be agreeable to such a guest) he added, "That he could not but beseech God, that that house of his did not mislike her. That, he said, was his chief care. The rest should be performed with that good heart as he was sure it would be accepted. But that if her highness had tarried but one year longer, we had been, said he, too, too happy: [his house by that time more fitted for her entertainment.] But God's will and hers be done." This was dated July the 4th, 1577.

Divers great persons of the court took this opportunity to repair to Buxton Wells for their health; as sir Thomas Smith, secretary, sir William Fitz-Williams, Mr. Mannors, lady Harrington, and among the rest, the lord treasurer Burghley. I find him here, August the 7th, "when he began," as he said, "the day before to be a lawnder, having ended his drunkenness the day before," as he affected merrily to express himself in the homely language there, for the method then used, first of drinking the waters, and then bathing. This account of himself he gave in a letter to the earl of Sussex; who was now, notwithstanding a hurt in his leg, following the court, wishing him, the said earl, long there, as a very useful man to attend the queen in her progress: who had wished himself at Buxton with the treasurer. In answer to which wish, "the said treasurer wished the same, (had he not been so necessarily attending the queen,) as he knew no nobleman in the earth more to his heart's contentation. And this, he said, he wrote even with the best vein in his heart."

The earl of Shrewsbury was likewise there for a gouty hand: and both drank and bathed diligently. But upon some warning from court concerning an attempt, either to rescue the Scottish queen, or some other danger relating to her, he was forced to leave the placer and to be gone to his charge.

The lord treasurer set out from his house, Theobalds, about July 22. Thence to Burghley house. Thence by Darby and Ashborn in the Peak, to Chatsworth, the earl of Shrewsbury's house, to lodge there. And so to Buxton.

The earl of Leicester was at Buxton also the month before, viz. in June. And being in those parts, visited the earl of Shrewsbury at Chatsworth. Where the earl with his lady gave him a most splendid and noble reception, and likewise made him some extraordinary present; and when he was at Buxton, discharged his diet. This that earl might the rather do, since he knew what a favourite Leicester was with the queen, and what service such an one might upon occasion do him with her. When Leicester returned, he acquainted the queen with the great respect shewn him at Chatsworth. Which was so highly acceptable to her, that she thought fit to write him a gracious letter of thanks for the same. And withal had in her mind the great dependance she and the whole state of her kingdom had upon his vigilance over the Scotch queen, in his keeping. The letter is worthy the repeating: which was in these words, (with her own name on the top of the letter,) viz.

“ELIZABETH.

“Our very good cousin. Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester, how honourably he was not only lately received by you our cousin, and the countess at Chatsworth, and his diet by you both discharged at Bux-tons, but also presented with a very rare present; we should do him great wrong (holding him in that place of favour we do) in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him, but unto our own self: reputing him as another our self. And therefore you may assure your self, that we taking upon us the debt, not as his, but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge in such honourable sort, as so well deserving creditors as ye are shall never have cause to think ye have met with an unthankful debtor.

“In the acknowledgment of new debts we may not forget our old debt, the same being as great as a sovereign can owe to a subject, when through your loyal and most careful looking to the charge committed to you, both we and our realm enjoy a peaceable government; the best good hap that to a prince on earth can befall.

This good hap then growing from you, ye might think your self most unhappy, if you served such a prince as should not be as ready graciously to consider of it, as thankfully to acknowledge the same. Whereof you may make full account to your comfort, when time shall serve. Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 25th day of June, 1577, and in the 19th year of our reign.

I find the lord treasurer now following the queen, she being in the beginning of September at my lord admiral's house. Whence the said lord treasurer wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury, how that at his coming to the court he found loud alarms by news, written from France and the Low Countries, of the queen of Scots' escape, or in likelihood ere long to be rescued. On which occasion, what his grave and good advice was hath been before shewn. He continued his thanks for all the earl's liberal courtesies when he was with him at Chatsworth: praying his lordship to assure himself of his poor but assured friendship, while he lived.

The earl, for his generosity and hospitality in his late entertainments of the earl of Leicester and lord Burghley, and likewise for his faithfulness to the queen in his most important charge, had great favour at court. And there being a controversy in those parts among some gentlemen, and wherein himself was concerned, it was provided by these great men, that none should be in the commission of the peace, but whom he approved: as there was great reason, in respect of any that might secretly favour that queen. There was a controversy now between sir John Zouch, and sir Thomas Stanhope, and other gentlemen in that country. The lord Burghley imparted to the queen his opinion, that the fault would be in Zouch, if he were misliked either of the earl of Shrewsbury, or others: telling her, "that he took upon him more than was meet, in opposing himself against his lordship, without any cause given him by the earl." And upon this, as he told the earl, he found in her majesty a great disposition to have all matters ended between them: and required the lord treasurer to advise the said sir John Zouch to reform himself herein. Which he supposed he would do. And whereas there was a report of placing one Sacheveril in commission, indeed it was moved there at court: but it was stayed, as the lord treasurer added; and said further, that he hoped, that neither he, nor any other, that should not behave themselves well towards his lordship [the earl,] should be put in credit there. Nor was it meet, he said, they should. He subjoined, that he found the earl of Leicester, and Mr. Secretary, all earnestly inclined to maintain his lordship's credit in all things that might concern him.

This Sacheveril, (whose Christian name was Rauf,) it was moved by some, that he should be high sheriff for Darby-shire. But was put out by the means of the lord Burghley: this account being given of him by the earl: “That he was lately upon very good causes put out of the commission of the Peace; and was much more unworthy to be sheriff; seeing he could not dispend xx*l.* land per annum, and that he knew him to be a very seditious and arrogant person, and extremely busy in puritanism:” as he wrote in his letter, dated November 7 this year.

In the correspondence between the lord treasurer and the said earl, while he was at Buxton, he briefly acquainted him, in a letter, dated August the 4th, of a strange mortality at Oxford: where there suddenly died sir Robert Doyly, and an uncle of his, Mr. Danvers of Banbury, Mr. Wain-man, and the most part of all the freeholders then at the assizes; fifty scholars, and twenty townsmen besides. Of this our histories make mention more at large.

The infection of the plague brake out this year in some parts of London: as in the duchy near Temple-bar, and the Temple, and came even to the earl of Leicester’s place in the month of September. Who therefore wrote to his steward, Mr. Thomas Dudley, finding fault with the duchy, touching their neglect in not removing infected persons and offered very honourably, as much as any should give for the relief of the sick [of that distemper,] and for care to be taken of them. And withal, threatened one Ledsham the bailiff, (who was his man,) to pluck his coat from his back, and to punish him otherwise for his negligence. This Fleetwood, the careful recorder of the city, gave the lord treasurer to understand. And the same, being at dinner with the mayor, the master of the roils then present, shewed to him privately another letter written to him from the lord treasurer himself, concerning the same affair, viz. the plague broke out in the duchy, much to the same tenor with that from the earl. In the end whereof the said master of the rolls shewed him that his lordship had charged the recorder himself with neglect. Which somewhat touched him, knowing his own diligence therein. And made him thus to shew the lord treasurer his care, and to vindicate himself:

“That he had weekly himself surveyed the duchy, and taken that order there, that if the like had been executed elsewhere, he thought the plague had not so greatly increased, as that last week it had. And that he passed twice with all the constables, betwixt the bar

and the tiltyard, in both the liberties, to see the houses [infected] shut.”

We have some account of the malefactors, tried and condemned at the sessions at London about Michaelmas; as it was related by Fleetwood the said recorder, to the lord treasurer, by letter. The gaol was full: and eighteen executed at Tyburn. And one Barlow, born in Norfolk, of the house of the Barloos, near Manchester, in comitat. Lanc. was pressed: all of them notable cutpurses and horsestealers. He added,

“that it was the quietest sessions that he was ever at. That there were not more justices but my lord mayor, sir William Damsel, and himself, [the rest likely now retired into other parts, to avoid the plague.] That there was plain dealing, and neither favour nor partiality shewn. And that the criminals were the most notable thieves in the land. That the court was at Winder. And that there was not any reprieved.”

[And probably the distance of the court was the cause thereof]. There was a design this winter to rob the lord treasurer’s house. Of this wicked confederacy, the recorder aforesaid, a diligent and active man, made careful search. And some of them being taken, he took the examination of them, but could by no means get any thing from them to purpose. The account whereof he wrote to the said lord in the month of January:

“That notwithstanding Croker, one of them now under sentence of condemnation, very constantly always affirmed the same; they said, Croker was a condemned man, and of no credit. But now, my lord, added *he*, you shall see what is fallen out. Two nights past, it came into my head, as I sat in my study, to know what conversation was kept in Smithfield and St. John’s-street *this* Christmas. And thereupon I sent my warrant to *make* a privy search. In which search were found a number of masterless men, brought before me the next clay to be examined. Amongst which number there was one Yeamans; whom I knew not. All the rest were very well known unto me, [Newgate birds,] with whom I took order. But as touching Yeamans, who had many friends to speak for him, my stomach grudged against him. And thereupon I sent him to Newgate. There were of the queen’s men with me treating for him. And in the end, waxed very warm with me, because I would not dismiss him.

“This Yeamans assoon as he came to Newgate, and his name entered into the book, Croker standing by affirmed that Yeamans name was called Bullays: and it was he that was sought for by master recorder. For that the same Bullays could make declaration of the confederacy touching the robbing of my lord treasurer. Whereupon the keeper of Newgate brought him and Croker unto me. And in the presence of the queen’s men and others, I examined him. And he hath confessed, as by his examination here included, written with my own hand, may appear.

“My lord, this Bullays, Croker, and Sweeting, in Bride-well at work, know nothing of any part of your lordship’s house, nor are acquainted with any of your family. But as I can perceive, Pendred, the two Smiths, and Careless are acquainted with sundry parts of your lordship’s house.” And then in conclusion, he prayed his lordship to know his opinion what was now best to be done. For that he meant once again to examine them over. And then by advice of the justices to proceed against them at the next sessions, *tanquam confoederatores et insidiatores po-puli dominae regin.* And further, beseeching his lordship to send him back this examination, if his mind was that he should proceed any further against them: it being subscribed with testimony.

And as there were thieves and robbers tried and condemned at this sessions, so there were another sort of malefactors punished, viz. cozeners, or cheats, and cutpurses. For these the said recorder kept his audit, Jan. 12, which was about the week after: that he might know what of this sort was sprung up the last year; where to find them, if need were. And then after them, he purposed to deal with the receivers and gagetakers and melters down of stolen plate, and such like: as he wrote to the lord treasurer. And withal sent him a minute of the state and commonwealth of the cozeners.

This year one Edward Phaer of the north, a notorious counterfeiter of coin, was taken up and condemned. This man wrote a letter to the lord treasurer, praying for his life and liberty: and as some recompence for the same favour, he offered to discover from time to time all the counterfeiters in England. And speaking of a former letter to him, the said lord treasurer, in that he put him in mind, that he had shewed him “what service was in him to deserve the queen’s mercy. And that it was conscience (God he took to witness) and mere affection to make amends for his former horrid offences,

provoked him thereunto; and not the fear of death.” Since which time, Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower and one Mr. Herle [a dependant of the treasurer] had conferred with him, and willed him to shew unto him [the said lord] some particulars thereunto belonging: of intent, there might appear in him the same forwardness in actual deed: and to calendar the names of some offenders and other confederates, and those that had conference with him about these affairs.

Upon this he proceeded largely to discover divers things. First, to specify the names of a great many persons, and many of them gentlemen, and of quality, privy to or concerned in these practices of coining, living in several countries, as, in Yorkshire, where he learned first the practice, and made many dollars; likewise others living in Nottinghamshire, Northumberland, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, North-amptonshire, Kent, Suffolk, Devon, &c. He acknowledged, how he made moulds at first, and afterwards found out devices and tools for his purpose. That he was taken and imprisoned, but was stout, and confessed nothing; and was set out at liberty; but went on in his former course; and improved in his art. So that his inventions were so ingenious, that his name began to spread in divers counties among many even of the gentry. And some had propounded, for his more secret and uninterrupted following his business of making money, to place him in a castle of the lord Mounteagle’s.

Then he moved the lord treasurer that he might have a place in the mint, only for his subsistence, and be allowed a privacy there, to use his art. And that he would insinuate himself into the smiths, gravers, and alchymists, who, in regard of his great reach in that art, would be ready to join with him; and by that means he might make the greater discoveries; and they might be taken in the act, and so have manifest proof against them. For his instruments and working tools were such as were of great speed and despatch, and of fine handling; and that therein he would give place to no man.

He further reveals to the said lord, that he was privy to such as used magic, in order to gain, as it seems. And undertook, had he his liberty, to find out a marvellous pack of them, with their books and relics. Which art, he said, was accompanied with many filthy ceremonies, as mass, sacrifice, and worship of the Devil. And by means of his acquaintance with some of them, would disclose their minds, and by that means also he might be an instrument to save many honest men’s goods. And all, he protested on his

salvation, he shewed of zeal and good-will towards his country; and was ready to perform as much as he had said, and more. And at last he expressed, how he desired nothing else for this service, but that her majesty would allow him something by the day for his maintenance in the mint. This letter of Phaer's contains some matters of curiosity; and therefore the copy may deserve to be read in the Appendix. But what credit and success this man found, I cannot assign.

CHAPTER 10.

Books translated and set forth in the English tongue. Bul-linger's Decads: to be read by unlearned curates instead of sermons. Sarcerius Common Places. H. N. the author of the family of love, his epistles. The Courtier, by Balthazar Castilio. The high esteem that book obtained. Buchanan's History of Scotland. A blazing star. Gual-ter's letter to bishop Cox about it. Dr. Wylson made secretary of state. Some account of him. Put into the inquisition. His book of the Art of Rhetoric. T. Cartwright marries a sister of Stubbs; whose right hand was cut Tho. Lever dies. His excellent letter about impropriations belonging to colleges and hospitals.

SOME of the books that came forth this year, composed by foreigners, and esteemed worthy the translating and publishing in our English language, were these that follow.

The Decads of Bullinger, the chief minister of Zurich in Helvetia, a man very eminent for learning, piety, and wisdom, and particularly, well deserving of this nation for his kind entertainment and harbour of our divines and scholars, that fled abroad in queen Mary's reign: and of note for that friendship and correspondence ever after maintained between him and them. These Decads were practical sermons upon the chief heads of religion. This book thus translated was partly intended for the use of such ministers as could not compose or preach sermons of their own; to read these in their congregations to the people. The publisher, a person of eminency in the church, in his preface before the book, speaking of the want of preachers in those times, writes thus;

“That what there was wanting in many to discharge their duty in this behalf was very lamentable, and as much as was possible by some means to be supplied and remedied, rather than to be made a common theme and argument of railing; which at that day,” as he added, “many did. But therein they shewed themselves like unto those which find fault at other men's garments, not for that they loved them, or minded to give them better; but for that they were proud of their own, and would scornfully shame and vex others, [who could not wear so good as *themselves*.”]

And then proceeding to excuse the cause of this inability in many of the clergy, he subjoined,

“That the cause of *this* great want needed not here to be disputed. But in very deed any man might judge, how impossible it was for so populous a kingdom, abounding with so many several congregations, to be all furnished with fit and able pastors: and that immediately after such a general corruption and apostasy from the truth. For unless they should suddenly have come from heaven, or been raised up miraculously, they could not have been. For the ancient preachers of king Edward’s time, some of them died in *prison*; others perished by fire; many otherwise. Many also fled into other countries. Of whom some there died, and a few returned: which were but as an handful to furnish this whole realm. The universities were also at the first so infected, that many wolves and foxes crept out, who detested the ministry; wrought the contempt of it every where. But very few good shepherds came abroad. And whereas since that time, now eighteen years, the universities being well purged, there was good hope that all the land should have been overspread and replenished with able and learned pastors, the Devil and corrupt patrons had taken such order, that much of that hope was cut off. For *patrons* nowadays search not the universities for a most fit pastor; but they post up and down the country for a most gainful chapman: he that hath the biggest purse, to pay largely, not he that hath the best gifts, to preach learnedly, is presented.

“The *bishops* bare great blame for this matter; and they admit, they say, unworthy men. See the craft of Satan, falsely to charge the worthiest pillars of the church with the ruin of the church; to the end that all church-robbers and caterpillars of the Lord’s vineyard may lie unespied. There is nothing that procureth the bishops of our time more trouble and displeasure, than that they zealously withstand the covetousness of patrons, in rejecting their unsufficient clerks. For it standeth them upon of all others, that the church of God doth prosper: in the decay and fall thereof they cannot stand, but perish. But however it comes to pass, certain it is, that many are far behind in those gifts which are necessary for their function. And small likelihood is there yet, that the church shall be served with better, but rather with worse: for it seemeth not, that

patrons hereafter will bate one penny, but rather more and more raise the market.”

I have extracted the more out of this preface, to represent the state of the clergy at this time; and to lay the blame of ignorant curates, and the no better supply of the churches, where it ought indeed to lie, and to shew the labours of the bishops to remedy the same.

The epistler thereof exhorted the more unlearned sort to read these sermons of Bullinger out of the pulpit. And for the same purpose partly, as well as for the instruction of such as were ministers of less learning and knowledge in the Latin tongue, many other learned foreigners’ works of practical divinity were translated into English before this time: as Calvin’s *Institutions*, Musculus’s *Common Places*, Mar-lorat upon St. John’s Gospel, Peter Martyr upon the Book of Judges, Gualter upon the smaller prophets, and many others.

Now also came forth (being a second edition) the *Common Places* of Erasmus Sarcerius, a German divine; translated into English; entitled, *Common places of Scripture, orderly, and after a compendious form of teaching, set forth with no little labour, to the great profit and help of all suck students in God’s word as have not had long experience of the same: by the right excellent clerk, Erasmus Sarcerius*. It was translated by Ric. Taverner, clerk of the signet to king Henry VIII. who was a man of eminency for learning in that king’s time, and afterwards. This book was of the greater esteem, the translator having dedicated it to the said king Henry, by the motion and instigation ‘of Crumwel, when lord privy seal: supposing the book would find the better acceptance, and be the more read by the king’s subjects, for their righter information in true religion: using these words to the king in his epistle:

“That the book under your majesty’s protection and patrociny may the more plausibly and greedily be devoured of the common people. For whose only cause and education, your highness, and such as be your most prudent counsellors, have provided divers wholesome books to be set forth in English.”

As for the book itself, in what esteem it was held of learned and religious men in those times, appears by what the translator styles it viz.

“A treasure inestimable unto Christian men. In which book he [the author] hath so compendiously, so absolutely and fruitfully handled

all the common places of Christian religion, as never afore this time hath been done of any; namely, in such form.”

In the matter of man’s will and the divine decrees, Sarcerius in this book understood and explained them much as the other great German divine, Melancthon, did in his Common Places, which he dedicated to the said king Henry. For thus the foresaid Taverner, in his epistle to that king, adds;

“That a dangerous piece of work it was, and full of difficulty, so to handle these matters, as should in all points satisfy the expectation of the readers: as declared most eloquently, writing to his most excellent majesty, Philip Melancthon, that excellent clerk, in his epistle before his Common Places. Whose judgment this Sarcerius followed well near in all things: only in this they differed; that Melancthon directed his style to the understanding only of the learned persons, well exercised in scripture: this, tempered his pen also to the capacity of young students in scripture, and such as have not had much exercise in the same, &c. I grant, as he after proceeded, the godly and learned men in the principal articles of our faith do not vary, but do constantly sing all one note. Yet nevertheless, in other disputable matters, (in which it is not meet for every man to wade,) as predestination, contingency, free-will, and such like, there hath been always, and yet is some dissension. So that what one alloweth, another dispraiseth; what one dis-proveth, another approveth. And yet it cannot be denied, but there is one simple, infallible truth, whoso can attain it, &c. That it was not unknown, what great alteration had lately been among learned men concerning free-will. Some had put free-will in nothing; some, on the other part, have gone about to maintain free-will in all things. Again, others, going in the mean between both these extremes, as Melancthon and Sarcerius, with many other excellent clerks, have denied free-will only in spiritual motions; and that also in such persons as be not yet regenerate and renewed by the Holy Ghost. And yet in the mean season they take it not so away, that they leave them also in spiritual motions a certain endeavour or willing. Which endeavour nevertheless can finish nothing, unless it be holpen by the Holy Ghost. And this,” said he, “after my poor judgment, is the rightest and truest way.”

H. N. [that is, Henry Nicolas,] a notable enthusiast, the chief author of the sect called *the family of love*, his epistles, printed in Dutch, came forth this year. Numbers whereof were brought over into England, and set on foot that sect here. Which book, being in octavo, bore this enthusiastical title, *Epistolae H. N. de vernompste epistelen, H. N. &c.* In English, *The choice [or chief] letters of H. N. which he by the holy spirit of love hath set forth, and hath written and sent to the most, and to those that are lovers of the truth, and his acquaintance. And are by him revised and plainly declared.* Then in the same title-page is the representation of a circle with a glory round it, and within the word **hwhy** i. e. *Jehovah*, and round on the outside of the circle, *CORO-NAE ASSIMILAEO JUDICIUM MEUM.* 4 Esd. v. And then lower, these verses; *All scripture given in of God, is needful for learning, for punishment, for bettering, and for instruction in righteousness. That so the man of God may be perfected, and fitted to all good works,* 2 Timothy 3. *No prophecy in the scripture is of one's own exposition. For there is no new prophecy of human will brought forth: but that holy men of God have spoken, moved by the Holy Ghost,* 2 Pet. i.

On the reverse is a picture of the new world, representing the victory of the Lamb, and the destruction of Satan. Above it this verse, *Now judgment goes over the world. Now the prince of the world is thrown out,* John xii. Underneath this, *Now is happiness, the power and the kingdom become our God's, and the might of his Christ,* Apoc. xii.

As for other books, besides those of the subject of divinity, there came forth this year the *Courtier*, by count Baldassar Castillio, translated out of Italian into our English, (being now the second time printed,) in four books, instructing the behaviour of such as were of the court of princes, whether gentlemen or ladies. The translation was done by Mr. Thomas Hobbie, being himself a courtier. The third part, which treated of the behaviour of the ladies of the court, was done anno 1551, at the request of the lady marchioness Northampton. The other parts at the request and motion of sundry others. The translator dedicated it to the lord Henry Hastings, heir apparent to the earl of Huntington, printed before, anno 1556. This courtly, modish book went up and down a great while in this kingdom, as well as in all the courts of Christendom, in three languages, Italian, Spanish, and French: but it was not wholly translated and published in English till the year 1556, and now reprinted. Of this book the translator gives this account:

“That to princes and great men it is a rule, who rule others. And that it was one of the books that a noble philosopher exhorted a certain king to provide him, and diligently to search. For in them he should find written such matters, that friends durst not utter unto kings. To men grown into years, a pathway, for the beholding and nursing of the mind, and to whatsoever elsie was meet for that age. To young gentlemen, an encouraging, to garnish their minds with moral virtues, and their bodies with comely exercises; and both the one and the other with honest qualities, to attain unto true noble ends. To ladies and gentlemen, a mirror, to deck and trim themselves with virtuous conditions, comely behaviour, and honest entertainment towards all men. And to them all in general, a storehouse, for most necessary implements for the conversation, use, and training up of men’s lives with courtly demeanour.”

These discourses of Castilio had place in the palace of Urbin. Where many most excellent wits in this realm had made no less of this book than the great Alexander did of Homer. And the author, for renown among the Italians, was not inferior to Cicero among the Romans.

Thomas Sackvile (perhaps the same who was afterwards lord Buckhurst) wrote those verses in commendation of the work .

*These royal kings that rear up to the sky
Their palace tops, and deck them all with gold;
With rare and curious works they feast the eye,
And shew what riches here great princes hold.*

*A rarer work, and richer far in worth,
Castilio’s hand presenteth here to thee.
No proud, ne golden court doth he set forth;
But what in court a courtier ought to be.*

*The prince, he raiseth huge and mighty walls;
Castilio frames a wight of noble fame:
The king with gorgeous tissue clads his halls;
The count with golden virtue decks the same.
Whose passing skill, lo! Hobbie’s pen displays
To Britain folk; a work of worthy praise.*

This Castilio had formerly been in this realm; when he was installed knight of the order, for the duke his master, Guidubaldo, duke of Urbin. And was then entertained by the earl of Huntingdon.

One book more I will mention here, which was historical, viz. Buchanan's History of Scotland. Which although it seemeth not yet fully finished by the author, yet deserveth mention, since I have it from his own pen; and of what acceptance it was like to prove to the world, when set forth: which was contained in a letter of his own writing to Randolph, sometime the queen's ambassador in Scotland, as well as in other kingdoms. By which occasion there was a friendship contracted between those two learned men. It will be no ways unacceptable to set down the whole letter in the very Scottish style wherein he writ it, in the Appendix: beginning thus:

"Mauster, I hauf resavit divers letters from you, &c." Therein he told him, he was occupied in writing of their history, [of Scotland,] being assured by it to content few, and to displease many. And that he should end it ere the winter was past. It was dated from Sterling, 25th of August, 1577.

To conclude with two or three matters of note happening this year.

This year was seen a blazing star: which is described by a diligent person in these times, that kept a journal of things memorable: that it appeared like a great horse's tail.

It was also seen in other parts. Of which, account was given from Zurich in Helvetia by Rod. Gualter, in his correspondence with Cox, bishop of Ely: as he did likewise of other prodigies about this time: which made that good man apprehensive of some judgments of God hanging over their heads.

"That in the month of November they saw a dreadful comet, and that threatened some sad thing. Which resembled in the beginning the form of *falcatis ensis*, or Turkish cimeter. Nor did he doubt, but that it appeared to us here. That there were various judgments of it. But since *nunquam visos impune fuisse constat*, that they were never seen but some punishment attended them, we can promise nothing to fall out happy to the world, while it shall thus go on to provoke God's anger by wicked works. And besides that, certain prodigious births brought forth lately in Italy, portended many sad effects to that place. In the country of Novar, the wife of a certain doctor brought forth an horrid monster with seven heads, and armed with as many arms, with eagles feet. That at Cherie, [Cherii,] which is a town of Piedmont, of a maid that was dumb, was born an hermaphrodite, from whose head swelled out four horns; and from

the hinder part of the head hung down [*fascia carnosae*] a fleshy swathe: and another that compassed about the neck. The hands and feet were like those of a goose: and that when an Italian, being his friend, asked him what his thoughts were of these strange things, he answered according to their idiom, that as when the wives commit adultery, they say they make horns for their husbands, so God by that monster upbraided them for their idolatry, while they committed whoredom after that personated vicar of Christ. And which he prayed God many more did not the same.”

This year, in the month of September, Thomas Wylson, LL.D. a very learned civilian, master of the requests; was constituted one of the principal secretaries of state, in the room of sir Thomas Smith, deceased, the month before: (the memory of whom is in some measure preserved in the history of his life, wrote divers years ago by me.) Much might be said of this worthy man, Dr. Wylson: besides the several books set forth by him, as his Logic and Rhetoric in English, his book against Usury, written divers years ago, he was employed by the queen in embassies abroad, as we have shewn before. One thing must be recorded to his praise, in respect of his religion. That being a voluntary exile in the time of queen Mary, travelling to Rome, anno 1558, he was put into the inquisition there, upon pretence of writing his books of the Art of Logic and Rhetoric: as containing heresy in them. And had suffered some torment, and must have done more; and must either have been forced to deny his faith, or been put to death. But a fire happening in the prison where he was kept, it seems the Roman people with their swords forced the prison to be opened, to let out the prisoners, and him among the rest, that they might not be burnt in the flames there: a wonderful providence for him!

The occasion of his trouble was an information by some given of him; concerning certain passages in his said book, not so agreeable to the religion of the Romanists. And so when he came to the city of Rome, he was soon caught up. Of these informers, and his said sufferings and dangers, take his own declaration.

“Being somewhat acquainted with the world, I have found out another sort of men; whom of all other I would be loath should read any of my doings; especially such as either touched Christ, or any other good doctrine. And those are such malicious folks, that love to find fault in other men’s matters, and seven years together

will keep them in store; [so long, it seems, after he had writ that book he was brought into trouble at Rome;] to the utter undoing of their Christian brother. Not minding to read for their better learning, but seeking to deprave whatsoever they find: and, watching their time, will take best advantage to undo their neighbour.”

And then he proceeds to shew the matter of fact, as an instance in himself, of what observation he made before of malice.

“Two years past, [this he wrote in December 1560,] at my being in Italy, I was charged in Rome, to my great danger and utter undoing, (if God’s goodness had not been the greater,) to have written this book of Rhetoric and the Logic also. For which I was counted an heretic, notwithstanding the absolution granted to all the realm by pope July the Third, for all former offences or practices devised against the holy mother church, as they call it. A strange matter! That things done in England seven years before, and the same universally forgiven, should afterwards be laid to a man’s charge in Rome. But what cannot malice do?” And what follows will shew more of the character of this worthy statesman. “God be my judge, I had then as little fear (although death was present, and the torment at hand, whereof I felt some smart) as ever I had in all my life before; [undaunted in a good cause.] For when I saw those that did seek my death to be so maliciously set, to make such poor shifts for my readier despatch, and to burden me with those back reckonings, I took such courage, and was so bold, that the judge then did much mervail at my stoutness: and thinking to bring down my great heart, told me plainly that I was in further peril than whereof I was aware, and sought thereupon to take advantage of my words, and to bring me in danger by all means possible. And after long debating with me, they willed me at any hand to submit myself 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 as little trusted their colourable deceit,) I was as ware as could be not to utter any thing for mine own harm; for fear I should come in their danger: for then either should I have died, or else have denied, both openly and shamefully, the known truth of Christ and

his gospel. In the end, by God's grace I was wonderfully delivered through plain force of the worthy Romans, (an enterprise heretofore in that sort never attempted,) being then without hope of life; and much less of liberty. I have been," added he, "tried for this book *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 for a heretic,] (as who is he that 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."

I cannot but add, how he closeth up this story of his adventures, occasioned by his both religion and learning, and having not then any preferment, thus between jest and earnest.

"That his book was shewed him; and he was desired to look upon it, to amend it where he thought meet. Amend it! quoth I; nay, let the book first amend itself, and make me amends. For surely I have no cause to acknowledge it for my book; because I have so smarted for it. For where I have been ill handled, I have much ado to shew myself friendly. If the son were the occasion of the father's imprisonment, would not the father be offended with him, think you? Or at the least, would he not take heed, how hereafter he had to do with him? If others never get more by books than I have done, it were better to be a carter than a scholar for worldly profit. A burnt child fears the fire; and a beaten dog escapes the whip. And therefore I will none of this book from henceforth. I will none of him, I say; take him that list. And by that time they have paid for him so dearly as I have done, they will be as weary of him as I have been."

Thomas Cartwright, B.D. who made himself famous, both in the university of Cambridge and elsewhere, for his readings and writings against our liturgy and hierarchy, married this year the sister of as eminent a man for his writing on another subject, and suffering for it: namely, John Stubb; whose fight hand was cut off for writing and publishing a book against the queen's marrying with monsieur, the French king's brother. I have mention of this match from Stubb's own letter to Mr. Michael Hicks, of Lincoln's Inn, and one of his acquaintance at Cambridge, afterwards secretary to the lord treasurer; who from Bux-ton Wells writ the news of the said marriage, and likewise his own thoughts of it:

“We have no news here, but that Mr. Cartwright hath married my sister. And if with you also it be publicly known, and any mislike mine act in providing so for my sister, tell him, on my behalf, that I contented myself to take a husband for her, whose livelihood was learning: who would endue his wife with wisdom; and who might leave to his children the rich por-*tion* of godliness by Christian careful education. And if this apology will not defend me, let him not mervail, if I, esteeming these things as precious stones, while he rather chooseth the worldly, commended things, riches, favour, &c. which I esteem less worth than a barleycorn.”

We shall read more of Stubbs under the next year.

This year died Thomas Lever, B.D. master of Sherborn hospital, near Durham: who flourished under king Edward VI. and was then master of St. John’s college in Cambridge; an eloquent preacher, and a sincere professor of true religion, and an exile for it under queen Mary. He was highly valued for his learning and piety. And when he returned home upon the access of queen Elizabeth to the crown, he returned not to the mastership of the college, nor to any higher preferment in the church, than to that of master of the said hospital. Among other his good merits, I shall mention an earnest address that he made, not long before his death, to the lord Burghley, that great patron of learning and piety, in behalf of the revenues of divers colleges and hospitals: which, by means of impropriations annexed to them, had been leased out to tenants, and those tenants granted leases to under-tenants; to the great diminishing of the true benefit that should have accrued to the members of those religious foundations; small rents remaining towards the maintenance of poor scholars or other poor; by means of large sums privately paid to those that made these leases, in consideration of the good pennyworths granted to them.

This Lever shewed to the aforesaid nobleman, with a great concern for these wrongs done to those houses; and begged redress of it from him. And particularly urged to him, for this purpose, a statute in 37 Henry VIII. for the preventing of these abuses: In which statute there is a provision, that no manner lands, tenements, possessions, &c. that were united to any colleges, chantries, hospitals, &c. be not let or set to farm, but kept and reserved in the manurance, tillage, and occupation of the said masters, wardens, &c. for the maintenance of good housekeeping; and that they

might not make any leases for term of life or years. It may be worth repeating the sum of Lever's letter concerning the premises.

"That it might please his honour to understand and consider, that in both the universities many leases of im-propriations were so made, bought, and sold, that some such as had a lease of impropriation from a college did set the same to an under-tenant. And so being indeed neither landlord nor tenant, neither of the same parish nor of the same college; yet from all these common places and persons, to his own private use, took above the value of an 100*l.* for a fine, and 20*l.* a year for an overplus of rent. Yea, masters, fellows, and others in colleges which grant leases, take the same under other men's names to themselves, or else fines and overplus of rents to their own private profit. So now, many that should get learning in colleges, and exercise the same in parishes, do seek and take occasion to get private profit from parishes and colleges, from landlords and tenants, to serve themselves in other places, and other vocations.

"And as concerning colleges in the university, so it is likewise concerning hospitals in other places. And by a statute made 37 Henry VIII. purposely to preserve public provisions and hospitals from private spoil, such of these leases as have been made since, be utterly void. Therefore if by any means the said statute be now newly put in execution, many leases of impropriations belonging to hospitals and colleges shall be found void. And order may be taken that no lease be made hereafter by any college or hospital of any impropriation, but that the incumbent serving the cure shall have all tithes; and pay thereof yearly the accustomed rent unto the proprietor, being college or hospital. And so in such parishes, colleges, and hospitals, all such provision made afore for doctrine and hospitality, poverty and learning, shall remain, or soon be reduced to the common use now that it was first ordained; and the daily perverting of the same unto private spoil and profit be reformed or restrained. And herein is great need, desire, and trust of your godly wisdom and authority, to consider the case of colleges and hospitals: and how for them the said statute was in good time well made, and may and should now be well executed: which God grant.

By your honour's to command in Christ,
Thomas Lever."

Upon a flat marble stone in the chapel of Sherborn hospital, near the altar, is this inscription, THOMAS LEAVER, *preacher to king Edward VI. He died in July, 1577.* He was succeeded in that hospital by his brother, Rafe Leaver.

CHAPTER 11.

Monsieur Gondy, French ambassador, comes to the court, with intent to go to the Scottish queen. News at court of foreign matters. Duke Casimire comes to court. His esteem here with the queen and nobles. His manifesto in taking arms for the defence of those of the Low Countries. Simier, the French ambassador, still at court soliciting the amours of the duke of Anjou. The archbishop of York continues his visitation. Account thereof sent up. The trouble he met with about the dean of Durham, Whittingham: by occasion of inquiry into his orders, taken at Geneva. A commission For visitation of that church.

IN the beinning of May, 1578, comes monsieur Gondy, the French king's ambassador, into England: whose chief business was with the Scottish queen. And therefore came first to wait upon queen Elizabeth, to have her leave to repair to that queen. How he appeared at court, and what respects he had there, a letter from court, writ by Gilbert Talbot to his father, the earl of Shrewsbury, (one chiefly concerned therein,) will shew: importing,

“that he was lately come from the French king: and that on May-day he had audience in the chamber of presence, and delivered his message to her majesty with the king's letters: and that he [Gilbert Talbot] heard, that the king sent him to have licence of access to the Scottish queen: and from her to go into Scotland: and that the king's letter was only to that end. But that her majesty as yet had denied him. But whether he should obtain leave hereafter, he could not tell. Howbeit, he added, he wished his lordship [the earl] would have every thing in such order as he would desire; lest he [the ambassador] should come on the sudden, as another did to him (who was then with his charge, viz. that queen) from the duke of Ascoite.”

With whom went secretary Wylson's servants, his chief secretary; who was held to be a wise fellow, as Mr. Talbot said, [and so thought fit to attend that ambassador, and take notice of things that passed.] He proceeded,

“That this monsieur Gondy seemed to be a man of great account and port, and was the other day richly appareled in jewels at the

court. And that if he should get leave, [i.e. to go to that queen,] it would be expected that his entertainment there should be very great. He thought there would be some other gentleinen sent from thence [meaning from the court] with him down.”

Some further news of foreign matters (wherein England seemed to be concerned) was sent to the said earl of Shrewsbury in October from the lord Burghley, Which was,

“That by letters received but three hours before, he was certainly informed, that don John de Austria was dead of the plague; and the duke of Parma chose lieutenant; that the report of the death of Sebastian, king of Portugal, and of the two kings of Fess, was true. That the *cardinal*, named Henry, of the age of sixty-seven, was to *succeed*: but that he dared not to take possession of the crown until the pope should license him.”

Duke John Casimire, son of the elector palatine of the Rhine, was now come to the English court: a man of worth and valour, a firm protestant, and a hearty favourer of the religion; and that assisted the Netherlands in their defensive wars. He was highly favoured by the queen when he came: and at his departure, which was in February 1578, when he took his leave of the queen, she presented him with two cups of gold, of several fashions, worth 300*l.* apiece. But there was, it seems, something to do, to bring her hereunto, being a frugal princess, and sensible of her necessary and unavoidable expenses. And secretary Walsingham was the great mover, and employed therein with the queen. He was a few days before chosen of the order of the garter: and the earl of Leicester gave him for a present a rich collar and george at it, and two *georges* besides; whereof one of them was an agate, a curious and rich piece. Also, the earl of Pembroke sent him from Wilton (where he now was retired, being not well) a fair *george* at a chain of gold, set with stones, which cost 150*l.* The earl of Leicester gave him also divers other things, as geldings, hawks, and hounds, wood-knives, falchions, horns, crossbows, and sundry pieces of broad cloth, fit for hunting-garments, both in winter and summer. For the said duke Casimire delighted greatly in hunting, and could choose his winter deer very well. A little before, he killed a barren doe with his piece in Hyde-park, from among three hundred other deer. The earl of Huntington was to go with the duke to Gravesend, and sir Henry Sydney to Dover. And the earl of Leicester had been almost continually with him since his coming to

London. All this court-news did the lord Gilbert write to the earl of Shrewsbury, his father, in the month of February.

And in the next month he communicated to him this further intelligence concerning the said Casimire;

“That he was safely landed at Flushing, after he had tarried a long while on the coast on this side for a wind:” adding his judgment concerning that duke’s obligation, viz. “That he was far to blame, if he spake not great honour of her majesty and her realm. For there was never any of his coat, that was able to brag of the like entertainment that he had received here. That it was said, that his elder brother the palsgrave [Frederick III.] was dead. And then it was supposed, that duke Casimire was to hold his room during the nonage of his elder brother’s son, who *was* an infant. And if the said child miscarried, the *whole* was his. And then should he be a very great prince. That it was a great change for her majesty and *this* realm, if it were so. For then she should possess a noble, honest, able friend of this duke, to pleasure her; and lose an ill-affected froward Lutheran, if not an obstinate papist in heart, of his elder brother.”

The news of the palsgrave’s death proved true.

And having said all this of this worthy German prince, who this year was at the English court, it may not be amiss to add further, what ingratiated him so much to the people i of this kingdom, namely, that he was so cordial to the interest of the reformed religion, and the liberty of his country, by his hearty and zealous assistance of the oppressed in the Low Countries; in relieving of whom the queen also bare a share, assisting him with large sums of money. And to justify himself in this enterprise to all the world, he set forth a manifesto in the month of June this year, both in the German and Latin tongue; (a copy whereof was sent hither to court;) shewing upon what great reason he undertook this expedition: namely, to put a stop to the most grievous, tyrannical oppression of those Low Countries, being part of his own native country, Germany. It was entitled, *Brevis et luculenta expositio causarum, quibus adductus illustriss. princeps et dominus, dom. Johannes Casimirus, &c.* i.e.

“A brief and clear exposition of the causes, whereupon the most illustrious prince and lord, lord John Casimire, count palatine of the

Rhine, duke of Bavaria, &c. hath undertaken this expedition, to raise the affairs of Belgium grievously afflicted.”

It began, *Nos Johannes Casimirus, &c.*

“We, John Casimire, by the grace of God, count palatine of the Rhine, &c. To all and singular, who Shall read this our writing, of whatsoever order, dignity, or condition they be, we offer all our offices, endeavours, and respects; and have thought fit to signify these things to them:” and then proceeding in his declaration to this tenor: “That he thought it not very necessary to unfold by many words what had compelled as well him, as his associates and consorts, to this defence: not indeed undertaken with any desire of war, ambition, or their own advantage, but upon great, weighty, and necessary causes, as well of Belgium, undeservedly oppressed, as of the sacred German empire, their common country; against the violent, unjust, destructive, and intolerable attempts and assaults of don John of Austria, and of those he had drawn with him from divers, and those also strange nations. For they were persuaded, that whosoever had any regard of honesty and of their own country, or endued at least with any skill of human affairs, the same did see and know, how his and his associates’ minds were inclined to peace and tranquillity: and withal did well understand, (which was so known and testified to all, whether inhabitants and citizens of the empire, or of other *parts*, that the very children were not ignorant of it,) how many things had been acted wickedly, cruelly, inhumanly, and, on those accounts, tyrannically, by the Spaniards, and that sink of people that had been got together by them, in Belgium, now for many years: not without the calamity and destruction of all the neighbouring countries; and chiefly of the sacred German empire, their dearest country: and likewise what don John of Austria still purposed and attempted, if he could bring to pass what he had conceived in his mind, &c.

“*And*, (some periods after,) though nothing would have been more acceptable, than that the imperial majesty, being placed in the highest degree of dignity, and others of the superior states of the empire, would have undertaken this province unanimously; yet they deferring and putting off this affair for certain *causes* unknown to him, he [the duke] being moved by their dangers and pressing

miseries, and weighing what common humanity, what Christian charity towards neighbouring provinces, so grievously afflicted, and, in a word, what Germany, their common country, (as became a prince sprung of German blood,) and so, in effect, what the whole Christian world required of them; he could not be wanting to those, thus *imploring* their help, *salva pietate*, without breach of *piety*; but would herein disburden his conscience both before God and all posterity," &c. Protesting, "That it was not the prospect of any private gain, profit, or vainglory; but that which he only sought was, the glory of God, and the peace and tranquillity as well of Belgium, as of his dearest country."

And further, somewhat after, he added,

"That he thought it not to be passed over, that it appeared to have been the true religion which he also professed, and which by the singular blessing of God had taken deep root in Belgium, which the Spaniard, the pope, and others, by that tyrannical Spanish inquisition, by grievous persecution, and by fire and sword, endeavoured to destroy. Like as at that very time don John would endure no mention of peace to be made, unless on that condition first, that the Roman catholic religion only should prevail and flourish in that *land*." These are some passages gathered out of Casi-mire's noble declaration. It deserves to be revived, because I do not find it in any of our histories, now extant, as I have the first print of it, dated June the 22d, 1578. Printed *Neapoli Casimirianae*.

Monsieur Simier, the French ambassador, remained here still in the month of February; the queen continuing her very good usage of him and all his company. He had conference with her majesty three or four times a week: and she was observed to be the best disposed and pleasantest when she talked with him, as by her gestures appeared, that was possible; according to the observations that were made at court. This was the intelligence sent from the lord Talbot to the earl his father. The chief substance of that ambassador's embassy was about the queen's marrying with the French king's brother: who was much talked of now to come over into England to court the queen. This opinion still held. But yet it was secretly bruited, that he could not take up so much money as he would, on such a sudden: and therefore would not come so soon. Of the queen-mother's coming also, it

was rumoured at the court: and that she also would be here also very suddenly. But, saith the said earl's son in his letter to his father, he did not believe it. [Nor indeed did she come.] And a few months after, viz. in May 1579, the secret opinion then was, that the matter of monsieur's coming, and the marriage, was grown very cold: [though monsieur came indeed, yet without success.] And Simier was like shortly to go away. And that lord proceeding further, added, that he knew a man in that town, [perhaps the earl of Leicester, who knew most of the queen's mind,] that would take a thousand pounds, to be bound to pay double so much when monsieur married the queen's majesty.

And now to turn to the affairs of religion and the church. Sandys, archbishop of York, continued his visitation of his province; having begun it the last year himself in person, and not by deputies, with great diligence, and to his no small expense. Wherein he found great want of good preachers to instruct the people, whom he perceived very ignorant in matters of religion. And for help hereof, he appointed such as were preachers, to take their turns at great towns; that there might be sermons preached once a fortnight. And he did also preach himself, as well as any other. The archdeacon he had appointed to procure quarterly synods; and the clergy that should meet there, to have some subject of divinity given them; which they were to prepare then to give a discourse of, if they should be called out by a moderator appointed so to do. He met with two sorts of *precisians* among the ministers and curates, one sort refusing to use the public service as appointed by law; the other, asserting the obligations of Christians to the old Jewish law. He met also with others, and they chiefly women, that would not be persuaded to come to church; chiefly influenced by some priests that were then imprisoned at Hull.

This and various other matters, which the archbishop discovered in his visitation, he wrote a particular account of to the queen: and more briefly the heads thereof to the lord treasurer, his friend, dated in April. And was to this tenor:

“That he had of late wrote to him, by his servant Bernard Mawde: yet having occasion to send up his chancellor, Dr. Lougher, he thought it convenient to *trouble* him with a few lines. That he had ended his visitation: which he did by himself, and not by deputies, *to* his great charge. And that now, knowing the state of his diocese, he had by his letters advertised her majesty *thereof*: declaring to her

majesty, that there [in those parts] was great want of teachers, by reason of an ignorant people, yet willing and of a capacity to learn. The cause why, was, either the smallness of the livings in her majesty's gift, and others; either for that the best livings *were* bestowed upon them that never came there. That *he* set the preachers on work, to give to every market *and* great town, every second Sunday, a sermon: and in *this* exercise he had taken upon him to do so much as the best. That for the increase of learning in the ministry, *he* had ordered, that every archdeacon should keep four *synods* in the year. The clergy there should be assembled: some principal points of religion propounded: all should be prepared to speak; but such only should speak, as should by the grave, moderators be called thereunto. That they should speak to the matter, and not *vagari*. And that this should be done among the ministers themselves."

He added, "That he had to do with *precise* folks there: as well with such as had refused to serve in the church, as the laws of this realm have prescribed; as with such as have set down erroneous doctrines, binding us to observe *the judicials* of Moses. That he had brought the former to good conformity; the other openly to refuse their error: that for the obstinate which refused to come to church, (whereof the most part were women,) neither could he, by persuasion nor correction, bring them to any conformity. That they depended upon Comberford, and the rest in the castle of Hull. And that if order were not taken with them, he feared great inconvenience would follow. That the meaner people there were idle: by reason whereof the country was full of beggars; and the laws provided in that behalf neglected. That they were given to much drinking; whereof followed great in-continency; as well appeared by the great numbers of fornicators, presented in his last visitation." And then he subjoins, "Truly the cause whereof is the want of good instruction. And the cause of the want of that he hinted before."

Then he went on to give some account of what he had observed of the gentry of those parts and the government there.

"That the greater [and more eminent] sort of the people in that diocese, he meantmen in authority and of ability, was indeed hard

to know. That they were of great value, [i.e. estate,] and of great courage. But he trusted [as though he doubted it] very good subjects. That he was not made acquainted with the political government of that country, [i. e. the north,] and therefore could not say much: but he doubted not, but that my lord president, [who was the earl of Huntingdon,] with such as he called to take advice of, would very wisely govern, according to the trust that was reposed in him.”

But by this visitation the painful, diligent archbishop could not avoid slander, which reached as far as the court: as, of his lordly behaviour; and for some opposition, supposed to have been made by him against the said lord president of the council in the north; and for getting good store of money of his clergy by means of this visitation; and withal for his calling in question Whittingham, the dean of Durham’s holy orders. These things thus reported of him came to the archbishop’s ears. And therefore he thought it necessary to send up his chancellor, as well as his letter, to the lord treasurer, to be at hand to vindicate him against misreports; and to satisfy that lord fully in any inquiries he might make of his demeanour, or any other matters concerning those parts. For so he concluded his letter:

“That if his lordship would be further informed of any matter in that country, this bringer, his chancellor, could fully advertise him; who was an honest, learned, and wise man. And that if he prayed his lordship’s help for any of his [the archbishop’s] matters and reasonable suits, he trusted he would help to further them. *And* thus remaining his lordship’s, what he could, he commended the same to the good directions of God’s holy Spirit.” Ending all, “*That* he trusted his lord, ship would let him know by this faithful messenger, who they were that so untruly reported of him; as, to oppose himself against the lord president; to use so great lordliness; and to collect so great a mass of money of his clergy, in respect of his preaching and travail.” Dated from Bushopthorp, April 16, 1578. Subscribing,

Your lordship’s most assured,
E. EBOR.”

By means of this letter and this messenger, the archbishop became acquainted better with his accusation and blame laid upon him: which chiefly was the matter between him and the dean of Durham. For when he

visited that church, he thought fit to call him before him, to shew his orders that he had received (or rather no orders) at Geneva, from an English congregation of exiles there, appointing him their minister. Several there were in those parts (and among others the lord president) that took the dean's part against the archbishop. The matter was at length carried to court; and the archbishop represented as blameworthy for calling in question the dean's ministry. And though this fell out the next year, yet, that I may lay all this matter together, I will proceed in the relation of it here.

This was looked upon as reflecting upon the church of Geneva, though that church was not concerned in it. His good friend the lord treasurer had stood up for him at court; and undertook for him, that if the council thought fit to send for him up to answer this matter in person, he would be able to justify himself, and would be ready at the council's command to come up. The archbishop well saw the hand of the puritans in all this trouble given him, by their suggestions unto their friends at court. And hereupon did hint to the lord treasurer, that all was like to go into confusion in the church, if every man might enter upon the ministry without orderly calling; and if any one should become a minister, that was set up by a few lay people, as Whittingham was. "That if his ministry, without authority of God or man, without law, order, or example of any church, might be current; take heed, said he, to the sequel. Who saw not what was intended? Praying God to deliver his church from it. For his part, he would never be guilty of it; but should ever mislike of confusion." But see the archbishop's letter entire in the Appendix, which will more amply explain all this matter; being dated in April 1579. He wrote also at this time a large letter to the lords of the council upon the same occasion.

But to fetch this memorable business a little backward. In the year 1576, the queen sent letters of commission to the lord archbishop, the lord president of the council in the north, and the dean of York, for the hearing and determining divers matters complained of against Mr. Whittingham, the dean of the church, and misdemeanours there. One whereof among others seemed to be about that dean's orders; it being thought not lawful for him to hold that deanery in respect of his defect therein; and worthy of deprivation, because his ministry was not warranted by the law of the land; being ordained by a few lay persons in a house at Geneva. But the dean of York in this commission inclined greatly to that dean; and said, among other things, that Whittingham was in better sort ordained than our

ministers in England. And, in the heat, added, that his own ministry was much better than his [the archbishop's] was.

This dean of York and the archbishop had no good understanding together. For when the archbishop was minded to visit the chapter and members of the cathedral church of York, from time to time he protested against his visitation; on purpose, as the archbishop complained, that the state of the said cathedral church should not come to any account or examination. But this by the by.

What success then had that above-mentioned commission? But little, by reason of this and some other differences in the commissioners. And therefore in the year 1578, another commission was granted forth from the queen to the said archbishop and president, viz. the earl of Huntington, the archbishop's chancellor, and others, to visit the church of Durham, where things were very much out of order.

This very commission I met with in Mr. Rymer's collection of records and public acts, dated May the 14th, 20 Eliz. The commissioners named are the archbishop of York, Henry earl of Huntington, lord president of the North, Richard bishop of Durham, John bishop of Carlisle, Thomas lord Evers, Matthew Hutton dean of York, sir William Mallory, and sir Robert Stapleton, knights, Robert Lough-er, and John Gibson, LL. DD. with some others. The preamble to the commission shewed the reason of her majesty's issuing it out, in these words: *Cum, sicut fidedigna relatione accepimus, ecclesia cathedralis Dunelmensis, tam in spiritualibus, quam temporalibus suis, injuria, insolentia et negtigentia, quam canonicorum, praebendariorum, officiariorum, et caeterorum ministrorum ejusdem, gravia jampridem incurrerit dispendia: quibus, nisi propediem de-bite prospiciatur, ad irreparabilem jacturam de verisimili perveniet, nos, &c.* They were authorized to *visit*, as well in the head and members, the cathedral church of Durham, and the dean and chapter, and all other members, &c. And among divers other things, to require and see the letters and muniments whatsoever, of the dean, prebendaries, canons, as well for their orders, as benefices obtained by them; and them diligently to examine and search: and if they found any of them not sufficient on that behalf, to dismiss them from their offices and benefices. This was the paragraph that touched the dean.

And in November from Aukland, (whence they returned from the visitation,) the archbishop sent letters to the lords of the council, giving a

general report of what they had done. Which letters were signed also by the lord president and the rest of the commissioners. But the lord president, being a favourer of puritans, soon, in the same month of November, sent a private previous letter to the lord treasurer about this matter, as not liking the proceedings. And for what reasons they were disliked by him, we shall see by his said letter, after we have first given a particular relation of the matter from one of the commissioners, viz. the chancellor of the archbishop.

“Memorandum. W.W. now dean of Durham, hath not proved, that he was orderly made minister at Geneva, according to the order of the Geneva [book or office] by public authority established there.

“The objection was, it was affirmed, that he was neither deacon nor minister, according to the laws of this realm, but a mere layman. By way of answer he confesseth, that he is neither deacon nor minister according to the order and law of this realm. But that he is a mere layman he denieth. For, saith he, I was ordered in queen Mary’s time in Geneva, according to the form there used: which I think to be one in effect and substance with the form now used in England, or allowed of in king Edward’s time. Which orders of mine were as agreeable to the law of this realm as any other form, until the eighth year of the queen’s majesty’s reign.

“To his confession, that *he is not deacon nor minister*, according to *the law of the realm*, I add her majesty’s letter writ to the archbishop of York, my lord and master; commanding us, the commissioners, chiefly and above all other things, that we should inquire of his ministry; and limiting, how, if he *be not ordered by some superior authority, according to the laws and statutes of our realm, then my express pleasure and command is*, saith her majesty, &c. What we, as commissioners, as her majesty’s subjects, were to do in this case; how her majesty’s laws were correspondent, and ready for the execution, I urge not, but *leave to your honourable consideration*, &c. “The latter part of his answer is wholly untrue. But I impute it to his ignorance: which is the less excusable, because it ia *ignorantia juris*. For in the first year of her majesty’s reign, in the same moment of time, and by the same authority that queen Mary’s ordering was repealed, king Edward’s

was revived. And many learned and godly ministers were made before the eighth year, and since the first of her majesty's reign.

"In the eighth year, upon some doubt in Boner's case, a further addition, declaration, and confirmation was made of king Edward's statute, for ordering of ministers, and consecrating bishops.

"Whittingham's certificate, that he was ordained at Geneva.

"He exhibited two certificates. The first was exhibited by himself at Durham, bearing date July the 8th, the twentieth of the queen, subscribed by eight persons. That certificate had these words, *That it pleased God, by lot and election of the whole English congregation, there orderly to choose W. W. to the office of preaching the word of God and ministering, the sacraments.*"

Three faults found with this certificate, viz.

"That it might have been made in Mr. W.'s chamber, for any thing that appeared in the certificate to the contrary: that they were not sworn witnesses. The archbishop laid hold on those words, *by lot and election*: offering, that neither in Geneva, nor in any reformed church in Europe, it could be proved, that any such orders, were ever used or allowed of; first and last only it was seen used in Matthias the apostle.

"For the confirmation of his opinion, he avouched Mr. Calvin; who affirmeth, that the election was not, nor is to be drawn into example. In this point Mr. Dean of York and Mr. Archdeacon Ramesden did not disagree from the *archbishop*.

"The next meeting at York, a month after, and more, the dean exhibited another certificate, subscribed with the same persons; one only of the eight changed, and another set in his place, with the amendment of the faults which were in the first. First, It was dated at London, the 15th of November. Second, They were sworn upon the holy evangelists before a public notary. Thirdly, *Lot* and election was turned into *suffrages*, viz. *It pleased God, by the suffrages of the whole congregation, (English was left out,) orderly to choose Mr. W: W. unto the office of preaching, the word of God and ministering the sacraments.* Further, they say, *that he was*

admitted minister, and so published, with such other ceremonies as there is used and accustomed.

“There is no proof of the fact. He knew not the witnesses. I know them not; but only Mr. John Bodley; whom, for the integrity of his life, and just dealing in the world, I believe to be an honest man.”

The lawyer here objected against these witnesses. [This was pleaded before the queen’s commissioners at York.] “He shewed, there were wanting *externae solennitates, auctoritatem* ordinantis. Which, by Bucer’s opinion, ought to be a bishop or superintendent. And the *formam ordinationis*, which chiefly consisteth in imposition of hands.” This was a paper brought up to court, concerning their proceedings with Mr. Whittingham.

But now to shew how the lord president thought of these dealings, and how he represented the dean of Durham’s case to the lord treasurer, viz.

“That he had considered with himself of the matter in hand; which, as hitherto he had seen by the dealing in it, was, he thought, of more weight than some of them did take it to be. And concerning their manner of proceeding therein, in his judgment, they had need to be better advised, than he doubted they should be, except they were from higher authority *admonished*.”

Then he proceeded to acquaint his lordship with the matter more especially; viz.

“That when they came into the chapter-house, after the reading of the commission, and *all* the ceremonies passed, (which he perceived to be in such cases usual, before they entered into any dealing,) it was manifest to them all there present, that for that time the purpose was to deal with the dean [of Durham] only; and with the rest some other time.

“Against the dean there were articles thirty-five, and interrogatories forty-nine, ready drawn in the hand of the promoter, to be put into the court: with which, as was there affirmed, none of the commissioners ever were acquainted before. They all thought it not unfit to deal first with the dean, because he was the principal man. And then, as occasion served, to deal with the rest of the prebendaries. But some thought it to be most meet to begin their general inquiry of all disorders, and of all persons in that church:

which was in the end accorded to by all. And so they proceeded to the spending of more time than was intended: and yet done no more at present [that is, when the lord president wrote this letter] than made an inquiry: adjourned the court thither, that is to Awkland, till the 25th of the instant November.

“Against the dean this matter was first certificated and most especially urged, that he was not made minister according to the laws of this realm, but is *mere laicus*; and so to be deprived.” Concerning this the lord president wrote his judgment thus: “How in other matters alleged against him there may fall out good cause of deprivation, he knew not; but if that be the mark, (saith he,) as it is indeed, if the *vox populi* be true, he wished it might be hit some other way, rather than once touched by this that concerned his ministry.

“The dean made this reply to this article: That he was able to prove his vocation to be such and the same, that all the ministers in Geneva use to have. The lord president upon this subjoined his opinion: that his lordship [the lord treasurer] could judge what flame this spark was like to breed, if it should kindle: for it could not but be ill taken of all the godly learned both at home, and in all the reformed churches abroad, that we should allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of the ministers made in a reformed church. He added, that truly the urging of it in the conference that already they had had, made him greatly to doubt, that at *the* next they, the commissioners, should much differ in opinion for this matter; as already there had been great difference grown between the archbishop and the dean of York upon this case. And for himself, he must confess to his lordship plainly, that he thought in conscience he might not agree to the sentence of *deprivation* for that cause only.

“Whereupon he wished, that as for many other causes he could rehearse, but especially this that he had noted, (which indeed was the chief of all,) that they, the commissioners, might be admonished [i. e. by the council] before the next court day, to proceed in other matters concerning the good government of the house, and such like causes; whereof there is store. And in case of deprivation, especially for this cause of his ministry, to stay to deal till another

time, when with better advice it may be proceeded in: which, he said, might easily be done. For their commission was limited to no certain time; but had continuance, till her majesty should please to revoke it." How far further this commission went with this church, I know not; but the dean's death, happening little more than half a year after, might prevent their proceeding further with him than hath already been declared.

I do not find any act of parliament all this while urged in Whittingham's behalf; though divers years afterwards it was said to have been done in such another case, I mean in that of Mr. Travers; who had been ordered by a presbytery at Antwerp: when, his orders being called in question, the statute of the 13 Eliz. was alleged for the validity of his ordination. By which act of parliament their ordination was allowed, who had been ordered by another order than that which was here established: which was for the allowing their ordination, who had been ordered by another order; being made of like capacity to enjoy any place of ministry within England, as they that had been ordered according to that is now by law in this case established. Which comprehended such as were made priests according to the order of the church of Rome. Hence they inferred, that were on Whittingham's side, that hence it must needs be, that the law of a Christian land, professing the gospel, should be as favourable for a minister of the word as for a popish priest. Which also was so found (as Travers asserts in his *Supplication* to the council) in Mr. Whittingham's case.

I add further this note of Whittingham, that he and his party in the time of the exile of the English in queen Mary's reign, at Frankford, used not the English form of prayer, but the form used by those of Geneva, *the purest reformed church in Christendom*; as he writ and styled it in a letter to a friend in England. And this occasioned those tronbles and differences among the exiles there.

In short as for the rest of the members of that house, and their management of that church and the divine service performed there, thus did the archbishop inform the lord treasurer, in another letter dated in April: "That archdeacon Pilkington, and one young Bunny, precise, men, wrought all the trouble." The former had been before the council; and was, he said, too gently used; and that made him brag: adding, "If your lordship knew the usage of that house, verily you would abhor it." [Meaning the college, and

their irregular ways of the public worship, and other customs, and of embezzling the revenues.]

CHAPTER 12.

Abbot Feckenham at the bishop of Ely's. Conferences with him by the bishop: and by Dr. Pern, dean of Ely. An account thereof written to court. Feckenham's confession. The said bishop's excellent letter to the queen, being in her progress. He orders the stay of vessels laden with corn, passing through his liberties, in order to transport it from Lynn. Deodands claimed by the bishop of Salisbury, the queen's almoner. Dr. Young becomes bishop of Rochester: his character. The case between the bishop of Bath and Wells and the lord Powlet about impropriating a benefice.

AND as we have related these notices of one pious bishop, falling within this year, so there occur divers other things worthy remark of some others of that order.

It was the custom in this queen's reign, by her gentleness and favour, to commit the popish prelates, and such others in orders that had been of note, to the houses and custody of the bishops.

Feckenham, late abbot of St. Peter's, Westminster, was retained with Cox, bishop of Ely; with whom he had been now a year or more: and the bishop courteously suffered him to eat at his table. The queen had signified her desire to that bishop, to use his endeavour to bring the abbot, being a man of learning and temper, to acknowledge her *supremacy*, and to come to the church. Now what the bishop had done herein, he acquainted the lord treasurer by a letter dated in the month of August. First, giving this character of him:

“That he was a gentle person, but in popish religion too, too obdurate. And that he had often conference with him. And other learned men at his request had conferred with him also; touching going to church, and touching taking the oath to the queen's majesty. The bishop added, that he had examined him, whether the *pope* were not an heretic: alleging to him the saying of Christ, *Reges gentium dominantur*; [i. e. *The kings of the gentiles exercise lordship over them.*] *Vos autem non sic*; i.e. *But it shall not be so among you.* That the people in all his government did contrary to this. And that they did maintain it by all means, by fire and sword,

&c. That his answer was, That that was the sorest place in all scripture against him." And further added," That when he was in some hope of his conformity, he [the abbot] said unto him, All these things that be laid against me, with leisure I could answer them. And further said, That he was fully persuaded in his religion, which he will stand to. When I heard this, said the bishop, I gave him over; and received him no more to my-table." And in some zeal subjoining, "Whether it be meet that the enemies of God and the queen should be fostered in our houses, and not used according to the laws of the realm, I leave to the judgment of others. What my poor judgment is, I will express, being commanded. I think my house the worse, being pestered with such a guest. Yet for obedience sake I have tried him thus long.

"And finally, he wished that he and the rest of his company were examined and tried in open conference in the universities: but not as good Cranmer, good Latymer, good Ridley, and others more; from disputations to the fire. In the mean season, this my guest might have some imprisonment in the university, where learned men might have access unto him." This letter the bishop dated from Ely, styling it, that unsavoury isle with turves and dried up loads, the 29th of August, 1578.

Dr. Perne, dean of Ely, was one of those the said bishop desired to have some discourse with the said Feckenham; which he undertook some months before. And what success he had, take from his own account thereof, given to the said lord treasurer; viz.

"That he had divers conferences with Mr. Feckenham, sometime abbot of Westminster, (and that in the presence of divers learned men,) at the request of the bishop of Ely, unto whose custody he was then committed. And this, he said, he the rather wrote to his lordship, for that in his opinion it was very good and expedient to have those things known unto his honour and unto others, which the said Feckenham had in his said conferences confessed and granted unto him and others, before Mr. Nicolls, his honour's chaplain, and before Mr. Stanton, chaplain to the bishop of Ely. And at another time he had granted and acknowledged unto him, in the presence of Mr. Holt, a preacher, and of one Mr. Crowe, reader of the divinity lecture in the cathedral church of Ely.

“First, He did confess, that he did acknowledge the *supremacy* of the queen’s majesty in causes ecclesiastical, in such manner as it is set forth and declared in her majesty’s Injunctions, set forth by her highness and her clergy, for the true understanding of the words of the act of parliament made for the same. Which injunction I did read unto him, being printed. But that, as Dr. Perne added, he did mislike these words in the act of parliament, that she should be supreme governor, as well in causes ecclesiastical as civil. Whereby, he said, she had authority to preach and minister sacraments, and consecrate bishops, &c. Which was otherwise declared in her majesty’s said Injunctions. The which he did very well allow.

“Secondarily, He did very well allow to have the common service in the church to be read in the vulgar tongue to all the people that should hear the same. And he did profess unto me, saith Dr. Perne, in his conscience and before God, that he did take the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians to be as truly meant of public prayer in the congregation, to the edifying of the people, as of public preaching, or prophesying. But he would have this allowed by the authority of the bishop of Rome.

“*Thirdly*, Where he, the said dean of Ely, had made a discourse, and a comparison between the Book and Order of Common Prayer used in the church of England this day, with the book and order of service used in the church in the time of popery, he saying, that he [Fecken-ham] could find no fault with the Book of Common Service which was now, except he must condemn that which he used in the portas and mass-book: for that we have those Psalms, the Epistles and the Gospels, those Collects and other prayers, which be either taken out of the word of God, or consonant to the same, and were taken out and chosen by godly, learned men, out of those ordinary prayers that were used in the time of ignorance and superstition: leaving out all other things brought in by the inventions of men, into the said portas and mass-book, which had no warrant of the word of God, or were repugnant to the same: he did answer, that he did find no fault with those things which were in the book; but he wished there should be more things and prayers added *to* the same. And that as he liked well of prayers therein that were made to Almighty God in the name of his Son Jesus Christ; so

he would also have added the invocation of our blessed lady, and other saints, and the prayers for the dead.”

All which his, the said Mr. Feckenham’s, confession, the dean tells the lord treasurer, that he had declared unto my lord of Ely; desiring him that he would make the same known unto her majesty, or unto his honour. The bishop, upon this confession, had earnestly requested him, [the dean,] that he would get his hand and subscription to the same. For that the said Mr. Feckenham, after the reasoning that had been with him, said to the said bishop, when he, the dean, was gone, that if he had leisure, he would answer to all those authorities and reasons that were brought out against him in these articles and others. Which thing when the dean demanded of him, and he refused to set his hand to it, he urged him as vehemently as he could; signifying, how great good he might do by the same, in the reducing of many from blind and obstinate superstition, wherein they were led, rather by his and others’ example, than by any reason: reducing also both them and others thereby from wilful extremities to some better order and godly conformity, and some pacification.

The dean said moreover, that he needed not be afraid to subscribe to that, which, in his conscience and before God, he did confess to be true. He did also move him, that if he would not give my lord of Ely his hand for these matters, that he would write his letters unto the queen’s majesty, or to his honour, [the lord treasurer,] acknowledging the same. The which thing the dean further told him, that if he would do, he might procure unto himself great favour, both at her majesty’s hands, and also at his honour’s.

To all which arguments used by the dean, he made this answer:

“That he was persuaded of a singular good-will, he said, both that her majesty and his honour bore unto him, if he should shew himself any thing conformable. That he thought verily, that if it were not for her majesty and his honour, that it would have been worse with him and others of his sect than it was at that day. For the which, he said, that he did daily, and was bound to pray, for the long preservation of her majesty, and also for his lordship’s honourable estate. But yet to subscribe he did refuse; saying, That if he should subscribe and yield in one thing, he had as good to yield in all.” “The which, the dean then told him, was not well said, except he were well persuaded in all. For to yield to that, which he confessed plainly in his conscience before God to be true, was the

duty of every Christian man. But to confess that which he was not so persuaded of, he would not enforce him [to do] against his conscience.”

The dean lent him a Bible of the annotations of Vatablus and Marlorate upon Genesis. Which were very good books; and he did greatly commend them. Of this particular he thought fit to acquaint the lord treasurer in his letter. Concluding, that Mr. Nicolls, his lordship’s chaplain, attending upon him at the present, could more at large declare what he had writ. And thus referring the whole matter unto his lordship’s best consideration, he humbly took his leave. From Cambridge, the 11th of May, 1578. Subscribing,

His honour’s daily orator always to command,
Andrew Perne.”

The same aged good bishop of Ely, in the same month in which he wrote to the treasurer about Feckenham, congratulated her majesty, now in her progress towards Norwich, in an elegant Latin letter: therein excusing his waiting upon her by reason of his age; but that he was ready to creep upon his knees to do her service. He takes occasion to repeat his desire that he moved to her a few years before, to resign his bishopric to her in consideration of his age: when she was pleased graciously to answer him, Not yet. Now he moved it again by the example of Moses, who, growing old, appointed Joshua his successor: and of St. Augustin, who, being aged, procured Alipius to succeed him. Then, like a father of the church, took the liberty to put her in mind,

“That she was the supreme governor of the church of England; a great trust committed to her by God: that she was the nurse, the defender thereof. And therefore that she should cause that such priests as were idle, or ambitious, covetous, simoniacs, to be driven out of this her church; and that with shame; as Christ whipped out such monsters out of the temple: and that as for such that were pious pastors, and inflamed with a zeal of true religion, let them be cherished, encouraged, and esteemed worthy of double honour: let them not be despised, trampled upon, and exposed. He told her, that was a weighty saying of our Saviour; *He that despiseth you despiseth me.* And that this contemptuous dealing with her conscientious clergy was the plain way to papism, turcism, and to all wickedness and iniquity. But, as he subjoined, her godly zeal

went another way: Who had hitherto, by the grace of God, so constantly and successfully conserved and defended the true religion of Christ, now for this twenty years, in spite of the Devil and all her majesty's enemies. He commended her, not only for her care of her own churches, but that she had a concern for the whole catholic church; and particularly for the neighbouring protestant reformed churches, who had lately sent some learned, able persons to appease the differences, and promote an union in the churches of Germany.

Which caused him to compare her with the emperor Constantine: O, queen! O, woman! truly godly, that comest so near to the example of Constantine the Great."

He proceeded by observing, how wonderfully God had blessed her endeavours, that her kingdom lived in godliness and tranquillity. And when wars and rumours of wars were round about, she in the mean time, by her prudence, preserved peace at home, and likewise contributed her endeavour (as much as possible) to procure it abroad. And concluding with his own private affair, he thanked her majesty, that she had freed him from a tedious lawsuit, remitting it to her chancery, that court of equity; though not without much difficulty obtained: and so praying the Lord Jesus to preserve her highness, increasing from faith to faith, safe for many years, blessed in an happy kingdom; and that at last she might obtain eternal life with Christ, in the celestial paradise; subscribing, *episcopus tuus humillimus, Richar-dus Elien*. But the whole letter, in the smooth Latin style, in memory of the man, and in respect of the royal person to whom he addressed it, as also of the matter whereof it consists, deserves to be preserved. See the Appendix, where it is recorded.

I have one remark more to make of this useful, good bishop; which is this: that for the public good of the country, and especially of the poor, to prevent the advance of the price of corn, he appointed some of his officers to seize upon certain vessels, which passed through his jurisdiction, laden with corn, towards Lynn, where it was transported in great quantities. In the month of June, one of these vessels, passing through the isle of Ely, was stopped; and the mariners brought before the bishop. Of this matter, for the better redress hereof, he thought fit to acquaint the lord treasurer, in a letter, to this purport:

“That there were daily complaints come unto him, that divers persons, that occupied keels to Lynn, did engross in their hands very *much* corn out of Huntingtonshire and other places, and *carried* the same by water through his liberties to Lynn; and there sold it to merchants, who transported it, he knew not whither. And that by this means the prices of corn began to rise, and the poverty of the country began to grudge very much at it. And that he [the bishop] therefore, seeking to redress this fault within his jurisdiction, had given warning to his officers, who dwelt near those waters where they passed, to stay them, and to bring them unto him, that he might see what licence they had so to do.

“And that even then his officers of a town in the isle, called March, had stayed a keel laden with an hundred and ten comb of pease, passing towards Lynn, without any licence at all. That the men that owned the pease were mariners, and had nothing to say for themselves why they did so, but only that poverty constrained them to seek their living. And that this was the first time, as they said, that ever they had begun to do it. Great moan they made, and seemed very sorrowful for their fact. And concluded, that he thought good to give his honour knowledge of it; and craved his advice, what he should do in this and the like case hereafter, if it should come to his hands.”

This he dated from his house in Donnington. And thus we leave this bishop till the next year, when We shall have him soliciting the queen for his resignation

There happened some controversy now between the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Piers, and the earl of Shrewsbury, about deodands; which seemed to belong to him, as the queen’s almoner, to bestow by his discretion as her majesty’s alms. The earl did not deny them, but was willing to compound with the bishop for them for a term of years: and he appointed his son, lord Gilbert, then at court, to discourse with him thereupon. The sum of which discourse he acquainted the earl with, in a letter dated the beginning of May, which was, that he had spoken with that bishop, who was almner, touching the deodands; and told him, that he could not compound with his lordship, or any other; but that he would be contented to appoint a gentleman, whom his lordship should name to his deputy, for the gathering of all the deodands, which should happen within any of his liberties; so that

the gentleman would render his accounts to the bishop once a year. And thereupon he said, that he would command him to deal reasonably with his lordship: and that for any fight that his lordship should have to them within his liberties, unless his lordship had special words of limitation in his charter, no general words, were they never so large, would be sufficient. And therefore he said, that if his lordship would shew his charter, and that those special words were found therein, he [the lord almoner] would not stand with his lordship and others: and required that his lordship would not mislike with him; since otherwise he should be utterly condemned by all that should succeed him in that office.

This year John Young, D. D. master of Pembroke hall, in Cambridge, entered upon the see of Rochester. Of whom bishop Elmer gave this character: "Commending him for his quickness in government and readiness in learning; fit to bridle innovators, not by authority only, but by weight of argument." This bishop wrote notes upon H. N.'s book, called *Evangelium Regni*: which were published, anno 1579, When H. N. was the broacher of the sect of the *family of love*.

The arms granted him upon his becoming bishop by garter king of arms, were, *gyronne of four, gules and azure, a lion perfesse, passant, guardant between two flower de luce, or*. The patent dated, London, 12th April, 1578.

I find in the lord treasurer's books the account of the yearly value of the income of the new bishop of Rochester, thus set down; holding, it seems, some preferments in com-mendam.

Imprimis, The bishopric *valet clare*, iic and iiiixxl.

Item, The benefices of S. Muge and Wouldan, *clare*, cxvl. Two prebends at Westminster and Southwel, *xlvl*. Sum, *iiiiic xl*.

Item, Perquisites of corn.

Item, *Parcas*, [parks,] and *bosci*, [woods.]

The bishop of Bath and Wells struggled this year with the lord Thomas Powlet; who attempted to make a perpetual impropriation of West Monkton, a good benefice in his gift; but changing his mind, devised to make a lease of it to the queen for five hundred years; and to take it again of her, without confirmation of the bishop: which he would not consent

unto. Of this he, fearing his own strength, made the lord treasurer acquainted, and begged his assistance. This that lord Powlet endeavoured to bring about, by making over the patronage to the queen, and by the present incumbent; who was to make the queen a lease of five hundred years, and he to have 80*l.* a year for his life, (though the benefice was worth an 100*l.* per annum,) and the incumbent afterwards to have 30*l.* a year. But the good bishop would not give his hand to it, however earnestly by that lord he was moved to do it:

“Considering the example that was like to follow, to the great decay (as he writ) of the clergy, if this should be brought into a custom. And then few benefices of any value, but would be brought to little enough. And besides, by such alterations, as the bishop added, the queen would lose her dues; and the ministers brought to poverty; and so the gospel and ministry brought at last to utter contempt.”

Thus that lord's course upon this denial of impropriating it, was to give the patronage unto the queen; and the incumbent to make a lease to her, the better to bring it about. All this the bishop shewed the lord treasurer; whose pains was required to put a stop to it. The bishop's letter may be read in the Appendix, for some memorial of that conscientious prelate.

CHAPTER 13.

Sectaries. Their principles, and dangerous assertions. Coppin, a prisoner in Bury. Wilsford; makes it an high crime in the queen to be styled caput ecclesiae. Chark and Dering; their sayings. A bookseller taken up for selling the Admonition to the Parliament. Mackworth holds the having two wives lawful. Imprisoned in the Marshalsea. The council's order about him. Large indulgences accompanying certain crucifixes, given by the pope to Stukely. Exeter college popish. The state of the university of Cambrldge. A decree made against the disguised apparel of students. Peter-house: the state thereof. Dr. Perne, master thereof: his good government. The heads complain of mandamuses to their chancellor: which he acquaints the queen with.

NOW for the state of religion. Divers there were that stirred this year against the present establishment of it; who met with trouble for their attempts against its government and discipline.

One of these was John Coppin, now a prisoner in the gaol at Bury St. Edmund's, having been committed thither two years before by the commissary of the bishop of Norwich, for his disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws of the realm; whereunto he would not yet conform himself, although he had been sundry times exhorted thereto by many godly and learned preachers, repairing publicly to him to bring him to conformity: and so Mr. Andrews, a justice of peace, living in that town, by letter informed the lord treasurer. And his wife, being delivered of a child there, at Bury, in August last; and it being now December, the said child remained yet unbaptized. For he said, none should baptize his child, except he were a preacher; and that then also it should be done without godfathers and godmothers. This man held many fantastical opinions, whereby he did very much hurt there, in Bury; by the common opinion of the best, and the most number of learned preachers that had conference with him in those matters: who wished him to be removed out of the said prison, for preventing the doing more hurt; as tho said justice of peace signified to the said lord treasurer.

And to understand more particularly what his tenets were, there were divers depositions made against him before the said Thomas Andrews, esq.

the 1st of December, 1578. John Gill, of Barly, in the county of Essex, clerk, deposed, that he being prisoner in the gaol of Bury aforesaid, and having said morning prayer to the prisoners there, in the morning of the feast of All Saints last past, according to the Book of Common Prayer, one John Coppin, there, and yet prisoner within the said gaol, rebuked this said deponent for saying the said common prayer; and called this deponent *dumb dog*. Saying further, that” whosoever keepeth any saint’s day, appointed by the said Book of Common Prayer, is an idolater.” And then also further said, that the queen (meaning her majesty that now is) was sworn to keep God’s law: and she is perjured.” ‘To which malicious, false, and slanderous speech, this deponent desired certain persons, standing then there by, to be witnesses. Whereunto the said Coppin replied, and said, repeating it divers times, that. “she was perjured, and that she would confess with her own mouth that she was perjured.” To which John Gill set his name. This was witnessed also by John Harcock and John Carew.

Which last mentioned gentleman deposed, that Coppin said,

“Whatsoever prince did take their corporal oaths to set forth God’s glory directly as by the scriptures are appointed, and did not; they were perjured. And this our prince, if she have sworn so effectually, she will confess herself perjured.” Another deposed these words spoke by Coppin, “That the queen was perjured by God; and so she would confess.”

One John Wilsford, a lay puritan, and of some learning, denied the queen to be supreme head of the church. This man having read somewhat in the epistle to the Hebrews about Christ being an everlasting priest over his church, took the confidence to write to the queen, that she was guilty of an high crime, to take upon her the title of *caput ecclesiae*. This man for this presumption was put into prison. And afterwards, upon secretary Wylson’s discourse with him, and stating this matter, viz. how the queen’s supremacy respected the civil power of her majesty over ecclesiastical persons, he was, or seemed to be, convinced of his error; and soon after begged the lord treasurer, and other counsellors of estate, to intercede with the queen for his pardon. His letter to them bore date, November the 25th, 1578, “Praying him and them, with all submission and humble obedience, to whom his impudent behaviour was made known, to be mediators unto the queen’s majesty to pardon and forgive, as she was a most merciful and clement prince, this his temerarious presumption, done of good zeal

towards her majesty, although void of good knowledge:" thinking (before better information) that it would follow, that none could take that title upon him, except the same person would be Christ's adversary, and Antichrist, as the pope was. This letter of this man I leave in the Appendix, to be perused.

Chark, sometime of Peter-house, and Dering, sometime of Christ's college, Cambridge, were chief men and leaders among the puritans in these times. A minister of London, in a journal of his under this year, hath remarked these sayings of theirs. *All your spiritual building, is Babel. For lack of holy reformation, your church is Babel. The canon laws, give them to be burnt. The episcopal courts, to be rooted out, being contrary to God's word. The French, Dutch, and strangers' churches, all utterly refuse our form, and condemn it.* [Though this asseveration of these new reformers, those churches took amiss at their hands, and denied the same in divers of their letters sent over hither.] *The church of Scotland far before it.* These were some assertions of those men's writings.

Of this sort was Barrow, (the author of the sect of the Barrowists,) and Greenwood. The sentence of the former was, *The further from Romish manners, the purer is our church.* That of the latter was, *We must flee doctrines; we must flee rites. Theirs and yours seem popish toys.*

And what favour and entertainment these principles did still find among the common people, may appear from the quick sale of the book of the Admonition to the Parliament, set forth divers years before. Against which a severe proclamation had been issued out, forbidding it to be sold, or kept in any person's possession, upon pain of imprisonment. Notwithstanding divers of them were sold by one Woodcock, a bookseller; who therefore being discovered, was taken up and imprisoned by order of the bishop of London; whose delivery the said bishop thought not fit to grant for such a presumption, in vending a book so much tending to sedition, without some special warrant from the lord treasurer: to whom he referred Mr. Tothyl, the master of the stationers' company, and the wardens, who came and solicited for that man. And accordingly they wrote their letter to the said lord; dated December the 9th. As I have mentioned in that bishop's Life more at large.

To these I add, that about this time, as near as I can guess, notice was taken of one Mackworth, a gentleman of Rutlandshire, for having two wives, and holding it lawful to have them; of this matter so exorbitant, and

his main-mining the same unchristain principle, information was brought to the queen; and, as guilty of a great disorder, he was committed to the Marshalsea, and there continued:

“*who* having a lawful wife, did not only marry another woman, with whom he had conversation as with his former *wife*, but also maintained a most detestable heresy, (I do but transcribe out of a letter of the lords to certain gentlemen,) as that it was lawful for him so to do.”

For the lords of the council had caused him to be brought before them, to answer the premises. Who at the first persisted in his damnable opinion; but afterwards, being conferred with by the deans of Windsor and Lincoln, become somewhat reformed touching that detestable opinion, and seemed to revoke the same.

And yet nevertheless was committed to that prison, as reason was, he should, for so heinous a fact. At which time it seemed good to their lordships to take some order for the relief of the gentlewoman his wife, with some convenient portion of maintenance of herself and nine children, which she had by him: who for that purpose wrote their letters to certain gentlemen in the country, to view and certify the extent and value of the lands and goods of the said Mack-worth; with their opinions touching some competent portion of his lands to be assigned for that use. Which they accordingly did, and returned.

Upon these proceedings of the lords, Mackworth made a motion to them at that time, that he might of himself yield a convenient portion for her, and also that she might be sent for to come to him; pretending that he would reasonably satisfy her therein: accordingly it was permitted; and she came up with her brother Thomas Gresham. But the care of the lords further extended; and thinking it not safe that she should repair unto him privately, not knowing what ill intentions he might have to do her bodily harm; for that cause they thought good to make choice of three gentlemen: praying them, or two of them, as their leisure might best serve them, to resort to the place where he remained committed; and to treat with him for yielding some competent portion of his lands and goods for the use abovesaid, during such time as he and his wife should remain asunder: and to use the best persuasions they could to draw him thereunto; and promising him that it might be the rather a means to procure him favour, if he should be content to do so. At which time he might have knowledge of his wife's

repair unto him, according to his desire. And so she might have access in their presence the more safely; and they, as the lords added, might the better discern with what affection he had desired the same.

And lastly, for their better instruction in the matter, they, the said lords, sent them, (to be returned again,) as well the copy of their letter directed to certain gentlemen in the country, [mentioned above,] as the answer and opinion returned; together with the yearly extent of his lands, and the valuation of his goods; as it was delivered to the said lords. And so prayed these gentlemen thus commissioned, to advertise them, the lords, of their proceedings with him: and of such matters as they should think good to inform them of, touching either of the parties, upon this access in their presence. And so bidding them heartily farewell.

This letter was carried by Mr. Gresham, her brother, to those gentlemen, by order of the lords: I have transcribed the whole, being, as it seems, a star-chamber business: and shewing as well the extent of their care taken against loose principles, as this of bigamy was, calling it a *detestable* heresy; as also their taking cognizance of the ill usage of loose men towards their innocent wives.

Those of the church of Rome were not negligent this year to bring to pass their long intended purpose of overthrowing the religion, and dethroning the queen. Steukely, that bold bravo, that was to conquer Ireland for the pope, had ob-mined this year from him a number of crucifixes, containing notable indulgences; to incline weak people there to follow him in the pope's quarrel, either in person or in purse; by giving money for them: containing very large privileges of pardon of their sins, for no great pains taking. And Steukely was to sell them, and to make his gain of them, as it seems. A copy of these Indulgences was communicated to some person of worship, a friend of the cause, by way of letter, that seems to have been intercepted: and was as followeth:

Indulgences granted by our holy father, Gregory XIII. unto certain crucifixes of sir Thomas Steukley's, the 13th of January, 1578.

I. Whoso beholdeth with reverence and devotion one of these crosses, as oft as he doth it, getteth fifty days of indulgence. As oft as he prayeth upon, or before it, for the good and prosperous state of the holy catholic church, and for the increase and exaltation of the holy catholic faith, and for the preservation and delivery of Mary queen of Scotland, and for the

reducing of the realm of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and for the extirpation of heretics; he shall obtain fifty days of indulgence. And upon festival days one hundred.

II. In going to any conflict or feat of arms against the enemies of our holy faith, he shall obtain seven years, and seven quarantines of indulgence. And if he die there, at least being confessed and houseled at the beginning of the war, with contrition of his sins, and calling upon the most blessed name of *Jesu* with mouth or heart, he shall obtain full indulgence, and remission of all his sins.

III. As oft as he Shall be confessed and houseled, making his prayers by word or mind before the most holy crucifix, and praying for the prosperous state of holy church, and for the chief bishop, and for the delivery and preservation of the aforesaid Mary queen of Scots, and for the reducing of the aforesaid realm of England and Scotland; he shall obtain all the indulgences that are granted for visiting all the holy places, that are both within and without the gates of Home.

IV. Any night or evening that he shall examine his own conscience with repentance of sins; and intend to amend the same, saying the general confession, and bowing or kneeling before the holy crucifix, saying three times, *Jesus*, obtains a year and a quarantine of indulgence.

V. Whoso shall use and accustom to behold it, with devotion to the cross; saying five Pater-nosters, five Aves, and some other prayers to our Saviour or to our lady, for the exaltation of the holy church, for the preservation of Mary queen of Scotland, and for the reducing of the aforesaid realms, he shall obtain once in his life full indulgence of all his sins; besides the other indulgence of fifty days for each time that he prayeth.

VI. Moreover, in the pain and peril of death, what person soever, being confessed, and contrite, or giving signs of contrition, and shall kiss the feet of the most blessed crucifix, saying *Jesu* with heart, not able to say it with mouth, shall obtain full indulgence, and remission of all his sins.

VII. *Item*, One day in the year, named and appointed by them, that shall have one of the said crucifixes, with the liscence of the ordinary of the place, it may be put in any church, or chapel, or oratory: and whosoever shall come to visit with devotion the said holy crucifix in the said church, chapel, or oratory, saying five Pater-nosters and five Aves, praying for the

prosperous state of our holy mother the church, and for the chief high bishop, and for the preservation and delivery of the abovesaid Mary of Scotland, and for the reducing of the said realm, shall obtain free indulgence of all their sins, being confessed, or having the mind and purpose to be confessed in due time or place, and to amend their former lives and sins.

VIII. *Item*, That every Friday that mass is said, or caused to be said, upon any altar, where one of these holy crucifixes is set, one soul shall be released out of purgatory.

Item, That those indulgences and graces cannot be revoked by any high bishop, except express mention be made of the same.

“**Item**, I did ask the question, what a quarantine was, of master Dr. Sanders, I suppose.] And he told me, it was to fast forty days: the same fast we fast in Lent. The which in the old primitive church was wont and accustomed to be enjoined in penance to certain sinners for their offences.

“Thus being bold to molest your worship with these rude lines, partly by the instruction of our countrymen, lately come hither, [to Rome, as it seems,] who told me your worship was desirous to know the truth herein; and partly also to shew my humble duty, in that I may or can, to your worship, or any that belong unto you, so long as life in breast abides; desiring your worship to accept them in good part, with my humble commendations unto your worship, your most loving bedfellow, and all your good and virtuous children, your family, with others my good friends, near unto you.”

Subscribing only the two first letters of his name, J.L. See more particulars of this in our histories, and what formidable preparations were making against England by the pope, and Spain, and Portugal, wherein Steukley was to be the chief leader.

The pope's great champion in Ireland at this time was James earl of Desmond; who declared himself to have taken upon him the protection of the catholic faith in Ireland, by the authority of the bishop of Rome, and direction of the catholic king: though not long before he avowed to return to his loyalty, and had protested obedience and fidelity before the lord deputy, and promised to serve her majesty in person against her rebels. To

him was the said Steukley to repair from Rome, whom the pope had loaded with Irish titles of honour, even as high as marquess. And also Saunders went from Spain; that was to transact the pope's business as his legate in Ireland, and to assist the earl. Ships were to be provided by the king of Portugal, with soldiers to invade Ireland, and conquer it. Desmond dissembled all this while; while the pope's nuncio, (who managed all the cause at Madrid, and despatched messengers and messages thence,) wrote letters to him: two whereof were seized, or by some other means were taken, and brought to court. Which being somewhat curious, and shewing some intrigues of this conspiracy, I will relate from the very originals. They were writ in Latin. The former dated from Madrid, the 15th of December, 1578, to this tenor: importing the sending over a friar to be a judge in Ireland.

Magister Frater, &c. "Master Friar, Matthew de Ovied, whom we have appointed, you being present, to that which your lordship well knoweth, will be there with his letter. He goeth with me judge of every matter with diligence; and takes his journey on purpose, as not in the least suffering his duty to be wanting in any thing. I do the less commend the man, and the companions of his faith, since such is his honesty and religion. For I am sure all will receive him with a willing mind. I only pray God, therefore, that he will perpetually favour the pious attempts of your lordship; and I pray you may long prosper, &c.

In Christo servus, &c.

The other letter to Desmond was dated March the 10th, 1579; which was thus endorsed: *The pope's nuncio to James Desmond de Geraldis, from Spain, by a messenger*; in these words:

Illustrissime domine. Hoc ipso die redditae sunt nobis literae D. V. 20 Febr. in ipso Portugaleti portu, &c. Ex quibus cum in spe simus D. V. ad locum, ubi conventum est, Galliciae pervenisse, ibique, nisi Sanderum offenderit, pro-pedem tamen eum fuisse visurum, nuntii hujus opportunitatem nacti praesentes istuc mittimus: salutem utrique simul ac reliquis nuntiando. Laetorque de navigatione, si modo recte, ut spero, istuc usque confeta est. Ex Sanderi poterit V. D. cognovisse, quae Olyssiſonae in ipso discessu ac-ciderunt.

This that happened at Lisbon, which the nuncio writes to the earl that he should understand by Sanders, was, how the fleet there, bound for Ireland, was taking another course, viz. towards Africa, by some instigation of advantage that way. And thither indeed they diverted, with their fleet and forces.

“Which was the cause” (as he proceeded in his letter, thus Englished) “that I presently travelled thither. And being certified of those things, I sent letters to the king immediately very diligently. And I hope his majesty, considering what I wrote, will at last give liberty to the ships and men; if not, to the soldiers, to depart thence: [viz. to pursue their designs in Ireland:] which I daily expect greedily to know. Here is at present sir Francis Englefield, [a pensioner of the king of Spain,] with whom I have discoursed at large of the business. And it comes into my mind, that it will not be amiss that *your* lordship speak with him before he take his journey thence: and with that intent also that he should go also with them. Nor do I see that this would be now expedient, but that he should talk with you concerning whatsoever belongs to this cause. And in this opinion I am; although I have not as yet maturely deliberated on it.

“From the letters which I shall next receive from Lisbon, I shall easily conjecture Whether your lordship can there look for any fresher letters; and if there be any thing which you ought to know, I shall take care that letters be brought you as soon as may be. The elder son of your lordship came hither from Lisbon safe and sound. I am now thinking that they depart as soon as may be to Complutum, [Alcala, an university,] and that *shall* be sudden. Farewell. Let this be common with you to Sanders: to whom I wish all happiness.

Vester frater in Christo, Phil. Ep. Placent.

Madriti, 10 March, 1579.

Nuntius apostolicus.”

Religiosos quoscunque Franciscanos, quos discalceatos vocant, commendatos habete.” This postscript writ with his own hand; the rest by his secretary’s.

By all this it appears how deep this ingrateful earl was in this plot: whom the queen, under the name of James Fitz Gerald, or Fitz Morish, had granted a full pardon, and restored all his manors, when sir Henry Sydney was lord lieutenant of Ireland. He was deservedly slain, within two or three years, by the hand of a common soldier. And Sanders about the same time died miserably.

These practices provoked the queen at this time against the papists, and made her resolve to prosecute the laws against them: which the favourers of the gospel were glad of. The old bishop of Ely expressed his mind in these words to a great counsellor:

“That he much rejoiced that her majesty was somewhat severe against her enemies, the papists. Would God, that all her magistrates, high and low, would follow diligently her godly vein. I trust hereafter her highness and her magistrates will prosecute severely the same trade.”

If we look into our universities, we shall find papists there. The diarist that I sometimes transcribe from, (who seems to have been a diligent noter of matters of remark concerning religion in his time,) notes, that in Exeter college, Oxon, of eighty were found but four obedient subjects: all the rest secret or open Roman affectionaries: and particularly one Savage, of that house, a most earnest defender of the pope’s bull and excommunication [of the queen.] These were chiefly such as came out of the western parts, where popery greatly prevailed; and the gentry bred up in that religion.

As for the other university, great offence was taken at the extravagance of the apparel which was now used there; so unsuitable to the condition of students, that came thither to improve in learning and virtue: the younger sort following much the fashions so expensive. Whereby was occasioned a great decay and defect in good learning and modesty. Insomuch that it was feared, that the university, that formerly supplied the realm with men of service, for their learning and piety, would now become only a storehouse of loose, unlearned, and insufficient persons; to the damage, and not the service of the kingdom. This evil was apprehended so great, that the lord Burghley, high chancellor of the university, set forth a decree for the reformation thereof. Which, from the minutes of it, drawn up by himself, is worthy (though somewhat long) to be transcribed and preserved: which I have therefore laid in the Appendix. It was entitled, *A decree for the restraint of the excess of apparel, both for the unreasonable costs, and the*

unseemly fashions of the same, used by scholars and students in that university of Cambridge.

This unseemly and *disguised apparel*, and *monstrous disuse* of it by the students, (as it was termed,) consisted in excessive ruffs in their shirts, the greatness of their hose, and in wearing swords and rapiers. These extravagances were by this decree to be prohibited by the vice-chancellor and the heads of the colleges; who were to meet and confer together about it, and to draw up particular rules for directing the habits to be worn of all sorts and degrees of scholars: and expulsion to be executed upon any that should transgress.

Concerning one of the colleges in this university, namely, Peter-house, I may have leave to mention the advantage it had by a careful, discreet master, viz. Dr. Andrew Perne, as well as an excellent head of that university. Among the improvements he made in that college, a new building was made there this year at the college charge, viz. a baking-house; which was for the principal maintenance and relief of the same. This, upon a particular reason, he acquainted the high chancellor with. And that without the commodity thereof they were not able to maintain so many fellows as they did, by two or three at the least. There were also more buildings within that college the same *year*, but nothing at the college's charge. And more chambers were wanting for the necessary use of the scholars and students of the same at that time; but they were not of ability to do it. This the said master intimated to that lord on occasion of his recommending to him, the master, one Egerton, B.A. of that college, to be admitted fellow there. Of whose towardliness in learning he and the fellows had very good liking. Notwithstanding, such was the present state of the college, that he could not comply with his lordship's request; since, as he said, there were divers others of the same house of no less learning, but of much less ability to be maintained at learning. Of the which some had no other relief, but such poor benevolence as they had within the college. Yet notwithstanding, the number of fellows and scholars which, were at that day maintained in the college, and the charges of the ordinary commons, were so great, that they could make no new election of any new fellow as yet; except they should suffer the college to run into greater detriment, for the defraying of the charge of their commons, than the college should be well able to satisfy. In which, as he judged, he was very well assured that it was not his honour's good meaning: and then he proceeded to the mention of their buildings. And in the end assuring his honour, that he would be as

willing to do .for the said Egerton, when the college should be able to make any new election, as he might lawfully and conveniently do, as any in Cambridge should be, for his lordship's sake: unto whom, under the queen's majesty, he took himself greatliest bound, as he would, if he were of ability, declare the same accordingly. Thus faithfully did this worthy master govern the affairs of that college, for the good and flourishing estate thereof. And whose letter I have here set down at the more length, for the better retrieving and preserving the character of him.

And indeed such a multitude of mandamuses and letters from great men were about this time procured from the court for fellowships, that it grew very burdensome to the university; and proved a great uneasiness to the young students; who hoped to be preferred by their merits: whereas now the ordinary application was to courtiers for their letters to the heads of the colleges,, for mandamuses from the queen for a preferment. So that free suffrages for elections were impeached;to the discouragement of ingenuity, and the countenancing of boldness and importunaey. Whereby it came to pass, (according to a letter the university wrote to their chancellor on this occasion,) that the scholars did neither follow their studies in hope of preferment for their diligence and proficiency; nor much regarded their superiors, as hoping for favour from them: but chiefly from courtiers. Besides, hereby the university liberty was infringed, and their tranquillity disturbed, and the scholars' minds were dejected, and industry languished. These were the effects of taking away from them their free votes, of disposing their fellowships. Wherefore they, the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, in a joint letter addressed to their chancellor, earnestly beseeching him, by his fidelity to them, and by his good-will towards them; and also by their welfare and dignity, which he dearly loved; *Aufer nobis istam mandatorum frequentiam*: and that he would so far prevail with the queen, when he should see occasion, that the liberty which she had once granted, she would leave to them free and entire. This whole supplicatory letter may be read in the Appendix; as worthy the preserving, in order to the better understanding the state of the university in these days.

Let me add here the success of this application of the university to their loving chancellor. He was moved, when he considered what they had urged now, and repeated to him the like again, how these letters discouraged learning; when the worse were preferred before the better deserving: and this dispensing with statutes to the overthrow of good laws and customs, to the great hindering of learning, and utter discouragement of good

scholars and hard students, that studied out of hope of reward. This was pressed upon their chancellor; and he sufficiently sensible of. In this Dr. Perne had a great hand, being a great instrument in consulting for the benefit of learning there. This lord, therefore, took his opportunity to lay this petition of the university before the queen. And it had this effect, that she promised her mandamuses should be more sparing for the time to come: favouring that lord's *godly and necessary suit*, as the said Perne, in a letter, called it. And of this his success he [their chancellor] wrote most lovingly in his answer to their former letter. But however, it was observed afterwards, that since, that time there were more mandamuses sent down, and dispensations with the statute, than were before. Which caused another from Cambridge to him, that his lordship knowing the same, would, they doubted not, help to redress.

There came a private letter this year to the master and fellows of Queen's college, Cambridge, containing a friendly hint and information concerning such as came to preach before the queen: some of them she liked not, in using so much freedom with her in their sermons in respect of dissensions in the church, properly belonging to matters of government; judging they went beyond their bounds. The letter is without any name subscribed, only dated in March, 1578. But I conjecture it was sent from the earl of Leicester, Dr. Chaderton the master of Queen's great patron; or perhaps from secretary Walsingham. The letter itself I here transcribe, as followeth:

“Master Dr. I perceive the queen's majesty doth mislike, that of late such as have preached afore her, in their set-mons entered into dissensions of matters properly appertaining to matters of government: rather by private advice to be imparted to herself or to her council, than in pulpits, to the hearing of vulgar people, which are not apt to hear such things: especially thereby to catch lightly occasions to think either sinisterly or doubtfully of the head and of her government.

“*If* any allowed to preach, be moved to desire amendment in things properly belonging to herself, I do assure myself, she will willingly hear any that shall either desire by speech or writing to impart their charitable conceits.

“*And* many times I find even preachers as perverse men, led, yea, carried with sinister informations, especially against government. Yet it may be doubted of good men, that all reports are not always

true. I wish in my heart no jot of the authority of preachers to be diminished. And yet I wish them not to presume upon their authority, to enter into condemnation of others, without some grounds.”

CHAPTER 14.

The queen's progress. The university wait upon her at Audley End. Her splendid entertainment at Norwich. A sentence in the star-chamber. Magic practised to take away the queen's life. A conjurer suddenly falls down dead. A foreign physician consulted for the queen's toothache. Dr. Julio, the Italian physician, the queen's servant: his suit. Shows before the queen, performed by certain of the young nobility. Lord Rich assassinated: and another. Remarks of some persons of note, dying this year. Sir Nicolas Bacon, lord keeper. The lady Mary Grey. The lord Henry Seymour. Books now set forth. The Holy Bible; the Geneva edition. Bishop Jewels Defence in Latin. Mr. Fox's Good-Friday sermon at Paul's Cross. View of Antichrist A book against the outward apparel and ministering garments. A Display of Popish Practices. The Way of Life. Guicciar-din's history. Books printed in Germany, in a letter to the bishop of Ely.

THIS summer the queen took her progress into Suffolk and Norfolk. But first in the month of May she took her pleasure abroad to the lord Compton's house at Tottenham: and thence to the lord treasurer's at Theobald's; where she tarried three or four days. From thence she went to Mr. Barret's house. But where that was, I cannot assign; somewhat, as it seems, in the way to Wansted, in Waltham forest, which was the earl of Leicester's seat: where she continued five or six days. In July we find her at Hunsdon; and the lord treasurer now at his house at Theobald's, where he had entertained her majesty a month or two before. And thence he wrote to Mr. Randolph, chamberlain of the exchequer and master of the posts, sometime ambassador to Russia and Scotland, to signify to him, that she would have the ambassador of Scotland to come to Hunsdon on the Thursday, and the next day to Mr. Sadleir's house in Hertfordshire, where she would be. And that considering the high way from London was by his house there at Theobald's, and that they must have a resting place for dinner-time, he prayed Randolph, in his name, to make that ambassador an offer to dine with him there. Where also he [the treasurer] should be the gladder to see him, and he the opportunity to see his house, according as he had said he had a desire to see. [For a fame went of my lord's splendid buildings here.]

“Though there were nothing,” as that lord modestly told him, “worth his desire, considering his foreign travels; although percase,” added he, “you may see as much to content you as in Moscovia, [that barbarous country.] With no other I will offer any comparison.” He told him further, “That my lord of Hunsdon would also meet with him there at dinner. And that the queen’s majesty was privy, and well liking of this his invitation. And as the ambassador should assent, so to send him word.” This was dated at Theobald’s, the 21st of July, at night, 1578.

The queen had been some days before at Havering, in Essex, one of the royal seats; and remained there several days. And after one or two removes she came to Audely End. Where the university of Cambridge waited upon her, with speeches and disputations made before her, as we shall hear by and by. Thence she intended to proceed in her progress to Suffolk, to the house of the master of the rolls. And if she went not further, which was not presently concluded upon, (as the lord Burghley writ to the vice-chancellor,) then she would return by Cambridge, by Mr. Hynde’s, by somersham, by Mr. Crumwell’s, and so by Justice Dyer’s, and the lord St. John’s: and so through Buckinghamshire, towards Windsor: as it was by the lord Burghley signified to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge; that so the university might be prepared to receive her majesty, if she came that way.

But now before we go further in this progress, to relate something concerning the university’s waiting upon the queen while she was at Audely End, which was in the latter end of July. Dr. Howland, master of St. John’s, and vice-chancellor, had sent his letter to the lord Burghley, their chancellor, with notice of their purpose in that respect; and likewise to give them his advice and instructions therein. “That they intended to wait upon her majesty, with the heads of the colleges: and to have in readiness some disputants upon two moral questions.” The one whereof was, *An clementia magis sit laudanda in principe, quam severitas*. The second, *De fortuna et fato*. When they intended also to present the queen with a book well bound. But what that book was, I find not: perhaps some curious edition of the Bible.

“In answer, their high chancellor heartily thanked them; and that he liked well of their purpose of presenting themselves unto her majesty at Audley End. And that of the two questions, he liked better the first. And that the second might yield many reasons

impertinent for Christian ears, if it were not circumspectly used. But yet he left the further consideration thereof to themselves. That the present to her majesty he allowed of. But that they must have regard, that the book had no savour of spike, which commonly bookbinders did seek to add, to make their books savour well. But that her majesty could not abide such a strong scent. That they should do well to *provide* for the carl of Leicester, the lord chamberlain, and the earl of Oxford, some gloves, with a few verses in a paper joined to them, proper to every of their degrees; so that in number they exceeded not above eight verses. That for himself he could spare them; so that others might have them. And that if Mr. Vice-chamberlain *might* have a pair with some verses, it should do well, to conciliate his good-will, being a lover of learned men.” This was dated from the court at Havering, July 15.

It was not before the 25th of July that the lord Burghley could inform the vice-chancellor when the queen was certainly to come to Audely End, viz. the next day. And forthwith ordering him, that his servant should bring a letter from him, as vice-chancellor, and from some of the heads of the colleges; jointly directed to the earl of Leicester, as their steward, and to him, [Lord Burghley,] as their chancellor: therein requiring those said lords to direct them [the heads] at what time and in what order they should think meet that they of the university should come. And that his particular opinion was, that he thought fittest for them all to present themselves in their long black gowns. And as for the matter of the oration to be uttered by their orator, he knew it must be *demonstrativo genere*, mingled with thanks and praise to Almighty God, for his long blessings, delivered to the whole realm by her majesty’s government; and particularly to the two universities; which were kept by her, as by a nurse, in quietness to be nourished in piety, and all other learning; free from all outward troubles, as rebellions, and such other innumerable calamities, as other countries were then subject unto. And so to the end, with thanks to her majesty, and request to continue her favour. This entertainment of the queen by speeches, &c. was soon after set forth in print, in a book by Gabr. Harvey.

The queen in her progress, being come in the month of August as far as the city of Norwich, among the welcomes that were there given her, the Dutch congregation there waited upon her: and one of their ministers, (whose name

was Herman Modet,) made a Latin speech to her, in grateful acknowledgment of the favours shewed them, and the freedom of their religion, and profession of the gospel they enjoyed by her. And in the speech he presented her with a representation of Joseph, shewing his affliction and imprisonment; and afterwards his great preferment. And then he aptly applied Joseph's history to queen Elizabeth's sufferings and advancement.

This history was artfully engraven on a cup, which he, in the name of that church, humbly presented her, being silver, and gilt; and a case, having the picture of Joseph upon it; and this tetrastic:

*Innocuum pietas ad regia sceptrum Josephum,
Ex manibus fratrum, carnificisque rapit.
Carcere et insidiis sic te, regina, tuorum
Ereptam duxit culmina ad ista Deus.*

Round the cup (worth 50*l.*) was this inscription, *Serenissimae Angliae reginae, ELIZABETHAE, ecclesiae Belgicae Nordovici, ob religionem exulantes, hoc monumcntum, et pietatis et posteritatis ergo, consecrabant, ann. salut. humanae, 1578.* Within the cup was the figure of a serpent in a round posture, and a dove in the middle; and these words, *Prudens ut serpens, simplex ut columba.*

When the minister that made the speech gave the cup to the queen, she said, *Grato recipio animo; sed quid ita estis obliti vestrum, ut mihi aliquid de vestra paupertate offeratis, quae nullius indigeo?* She then received from the foreign churches here 30*l.* sterling, viz. 10*l.* from the Walsche [Waloons,] and 20*l.* from the Dutch.

There was written at that time, and published, a large and particular account of the queen's splendid entertainment there, with the speeches, verses, shows, and triumphs accompanying it: which is transcribed in the additions to Holin-shed's Chronicle; as likewise the rest of her progress, through Suffolk and Norfolk.

The queen had been grossly wronged by some of her servants. Which now being found out a good piece of justice was done upon them in the month of February, at the sitting of the lords in the star-chamber. Where four messen-gets were examined, namely, such as were daily sent on errands from the court; who were found, by counterfeiting the hands of the lord chamberlain and the secretary, to have deceived the queen of above 3000*l.*

within six years, they and their confederates. Whereupon their sentence was, to stand on the pillory at Westminster, at the court gates, and in Cheapside, on certain days appointed; and then to have their ears cut off.

Certain wickedly disposed persons this year practised magic against her majesty queen Elizabeth, to take away her life. This I take from Meric Casaubon, D. D. (the son of the great Isaac of that name,) in his book of *Credulity and Incredulity*: which he had from the credit of Bodin, in the preface to his *Daemonology*. Who relateth there, that three waxen images were framed; whereof one was of the queen, and the two other of two persons nearest her, (perhaps the lord treasurer Burghley, and the lord high steward, the earl of Leicester,) which were found in the house of a priest near Islington, (who was a magician, and so reputed,) in order to take away their lives. Which he repeateth again in his second book: and more particularly, that it was in the year 1578. And that the English ambassador and many Frenchmen did divulge it and report it. And that the business was then under trial, and not yet perfectly known.

Divers such dealers in magic and conjuration seem to have been about these times. Such another was this year discovered in Southwark, as Stow hath recorded. Who, being vehemently suspected for a conjurer, was convened before the ordinary judge there, in St. Saviour's church: and being accordingly present, leaning his head on a pew, suddenly fell down dead, with some little rattling in his throat. There were found about him, under his clothes, five books of conjuration, and, among other things, the resemblance of a man in tin, having three dice in his hand, and this writing, *Chance dice fortunately*; besides divers papers of such like matters. When the judge declared this as a most remarkable judgment of God, before them all that were present, upon this practiser of that wicked art.

Whether it were the effect of this magic, or proceeded from some natural cause, but the queen was in some part of this year under excessive anguish by pains of her teeth; insomuch that she took no rest for divers nights, and endured very great torment night and day. There was now in England an outlandish physician, called Fenot, that happened to be then at court. To whom some lords of the council applied themselves; requiting and commanding him to give his advice in this extremity for the queen's ease. In obedience whereunto that learned physician wrote a long letter in Latin unto them, dated the calends of December. Wherein first, he shewed, "how dangerous a thing it was for him to give his judgment," *cum tot clarissimi*

doctissimique viri, qui continuo regiae majestati servitio adstant, de hoc affectu ambigant, et plene instructi non sunt: imo inter se dissenti-ant: quomodo ego, qui pusillo sum ingenio, qui regiam majestatem nunquam allocutus sum, &c. But at length he gives his advice to use several things. But, after all, if they proved ineffectual, and the tooth was hollow and decayed, then he advised that it might be drawn out. Proceeding in these words: *Sin minus, cogitet sua majestas, an expediat dentem etiam cum aliquanto dolore extrahere, quam tot noc-tes insomnes agere, et tot tantaque tormenta et incommoda noctu dieque pati Quod si ferrum exhorrescat, optimum esse remedium novi, si in dentis cavitate succus chelidonii majoris indatur, et cera obturetur, ne in partes sanas elabi possit. Parvo in tempore efficit, ut dens citra dolorem digitis extrahi possit. Idem facit et radix ejus, si denti sae-pius affricetur.*

There was now belonging to the court another physician of fame, that was an Italian, named Dr. Julio Borgarucei, of whom mention hath been made elsewhere; a great favourite of the earl of Leicester, (and of whom stories go, that he made great use of for feats of poisoning.) This Italian doctor had some persons (whether the queen's wards or henchmen, I know not) committed to his charge, for instructing them in learning and in the language. This man was a suitor to the queen now for some advantage and benefit in regard of his pains and labour, and for his further encouragement therein. That which he desired of the queen was, the reversion of the parsonage of Middlewich. Concerning the state whereof she had referred the declaration to her treasurer; and bade him speak to him; that she having the particulars, and understanding the true value reported by him [the lord treasurer] unto her, she might accordingly dispose of it to him. This caused him to betake himself to his lordship by way of letter:

“Most humbly beseeching his honour for convenient expedition, as should seem best to his wisdom: and that his lordship would favourably use him, as well in favouring his suit, as in rating of the lease, which he demanded in reversion for so many years as should seem to her majesty's goodness and favour to bestow on him. And in consideration, that in all that time he had served her majesty, he had not had any kind of recompence: albeit he was, he said, well satisfied only with her highness' good and gracious countenance; and was contented to give over another suit, wherein Mr. Robert Bowes was concerned. And also, for that it had pleased her highness to grant the same parsonage before now unto one of the

guard, called Kell. And there was still fourteen years to come. And to which pleas he added, for that he had often been at great charges to fulfil her highness' commandments, and never asked any reward. And therefore hoped in this small suit her majesty would of her goodness, in granting him the same, encourage him to take the more pains in his studies; and to be the more careful and diligent for such as were committed to his charge." Concluding, "That he should think himself from time to time most beholden to his lordship, and be bound to pray for him, and ready to serve him with a faithful heart." Writ from his chamber the 21st of February, 1579. [*anno ineunte.*]

At Shrovetide, according as it seemed customary at that season, were shows presented at court before her majesty at night. The chiefest was a device presented by the persons of the earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, the lords Thomas Hayworth [Howard] and Windsour. But the device (as the lord Talbot wrote to the earl his father) was prettier than it had hap to be performed. [The young noblemen, it seems, did not so well acquit their parts.] But the best of it, added that lord, and I think the best liked, was two rich jewels, which were presented to her majesty by the two earls.

Assassinations were not unheard of in these days. One or two such base acts of malice and violence were attempted against persons of quality, in one day, as the lord Talbot in his court news writ to the earl his father in February. That as the lord Rich was riding in the streets, one Windham, that stood at a door, shot a dag [or pistol] at him. Which was like to have slain him. But that God so provided for that lord, that this Windham having appointed his servant that morning to charge the dag with two bullets, the fellow doubting he meant some mischief with it, charged it only with powder and paper, and no bullet. And so his lordship's life was thereby saved. Windham was presently seized by that lord's men: and being brought before the council, confessed his intent. But the cause of this quarrel he that wrote the news knew not. He was committed to the Tower.

The same day also, as sir John Conwey was going in the streets, Mr. Lodowic Grevil came suddenly upon him, and struck him on the head with a great cudgel, and felled him; and being down, struck at him with a sword; and, but for one of sir John Conwey's men, who warded the blow, he had cut off his legs. Yet did he hurt him on both his shins. The council also sent for the said Grevil, and committed him to the Marshalsea.

I shall take notice in the next place, of some persons of quality that died this year.

This year put an end to the life of sir Nicolas Bacon, knight, lord-keeper. A man that merited singularly well of this kingdom, and of the religion: having continued the space of twenty years keeper of the great seal, and one of her majesty's privy council. He departed at his house near Charing Cross, on Friday the 20th of February: and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, on Monday the 9th of March. He married to his first wife Jane, daughter of Fernely, esq. and by her had issue, sir Nicolas Bacon, his eldest son; Nathaniel, second son; Edward, third. Daughters, Elizabeth, married to sir Robert Doyle, and afterwards to sir Henry Nevil, knight; and Anne, married to sir Henry Woodhouse. To his second wife he married Anne, daughter to sir Anthony Cook, knight, and by her had issue Anthony, fourth son, and Francis, his fifth son, the great learned viscount St. Alban's. His executors were sir Nicolas Bacon and Nathaniel Bacon, his sons. His sole overseer was sir William Cecyl, knight, lord Burghley. The inscription upon his tomb, as it is set down by Abraham Fleming, began thus:

*Hic NICOLAUM me BACONUM conditum
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen, exitium malis,
Bonis asylum, caeca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem sors, sed aequitas, fides,
Doctrina, pietas, unica et prudentia, &c.*

The whole may be read in Stow's Survey, among the monumental inscriptions in St. Paul's church.

This year died, I suppose, (for this year her will is dated,) the lady Mary Gray, one of the daughters of Henry duke of Suffolk, and sister to Jane, sometime unfortunate queen of England, married (somewhat inferior to her blood) to Keyes, sergeant porter. By her will she is said to be of the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, widow; of whole mind, and of good and perfect remembrance. These were some of the contents of her said will and legacies.

“Touching my soul, I commit the same to the mercy of God Almighty, my Saviour and Redeemer: by whose death and passion only, without any other ways or means, I trust to be saved; under whose true church I profess myself unto the whole world, to die an

humble and true repentant person, for my sins committed. And as for my body, I commit the same to be buried where the queen's majesty shall think most meet and convenient. I give and bequeath unto my very good lady and grandmother, the duchess of Suffolk her grace, one pair of bracelets of gold, with a jankstone in each bracelet: which bracelets were my lady's grace my late mother's: or else my jewel of unicorn's horn: whichsoever liketh her grace best to take. And which she refuseth, to my lady Susan, countess of Kent. To the countess of Lincoln, a girdle of goldsmith's work, set with pearls, and buttons of gold. To my very good lady and sister, my lady of Bartie, and to Mr. Peregrine Bartie, her husband, my best gilt cup and best saltseller."

She gave legacies also to my lady Stafford, my lady Arundel, lady Margaret Nevil, lady Throgmorton, Mrs. Blanch a Parr, her cousin; Mrs. Duport, her gossip; Mrs. Morrison, Mary Merrick, her god-daughters. Her cousin Edm. Hill, and Tho. Deport, esqrs. her executors.

Sir Henry Seymer, knight, died at his house in Winchester, the 5th of April, this year. And the lady Barbara his wife, daughter to Morgan Wolfe, died also there, in the same house, the 11th of the same month. He had issue by her Elizabeth and Jane. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, was his executor.

Now to take notice of some of the books that came forth this year, such chiefly relating to religion.

First of all, the Holy Bible, printed by Barker, the queen's printer. This sacred book in the great volume having been but sparingly printed before, was now rarely to be met with. Which edition may deserve some particular account to be given of it. It seems to have been a new edition of that Bible, which was translated and set forth by the English divines, exiles at Geneva. It hath many notes in the margin. I saw it in Holborn house, among the books of the late learned Dr. John Moor, lord bishop of Ely. And then took these notes of it. It is entitled, *The Bible translated according to the Hebrew and Greek; and conferred with the best translations in divers languages: with most profitable annotations upon all the hard places. And other things of great importance, as may appear in the epistle to the reader.* Whereunto is added the Psalter of the common translation, agreeing with the Book of Common Prayer. And then is this suitable text of scripture added, Jos. i. 8. *Let not this book of the Lord depart out of thy*

mouth, but meditate therein day and night, &c. In the next leaf is the epistle: *To the diligent and Christian reader, grace, mercy, and peace, through Christ Jesus.* Beginning with a pious and thankful remembrance of the late miseries here under a popish government, [viz. that of queen Mary,] and of the happy deliverance of the people of the land, and the present free profession of the gospel; in these words:

“Besides the manifold and continual benefits which Almighty God bestoweth upon us, both corporal and spi-ritual, we are especially bound, dear brethren, to give him thanks without ceasing, for his great grace and mercies: in that it hath pleased him to call us unto this marvellous light of his gospel, and mercifully to regard us after so horrible backsliding and falling away from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkness, from the living God to dumb and dead idols; and after that so cruel murder of God’s saints, as, alas! hath been amongst us; we are *not* altogether cast off, as most evident signs and tokens of God’s special love and favour,” &c.

And then these divines proceed to give some account of their undertaking:

“We thought we could not bestow our labour and study in nothing which could be more acceptable to God, and comfortable to his church, than in the *translating* of the holy scripture into our native tongue. The which thing, albeit that divers heretofore have endeavoured to achieve, yet considering the infancy of those times, and imperfect knowledge of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and clear light which God hath now revealed; the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed. Not that we vindicate any thing to ourselves above the least of our brethren. For God knows with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of two years and more, day and night, occupied therein: but being earnestly desired, and by divers, whose learning and godliness we reverence, exhorted, and also encouraged by the ready wills of such, whose hearts God likewise touched, not to spare any charge, for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God towards his church, &c. we undertook this great and wonderful work with all reverence, as in the presence of God... Which now God, according to his divine providence and mercy, hath directed to a happy and most prosperous end. And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and word, according to the

measure of the knowledge which it hath pleased God to give us, faithfully rendered the text; and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same. For God is our witness, that we have by all means endeavoured to set forth the purity of the word, and right sense of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charity.”

This is the protestation, and this is the account those reverend and learned professors of religion make for this translation, which we call the *Geneva Bible*; and of the marginal notes added to it, where difficulties occurred in the text. There is also added in this edition, archbishop Cranmer’s prologue to the English translation of the Bible in his time.

Now came forth, in quarto, bishop Jewel’s vindication of his *Apology of the Church of England*, against the cavils of Harding and other papists: translated into Latin by William Whitaker, afterwards the queen’s professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge. It bore this title: *Joannis Juelli Sarisburien. in Anglia nuper episcopi, adversus Tho. Hardingum, volumen alterum. In quo vi-ginti septem quaestiones, et scripturis, et omnium conciliorum ac patrum monimentis, quaecunque sexcentis a nato Christo annis antiquiora sunt, disceptantur atque explicantur. Ex Anglicano conversum in Latinum a Gulielmo*

Whitakero, coll. sanctae. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses socio. It was by the said Whitaker dedicated to Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury; Sandes, archbishop of York; AEl-met, bishop of London; Whitgift, bishop of Worcester; Freke, bishop of Norwich; and Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul’s. For the reason of his dedication, he addressed himself to them in these words:

Juellum omnes, &c.

“You all loved Jewel dearly, while he was alive, and you will not cease as long as you live to remember him with a most dear remembrance, now he is dead.” He added, “That he would not insist to shew for what causes, to them especially he dedicated these his labours. That would require a long narration, and not necessary. Nor would he tell, for what causes (and those great) he was bound to every one of them. But that he should look upon it as a great favour, if he should understand, that his work were approved by such as they. Nor did he desire any greater reward for

his labour, than that he might seem to them not to have ill deserved of the church.”

Harding’s book against Jewel came forth 1568, being a thick quarto, with a title scurrilous enough; viz. *A detection of sundry foul errors, lies, slanders, corruptions, and other false dealings touching doctrine, and other matters; uttered and practised by M. Jewel; in a book lately by him set forth, entitled, A Defence of the Apology, &c. By Thomas Harding, D. D. Lovanii apud Johann. Fou-lerum, 1568.*

John Fox, the martyrologist, preached a sermon at St. Paul’s Cross this year on Good-Friday. It was printed divers years after, viz. 1585, (unless reprinted that year.) But appears to have been about this year preached, by a passage in the prayer. Wherein, speaking of queen Elizabeth, he saith, that she had then doubled the reigns of her brother and sister. So that she had reigned twenty years or upwards, which fell in with this year, 1578. It was printed in twelves, entitled, *A Sermon of Christ crucified; preached at Paul’s Cross on Good-Friday, by John Fox: written and dedicated to all such as labour and are heavy laden in conscience: to be read for their spiritual comfort.* It hath a long preface, *To such as are laden in conscience.* The text was 2 Cor. v. [vet. 20.] which he thus read, or rather paraphrased: *First therefore, or, in Christ’s name, we come to you, as messengers, even as God himself, desiring you; we pray you for Christ sake, that ye will be reconciled unto God. For him which knew no sin God hath made to be sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God by him.* This tract consisteth of two sermons, or two parts of a sermon, enlarged by him more than was spoken, to make it a book the more useful to the readers. In the conclusion of the first, he made a recapitulation. And then proceeded to prayer, in these words: “And now let us pray as we began, making our earnest invocation to Almighty God for the universal state of Christ’s church, and all other estates and degrees in order particularly, as custom and also duty requireth,” &c. And then the Lord’s Prayer concludes all: like as at the end of the second sermon, or part, he concludeth with a prayer. Which was long, and excellently worded, and somewhat historical of the state of the church. Which will be found in the Appendix. Whereby we may observe something of the method of prayer in those times, and of the custom of it after sermon.

About this year came forth a bitter book against the present establishment of the church of England, charging it with grievous errors and

superstitions, and making it Anti-christian: wrote by Anthony Gilbie, and styled, A view of Antichrist, his laws, and ceremonies in our English church, unreformed. A clear glass, wherein may be seen the dangerous and desperate diseases of our English church, being ready utterly to perish, unless she may speedily have a corrosive of the wholesome herbs of God his word, laid very whot to her heart, to expulse those colds and deadly infections of popery; which the attainted potecaries of Antichrist have corrupted her withal: else long she cannot endure, &c.

“Wherefore she [the church of England] pitifully complaineth unto her loving nurse-mother, who hath next under God nourished and preserved life among us these twenty years; that she would of her motherly pity once more take view of those perilous drugs, which these unskilful potecaries yet compel her to keep,” &c.

This book is fancifully divided into three or four tables.

The first table, entitled, *The book of the generation of Antichrist, the pope, the revealed child of perdition, and his successors, &c.* Then the generation begins, viz.

“The Devil begot darkness; Eph. vi. Darkness begot ignorance; Acts xvii. Ignorance begot error and his brethren; 1 Tim. iv. Error begot free-will and self-love; Esay x. Free-will begot merits; Es. lviii. Merits, forgetfulness of the grace of God; Rom. x. Forgetfulness of the grace of God begot transgression; Rom. ii. Transgression begot mistrust; Gen. v. Mistrust begot satisfaction; Matth. xvii. Satisfaction begot the sacrifice of the mass; Dan. xii. &c.” And so after divers generations, “*Ambition* was begot; Ezek. xxxiv. And ambition begot simony. And simony begot the rote and his brethren the cardinals, with all their successors, abbots, priors, archbishops, lord bishops, archdeacons, deans, bishops, chancellors, commissaries, officials, spiritual doctors and proctors, with the rest of that viperous brood.” And thus the author is even with the bishops and their officers.

The second table, *Of the displaying, of the pope and popery in our church of England.* “The pope of Rome writeth *himself* father of fathers, and the head of the church.

“The pope of Lambeth writeth, *reverend father, MATTHEW* of Canterbury, by the sufferance of God METROPOLITAN and

PRIMATE of all England: as much as to say, *chief* head of the church of England.”

[By the mention of this archbishop it appeareth, that though this tract was published but this year, (in the 20th of the queen,) yet that it was compiled some years before, while archbishop Matthew Parker was alive. And very likely handed about by the party more obscurely, till now at length it got out of the press.]

“2. The pope of Rome doth sell sin for money; as whoredom, or such like.

“*The* pope of Lambeth doth the same. And that can his officials and summoners tell, if they list.

“3. The pope of Rome forbiddeth marriage and meats. Which St. Paul calleth the *doctrine of devils*.

“The pope of Lambeth doth the same. A false prophet, and a stranger; which teacheth the doctrine of devils.

“4. The pope of Rome doth command superstitious holydays to be kept contrary to the commandment of God.

“The pope of Lambeth doth the same; and compelleth men to break the commandment of God to observe popish traditions.”

And so in this tract the parallel is drawn at good length in divers other particulars, under fourteen articles, between the pope of Rome and the pope of Lambeth.

The third table, *Containing, an hundred points of popery remaining: which deform the English reformation.*

“1. The popish names and offices. The archbishop or primate of England; whose office standeth not so much in preaching, as in granting of licences and dispensations, according to th e canon law.

“2. That he is called *lord’s grace*, or *gracious lord*, contrary to the commandment of Christ; Luke xxii. 25.

“3. That the other bishops are called *lords*; have domination, and exercise authority over their brethren, contrary to the commandment of our Saviour Christ; Matth. xx. 25. 1 Pet. v. 4” And so the writer goes

on with many other pretended points of popery under the titles of the court of Faculties, and the Commissaries court. This is signed by A. Gilbie.

The fourth table, *Of the bringing in of divers of the popish corruptions, yet remaining, in our English church.*

Under this table are brought the conjured font; godfathers and godmothers; women to baptize children; confirmation, or bishoping of children; standing at the gospel; the dividing of the chancel, bells, organs, surplices, pricksong, and many more; assigning under what popes they were brought in, and in what year. And this fourth table is subscribed by T. W. [Wilcocks perhaps] as the author. This calumnious pamphlet was thought fit to have a place among the collections in the book called, *Part of a Register.*

The second edition of a book of the same strain came forth this year in twelves. It was first set forth in the year 1565, by such ministers as refused wearing the apparel, prescribed to be used in divine service; entitled, *A brief discourse against the outward apparel and ministering garments of the popish church.* It is said to be printed in 1578; but no place where, or person by whom: it seems, by the form of the letter, to have been printed in Holland. In this edition is an address of the book, speaking thus to the reader:

The pope's attire, whereof to talk, I know to be but vain;
Wherefore some men that witty are, to read me will disdain.
But I would wish that such men should with judgment read me twice,
And mark how great an evil 'tis, God's preachers to disguise, &c.

Of this book I have given some account elsewhere. Yet it will not be amiss to add some other passages, for brevity sake omitted there.

Whereas it was said in favour of the apparel, that it was enjoined for order and decency, and for distinction sake, it was shewed,

“How unnecessary a thing it was, for the ministers to be known from other men. Which might easily appear by that which we read of Samuel and other prophets; of Peter and Paul, and other holy men. Saul met Samuel, and did not know him by his apparel; but said unto him, *I pray thee tell me, where is the seer's house.* And when the messengers of Ahaziah met Elijah, they did not by his apparel know that he was a prophet. But when they declared to their master, that he was a hairy man, and one that was girded with

a leathern girdle, the king knew by that sign of austerity, that it was Elijah. the Thesbite. And that John Baptist wore not any kind of garment, whereby he might be known to be a prophet; but his apparel was such as was commonly worn in the wilderness, or forest, where his abode was. Peter, when he followed Christ into the high priest's house, was not known by his apparel to be one of Christ's disciples, but by his speech. That St. Hierom did advise Eusto-chium, a virgin; a garment must be neither too cleanly, nor too sluttish; neither notable by any diversity... That the whole clergy of Ravenna, in the days of the emperor Carolus Calvus, about the year 876, writ an epistle to the emperor, wherein are these words; *Discernendi a plebe vel caeteris sumus, doctrina, non veste, conversatione, non habitu, &c.* In the Decrees also, xxi. caus. and 4. quest, we read thus; *In priscis enim temporibus omnis sacratus vir, cum mediocri aut vili veste, conversabatur.* By these places it is manifest, that it is nothing necessary, neither according to the example of the first church, that there should be in the outward apparel of the ministers such difference.

“That at first ministering garments were Jewish. *For* the Jews, because they were a people given to have a sensible God's service, had many goodly glittering things prescribed them, to stay them from receiving of those things, that the heathen nations, from among whom they came, and that dwelt round about them, had, and did use. But none of these garments that Aaron's priests wore did lack their lively significations, to be fulfilled in Christ and his church. When Christ therefore was come, and had fulfilled all these things that were by those garments figured, then was there no more use of them. But it remained, that the people that should serve God under grace, should not serve him in figures and shadows, but in spirit and truth. Such parts therefore of the pope's ministering garments, as have been borrowed of the Jews, ought not to be received of us.”

Again; “That some parts of the ministering garments were *heathenish*; as the surplice, the tunicles, the chesi-ble, and cope: and some mixed of both; as is the alb, or white linen garment, wherein the priest useth to say his mass. That it appeared by *glossa ordinaria* upon Ezekiel, that the Egyptian priests used a white linen garment in their sacrifices. The like matter writeth St. Hierom upon

the same place. The Jews also had *ephod lineum*, i. e. a linen ephod, or garment, much like to the pope's holy alb. Platina, in his book *De Vestimentis pontific*, writeth, that Sylvester the first, about three hundred and twenty years after Christ, ordained the sacrament of Christ's body should be ministered in a white linen garment only; because Christ's body was buried in white linen cloth. Of this linen garment Durandus, in his book entitled *Rationale divinatorum*, saith, That of necessity it must be had in all holy ministration' and noteth in the same place the signification of it. And Polydore Vergil, *They came from the Egyptians by the Hebrews.*" Again; "How these garments have been abused, is manifest to as many as have considered the doings of idolaters, sorcerers, and conjurers. For all these did nothing without them. The conjurers and sorcerers can neither have the instruments that they work with, nor use them when they have them; but they must have some help of some of these things. Their Aaron's rod, wherewith they work wonders, cannot be had without much help of these things. Their *aqua lustralis*, the conjured water, (without which no circle can be made to keep out the Devil,) can in no wise be made without a *surplice* or *alb*. The devils can neither be called up, nor bound when they be called up, nor yet conjured down again, without a *hallowed stole*. If there were no more in us therefore, but a desire not to seem to be idolaters, sorcerers, or conjurers, it were enough to move us to refuse to admit the ministering garments of the pope's church. But there is more to move us."

Afterwards some of our learned reformers are alleged. First, Martin Bucer: who, being required to write his judgment what he thought meet to be done in this case, answered, That he could be content to suffer some great pain in his own body, upon condition that these things were utterly taken away. And in such case as we are now, he willeth, that in no case they should be received. As did most plainly appear in that which he writ upon the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew, *Woe to the world because of offences*. Where he saith, that no man will earnestly strive to maintain these superstitious ceremonies, but such as be either open enemies to Christ, or else backsliders from Christ. And from Cambridge he writ to a most dear friend of his beyond the seas, writ the 12th January, 1550. *Quod me mones*

de puritate rituum, scito, hic nemi-nem extraneum de his rebus rogari. Tamen ex nobis, ubi

possumus, officio nostro non desumus, scriptis, et coram. Ac imprimis, ut plebibus Christi, de veris pastoribus consula-tur: deinde etiam, de puritate purissima, et doctrinae et ri-tuum. Which words are cited by Theodore Beza, in his answer to the calumniationes of Francis Baldwin. And in the same epistle he saith, *Sunt qui humanissima sapientia, et evanescentibus cogitationibus, velint fermento Antichristi conglutinare Deum et Belial.*

“Here is, (as the writer of this tract proceeds,) the judgment of Bucer, concerning the retaining of ceremonies, plainly set forth, speaking expressly of this church of England. And this, he [this author] saith, he mentioneth the rather, because it was said by some, that this father is against us.”

[What that very reverend and learned public professor of divinity in Cambridge thought indeed and held of this controversy, may be fully seen in that argument between him and A Laseo in the time of king Edward VI. set clown at large in the Annals of the Reformation, under the year 1564. Wherein he hath these words: *Ecclesiae in quibus viget Christi purissima et praedicatio et fides, &c.*

“Those churches, wherein the most pure preaching and faith of Christ obtains, and a manifest and most earnest detestation of all Antichrists appeareth, &c. may piously, holily, and truly to the glory of Christ, use garments, however like to those of Aaron, and the same in matter, shape, and colour, with the papistical.” And again; *Antichristus non potest, &c.* i.e. “Antichrist cannot, by any abuse of his party, so defile, either these garments, or any work of God, that the godly, casting off all abuse thereof, may not also use them to pious significations and admonitions; and so serve to set forth the glory of God.”]

He proceedeth then to shewthe mind of Peter Martyr, the learned professor of the other university. Whose judgment, he saith, was often asked, “who did more than once in his writings call them *reliquias Amorrhæum.*” And although he did in some case think that they might be borne with for a season, yet in our case he would not have them suffered to remain in the church of Christ.

Further; "That Dr. Ridley, when at his degrading, Dr. Brokes persuaded him to put on the surplice, with the rest of the massing garments, he utterly refused to do so, saying, *Truly if it came on me*, (meaning the surplice,) *it shall be against my will*. And when they were put on him, he did vehemently inveigh against the bishop of Rome, calling him *Antichrist*; and all that apparel foolish and abominable. Hereby it appeared what estimation that worthy martyr had of the popish garments at the time of his death: albeit in the days of king Edward he did stoutly maintain them against bishop Hooper.

"Bishop Jewel, in his Reply to Harding, p. 442, hath these words: *Verily in the house of God, that thing is hurtful that doth no good. All the ceremonies of the church ought to be clear and lively, and able to edify*. But in case they want all these properties, as undoubtedly they do, then by this man's judgment we may well reject them."

At the conclusion of this tract, there is a prayer composed for the occasion; wherein are these words:

"Are not the relics of Romish idolatry stoutly retained? Are we not bereaved of some of our pastors; who by word and example sought to free thy flock from those offences? Ah, good Lord! these are now by power put down from pastoral care. They are forbid to feed us: their voice we cannot hear. This is our great discomfort: this is the joy and triumph of Antichrist his limbs, our enemies. Yea, and that is more heavy, increase of this misery is of some threatened, of the wicked hoped for, and of us feared, as thy just judgments against us for our sins." In the end of this prayer is brought in the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, after this manner: "In thy name, O Christ, our captain, we ask these things, and pray unto thee, O heavenly Father, saying, *Our Father*," &c. And then, "O Lord, increase our faith, whereof we make confession, I believe *in God*," &c. And then this sentence, *Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be confounded*.

And this is the sum of that book, which I have been the larger in setting down, to supply what was omitted before in my Annals; being a book drawn up by a joit combination and assistance, study, and pains of the learnedest of that sort of incompilant ministers, chiefly of London.

Other books of religious subjects printed this year, being thought useful books for English readers, were translated out of other languages, as many were in these days. One of these was entitled, *A display of popish practices*; published in quarto, in a black letter; being a piece of Theodore Beza, in vindication of Calvin's doctrine of *predestination*. Which some person nameless had writ against, and endeavoured to confute. It was translated out of Latin into English, by William Hopkinson, preacher of the gospel. Which translator gave it this title; *An evident display of popish practices, or patched Pelagianism: wherein is mightily cleared the sovereign truth of God's eternal predestination; the stayed groundwork of our assured safely*. He dedicated it to Elmer, bishop of London; humbly recommending it to his honour's protection:

“whose zeal for the Lord's family he had eftsones experienced to his great *comfort*, in the time of his being within his jurisdiction in Lincolnshire.”

The preface of that writer against Calvin's doctrine began thus, according to this translation.

“Thy doctrine, John Calvin, (a man much renowned in all the world,) hath many favourers; but therewithal the same in like *manner* hath many adversaries. But I, who wish there may be one doctrine, as there is one truth, and all to consent thereunto, if it may be, have thought convenient to *admonish* thee familiarly of those things which are usually *boasted* against this doctrine; that if they be false, thou wouldest refute them: and send thy refutation to us, that we may the rather withstand them; and do it with such proof as the people may understand. There be many things wherein many dissent from thee. But for the present, he said, he would deal with him of the argument of *destiny*, or *predestination*. Because both this article moved much controversy in the church, which they wished might be suppressed; and also, that his [Calvin's] *reason* in this argument seemed to be such, as could not be refelled by those books which hitherto he had published.”

The articles which this writer had gathered out of Calvin's books (which Beza calleth *slanders*, and answereth distinctly) were such as these.

“I. The first article, that is, the first slander: God, in the bare and alone determination of his will, hath created *the* greatest part of the world to perdition.

“II. The second slander: God hath not only predestinate *Adam* to damnation, but to the causes of damnation. Whose fall he did not only foresee, but would it with an *eternal* and secret decree; and ordained, that he should fall. Which that it might come to pass in his time, he appointed an apple the cause of his fall.

“III. The sins that are committed are done, not only by his sufferance, but also by his will. For it is frivolous to assign a difference between the sufferance and will of God.

“IV. All the wicked acts that man committeth are the good and just works of God.

“V. No adultery, theft, or murder is committed, but the will of God cometh in betwixt. *Institut.* chap. xxiv. distinct. 44.

“VI. That the scripture manifestly witnesseth, that wicked acts are assigned to God; not only willing, but the author thereof.

“VII. Whatsoever men do, when they sin, they do it by the will of God: for because the will of God oftentimes striveth with his commandment.

“VIII. The hardening of Pharaoh, and moreover his fro-wardness of mind and rebellion, was the work of God. And that by the testimony of Moses, who ascribeth to God the whole rebellion of Pharaoh.

“IX. The will of God is the chief cause of the hardening of men.”

Other articles attributed by this writer to Calvin were,

“That Satan was a liar by the power of God. That God giveth will to them that work wickedness: yea, he misdirecteth wicked and dishonest affections, not only by sufferance, but effectually: and that for his own glory. The wicked in their wickedness do rather God’s work than their own. We sin of necessity by the sense of God, when we sin of our own, or at adventure. Lastly, Those things

which men commit by their own wicked inclination, the same also proceedeth of the will of God.”

These uncharitable consequences and odious insinuations from the doctrine of *predestination* and the will of man, as stated by Calvin, highly provoked the church of Geneva. Insomuch that Beza, the chief minister there, answered every one of those articles with some sharpness; calling them all downright slanders, calumnies, and lies; and him sycophant, and in one place, devil. “Wilt thou, devil, never leave thy slander?” And by his learning confuting the adversary’s arguments; and appealing frequently to Calvin’s own writings; wherein these dangerous doctrines were utterly disallowed and discovered by him. And finally, concludes that this man’s doctrine is patched together of the doctrines of papists, anabaptists, Servetus, and Pelagius.

The translation of this book, he that employed himself in the doing of it did think would be of great use to English readers, his countrymen; especially those that wandered in the way of ignorance, and took part with the wicked cause, for lack of helps.

Now came forth likewise a book of practical religion, in quarto, translated also out of Latin into English, called *The Way of Life*; written by a divine of fame in the kingdom of Denmark; being *a Christian and catholic institution; comprising principal points of Christian religion; which are necessary to be known of all men*.

Gratulatio Waldenensis was set forth this year by Gabriel Harvey. It was a description of the queen’s reception of the university of Cambridge at Audley End, in the precincts of the town of Walden in Essex. Printed in Latin by Henry Binneman: in four books. The title of the first book, *Gabrielis Harveii Χαίρει vel Gratulationis Valdinensis liber primus. Ad magnificentissimam principem, et augustissimam reginam Elizabetham Audleianis aedibus regifice exceptam*. The second book, to the earl of Leicester. The third, to lord Burghley. The fourth, to the earl of Oxford, sir Christopher Hatton, and sir Philip Sidney.

And to conclude: this year also was printed, in a fair folio, the history of the excellent Italian historian, Guicciardine; translated into English by Geffrey Fenton: containing the wars of Italy and other parts, continued for many years under sundry kings and princes: wherein much history of religion is interspersed; and of stirs occasioned by the pope. The editor

dedicated this his translation to queen Elizabeth. In his epistle he took notice,

“of her great skill in history; wherein she, far above all other princes, had a most singular insight and judgment. And concerning state and government, [which that book chiefly treated of,] God had expressed in the person of her majesty, a most rare and divine example to all other kings of the *earth*, for matter of policy and sound administration. All law of reason, of equity, and of other impression whatsoever, did challenge to appropriate the address of the work to her. In whom, for her inspired science and spirit to judge of monuments and events of things; and for the felicity of her government in seasons so perilous and con-spiting, all kings and kingdoms and nations round about her, rose up to reverence, in her form of governing, that property of wisdom and virtue; which, it seems, God *had* restrained to her majesty only, without participation to any of them. And in that regard they held her, as he added, the sacred and fixed star: which light God would not have put out; though the devices of men on all sides were busy to draw clouds and dark vails to obscure it,” &c. And again; “That God had raised and established her majesty a sovereign prince of several nations and languages: and with the fruits of a firm and continued peace, had plentifully enriched the people of her dominions; restored religion and the church of Christ, to dwell anew among us; made her strength awful to all her neighbours; and lastly, had erected her seat upon a high hill or sanctuary, and put into her hands the balance of power and justice, to peace and counterpeace at her will the actions and counsels of all the Christian kingdoms of her time.”

This I thought worthy the extracting from the grave writer; who lived in, and was an observer of these very times: to shew what honour and reputation she had by this time of her reign attained to among her subjects, and through the Christian world, for her great wisdom, learning, favour, and protection of true religion, and abilities in government, and awful respect among the princes of the earth.

For what books of note of religious subjects were published abroad, I transcribe a paragraph of the famous Hel-vetian divine, Rodolphus Gualter, in an epistle to Cox, bishop of Ely: *Ego his nundinis [Francofurtensibus]*

nihil in lucem dedi praeter sermones Germanicos X. de pane vitae, Jesu Christi, et ejus vera manducatione; ex Joannis sexto cap. Quos si aliquando Latinos fecero, ad te mittam. Julius se mittere dixit Benedicti Talmanni libellum, quo novum illud et portentosum de ubiuitate corporis Christi dogma, egregie confutatur. Sub prelo est liber doctissimus de orthodoxo consensu ecclesiae veteris in negotio caenae Domini.

The sum of which words was, his mention of three books: one was, ten sermons of his concerning the *Bread of Life, Jesus Christ, and the true eating of him*; from St. John, chap. vi. Another, *A confutation of the new and monstrous doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ*: by Benedict Talman. A third, *Of the orthodox consent of the ancient church in the business of the Lord's Supper*: being a very learned book.

CHAPTER 15.

The queen's match with the French king's brother; concerted. Provoked by a seditious book against it. Issueth out a proclamation: the sum thereof. Stubbs the author punished: remains prisoner in the Tower. His petition. A nobleman (thought to be sir Philip Sydney) writes to the queen, upon the parliament's suits to her to marry. The earl of Leicester under dislike with the queen about this French match. His protestation, and offer of exile.

THIS year 1579, the French match with queen Elizabeth was earnestly concerted. Which some of her wise statesmen thought necessary, for the security of the kingdom: that there might be an heir of the queen's body to inherit the crown: though the difference of religion (monsieur being a papist) did create a great fear and disturbanace in most men's minds. So that both bishops and preachers, as well as the generality of her subjects, dislike it utterly.

The queen thought fit to cast forth some expressions to Sandys, archbishop of York, about this affair. And he, in his correspondence with the earl of Shrewsbury, thus wrote from London, March 5, how matters then went: viz.

“That things were very uncertain: and that he had omitted writing to him, because these uncertain times could bring forth no certainties. That the French matter had been long on sleep, and seemed as dead, but was now revived again. That monsieur of late had writ most kind letters, claiming promise, and yielding to all conditions. That the king had sent a treating message by his legyard ambassador here. That the earl of Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, had very earnestly moved her majesty to go forward with this marriage, as her most safety. That hereupon letters were sent by post, as well to monsieur as to Semyer. [Who was here last year courting the queen.] And the answer was given to the ambassador here to his satisfaction. So that, as the archbishop proceeded, it was looked for that both Semyer and other French commissioners should be here before Easter, to make up a conclusion. But what would be the end, added the archbishop, or

to what effect this will come, God knew, and not man. Yet, as he subjoined, it was but a few days past, her majesty cast out speeches to him tending that way. But that if these commissioners came, the parliament would hold; if they came not, it was like they would be prorogued until Michaelmas."

But before he concluded his letter, he writ the news: That at that very time he understood the French ambassador and the rest of the French gentlemen were arrived, to solicit this great affair: who were courted by the chief men of the court. And the earl of Leicester treated them at his house at Wansted: he and his company dining with him there. And it being now resolved, that monsieur d'Anjou, the king's brother, should come over to wait upon the queen in way of courtship, the council was exceeding busy in preparing and ordering matters for his reception, in order to carry on the treaty. This was the archbishop's news.

"*The* lord Gilbert Talbot wrote to the said earl, his father, that the earl of Leicester, and the lord treasurer, though scarcely free of a fit of the gout, (which, as the said lord Gilbert merrily wrote, the lord treasurer was not then at leisure to entertain,) for five days together, in the beginning of April, had sat in privy-council, from eight of the clock in the morning, till dinner-time: and presently after dinner, and an hour's conference with her majesty, to council again: and so till supper-time. And all this, as far as he could learn, was about the matter of monsieur's coming, his entertainment here, and what demands were to be made unto him in the treaty of marriage, and such like. And lastly, he assured the earl, that it was verily thought, by a great sort of wise men, that the marriage would come to pass. Yet that nevertheless there were divers others, like St. Thomas of Inde, who would not believe till he had seen and felt. That it was said, that monsieur would certainly be here in May next: and that he was with the king his brother in the beginning of the last week, and concluded with him of all his determinations of this matter, With his good consent; and great commendations to her majesty on his brother's part. Further, that it was said he would be accompanied with two or three dukes, and some earls, and an hundred other gentlemen besides, of great and honourable account."

But the preachers were not sparing to shew their dislike thereof: taking occasion in their sermons from their texts to vent what dangers were like to ensue, if this match should take effect.

“The preachers,” as that lord Talbot added in his letter, “are somewhat too busy to apply their sermons to tend covertly against this marriage: many of them inveighing greatly thereat. So that but the week before this letter was writ, her majesty hearing thereof, her express command was, that none should hereafter preach upon any such text as the like might be inferred.”

This above was writ by the said lord Talbot, April the 4th.

Yet it was but the month after, the matter grew cooler: and, as the said lord wrote in another letter, dated May the 15th, the secret opinion then was, that monsieur’s coming, and especially his marriage, was grown very cold: and that Semyer was like shortly to go over again. He added, that he knew a man that would take a thousand pounds in London, to be bound to pay double so much, when he [that Frenchman] married the queen’s majesty. This was then the court talk. And thus this weighty matter wavered. Yet soon after monsieur came privately over, and visited the queen at Greenwich.

I have met with an original paper, containing the articles propounded on the part of monsieur, when he was here, in order to his marriage; to be granted by the queen and the lords of her council: with their answers to each article. It is digested into two columns: the articles in the one, and the answers on the other. Which, because I do not find them mentioned at all by any of our historians, I shall communicate and preserve in the Appendix; especially being such a considerable part of queen Elizabeth’s history: and of such remark, to shew the prudent wariness with which her statesmen proceeded in so weighty a matter; on which the queen’s and whole kingdom’s future welfare so much depended; and religion chiefly; with a deference of all to the parliament. These articles were presented, June 16, and the answers to each the very next day after. The articles bore this title: *Articuli propositi pro parte et nomine illustriss, ducis Andegavensis, &c.* That is, *Articles propounded on the part and in the name of the most illustrious duke Of Anjou, only brother of the king of France; to the most serene queen of England: concerning and upon a marriage between her majesty and the foresaid duke’s highness.*

The first article was concerning the rites and ceremonies to be used at the celebration of the marriage: that they might be such as from all antiquity were wont to be used in the marriage of kings and princes. The second, That all the duke's attendants and domestics might have the free use of the catholic Roman religion in the kingdom of England. The third, That after the consummation of the marriage, the said duke should be crowned king of England with all the usual ceremonies. The fourth, That all donations and grants of offices, rewards, &c. should go mutually in both their names. Further, That letters patents should go as well in his name as in the queen's: also, to have for the maintaining of his royal family yearly, 60,000*l.* sterling: and for assurance thereof, to have the duchies of Lancaster and York during his life. Further, That the said duke shall give and assign to her majesty 50,000 crowns *de soleil pro dote*; to be taken from his duchy of Anjou: that in case of the queen's death, he should have the education of the children. These are some of the articles. The answer generally given, set on the other column opposite, was, to refer the consideration and determination of these proposals to a colloquy, and to her parliament. But I refer the reader to the whole in the Appendix, as far as legible, the rats having impaired several words in the paper, where the blanks are.

But how the nation generally stood affected to this marriage may appear from a bold book printed, the author whereof was John Stubbs of Lincoln's Inn. Which gave an ill and rude character of the brother of a great prince; with whom the queen was not minded to break. Which book came forth while he was here in his courtship. This, with other offensive matters, caused her to set forth a long proclamation in the month of September, against the slanderous speeches and books about the duke of Anjou, and the queen's marriage with him. Which, though it be somewhat long, yet having so much of the history of that juncture, and of the state of religion, and the transactions in that match, may deserve (the sum of it) to be here inserted: especially the contents thereof being but briefly and imperfectly mentioned in Camden's History.

She began with the acknowledgment of God's wonderful goodness to her:

“That she had so good proof of God's singular goodness in the continual preservation of her, from his first setting her in the throne, as his chosen servant, to reign as she had done from the beginning, in restoring and maintaining the truth of Christian

religion, and of a long and universal peace in her dominions, against all attempts of foreign enemies and conspiracies of rebels: governing her estate in that sort, as her realm was, and had been always free from outward hostility and war, made and denounced by any foreign prince: being oftener sued unto by the greater sort for friendship and alliance, than ever irritated by any messages of war or unkindness; a rare thing to be found in the reign of any of her progenitors, And therewith also having proof of the universal love, liking, and favour of her people. As for all these she daily acknowledged her debt, greater to Almighty God than she was able in thankfulness to express; and yet had no cause, through her steadfast hopes in God, to mistrust the continuance of these his graces towards her: of which benefits, so largely bestowed upon her, she would have been loath to have on her behalf made any mention, but that she would not have the malice of some lewd, disordered persons, by sufferance thereof, to work any evil effect, either to irritate unjustly any foreign prince, being in good amity with her, to think themselves for honourable dealing, to be unhonourably used, by word or deed, in her dominions; or to alienate the love and estimation which her people have of her, for her godly, Christian, and peaceable government.

“And that therefore being lately informed of a lewd, seditious book, of late rashly compiled, and secretly printed, and after seditiously dispersed into sundry corners of the realm: and that, considering it manifestly contained, under a pretence of dissuading her away from marriage with the duke of Anjou, the French king’s brother, a heap of slanders and reproaches of the said prince, bolstered up with manifest lies, and deceitful speeches of him; and therewith also maliciously and rebelliously stirring up all estates of her majesty’s subjects, to fear their own utter ruin, and a change of government: but especially, to imprint a present fear in the zealous sort [the puritans] of the alteration of Christian religion by her majesty’s marriage; with many other false suggestions, to move a general murmuring and disliking in her loving people concerning, her majesty’s actions in this behalf. Wherein though the wiser sort, being acquainted by long proof with her majesty’s honourable and direct proceedings, both in government politic, and in constant maintenance of Christian true religion, in times of no small

dangerous storms, rising from Rome and their adherents, (from which her own person had not been free,) and that for no other cause, but for the maintenance of the true Christian religion: yet, lest the simpler sort and multitude, being naturally affected towards her majesty and her safety, might be abused by the fair title of the book, and the hypocrisy of the author, as well in abusing texts and examples of scripture, perverted from their true sense; and interlacing of flattering glosses towards her, to cover the rest of the manifest depraving of her majesty, and her actions to her people:

“Therefore her majesty, continuing her intention in the good government of her subjects in their due obedience, most earnestly willeth them, and every of them, to understand, that first, she cannot but detest greatly, and condemn such a seditious author, with his fardle of false reports, suggestions, and manifest lies, forged against a prince of a royal blood, as monsieur, the French king’s brother is; and such one as was well known to her majesty, even by the confession of the French protestants, (who cannot but attribute all the good they have got, to be by his means,) to have of long time entirely loved and honoured her; and as never could be challenged to have had any ill meaning to her majesty’s godly and peaceable government: neither yet to have deserved in his behaviour at home the malice of any of the subjects of France in any part, dissenting in religion, by any his cruelty, deceit, or other unhonourable act or attempt. Which devices be full strange to his disposition. Yea, such a prince, as against whose courteous nature and liberal heart no man, after this envious wretch, had once the face to avouch a gainsay; as in whom she never could hear the wise and earnest protestants to have noted a vice; and such a one also, as never in any demand required any jot to be changed in the laws, neither in religion or other matter whatsoever: of which her majesty assured all her subjects of her word; which yet was never spotted.

“And therefore, whatsoever the seditious libeller had sought by these malicious reports of hearsays uncertain, of vain guessings and supposals, to persuade others, her majesty, who ought best to understand by the true information of her own faithful ministers; and had just cause of long time, by many good means, to try and examine the actions and intentions of the said prince; did of her own knowledge declare the said reports to be false and malicious,

forged against manifest troth. Whereby her majesty is to be highly touched in honour, in that a prince of such estate and degree, having borne towards her of long time a faithful and honourable good-will, should in this despiteful sort, upon his adventure to come so private as he did, to see her majesty, not without his own peril by seas, and otherwise, immediately, by their printing dud libelling, be reproved, taxed, and so falsely his actions condemned, without special fact truly or probably uttered against him.

“And having not spared the prince, and the master, yet could not these libellers imagine their lust in their malice fully supplied, without dispersing vile, dishonest, railing speeches and taunts against his principal minister and ambassador, attending here for his master’s honourable affairs. In whom there hath not been found at any time, in all his negotiations here with her majesty, or her council in public, or in any other familiar behaviour with noblemen or gentlemen, any just argument or manifest token of any evil condition, as wherewith he is chargged. But contrariwise in this gentleman (being also born of good parentage) there hath appeared singular wisdom, modesty, and great temperance in all his embassy; to the allowance of the wisdom of his lord and master, in making choice of such a servant. Who also hath so discreetly governed all his company and train, (which was a great number of gentlemen, and of good calling,) as it hath never been seen in this realm, that half such a number of strangers have been so orderly kept so long a time together, from common mishaps that fall out full oft among our own nation. Which wise government hath justly given more cause of honour, than spot of any disgrace. So as if these kind of barbarous depravings of all men’s actions (though they be never so good, honourable, and kind, and not without their own peril testified) should be permitted, it mought be doubted, that it should breed a common loathing of the English nation to all other nations of Christendom.

“And as for the rest of the contents of the said lewd book, tending to open to her subjects such fearful dangers to her majesty’s person, to the cause of religion, to the whole estate of the realm, and so forth; and all, only by her majesty’s marriage; her majesty cannot but greatly mistake: yea, and mervail, that when she hath had so many solicitations, requests, yea, prayers of her people in

common continually, of her estates in every parliament assembled almost, importunately; to dispose herself to marriage; as the only remedy to avoid all the perils now threatened by this seditious writing; and namely, to avoid all our greater civil wars and bloodsheds, as between the houses of York and Lancaster are lamentably recorded, for the crown: now nevertheless all the same calamities and mischiefs, thought meet by public advices to be avoided only by her marriage, are by these malicious guessings, and as it were fanatical divination, threatened to fall upon the realm contrariwise, by her majesty's marriage. A strange and a contrary effect propounded out of one selfsame cause.

“And yet it was to be especially noted, that nothing was once touched in all these seditious libels, (though they pretended great care for the church, the crown, and commonwealth,) how by any other good provision (if her majesty should not marry) these so great perils might be avoided, when God should call her from hence. A matter that might in some part have qualified the rest of the rash discoursers, by Shewing thereby some sincerity of good meaning to her majesty and the realm. For lack whereof it did manifestly appear, that the only scope whereof was, under plausible show to distinguish her majesty's credit with her good people, and set all at liberty, for some monstrous, secret innovation, without any care or memory of provision of surety for her majesty's person, or for peaceable succession, either with her marriage, or without her marriage. Neither was there once, in any one sentence of this libel, any so much as a supposal touched of any motherly or princely care to be in her *majesty*, to provide, that if God should move her majesty to marry, in what sort the same might be honourable to her majesty, profitable to the state of the realm, and not hurtful to the continuance of the peaceable government of the same, both in state of religion and policy.

“Of all which matters, especially concerning the state of religion, and continuance of common peace in her dominions, she needed not by words to express her princely care in her public actions. For that the effects thereof *did* plentifully give testimony. And so she found her good subjects thankful to her for the same. And yet however the crooked nature of the seditious libeller would not imagine any such princely care in her majesty, nor of any duty in

any counsellor as he pretendeth to be in himself. Yet was there never any treaty or colloquy in her majesty's time, wherein there was not special care and *provision*, with her majesty's good liking, propounded by her counsellors to withstand and avoid, by God's permission and favour, the perils so often repeated in the foresaid book. Neither was there any thing of moment, that might concern the crown, or the nation, or the realm, that was ever demanded by this prince, or is otherwise, than should be found meet to be confirmed in parliament, as in former treaties of like marriage have been.

"So that her majesty had no small cause to be in this sort grievously offended with such a lewd denunciation to the people, by so common a false libel, like as by a trump of sedition, secretly sounding in every subject's ear, both of the manifest lack of her majesty's princely care, if she should mind to marry: and also of the undutiful offices and unnatural intentions of her counsellors, both against God, queen, realm, and people.

"And therefore, upon these considerations, and especially to arraign between her and her subjects that devotion of love which hitherto by God's goodness she hath possessed; her pleasure and commandment was, that no person, which had regard to her honour, should esteem of the said seditious book, or the maintainers or spreaders thereof, otherwise than of a traitorous device, to discredit her majesty, both with other princes and with her good subjects; and to prepare their minds to sedition: offering to every most meanest person of judgment, by these kind of popular libels, authority to argue and determine in every blind corner, at their several wills, and of the affairs of public estate: a thing most pernicious in any state.

"And therefore her majesty willed and straitly charged, that both the foresaid book or libel, wheresoever they, or any the like might be found, should be destroyed in open sight of some public officer: and the favourers or with-holders thereof to be attached, to answer according to their demerits. Given at Giddie-hall in Essex, the 27th of September, in the 21st year of her majesty's reign."

This notable proclamation (which might be called her majesty's *declaration* to all her subjects) I have set down at length, because our historians,

neither Stow nor Ho-linshead, have taken any notice of it: and Camden but briefly, as I said before. And the rather, it appearing hereby, that her majesty might openly declare, how much she tendered an esteem and good opinion of herself among her subjects; and how cautious of giving any offence to her neighbouring princes, in order to the preserving peace and a good understanding with them. And in sum, that her people might confide in her wisdom, and care of the true religion established, and good government over them.

It must be added, that she caused her privy-council the next month to write a large letter to the archbishop and bishops, concerning this book; wherein she, together with that prince, was so defamed: and to provide that her said proclamation might be known to all their clergy: that they might the better know this whole affair, and vindicate her majesty. This letter of the council may be read in the Life of Archbishop Grindal, in the Appendix, Numb. XIII. I refer the reader to other historians to relate how soon after, the author, printer, and publisher of this offensive book were found. The first, namely, Stubbs, and the last, namely, Page, having their right hands chopped off, according to a former statute.

Nor was all his punishment over; for after this dreadful execution done upon the author, he remained in the Tower. Whence his next care was for his liberty. Here he was in August, 1580. Thence soliciting the lord treasurer for the queen's favour for his enlargement, and that in regard of his wife's sickness, and promising all faithful obedience to her for the future.

“That it would please him to testify, that as formerly to her highness, so hereby now to his honour, he professed, and lay forth a sore and sorrowful heart, thus to have incurred her majesty's great offence, and judicial sentence of transgressing the law. Henceforth vowing that short remainder of his life, and that small of his poor service, wholly to her honour. At least, to pray for her long life, and blessed reign over us.”

To which I may add his wife's humble supplication to the queen for his liberty: avowing his great loyalty to her, and how far his thoughts were of stirring any sedition or rebellion, when he compiled his book, frequently recommending her to God in his prayers, together with his own endeavour to promote religion; in these words:

“In most humble and lamentable wise, &c. That whereas your said subject [J. S.] by reason of the compiling of a certain pamphlet, lately printed and dispersed, hath not only procured unto himself the ill opinion of your majesty’s most honourable council, but also hath incurred your highness’ most grievous and fearful displeasure; notwithstanding your poor subject’s said wife standeth in good hope, and most earnestly beseecheth and beggeth of your most excellent majesty, to be good and gracious lady unto him. And so much the rather, because, that albeit as it seemeth to your majesty’s wise judgment, and in the grave consideration of your most honourable council, that the said book should contain matter not only to withdraw the good-will and opinion of your loving subjects from your majesty, but also to move and stir them to sedition and rebellion: yet from the approved knowledge that your poor subject’s said wife hath by many arguments, since their intermarrying, of her husband’s loyal heart towards your majesty, by his daily and earnest mentioning of your majesty to God in his prayers, and by his diligent and constant care for the promoting of religion and the church of God; she dared avouch upon her life, conscience, and soul, that her said husband’s meaning and intention was therein the glory and honour of God; next, the preservation and safety of your royal person, and the public weal and benefit of his country.”

Among the rest that liked not this intended royal match, and feared the ill consequences of it, was a very remarkable person in these days, even the brave sir Philip Sydney. Who expressed it more prudently in addressing a secret letter to the queen herself; whether by her command, to shew his judgment; or rather proceeding from his own zeal for hers and the whole kingdom’s happiness. Which letter falling into the hands of the lord treasurer’s secretary, Mich. Hickes, esq. he took an epitome of it in writing. Which I transcribed from that secretary’s own pen; and gladly retrieve these remains, as a curious piece of that extraordinary man, in the Appendix. It contains many brief, but bright sentences, shewing his mature judgment, his wisdom in counsel, his skill in politics, his acquaintance with the Roman history, his knowledge of foreign states and kingdoms, and observations thence; his apprehension of the great danger from papists; his concern for the protestant interest abroad, (of whom she was the only protectress,) as well as the religion at home; the little or no advantage she

was like to receive from France; her personal danger, in case of a conclusion of this marriage with monsieur: and how dear she was to her own people. So that in short this letter, abounding with such close application of arguments, seemed to have swayed the queen to decline this motion.

To give a specimen of some of these sentences.

“Too vehement a refuge for so small cause of fear.

“Nothing can be added to your estate, being already an absolute born, and accordingly respected, princess.

“*What* hope to recompense so hazardous an adventure, as to alter so well a maintained and approved trade.

“As the Irish are wont to say, what need have they to die, that are rich and fair? So what need have you to change the course of your estate, settled in such a calm?

“Such change in bodies natural, dangerous, much more *in* politic.

“*To* so healthful a body to apply so unsavoury a medicine.

“I will not shew so much malice, as to object the doubts of the unhealthfulness of the whole race.

“The protestants your chief, if not your sole strength.

“You marry a Frenchman, and a papist; the son of the very Jezebel of our age: although some fine wits excuse it.” But I leave this and a great deal more to be read in the Appendix. But for the whole letter, to those that are minded to read it, recourse may be had to the *Cabala, sive Scrinia sacra*, where I find it.

It is certain the popish party here in England were very jolly at this time: and probably on the fair prospect of this match. Insomuch that the earl of Leicester, now at Kenel-worth, his seat, wrote to the lord treasurer, in the month of October; in these words:

“I do assure your lordship, since queen Mary’s time, the papists were never in that jollity they be at this present in this country. I have had some proof upon a case somewhat notorious, even at my coming hither. Which I will more largely acquaint you with at my

return. God of his mercy and goodness defend her majesty from all their devices. But, my lord, they be here, and in more places than here, upon their tiptoes.

I protest afore God, I write this simply and plainly to your lordship, as manifest cause doth enforce. Therefore *they* were in time to be looked unto." To which I may add, that Fitz Morice and the earl of Desmond also in Ireland broke out into rebellion there this year. The former had been with the pope, and obtained a consecrated banner from him, and letters of recommendation to the Spaniard. And also authority of a legate was granted to Saunders the Jesuit.

Yet the queen, in these transactions with that French prince, took care for the security of religion in her realm; absolutely refusing to allow to that prince the exercise of the Roman religion here; the laws of the kingdom not permitting it, and the dangers otherwise likely to ensue to the peaceable state of her subjects considered. Take some short account of this matter from a letter of Malvesier, the French ambassador, among the papers of the Cotton library; giving this account of his communication with the queen. He wrote,

"that she had told him, that she would maintain the religion that she was crowned in, and that she was baptized in: and would suppress the papistical religion, that it should not grow. But that she would root out puritanism, and the favourers thereof. And that she had rather be the last of her line without marriage, than monsieur should innovate or alter any thing in her reformed church. Which might suffice in her resolution to content her subjects without further disputation of that which appertained; and to them [the ambassadors] to be carriers of [to France.]"

I meet with a notable paper, being a private letter of some nobleman, giving his advice to the queen concerning marriage; when it was propounded by way of humble address to her divers years past. And though it were so long ago, yet being a letter to her majesty, and having so many remarkable passages in it of this argument, let me have leave to preserve a memorial of it here. It was thus only endorsed by secretary Cecyll's hand, *The queen's marriage, February 10, 1562*. It was writ in or soon after parliament-time, by some ancient personage of eminency, wisdom, and experience; and that had lately both written to her, and discoursed with her of this affair by word of mouth. The main drift whereof

was to persuade her, for the peace and quiet, and safe state of her kingdoms, to marry. That there might be an heir to succeed her, thereby to stop the parliament's urging for an entail to the crown. For the letter was occasioned by a suit in that parliament moved to the queen for her marriage; and also for an entail by heir to be nominated of the succession to the crown, in case of her leaving the world without heir. "That the matter he should write to her majesty about, did import to the contentation and quiet of her own mind, and to the perpetual tranquillity and peace of the realm, being perfected in a right course; or to the contrary, if by private affection managed, it were otherwise finished than it ought. That the greatest matter that he or any man alive at that day could remember, was now brought into deliberation. And that therefore, as well the parliament's motion, as her majesty's answer, required a serious consideration. That concerning the succession, he himself had heard king Henry the Eighth say, that the greatest anchor-hold to this crown after Henry I. took root in a female, Mawde, that king's heir." And then proceeding in a long discourse of the pedigree of the kings of England, he spake against entailing of the crown to be done by the queen, (which some then propounded,) and that she should name her successor: to which he said, "that still the succession to this crown was to their own children, or brethren or sisters' children: and so left it to the next right heir."

He took occasion to mention the government of the realm of France, that appointed the crown to the heir male only, excluding the females. And so, it seems, some liked to be done here. Whereupon he shewed,

"how after by disherion of a female never realm had suffered more calamity.

"That if her majesty would know wherein the right of succession was by the law of the land, he advised her to call together her judges, barons of the exchequers her sergeants, attorneys general of the duchy and of the wards: and in her own person to adjure them to declare it unto her under their hands, in whom, by the laws of the land, the right rested. And to keep secret to themselves their opinion therein, but only reveal it to her majesty. And that then she might close or discover the same, as time should require."

In fine, "He persuaded her to be a sort of Christ, a redeemer and a saviour unto us: and to take upon her marriage: to bring forth

princely children. And then she should not need to fear the entail. Then should her majesty be quiet, and we happy.”

But I refer the reader to the whole letters (whereof this is but a very imperfect scantlings) recommending itself to us, both in respect of the dignity of the writer, and the curiousness of the subject. It will be found in the Appendix.

And here for a conclusion of this subject, I shall relate a passage of the earl of Leicester; who, however he carried it at this juncture, and assisted at the council in this weighty affair, and entertained the French ambassadors yet fell at this time in great dislike with the queen. Probably the cause was (what Camden writes) his carriage towards Simier, the French ambassadors, and his endeavour to bring him in disgust with her. Which displeasure of her majesty (whether this or any thing else was the cause) gave occasion to these words in a private letter of his to the lord treasurer:

“That it grieved him the mores having so faithfully, carefully, and chargeably served her majesty this twenty years. And then called him [the lord treasurer] to witness, that in all his services he had been a direct servant unto her, her estate and crown. And that he had not more sought his own particular profit than her honour.”

And whereas he had lain under great blame in the thoughts and opinion of divers in the nation, for his supposed opposition of the queen’s marriage, now for his clearing in this matter, or to stone for his judgment, that went contrary to the judgment of all the rest,

“he offered, as he writ, for the avoiding of such blame as he bare generally then in the realm, his own exile; that he might not be suspected a hinderer of that matter, which all the world desired, and were suitors for.”

CHAPTER 16.

Sandys, archbishop of York, troubled for dilapidations by the bishop of London. The archbishop's letter to the secretary hereupon. The bishop of London moves for a commission for inquiry into the dilapidations: and why. Reasons offered by the archbishop for qualifying the sentence. Difference between this archbishop, and the earl of Huntington, and the dean of York. Motions for reconcilement with the earl, and the dean. The archbishop's letter about it. The dean's vindication of himself. The archbishop's sermon at York, on the 17th of November.

NOW to come nearer to the ecclesiastical affairs. And first, I shall remark a few things concerning some of our bishops.

Sandys, late bishop of London, translated to the see of York, was succeeded by AEImer, archdeacon of Lincoln. Between whom, (learned, worthy, and excellent men both, and exiles for religion,) grew unhappily a contest about dilapidations, which continued hot to this year. In the Paper Office there is a whole packet concerning this lawsuit between bishop AEImer and the two archbishops, viz. Sandys, and his predecessor Grindal: which continued till the year 1584. Of these dilapidations two views were taken, one in the year 1577, and the other in 1580. The charges brought in for repairs at both views, and something of this controversy, hath been shewn elsewhere. But what related to the archbishop further, I proceed to shew. Understanding that the bishop of London had applied to secretary Walsingham, to assist and befriend him to the queen, for

granting out a commission for the dilapidations, the archbishop addressed a letter, April 20, to the said secretary, importing,

“That he had learned that the said bishop laboured to make him a means unto her majesty for procuring a commission against him for dilapidations at London. Truly,” as he began, “he offereth me great wrong, and requiteth my friendship toward him with great ingratitude: asserting, that he found those houses in marvellous great ruin, and no show of any reparation done therein in his predecessor's time. That he neither required, neither received one farthing for dilapidations of him. And that in the six years he lived

there, he bestowed in reparation a sufficient portion of money for his time; he verily thought, more than in twenty years before. And that if his successor did his part as well, there would be no cause for those that came after to complain."

He added, "How he forwarded what he could his new successor to that living, commending him to her majesty; while he lay in London, he [the archbishop] gave him all friendly entertainment. That he tasted so much of his good-will, that he promised him to require no dilapidations of him. Which thing he told his brother, Miles Sandes. Who counselled him to get his [AElmer's] promise in writing. Which thing, he said, he omitted, not suspecting his word. Further, that when he left London-house, he gave him many things. He helped to consecrate him, when he wanted others of that province. And that as soon as he was made bishop, he set himself against him; laboured to discredit him; gave further notes, not only to the lord treasurer, but also to her majesty against him; and by his means, as he added, hindered him 1000*l*, without gaining himself one groat. And, that before his [the archbishop's] departing out of London, he asked of him 100*l*. for dilapidations; but now he laboured for a great commission, minding thereby a greater gain."

And then applying himself to the secretary, used these words:

"Sir, I trust you will not be the means to satisfy his insatiable desire, but rather stay his unfriendly dealing with me. I have ever borne you hearty good-will, and would be glad if I might stand you in any stead. And as I have at no time given you just offence, so I hope to find you my good friend. As in this matter, so in all other, I will not deserve your disliking. For whatsoever shall be reported, when I shall come to trial, my dealings shall not be discredited."

He writ this from Bishopthorp by his servant. To whom he had taken order to enter into reasonable conditions with the bishop of London, if he would not stay for his coming.

And because there would also arise matter of dispute on the same account between him and the archbishop of Canterbury, translated from York, he took this opportunity heartily to pray the secretary to be a mean for him, that the archbishop of Canterbury might enter into like with him for dilapidations, as well at London as at York: saying, that there was just

cause why that archbishop should answer him; though no cause why he [the archbishop of York] should the bishop of London. And so concluded, “hoping he would friend him in his reasonable causes.” The two archbishops concluded their difference by mutually agreeing to put it to the arbitration of the lord treasurer Burghley. But the bishop of London did not think fit to submit his matter with the archbishop of York to any reference; his reason will follow.

The secretary, according to the archbishop’s request, kindly interposed his good office between both: and, it seems, had acquainted the queen with it; and, according to her advice, propounded a reference to the bishop of London. He acknowledged himself marvellously beholden unto the secretary for his readiness in this matter. But that he found it not safe, either for himself or his executors, to end it any other way than by a commission: which was the reason he moved for it; that it might be ended by law.

“The archbishop the next month (viz. June) heartily thanked the secretary for his travelling with the bishop of London: “and that he should think himself much bound unto him to rid him from such *unreasonable dealing*, as he styled it: and that he had cause to complain. Yet he respected the considerations by him remembered, and desired a quiet end, fit for men of his calling.” He added, That he heard the bishop was minded to attempt the matter himself to her majesty. And so purposed to wrong him [the archbishop] unwarranted, by telling first his own case.”

For the prevention of this, he prayed Walsingham to acquaint her majesty with the matter, that she might be the more impartially informed by a friend to them both. He put the secretary again in mind, that after he was consecrated, in the presence of the lord chief justice, he asked him 100*l.* in full satisfaction. And now I hear, saith he, that he gapeth after thousands.

I can add no more of this controversy, (which lasted some years after,) but that after a sentence was given, the archbishop offered these reasons for qualifying it.

I. That the archbishop of York did not receive one penny for dilapidations of his predecessor in London.

II. He was so far from wilful spoiling, or from being in any fault, for any decays in the cathedral church, that it was proved that those decays had happened by fire from heaven. A casualty and misfortune not to charge him, not any way to be imputed to him.

III. He will justify by his oath, that the new bishop of London, a little before his consecration, did by express words deliberately discharge him from any charge of dilapidations, by promising him faithfully, that he would never demand any.

IV. It was proved, that he did bestow such a convenient portion upon the repair of his houses and church as the law required. Which he was informed to be, that a bishop doth satisfy, if he shall bestow so much upon the reparations as he may conveniently spare; and decently maintain and support his estate, according to his dignity and calling.

V. That the proof made by the bishop of London of the decays is utterly insufficient: for that it reacheth only the state of the houses and church, as it was in the month of August, 1580, being four years after the translation of the archbishop from London to York: which was in the month of March, 1576.

VI. And where the bishop of London did rely, by his counsel, upon certain canons; whereby they did pretend, that a bishop is bound to employ the fourth part of his revenue upon the repair of the fabric of the church; the archbishop is so well informed in that point, that these canons be no laws in England. That he is contented to refer the solution of that point to any indifferent man learned in the law, both in England, and in any other place in Christendom.

VII. That the inequality is great, that the archbishop of York, having been bishop of London but six years, is allotted 800*l.* and the archbishop of Canterbury, having been bishop ten years, to 300*l.*

VIII. The commission for the proceeding is thought to be warranted by law, wherein authority of imprisonment is given, the matter being particular, between party and party, and mere ecclesiastical.

IX. The sentence unusual and void; for that it awardeth a kind of execution in the body thereof. Where, in all other, the party is called to *shew cause*. And if none be shewed, then put in execution.

X. The statute an. 1 Eliz. cap. 1. whereupon the commission of delegates is only grounded, uniteth to the crown no other jurisdiction, spiritual or ecclesiastical, than by a spiritual or ecclesiastical power hath heretofore been lawfully exercised, for the visitation of ecclesiastical states or persons. But the pope, by his usurped authority, had no jurisdiction to incarcerate ad *instantiam partis*; neither to excommunicate an archbishop, but by himself in person, by a general council or synod. Neither had he authority to appoint lay persons judges in ecclesiastical causes.

These objections were made to the form of the commission from the queen for inquiry into dilapidations. For so it ran in one two years before, granted to bishop Freak, who succeeded Parkhurst in the see of Norwich, (wherein this bishop of London was nominated one of the commissioners.) The words are these: *Potestatem et auctoritatem nostras, ad omnis et singula praemissa exequenda, &c. impartimus et concedimus; cum cujuslibet congruae et legitima cohercionis ecclesiasticae seu secularis, etiam incarcerationis si opus fuerit, exequenda ea quae in hac parte decreveritis, potestate.*

This good and peaceable archbishop, as far as I can trace him, had the unhappiness to fall into other contests. Whit-tingham, the dean of Durham, (of whom we have related several things before) still continued there: who was befriended by the earl of Huntington and by the dean of York, two of the commissioners appointed for the visitation of the cathedral. This created the archbishop great disquietment, by means of their opposition of him in proceeding with the dean.

This business stuck exceedingly upon his mind. Insomuch that he wanted a wise friend at court to disclose his troubled thoughts to; and reckoned none so proper to break them to, as the lord treasurer. As he abruptly, in the postscript of a letter to the said lord, writ in the summer at Bishopthorp, signified in these words: "My heart greatly desires to speak with your lordship. I have matter of great importance, and that toucheth me near, to pray your lordship's advice in. I must hang upon your help." And this, it is very probable, brought him to London. Where we find him this winter.

Concerning the earl, (a man of virtue and religion,) he earnestly desired a reconciliation might be made between them. And for the dean of York, that he might be removed to some other preferment; with whom he saw there

could be no true accommodation. Nor could he, on his account, bring his mind to come to York with any comfort. This caused him to pen a letter to the lord treasurer in the month of December, being then at London, and laid up with the gout, which hindered his coming to him, and from disclosing his uneasy mind by word of mouth.

As for the earl of Huntington, the lord treasurer had a purpose to make them both friends: and the same good intention had the earl of Leicester. And for that purpose the earl moved this matter at the court, and offered to make the queen acquainted with it. And said further, that he would come and dine with the archbishop at his chamber alone; as it seemed, for the same good end. But there lay some snare under this pretended friendship. For the good archbishop had no manner of ill-will against that earl, or purpose or ability, as he said, to do him any ill office. So that in his said letter to his friend, in whom he most confided, (*viz.* the lord treasurer,) he used these words:

“That he marvelled what it meant. That there was some mystery in it. That he had not a mind, nay, that he could not be hurtful to the earl of Huntington. I friend him (as he went on) as becomes me: but my friendship can do him no good. And for my part I utterly dislike these counterfeited reconciliations; which come from the lips, and not from the heart. And thus to enter into a sudden, blind reconciliation, with making her majesty acquainted with it, (being acquainted, although not by him, with the earl’s manifold wrongs done unto him,) he feared her majesty would not take it in good part. He knew, he said, the earl was in great disgrace. By these means, perhaps,” he added, “I might bring myself into like disgrace: which I would be loath to do.” And then he proceeded to shew what he thought convenient in this emergence: “That to open this matter to her majesty, he dared to trust none, [no, not Leicester,] except it were his lordship: whose hearty and constant favour towards him he knew, rejoiced in, and gave God thanks for it. Yet adding, that he dared not to trouble his lordship with such his trifling matters. Thus telling him his thinking in this matter: notwithstanding [ready] to alter, and to be advised in this thing, and all others, by his lordship’s better wisdom.”

The archbishop had learned, by the earl of Huntington’s man, that the earl feared he went about to get him removed from his office, [of lord president

of the north;] concerning which the archbishop makes this protestation in his said letter: “Truly, my lord, that thing never entered into my heart: neither ever heard I any speech of it. But suspicions go for truths with him.”

And then, concerning his other adversary, the dean of York, he applied to his lordship,

“That he might still be a suitor to him, to be a means unto her majesty, that that dean might be removed and preferred. Giving this reason for it; That as long as two banded together, he should *never* do good there: neither ever minded he [with any inclination] to go thither, [to York. And therefore, when he was in the north, always abiding at Bishopthorp or Southwel.]”

He had not long before spoke with her majesty at Greenwich: when he moved her highness in that matter. Who answered, That at her coming to London she would give him answer; and, as he understood it, to his contentation. Then she asked him, whom he would have dean there. Whereupon he named three, but especially D. Toby Matthew, as the fittest, in his opinion. Of whom her majesty liked well. This relation he made to the lord treasurer. And prayed him to stand his good friend in this matter. “In nothing,” said he, “can you more pleasure me. “For I cannot live with that man.” And then mentioned the bishopric of Litchfield, that would serve his turn. But the dean, as it seems, chose to stick where he was, expecting some better bishopric in due time. And continued dean there all the time of the archbishop.

In fine, he concluded his letter, “That he had more matters to move his lordship in: but as he had already tired himself with scribbling, lying in his bed in miserable pain, so feared he should too much trouble his lordship with the reading.” It was dated the 28th of December, 1579.

This favour then the archbishop never obtained; but was fain to live uneasy, near such an one with whom there was such a misunderstanding. The dean’s next remove being to the bishopric of Durham, 1589. In which year the archbishop died.

But that we may not be silent concerning the dean, a very worthy man, and that well deserved of the church, and the plea that he made for himself: in the next month after the archbishop had thus bemoaned himself to the lord treasurer, in respect of the dean’s carriage towards him, the said dean

appealeth to the same lord in his own defence. Wherein he declared, what care he always had to behave himself with due respect to the archbishop; and how desirous to live in peace and a good understanding with him. And yet he could not conceal his secret displeasure against the archbishop, by informing his lordship underhand of the little regard he had of his clergy; and hinting what the archbishop had said against him [the said lord] by way of blame, that he had put him, the dean, into the commission for the visitation of the church of Durham.

The purport of the dean's letter was this:

“That he was informed, that my lord's grace of York had complained of him: that his lordship [the treasurer] had shewed himself his very good lord, as always heretofore; for which he gave his most hearty thanks; being fully persuaded that his honour would not easily give credit to ill reports, without proof. For truly he did not know that his grace had any just cause against him: and therefore did marvel much, when he heard he had complained of him. That he trusted he feared God, and walked within the compass of laws; serving God and her majesty in his calling in dutiful manner, without any great mislike of the better and greater part of the country where he dwelt.”

And then proceeding to his behaviour towards the archbishop, he useth these words:

“Truly, my lord, (I speak it before God,) I have been, and am, and will be, as desirous and as careful to please his grace, even for the common cause sake of religion, as any clergyman in this province; and will be content to do any thing, *usque ad aras*, to have his grace's favour. Would to God his grace made *more* account of his clergy, and of the preachers of the gospel, than he doth; and sought indeed the peace of Jerusalem. *Oh, how good and joyful a thing were it, brethren, to dwell together in unity!* But God hath a work in hand: his will be fulfilled; and his name be blessed for ever.”

Then he went on to relate his life and conversation in times past, viz.

“That he was in Cambridge twenty-one years; and was never sued, never complained upon unto any magistrate. That he had been in Yorkshire then almost thirteen years; and never sued, never complained upon for any fact. And that if his honour had not put

him in the commission to visit the church of Durham, (for which doing, you [meaning the lord treasurer] were blamed openly at Durham by my lord's grace,) he believed he had not been complained upon at this time. Yet truly, as he added, he dealt as uprightly in that commission as ever he did in any thing in his life. God is my judge, and they that were present. That there was now no dean left in the north parts, but himself. [For the dean of Durham died this year.] Would to God I might not, after a sort, say with the prophet, *Derelictus sum ego solus, et quaerunt animam meam*. That his lordship had been his special good lord always; nay, *Receptus ab imbre, et latibulum a vento*, for all injured persons to fly unto.

“And therefore he came to him as to a sanctuary, under her majesty, beseeching his lordship to be a mean that he might be not discredited, nor condemned without hearing. But that if his grace would needs seek his defacing, (which he hoped he would not,) yet that he would do it charitably, openly, orderly, and in writing; that he might answer, and have his lawful defence. He beseeched his lordship to pardon him, if he were somewhat earnest; because he had not been acquainted with this kind of dealing. And so praying God to continue his lordship in good health, to the comfort of many, he took his leave.” Dated from York, the 10th of January, 1579. But this ill-will of the dean still continued divers years after, secretly informing against the archbishop.

All that I can add more of archbishop Sandys, under this year, is what follows. On the 17th day of November, the day of the queen's access to the throne, the archbishop preached at York a sermon on that occasion: where he set forth the praise of the queen, and the happiness of her subjects under her government. Some part whereof was after this manner delivered by him, (which may deserve a place in this history.)

“As this day now twenty years fully finished, the Lord in his mercy remembering us, when we little hoped, and less deserved, delivered us from the state of miserable servitude, and gave us our gracious sovereign, his own elect Elizabeth, by his grace, our gracious sovereign, the restorer of our religion and liberty.

“If learning and wisdom be so necessarily requisite in a governor, how great is the goodness of Almighty God to usward, who hath so

plentifully bestowed this gift of knowledge and wisdom upon our sovereign, not far inferior to Mithridates for diversity of languages; but far surmounting all English princes in learning, knowledge, and understanding! which rare and excellent gift dwell-eth not in her royal breast alone; but it is beautified and accompanied with sundry other most singular graces. She is the very patroness of true religion, rightly termed *the defender of the faith*; one that, before all other things, seeketh the kingdom of God. If the threatenings of men could have terrified her, or their allurements enticed her, or any crafty persuasions had prevailed, she had revolted long ere this; so fiercely, by great potentates, her constancy had been assaulted. But God hath strengthened his royal handmaid. The fear of God hath put to flight the fear of men. Her religious heart is accepted of the Lord: and glorious also is it in the eyes of men.

“A prince so zealous for God’s house, so firmly settled in his truth, that she hath constantly determined, and *oftentimes* vowed, rather to suffer all torments, than one jot in matter of religion. She is not fraudulent nor treacherous, but dealeth justly and truly, in word and deed, with all men: promiseth and performeth. Herein her majesty passeth all princes; and therefore in credit she is far before others. And her great desire is, that all men placed in authority under her should deal truly, judge righteously, and give to every man his own according to justice; matching always with justice mercy: which two are so linked and coupled together, that they may not be severed. No prince of this realm, inclining so much to mercy, did ever less hinder the course of justice than her highness hath done: such as are placed in judicial rooms must needs confess. Of nature a prince most merciful; in judgment upright and just. A prince void of all corruption: a hater of bribes: free in bestowing; in taking close-handed. One that hath learned, and doth practise, our Saviour’s lesson, *It is more blessed to give than to receive*. A right Samuel, that cannot be charged with indirect dealing. A prince mild as Moses, just as Samuel, peaceful as Solomon, zealous as David.

“Neither speak I this, in flattery, (which thing be far from me,) but in an upright conscience; not of guess, but of knowledge; not seeking myself, but the glory of God. That being put in mind of your happiness, you may praise God for his mercy, and glorify him in his gracious gifts.”

This character of that excellent queen may the rather be depended upon, both because of the preacher's protestation against flattery, and speaking from his own personal knowledge and experience; having long known the queen, and well acquainted with the court and her proceedings.

To the which I may add the account he gave his auditors of the queen, in another sermon in York, preached on the same anniversary day, in these words:

"If any church, any people, any nation in the world have cause to praise the Lord for their prince, this land hath more than *any*, in respect of the wonderful blessings wherewith God, by the ministry of his handmaid, [queen Elizabeth,] hath enriched us, far beyond all that we are possibly able to conceive, &c. Look upon other princes at this day. Some are drawn with the poisoned cup of that harlot, whose venom her highness doth abhor. Some have embrued themselves in blood: wherewith her majesty did never yet stain the tip of her finger. When they tumble in wars, she sitteth in peace. When they break oaths and covenants, she keepeth Promise. Therefore God hath blessed the work of her hands. She found this realm in war; she hath established it in peace. She found it in debt; which she hath discharged. She hath changed dross into silver and gold. She hath, by living within compass, and sparing wasteful expenses, without pressing the people, or seeking more than ordinary and useful tribute, furnished this land with so great a navy, with store of armour and warlike munition, both for defence and offence, as *England* never had in former times. This I speak, not of flattery, (it was never my fault,) but rather in sincerity, testifying the truth. That seeing your happiness, you may be thankful."

This archbishop shewed his conscientious discharge of his episcopal office, and how immoveable he was in his resolution for the well governing of his church, by this one instance that happened this year, while he was in such a dependance upon the said lord treasurer, his friend. That lord had moved him to grant the promise of the next advowson of a prebend in Southwel upon his chaplain, Mr. Mountford. Which request he modestly refused to grant, that he might keep a good purpose that he had made, in order to the preferring none but worthy men; and that none might obtain preferment under him by any sinister ways and means. Which purpose was, never to grant an advowson before it actually fell void; nor ever to take a

resignation. According to which resolution, when that lord had sent to him (as abovesaid) for the favour of such a grant, he returned him this honest answer;

“That he might command him in what he could. But the truth was, he had never in his life given any advowson of any prebend. That he had given his word to the contrary: which he might not, he said, recede from. Neither had he at any time admitted of resignation: for that they proceeded of unlawful pactions.” Again, he added in further excuse to his lordship,” That he had many learned chaplains, which wholly depended upon him: and as yet it had not been his hap to reward them with any living. And that when an ecclesiastical living fell in his gift, he should be thought unthankful, if he should not prefer them before others. Neither did they serve him, but in hope of some requital.” And then applying further to that lord, I know,” said he, “that in honour and wisdom your lordship will consider thereof.”

But that it might not fare the worse with his lordship’s chaplain, whom he had minded to gratify, the archbishop subjoined, that he learned, that Dr. Chaderton should be made bishop of Chester, who had a prebend in the church of York. And that upon his preferment it was in her majesty’s donation: which, if it were not granted, his lordship might for a word obtain it.

CHAPTER 17.

Cox, bishop of Ely, defends the see against a lease for Hat-ton-Garden. The lord North's actions against him. Labours to resign his bishopric. His letters thereupon; and requests. The bishop of Norwich declines a remove to Ely. His honest letter on that occasion. By the lord treasurer's intercession, the queen grants the bishop of Ely leave to resign. Sectaries of the family of love in Norwich diocese. The bishop of Norwich prevents a change of some lands belonging to his church. The bishop of Peterborough endeavours to ease a heavy tax laid upon the poorer sort there, for draining a common. The bishop of London takes a seditious printer, named Carter. Chatham hospital in danger by pretence of concealment. The bishop of Rochester stirs in its behalf. His notes upon the book called, The Gospel of the Kingdom. The bishop of Lincoln's letter upon the queen's thoughts of removing him to Norwich. The vicar of Cuckfield, vicious: the bishop of Chichester required to deprive him.

Cox, the learned, well-deserving, and now very ancient bishop of Ely, was fellow-bishop and fellow-confessor with the former: and his life mixed with continual troubles and cares, as the other's was, as hath been shewn in the former chapter.

This bishop was now in chancery, for the preserving the revenues of his see, about the lease made by Goodrick, his predecessor, of Hatton-Garden. It was a long and chargeable suit, (as himself expressed it to the lord treasurer,) that the see of Ely should not be spoiled by bishop Goodrick's lease. By which lease, as bishop Cox added, he meant nothing less than the spoil of the bishopric. Her majesty being moved diversely by the lord treasurer, by Mr. Hatton, and by him, the present bishop, had sent to the late lord keeper, that the matter should be heard only in her honourable court of chancery. And thus far he [the lord keeper] had proceeded; viz. he heard the complaint; he sent forth commissioners. The witnesses had been examined and certified: publication was orderly made; and the day of hearing was appointed that term. And hereupon, it was his request to the lord treasurer, (and the rather because her majesty was a party therein,) that if need required, he would vouchsafe to move the lord keeper in the

matter: that (whereof he doubted not) equity and justice might prevail. And so, like a father of the church, he concluded with his prayer; “That the Lord Jesus would send him long life, that he might be able to prevail especially on God’s cause. and in faithful travel towards her majesty, and fruitful dealing towards the whole realm.” This was dated from his house at Doddington, April the 26th, 1579.

A pretty while after, in the month of October, the business of Goodrick’s lease wanted nothing but the lord chancellor’s decree to be finished. The good bishop moves his said friend, the lord Burghley, to put the chancellor in mind to do it. Which now hung only upon a decree to be made by him: who, he knew, was well bent, he said, to the justice of the cause.

Still this grave bishop of Ely was vexed with the old contest of the lord North with him; which he called, “the cruel and malicious dealing of Lawrence Johnson and the lord North.” Which last had entered two or three actions against him for felling of wood; and charged him with 1800*l.* which if it should take place, said the bishop, would make me not worth 18*d.* This he also opened in a letter to his friend, the abovesaid lord: and that Mr. Gouldwel had the doing of the matter, and could inform his lordship at large. That that lord was upon him last summer, and prevailed nothing; and that the lord chief justice understood the cause at full. And yet the lord North, as the bishop added, pretended great friendship. But what his dealing was, by reason of some of the honourable council’s letters, he [the bishop] had rather the bearer should open the whole matter unto his lordship, than himself; because there had been, as he said, some mystical devices therein. Which bearer he desired his lordship to hear, and to give credit to, and his best advice therein.

In the midst of these his troubles, too heavy for his years, and all underwent for the preserving of the revenues of his bishopric, he earnestly begged of the queen her liberty to be granted to him to resign; and hoped her majesty would also give him a reasonable time to depart, and a fit pension for his life, and Doddington house, the worst of five belonging to his see.

This request he made in the latter part of the year but had many months before signified his inclination to resign. When on a sudden he was surprised with the news of a pursuivant sent down to the bishop of Norwich, requiring him to come up to court, in order to be made bishop of Ely. The whole matters, and what the bishop’s thoughts and desires were

upon this occasion, take from himself, in his own words, imparted in his letter to the lord treasurer.

“Right honourable, such news as I suddenly heard of late, I must needs impart unto you: That a pursuivant came by my lord North’s, and told him, that he was going to the bishop of Norwich, to require him to repair to the court; for that he was appointed to be bishop of Ely. Sir, no man is better acquainted with this matter than your lordship. I was and yet am very desirous to be delivered from my charge; for that my age and weakness and imbecility of senses move me thereunto. And not otherwise than it shall stand with her majesty’s pleasure and discretion. I doubt not but her majesty will have very good consideration of me; to appoint such a time as shall seem most meet to her gracious wisdom. And then that I may resign with such a pension out of the bishopric, as her honourable judgment shall think convenient for *the* little time that I have to live. And that her majesty *will* cause that I may enjoy the least house that the bishop hath here in these parts, of five houses: which is Doding-ton house; which I have preserved from great ruin. And tlarldy, for that bishop Thirlby, being bishop six years, never came into his diocese; whom, notwithstanding, I could not move to grant me one penny of dilapidations; *though* the suit thereof, and the implements of the see, cost me much money in suit: which was a thousand marks: but all in vain. And I constrained to repair all decays of all his houses, after I came to them. I am therefore to become humble suitor to her majesty, that whereas my successor shall find his houses in good repair, and I content notwithstanding to yield unto him 100*l.* or the value thereof, she would vouchsafe to move my successor in this reasonable request. *Haec tibi, quasi anchoae fir-missimae.*” This was dated from Dodington, the 29th of April, 1579.

But this came to nothing, the uprightness of Freak, the bishop of Norwich, not suffering him to comply with terms that he suspected (not without ground) would be put upon him, in giving his consent for the withdrawing certain of the benefits and revenues Of that rich bishopric from it. For thus, in a month or two after, he intimated his mind and resolution to the lord treasurer.

“That whereas he heard there was speech in court of his being translated to Ely, if the present bishop did resign, he doubted, that there would be a curtailing that good bishopric. And that therefore he writ to his lordship, that if he were removed thither, he requested that he might have the benefice with such conditions, as neither the commodity of the same nor his good name might be impeached thereby. Of which two things,” he said, “he had special regard. And the rather,” (using these words,) “because I have hitherto come freely unto my promotions: and would be loath now in mine old age to become infamous, and condemned of the world, as some of my friends are at this present.” This was writ in the month of June.

Again, in the latter end of the year, in the month of December, the lord treasurer had obtained leave of the queen for the foresaid bishop of Ely to resign, with consideration of his other requests to be granted him. Whereupon he humbly thanked her majesty for her great benevolence towards him: and withal sent up his petitions to the said lord to peruse. He mentioned on this occasion,

“How well his lordship understood, how he had been handled in the bishopric almost for twenty years. That the keeping of Somersham, one part of the lands of the bishopric, created him some trouble. That the hawking after his manors were a pleasure to some, [meaning, as it seems, the lord North and others.] That his lordship knew how great a sum of money it cost him, the troublesome bringing of that business before the queen. Other less matters he passed over. Then he came to bishop Goodrick’s lease, which one, with the countenance of a great many of the court, endeavoured to invert. That it scarcely had yet come to an end in the chancery: nor that it was like ever to obtain, unless her majesty, as she had formerly commanded to bring it into the chancery, so now, according to her equity and clemency, would command the said lease to be altogether annulled and cancelled: since equity and goodness required it: and that the lord chancellor knew it well enough.

“That the queen’s majesty did so candidly receive his letters, such as they were, being the signification of his own dutiful mind, he confessed, he owed much to her majesty; yea, for innumerable

other of her benefits. But especially for her great good-will to him, in consideration of his age and weakness, to deliver him from the burden of the bishopric; and to bestow it upon another. And that if it pleased her majesty, he refused not the bishop of Norwich for his successor.”

This letter was written by the bishop, in his elegant Latin style: and having divers matters in it relating to himself and this business, (whereof this above is but an imperfect account,) I have preserved it in the Appendix.

And then he set down his requests upon his resignation, with his own hand subscribed: viz.

“Imprimis, He required a pension during his life, (in respect of the three noble princes whom he had served,) out of the bishopric of Ely, as it shall please her majesty to set down.

“Secondly, Because he hath never a house of his own, he desireth for the time of his life to have the manor of Don-nington for the rent in the queen’s books, with the manor-house and the parks; with all fruits and commodities thereunto belonging, during his life, and one year after, to him and his assigns.

“Thirdly, The bishop that now is had no dilapidations of bishop Thirleby: although Thirleby received 500*l.* of bishop Goodrick’s executors: and yet he left his houses, bridges, loads, rivers, causeys, and banks in great ruin and decay. And also he spoiled the see of the implements of a thousand marks, which king Edward III left unto it. And yet the said Thirleby was bound by oath to leave it to the see. For the recovery whereof, the bishop that now is spent a thousand marks in suit, and obtained nothing: by reason bishop Thirleby died in prison.

“Fourthly, And because he never had any penny for dilapidations of bishop Thirleby, his predecessor; who in all that time of his bishopric never bestowed any thing upon his houses, banks, bridges, drains, or causeys; so that he was forced at his first entry to bestow fourteen score pounds upon Waldersey bank, for the preservation of the whole country: besides other things left in great decay, to his great cost. Yet nevertheless he is content to allow his successor one hundred pounds in implements which he hath made needful for every house,

“Item, That the pension may be paid quarterly, in the mansion-house at Donnington. Subscribed,

Richard Ely.”

There was another paper of requests sent up by the bishop in February, that is, two months after, of the same substance, only with some additions: as, mentioning his great expenses lately in the suit of Brakin for the great lease of all the demains, for his maintenance of the suit. On these reasons he desired to be set free from all kind of dilapidations. He required to have his half year's rent, due to him at Lady-day next: and all other rents and debts whatsoever that were due to him before his resignation. That a pension of 200*l.* may be paid him quarterly, by even parcels, at the manor-house at Donnington, out of the soken of Somersham and the manor of Haddenham. And that in his old days he might be freed from all taxes and subsidies, and setting forth of men in time of war, and all incumbrances that the country might lay upon him. And also to have the use of his parks and grounds unto May-day; and to have free egress and regress unto all the houses of the bishopric, and pastures belonging thereto, for the avoiding of his stuff and cattle. And finally, desires that his successor would allow and think well of all his grants, as he would his successor should do by him. Wherein he hopeth he hath done nothing prejudicial to the state of the see.

In this month of February, I find an address of his immediately to the queen for his licence of resignation. Which ran in these words from his elegant pen: which she seemed to expect; viz.

Diu patri tuo magnificentissimo obsequium praeberi, et fratri tuo pientissimo, aliquamdiu operam dedi. Denique tuae majestati multis jam annis episcopali officio sedulo inservivi, augustissima regina. Tandem vero hujus muneris pertaesus libertatem aliquam mihi vindicari, et quasi rude donari, meo jure postulo. Idque ob justissimas causas: nimirum a memorivae imbecillitate et virium labefactionem, et aetatem octogenariam jam icumbentem. Denique quod hinc sacro officio conscientia mea satis respondere non valet. Hujus infirmitatis indulgentissime miserta pro eximia tua clementia ab ista functione me liberum fieri a tua majestate spero: aliumque et pientiore, et omnibus modis ad id aptiorum Sufficiendum: qui huic functioni omnibus modis pie, conscientiaeque puritate, respondere possit et velit: juxta divi

Pauli regulam, Finis praecepti est charitas, in corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta.

Atque haec est prima et maxima majestatis tuae cura, ut quicunque in regno tuo officia gerunt, sive ecclesiastica sive secularia, hanc D. Pauli regulam accurate atque solícite servant. Hanc libertatis meae procurationem humiliter peto; non ut prudentiae tuae praejudicare velim, sed quod prudentiae tuae optimum esse judicabitur, id mihi optimum esse judicabo. Libentius tamen missionem a tua clementia ex animo contenderem. Dominus noster Jesus Christus, pro solita sua clementia, majestatem tuam multis annis et corporis sanitate et animi pietate, beare; et ab hostium dolositate tueri dignetur. Ex insula Eliensi vicesimo quarto Febrarii.

It proceeded now so far, that two forms were ready drawn, February, 1579, *pro resignatione ep'atus Eliens.*

I. *Sedula resignationis:* to be done before a public notary.

II. *Tenor instrumenti conficiendi super resignationem ep'a-tus.*

Yet I find in June following, 1580, the business was not fully completed, though in effect and to all appearance it seems to have been, by a letter the bishop then writ to his correspondent and friend, the lord Burghley: at the conclusion thereof subscribing himself *Richardus Coxus*. But whatever was the impediment, (whether it were that Freak, or any other the queen intended to put into his place, liked not of the terms of the resignation, and perhaps other terms propounded to the diminishing of the revenues,) but the old bishop held this bishopric, to his death; which was in the year 1581.

Concerning Freak, bishop of Norwich, besides what I have observed of him before, this also that follows may be remarked. The sect called the *family of love* appeared much in this bishop's diocese. The bishop had been diligent in searching after them, and endeavouring by punishments, as well as other gentler methods, to reclaim them. Some of them were by his order imprisoned. But the reports of divers of these sectaries appearing in Suffolk came to court: insomuch that the lords of the council sent letters to the bishop, to take care for the suppressing of them; and to certify what he had done therein. But though this information came to the lords, the bishop had not yet heard of their spreading there. But some of them in Norwich

and Bury were put into prison. And therefore, as he writ to the lord Burghley, he thought the information given was but *ciosa quaedam sedulitas* of some, cunningly to accuse him of negligence in his function. Yet it was well known, on the other hand, that he had been thought to have dealt very severely and hardly with those of that sect, for detaining them so long in prison. And therefore, as well towards them as any other that should be suspected to be of that *family*, he promised effectually to execute the said letters in his visitation approaching; and to certify accordingly. This he writ to the lord treasurer from Ludham, the 4th of June, 1579.

Some of these were of the clergy, and had livings. One of them vehemently so suspected was incumbent of Sprow-ton; and deprivable in many other respects. The bishop craved it of the queen for Mr. Maplesden, his son-in-law, archdeacon of Suffolk; the right of presentation being in one Felton, her majesty's ward.

This year happened another instance of the paternal care of this bishop, in respect of his church of Norwich. One Mr. Pooly had brought the dean and chapter of that cathedral to be willing to make a change of certain of his lands with that church for some of theirs: and thereunto they had consented. Which would have been the spoil of that church. But the bishop seasonably stopped it from proceeding any further; having disauaded them from it. Some time after, the same, gentleman attempted to procure the same lands (being one hundred pounds of old rent yearly) for her majesty in fee-farm: having by secret reward (as the bishop had learned) obtained the good-will of the dean and the greater part of the prebends. *Who being poor (as the bishop writ to the lord treasurer, whom he acquainted with the matter) would easily bite at so sweet a bait.*

“Wherefore he [the bishop] for his own part,” as he added, “being the head of that church, and moved, in respect of his pastoral charge thereof, to prevent the danger of so great and utter decay of the same, like to ensue the compassing of the suit in hand; his only refuge,” he said,” in this case, was unto his lordship, (whom *this age and time did acknowledge to be the chief patron and stay, next under her majesty, unto the church of England,*) most humbly beseeching his good lordship, (if this practice in hand were not so far past, as it was irrecoverable,) that his honour would put to his helping hand to hold up this particular church, like to fall down, if it were not supported by his assistance.” Adding further, “that this

matter might be stayed by his lordship's mediation unto her majesty, in the behalf of the poor church. Wherein, no doubt, he should do God good service in preserving his temple; and deserve worthy commendation of posterity in that place by this deed; himself being, lastly, to be most bound unto his honour for the same, as in many other respects he was." This was dated from Ludham, the 7th of August, 1579.

There was one Lawrence, a preacher, incumbent of some parish in Suffolk, whom this bishop of Norwich had suspended. The reason whereof was his refusal to comply in his ministration with the rites and usages of the church required. And this he did, not only in discharge of his paternal care, but also in obedience to certain letters sent to him from the court, to suffer none to preach and officiate in the church, but such as should conform themselves to the rules and practice prescribed in the church of England. These letters seem to have been sent to him, and other bishops, in whose dioceses especially the puritan preachers most abounded. But one Mr. Calthorp, a gentleman of some quality in the county, a favourer of Lawrence, endeavoured to get him restored by a command to the said bishop from court; and especially by a letter to him from the lord treasurer; who, he knew, had a great influence with all the bishops. Upon his solicitation therefore, to satisfy the importunity of that gentleman, backed with the good character he gave of him, he wrote to the bishop in the behalf of Lawrence. But how the case more particularly now stood between the bishop and this preacher, take from the pen of the bishop himself to Calthorp, upon his receiving the said letter of that lord.

"That whereas he had writ to him [the bishop] in behalf of Lawrence, and had also procured the lord treasurer's letters to the same effect; he let him understand, that he had not sequestered Mr. Lawrence from preaching by virtue of letters of the lords of her majesty's privy council only; but also by virtue of certain letters from her majesty; wherein he was strictly charged to suffer none, but such only to preach, as were allowed of into the ministry, and conformable in all manner of rites and ceremonies established in the church of England. And therefore that he dared not attempt to do it. And that whereas it had pleased his very good lord, the lord treasurer, to write unto him for the same purpose, he required to give him leave first, before he granted his request, to make answer unto the lord treasurer's letter; and make known unto him the cause

of his proceedings, and manner of doing. And then, if it should please that lord to command him, he said he would do it.

“In the mean season he must pray him to content himself. For that he might not, upon every motion made, transgress her majesty’s commandment: although he bore, as he added, as good will to Mr. Lawrence as he or any man within that country. And so he took his leave of him in Christ.” It was dated from Ludham, the 12th of March, 1579.

Upon this letter of the bishop’s, Calthorp despatches another letter to the treasurer, desiring earnestly to find out some way to restore them their preacher: mentioning the great need of him there: and so good a man, as for whose meetness, he would dare to undertake, the chief of credit in that shire should fully certify his honour.

Let us now turn to another bishop; viz. Scambler, bishop of Peterborough. This may be remarked in commendation of his care and compassion for the poorer inhabitants of Peterborough: on whom lay a heavy tax, the drain of Clow’s Cross, a common that was to be drained for cattle. The benefit indeed great; but the burden of the charge laid upon the poorer sort intolerable, even to their undoing. These applied themselves to the bishop, making very heavy complaints unto him, and begging that a greater share of the charge might be laid upon the richer men; who received the benefit as much, or more than they, as they set forth their case to him. The good bishop set himself to shew the part of a tender and kind pastor in their case: and presently thought of applying himself to the lord treasurer: who having some estate there, if he could prevail with him to begin and to be an example, he concluded the rest would sooner follow. But hear the bishop’s letter; therein pleading with his lordship,

“That he would find out means to ease these poor people; informing him, that they were so sore surcharged above their neighbours, and above their abilities, that he was in a great care, and pensive to hear their just moans of complaints. And of himself, adding, that he could do nothing to redress it. That he was *therefore* forced, on God’s behalf and for conscience sake, as stood with his calling, to become an humble suppliant in their behalf. That in this suit he excluded not the furtherance of the good work purposed: for he greatly desired the going forward of the same. But his suit tended to the procurement of some equality and due

proportion of the levy; that according to the rate of the benefit that every man was to receive by the drain, so every man might bear charge ratably. For that it stood with good law and conscience so to be. And that the rich, of their abundance of wealth, which out of the commons received abundant commodity, might not go easily away, and the poor bear the burden. That their commodity in the *soke* was to have *Eye-fen* drained. No other thing was greatly for them to account of, but that. If the same were driven suddenly, it would be seen who were worthy to bear the chief burden.

“That if the poor man, Of the small store of cattle that he hath, be fain to sell the most or chief part, then had his purse made the fen good for the rich; and remained himself by that means disabled to enjoy the thing that he had paid for.” The good bishop went on pleading further for them, in this manner.

“That if the artificer or the labourer, which had very few, and many of them no cattle, should at their great charge contribute to this thing deeply, which should a chiefly redound to the benefit of the rich husbandman, or rather to his landlord, whose inheritance was many ways bettered; which might bring in better services, fines, and rents; in his opinion, he said, it was not so well, as if they bare charge according to the fruit that they should reap.”

He proceeded thus. “It is a heavy burden, my good lord, for the poor parish of Peterborough to pay this tax as it is laid. For if the subsidy books were viewed, it would appear, he doubted not, that they were charged, not with a subsidy or subsidies, but more than their whole substances, that in those books were specified. And yet he knew they were rated as high as their neighbours. And that great pity were, that they should be higher set in this book. The premises considered, that if it might please his honour and his son, to bring in among them of the *soke*, without trouble of other countries, some proportionable charge, which he thought and was assured his grave and charitable persuasion might bring to pass, if he then in person entered into that action, and persuasion with the gentlemen, and wealthiest of the *soke*, as they repaired unto him; he thought then, with ease reasonable, the whole *soken* bearing together might perform that charge that upon the *soke* was laid. And so the work

go forward: which otherwise the necessity of the surcharged might be a trouble and impediment unto.”

And then concluding: “This cause I fight humbly commend unto your honour: who, if you did know the truth fully, I am sure would see redress without my requests, even for the pity of the poor that God hath planted in your heart, and for the rueful moan that poor men do make, whose voices the Lord heareth. To whose everlasting mercy, and continual favour in this world, and in the world to come, I betake your honour with my hearty prayers.”

Dated from Peterborough, the 7th of August, 1579.

Subscribing himself,

Your Honour's at command in the Lord,

Edmund Petriburg.”

Elmer, bishop of London, had now found out a popish printing, press in London, and one Carter the printer; and had put him into the Gatehouse. He had printed several books against the queen and the state of the church established; and against the queen's statesmen, particularly the lord treasurer Burghley and the late lord keeper Bacon. The bishop commended the examination of this printer to the said lord treasurer, and to deal with him according to his wisdom; as his letter imported: which was as ensueth:

“Right honourable and my singular good lord. I have found out a press of printing, with one Carter, a very lewd fellow. Who hath been divers times before in prison, for printing of lewd pamphlets. But now in search of his house, among other naughty papistical books, we have found one in French, entitled, *The innocency of the Scottish queen*, a very dangerous book. Wherein he calleth her *the heir apparent of this crown*. He inveigheth against the execution of the duke of Norfolk; defendeth the rebellion in the north; and discourseth against you *and* the late lord keeper. I doubt not, but that your lordship hath seen it. Nevertheless, I thought good to signify thus much unto your lordship, that you may deal with the fellow, who is now near you, (in the Gatehouse,) as to your wisdom shall seem good. I can get nothing of him: for he did deny to answer upon his oath. When your lordship shall be at any leisure to deal in the matter, I will send to you the wardens, [of the Stationers' company,] who will inform you further of another book which is abroad; wherein her majesty is touched; and of certain

other new forms which he [Carter] hath made, and will not confess them. Thus, with my humble duty unto your lordship, I take my leave, from my house at London, by Paul's, this 30th of December,

Your lordship's humbly to command,
John London."

How this man got off now, I know not, (surely by the mildness of the government ;) but it was his fate to come to a shameful end. For, four or five years after, he was tried, cast, and executed as a traitor for printing a book, called, *A treatise of schism*.

Young, master of Pembroke-hall, in Cambridge, and bishop of Rochester, now worthily concerned in a matter of charity, solicited in behalf of Chatham hospital, within his diocese, against some *concealers*, as they were called; en-deavouring to swallow up some revenues belonging to that house, upon the pretence of *concealment*. And the matter being brought into the exchequer, the good bishop betakes himself to the lord treasurer, (the common patron of the bishops, and all others in distress,) in a letter dated in October; importing,

"That he was advised by some of his church of Rochester, that there was a suit in the exchequer, attempted against the poor hospital of Chatham, in his diocese, to the utter spoil and undoing of certain poor lazars, and other poor aged and impotent persons, there resiant at this present: and not only of them, but of a great number of other such like, as might stand in need of the like relief in that place in time to come." He added, "That he could not but in most humble wise, by these few lines, crave his honour's good favour towards the said poor people and hospital. Whereby that extremity which was meant towards them might be avoided; and the good relieve towards that poor miserable people which were then there, and which might be hereafter, (as it was at the beginning well meant,) continued. The bishop had heard, *that* the said poor hospital had been heretofore eftsoons assailed: but, as he tells that lord, notwithstanding, hitherto, by the bishops of this see, and the dean and chapter, who (as his honour should be made privy) had great evidence to shew for the said hospital, it had been preserved. And that their assured trust was, that his good lordship, according to his accustomed goodness towards all such erections and foundations, would stand good lord, so far forth

as justice would permit, to the same poor people, and to them. So should they of the hospital and themselves [of that said church] both think themselves bound to pray unto God continually for the continuance of his lordships good estate." Dated from Bromelie, the 20th of October. Subscribing,

His honour's most humbly to command,
John Roffens."

This bishop of Rochester, some time before, when H. N.'s book, called, *Evangelium regni, i.e. The gospel of the kingdom*, found so much countenance here in this land, (and had so many that ran into this sect, called *the family of love*,) writ some brief notes upon that book, put into Latin. Which will give us some account of that admired enthu-siastical book.

"As the Latin is mean, so is the style or manner of writing dark and obscure in many places. And although the author had not set to his name, yet it should seem to be some friar's doing, or some other that favoured the church of Rome.

"The greatest part of the book is nothing but a brief discourse, either a rehearsal of the story of the Bible; as appeareth from the 5th chapter to the 27th and 28th *chapters*. And his collection is none other, but such as any meanly learned may gather by diligent reading of the scriptures.

"The author doth much pretend to the Holy Ghost, and entitleth his book, *An epistle written from the Holy Ghost*: which is to be suspect of high revelations; dangerous to deceive the simple.

"In treating of Antichrist, in the 28th chapter, he teach-eth no certain doctrine, who he is, and where to be found; that we may know him, and beware of his doctrine: but it seemeth altogether doubtful: insomuch, that the note in the margin saith, *O that this Antichrist were known!* Whereas, if the author would have dealt plainly, and according to the scriptures, he might easily have shewed, that Rome is the seat of Antichrist. And that the succession of popes, and that body and kingdom, is the very Antichrist mentioned and described in the 2 Thessal. ii. Apoc. xiii. I7, &c.

“In chapters 31, 32, the author H. N. bewrayeth himself to be a papist. First, because he calleth the church of Rome, *the communion of all Christians*: whereas it is but a particular church, fallen away from the universal church of Christ. Secondly, Although he seemeth to con-less, that the church of Rome hath not that perfection of religion, which it had in times past, (which the papists do and must grant,) yet he seemeth to allow, and speak reverently of all popish orders, as they be now.

“The pope he calleth the *chief anointed*, the *chief bishop*, the *high priest*; who hath his being in the most holy sanctuary of true and perfect holiness, most holy father. Next unto him he placeth the *cardinals*; whom he calleth most holy and famous: and he saith, that they are next the most ancientest and holy father, the pope, in most holy religion and understanding. Next unto cardinals he reckoneth *bishops*; whom he calleth *chief priests*. After bishops he nameth *curates*, *deacons*, &c. After those he maketh mention of *monks*; whom he com-mendeth as men addicted to holiness, and separated from the world and all carnal desires.

“But most plainly the author shews himself a friend to the church of Rome; saying, that many, through contention and discord, did cast off the church of Rome; and did blaspheme her with her ministries; and of their own brains pretending the scriptures, have brought other ministries of religion. They spoke much of the word of God. Who doubteth, that this is the voice and judgment of papists against protestants and true Christians?

“The rest of the book, from the thirty-fourth chapter unto the end, is of the calling of the gentiles, and of the grace of God offered to the world in the last age of the world: which seemeth to be the best part of that book.

“Thus have you a taste of this book, gathered as the time would serve. Whereby it appeareth to be no such precious piece of work as of some it is supposed to be. Such fair shows and glorious titles may soon deceive the simple, to have such books in more adoration than the holy scriptures. But we have Moses and the prophets; let us hear them, and judge all others by them.

“We are sure that the holy scriptures were written by (the *Spirit of love and truth*) the Holy Ghost; and contain all true and necessary and sufficient doctrine for our *salvation*. Let us not hold upon men. *Prove all things; hold that which is good. Believe not every spirit; but prove the spirits.*”

These good notes of the bishop of Rochester fell into the hands of some of this *family of love*. And they made the best reply they could to each paragraph. And this, William Wilkinson, of the diocese of Ely, (who wrote a confutation of some of their articles,) published this year with his own book; as we shall read by and by. Yet I cannot but set down the conclusion of this *lovely* author’s reply, suitable to their pretended principles.

“Therefore save labour for making any further reply hereunto, lest you do but lose your travel herein. For Christ with his *holy ones* [*those of the family*] will not now, in this same day of their *love*, (like as do the princes of the earth, whose kingdom is of this world,) set up and maintain his kingdom with contention and discord, but with peaceableness, lovingkindness, and longsuffering.”

Concerning Cooper, bishop of Lincoln, a learned, good, and diligent prelate, I have also a remark to make. The queen, intending a remove of the bishop of Norwich to Ely, as was above shewn, thought of this bishop to succeed him there. But this motion was not agreeable to the bishop of Lincoln’s mind, when he was made acquainted with it: for indeed he knew that would have been but of little advantage, and more expense to him; the revenue of that bishopric being little more, and the care of the diocese in respect of the largeness of it little less; and also, the trouble, by reason of the wayward people there to the established orders of the church, much more. Therefore, in answer to the lord treasurer, who had sent him a letter, importing the queen’s said purpose, he gave this discreet, modest, and wise answer.

“That he had received letters from his honour, touching her majesty’s gracious disposition to remove him from Lincoln to Norwich. That it had pleased God by her majesty’s goodness, to set him in place and calling far above his deserts or worthiness: for neither was there in him (as he humbly proceeded in his letter) any thing worthy such value of learning, nor any ability, sufficient to discharge so great a burden. Only this I may say, (*that* I may use his

own pious words,) in the fear of God, that whatsoever is in me, either in body or in mind, with God's gracious assistance, I have bequeathed to the service of his church and benefit of my country, when and where it shall seem convenient, not to myself but to them, whom he hath placed in authority to rule me.

"But that if the judgment might rest in himself, he had no desire to remove: and he trusted God's grace would so assist him, as he should never ambitiously seek and labour for removing, though it might turn greatly to his worldly benefit. That in this case that now he writ of, were he never so desirous for any respect to remove, he saw nothing that could incline him thereunto. The greatness of the charge and number of churches would be either little or nothing diminished. The troublesomeness and the danger of the diocese far greater than where he was then, as late experience had declared. The credit of the place nothing more: the benefit of the living no whit amended: the charges of the alteration very great; as his wisdom well knew; neither by his own poverty able to be sustained, nor by the benefit of the living to be recompensed.

"Wherefore he heartily desired his honour so to deal in this case, as her majesty might graciously spare him, and suffer him to be where he was, rather than to be translated. And thus he ceased, desiring God long to preserve his honour to his glory." Dated from Lincoln, the 8th of June, 1579.

Curtess, or Coortess, bishop of Chichester, was called upon by some at this time to deprive the vicar of Cuckfield, in his diocese, a very vile and vicious man, and to place a more worthy and sufficient man in his room; and charging the bishop himself, as it seems, with some neglect in his office and care of his diocese, in permitting such a minister to officiate in the parish; wherein the number of the communicants were eight hundred, and the inhabitants well affected to religion, and the living sufficient for a learned preacher. But as for the pastor he was informed against,

"That he was no better than *idolum*; void of all learning and discretion; a profaner of the sacrament, a depraver of preachers, a scoffer at singing of psalms, a common alehouse hunter, accused of incontinency, a maintainer of strumpets' causes, a seeker to witches, a drunkard, a quarreller and fighter; convicted for a common barrator; infected with a loathsome and contagious

disease: his talk was of ribaldry: *consignatus in natura*, and a contemner of her majesty's *laws* and justice." A hideous character indeed of a clergyman, if there were not some malice at the bottom.

The tidings of his behaviour came to court; as his accusation was brought into the ecclesiastical commission. Insomuch, that the lord treasurer had wrote to the bishop concerning the ill account he had heard of this man; done perhaps out of respect to the bishop, whose son, or relation at least, he was; (his name being Edmund Coortess;) having been charged, (as he told the bishop he had been informed,) both with insufficiency of learning, and also with evil demeanour. To which the bishop in answer, in respect of his sufficiency, writ, That he was ordained by the bishop of Ely; and that Dr. Whitgift was then *the positor*, [poser;] and that he had been a student at St. John's college.

This vicar had been summoned before the commissioners ecclesiastical; and as yet no sentence had passed against him: but remained still in his place. Whereat several persons, his parishioners, and gentlemen there, resorted unto the said lord treasurer, for the removal of so scandalous a person. That lord was moved upon these complaints to send again to the bishop, to suffer him to abide no longer in his living; since he had been blamed for that neglect.

To whom he gave this answer; "That his causes had *been* heard before archbishop Parker and bishop Sandes, and divers others, and yet the cause depended before the *high* commissioners in St. Paul's; and that from thence an inferior judge could not well call the same. And therefore, that he feared some men rather sought to alienate that honourable loving affection, which they knew or heard his lordship had borne to him of late, to his great comfort; than for any likelihood of ability in him [the bishop] to perform this request: and therefore had preferred this suit to his lordship. That if it were through ignorance, they dealt not in an unknown matter. That it was a love to his books, prayers, and preaching, his jurisdiction, and the disposition of other livings in his gifts, granted over to others. And that his only desire was to live in quiet. And so concluded, that he would not forget in his daily prayers to recommend his honourable services to God, his most merciful protection and direction. Dated from Cherisworth, the 30th of March, 1579."

CHAPTER 18.

Parry false: hath leave to go abroad, and give intelligence to the queen. Returns. His letters to the lord treasurer: and protestation of service: notwithstanding, privately reconciled at Paris. His earnest letters thence, to be employed. The family of love increase. Some account of the first rise of this sect here. Some of them in Colchester in queen Mary's reign. Free-will men. Christopher Vitelli comes from Delph to Colchester. Crinel's confession concerning him and his doctrine. Henry Nicolas, the founder of the family of love, his doctrines. Libertines. Their speculations. A book writ against them. Puritans. One of them expostulates with the lord Burghley. And that he should use more liberty of speech with the queen. The queen calls in her commissioners for concealments. Proclamations for the length of swords, bucklers, &c. Against carrying and shooting, in guns, &c. nor where the queen's residence should be. No coats or doublets of defence to be worn: nor pocket dags suffered. Proclamations about apparel. Letters from the privy-council for keeping Lent.

As for the state of religion now, I meet this year with some letters of William Parry; who had privately reconciled himself to the church of Rome, and was a sworn servant to the pope and his cause; and undertook for that purpose no less a villainy than to kill queen Elizabeth; having the encouragement of the pope, and one of the cardinals, to execute the same. For which barbarous design he suffered the death of a traitor in the year 1584. This man had earnestly requested (and that with solemn protestations of his zeal to the queen's service) of the lord treasurer Burghley, to travel abroad to do the queen service, as a spy and private intelligencer in the popish countries: which, he being a subtle, quick man, and of good parts, the queen had yielded unto. And some years before this, both from Rome and Siena, he had advertised the treasurer of such matters as he had heard and seen in those parts.

And now this man being come home, writ to that lord, that he was returned; and weary with his long journey, deferred his attendance upon his honour till his coming to court; and, (with glorious words,) that he would humbly wait upon the same, being most desirous to live and die in his good

favour, upon hope to be able to do his lordship some good service, [such] as he never intended to do or offer to any before that time; pretending some special matter, whatever it was.

Thus far he carried all things smooth, (but scarcely sin-aere,) till after his going abroad again into France, (which was soon after,) privately, and without the knowledge of any. And being at Paris, where he was reconciled, he still pretended all sincerity and faithful observance towards the treasurer. And this year, 1579, January 15, he excused his departure so suddenly and secretly. Writing,

“That his departure out of England might in reason leave cause of offence behind him; his necessity and his demeanour on that side might, and he trusted would, in part crave pardon for him. The rather, if it might please his lordship for his dutiful mind, and privy good-will borne (though not discovered) unto his lordship, to receive him into his lordship’s good favour and protection. And that having not, since the death of his very good lord and master, the earl of Pembroke, served or followed any besides her majesty, (whose faithful poor servant and subject he would ever be,) he hoped his lordship would not reject his humble suit; grounded upon no greater warrant than his desire to deserve well of him by such service as he should be able to do him hereafter.” And concludes, the better to conceal his treachery, and obtain his end, (viz. a good salary to maintain him abroad in the pope’s service,) “My good lord, pardon my plain nature, *if* I am at any time less ceremonious than your greatness or my duty do require. And be assured to find in me all plainness and truth:” [this damnable hypocrite hoping with this clause to impose upon the treasurer.] Adding, “That if it might stand with his good pleasure to bind him to such observations [there at Paris] that might do him service, he would do his duty, and endeavour to satisfy his lordship’s expectation. That in the mean time, and always, he would not fail dutifully to pray to God to bless him with long, happy, and healthful years.”

And this crafty man so artfully concealed his falsehood, that it seems this great statesman discovered it not: Parry from time to time sending him letters of intelligence from abroad: but serving in truth the popish interest all the while. Thus I meet with another letter of his writ the next year, 1580; therein endeavouring much to get employment under that lord. And

in another he writ, "That he was emboldened, as he did in his last, to lay before him his service: the service of such an one as studied daily, how, and in what sort he might best and most acceptably discover his readiness to honour and serve him." Divers other letters he sent to that lord in hypocrisy; soliciting for service, pretending great loyalty, and ambition of doing service to the queen; but in truth to serve the ends of the pope, and those that were of that church, and sworn enemies to her and her kingdom. The further relation whereof I shah reserve to the next year.

The queen and government were however watchful against papists, as well they might, to prevent dangers from them: who were very busy to destroy her, and seize her kingdoms, as well as to overthrow the reformed religion established. There were also great numbers of such disaffected in the kingdom. Which may be conjectured at by the numbers of such as were at this time in durance, in the prisons in London, Southwark, and Westminster; as in the Tower, in the Fleet, in the Marshalsea, in the King's Bench, in the White Lion, in Newgate, in the Counter, and the Gatehouse; likewise in the custody of the bishops of Ely and Rochester: and many more in the prisons of the several counties. A list whereof may be seen in the Appendix, taken from a paper of state.

The sect of the *family of love* (as they affected to call themselves) began now mightily to take place with many in this kingdom. They were especially observed to be in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Some that were the chief leaders, the bishop of Norwich took up, and laid in prison both in Norwich and Bury. Which notwithstanding, the report of their increase in those parts had caused the lords of the council to write to the bishop for the suppressing of them; as we have shewn before.

The sect and the followers thereof prevailing now and some years before, it may be worth relating somewhat of their history: which I shall take from writings and books of those times.

"The ancient and famous city of Colchester was, in the troublesome times of queen Mary's persecution, a sweet and comfortable mother of the bodies, and a tender nurse of the souls of God's children," (as I transcribe from a book printed this year in *confutation of this family*;) "*and* was at that time the more frequented, because it afforded many zealous and godly martyrs: who continually with their blood watered those seeds, which *by* the preachers of the word had been sown most plentifully in the hearts

of Christians in the days of good king *Edward*. This town, for the earnest profession of the *gospel*, became like unto the city upon a hill; and as a *candle* upon a candlestick, gave light to all those, who, for the comfort of their consciences, came to confer there, from divers places of the realm. And repairing to common inns, had by night their Christian exercises: which in other places could not be gotten.”

For proof whereof he refers the reader to that which was truly reported by Mr. *Fox*, in his book of Acts and Monuments. That at the King’s-head in Colchester, and at other inns in the said town, the afflicted Christians had set places appointed by themselves to meet at.

“Where, lest Satan should be thought to be idle, &c. he stirred up divers schismatical spirits: which, even in the great trouble of the church, sought to be teachers of that, whereof they had no understanding. And thereby turned the knowledge of God’s testimonies (which in many of them, though it was small, was somewhat) to vain and contentious jangling; whereby the dear saints of God were not a little disquieted. At such time especially as some of, them, being condemned to death, looked to taste of the same cup which had been in full measure poured out upon their brethren. For not only in the private assemblies here did these swarm, to pervert the right ways of the Lord, but also in divers prisons in London, they kept a continual hand: where they scattered their heretical doctrines among such as were committed for the love of the gospel.”

And these persons were the more dangerous, because they were such as had imbibed principles of Pelagianism, Arianism, and anabaptism; and endeavoured to infuse the same into those good men and women professing and suffering for the gospel: as will appear by and by from their doctrines.

Some of the chief among them were these two; John Kemp and Henry Hart: which two were informed against in queen Mary’s time by one Thomas Tye, a popish priest of Much Bently in Essex, near Colchester. These were those they *called free-will men*: for so they were termed of *the predestinators*; as the said Tye informed the bishop of London, in whose diocese they were. And there were thirteen articles drawn up, to be observed among their company, that adhered to them. Of this Henry Hart,

John Careless the martyr said, That he had shamefully seduced, beguiled, and deceived many a silly soul by his foul Pela-gian opinions, both in the days of king Edward and queen Mary. There were certain articles of Christian religion, which Careless had sent to Tymms, a prisoner for the gospel in the King's Bench: and these Hart undertook to confute. One Gybson was a companion of this Hart; who sought to pervert and turn from the true doctrine to Pela-gianism twelve godly Christians, that were martyrs. Kemp was a great traveller abroad in Kent, instructing and confirming the gospellers: whom Tye informed to be of the same sect; but slandered him, coming off perhaps from them, being vindicated by Mr. Fox; relating his godly and Christian doctrine. He was alive even in these times of queen Elizabeth, and a preacher in the Isle of Wight. Of this company also was one Trew of Kent: who albeit before, for the truth's sake, he lost his ears, for persuading the people from going to mass, yet afterwards happening in the company of Pelagians, he became a deadly enemy to Careless; as appears by Careless's examination, which he with his own hand penned in prison before he died; to be seen at large in the Book of Martyrs.

These errors were now improved, by occasion of the same and other doctrines, brought over from the very town where H. N. lived, and taught them: although his sect afterwards obtained here a more *lovely* name.

Christopher Vitells, a joiner by trade, with his complices, came nut of Delph in Holland, to Colchester, in the reign of queen Mary; and joined himself with the professors of the gospel there; and taught that the godly have in themselves free-will to do good; and could not away with *predestination*. Now concerning this Vitells, and the doctrines he broached, the confession of one Henry Crinel, that was then among the professors there, and heard his doctrines, but better instructed, will give account. His confession was as followeth:

“About the third year of queen Mary, anno 1555, at Michaelmas, or not much after, I Henry Crinel, of Wil-lingham in the county of Essex, came to the town of Colchester; where I happened into a common inn. The cause of my repair thither at that time was, that I was desirous to provide, that my conscience should not be entangled with the popish pitch. And being there, I met with divers of mine acquaintance; and also with strangers, who came thither, to confer concerning the safety of their consciences. Where William

Raven of St. Ives was: who came thither at that time with me, and was my bedfellow; having likewise fled, being in danger for religion. There we found, at our coming thither, one Christopher Vitells, a joiner: who, so far as I could at that time learn, held many strange opinions; and also taught divers points of doctrine scarce sound, and such as seemed to be before unheard of. The which joiner, (as he then privily dissembled, so since he hath been noted openly for his cunning wit and curious fantasies,) being, as it seems, weary of his occupation, left the craft of joining, and took unto him a new trade of life. So that of a simple scholar, he became a great and learned schoolmaster of the doctrine of a man who lived, as he said, beyond the seas, of a holy life and upright conversation. This man he praised very much, and reported many wonderful things of his angelic behaviour. Who afterwards I understood to be one Henry Nicolas, a mercer of Delph in Holland.

“The special points of heretical doctrine, that the said joiner did then and there teach, [and learned of the man aforesaid,] were these. First, That children ought not to be baptized until they come to years of discretion. Secondly, He found fault with the litany, in the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in king Edward’s time; affirming, that it was not the right service of God.

1. Because it was said, *God the Son, Redeemer of the world*: for, saith he, Christ is not God.

2. Because it is said, *Have mercy upon us, miserable sinners*: for the godly sin not, saith he: and therefore need they not to use that prayer.

Thirdly, He affirmed also, that the pope was not Antichrist. But he which doth not that which God’s law commandeth, neither fulfilleth the requiring thereof, he is Antichrist. And so are there many Antichrists.

“Furthermore; at the same time one John Barry, servant unto Mr. Lawrence of Barnehall in Essex, came to the same inn, to reason with the joiner about the *divinity* of Christ, which Vitells denied to be God. And after they had entered conference, alleged that place out of Philippians, chap. ii. 5. *Let the same mind be in you, which was in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God.* Yea, quoth Vitells, the same mind must be in you which was in Christ. And there he stopt him: which

words so often he repeated, that he put Barry to silence, and blanked him. So that he had not a word to say; to the great offence of divers; and especially of two women gospellers, who came with Barry, to hear him and Vitells confer about this matter. And to say the truth, Vitells babbling did so astonish divers there present, and myself also, that I was fully minded to go to Oxford to ask counsel of bishop Ridley and Mr. Latymer concerning that matter, had I not met with some men, to satisfy my conscience in the mean season.

“The which joiner at that time wandering up and down the country and towns, to visit his disciples, came to the *town* of Willingham, where I dwell; and sent for me to come to speak with him at an alehouse. But I sent him word, I would not come at him, nor have to do with him. This is very true. and so I testify with mine own hand. By me Henry Crinel of Willingham.”

This Vitells, the chief patriarch and great doctor of the *family of love*, afterwards recanted openly, and upon his repentance which he shewed, had been received into the church. But *the family* here denied it: though many then alive could aver it to be true.

Henry Nicolas, the father of this sect of the *family of love*, wrote a famous book, called *Evangelium regni*, mentioned before. Wherein were found these errors, blasphemies, and absurd doctrines and asseverations:

“That *the* day of the Lord (by him preached) is the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ in the resurrection from the *dead*. Wherein the law and the prophets, and all that *is* written of Christ, becometh fulfilled, Es. xxvi. c. 1 Corinthians xv.f. Luke xxiv. e. Further, he saith, he is the angel of the Lord, or messenger before him, for to prepare his way, Matth. iii. a. Matth. xi. b. and to publish *an* everlasting evangelie, Matth. xxiv. Apoc. xiv. unto all generations, languages, and peoples, according to these promises. He saith, the family is the *rest* of God from the beginning, for the people of God; and for all repentant persons: and is appeared in the last times, according to the promises.

“He permitteth to every nation what religion they will; so they held with his heresy of the love.

“He received this message of his *evangelie* from the mouth of God himself. He maketh the day of publishing his *evangelie* to be the

last coming of Christ in judgment, with thousands of saints. The day of the *love* is the last coming of Christ. That the ceremonial law is needful to be observed. That our baptism is but an handful of water. He denied the outward admission of *ministers*. That *the family* shall be in all perfection everlastingly upon earth: to the end, that God's will might be done in earth as it is done in heaven. That the Romish church hath obediently grounded itself on the services and ceremonies; which are the prefiguration of true Christianity and her services. Condemneth as many, as out of their knowledge, which they take out of the scriptures, had brought in certain services and ceremonies in any other wise and order, than the church of Rome appointed, [and they must be the protestants,] as unorderly rejecting and blaspheming the catholic church of Rome. That it is mere lies and untruth, which the scripture-learned, through the knowledge which they get out of the scriptures, institute, preach, and teach. In short, he saith, God raised him up (which lay altogether dead, without breath and life) from the death, anointed him with his godly being, named himself with him, godded *him* with himself."

These and many more of his wild sentences and opinions were collected out of his *evangelie*, or *gospel*, by a reverend author, and set down in his book, *A confutation of certain articles* against this sect, which we shall give account of by and by.

The *libertines* also came under the denomination of this *family*, and sprang from them. The sum of whose loose opinions, set down and gathered from their books by the abovesaid writer, take as follows.

1. They affirmed, that the preaching of the word was not the ordinary, means to come to the knowledge of the word; but by reason.
2. That no man that is faulty himself can preach the truth to others.
3. Those preachers which did take in hand to preach the word of God before man be regenerated, took the office of the Holy Ghost out of his hand.
4. Those that were doctors and learned could not preach the word truly the reason was, because Christ said, *It was hidden from the wise and prudent, and was revealed to sucklings and babes.*

- 5.** There was no Devil but such as the painters made.
- 6.** They which have the Spirit of God know all things.
- 7.** That we ought not to give our alms to beggars: for that they lived in the consumableness: and that there was no beggar in Israel.
- 8.** That marriage was a sacrament, and wonderful speculation.
- 9.** That there were mysteries and great speculations in the mass, if they could be attained unto: and that it was a God-service.
- 10.** Also, that the service that we had taken for a God-service was not so. And in so taking it, both they and we were deceived.
- 11.** That Adam did not sin at all. Their reason was, that Adam did not sin, but the woman.
- 12.** That there was no man God's child, but he that could shew his pedigree.
- 13.** That the martyrs in queen Mary's days ought not so to have died: for in so dying they destroyed the temples of God.
- 14.** That whosoever had God's Spirit could not sin. And that the prophet David did not sin after that time that he had received the Holy Ghost.
- 15.** That a man ought not to weary his body in travel and labour: for they said, the Holy Ghost would not tarry in a body that was weary and irksome.
- 16.** That where there was any contention, there was not the Spirit of God: for that the Spirit was not divided.
- 17.** That the witch, which raised up the Devil in the likeness of Samuel, was no witch, but the wisdom of God; and the spirit that she raised up was Samuel himself.
- 18.** That Adam was the son of God otherwise than by creation.
- 19.** That there were many books, besides the Bible, which Esdras speaketh of, that should be revealed and come abroad before the end.

20. That the Bible was not the word of God, but a signification thereof. And that it was but ink and paper: but the word of God was spirit and life.

21. That they might not speak the truth boldly and openly; because the truth would not be heard.

22. That there were some then living, which did fulfil the law in all points.

All these tenets were either found expressly asserted in their books, or confessed and owned by them in conference, as was ready to be testified by those that had talked with them. So strangely had the spirit of *enthusiasm* and *fanaticism* transported many in those days. And the principles so evidently glancing favourably towards the religion of popery, rather than that of the reformation, may give good ground to Conjecture that the hand of the enemy was in all this schism. And all this large historical account of the *family of love* shews, what reasons the queen had to send her letters to the bishop of Norwich, to take care for the suppression of this wild sect, as was related before: which notwithstanding got ground.

And now to come to this present year 1579, and to see what footing it had now gotten: this I take from the words of the writer of the Confutation, printed this year, in his epistle dedicatory to the bishop of Ely.

“The danger of this poison flowed from this *lovely family*. Of the heresy itself, in one word to utter the truth of that which almost by the experience and practice of three whole years [now it was September, 1579,] he had found to be true, that it was the most pestiferous and deadly heresy of all other. Because there was not almost any one particular *erroneous* and schismatical fantasy, whereof the *family of love* had not borrowed one branch or other thereof. The increase of it was great, and that daily; because the with-standers were not many. The defenders were wily as serpents, and would fain in life seem innocent and un-blameable. In profession of the one they boasted very much: of the other, they walking very closely, did justify themselves, because few had to find fault with them. Yet had they their loathsome spots and ugly deformities.

“Their books were many, disorderly and confusedly written, both for matter and manner of things delivered in them. Their phrases

were such as the scripture speaks of; *clouds without water, lightning without rain*. Their blossoms were as dust, and their fruit as rottenness.”

This familism could not be rooted out, (however absurd it was,) but it remained even to the last age; when one Randal was a preacher to these sectaries, in an house within the Spittle-yard without Bishopsgate, London, in the year 1645, teaching this very doctrine, and many people flocking after him. Which gave occasion to a book to be written against them in the said year, bearing this title A brief discovery of the blasphemous doctrine of familism: first conceived and brought forth into the world by Henry Nicolas of the Low Countries; and now very boldly taught by one Mr. Randal, and sundry others in and about the city of London: whom multitudes of people do follow, and which doctrine many embrace.

The disaffected to the communion of the church of England, and such as laboured after a discipline different from that established, were now very uneasy; having received several checks, and some of their leaders called up to answer for their disobedience. At this time they used their interest with the good lord Burghley. And he, though steady in the principles and practices of the church, yet recommended sometimes their causes to the bishops, whom it concerned, and so left them. I will specify the earnest letter of one of them, writ to him this year; with the arguments he thought fit to use to him, with a freedom not very decent, nor perhaps very acceptable to a person of his quality. Putting him in mind of his good education in his younger years; of his hearty embracing of pure religion; and withal, his frailty in too much compliance with the religion under queen Mary; checking him for his going along with this present queen, and those that laboured to hinder any further reformation of what was wanting towards the purity and fight discipline of the church: and exciting him now to more zeal for this, and to make more bold application to her majesty in that behalf. This man was one Prowd, parson of Burton upon Dunmore.

“*He tells him first of his bringing up in true religion: of things published by him, to the comfort of the brethren; which made him ever to love and reverence him in his heart. Of the report of him afterwards, that he had openly revolted from religion, to idolatrous service in queen Mary’s reign. By which he consented to all the blood of the prophets and martyrs then shed unrighteously. And that he came not to God’s persecuted church, [fled abroad into*

voluntary exile for the gospel,] that was not polluted with idolatry. For whose sake, and for the sufferings of the just, he persuaded himself, that he and all then in authority fared the better: that he confessed not his open fall into sin, nor asked mercy at God's hands for it, as others did. That afterwards he gave his consent to the building of God's church, not built in all points so perfect as the other, that was built without any lawful or godly magistrate; and left in those days for an example to have been followed. And that he was one of them that at the first maintained that for which many godly men lost their livings: and by little and little, by the practice of papists, good justicers displaced; profitable exercises put down: as likewise prayers and fastings sometimes used; where tears were shed for their own sins, and for the abomination of Jerusalem. And adding, that it was said likewise, that he feared to exasperate the prince, and to make her worse in religion. That he spared his plainness; and had not dealt with her so plainly from time to time as his knowledge required, both touching God's church and her own preservation, and the safety of the commonwealth, and the increase of God's gospel. Of all this he knew little but by hearsay. But that the knowledge of God and the benefit of his prince should move him to be bold and courageous; venturing his life for her, as she did daily for him. And When could he do God, and his prince and country, better service than now?"

At last he seemed to hint at the duke of Anjou, who was coming into the kingdom to court the queen; shewing his concern, lest his practice of popery here might be prejudicial to the state of religion; fearing that he was too well fixed in that religion, to make any promise or profession to the contrary. And all this letter he committed to his lordship's discretion: which as none but himself knew the writing of, so he might burn it, if he pleased. These are but short contents of this letter. The whole, from the very original, I have preserved in the Appendix; where it may deserve remark, how this man took upon him to judge, censure, rebuke, and counsel that great privy-counsellor.

Frequent wrongs had been done unto cathedral churches, colleges, hospitals, the companies in London, and other religious foundations, by means of commissions for concealed lands and possessions; obtained of her majesty by men that shewed themselves greedy of getting what they could by that means, whosoever suffered by it. Of this, great complaints had been

made to the lord treasurer, as we have in other places of this book, and elsewhere, related. This abuse came to the queen's ears. For the remedying whereof, she graciously set forth her proclamation, *for revoking certain commissions for penal statutes, about these concealments.*

Setting forth, "That she found great miscarriage in the execution of sundry her grants, made to divers persons touching certain penal statutes, made and set forth for the common benefit and utility of her people, and touching the obtaining and recovery of lands and tenements concealed, and of sundry bands, forfeitures, and other things pretended, to be unjustly withholden and concealed from her highness and her crown. By pretence whereof, she perceived a great number of her loving subjects, contrary to the intention of her said grants in many *cases*, (though not offending,) to have been greatly vexed and molested: and the law not thereby any thing the better executed, but in some parts rather impaired. Nor any such profit recovered or obtained to her highness, as upon such executions and concealments was pretended.

"That she, most graciously minding the common quiet and profit of her subjects, and willing to remove all occasions of such griefs to her people, as things whereof she always had had, and still hath, utter misliking, expressly willed and commanded, that the execution of all such special grants and commissions, made to particular persons touching the premises, and all commissions not being returned into any her majesty's courts of records, made upon and by virtue of any such grants, shall from henceforth cease. And that no new commissions upon any the grants aforesaid do from henceforth pass any her majesty's seals; nor any process or writ to be awarded, nor information from henceforth received, upon or by virtue of any such grant or commission.

"And further, no commissions, or commissioner, or other person whatsoever, already authorized to execute any such grant or commission, from henceforth to deal or proceed any further by inquisition or juries, examination of witnesses or certificate, or by any other ways and means whatsoever; to execute any the said grants or commissions, upon pain of imprisonment, and incurring her majesty's displeasure, &c.

“She prohibited all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, &c. as they tendered the avoiding her high displeasure, from henceforth to be in any wise aiding or assisting to the execution of any the said statutes or commissions. And the justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, &c. to attach and apprehend all and every such offenders that should presume to execute any of the said grants or commissions: and them to commit to the common gaol of the county, there to remain without bail or mainprise, until her majesty’s pleasure, &c.

“Provided nevertheless, that where, by means of the said grants, divers suits were already commenced by the parties, and some of them depending in sundry her majesty’s courts by way of information, or otherwise, at the charge of the said patentees, she being minded to put the same suits to some good end, with the reasonable conten-tation of her subjects; by virtue hereof authorized the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer of England, the chancellor of the court of exchequer, and the barons of the same court, or two of them, whereof the lord chancellor to be one, for all causes determinable in the chancery; and the lord treasurer one for all causes determinable in the exchequer: to hear, order, end, and compound all the said causes, as should stand with equity, to the quiet of the parties molested, and the reasonable satisfaction of the patentees. Dated at Greenwich, the 15th of December; the 22d year of our reign.”

To this proclamation let me add two or three more, published this year. One was for *the length of swords and daggers*, &c. for the better prevention of shedding of blood. This was but the proclaiming again of the branch of a former proclamation, published the 12th of February, in the eighth year of the queen’s reign, anno 1566, concerning swords, daggers, rapiers, and bucklers: commanded by her highness to be put in execution; and of all her loving subjects to be obeyed and kept, upon pain of her majesty’s high indignation, and the penalty in the same contained. The branch or clause of the said proclamation was:

“Item, Her majesty ordereth and also commandeth, that no person shall wear any sword, rapier, or such like weapon, that shall pass the length of one yard and an half a quarter of the blade at the utmost; nor any buckler with any point or pike above two inches in length. And if

any cutler or other artificer shall sell, make, or keep in his house, any sword, rapier, dagger, or such like, contrary hereunto, the same to be imprisoned and make fine at the queen's majesty's pleasure; and the weapon forfeited. And if any such person offend a second time, then the mine to be banished from that place and town of his dwelling. Given at our palace at Westminster, the 12th of February, in the 22d year of our reign."

The queen also shewed her care of her peaceable subjects, by issuing out her proclamation in the month of July, the year before, viz. the 21st of her reign, against carrying pocket pistols, called *dags*, handguns, harquebusses, cali-vers, and coats of defence. And for the preventing her good subjects being abused or wronged, travelling abroad in their lawful callings, she would not suffer any to carry such private arms. And this was issued out for the further direction and more effectual taking place of some former proclamation.

The purport of this proclamation was, "That the disorder was grown very great in common carrying of dags, pistols, and such like, not only in cities and towns, but in all parts of the realm in common highways; whereby her majesty's good, quiet people, desirous to live in peaceable manner, were in fear and danger of their lives, to travel abroad for their necessary business, by means of the multitude of the evil-disposed, that commonly carried such offensive weapons; being in time of peace only meet for thieves, robbers, and murderers. Whereupon, upon the general complaint made by the multitude of her peaceable people, she gave strait charge to all manner of officers, to whom the execution of the former proclamation did appertain, that they should with speed take order, how the contents of the said proclamation might be speedily put in due execution. And to that end she commanded all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, &c. to assemble themselves to some accustomed places; and there to set special order, and appoint special ministers to inquire of the default of the execution of the foresaid proclamation, and to provide duly for the execution thereof.

"She took notice also of great disorder grown of common carrying abroad, in towns and fields, great pieces, as harquebusses, calivers, &c. under colour of learning, or exercising to shoot therein, to the service at muster, appointed in sundry counties, for the common

service of the realm. A matter to be in good sort favoured; but not to be misused. But through the general carrying of them in places not appointed for such musters, and by frequent shooting with them in and near cities, towns corporate, or the suburbs thereof, many harms did ensue, and occasions like to increase of great danger by such liberty, permitted for the use of such offensive weapons: therefore she forbade all to shoot in these great pieces; in any manner of handgun, harquebuss, &c. charged with bullets, or without, in any place, but only in and at the places that are or should be appointed for common musters, by the direction of the commissioners for general musters; or else at and in such places as are or should be appointed for meet places, either within great cities, or the suburbs, or in places far from towns of habitation; for the exercise of shooting in such pieces.

“No persons also should use any shooting in any small pieces, within two miles of any house where her majesty should reside, during the time of her majesty’s residing. And she charged the marshal of her house to be careful, by himself and his ministers, to see the due observation thereof. And if he should find any to offend therein, not only to commit him to prison, but to advertise the queen or her privy-council thereof; that some further extraordinary punishment might be extended upon such audacious persons, as should adventure to offend so near the place where her majesty’s person should be.

“Divers of late also wore privy coats and doublets of defence: thereby intending to quarrel and make frays upon others unarmed: and to presume audaciously to apparel themselves with the same privy armour, not only within cities, towns, and public assemblies, but within her majesty’s court. Which was to the great offence and contempt of her highness, and to the hurt of divers her majesty’s good subjects. Therefore she expressly did prohibit all and every of her subjects whatsoever, the wearing of any such private or secret kind of coat or doublet of defence.

“And she charged all manner of ottilcers in cities, towns, and other places, to make search for all manner of small dags, called *pocket dags*, as well in any man’s house to be suspected for the same, as in

the shops and houses of artificers that used to make the same And also them shall seize, and take into their custody.

“None to make or amend, or to bring into this realm any such dags, commonly called *pocket dags*, or such like, upon pain of imprisonment. And wheresoever any have made any such smallshot, to be bound in reasonable sums to the queen, not to make nor put to sale, or otherwise utter any such small pieces as were commonly called *pocket dags*, or that may be hid in a pocket, or like place about a man’s body, to be hid or carried covertly, &c.

“Her officers that had authority to inquire of the breach of her majesty’s peace, to assemble themselves presently, and so monthly, between this and Christmas next. And there by a jury of sufficient persons to be sworn, or by *other* ministers, to be by them deputed, to inquire of the observation of all the points herein contained. Given at our manor of Greenwich, the 26th of July, the twenty-first year of our reign.”

That which gave occasion to this was two accidents that happened about that time; which highly provoked the queen, and justly moved her; (as well as her regard to her honest subjects, for their safe and quiet passing abroad about their lawful occasions:) one was, the discharging of a piece while the queen was in her barge with the French ambassador, going to Greenwich; which wounded one of her bargemen: the other was, a pistol shot at some one person of quality not far off the court.

A proclamation came forth also this year (as there had been divers before) about *apparel*, for checking the exorbitances and expenses thereof, and for preserving a distinction in the queen’s subjects according to their different qualities. This was entitled, *A proclamation, with certain clauses of divers statutes and other necessary additions*; first published in the nineteenth year of the queen: and now revived by her highness’ commandment, to be put in execution, upon the penalties in the same contained. This bore date the 12th of February, the twenty-second year of the queen. Another proclamation for apparel was set forth in the year 1577, with certain additions of exceptions. And before that, in the year 1565, dated in February, the eighth year of her reign; of which I have taken notice elsewhere.

Another proclamation was set forth, occasioned by slanderous speeches and books published against the duke of Anjou, that was come over to court the queen. This may be read before.

Care was taken yearly for the due observation of Lent, and for abstaining from killing and eating flesh during that season. And proclamations from time to time were issued out for that purpose. But this year a strict letter was sent from the lords of the privy-council to her majesty's justices of the peace, for the pressing and better observance of the same. The minutes whereof (being reviewed and corrected in many places by the lord Burghley's own hand) do follow; viz.

"After our hearty commendations. Albeit that it were to be looked for, that the considerations of yourselves, having charge hereto, and her majesty's former proclamations and commandments also, from year to year expressed by our letters, in a matter so necessary for good order, and so beneficial to the commonweal, should move *you* to have care to the due keeping of abstinence from eating flesh in the Lent, and the days appointed for the forbearing thereof; yet seeing by sundry means we are *given* to understand, how negligently the same is looked unto in sundry parts of this realm; and especially in inns *and* taverns, common tables, tippling and victualling-houses; and that by sufferance and impunity thereof such licentiousness is rather increased than repressed:

"*It* hath been thought necessary, and so it is precisely commanded by her majesty, that you should be now eftsoons straitly charged, more severely to see unto your duty in this behalf. And not only to have care to put in execution her majesty's said proclamation, and such orders as have been heretofore appointed against the killing, dressing, and eating of flesh in those times, and in such common houses of assembly; but also to devise, by all other good means, how the offenders in this case may be restrained and punished for such disorders. And in that part we think you should do very well to appoint special persons, being thereto well disposed, to use searches weekly, or oftener, in the towns and thoroughfares, where inns, and such common houses for eating and drinking, are kept; at such times as there shall be any suspicion that there is any offence committed in the case aforesaid." [All this that follows is the lord Burghley's own hand.]

“And upon knowledge of the breach of good order in this case, to cause open punishment, not only of such as shall eat meats so prohibited, but of the housekeepers and utterers. And for more punishment, if they be victuallers, besides imprisonment, to discharge them from victualling; and there to bind them for more terror And where you shall think it also convenient, upon any probable suspicion, either of butchers or victuallers, to bind them in some good sums of money to her majesty’s use, not to offend in this behalf: and in the rest to follow the orders prescribed in the former proclamations and letters sent for that purpose.”

CHAPTER 19.

Books published this year. A Confutation of the principles of the family of love; by William Wilkinson: and another by J.

Knewstubs. A book in answer to the assertion, that the church of Rome is the true and catholic church. The Gaping Gulph; by J. Stubbs. His letters wrote with his left hand. Some further account of him and his abilities. Plutarch's Lives set forth in English by sir Thomas North. Catalogue of the bishops of Exon. A book of Simples and Surgery, by William Bullein. Egyptians and Jews pretending to do cures by palmistry and charms in these times. Richard Bul-lein, a divine and physician. Hugh Broughton, fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge; outed of his fellowship (founded by king Edward) wrongfully. His remarkable case. The decision of a college statute; being the ground of this contention. One undertakes to make saltpetre. One offers to fortify the seaports of England and Ireland. The names of the queen's privy-counsellors.

Now I proceed to the mention of divers books that came forth this year: and some accounts thereof, and their authors; with some other private matters incident.

One was writ against the sect of the *family of love*; of which several things have been said already. It bore this title, *A confutation of certain articles, delivered unto the family of love: with the exposition of Theophilus, a supposed elder of the said family, upon the same articles. By William Wilkinson, M.A. and student in divinity. Printed by John Day, dwelling under Aldersgate, 1579.* To this book the bishop of Ely gave his own testimonial in these words:

“Perusing over this little treatise of Mr. Wilkinson, I could not but allow his diligence and painful travel in this heretical and schismatical world. And I would heartily wish of God, that our church of England might be well weeded from those two great errors. For it is high time.

***Richard Ely.*”**

To this bishop he makes the dedication of his book. And the rather, because, he said, within the Isle of Ely, and elsewhere within his

lordship's diocese, divers did suspect that to be true which common fame reported, that daily those increased: which in the end, he feared, might wonderfully disquiet (as it had already began in divers places) and molest the church of God.

In the epistle to the reader, he tells him of what principle he was; viz.

“One that heartily desired the promotion and furtherance of God’s true religion; the increase of a true faith, the fear of God, the quietness of our English church, and the utter ruin and abolishing of all papistry, atheism, and heretical sects and schisms whatsoever.”

And that which gave occasion to his writing this book was, that he reading certain books of H. N. and conferring with certain of that *lovely family* in the Isle of Ely, was by them requested to set down unto them in writing, for his further instruction, those doubts, which he did not understand, either by the means of the unusualness of their method in writing, or the novelty of their far-fetched phrases, or their wrong and wrested allegories, or their divinity not heard of; all in an affected rough-trotting style.

His method was this. In the beginning of his book he set down, *A brief view of the heresies and errors of H. N.* under fourteen articles; which he confutes in his ensuing treatise. First, That we have no church. Secondly, That we have no truth. Thirdly, We have no baptism. Fourthly, We have no forgiveness of sins. Fifthly, We have no ministry. Sixthly, Concerning being united and godded with God. Seventh, What he saith of himself, and his extraordinary calling. Other articles were concerning his revelations: of shrift used in *his family*: that he disliked the preaching of the word; and what he termed it. That it was lawful for those of *the family* to dissemble. He makes God the author of sin; and the sinner guiltless. This is in short the sum of those articles that Wilkinson gathered out of H. N.’s book; which he exhibited unto a friend of his to be conveyed unto *the family of love*, that he might be certified of the doubts in them contained. At length one who called himself Theophilus, sent him answers to them with a letter, and an exhortation annexed; beginning thus:

“To the collector of these after expressed articles, that out of his malicious mind perverted the sense and true mind of the author, and framed sundry of them into errors; and to the rest of his assistants in these and such uncharitable dealings, wheresoever they be, greeting.”

Wilkinson replies to Theophilus paragraph by paragraph; and proves his assertions out of their own books. And concludes his book by a short tract, consisting of *Notes to know an heretic*, especially an *anabaptist*, [whose opinions this *family* espoused,] with the opinions and behaviour of them out of divers authors. And particularly Bullinger; who shewed the several sorts and sects of them: as *anabaptists*, *apo-stolics*; such used no weapon, staff, wallet, shoes, money, &c. They preached on housetops, &c. Anabaptists, *spiritual*, *sinless* anabaptists: anabaptists, that use to hold their peace, and pray: anabaptists *enthusiasts*; that boasted much of the Spirit and revelation. Gross and impure anabaptists, called *free-brethren*; *libertine* anabaptists. The anabaptists of Munster; that despised and spoke against magistrates.

Another book, in quarto, came forth this year against the same *family*, by J. Knewstubs: called, *A confutation of certain monstrous and horrible heresies, taught by H. N. and embraced by a number who call themselves the family of love*. Dedicated to the right honourable Ambrose earl of Warwick, master of her majesty's ordnance. In this epistle he commended unto his honourable care

“the redress of a dangerous enormity, which of late had broken out in this land: he meant this *atheism*, as he called it, brought in by H. N. and that his household, who would be called *the family of love*. And that this service, which his honour might do unto God, would be great: and that the cause so nearly touching the glory of God, he was in good hope, that this which had been said by him would sufficiently persuade his honour to enter into some speedy care and consideration to suppress so great and grievous a danger.”

Such were the apprehensions of this sect at this time.

The same author set forth another book, against another sort of errors: being an answer to certain *assertions*, tending to maintain the church of Rome to be the true and catholic church. It was dedicated to those gentlemen in Suffolk, whom the *true worshipping of God had made right worshipful*. This book was occasioned by one who had drawn up certain assertions, and required Knewstubs (in way of challenge) to answer them. But after he had made his answer, the other, who gave him the said assertions, would not vouchsafe the reading of them: perhaps lest he should be convinced. Whereupon he was advised by some of his friends to publish them. Of these *assertions*, the first was this:

“It is an article of our faith, to believe the catholic church; whose schoolmaster is the Holy Ghost. And therefore in the Creed that article is placed next to the article of the belief of the Holy Ghost. By whose continual instruction and assistance being directed, she cannot err in matters of faith. For, as St. Paul saith, she is *columna et firmamentum veritatis*. So that we are all bound here to believe and obey: yea, however it seem to our sense and understanding.”

This is a taste of these *assertions*, which that learned man thought fit to answer, and to make public his answers to.

Now came forth also that famous book (mentioned before) of J. Stubbs against the French match, monsieur being then come into England; which highly provoked the queen, as well as reproached that prince. It was entitled, *The discovery of a gaping gulph; wherein England is like to be swallowed by another French marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banns, by letting her see the sin and punishment thereof*. Therein is this expression:

“Her majesty’s father, king Henry the Eighth, had a law passed by parliament in his time, that whoso had unlawfully known that woman with whom he was like to marry, and did not before marriage come and bewray it, should, upon the matter afterward detected, be holden little better than a traitor. His care to have a good woman was Christian and royal. He wist well, as the preamble of those statutes purposed, besides the private contentation to himself, that as well the sins of fathers and mothers, as the plague of their sins, descended to the children. And considering the children were to be left governors of the land, (which so also might have part in the punishment,) his care was so much more to be approved, because it was also for the commonweal.” Reflecting by these words upon the dissolute life of monsieur.

These and many such like expressions were so provoking, that a proclamation was issued out, as was shewn before, against the book; wherein it was styled, “*a lewd, seditious book*, rashly compiled, and secretly printed; and afterwards seditiously dispersed into sundry corners of the realm; containing an heap of slanders and reproaches against the said prince; bolstered up with manifest lies,” &c. and a great deal more contained in that proclamation.

I meet with a letter of this Stubbs to his friend and camerade, Mr. Michael Hicks, then of Lincoln's Inn, (of which inn of court Stubbs was,) writ with his left hand, his fight being cut off; being yet a prisoner in the Tower: subscribing himself, after his name, *Sceva*; as he usually did at the end of his letters, of which I have seen some.

Part of this letter was in these words:

"I recommend me to you, and your honest crew, [some of their society in Lincoln's Inn.] The Lord make you all to increase in ability and hearty will to serve the Lord and his church. Farewell to all Pray for your old restrained friend, that he may never commit any thing unworthy any your godly acquaintances, or that should make you ashamed to *acknowledge* him to be that he is, your loving and faithful fellow,

John Stubbe, Sceva."

Another letter of his, writ with his left hand, the next year was dated in July, 1581, being then at Thelmeton in Norfolk, [or Thelveton.] Wherein he writes with a great sense of religion, and purpose of a more strict behaviour towards God; with counsel of the like import to Mr. Hicks, his foresaid old friend. Whose conversation, with some other gentlemen, used to be more facetious and airy: writing thus familiarly:

"I pray thee, good Michael, pray for me, that after so much time to no purpose spent, I may now give myself from such delights or companions which are vain, and have no furtherance in them to godliness; but rather draw back from an earnest profession thereof. And that now, after forty years almost of my vain life, I may redeem the time, by giving myself seriously to a sincere profession of Christ: so as I may feel the power of his death and resurrection in my soul and body. That I may give continually some time to an ordinary and standing exercise of the word. That I may choose the godly, and none other, to be my company; and to be ashamed to have any other for my near familiars. That, finally, I may determine upon some certain calling; wherein to serve the Lord, and my country, where I dwell. Pray this for me, and I will pray also the same for you. If you have leisure, write again. The Lord direct you in all these by his holy Spirit, and keep you ever his. Thelmeton, 22d of July, 1581. By your own and constant friend,

John Stubbe, Sceva."

I transcribe the whole letter, for the substance of it, as well as the writing; proceeding from such a memorable as well as unhappy gentleman, more out of honest zeal than malice. I add, that he was sometime of Bene't college in Cambridge, and removed thence to Lincoln's Inn. His acquaintance and associates there were of the more learned and ingenious sort: as Drury, Blyth, Spenser, Brenthwait, Cal-thorp, Southwel, and Mr. Hicks, afterwards one of the secretaries of the lord treasurer Burghley. All whom he styles, in one of his letters, "his good masters of the bar, and friends of Lincoln's Inn." And how well he was esteemed, before he fell into his troubles, may appear by a letter written by Robert Southwel from Venice, in his travels, to his friend, the said Mr. Hickes, in the year 1575.

"I know none that in every account I reckon of more, than of yourself; or unto whom I am more beholden: joining with you Mr. Stubbs. Which as I would choose for commissioner of the weightiest cause that ever shall behap me, &c."

And the esteem that he had afterwards for his learning and abilities may appear hence, that the lord treasurer chose to employ him some years after in answering a popish book, of great vogue in those times, called, *The English Justice*, written by cardinal Allen, Upon the execution of certain popish traitors. Which book was answered by this man. And the copy being finished, the aforesaid lord thought fit to have it carefully reviewed first, and examined by some judicious persons, before it should be published. For which purpose he desired two learned civilians, Dr. Byng and Dr. Hammond, to peruse it, and give him their judgment of it; which accordingly they did: and the account they gave thereof, take from their own letter; viz.

"*Our* humble duties premised; according to your lordship's commandment, we have perused the treatise written by Mr. Stubbs in defence of the English justice, erewhile impugned by a Rhemish Romanist. The author's travel had so well throughout acquitted itself, as it little needed any censure, much less ours. Nevertheless, sith your lordship was pleased to have it reviewed, we have joined in *conference* With the writer about such places as might seem to have most occasion of doubt. Touching the work, it is more than time, in our opinion, it were abroad; not only for the better staying of such weak ones, as may lightly be carried away with fair shows

of the adversary, but also for the repressing of some insolent vaunts, lately given out by petty pamphleteers of that Romish faction, who had dared so highly to magnify that popish libel; as though it were for workmanship unmatchable, and for sound matter uncontrollable by ours. But, God be thanked, it is ripped in sunder; and the rottenness of every member in such sort discovered, as all their shifting surgery will never recure it.

“For the rest, we have not further to say; but referring all to your honourable wisdom, we humbly take our leave, and commit your good lordship to the blessed protection of the Almighty. The 11th of July, 1587.

Your lordship’s humbly at commandment,
Tho. Byng, Jo. Hammond.”

To these books already mentioned, let me add one or two more, that appeared in print this year.

One was Plutarch’s *Lives*; translated into English by sir Thomas North, from the French, done by Amiot, abbot of Belloczane: with his epistle dedicatory to the queen. Wherein he gave her this compliment:

“Though this book be no book for your majesty’s self, who are meeter to be the chief story, than a student therein; and can better understand it in Greek [in which language it was writ by the author] than any man can make it in English.” In the epistle to the reader he hath these words in commendation of history; “All other learning is private, fitter for universities than cities; fuller of contemplation than experience; more commendable in students there, than profitable unto others. Whereas *stories* are fitter for every place; reach to all persons; serve for all times; teach the living; revive the dead.”

Now came forth a Catalogue of the bishops of Exeter; collected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gent. concluding with John Wolton; preferred to that bishopric, and consecrated by archbishop Grindal, August, 1579: a professor of divinity, and a preacher of the gospel, and universally seen in all good letters. So his character there ran. This Catalogue is transferred into Holinshed’s *Chronicle*.

A book of Simples and of Surgery was set forth also now; though writ divers years before, viz. in the year 1562, by the author William Bullein; published, it seems, now after his death. By this book it appears, there were in those early times quacks and empirics; called by him dog-leeches, and Egyptians, and Jews: all pretending to the telling of fortunes, and curing by charms. That author thus describes them.

“*They* [dog-leeches] buy some gross stuff, with a box of salve, and cases of tools, to set forth their slender market withal, &c. Then fall they to palmistry, and telling of fortunes; daily deceiving the simple. Like unto the swarms of vagabonds, Egyptians, and some that call themselves Jews: whose eyes were so sharp as lynx. For they *see* all the people with their knacks, pricks, *domifying* and figuring, with such like fantasies. Feigning that they have familiars and glasses; whereby they may find things that be lost. And beside them are infinite of old doltish witches, with blessings for the fair, and conjuring of cattle. And that is the cause that there is so much idleness, and infidelity is practised in this ill estate, &c. These be worse than the subtle limitours and begging friars, which deceived many through hypocrisy, and more hurtful than the crafty pardoners; which preached remission of sins in every parish church, with bells, and pardons from Rome. These be worse than vagabonds, beggars, robbing the *peo-pie*: nay, more hurtful than private murderers, in killing men for lack of knowledge.”

This William Bulleiu, in his said book, takes occasion to mention his brother Richard Bullein, a divine by profession, but a learned physician also; living in the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign. Who practised the art chiefly in Christian charity, for the comfort and relief of the poorer sort. Whose memory therefore deserves a line or two in our history. Of whom he gives this account:

“That he was a zealous lover of physic; more for the consolation and help of the afflicted sick people, being poor, than for the lucre and gain of the money of the wealthy and rich. And that although he professed comfortable cordials and heavenly medicines for the soul, being a divine, yet he had good experience of many infirmities and sicknesses infecting the body of mankind; and had done many good cures.” And speaks particularly of his medicine for the gravel in the reins, and for the stone. And promised, if it pleased God, that

it should hereafter come abroad to the profit of the commonwealth of the English nation. And then this writer sets down particularly his brother's receipt of a syrup for the stone, and an electuary, pills, and plaister. Both these brothers lie buried in Cripplegate church; where were inscriptions upon their grave-stones.

This gives occasion to descend to some remarks on two or three other persons, (and they of the university,) which this year brings to my hand. Dr. Hatcher, of King's college in Cambridge, came on vice-chancellor this year. He was an old acquaintance of the lord Burghley, the high chancellor. And as well in respect to him, now chosen his vice-chancellor, as of his care towards the good state of that place of learning, wrote this friendly as well as hortatory letter to him; all in his own hand.

“After my very hearty commendations to you. By your letter of the 7th of the last month, I received advertisement from you of the choice made of you to be vice-chancellor of that university for this year following. Whereof I was very glad to understand: not doubting, but that, both for the particular knowledge I have of you myself; *and* the rather also for the good approbation of the university, who by general consent have chosen you to that place; you will so execute that place, as it requireth, and *as* my hope and desire is. Wherein, as you shall have need in any cause to use mine assistance, you shall find me ready, according to my wonted manner. And so I bid you heartily farewell. From my house at the Strand, this *first* of December, 1579.

Your loving old friend,
W. Burghley.”

This Dr. Hatcher is memorable in King's college for a Catalogue which he drew up of *all the provosts, fellows, and scholars of the King's college of the blessed virgin Mary and St. Nicolas in the university of Cambridge*: being a manuscript; and containing historical collections of such of that college, their characters, places, and preferments, unto the year 1563, but carried on and continued by some other hand. The first person set down was William Millington, born at Pockington, in the county of York, Dr. of divinity, elected from Clare-hall, by our royal founder, king Henry VI. April 10, 1443, to be first provost, &c.

A cause happened this year concerning a fellowship of Christ's college in Cambridge, possessed by Hugh Broughton: out of which, after some years' enjoyment of it, he was ejected by Dr. Hawford, the master. The cause may deserve to be recorded, both in respect of the eminency of the person, being one of the greatest scholars in Christendom, both for Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Talmudical learning; and likewise for the cause itself, being about a fellowship, granted to that college by king Edward VI. The master, in his proceeding against Mr. Broughton, went upon a common statute of that college; and subjecting the new fellowship to the rest of the statutes. One whereof was, that there should be no two fellows at the same time there, that were born in the same county. And it appearing, that Broughton was chosen into this fellowship, there being one of the same county with himself fellow before; on this ground he was thrown out of his fellowship by the master, two or three fellows consenting herein with the master; though more of the fellows consented not. The master urged also, that he had not taken orders; which was required by statute.

Mr. Broughton had appealed to the high chancellor of that university in his hard case. And he had writ favourably to the master in his behalf. But he would not comply, as he pretended, against the statute; being about also to send up some to his lordship, to shew the reason for what he had done. On the contrary, these things following were urged on Broughton's side: That his fellowship was peculiar, and different from the other fellowships of the college, subject to those statutes. That indeed it was designed for a student in physic. And that there was a box of writings, that settled the terms of that fellowship: which box, with the writings in it, was lost in the way to Cambridge, to have been brought to bishop Ridley, when he was come to be visitor there. He pleaded further, that there had been formerly two fellows of that house of the same county; whereof one enjoyed king Edward's fellowship. All this Broughton gave the high chancellor to understand in a letter, which he himself composed and sent, being himself then at Durham, that so he might the better understand the constitution thereof; when Dr. Hawford's messengers were coming up, to give his own reasons to the said chancellor. But to see the business more fully, I have repositied that learned man's letter in the Appendix: desiring justice against the master wrongfully depriving him.

This being an university matter, and depending for some years after, let me say a few things more concerning it. The lord Burghley, their said chancellor, upon his understanding of this cause, had writ two or three

letters back to the college; which were favourable in Broughton's behalf: namely, that equity made on his side, [however the rigour of the statute seemed to be against him.] And that if king Edward were alive again, *silere leges potius mallet, quam utilitas collegii et dignitas academiae suprema lex non esset*. So was that lord's prudent and incorrupt judgment of it.

And as the master, with four of the fellows, had by their letters given the chancellor their reasons for the depriving of him; so the rest of them, being eight, (who were against this proceeding,) and with whom this fellow had a great esteem for his learning, wrote their letters also to the same, shewing what their thoughts were; being excited thereunto, that so good and probable a cause might receive no damage by their silence. And therein they took notice how his lordship had patronised this man's cause: which exceedingly rejoiced them.

They wrote also another letter to sir Walter Mildmay, That he would not suffer *alumnum suum* [his scholar, one that was (it seems) maintained by him, or had some exhibition from him, for reading a Greek lecture perhaps in the college] to be thus pulled away from the bosom of their college, to their great calamity; partly, because of his great skill in Greek, *Graios musarum agros colentem*. And such a value they had for him, that they wrote also to his brother, a lawyer; that he would do the part of a brother, and defend his brother's cause. And to Mr. Hugh Broughton himself, then being at Durham, that he would come up and return, the better to manage his own cause. But his want of health hindered him. And when the master Pronounced him not fellow, these fellows did severely and sharply resist him; as well because they thought it inhuman and unjust to do such an act, *indicts causa*, as because by right, and upon very just causes, they reckoned him fellow; and bare very hard the loss of such an one. But take all this more perfectly in their own words, in a well-composed letter in Latin, with their own names subscribed, set in the Appendix.

But finally, when this cause could no otherwise be adjusted, Dr. Hawford refusing to revoke what he had done, in the year 1581, it came to an effectual determination by the vice-chancellor, and two other heads of the university, by their interpretation of that college statute, by which the said master had proceeded: there being a statute, that made it to belong to the vice-chancellor, and two other heads of houses, (ordinary visitors of that college,) to define and determine the sense of any statute in doubt. So Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, adjoined to himself John Bell and Robert Norgate,

doctors of divinity, in this affair. The question was, Whether he that was designed for that fellowship of king Edward's foundation, is held to be of any particular county, as prescribed in a statute of that college; or may be freely taken out of any county, or of such a county, of which some other fellow before was found to be; or not? Their judgment was in the negative; viz. That the statute did not oblige him that had this fellowship to be of any particular county. The college also produced abundant testimony of their custom, from the first founding of the said fellowship, to have been always, or for the most part, so observed by them, (which was the best interpreter of law.) In which college two of the same county had been admitted, upon the account and privilege of that royal foundation.

And so the said vice-chancellor and doctors did interpret and declare the words of the forementioned foundation.

“That it shall be lawful for the masters and fellows of that college to choose a worthy and learned man for fellow into that foundation, *nulla comitatus habita ratione, ex quo sit oriundus*: whether he alone be of any county, or any other before him be found to be fellow of the same county with him.” And then another question among them was, “Who, of all the fellows, was to be held king Edward's fellow?”

The vice-chancellor declared that to be the place which Mr. Hugh Broughton lately had, and him that afterward should succeed in his room. And upon this judgment the chancellor sent to Dr. Hawford for Broughton's readmittance to his fellowship. But whatever the reason was, he returned no more (I think) to the college. And though this matter of that fellowship seemed so firmly settled by that decision, yet I find the same contest arose in that college but about four years after, concerning one Osborn, who had obtained king Edward's fellowship. And then it went the other way.

The names of two or three more occur this year, being persons eminent for their great skill in providing necessities for the strength and defence of the kingdom. One of these was one Leonard Engelbreght. The lord treasurer Burghley had before promoted the making of saltpetre in England; knowing the great use of it; in order to the being ever in a posture of war, since the queen and kingdom had enemies round about them. For this purpose he treated some years past with the said Engelbreght, a gentleman, born at Aken in Germany: who required a commission from the queen, for

the making of it within her dominions; and power to sell his saltpetre within the realm, at his most profit, for the space of twenty years; preferring always the queen's majesty's service with such quantities as should be requisite for her, before all others. And that the rest he might transport with the queen's licence. And to give the tenth pound in weight of all such saltpetre to be made by him or his. [This that follows is added by the lord treasurer's hand.] And if he do not continue yearly in the making of saltpetre, so as her majesty may have sufficient quantities for her service, then the licence to cease.

This seemed not to take effect. For the same lord treasurer, in this year, 1579, agreed for the making saltpetre with one Cornelius Stevenson, another foreigner, by articles between the queen and him; viz. a lease to be made from her to the said Cornelius, of a portion of ground in the east bailiwick of the New Forest, in the county of Southampton, lying together, commonly called Asshers. Whereof fifty acres were set thinly with beeches, oaks, thorns, holly: and three hundred and fifty acres waste ground, of heaths and furzes. This he was to have and enjoy fifty years; if he, or any of his seven sons, should live so long: yielding and paying unto her majesty and heirs the yearly rent of 10*l*. And to deliver at the town of Southampton twenty ton of salt-petre, good, perfect, and well refined, for the sum of 40*l*. for every ton. And to deliver to her majesty twenty ton, before the feast of John Baptist, 1580. And to deliver yearly the same quantity at the said feast If at any time the queen may have any quantity of saltpetre, of like goodness, delivered at the city of London upon a less price than 40*l*. the ton; then Cornelius, or his assigns, to deliver all the saltpetre he shall make at the same price If he make defect in delivering yearly the same quantity, then the lease to be void.

And for the more probability of its taking effect, sir Edw. Horsey, governor of the Isle of Wight, wrote to the lord treasurer, about May 25, this year, that Cornelius had made a good quantity of saltpetre; which he saw himself in the vessels a-boiling about twenty days past; and was then come to perfection. And that five or six days past, one of the officers of the forest brought him some of the same stuff, which was not then refined; but by this, he thought, it might be, and more made. That Cornelius promised it would take good effect: and that otherwise it would be his utter undoing: for his charge was great. He went then for a time to Dorsetshire, to another work he had there, for making of alum: such a genius this man had towards such works.

Cornelius, in June, 1580, writes to the lord treasurer to this import:

“That whatsoever good might happen to the commonwealth, by his service, must needs be imputed to his lordship. For as at the first his great care and zealous good-will to further such a service for his country, was such as did much encourage him to attempt so chargeable and hard a thing; which the multitude thought impossible to be done; so if his wisdom had not been the only means, whereby his great faults [in failing in his terms] had been borne withal, it had been long ago overthrown, to his utter shame and undoing. And that sir Edw. Horsey had lent him money to go on. That he had with much ado brought to work this point; that he found, that the earth which had been housed but since Christmas last, yielded such quantities of stuff, as assured him of treble increase in continuance. That at first he lost all that he had ever bestowed in one whole year, by reason of unseasonable weather. He requested the supply of 100*l.* without which he was unable to finish this great work: whereupon, he said, he had bestowed 1000*l.*” What success this business further had, I know not.

For the same end and purpose, viz. the safety of the land, *fortification* was also necessary. One Rafe Lane, a projecting gentleman of these times, (especially in martial affairs,) offers to the lord treasurer devices for fortification: now especially for the seaports, when some invasion was this year expected. What he would undertake, and what satisfaction he would give, to assure the queen to make good what he offered, let his letter to that lord speak, as follows:

“Knowing how grateful a thing it hath been to all princes in any necessity, to have in time special service offered unto them: and how lamentable ruins by hostile invasion or attempts may befall to a whole kingdom, for want of a timely provision, (in appearance-though small.) Forasmuch as I understand, by no vulgar report, her majesty is likely this year to be attempted in more places than one; I have therefore presumed at this present, for her majesty’s service, and for the safety of the whole estate, against any foreign force whatsoever, to put your lordship (as my most special good lord) in remembrance of such a mean, as shall, with the favour of the Almighty, to the end aforesaid, be of great force, of small charge; and in very short time to be accomplished and finished.

“Sir, my plat briefly doth concern an ordinance and fortification of all the harbours that her majesty hath, either in England or Ireland. The same to be for three months tenable, against any power or battery royal, either by sea or land The work of the said fortification to be both begun and also to be accomplished, ready for the said de-fence, within the space of one month after the first spade shall be put in the ground: and that without further settling and seasoning And because neither her majesty shall adventure any charge, nor your lordship any speech or commendation of any my sufficiency, without some apparent proof and ocular testimony beforehand; I am, (having warrant for the same,) in any convenient place of ground, wheresoever to be assigned unto me, to make a demonstration of my aforesaid offer; by rearing the first turf, and laying forth the first ground-plot, both spacious and massive, ready afterwards, and easy to be finished and perfected by every common labourer, even with common direction, for the defence above-mentioned.

“The time of this my trial shall be seven days. The charges 20*l.* to be laid out upon eighty labourers. The time for finishing and perfecting the same for defence one month. The charge of the whole; the first 20*l.* three times triplicated; and four times doubled. The first proof whereof, viz. of the first seven days, shall be at my charge: being no less desirous to do her majesty some effectual, important service, than glad, that her majesty should not altogether be ignorant, both of my dutiful devotion any way to serve her majesty, and of some sufficiency (more than looked for at my hands) in some effectual sort to perform the same.”

I end this year with the names, titles, and offices of those that were now of her majesty’s privy-council.

1. Sir Thomas Bromley, kt. lord chancellor of England.
2. Lord Burghley, lord treasurer of England.
3. Earl of Shrewsbury.
4. Earl of Lincoln, lord admiral.
5. Earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain of the household.

6. Earl of Arundel.
7. Earl of Warwick, master of the ordnance.
8. Earl of Bedford.
9. Earl of Leicester, master of the horse.
10. Lord of Hunsdon.
11. Sir Francis Knolles, treasurer of the household.
12. Sir James Crofte, comptroller of the household.
13. Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain.
14. Sir Henry Sidney, kt. of the order, lord president, &c.
15. Sir Francis Walsingham, and
16. Mr. Thomas Wylson, esq. principal secretaries.
17. Sir Raufe Sadler, chancellor of the duchy.
18. Sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer.

CHAPTER 20.

The French king's brother departs. The queen's concern thereat. The French ambassador and prince of Conde in private communication with the queen, about assisting of the king of Navar. What it was, the queen tells the lord treasurer. His thoughts of Condes message. The queen's message by Randolph to Scotland, in favour of earl Morton, and for removing D'Aubigny from the king. Her notable declaration to those states assembled, by Randolph. Ill counsellors about the king: their names and characters. That nation's ingratitude to the queen. Some account of earl Morton. D'Aubigny professes himself a protestant. The lord president of the north, his letter concerning these Scotch matters. A popish rebellion, and invasion in Ireland.

IT was not before this year, 1580, that monsieur departed home out of England, *re infecta*, to the nation's great satisfaction. He took shipping for Flanders; and minded to land at Flushing; where the Estates were to meet him. Thence intending for Antwerp. Whither he went to assist those of the Low Countries against the Spaniard. He was very honourably attended with many of the nobility: and there went over with him the earl of Leicester, the lord Hunsdon, the lord Charles Howard, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Windsor, lord Sheffield, lord Willoughby, and a number of young gentlemen beside. As soon as he came to Antwerp, all of the English nation returned back. And upon report of a great scarcity both of victuals and all thing's else in Flanders at this time, the earl of Leicester carried over with him fifty beeves and five hundred muttons, for the provision, during their being there.

The departure was mournful between her highness and monsieur: she loath to let him go, and he as troubled to depart; and promised to return in March. But how his causes in the Low Countries would permit him was uncertain. He took shipping at Sandwich. But in the way betwixt Canterbury and Sandwich, a French gentleman, called La Fine, lost a portmanteau, full of jewels, esteemed in value to be 6000 crowns: which caused the gentleman to stay in England, in hopes to hear some good tidings of them. The lord Howard went away the night before, to see the ships in readiness. And being aboard, in the night-time, by the forgetfulness

of a bow, the ship was set on fire in the gun-room. And before it was espied, it had almost got to the powder. By great chance, a man of that lord's laid himself flat in the flame, and tumbled in it: and so stayed the fire from the powder, till water came; otherwise it had blown up the ship, and all that were aboard. That party was scorched, both face and hands; and his girdle burnt. It was one of the greatest ships.

All this was the news at court, sent to the earl of Shrewsbury by his son, Francis Talbot. As also that the queen herself accompanied monsieur as far as Canterbury. And that she was minded to go to Greenwich or St. James's; though Greenwich was not now altogether free of the plague. At her return she meant to lodge at no place in which she had lodged as she went, [to prevent, as it seems, the reviving the thoughts of monsieur.] Neither would she come at Whitehall; because the place should not give cause of remembrance Of him to her, with whom she so unwillingly parted. Where we cannot but observe, that such was her majesty's presence of mind, and care of her subjects' welfare, that she subdued her private affection for the public good.

I add a private accident happening to the French ambassador this summer, in June 1580, who riding abroad to take the air, in his return came through Smithfield: where at the bars he was stayed by those officers that sat there, to cut swords; by reason his rapier was longer than the late statute made for the length of such weapons, (for which the queen issued out a strict proclamation the last year;) which put the ambassador into a great fury, drawing his rapier. In the mean season the lord Henry Seimour came in; and so stayed the matter. The queen hearing of it was greatly offended with the officers; but imputing it to their want of judgment, that matter passed off.

This ambassador did earnestly ply his grand business this summer. And being at Nonsuch, in the month of June, private communication was held between them for some hours; present only Leicester and Hatton, the lord treasurer coming thither that evening. The prince of Conde was now also there: who came to solicit the queen's assistance in behalf of the king of Navar, his brother, and the protestants in France. So that she had two very weighty matters this summer upon her hand: wherein the matter of religion was interwoven, as well as the safety of herself and her kingdoms.

Concerning the particular state and management of these affairs, the lord treasurer gave account to the earl of Sussex in a private letter at Nonsueh, whither he was newly come from Theobald's.

“That repairing towards the privy-chamber to have seen her majesty, he found the door at the upper end of the presence-chamber shut. And then understood that the French ambassador had been a long time with her majesty; and the prince of Conde also. That that evening the ambassador acquainted him [the lord treasurer] with a part of their proceedings; being *pleased* with her majesty for her temperate dealings. That he found Conde's disposition rather inclined to move troubles in France than peace. And that he thought verily, that those troubles and that prince's coming was encouraged from England. And that it augmented this his suspicion, that he saw such great favours shewed to that prince by certain of the council: who had been with him at the banqueting-house, where he was lodged.”

He added; “That the queen late at night told him her dealing with them both: commending the prince's modesty in declaring the cause of his coming to be, to shew her the just causes that had moved the king of Navar to take arms for his defence against Montmorancy and Byron; and shewing many particular causes. Which the ambassador endeavoured to retort to the king of Navar. Then entering into the particulars of the war between the two kings, he at length concluded, that he came to entreat her majesty to obtain, that the French king would suspend his judgment both against the king of Navar and him; and to accept them as his dutiful subjects, as they meant and intended sincerely and plainly; without attempting any force, otherwise than their defence against their oppressors.

“That the prince went to his lodging with the earl of Leicester; and Wylkes, clerk of the council, attended him. That he perceived, by her majesty, that the just cause of his coming was for money: to be repaid her; *part* by the said king, part by himself, Casimire and certain princes protestant: and a part that she herself would bear.” The treasurer gave his judgment in this manner: That he wished her majesty might spend some portion to solicit for them some peace, to the good of the cause of religion. But to enter into war, and

therewith to break *the* marriage, [which was still in hand,] and so to be left alone, as subject to the burden of such wars, he thought no good counsellor could allow.”

These are some passages of this letter, writ by this great statesman concerning the address of two such eminent persons to the queen, and her account thereof from her own mouth to him: with other court news; and that from one privy-counsellor to another. It deserves a place in the Appendix. What the queen’s wisdom directed her to do, with respect to the solicitation of the prince of Conde and the king of Navar, concerning assisting them in a war with the French king, will appear by a letter which secretary Wyl-son at this time wrote to the abovesaid earl of Sussex.

“Touching the prince of Conde, he is to be sent back as he came, without hope of aid. And this day, or tomorrow, he is to be despatched to go into Germany, from whence he came, to duke Casimire. Her majesty hath written to the French king in his favour; and will use all that a Christian prince may do, to accord things amiss, and to bring him to the king’s favour again.”

But the king of Navar stood upon his defence against marshal Byron and Montmorancy, and would not make any offensive war.

Speeches were raised now, that the prince of Orange was arrived at Dover. And reports were also given out, that the king of Navar was in Guernsey. Such applications were made in these times by foreign princes of the religion to the queen. But these reports proved not true.

Now something concerning Scotland, as far as England was concerned. To which a practice of the French there gave a great jealousy. One of that nation, but of Scottish blood, D’Aubigny, was come lately into Scotland, and became very dear to the young king; and the rather, being of kin to him, being a Stuart. He performed his part so well, that in effect he governed him, and had a great influence in ail public affairs. But he was reckoned a papist, and in the interest of France. And it was feared he would procure for the king a wife of the popish religion: and at length bring in popery by that means into that land, and overthrow the religion. The queen therefore found it highly necessary to put a stop to the *proceedings* of this French favourite. And by a declaration very freely delivered by Randolph, her ambassador, before the king and states assembled at Edinburgh, February 27, plainly opened this matter, and the

danger thereof: shewing at the entrance, how well she had deserved both of the king and that nation. The effect whereof (taken from Randolph's own paper) follows.

"The queen's majesty, my sovereign, hath been a friend unto this country ever since she came to her crown. She hath borne a special love unto the king ever since he was born, and singular care of his country. She hath never sought a foot breadth of the ground of Scotland, nor to hurt the liberties thereof. That she had never sought to draw the king out of his own country into England, or elsewhere, as her enemies then about his grace had given forth, and taken colour thereupon to trouble others. That she had spent her treasure, and the blood of her people, to save Scotland from the conquest of France. That she had means enough to have entered and conquered the country, (if she had sought it,) when the king was young, his mother in England, and all the nobility and people of Scotland were divided, and in distress. That she might have taken occasion of just revenge, when her officers and subjects were slain in her own realm at the Redswyre. But the contrary disposition had ever been in her majesty, through the care she ever hath had to preserve the king and his country, by reason he was her nearest kinsman, her nearest neighbour, in one island; and that few other princes in the world agreed with them and their subjects, in professing one religion. That she found the thankful minds of all his regents in his tender age; and they found her assistance. That she found the king ever loving and affectionate unto her, until now of late within this year or more, that the lord D'Aubigny, being purposely sent hither to dissolve that happy unity and love between their majesties, had so far prevailed, as, &c. That he was become master of his grace's person, of his ear, of his counsel, and of his whole estate. That he had alienated his grace's mind from the amity of England; and to think nothing pleasant but the motion of France: from whence he never gat good turn, nor so much as to call him *king*.

"That he had brought his grace to enter into suspicion, and cast off all such his own subjects, as had preserved his life and estate unto these years. That he had made his grace call home, and cast himself into the hands and counsel of such as were ever enemies to his estate and authority. That he pressed him to make war with

England, although it would offer peace, and keep it with him. That he had brought his grace to be weary of his ministers, and to think them factious and railers. That he had brought him to be more dissolute in speech; nay, will teach him worse conditions, as may appear, to marry some papist; yea, to leave the land, if need be, wherever he will have him to go.

“That in the mean time no sound advice was taken for the quieting of the borders; for punishing the murders, nor mischiefs; nor how the king’s estate should be maintained: but for poverty, to drive him to leave the realm, or to seek the lands and lives of his nobility and barons.”

He proceeded after all this plain language thus: “The queen’s majesty, my sovereign, hath cause to take this in heart; seeing what the loss of such a young and noble prince, of so religious and virtuous expectation, being so near, her cousin and neighbour, may work to her; she means not to seek to remedy it by her own force, or by any device of hers, if the nobility of Scotland will do it themselves. And in the doing whereof she will counsel, favour, and assist them, even to the hazard of her own crown.

“Thus, my very good lords, the care I have of the king himself, the love I bear unto your country, the inconveniences like to follow on both, the likelihood of the overthrow of religion in time, and the breach of amity between the two realms, moveth me thus earnestly to speak; and further to proceed otherwise than I would, if I had not to do with those, whom I both honour, love, and am ready to serve.”

For several that were now about the king of Scots, and his governor, by evil counsel abused his good nature, by nourishing him in delights and pleasures unfit for his age, and unseemly for the good and godly behaviour of a prince: persuading him to alter his affection towards the queen’s majesty of England, his best friend and kinswoman; and to grow in suspicion of his best servants and nobility. Their names, as I find them in an authentic writing, which, I suppose, was Randolph’s, now the queen’s servant there, and their ill characters, follow.

“The first and chiefest was the lord Daubigny, his cou-sin-german: a man born in France; depending upon the house of Guise; a papist

in religion, brought up as most of them were in that country: promoted here to be lord chamberlain, and chiefest person about the king: made earl of Lenox, and captain of Dunbriton; the place of greatest commodity to receive strangers into the country, or to convey the king, as is greatly to be doubted to be Daubigny's drift and purpose. He hath continually his ear at downlying and uprising; a maintainer of papists, rebels, traitors, and such as ever served against the king, and are enemies to all virtue. He brought over with him a notable personage, called monsieur Mon-berneau, a Frenchman, of kin to his wife; hardfavoured, licentious, audacious, but not stout, proud, as his nation *is*, arrogant in his speech, bold, and beggarly: to be short, of no good condition or honesty; and of such a life, as when men will speak of a pocky knave, it is used for a common proverb, *He hath danced in Monberneau's breeches*. This man is so familiar with the king, that in all pastimes he is a companion; in all councils he is one; in all assemblies none more forward or near the king than he. The best that his friends can say for him is, that he *is* a jester, a cracker, and a man to make the king merry.

"The third person is the lord Robert Steward, son to a king, as some say: but one born, brought up in France: where he tasted of such manners, that he yet savoureth of all the evil that may be spoken of that country. A cuckold; a wittol. *Et quid non?*

"The fourth is the lord Seaton; in the last point agreeing with the lord Robert. In many other parts of villainy far surpassing him; as swearing, lying, whoredom: never friend to the king, but servant to his mother: a practiser, a trafficker; a traitor to his king and country.

"The next is captain James Steward, second son to the lord Veletre, the accuser of Morton; audacious, proud, of no religion, and an undertaker of any enterprise of mischief devised by D'Aubigny or the faction; lately made a counsellor: tutor of the earl of Arran, become deaf, and captain of the new guards of sixty halberdiers to wait on the king.

"The earl of Argyle, a great man of birth; sober in wit, better ruled by his wife, than well advised to follow her counsel; subject unto D'Aubigny, and wholly at his devotion.

“The earl of Montros, a personage good, in wit reasonable; double in dealing, and false to his friend: enemy to Morton.

“S. Combe: neither stout, constant, wise, nor honest; but false, feeble, and full of flattery.

“The master of Ogylby, vain and foolish; prating and lying, without faith or honesty.

“Mr. Henry Kier, of chief credit with D’Aubigny: both subtle, false, and crafty: neither faith nor honesty are to be found in him.

“William Scawe is clock-keeper; and John Hume master of the ratches; as himself is the worst.

“Many other tattlers and praters, and petty companions there are: glad when they can get their word about, be it never so untrue, or to little purpose: not respecting what they speak, or of whom; so that either credit or profit may be won at the king’s hands. God amend them all, and send the king better governors over him; make him Josias, to live in the fear of God, and send him long life.”

Such was the loose court of this young king, and such the gentlemen that bore him company, tending to his ruin: which our historian (who published his history of queen Elizabeth in the beginning of this king’s reign over England) thought fit, or was commanded to conceal, or to represent more favourably: since it is evident, how sensible the queen was of the methods of this court, and more perfectly knew by her ambassador resident there; however negligent they made their king of her admonitions.

Furthermore, how unfairly and disingenuously they dealt with her majesty, who sincerely favoured the king and Scottish nation against the endeavours of the popishly affected, her said ambassador shewed in a letter writ to secretary Wylson from Berwick, being discharged of his embassy, and remaining there as yet: viz.

“*That* ever since he entered Scotland, he found himself as one scarcely with himself, [in his first he wrote, *beside myself*,] by the uncertain, unreasonable, and ingrate dealing of that king and council: neither mindful of her majesty’s benefits past, neither weighing the danger that they stand in, if they have not her majesty’s favourable countenance. Which so mych hath tormented

me, (for that, alas! I wish that nation well,) as truly it hath passed any grief that ever I had. And now finding their despite and wilfulness so great, I know neither what to do nor say for them. To cast them off will be peril to ourselves; for that they will seek others as cumbersome, or more hurtful than they are to retain them; beside the pride we put them into, if their greedy appetites be not satisfied, we shall be as unsure of them as now we are. To seclude them for a time from all kind of traffick and dealing with us; to hold a hand hard unto them, until they feel the wants of such benefit as our country yieldeth unto them, perchance may sooner bring them to reason, or make them work or find out some remedy amongst themselves, than either by fair means to use them, or by force to annoy them.

“I leave this to the judgment of others wiser than myself.”

And further, concerning these affairs with Scotland with respect to England at this time, the said ambassador shewed to the lord chancellor, while he was at Berwick. His endeavours to persuade the king and his council to hearken unto the terms for accommodating the disturbances in that kingdom; and his putting them in mind of the many good turns done them by the queen; and his advice to take her counsel for the indifferent trial of earl Morton, [who was in the English interest, formerly regent and governor to the king, now made a prisoner by Arran,] and for the removing of count D’Aubigny [now made earl of Lenox] from the king; who, he said, was a man utterly averse from true religion, and that opposed a good understanding between the two nations. But notwithstanding the great pains he [the ambassador] had taken for the effecting these matters, all proved to little purpose. Nay, so hated, that he was fain to get out of Scotland as fast as he could, for fear of his life; having libels set up against him, and a gun once shot in at his chamber window.

That as for earl Morton, now in prison, he was rich, and had both lands and friends. These, and the doubt of his power in his prosperity, procured him many enemies; and many of them formerly his friends: insomuch that there was little hope of his life; divers of them and of his servants now proving his accusers. Some charging him to be guilty of the present king’s father’s murder; others, that he was consenting to the poisoning of the earl Athol; others, that he had an intent to take the king, and to have killed several of the great earls. But whether these accusations were grounded upon truth,

or upon malice, was doubtful. But to read all this news more particularly, I refer the reader to Mr. Randolph's own letter, which he shall find faithfully exemplified in the Appendix.

It must be observed here concerning earl Morton, that such an esteem the queen and the English court had for him, that this summer she had writ to him very graciously, offering to do all that he should think meet: and upon whose answer a resolution of the queen's was like to follow. These are the words of secretary Wylson in his correspondence with the earl of Sussex; and therefore it is probable he was not so profligate a man as those Scots of D'Aubigny's party would make him. Otherwise it is not credible the queen would have so espoused his cause, though they afterwards brought him to his death.

But now the news came, that monsieur D'Aubigny professed himself of the reformed religion. And so the earl of Shrewsbury's steward, Bawdewyn, wrote to him from court in July, that it was certainly given out, that he had professed himself one of the reformed religion in Scotland, and had renounced all papistry. But whether sincerely, or in policy, may be questioned. Yet after all, Lenox was removed; and went back into France.

Let me add what one of the great peers of England's thoughts were of this treatment of the queen by the Scots; viz. the earl of Huntington, at this time lord president of the north; who had received some letters from Randolph, with a packet from sir John Foster upon the borders. And from the intelligence sent by them concerning the interest of Lenox [i.e. D'Aubigny] in the Scotch court, which prevailed beyond that of the queen, that earl gave his judgment in these words:

"That if they reckoned their cards well, it would not be good for them to lose our sovereign [meaning the queen] for such a new friend as Lenox, neither for any other, as he thought; for the amity of England was more fit for them than the favour of any other could be, their own king excepted. And that against him her majesty did never desire the good-will of any of those subjects: but in all her actions had shewed herself desirous to preserve him and that state; as he knew, and they must grant."

Then the earl prayed Randolph to advise the lord Sefford, [a Scotch nobleman,] (of whom that ambassador conceived a great opinion, and of his house, and such of his name and friends,) to continue true and faithful

to their sovereign. Which, he said, they might do, and yet continue willing to enter and maintain all good offices and friendship between the two countries.

By one party or other this lord's house had been fired; and hard speeches had been given out about it: as though it had been done by the treachery of some English. On which occasion the said lord president added,

“That it was more than he knew to be intended. Neither did he like of such speaking. But for their satisfaction [who misdoubted it was done by the English; and so a matter proper for the lord president of the north to inquire into] he said, that it was plain to them [of that nation] and all others, by that which Mr. Randolph did in the court with the king and nobility, for and in the name of our sovereign, [the queen,] that her majesty's good-will to the state continued: and that if any thing fell out otherwise than well, the fault was likely to be in them, and not in us, [the English.]”

He proceeded thus: “That he could wish, that they and others had more regard to religion, and the godly policy established in both realms, as he thought, chiefly by the means of the queen, his sovereign, next under God, than desire to seek revenge for particular quarrels. Which, as they handled the matter, might breed no little evil to both states. And of this surname, he could wish the abbot of Newbottle especially to be drawn to accept of good and sound advice. That there were others also that he could name unto him, [Mr Randolph,] but the time would not suffer him. And he hoped, he knew them well enough: and how unfit it was for them, or any other, to malice Morton, more than to regard their king or their country; or to think one Domberry [D'Au-bigny] and his counsels better, than of the advices and requests of his sovereign the queen, he thought no man of judgment doubted.”

And so concludeth with these words: “Well, to end; for my part, he and allothers of that nation shall find me inclinable to do all good offices towards them, so long and so far as I see them to love the religion, and to be well devoted to the queen, my sovereign, with a due regard of duty to their king and country. And thus with my very hearty commendations, I commit you to the protection of the heavenly Father. At Newcastle, 25th of February, 1580.

Your loving friend,
H. Huntingdon.”

The news at court was, that king Philip of Spain prepared mightily against Portugal: although merchants' letters came daily, that the pope and he prepared against Ireland. And that land indeed was now oppressed with the popish nobility and gentry there: who had raised a rebellion against the queen; headed by the earl of Desmond, lord Baltinglas, with an invasion of Italians and Spaniards, accompanied with the pope's blessing, as was shewed before. Some also of the queen's party were unfaithful; and favoured the other side. Of these earl Kildare and his son-in-law, lord Delvin, were suspected. The lord deputy appointed that earl, with archbishop Loftus, to be governors of the pale during his intended progress: who going to parley with the lord Baltinglas, which was to no purpose, the earl unadvisedly returned to Dublin. The enemy taking the advantage of his return, did mischief in burning places. The earl was imprisoned upon this occasion; and the news sent to the lord treasurer in England, by sir Nicolas White, master of the rolls there, (with whom a constant correspondence was held.)

Which lord thus expressed his concern about it, and the committing of the earl of Kildare and the baron of Delvyn:

“Sorry I am that they should give cause: but more sorry, that it should happen in so unseasonable a time; when the whole body of that realm is so far out of temper, as the dislocation of such members must needs work a deformity to the body. The will of God be done, to the maintenance of his glory, and the preservation of that crown upon her head: where it ought by justice only to stand.” [As the pope was minded now to place it upon that of the king of Spain.] This he wrote January 3. These confusions and rebellions still continued more and more in Ireland the next year; and these were that good lord's contemplations thereupon, in a letter to the master of the rolls: “I do heartily lament the lamentable state of that country. And the more I am therewith grieved, in that I see the calamity to continue, or not to diminish. And yet I see no way how to remedy it: neither in so doubtful opinions as there are both there and here for the remedy, dare I lay hold of any of them. And yet I do not think the remedy is desperate, if good and wise men, addicted to public state, were therein employed. And thus

uncomfortably I end; referring the success to God's mercy, to be extended both to you and us; whose sins I am assured do provoke him to chasten that nation so sharply. I think a late direction from her majesty, to reduce her army to a convenient number, will mislike many there, that otherwise are not provided to live in their lusts, but by wars and spoils."

CHAPTER 21.

A reformation endeavoured of certain abuses in the church. The parliament's address to the queen for that purpose. Her answer. Church holydays: much sin committed then. The disaffected to the church busy. Appoint fasts. A fast appointed at Stamford: the lord Burgbley's letter forbidding it. Beza's book concerning bishops, translated into English. His letter to Scotland. A popish school set up at Doway; and another in Scotland. Dr. Allen's book. The pope sends over priests into England. Intelligence from Switzerland of the pope's preparations against England. Commissions for search after papists in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The archbishop of York's letter concerning them. Countess of Cumberland: lady Wharton. Children of northern gentlemen sent to Caius college, Cambridge; Dr. Legg, a papist, master. Intelligence from the bishop of Win-ton, concerning papists in the county of Southampton. A search in papists' houses. Sir William Tresham in Hoggesdon. Priests taken: their confession. Popish cases found in sir James Hargrave's study.

Now for the state of religion. A reformation of several abuses in the church was moved again in a sessions of parliament this year, (as it had been in a former, anno 1575,) by a petition then to the queen for that purpose. Many abuses were specified therein: as, the great number of unlearned and unable ministers; the great abuse for excommunication for matters of small moment; the commutation of penance; the multitude of dispensations and pluralities, and other hurtful things to the church. And some of the members were appointed, in the name of the whole house, to move the lords of the clergy to continue unto her majesty the prosecution of the purposes of the reformation: which the vice-chamberlain, and the secretaries, and chancellor of the exchequer had, as of themselves, moved unto those lords; and should impart unto their lordships the earnest desire of the house for redress of other griefs, contained likewise in the same petition, as to their good wisdoms should seem meet.

Some days after they waited upon the bishops with the same message; and in the name of the house desired them to join with them in the said petition to her majesty. Who found some of the said lords not only ready to confess

and grant the said defects and abuses, and wished a redress thereof; but were very willing to join with the said committees in moving her majesty in that behalf. And accordingly afterwards they joined in humble suit unto her highness; and received her majesty's gracious answer. Which was, that as she had, the last sessions of parliament, of her own good consideration, (and before any petition made,) committed the charge and consideration thereof unto some of her clergy, who had not performed the same according as she had commanded; so she would commit the same unto such others of them, as with all convenient speed should see the same accomplished. And that it should be neither delayed nor left undone. For this they all rendered unto her majesty their humble thanks. This was reported back to the house. And withal master chancellor of the exchequer declared, that the only cause why no due reformation had been already made, was by reason of the slackness and negligence of some others; and not of her majesty nor of the house: alleging, that some of the bishops had done something in those matters, delivered by her majesty to their charge; as, in a more advised care of making and ordaining ministers, &c.: and so in conclusion moving the house to rest satisfied with her most gracious answer; and to resolve upon some form of yielding thanks unto her highness for her gracious acceptation of their petition, and putting her in remembrance of the execution thereof.

The queen had been displeased of late with some in the parliament, that had attempted reforming matters in the church without her allowance: but now, upon their petition to her, all was made up again. For she insisted upon her supremacy in things ecclesiastical as well as civil, and required application to be made to her, before she would suffer any to meddle with any alteration or regulations of them; and then her orders and directions to be given to her clergy by herself.

What came further of this doth not appear in this session of parliament, by any thing set down in the journal of parliaments. But, I suppose, the queen upon this ordered her privy-council to send that order, as above-mentioned, to the convocation. Which was now ready to regulate, redress, and amend all such matters as might require the same. Which was the way which the queen required reformation in matters of religion to be done: as their proper business of meeting together. This convocation took cognizance of the new heresy of *the family of love*; and concerning those that refused to conform themselves to the religion received in this kingdom: a letter of these two things having been sent to the archbishop of

Canterbury from the privy-council, he accordingly sent to the convocation. For what was done in this convocation, I refer to another book. Among others, one great abuse in these times was the abundance of sins committed on the church holydays: which evil disposed men took hold of to dishonour God, and break his laws on those days more than others, that should by them have been set apart for his worship, service, and honour. This the aged, good bishop of Ely complained of to the lord treasurer, in these words: “*Pauca pie sapien-ti*; There is a mass of sin [committed] in all church holydays: whereby God’s service is let and hindered; which we in our times ought with all diligence to stay. *And* because in these things ye be most ready to do most high service, I am the bolder at this time to move your lordship in this matter. Thus the Lord have you in his *blessed* keeping, both in this life and in the life to come.”

Written from his house at Downham, the 30th of July, 1580, with his name only subscribed with his own hand; being now very aged, and sick of the palsy, dying the next year.

In the mean time, the disaffected to the reformed church here established by law were continually crying out for more reformation. Their preachers shewed much spiteful rashness, both in their doctrines, and more publicly and openly in their books; calling the ministers of the church reproachfully, *dumb dogs*, &c. as I find noted in a diary by one Earl, a minister in London. This sort of men appointed fasts to be kept by their own authority. Which was an encroachment upon the state, and the queen’s power in spiritual matters. And therefore was resented and forbid.

Notice was given for the keeping such a fast in Stamford in Rutlandshire by one Johnson, and divers others, in the month of July this year. This place peculiarly belonging to the lord treasurer Burghley, he sent a letter to the alderman of that town, forbidding him to permit such a fast, it being an innovation; and relating the matter as he had heard it; viz. that this Johnson (who was parson of Luffenham in the diocese of Peterburgh, and a good preacher) had a disposition to come to Stamford, which was in the diocese of Lincoln; and with six or seven other preachers to erect a new innovation: and thereby decreeing to that people an universal fast; and to continue there he knew not how long. Upon which thus that gentle lord wrote.

“Although he commended his zeal towards that town, to move them to such divine actions, as fasting and hearing of sermons,

(whereunto he wished all the people there more given than he thought they were,) yet considering this was an action that might seem an innovation in the orders of the church; which were known, how they were established by parliament, without any other innovation to be admitted; at the least, no like matter (as this is intended) ought by another private person, as Mr. Johnson was, to be practised out of the diocese and place where he hath cure; nor yet in any other bishop's diocese, without the prescription of the bishop, or ordinary, or their permission: that he had thought good, for the avoiding of offence, that might grow hereof; and for that manor of the burgh was his inheritance, [viz. Stamford,] and that the rule of the burgh belonged to him; to require and advise him to give Mr. Johnson warning to forbear from any such attempt in that town: but if he were disposed there to preach, that he may so do, if he have, as by likelihood he hath, licence of the bishop of the diocese. And that any other so might do, having licence, in usual manner and sort, as in other places was accustomed. *And* adding, that if the said alderman found it meet, he might do well to exhort men to fast and pray, being two necessary actions for Christian men to use."

And to make *episcopacy* shake, and to incline the people to change the government of this church by bishops into that of *elders*, this year the said disaffected procured the translation into English of Beza's discourse of *bishops* in Latin; done, as was thought, by Field, one of the chief puritan ministers. In which book Beza makes three sorts of bishops: viz. of God; that is, their own elders at Geneva: of men; that is, of human appointment; of this sort were ours of this church of England: and of the Devil; and these he made to be the bishops of the church of Rome. In which book he also affirmed, that all bishops, other than such as had an equality among them, [which were the only bishops he would allow, if they were of God,] such must of necessity be packing and gone. And that the chief elders [who were to come in their room] should be admitted to be present in parliament, as the bishops were, and to deal in spiritual causes, and to answer in place of God, if any other matters fell out, wherein the lords would be resolved.

And this year the said Beza wrote to one Lawson in Scotland; who had informed him of an attempt that was made there in the behalf of bishops, [perhaps for the restoring them,] and how it was defeated by the reformers.

Beza expressing his infinite joy at it, begins his letter in this sort, though he was then sick: *Beasti me, &c.* “You have made me a happy man,” &c. These things, and the like, (which I have mentioned,) Dr. Bancroft took notice of in the *Survey of the pretended discipline*; though it was divers years after that he wrote his book, after long provocation of these men’s public writings against this established church, her liturgy, and episcopal government.

The factors for the pope, and for restoring of his religion and authority in this kingdom, were active now also. And to further these their designs, the English popish clergy who fled into Flanders, by the instigation of William Allen, a Jesuit, a man of notable parts, and great esteem among the fugitives, assembled themselves together at a town there, called Doway; and there set up a school. The pope gave them an annual pension, or rather a maintenance; purposely to plot and contrive ways to expel the queen, and demolish the church of England. After they had tarried there some years, upon some troubles they removed most of them to Scotland: where the queen of Scots allowed them a pension, and liberty to set up another school for the education of English youth who would come thither. Here they were taught all manner of ways to divide the protestants of England, in principles of religion, as also to withdraw them from the form of prayer established. And there was an oath the scholars of this college took; viz.

“I A. B. do acknowledge the ecclesiastical and political power of his holiness, and the mother church of Rome, as the chief head and matron, above all pretended churches throughout the whole earth. And that my zeal shall be for St. Peter and his successors, as the founder of the true and ancient catholic faith, against all her heretical kings, princes, states, or powers, repugnant unto the same. And although I A. B. may pretend, in case of persecution, or otherwise, to be heretically disposed, yet in soul and conscience I shall help, aid, and succour the mother church,” &c.

This Dr. Allen, the better to recommend this college at Doway, and another lately erected, set forth a book, called, *An apology and true declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English colleges*. Which received a learned answer by Dr. Bilson, warden of Winchester, in the year 1585; which hath been observed and spoke of elsewhere. To which I refer the reader.

The pope now began about this time first (or at least now first taken notice of) to send forth a whole swarm of boy-priests disguised; and provided at all essays with secret instructions, how to deal with all sorts of men and matters: and with commission from Rome, to confess and absolve all such as they should win, with any pretence or policy, to mislike the state, and affect novelty. And to take assurance of them, by vow, oath, or other means, that they should be ever after adherent and obedient to the church of Rome, and to the faith thereof. And all this under the conduct of one [Campion,] a man more presumptuous than learned: as his writings and disputings, while he lived, declared.

The good friends of England and of the English church, I mean the divines of Switzerland, (with whom and our bishops was maintained a constant good correspondence, ever since they were harboured kindly and friendly with them, in queen Mary's bloody reign,) gave intelligence of the popish diligence at this time. One letter from thence was sent to the bishop of Ely; who despatched notice of it to the good lord treasurer, beginning with these words:

“Antichristi incendium accenditur Romae, et in omnem fere orbem di-vulgatur: as we lately heard from our true friends; and who heartily favour both our kingdom, and queen, and nobility: that the pope's bull, by the means of Alexandrini Cardinali, was to be published against the queen: and five hundred copies of it to be printed, in order to be dispersed in those parts of the world that were adjudged most catholic. And that Antichrist and the Spaniard consented in the same thing; viz. that twelve thousand Italians, as the report went, were to be listed into the Spanish service. The bishop added, that this news was sent him over but just then from Helvetia, from the godly brethren there; who, he said, though they were far distant from us, yet were near us in their prayers.”

But for a standing memorial of the friendship of that people to us, as well as of that good bishop, I have transcribed his letter in the Appendix concerning this intelligence.

This news concerning England, Gualter, one of the chief divines of Zurich, had also writ to Sandys, archbishop of York, in his correspondence with him. And towards the latter end of this year, in March, having further knowledge of these destructive designs against the queen and realm, gave account thereof also to Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, out of his

sincere and most hearty love and concern for both, and the religion here professed; viz. that the bull of pope Pius V. wherein he had divers years ago excommunicated the queen, was published anew in five hundred copies, by the cardinal abovesaid, as he had the news from some merchants of Norinberge, trafficking at Rome; that so the knowledge of it might come to all the courts of the catholic princes. And divers reasons were given for the doing of it. One was, that the English ambassador might be removed from Portugal. Another, to hinder the intended marriage between the French king's brother and the queen. And a third, and that the chief, that all catholic princes might withdraw themselves from any understanding with the queen: so as to give her no assistance against the Spaniard; who was now preparing a mighty fleet against England. These advices were written from Rome in January. And the Spaniard the rather took this opportunity to invade this land; heating of many Roman catholics, the queen's subjects, here at home, that were moving sedition.

“But he knew, as he subjoined, that God was the King of kings, and that Christ would preserve and defend those kingdoms which afforded safe harbour to his church: which our serene queen had so many years done. But that it was, he said, necessary for us to be upon our watch against Antichrist; who took all occasions to overthrow the kingdom of Christ. That he had writ to the same effect to the archbishop of York, and also to the bishop of Ely; but yet thought fit also to write the same to him: the one dwelling at a great distance from London, and the other by his great age obliged to tarry at home. And therefore he thought it necessary to signify the same to his grace: not doubting but that his care and solicitude for them [the queen and her realm] would find acceptance.”

The whole of this relation from that learned man, in his letter to the archbishop, I shall, as it deserves, subjoin in the Appendix, to that other written to the bishop of Ely.

The apprehension of the dangers approaching from these foreign as well as domestic practices put the state upon methods to prevent the same. And understanding how stirring the papists were, especially in Lancashire, in July this year a commission was issued out from the queen, and sent down thither; directed to the earl of Darby; who was very diligent in that affair. And so Walsingham, her majesty's secretary, informed the lord treasurer;

that the earl shewed himself more forward in that matter: and thereby greatly advanced that service. That the said lord would

therefore move her majesty to write a letter of thanks to him: which he reckoned would greatly encourage that gentleman, as he said, being of a very gentle disposition. And that if her majesty, in consideration of his service, would call him to the board, it would greatly increase his credit, and make him the better to serve her highness. Walsingham, before this, had dealt with the queen for this purpose: who would not as yet be drawn hereunto; partly in respect of his weakness, (being but in a crazy state of health,) and partly that others of his calling might look for the like; as Walsingham wrote.

In Yorkshire and in the northern parts were likewise great numbers of papists. The archbishop of York was not wanting in discovering them, by virtue of the ecclesiastical commission; stirred up likewise by letters from court and the queen, to be diligent therein. An account of what they had done, and the pains they had taken in this matter, was sent up to the council. But many of these papists got favour at court by interest made with the queen. This the archbishop took notice of; and withal thought it some discouragement to their proceedings. He desired countenance to be given them; and they should make a greater progress still in finding these mortal enemies to the queen, and the peaceable state of the kingdom. All this he signified in a letter to the lord treasurer, written in August, from Bishop-thorp. To this tenor:

“That it should not be necessary to certify him at large of their proceedings there in matters ecclesiastical: for that they had done in a book sent up herewithal to the body of the council. That they had painfully travelled in this matter. And great good, he doubted not, would come of it. And that the lord president had greatly furthered it, and done notable good service. That as they had begun, they purposed to proceed. And that with a great deal better courage, if they might be assisted by her majesty, and by the lords of the council. Adding, as a reason, that except good countenance were given them, and their proceedings took full effect, without any back-calling of the same, all their labour would be lost.”

Then he remembered his lordship of a forfeited obligation of one Beckwith, [a papist; perhaps given to the queen of not going out of such a compass, upon a penalty,] that a good portion thereof might come thither; for the

relief of the officers; whose labours, he said, [in discovering papists,] were nothing recompensed. Further, telling his lordship,

“that after presentments given in by the several juries, they [the commissioners] were to enter into this action again by God’s grace. And that then they should in short time clear all that country of perverse papists; and reduce it to good conformity.” This he writ from Bishopthorp, the 22d of August, 1580.

There were two ancient ladies of quality in these northern parts that were papists, who were not as yet summoned before the commissioners; viz. the countess of Cumberland and the lady Wharton; with whom the archbishop took pains (more privately) to reduce them. Of whom he gave the abovesaid lord this account, and what success he had with them.

“That he had dealt by private letters, as well with the countess-dowager of Cumberland, as also with the old lady Wharton, for their conformity in matters of religion.” And that as for that countess, she promised that her whole counsel should be dutiful. But the lady Wharton would neither conform herself, neither yet her family. Whereupon the archbishop apprehended an ill consequence, viz. “that this stout obstinacy gave an ill example; and bred great hurt in that country; and would make many others undutiful.”

The archbishop also wrote his private letters unto her majesty touching this matter, and prayed to know her further pleasure. And this he acquainted the lord treasurer with: and withal prayed him to move her majesty to deal roundly with all the obstinate, of what calling soever, [noble as well as mean.] For if any were dispensed withal, all our labours, saith he, will be lost.

With this letter, (that I may lay these things together,) I will here give another of the archbishop’s to the same person upon the same subject, wrote the next year. Wherein he shewed his zeal for the suppression of popery, and particularly in those northern parts, where he was particularly concerned, and where it seemed chiefly to prevail: and likewise in the university of Cambridge; where, in a certain college there, he had heard of the master and a fellow being papists, that instructed their pupils in popish principles: (who, when they came down into the north to their relations and friends, maintained arguments they had learned for popish errors, and

divulged them among the people in their disputations.) Moving his lordship, as chancellor of that university, to interpose his own authority for preventing so great an evil. His said letter ran in these words:

“My good lord, I am to move you in two matters; wherein I know you may greatly benefit the church of Christ. Thone is, that your lordship would be a means, that the queen’s attorney might come into Yorkshire the next assizes, to finish that which he wonderfully well begun. It would no doubt daunt all the papists, and cut off some of such as pervert the rest.

“The other is, forasmuch as you are chancellor of the university of Cambridge, you would take order, that Dr. Legg, master of Caius college, should take no more pupils, to breed and train up in popery; as hitherto he hath, and still doth. All the popish gentlemen in this country send their sons to him. He setteth sundry of them over to one Swayl, also of the same house; by whom the youth of this country is corrupted: that at their return to their parents, they are able to dispute in the defence of popery: and few of them will repair to the church. Perhaps your lordship may mislike to be troubled with these small matters, seeing that ye are throughly occupied in most weighty affairs. But I am persuaded that your lordship cannot bestow your labour in matter more tending to the good of God’s church; the advancement whereof I know you heartily seek. I minded to have spoken thus much to your lordship by mouth, if the parliament had holden.” This was dated from Bishopthorp, the 14th of February, 1581.

In the diocese of Norwich were divers gentlemen of the Romish religion now taken up, and committed to custody in the gaol at Norwich: as namely, Robert Downes, of Great Melton in the county of Norfolk, Michael Hare, Roger Martin, Humfrey Bedingfield, and Edward Sulyard, esquires: who had a common chamber and table; where they met, and eat their meals together. But something fell out in the month of October which created them some trouble, and brought them under examination before the bishop of the diocese. It was a letter from abroad to Downes, writ by one Solomon Aeldred, that had been splendidly treated by the pope: of which he gave that gentleman an ample relation, and persuaded him to come over to them: with other matters in that letter of suspicious consequence. This letter Raphe Downes of Lincoln’s Inn delivered to him, and presently went

away without any other speech. In this letter mention was made of a great many pope's bulls sent over. This letter Downes began to read in the common room, to the rest of the aforesaid gentlemen, then met; and at the hearing of the entertainment the pope ordered to be given to Eldred, (who had been but a hosier in London,) and to his wife and another woman, and six of his gentlemen to attend upon him at a place twelve miles distant from Rome, they could not but laugh; and it became some matter of mirth to them: which did a little discompose Mr. Downes. But when Mr. Hare took the letter, and read further; and at length began to read secretly to himself; Downes finding it to be no more but a matter of ridicule to them, (and danger perhaps to him,) snatched the letter away, and threw it into the fire, and burnt it. This presently made a noise; and the report of it came to the bishop's ears.

Downes, to prevent any suspicion that might be taken against him for burning this letter, as though some treasonable matter were contained in it, thought it his best course, in order to clear himself, to send this letter following to the bishop.

“May it please your lordship. That this last night, by a kinsman of mine, letters were delivered unto me, coming from beyond the seas: Which being read amongst some of us, prisoners here, there did appear some matters, which being considered in some sense, may seem to towche her majesty, mine own allegiance towards her highness, and dewty to my country. And for that we will not conceal any matter, that may any wayes towch her majesty, or the estate of this realme, which we are all bownd to preserve, as our selves; wee have thought good, in discharging of our dewties and allegiances, to reveal the same to your lordship: that upon the hearing and examination of the matter by your lordship, you may use your lordship's discretion, for the revealing of it, as it shall seem best unto you: beseeching your lordship, for that the matter doth chiefly towch me, that I may come before your lordship spedily; for the uttering of the trewth, in discharging of my dewty and allegiance. Thus I humbly take my leave. From my chamber at the gayler's.

Your honour's at commaundment,
Robert Downes.”

This prudent course Downes, and the rest concerned, advisedly took. And the bishop forthwith examined this matter to the bottom by divers interrogatories put to each of them. To which they gave free answers. And besides, Downes and the four other gentlemen set down under their hand the sum and contents of the letter, according as they could remember it. And these papers were sent up by the bishop, viz. both their examination and confessions. For the contents of the letter, as set down by Downes and the rest, see them preserved in the Appendix: wherein also they profess their true loyalty and acknowledgment of the queen's supremacy, and fidelity to their country.

In the county of Southampton, washed on one side by the *sea*, (and so conveniently situate to let in priests from abroad,) were many of these papists. And so multiplied by revolting from religion, that the bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese it lies, near about this year sent intelligence thereof to the lord treasurer and other lords of the council; in order to repress the boldness and waywardness of the recusants in that county: with his advice in these particulars following:

First, That it may please your honours to renew the charge of diligent looking to the seaside and the creeks, for the coming in or passing forth of evil-disposed persons.

Secondly, That it may please you to give charge to the sheriff and some other of the most forward gentlemen, once in a month or three weeks, upon the Sudden to have privy search in sundry suspected places; whether it is thought the Jesuits, or seminary men, have their recourse and refuge, to seduce her majesty's subjects.

Thirdly, That an hundred or two of obstinate recusants, lusty men, well able to labour, may by some convenient commission be taken up, and sent into Flanders, as pioneers and labourers: whereby the country shall be disburdened of a company of dangerous persons, and the residue that remain be put into fear; that they may not so fast revolt as now they do.

Fourthly, If it shall please your honours to grant liberty to any of these gentlemen, as shall compound with her majesty according to your lordship's late letters, that the same may not be suffered to remain in the said shire; but to be assigned to some other place, where they may do less harm. For undoubtedly they that have remained there have stole away the people's hearts mightily, and daily do continue so to do. *For* even this last

Easter, upon some secret pact purposely wrought, five hundred persons have refused to communicate, more than before did [refuse to do it.] Which will fall out to great inconvenience. [The rest of this paper is torn.]

This search continued in this year 1580, and also in 1581, 1582; and still further, both in the houses where papists inhabited, and in prisons, where they were committed for priests, for popish books, and other superstitious things brought over, consecrated by the pope. Among other places in and about London, search was made in certain popish gentlemen's houses in Hoggesdon, by order from the privy-council, by the high constable. As in the house of sir William Tresham: where (according to an account sent up) were found he and his lady, and three daughters,

Lewis their son, and divers servants: and among the rest Henry Gilbert, his butler, and Denis Parret, who had this mark set at their names; signifying, perhaps, that they were suspected to be priests or Jesuits. Here they found and took away a painted crucifix on a table, hanging by the lady's bed side: the Jesuits' Testament in English: *Offic. Beatae Mariae*, ii.: a Manual of Prayers, dedicated to the gentlemen of inns of court: Vaux's Catechism; the first book of the Christian Exercise: a book of prayers and meditations: a painted crucifix upon orange-coloured satin: a picture of Christ upon canvass. Of the persons above-named only two would be known [those marked, as it seems] to be able to read and write; and to be no further learned. All we found there, which we left behind, (as it follows in the writing,) was, a new-fashioned picture of Christ in a great table; and a tabernacle of sundry painted images, with leaves to fold, serving, as should seem, for a tabernacle or skreen to stand upon an altar.

At Mr. Thomas Wilford's house in Hoggesdon aforesaid, were he and his wife; servants divers, men and women; one Valentine, who served as a tailor four years; James Elston, one year; Thomas Howman, butler, served him a year and half; William Marks, about nineteen years of age, who had served him from his childhood. [This last] The three above-named confessed themselves able scarcely to write their names: but the boy could neither write nor read. Books brought thence: a mass-book, old: a written catechism: *Officium B. Mariae*; a very old one: an epistle of the *Prosecution of Catholics in England*; the same in Latin: a book against the *unlawful insurrection* of the protestants, with certain leaves torn out: Catechism, *ex decreto Consilii Trident.*

In the said Hoggesdon was searched also Mr. Ra. Tipping's house.

“In all these three houses, commandment was by us given, according to our directions, to the several masters of the said houses, upon their allegiance, to see all the foresaid persons forthcoming, until they should be discharged of them.”

Some priests were taken: who, when they were examined, stoutly denied, that they persuaded any of the queen’s subjects to obey the pope, depriving her of her sword and sceptre; or that they were bound to assist him, or whom he should send to take the same by force of arms. And they protested earnestly, in open audience, that they had no such meaning; but for their parts did account her their lawful and true princess, and taught all others so to do: having first gained, like wily friars, a dispensation at Rome, that to avoid the present danger, they and all other their obsequents, might serve and honour the queen for a time, until the bull of Pius V. might sufficiently be executed. [So it ran in the dispensation of Campion and Parsons, as was set in the margin of Dr. Bylson’s book.]

“And it may be (saith that writer) the common sort of such as they perverted were not acquainted with these heinous mysteries. But yet this was the full resolution of them all, as before was reported, as well appeared by their examinations. And this very conclusion stood in their written books, as a ruled case, that *they must rather lose their lives than shrink from this groundwork; that the pope may deprive the queen of her sceptre and throne. Because, say they, it is a point of faith, and requireth confession of the mouth, though death ensue. [Where in the margin is set, In their Case of Conscience, the 55th article.]*

Now as to their cases of conscience, I have this to add. One way the papists now used to preserve themselves, and to avoid the danger of the laws made against them, that they propounded several questions in point of conscience to their learned, Jesuits chiefly: who accordingly gave favourable solutions to them, containing many courses and methods for concealing their religion; but allowing no compliance with the schism. Such questions sir James Har-grave propounded to some Jesuit, whose name I do not meet with, (perhaps Campion,) and accordingly had answers given to each of them. Which, both questions and answers, were found in the said Sir James’s study in July, 1580.

This being, in my judgment, a curious paper, I shall here give, as I found it in Latin, among some state-papers, to this tenor in English.

“**I.** Whether I may have psalms and chapters read in English in my chapel, before my family and others, truly translated, in the order prescribed by heretics, and followed by them.

“**II.** *Item*, Whether I may have read the English procession [that is, the Litany, I suppose] as it is now set forth.

“**Answer**, Privately to pray in psalms truly translated; *and* to read chapters translated, for instruction, so as best edify, I think it good. But to set forth the same for common service is an abhorrence and contempt of the other good use, before had, if it be done without public authority of the catholic church. And if fear of the world, which is evil, be the cause of it, the fault is increased. And if the hearers shall think it to be the new prescribed order, then is the procurer *scandali causa*, i. e. the cause of scandal; besides dissimulation in that which is done. And whereas, *consensus cum malis est malus*, i. e. consent with the evil is evil, it should be thought the procurer doth give his consent, although not expressed, at least he doth it *interpretative*. Therefore we must take heed, that by shunning one schism, we fall not into another.

“**III.** *Item*, Whether I may be confessed to a priest, being in schism, except *in articulo mortis*, i. e. at the point of death.

“**Answer**, A schismatic ritely and catholicly ordained at first, hath order, but not the execution of order. And if he administer any sacraments, he sinneth damnably. And although he confer the sacrament upon the *adult*, yet he would not receive the grace of the sacrament, in part given, if it be uncertain that it is a sin. Whosoever doubts, the sin is certain. But they who by ignorance are there baptized, thinking, that it is the church of Christ, in comparison of them, he sinneth less, if they are wounded in the sacrilege of schism. *Aug. de Baptis. libro*, cap. 5. The same is to be thought of the other sacraments as of baptism.

“But in case of extreme necessity, where a catholic shall not be found, by whom he may receive it, and keep catholic peace in his mind, if presently he depart out of this life, we do not think him catholic. If he recover, let him return to the catholic church, &c. *Aug. ibid.* cap. 2.

“IV. *Item*, Whether I may be godfather to any that is christened after the manner now used. And if it be not lawful in mine own person to do it, whether I may send my deputy or no.

“Answer, To bring children, and to offer them to be baptized by heretics or schismatics without the church, is to agree to schism. He that doth it by another seems to do it by himself.

“V. Whether I may see service, such as is not allowed by the catholic church, with a priest in schism or no. *Answer,* With heretics and schismatics we must neither pray nor sing. He that communicates and prays with an excommunicate person, whether clerk or laic, let him be excommunicated. *Counc. Carth. cap. iv. 72, 73.*

“VI. Whether I may not be present at any schismatical service: so that I neither communicate with them in prayer nor in sacraments.

“Answer, It is one thing to be present at the schismatical prayers, only to observe their manners, which many catholics have done: another, to pretend in countenance and gesture to pray with them, although it be not done in mind; for to do that is by the bystanders interpreted consent. For we communicate not with the sins of others, but by consenting and favouring.

“VII. Whether any benefice that shall be vacant, being in my gift, it shall be lawful to present one to the supposed bishop, or no.

“Answer, The patron of a church is, as it were, the patron of the people, and he ought to present, to be instituted, a shepherd, not a wolf, as far as he can understand. Otherwise he shall be the author of a scandal; to wit, such by whom scandal cometh. Yet he may yield to another the right of patronage before the church be vacant for that turn; saving to himself the right for the time hereafter: or to permit to lapse to the collation of the ordinary.

“VIII. “Whether it be lawful to say divine service or to celebrate, where the communion or other their schismatical service hath been frequented.

“Answer, I think places being heretofore consecrated, and now polluted with the conventicle of heretics, are to be reconciled by

catholic bishops. But although it be not yet done, if the constitution of the church is not despised concerning this thing, I think a catholic man may lawfully in any place lift up pure hands to God.

“IX. Whether my chaplain may be permitted, for conference sake, and better instruction of the catholics, to read such books as are prohibited by the late council of Trent; and especially such books as are set forth by the new superintendents.

“Answer, It seems to be a constitution of the council of Trent; of not reading the books of heretics. Whether the ordinary of the place can dispense with men learned, constant, and not easily yielding to seducers; that they may have and read them, to stir up the people, and to move them concerning their errors: the tenor of the constitution is to be kept.”

CERTAIN OTHER QUESTIONS TO BE RESOLVED.

“I. Whether any man reconciled may have his child christened of any being in schism, unreconciled. That is, whether both the priest, godfathers, and godmothers ought to be within the unity of Christ’s church.

“Answer, To the first, all the parties, as well the priest as godfathers and godmothers, ought to be in the unity of the catholic church. And the parents being in that state, ought not to procure any other to be present; but to avoid, if they can, that none being out of that state shall be present at the ministration of the sacrament. And yet, if others be present, being no parties to the ministration, it forceth not.

“II. If it be not lawful to have any but such as be reconciled, then the Child being first christened after the order of the catholic church, whether afterwards I may have in open show, within mine own house, some things read in English: as a gospel and certain prayers; and also other godfathers to bear the name, which be in schism.

“Answer to the second, It is not lawful: for it is not good in any such thing to dissemble with God, by some convenient sort to excuse the manner that you would use.

“III. Whether any priests reconciled may read such things in English, and not hereby fall into schism.

“Answer, It is not lawful for any such priest as is named in the said article to do any such thing.

“IV. If any child being christened in schism, whether exorcism, cream, and oil, and other things wanting, ought to be added.

“Answer, It is not necessary for such things to be done.

“V. Whether there may be any more godfathers and godmothers than two; that is, one godfather and one godmother at the most, according to the decree of the late general council of Trent.

“Answer, The old accustomed order may yet be used, or the other followed, as it shall please you. Because the decree is not yet here promulgated. And also the cause of that decree is only to avoid the increase of spiritual kindred among such persons as are marriageable.

CHAPTER 22.

Divers popish emissaries taken up. The conference at Wis-bich. Feckenham's confession. Dr. Fulk sent by the bishop of Ely thither. Account of the conference published. Fulk's challenge. The pope's factors abroad discovered by A. M. Design in Rome of invading England. Some of the principles taught in the English college at Rome. Campion confesses where he was entertained in London, and elsewhere, viz. in Yorkshire and Lancashire. Several disputations with him in the Tower, in answer to his challenge. Some account of Campion, and his course of life. Parry at Paris: corresponds with the lord treasurer: intercedes for certain popish fugitives: the Ropers: sir Anthony (alias lord) Coppely. Advice for defence in case of invasion.

CAMPION, one of the chief of these emissaries of Rome, with others of them, were now discovered, and taken up; Campion put into the Tower, and many of them sent to Wisbich castle, where Watson and Feckenham now were. It pleased the lords, and others of her majesty's privy-council, after those recusants were committed there, to direct their letters to the bishop of Ely (in whose diocese the castle was wherein those prisoners were kept) to provide that they might have conference, (if they would admit any,) and be called upon to come to church, and to hear the preaching there.

Whereupon the bishop made choice of Dr. Fulk, a learned professor of divinity in Cambridge, with some others, whom he purposed to send unto them. And him he desired (as Dr. Fulk tells us himself) by his chancellor, Mr. D. Bridgwater, to repair unto him in the Isle of Ely. From whence he sent him with a gentleman of his house, to signify to them that had the charge of those prisoners, the cause of his coming. Whereupon ensued a certain speech made by him, in the presence of certain honest men, specially called, and required to be witnesses; besides a number of good credit. The sum whereof was written at that present time by three or four that came with him. Of which one was a learned preacher, and collected what was spoken, to certify the bishop, as near as could be, what communication had passed between them; without any further purpose of publishing the same. But the copy thereof coming into the hand of a friend

of Fulke's at London, and by him communicated to some other of his friends, at last it came into the printer's hands; who suddenly set it abroad, without the knowledge of Fulke or his friend. Means was made to have the printer punished. And had not Campion's proud challenge come even in the nick, that reverend and learned man could not have been persuaded by his friends to have suffered that party to go so clear as he did.

Thus he thought fit to vindicate himself from a certain popish book, being an epistle of the *Persecution in England*; done, as it was thought, by Parsons. Wherein this matter is related so, as though he, for a little vainglory, published this account.

"The vainglory," as that author wrote, of contending *cum magnatibus*," i. e. with those noblemen, as he called Watson the bishop, and Feckenham the abbot; so long since by lawful authority deprived of such dignities. The author of that epistle relateth this conference with them thus: "That he crept secretly into the castle un-looked for, and without any authority: and that he came to offer them conference by no public authority. And that he commanded them to be brought into his presence." But, as Fulke answered, "Did he command them by his private authority? Or were they who had them in custody so simple, that they would obey an unknown person, a mean man, of small or no account, coming without authority? In truth, he gave no commandment for their appearance before him: only the bishop's will was declared by his gentleman, his servant, unto their keeper."

But to go on with the truth of the relation. All reasonable condition of books, time, and order for the conference was offered them. But something stayed them; whether the disdain of Fulke's person, or more the fear of the weakness of their cause, that they would not adventure their credit in trial by disputation. And in the end they concluded, [viz. Watson and Fecknam,] that all disputation in matters of faith was unprofitable: alleging examples of the disputations in the convocation-house in the beginning of the queen's reign; and the conference at Westminster in the presence of almost all the learned and wise of the land.

And thus Dr. Fulke was fain to justify himself by giving this just relation of this intended conference, which was declined, and of the account of it in print. And thus falsely also another popish writer represented this conference: as,

“That Fulke only looked into Wisbech castle; and printed a pamphlet in his own praise: and that he attempted the matter without authority.”

But as for Fecknam, there were this year (in which he came to Wisbech) several conferences held with him by the bishop of Ely, in the presence of Dr. Perne, the dean, and divers of his chaplains, and other learned men: wherein he confessed in his conscience his allowance of divers things used and practised in the present reformed church: as of the common service to be good in the mother tongue, and such as was understood of the common people. And so he acknowledged that of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. was to be taken. Also, that he found no fault with any thing set forth in the Book of Common Prayer now used in the church of England. But his desire was, to have all the rest of the old service that was taken away, to be restored; as the prayers to saints, and for the dead, &c. and that then he would willingly come to church. Also, that he very well allowed of the oath for the queen’s supremacy, as it was interpreted in her majesty’s Injunctions, and that he was ready to take that oath whensoever it should be offered. But that he would not come to the service of our church, though he thought it in his conscience lawful, because he is not of our church for lack of *unity*; some being protestants, some puritans, some of the *family of love*; and because it was not set forth by authority of a general council. And lastly, that he would not conform himself to our religion, because he could see nothing sought for, but the spoil of the church. I refer the reader to the Appendix, for this popish abbot’s whole confession, taken out of the original paper, subscribed by himself; and signed by the bishop of Ely and some of his chaplains; and endorsed thus by the lord Burghley’s hand, *Feckenham’s Confession*.

I add this further concerning that learned professor, Fulk, that he made this year a challenge openly in print to all learned papists, in his book called *The Retentive*; in answer to *Bristow’s Motives*. And three years after, in his *Confutation of sundry cavils*, &c. he repeated it with these words:

“If you be so sharp-set upon disputations, as you *pretend*, why doth never a papist of you all answer my challenge, made openly in print almost three years ago, set before my *Retentive*? Wherein you may express what you have in maintenance of your opinion, without suit, without danger; and to the best and surest trial of the truth.”

A great many of these English factors for the pope were about this time discovered by one of themselves; and the several places abroad where they resided. This man's name was Anthony Monday, sometime of the English college at Rome: one of these thus discovered by him was Woodward, at Amiens; who persuaded this A. Monday, and one Thomas Newel, rambling thither, to go to Rheims, and take Orders. He was at length the pope's scholar at Rome: but afterwards came into England, and turned protestant; and wrote a book concerning them and their way of living, called, *The English Roman life*. Therein he also nameth Dr. Bristow at Doway; Dr. Allen at Rheims, afterward made a cardinal; Dr. Lewis at Rome, archdeacon of Cambray; Dr. Morris, rector of the English college or hospital in Rome; Mr. Deacon at Lyons; at whose house certain treasonable words were spoke by Henry Orton, one of them that were condemned afterwards in England, but not executed, but then lying in the Tower: at Milain, at cardinal Borrbomeo's palace, Df. Robert Griffin, confessor to the said cardinal: Steuk-ly, and three more popish gentlemen at Rome, in great credit with the pope; the first appointed with an army to invade England, but slain in the battle of the king of Portugal. This put a stop to that invasion. These three other gentlemen came from the north parts of England, (as Dr. Griffin told Monday and his fellow, dining with him on a Christmas day,) and were to go forward with Steukly in the enterprise, and to have the pope's army committed to their conduct; and so to overrun England at their pleasure. And then they would make (as Dr. Griffin proceeded in his narration) kings, and dukes, and earls at their pleasure; every one, according as they thought well of. And that they got letters from Dr. Saunders, Dr. Allen, Dr. Bristow, and others; who thought very well of their intent. And therefore forwarded them in their letters, so much as they might, to Dr. Lewis, Dr. Morris, Dr. Moorton, and other doctors and gentlemen at Rome. They followed the suit to the pope's holiness; informing, how they had already won such a number of English to join with them, when the matter came to pass, that, granting them his holinesses army, they should presently overrun all England, and yield it wholly into his hand. But the pope, when he had scanned this business; well noting the simple and arrogant behaviour of the men, as this writer relates, and their unlikelihood of performing these things; they were denied their request, and sent away without recompense. Not but that the pope was well enough disposed to invade England, but was more inclinable to send his forces to the Spaniard for that end, as we heard before.

Queen Elizabeth, as the same writer further informs, was thus reproached by an English priest at Rome:

“That proud, usurping Jezebel; whom God reserveth to make her a public spectacle to the whole world, for keeping that good queen of Scots from her lawful rule. But I hope ere long the dogs shall tear her flesh; and those that be her props and upholders.”

These words that priest spake in the English college to A. Monday, when he came there first.

Concerning such as came to Rome, to the English college there, thus the priest abovesaid told A. M.

“Such as come to this holy place must faithfully bend his life and conversation to honour and reverence our provident and holy father the pope, in all things that shall like him to command; to hold and confess him the universal supreme head of Christ’s church; and embrace his decrees as the only ordinance and will of God. For he is the person of God on earth; and he cannot err, because the Spirit of divine grace guideth him continually. He hath authority over all kings and princes, to erect and suppress whom he pleaseth; (and that shall England well know, ere long.) To honour and obey him; to be a true and faithful subject of his church; and to live and die in his cause: this ought to be the intent of all that come hither.”

So fast were they to be held in the pope’s fetters, that expected maintenance here from him in his college.

And so far was the plot against England at this time advanced, and with such confidence of success, that they had already doomed a great many of the queen’s chief ministers, and other zealous protestants, both of the laity and clergy. For the aforesaid priest, in the garden with A. M. pulled a paper out of his pocket, saying, “I have a bedroll of them here; who little know what is providing for them; and I hope shall not know it, till it fall upon them.” Then he read their names unto him; [we are left to conjecture who they were: very probably these were some; the lord treasurer, the earl of Leicester, secretary Walsingham, Mild-may, &c.] and opening the paper further, at the end were more names; as of magistrates, and others belonging to the city of London. Among whom was Mr. Recorder, [Fleetwood,] Noel, dean of St. Paul’s, Mr. Fox, Mr. Crowley, and sundry others. And he well remembered, that no one was named, but he had the

order of his death appointed; either by burning, hanging, or quartering, and the like. But the realm was aware of these designs, how private soever the enemies practised: and the favourable providence of God disappointed them.

One of these taken up was Campion the Jesuit, one of the chiefest and busiest in perverting the queen's subjects; and had no small success therein; being a person zealous for the cause, and of some learning. Among the papers I have conversed with, I find one containing his confession of the persons with whom he was entertained. But first he underwent the rack in the Tower, before he could be brought to do it, but favourably. He confessed he was in the houses of the lord Vaux, sir Thomas Tressham, sir William Catesby, knights, in the summer, 1580. These persons being informed of Campion's confession, and required in her majesty's behalf, by her majesty's commandment, to answer unto the lord treasurer, the lord chamberlain, and the earl of Leicester, upon their oaths, whether, to their knowledge, he had been at any of their houses sithence June, 1580, (when Campion came over,) refused so to do. And the lord Vaux refused to answer thereunto upon his honour. [Notwithstanding, they were severally informed, that Campion had confessed the same. Whereof the direct confessions were read to them. And after their refusal to purge themselves by their oaths, they were afterwards charged in her majesty's name, upon their allegiance, peremptorily refused to answer.] All this that followeth in the said paper hath Campion's name in the margin, as matter confessed by him.

Henry Perpoint, esq. Jervyse Perpoint, his brother. That he was there at the last Christmas, and tarried there until the Tuesday after Twelfth-day. Brought thither by Jer-vyse Perpoint. Confessed by both the Perpoints. He said masses, and confessed Jervyse every week.

Henry Secheverel, esq. That he was there about the Wednesday after Twelfth-day last. Tarried there one night. Confessed by Mr. Secheverell. And that he said one mass.

Langford, esq. That he was there two nights, about Thursday and Friday after Twelfth-day last. Confessed, And that he there said two masses, Jervyse Per-point confesseth it also,

The lady Fuljanes. That he was there one night, about Saturday after Twelfth-day last. Jervyse Perpoint [con-fesseth] that they stayed there two

nights; and said two masses. Powdrel, gentleman. Himself confesseth his being there with Jervyse Perpoint, and Gylberb after Christmas last. Where Campion said mass.

Ayres of the Stiple, gent. [This is the confession of Jervyse Perpoint, whose name is in the margin.] That he brought Campion thither about Monday sennight after Twelfth-day last: where they met with Tempest by former appointment. After which Campion confesseth, he went northward with Tempest. And that they kept companym together about nine days. And will confess no place of their being, but at Janes.

The proclamation made for these Jesuits, &c. was the 24th day of January, anno 23 *reginae nunc*. And all following received Campion after that proclamation.

John Rookeby, of Yeafford, gent. He confessed Campion was at his house the Saturday next before Candlemas last, being the 28th of January.

Dr. Vavasor, Mrs. Bulmer, sir William Babthorp, kt. Grimston, gent. Hawkworth, gent. Asculph Clesby, gent. That he [Campion signed] was at all these places after the 28th of January last: and before Midlent, it appeareth by comparing of his confessions.

William Harrington, gent. That he was there fourteen days, about Easter last. Made there part of his Prophecy book. Brought thither by Smith, Mrs. Harrington's brother. Mr. Harrington confesseth, he [Campion] came to his house about Saturday the third week in Lent last: stayed there about twelve days: knew him not for Campion until he was upon departure.

Talbot, of esq. Thomas Southworth, gent. Bartholomew Hesketh, gent. Mrs. Allen, widow; Richard Hawghton, of the Park, gent. Westby, gent. Rygmaiden, gent. [signed] Campion. That he was in these places between Easter and Whitsuntide last past. For all that time he bestowed in Lancashire, at Mr. Talbot's and Mr. Southworth's. He went with Mr. More, of Yorkshire, and his wife, Mrs. More: he having before been his scholar. Price, esq. William Grittith, esq. the lady Stoner; Est, gent. the lady Babington; Mrs. Pollard, widow;

Yeate, gent. [signed] Campion. That he had been at all these places sithence Whitsuntide last. At Price's in his absence. At Mr. Griffith, his wife. Morris, being there at the lady Stoner's, John Stoner. Sely's man being there at Mr. Yeate's. All these that were taken with him, privy to it.

And at Griffith's, Parsons and he [Campion] met; and were all together at Stoner's lodge.

From this curious original paper Campion is traced from Christmas to Easter, and thence to Whitsuntide, through Yorkshire and Lancashire; and the divers and sundry popish gentlemen, ill affected in those parts to the queen and her government, who had received and entertained him secretly; and at whose house this Campion, and Parsons, the other Jesuit, and emissary from the pope, met; on purpose to lay their treasonable plots in this kingdom. Whereby all these persons, men and women, were brought into danger of their lives by harbouring them against an act of parliament and the queen's proclamation.

There seemed to have been some doubt at court, how to proceed against him and the rest. And the lord treasurer, absent then from court, was desired by secretary Walsingham to give his grave advice about it. Who gave this answer to the secretary, That he thought it convenient and necessary that the law should pass upon them; writing thus to him: "That as for those *lewd fellows*," (as Walsingham had called them,) "lately sent from Rome into England, he advised him to move her majesty, that the lord chancellor, by conference with the recorder, might devise some way, agreeable to the law of the realm, for the punishment of them." Which Walsingham answered, he would not fail to do. And this whole trial at large is preserved to us by Stow in his addition to Wolfe's Chronicle.

Campion, who was a mighty boaster, had sometime before made a bold challenge, and published it against protestants: which it was thought fit to answer. And so some of the learned clergy were appointed to enter a public disputation with him in the Tower, upon his own arguments and reasons. Of which conferences or disputations with him, I proceed to give some brief account. They were four. The first was begun, ult. August, 1581, managed against him by two deans, viz. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, and Day, dean of Windsor, in the chapel of the Tower. They came to examine the untruths of his own book, wherein he made so large a challenge, rather than to dispute and wrangle. And so they entered upon the first part of his book; wherein he charged the queen's merciful government, and those that professed the gospel, (as he did in the preface of his book,) with unusual cruelty and torments, practised upon his fellows in religion. And then they came to the matter of his book. And "First, That we had cut off many goodly and principal parts of the holy scriptures, and

the whole body, thereof, of mere desperation and distrust of our cause.’’ And the first proof he named was the epistle of St. James: for which he quoted Luther: but the deans produced the book which was entitled, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, and cleared Luther. In the afternoon they had another conference; when there were several other papists present also; as Hart and Sherwin, who spake frequently on the side of Campion and his arguments.

The second and third conferences, on the 18th and 23d days of September, were managed by Dr. Fulk and Dr. Goad, heads of colleges in Cambridge. In the second conference, they proceeded to the third chapter of Campion’s book, wherein he slandered the church of England, and the whole church of God, for his definition of the *catholic church*: for that it was asserted by them to be *invisible*. In the afternoon they disputed upon this question, Whether the visible church may err. The third day’s conference was upon these two questions; which were Campion’s assertions. I. Christ is in the blessed sacrament substantially, very God and very man. II. That after the words of consecration, the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ.

The fourth day’s conference, September 27, was managed by Mr. Dr. Walker, and Mr. William Chark, opponents, and Campion respondent. The questions were,

I. Whether the scriptures contain sufficient doctrine to salvation.

II. Whether faith only justifieth.

The third and fourth of these conferences were begun and ended with godly prayers by the divines on the protestant side.

These conferences were so carefully recollected by the divines themselves, that they set their own hands to them, as testimonies of the just and true accounts given thereof. And some months after, they were published: on this occasion, partly, that all might see what strength of argument this confident challenger was master of; and chiefly, because very false and untrue reports hereof were first printed by others, that were favourers of Campion: who had most unjustly aspersed the protestant disputants, and extolled the Jesuit, as obtaining the victory, and putting the others to silence. Insomuch that the two deans were fain to print a recital of certain untruths scattered in the pamphlets and libels of the papists, concerning the

former conferences, with a short answer to the same. Therein is mentioned, how it was observed concerning the Jesuit, that he was so hot and passionate in his arguings: rising up sometimes from the form on which he sat; did cast up and fling with his hands and arms; did knock and beat upon his book, upon every other word, with an exceeding loud voice and sharp countenance: which made one of the antagonists, speaking in Latin, use these words: *Qui hic mos est, mi homo? Quis hlc gestus? Et loqueris, et pulsas fores. Gloriosus miles. Projicis ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba.*

As for the three last conferences, they were faithfully gathered out of the notes of divers that were present, and writ there what was spoken, and after were perused by the learned men themselves; and lastly, published by authority. And so it was certified in the preface by John Field, one of those that took notes. And they are signed at the end of each conference by the hands of the parties that held the discourses.

But an inconvenience was observed in these disputations, which prejudiced and hindered the good use and benefit that might otherwise have been made of them. For the managing, these discourses with Campion were too confused, and required better regulation and order, for the more effectual putting to silence this boaster. This Thomas Norton, D. D. was sensible of; who was one of the disputants appointed; who therefore advised a more suitable method to proceed in: which he himself followed in another conference. An account of the inconveniences of the former Conference, and how to regulate them that should be hereafter, (for more, it seems, were intended,) he wrote in a letter to the lord treasurer; who had sent to him for the notes of the last rencounters with that Jesuit: propounding it to his lordship, and the rest of the most honourable, to think of some amendment of the order in their course of treaty to be had with him. And he prayed his lordship to pardon him to say, that he thought the course hitherto taken, either by lack of order, or moderation, or convenient respect of admitting men to be hearers, had been both fruitless and hurtful, and subject to great harm, by reports. That the last time he was a means, by advice, to have it in some such form as did better content. And the order to set down the objections and answers, and to repeat them written, so as the parties should acknowledge them to be their own, before any answer or reply made unto them, did greatly satisfy the hearers: being so surely used, that in the whole day Campion could not complain, that he [Walker] did wrong him in any one word, but always confessed, that his sayings were tightly conceived, and honestly set down. By which means, as he added,

confusion was avoided, by-talk was cut off, and he was hardly driven to the wall. What he once had granted, he could not resume. And our cause, said he, is not so subject to the false reports of his favourers.

He concluded; "My poor opinion herein, which my good friend Mr. Dr. Hammond doth also allow, I am bold to send to your lordship. I beseech you pardon me with your accustomed goodness. What service I can do to the church of God, to her majesty, or your lordship, I trust you retain favourable opinion of my readiness, so far as I am able." What scheme and method this learned man propounded more at large, for the more regular and profitable arguing with this Jesuit, and what persons he thought proper to be the disputants, I will not repeat here, but refer the reader to another book, where they may be found.

We shall take our leave of this unhappy man, after we have heard the character and particular account given of him and his course of life, before his face, by one of the disputants, viz. the foresaid Walker, in the entrance into the last day's conference. Beginning in these words to the assembly then met:

"Gentlemen, ye shall understand, that we be sent, hither by authority to talk and confer with one, called Campion; an Englishman born, and brought up in this realm, in schools and places where good learning hath been taught. So that he might have been a good instrument in this commonwealth, and God's church. But contrary to his bringing up, his friends' expectation, and hope that this church might have conceived of him, like an unnatural man to his country, degenerated from an Englishman, an *apostata* in religion, a fugitive from this realm, unloyal to his prince; hath not only fled to the man of Rome, an adversary to Christ and his doctrine, but hath got a courage from that Romanist, with certain other his sectaries, to come into this realm again, to undermine the gospel of Christ, to seduce God's people, and withdraw her majesty's lawful subjects to disobedience and sedition. And hath been (disguised in ruffian's apparel) in divers places of this realm, to plant secretly that blasphemous mass and other popery.

Whereunto it appeareth he hath allowed many unstable tools. And in Yorkshire, where his sectaries and disciples are apprehended and justly imprisoned; now they rage, as I hear say, and curse him, that

ever he came there. Ye see what manner of man we are to talk withal.”

Beside this Campion, and other priests, being popish emissaries, now in the Tower, under strict examination, there were some of the name of the Tirwhits also under examination, and were as obstinate as the rest to confess any thing: and so secretary Wylson, in a letter to the earl of Sussex, lord chamberlain, absent then from the court, wrote,

“That he had been at the Tower, to examine the two Turwhits; whom he found very obstinate in religion.”

The queen had now remaining abroad (besides these Jesuits) other enemies that were papists; as, the earl of Westmerland, sir Anthony (called lord) Coppely, and the Ropers. And for these, as occasion served, Dr. Parry, (before spoken of,) in his letters writ often to the lord treasurer, did the best offices he could. This Parry went abroad, partly, or indeed chiefly, for debt, and partly to be a pretended intelligencer for the service of the queen: for which office he most earnestly solicited the lord treasurer, with most solemn protestations, how faithful he would be to her majesty’s interest, and promised what service he would do her in Paris, Venice, Rome, and other places abroad. This is that Parry that, a few years after, was executed for undertaking the murder of the queen; and coming over for that intent. This year I find him in Paris: where his short or long abode, as he wrote to that lord, depended upon his good or ill speed in his service, intended and protested in his former letters. His artificial hypocrisy may be seen in another of his letters from Paris this year to the same lord; which ran in these words.

“My lord, the name and title of a true subject have been always so dear unto me, that I cannot but hold him and his religion far suspected, that practiseth any thing against her majesty; whose government and fortune have been no less comfortable to all good men at home, than strange and fearful to her enemies abroad. God preserve her for th’ one, and defend her from th’ other. I have heretofore purposely written some ordinary letters to your lordship, that thereby I might without suspicion write to you still: and thus long deferred to look carefully into any thing, until I might be settled; and better acquainted with some men’s proceeding on this side I do find *my* credit and favour to be such with the best of the English and Scottish nation in Rome and Paris, (by the hope

conceived of my readiness and ability to serve them, that I doubt not within few months to be well able to discover their deepest practices, if the same may be now, rished with her majesty's reasonable charge, to be bestowed, as occasion shall serve, in trifling gifts (rather of pleasure than price) and friendly entertainment: the true manner whereof shall always appear to your lordship. Some [at] court have heretofore sought to draw me *into* this course: which as I refused then, so will I forswear to follow, if it be not your pleasure to embrace it, and like it in me. I have long (so God help me) faithfully and heartily honoured and loved your lordship, and yet forborne to be troublesome unto you. Good my lord, begin to look favourably upon me, and I will end in doing you service."

But that lord was somewhat suspicious of him, and cared not as yet wholly to trust him, unless it were in buying him books set forth in those parts, &c. which Parry perceived, notwithstanding ail his protestations he had made. Now he begs him to begin to look favourably upon him.

In the same letter (which was dated May 1) he mentioned his late commendations of Mr. John Roper and Mr. Thomas Roper to him, for their readiness and ability to serve him: well worthy of his good opinion and countenance. And beseeched his lordship to take some occasion to thank them for their loving and friendly care of him in his absence: but so as his service might be secreted from every creature, except her majesty and his lordship.

"And *as* he said before, so he said again, that if he were less *ceremonious* than he should be in writing unto his lordship, he trusted he would pardon him: who had, he said, *rather* serve him in deeds, than please him in words." And then in another letter, writ a month or two after, he is advocate for the rebel earl of Westmerland in these words: "That if the most humble submission of the unfortunate earl of Westmerland might by his lordship's means be made plausible to her majesty, (his life and liberty only reserved,) he was ready, with greatest repentance of his error and fault, committed in his youth, to fall at her majesty's feet. I know not," added he in his intercession for that earl, "whether the reclaiming of desperate men do agree with our state and policy: and yet it is daily seen, that the kings Christian and Catholic [i. e. of

France and Spain] do it; yea, sometimes with advancement. But the cause was so great, that he dared not adventure to speak much of it; and therefore did wholly refer it to his lordship's wisdom and grave consideration. If the motion were seasonable, (as in truth he thought it to be,) and the service not offensive to her majesty, it might be delivered into the lord ambassador's hand, who (as the earl told him) by one Calvi an Italian, did offer to deal in it, and within few days to despatch it. And that the earl had often, by himself and others, spoken with him herein: but that her majesty's pleasure and his lordship's opinion, as in every thing, should be his rule in this." This was dated July the 30th, 1580.

Again, the same year, from Paris, he undertakes to be a mediator for another popish fugitive, viz. Copply, a knight, called lord Copply, a pensioner to, the king of Spain, writing thus:

"That if his former letters touching the lord Copply proved serviceable to her majesty, and profitable to the state, he should think himself very happy to have adventured thus far, for such an one as was very like to be found, for his deserts hereafter, worthy her grace's and his honourable favour. That the necessity of the time, his credit heretofore in England, his long services, well entertained abroad, joined to the earnest and constant speeches of his dutiful desire to serve her majesty, (if the same were taken in time,) put him out of doubt that her majesty should have good cause to thank his lordship for the so seasonable recovery of so necessary a subject. That he sued for no greater a privilege than many a true and faithful subject did graciously and daily enjoy; that his land, liberty, and reputation should undertake for his good demeanour; and that time would undoubtedly discover, how far he was from thought to offend her majesty."

And then, with all the earnestness he could in behalf of this fugitive, he concluded with these words:

"Truly, my lord, there is nothing more apparent in the face and countenance of the whole household, than a determination religiously to perform at the least whatsoever I have *written*. For my part, &c. I do presume, under correction, to put you in remembrance how much the recovery *and* restitution of such a gentleman (in whose blood and race your children have, and your

lordship, by this good turn, shall be ever assured to have interest) may prove worth in the opinion of every good man.” We may add more of Parry’s sly letters hereafter.

We heard before what fierce resolutions were taken by pope and Spaniard, combined in a pretended holy league, against queen Elizabeth and her realm; which caused a great consternation in the people at this time; the preparations making by them being given out to be exceeding great; and the more formidable, by reason of the secret correspondence of great numbers of the queen’s treacherous subjects at home, with them abroad. In this juncture, one Robert Hitchcock, a military gentleman, shewed his zeal and loyalty, by presenting to the queen a tract, by him written upon the like occasion nine years before; directing a manner and method of defence against an expected invasion, with a new dedication of it to her;

“Praying her majesty to hear the true and faithful mind of her humble subject, poured out at the feet of her sacred majesty, touching the raging, feigned *holy league*. Wherein, he said, he had set out his poor opinion, both of the landing of the enemy, and what peril it might breed, if it were not prevented in time; and also, of their repulsing again, with triumphant victory, if order were used, and his poor labour accepted in good part: which he humbly presented unto her excellency.”

Therein he shewed her the absolute need for her subjects to be disciplined and trained in skill of arms; who might otherwise well be amazed, when they should see such numbers of enemies, as the bruit and report was, to seek them at their own doors. And added, that he was awaked out of his sleep by such ugly and monstrous bruits, as the confederates of that feigned *holy league*, and their friends, had now thrown abroad within her majesty’s kingdoms, to the great terror and disquiet of her loving subjects. The number of these enemies was reckoned so vastly large, as to be able to invade the land on several sides of it at once. For those princes confederates intended so to proportion themselves, and manage their doings, to breed a terror in the subjects’ hearts: and therefore would agree to land with several powers, in as many places as they could at one time, and think the matter thereby half won.

Now for the making provision for this their stratagem, this gentleman advised the queen how to prepare sufficient armies to defend the realm on all sides, by allotting fit numbers of men against such as should invade on

any or every side of the kingdom: namely, such as inhabited in the country on the respective sides of it: dividing the force of the land in six several parts; and to apportion to them such shires as best should serve for repulsing them that should come: viz. the first part to be Northumberland, Westmerland, the bishopric of Durham, Yorkshire, Richmondshire, Cumberland, Lancashire; and six shires more that way, to serve the north parts from Trent. Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and four more shires, to serve the east parts. Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and four more on that side, to serve the south parts. Cornwall, Devonshire, and three more bordering counties, to serve the west parts. All the twelve shires of Wales, with Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire, to serve for the defence of Wales, Milford-haven, and the rest thereabouts. The city of London, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, being the sixth part; to be about her majesty, to relieve the rest where need should require. And the land being thus divided into six parts, there would be in every of those six parts an hundred thousand able persons; which might fight well be levied to repulse the enemy.

And then he wished, that the charge and government of every of those six parts might be committed to one nobleman. And he (if it so pleased her majesty) to be called *the general* of that part of the land that he shall have charge of. The which noblemen should be wise, valiant, true, and unfeigned lovers of their commonweal. And they to have assistants, deputy-lieutenants, &c.

And at last, towards the conclusion of his discourse, he addeth, that he was of opinion, (which he referred to men of better judgments,) that he knew the way both to turn and divert king Philip's determination from hence, mind it he never so earnestly: and also to take from him and the Spaniards, that thing that is and hath been their only pride and upholder of all their great bravery and acts done in these latter days. Both which her majesty's subject was with all humbleness ready to open to her highness, if she liked so to command him.

And also to declare to her highness the way and means, in his simple judgment, how to avoid rebellion in her land. And that the confederates should be out of all hopes to have or receive any succour or aid by any her majesty's subjects, at their landing here, come when they will. And so humbly praying the Lord God of Israel to send his angels with the sword of

his glorious power, to defend her majesty, her realm, and people from her enemies.

Such gallant men and true firm subjects had the queen at this time to counterbalance the other sort.

CHAPTER 23.

Gualter of Zurick acquaints the archbishop of Canterbury what was doing in the synod at Frankford, for union. Formula concordiae; disliked. Zanchy's Confession of faith; disliked: and why. The harmony of confessions: a motion to this effect to the king of Navar. Horn, bishop of Winton, dies. Translates two seasonable sermons of Calvin in his exile. His apology for his flight. His last will. Dr. Overton made bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. Some passages of him. Railed upon and abused in the pulpit at Chichester, when prebendary there. Two evils oppress bishop Cox. AElmer, bishop of London, accused for felling his woods. Visits his London clergy. The bishop of Norwich, his proposal for rural deans in his diocese. Mr. Laurence, a preacher, sequestered by that bishop for nonconformity. Endeavours made at court to get him restored. The bishop's letter on that occasion.

NOW to record some notices of our reverend bishops and divines, as they occur under this year.

A great and useful matter had been transacting in Germany now for two years; viz. for the allaying and pacifying the differences of the churches in Germany, chiefly concerning the presence in the eucharist: such were, on the one part, those Lutherans called *ubiquitarians*, (whereof Jacob Andreas, a learned professor, was the head,) and *the evangelici* of divers sentiments, the other. In a synod held at Frankford, commendable endeavours were used, to frame such a confession as all the churches of protestants, not only in Germany, but in all other places, might accord in. And what was done in this matter, and how this great affair stood, Rodolph Gualter, of Zurick, gave Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, an account in a letter sent to him this year, in these words: *In Germania passim dat concordiae formula, &c.*

“That that form of a concord to be agreed to by all, gave disturbance in Germany. Which Jacobus Andreas, successor to Brentius, and the *apostle of ubiquity*, (as he calls him,) with his confederates, had framed: and to which three electoral princes, viz. of Saxony, Palatine, and of Brandenburg, with many others, had subscribed; but the most illustrious prince William of Hesse and the

prince of Anhalt stiffly opposed. That there was some sharp dispute between the agents of the three electors and the prince of Hesse; who would not be moved from the defence of the true doctrine which he had received. That as for that *common confession* of faith, that by a decree of the synod of Frankford was drawn up in the year 1577, by the learned Hierom Zanchy; it ought to have been examined by the church of Helvetia, and by Beza of France; that it might also have been known to other churches. And his phrases and expressions were so much in the school way, that it wanted both brevity and clearness.” Gualter proceeded, with respect to the distant churches; “That considering the long delay that must needs be, before all the churches, so far distant from one another, could by mutual correspondences agree and accord in the same confession; and that many would not depart from their formerly received opinions, and would retain their own terms and phrases; therefore, by the counsel and advice of the most illustrious John Casimire, they thought it more advisable that a harmony of all the confessions should be written; with some marginal notes set here and there, to illustrate such things as seemed more obscurely spoken. That hence might appear the consent of the evangelical churches: and about this did Beza, Danaeus, and one more, chiefly employ their pains. But Beza’s sickness had put some stop thereunto; which otherwise might then have been finished. And of this he, the writer, thought fit to certify his grace the archbishop.”

But for all this and more, it is better to take it in the words of the letter itself, written by so eminent a foreigner to so great a personage, about so weighty a concern of the church: which I have therefore laid in the Appendix.

But there was another reason, more secret, beside that above-mentioned, why Beza and the French divines liked not of that Confession of faith, drawn up by Zanchy, that learned professor of Heidelberg; namely, the acknowledgment of the ancient government of the church by archbishops and bishops. Which gave occasion to that learned man afterwards to vindicate that part of his Confession: which Dr. Bancroft took notice of in a book by him written not long after. In that Confession, speaking of bishops, he useth these words: *Non improbamus patres, &c.*

“We do not disallow the fathers, in that after a divers way of dispensing the word, and governing the church, they multiplied divers orders of ministers: seeing it was lawful so to do, seeing they did it for honest causes, appertaining at that time to the order, decency, and edification of the church.” And in the next article, *Hac ratione*, &c. “For this reason, viz. that the nurseries of dissensions and schisms might be taken away, we think that these things, which were ordained before the council of Nice, concerning archbishops, nay, as touching the four patriarchs, may be excused and defended.”

Here Dr. Bancroft addeth this remark, that when this book was perused, and this clause found in it, then a device was had for the staying of it; under pretence, that now it was thought more meet that there should be an harmony made of all the confessions of divers churches. But Zanchy himself makes this the chief cause (as that author observed) why his book did mislike some of them: for that he had written as before was mentioned of bishops. For so he saith, *Magnus quidam vir*, &c.

“That a certain great man” (meaning Beza, as it is supposed) “did write unto him of this matter as followeth: *Your Confession was read by me, and N. and others, with great delight. It is written most learnedly, and in a most exquisite method. And if you except that which you add towards the end, touching archbishops and the hierarchy, mihi summopere placuit, i. e. it pleased me exceedingly.*”

But Zanchy upon this occasion (as it seemed) printed his said Confession, with certain annotations. In which he shewed three reasons for his allowance of archbishops and bishops. The first grounded upon the practice of the primitive church, presently after the apostles’ time. The second, for that he thought it his duty, in the draught of his said book, to have regard to those reformed churches which retained both bishops and archbishops. And the third, because all the reformed churches generally, although they had changed the names, yet in effect they kept the authority: as where they had *superintendents*, and *general superintendents*. “Nay,” said he,” where these new Latin names are not admitted, yet there were in those places usually certain chief men, that did in a manner bear all the sway.” The manner of his setting down of his first reason, and that in his

own words, was this that follows: which I transcribe from Dr. Bancroft's translation.

Cum hanc conscriberem fidei Confessionem, &c. “When I writ this Confession of faith, I writ all the things in it of a good conscience: and as I believed, so I freely spake, the scriptures teaching men so to do. And my faith, first of all, and simply, doth rely upon the word of God; and then, somewhat also upon the common consent of the whole ancient catholic church, if the same be not repugnant to the scriptures. For I believe, that what things were defined and received by the ancient fathers, assembled in the name of the Lord, with a general consent of them all, and without any contradiction of the holy scriptures; the same surely, although they be not of the same authority with the holy scriptures, yet did they proceed from the Holy Ghost. Hereof it cometh to pass, that those things which are of this nature, neither would I, neither dare I, with a good conscience, disallow them. And what can be shewed more certainly out of histories, out of the councils, and out of the writings of all the ancient fathers, than that those orders of ministers, of the which we have spoken, have been ordained and received in the church, by the general consent of all Christian commonwealths? And who then am I, that should presume to reprove that which the whole church hath approved?”

Concerning this endeavour of a concord between the protestant churches, I meet with a fragment of a letter, writ to some chief French divine, belonging to the king of Navar. It imported, that the *Formula Concordiae* was sent into France by Henricus Mollerus, and Christopherus Pezelius, two eminent German divines: notifying, that many of the German princes and magistrates of cities had agreed to it. But yet if the king could not consent thereto, that then he would permit, in order to this happy and most desired concord, that some pious and learned men might meet, and find out some way of an union between the churches of Germany and France. The letter had this inscription: *Haec a dnis. doctoribus Hen. Mollero et Christophero Pezelio ex Germania scribuntur.* The letter follows.

Nunc in aulis audimus cudi responsum multorum nomine, propediem ad vos mittendum. Id veto quid sit, etsi certo exploratum non habeamus, tamen non desunt qui in hanc fere sententiam illud conceptum esse affirmant. Consensisse nimirum

principes Germaniae non paucos, et ur-bium magistratus in doctrinae formulam, quae titulo Formulae Concordiae, non multo ante est edita. Eam doctri-nam, quae hoc libro comprehensa sit, judicare se, consentire cum doctrina prophetarum et apostolorum: et testimonia habere literarum sacrarum certissima. Eam igitur si probet rex Navarraeus, posse consensum inter Gallicas et Germanicas ecclesias constitui, dudum exoptatum. Sin dissen-tiat, tum vero non displicere sibi, ut de tota re inquiratur accuratius; et adhibitis utrinque viris piis et doctis, ratio aliqua ineundae concordiae ineatur.

The copy of this letter seems to have been sent to some of our bishops here in England; to let them understand what laudable attempt was now making, in order to the uniting the protestant churches of those two nations, since their *Formula Concordiae* was not like to obtain that end.

Horne, bishop of Winchester, departed this life in the month of June this year: a learned confessor for religion, choosing exile, and forsaking his native country, and his preferments under queen Mary, for Christ's sake, being then dean of Durham. Some part of his writings, in his peregrination abroad, in memory of this pious bishop, I shall give some account of, as I have met with them. Two seasonable sermons of John Calvin he translated out of Latin into English, about the year 1554, while he was in exile; very seasonable for the afflicted professors of religion in those times: but printed and set forth not before the year 1584, by A. M. and dedicated to the earl of Leicester: so it appears by the title-page. "Because these sermons *have* long lyen hid in silence, and many godly and religious persons have been very desirous of them, at their *earnest* request they are now published by A. M." [Anthony Monday, I suppose; of whom before.] The first is, *A godly sermon to flee idolatry*, from Psalm xvi. 4. *I will not communicate with their bloody sacrifices, neither will I take their names in my mouth.* In this sermon all Christians are admonished to flee all outward idolatry. The second sermon was, *An exhortation to suffer persecution; that we may therein follow Jesus Christ and his gospel.* The text, Heb. xiii. 13. *Let us go forth to him without the gates, bearing his opprobrie.*

Before both these sermons is set Horne's preface, called, *The apology of Mr. Robert Horne*: beginning, *Peace and mercy from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* This Apology is a little tract, containing about thirty or forty leaves. Therein he gives account of himself, and of the

reason of his flight: which was without the knowledge of any of his friends. And this Apology was written for their satisfaction. There are many things in it of remark; as concerning the bishop of Durham, [Tonstal,] and his hard and unjust dealing with him; and likewise of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, now lord chancellor; and the sad change there was of things upon the access of queen Mary to the throne. And towards the conclusion, he shewed the reason of his translating those sermons; namely, for the sake of his friends at home, left in the midst of so much idolatry: that they might learn to bear Christ's cross. And further, what his intention was in this interval, to employ himself in; viz. to prove the mass to be the greatest heresy, blasphemy, and idolatry; and that from scripture and the ancient fathers. This Apology therefore is well worthy the preserving, as well to let in light into those times and men, as for a remembrance of that very worthy bishop, and some remarkable passages of his life and sufferings. I have, though somewhat long, laid it in the Appendix. Therein he relates at large, how he was summoned up from Durham to the privy-council. And thereby the bishop of Durham and the bishop of Winchester accused him of divers things, that were merely false, on purpose to bring him into trouble: as, that he, being dean of the church, took upon him to meddle in the bishop's office. That in his *new learning* he preached heresy. That he was a Scot: though he were an Englishman, and so born. That he brought a wife into that church, where never woman came before. That he had received three letters from the queen, to appear before the council, and obeyed neither of them. of all these accusations he vindicates himself in this Apology.

This bishop's last will was once very obligingly shewn me by sir Henry St. George, sometime garter king at arms; who was derived from him by one of his daughters. It bore date the 29th of *March*, 1579, whence I transcribe these contents.

“Sick in body, but in perfect memory. My body to be buried in my cathedral church, before the pulpit where that it now standeth, in seemly sort, without any pomp or blazing ceremony: in the earth to rest and sleep in hope, till the day of the general resurrection. I will and bequeath to the same my cathedral church at Winton, all my historical books, Greek and Latin, ecclesiastical and profane; to be laid up and used in the library belonging to the same church. *Item*, I bequeath to Magdalen hospital, nigh Winton, 30*l*. *Item*, I give, &c. to the poor hospital of St. Abbe's, nigh Win-ton, 30*l*. To the poor of the city or town of Duresme, 40*l*. To Paul Dayrel, my nephew,

my best basin and ewer. My third basin and ewer, all white, without gilt, to the child which my daughter Rebecca Hayman goeth withal. To Richard Ackworth, my nephew, my *hu-inanity* books, Greek and Latin. The residue of all goods and chattels, unto my four daughters, Anne Day-tel, Mary Hales, Margery Dayrel, and Rebecca Hey-man. I make Mr. Watson, dean of Winchester, Mr. Dr. Ebden, and John Dayrel and John Hales, my sons-in-law, my executors. Sir Henry Wallop, knt. sir Richard Norton, knt. and sir William More, knt. assistants to mine executors. I give unto every one of them one of my best horses. To Thomas Parker, my servant, over and above his wages, 8*l.* &c.” This will was proved the 27th of June.

Margery was grandmother to sir Henry St. George abovesaid; and was born in Frankford, while Home was an exile there. She was married to sir Thomas Dayrel, of Lillingston, in the county of Bucks. His other daughter married Dayrel, of Cales-hill in Kent. This, sir Henry told me, he had from his mother.

William Overton, D.D. was made bishop of Litchfield and Coventry this year, upon the death of Bentham, the last bishop there: this Overton, in king Edward’s days, when he was a scholar at Oxford, received, by the meaaas of secretary Cecyll, one of the exhibitions, going out of the abbey of Glastenbury. And in the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign was granted him, by her, one of the best prebends of Winchester. And soon after, he had the parsonage of Rotherfield in Sussex, better in value than 200*l.* a year; and had preferment also in the cathedral church of Chichester. He first sent word to court, in a well-penned Latin letter, of the death of Barlow, bishop of that see, one of whose daughters the said Overton had married. In the year 1569, the dean of the church, Richard Curtess, being nominated to succeed the bishop there, the said Overton sued to his friend sir William Cecil, that he might be made dean; and that he might resign his treasurership into the hands of the queen for that deanery, which treasurership, as he wrote, was greater and better than it. But he desired it, to prevent some harm, that the dean, now to be made bishop, might do him: between whom there had been quarrels. And being now bishop, he might be in a stronger capacity of offering him wrong, unless he were to succeed the dean. But notwithstanding, he obtained it not.

The earl of Leicester also was Overton's patron. But whatever the cause was, he lost his favour, when he was bishop of Litchfield and Coventry; and was called an apostate from him.

Let me insert one thing here concerning this reverend man, which I meet with among papers of those times: that while he was treasurer of that church of Chichester, he had a very angry adversary in the same church, one Drant, (whether he that was archdeacon of Lewis, or some other, I know not,) to that degree, that he could not contain his reproaches of Dr. Overton privately, but most rudely aspersed him openly in that church, in most indecent language, no way befitting the mouth of a preacher in so public a place, betraying his own malice, and envy, and pride, and conceit of himself. His words were these.

“That Dr. Overton was a very hypocrite, a noble, a glorious, an everlasting hypocrite; and nothing else but a mere satchel of hypocrisy. That he was brimful, topful, too, too full of hypocrisy; and though he danced in the net of hypocrisy, yet he would discover him, and whip *him* naked. That he was like a vice in a play, representing a *grave* man's part, and had no *gravity*: he swelling *with* the title of a *doctor*, and had no *doctrine*. Concerning doctrine and learning, he said, that the said doctor did not understand nor feel the deepness of his sermons; *neither* could it ever be told him, for him. And that he was sure, that neither the said doctor, nor all the doctors *that* made him a doctor, nor all his friends, take them at all, all, even every one, should ever be able to find out the *divinity* that was in his sermons.

“Furthermore, that whereas this doltish doctor, that had nothing but the bare title of a *doctor*, and came by the degree by some sinister means; and therefore forced to allege Dr. Humphrey, Goodwin, Cooper, &c. as witnesses; he said, that himself, with two others, had taken more pains in London, and brought more things to pass among the squeamish heads of the Londoners, than ever did this doctor, or three of the best doctors that ever dubbed, him a doctor, had done or could do.”

Then fell he to defaming him, as touching his life and conversation, with covetousness;

“That he was a covetous treasurer, [of the church of Chichester,] never leaving heaping up this earthly treasure. That he was a greater doctor of leases, a spoiler of woods upon the prebend and hospital. That he was a poster and scudder for benefices. That he laboured for the deanery, and then for the bishopric. And that he made suits for the archdeaconry, to prevent him [Drant.] Insomuch that the queen told him [Drant] with her own mouth, that a doctor of divinity had been with her for it before he came. I warrant you, quoth he, the horse sweat apace.

“Further, he charged him with keeping excessive fare; heaping dishes upon dishes. And yet when he had most dishes upon his table, yea, when he had most, yet had he more benefices. Further, how for vain ostentation he would set forth his plate upon the cupboard in battle array. Further, that he is too, too nice in trimming up his house, and setting his cushions in order. And that himself being there one day, he did on purpose spit upon one of the cushions, in despite of such curiosity.”

What kind of man this Drant was, may further appear by a passage or two in a sermon by him uttered at Crip-plegate church, London.

“No man ought to correct his brother for an oath. For these oaths. quoth he, By God. By our lady, By the mass, By my faith, were but oaths of course. Neither that frizzled hair should be forbidden. For, said he. such may be as honest, if they list. as those that go with proud plain hair. Also he said, that those that translated the English Bible understood not the Hebrew tongue as he did; and therefore had translated it false.”

There is no way of bringing this preacher off, and excusing his extravagant expressions, but by saying, as surely he was, that, in an overweening conceit of himself, he was disturbed in his mind.

To take one view more of the ancient, pious, learned confessor and bishop, bishop Cox. Which take from his own pen to his old friend, the lord Burghley; complaining of two evils that now oppressed him in his very old age: one might have a redress by the favour of that lord; the other only from God. Thus writing, *Duo mala me pre-munt*; the one, *hospes malus et inutilis*, i. e. a bad guest, and good for nothing. He meant Fecknam, sometime abbot of Westminster, that had been committed to his house; and

had remained there so long, till he was weary of him. And that it would be an obligation to him, if at length, by his lordship's means, he could get rid of him. Which favour the bishop hereupon seemed to obtain, the abbot being removed to Wisbich castle. The other inconvenience he commended to his Lord God, and only wise physician, through Jesus Christ; viz. *corpus nimirum di-midia parte languidum*, his poor paralytic body. This was writ in June this year from Downham.

Of another of the worthy confessors and bishops of these times, viz. AElmer, bishop of London, it must be remembered what troubles he met with from his ill-willers; who brought informations against him at court for spoiling of his woods belonging to his bishopric: as though he had done great damage therein to the revenues of the salne. What the accusations were, and his answers thereto, were very briefly related in that bishop's Life: but to see all the articles of his accusation, and what his distinct answers were to each, sufficiently clearing himself, and shewing the falsehood of his accusers, I have set the bishop's paper, taken out of the paper Office, in the Appendix.

How this bishop visited the city of London this summer, in the month of August, and distributed books of articles to the clergy, and tables of injunctions, and many other things, for their due and regular demeanour of themselves and their respective flocks; and how in November following the said clergy of London were summoned again, chiefly for the making inquisition after recusants and papists, may be seen in the Life of Bishop AElmer.

The said clergy had also this year a summons, by order of the privy-council, to meet at Christ's Church, London: where each minister of every living was appointed to pay the sixtieth part of the value of his benefice, towards the building of a church in Denbigh; ruined, as it seems, by some accident. This from the diary of Mr. Earl, minister of Allhallow's, Breadstreet; who added there, that he paid his part thereto.

A very remarkable paper I once met in the Cotton library, (the date not set down, but, as near as I can guess, belonging to this time, or near it,) containing a proposal made by the bishop of Norwich, [Freak,] sent by his chancellor to a synod held in that diocese; recommending *rural deans*, or *superintendents*, to inspect and take care of the diocese under the bishop; and particularly for providing monthly *prophesyings*, (if it might be permitted,) or sermons, in the several deaneries, to be preached. At which

the respective *rural deans* to be present, and, to prevent schisms and factions, to be moderators. And thereat likewise various businesses, respecting the abuses of bishops' courts and their offices, and inspection into the behaviour of the clergy and laity in each parish, to be transacted. It bore this title, *A form of government exhibited by the chancellor of Norwich*: beginning with this preamble; "*The strength of God's enemies being grown so universal, and their spreading so dangerous to the state; and licentious looseness of life, through corruption of ecclesiastical officers, so untamed; that it is time that ecclesiastical government be put in due and severe execution without affection and corruption, according to the wholesome laws provided and established in that behalf,*" &c. This I have thought worthy the preserving, shewing the pastoral care and diligence of this bishop in his diocese.

This bishop of Norwich had this last year sequestered one Mr. Laurence, a great preacher in Suffolk, for his nonconformity to the ecclesiastical laws and prescriptions established; the queen, as well as the privy-council, having lately directed their commands to him and the other bishops, not to permit such refusers to preach. This man had a good character in those parts of Suffolk where he lived; and the want of him was said to breed great grief among the people. For the restoring of him, Mr. William Calthorp, a gentleman of that country, addressed a letter to the lord Burghley at court, that he would send to the bishop, to take off this preacher's sequestration, that he might preach again. This produced a letter from that lord to the bishop in favour of the said Laurence. Which coming enclosed to Mr. Calthorp's hands, he accordingly conveyed it to the bishop; *who*, notwithstanding, still let the sequestration remain; since, how good opinion soever himself had of the man, he could not do it, unless he had disobeyed both an order of the privy-council, and another letter of her majesty, as he expressed to the said Mr. Cal-thorp. This caused that gentleman to write again a second letter, dated from Weybered, April 1580, to the said lord, reporting the bishop's neglect; and adding,

"what great need there was of so good a man among them; for whose meetness, as he wrote, he dared well to undertake, the chief of credit in that shire should fully certify his honour: and that, in respect of preferring so good a cause, to so great benefit in those parts, it would please his lordship, by such ways as should to his honour seem best, to get restored their preacher to them again."

To which I will here subjoin the bishop's prudent letter to the said Mr. Calthorp, in his own justification; which ran in this tenor:

“That whereas he had written to him in the behalf of Mr. Laurence, and had also procured my lord treasurer's letter to the same effect; in answer whereto he must let him understand, that he had not sequestered Mr. Laurence from preaching by virtue of an order of my LL. of hermajesty's privy-council only, but also by virtue of certain letters from her majesty; wherein he was straitly charged to suffer none but such only to preach as were allowed of into the ministry, and conformable in all manner of rites and ceremonies established in the church of England; and therefore he dared not attempt to do it. And whereas it had pleased his very good lord, the lord treasurer, to write unto him for the same, he [Mr. Calthorp] must give him leave first, before he granted his request, to make answer to the lord treasurer's letters, and to make known to him the cause of his proceeding and manner of doings; and then, if it should please that lord to command him, he would do it. And that in the mean season he must pray him to content himself: for he might not, as he added, upon every motion made, transgress her majesty's commandment; although he bore as good, will to Mr. Laurence as he, or any man within that country. And so took his leave of him in Christ.” Dated from Ludham, the 16th of March, 1579.

CHAPTER 24.

University matters. The heads of Cambridge appbd to their chancellor about two graces obtained. His letter; and decision. His advice to the vice-chancellor about a fast enjoined the university by the bishop of Ely. Great disorders in St. John's college. The bishop of Ely moves the lord treasurer to finish the new statutes for that college. How things now stood in the other university. The two chancellors compared. William Whitaker preferred to a prebend at St. Paul's. The queen's proclamation for horsemen, and breed of horses. The queen sick. A new disease at court and in the city. A list of the great officers of the queen. Public prayers, occasioned by an earthquake. Earl of Arundel dies. Peregrin Bertie claims the title of lord Willoughby and Eresby.

Now we turn to the universities; and shall make relation of some remarkable matters, wherein they, or some members thereof, were concerned.

A controversy happened this year between the masters and heads of colleges in Cambridge, and the vice-chancellor and doctors of the town: the latter having obtained two graces against the former; but surreptitiously, as was said, and also against the statute. These two graces were,

“That all out-doctors, not being heads of colleges, be joined *with* the doctors that were heads of colleges, in the appointing and pricking of officers; though by the statute the same were expressly limited to the heads.” The second, “That doctors in divinity be compelled to preach as *frequently* as other younger divines.”

This matter therefore being complained of by the heads, was brought before their high-chancellor, the lord treasurer Burghley, to have these graces regulated, or rather revoked. But he, being employed at that time in state-affairs, and it depending so much upon the statutes of the university, prayed the arch-bishop of Canterbury, that he would take the pains to examine it carefully, one doctor of each party being then come up. Which the archbishop accordingly did; and the sum of what his judgment was, he

wrote at length to the said chancellor' which I do not here repeat, it being entered into that archbishop's Life. But the letter decisive of the said high-chancellor to the vice-chancellor and town doctors, whereby he put a conclusion to that controversy about the said two graces, he sent by Dr. Barrow, one of the doctors that was come up; beginning with his good wish for them all: viz.

"The grace of God's Spirit, to lead and conserve them in concord and peace. So that the knowledge of God might increase among them; and that by their dissensions the enemies of learning and the gospel had not just occasion to rejoice, and spread abroad slanderous reports, to the defaming of the whole body of that university." And then afterwards, that he had recommended this controversy to his very good lord, the archbishop of Canterbury's good grace, to consider of their letters; and to hear both parties, Dr. Barrow and Dr. Howland; and to peruse the statute mentioned in this debate; and to call to his grace also some persons of experience in university matters: which accordingly he had done very diligently and painfully; as by the letter of his grace to him [the chancellor] he had signified. And that his grace had plainly imparted to him what he thought thereof. Wherewith, after some further consideration of that particular chapter of the statute, he himself did concur: who had pronounced the same verbally to the said doctors. And did further express his censure and determination in writing: which he most earnestly required them, *per omnes charitates*, to accept of, as from one that was touched with no particular affection towards any person. But in the sight of God (whose assistance by the spirit of peace he had invoked) he declared his mind. Which was, that it was necessary those two graces should be reputed as void, and none."

Then he gave some reason for this his decision: viz. Because he could not allow any decrease attempted, to please a multitude, to the violation or altering of her majesty's statute, so lately and with so great deliberation made. And that they ought to have made him, who was their highest officer, first acquainted, having always shewn himself very mindful of their causes; and to have had his clear consent, as well to the violating or changing of their statutes, as he was at the first a principal author to procure them that for the intention of their other grace, viz. to compel doctors to preach

oftener, he liked well of all voluntary actions, especially in such actions as preaching was. Wherein he thought admonition more *convenient*, than to make new laws so suddenly against laws in use. And so far forth he was moved to have them preach, as he wished them to lose the name and preferment of *doctors*, that would leave the office of doctors; which is, by etymology, *to teach*?"

The whole excellent, wise letter, wherein is much more contained, and somewhat large, being all minutes of that lord's own writing, I refer to the Appendix. He also wrote another grave letter to the heads, that were of the other party.

Another occasion of address to him was given this university, by reason of an order that came to the vice-chancellor, in September, from the bishop of Ely, enjoining a public fast to be kept there with sermons: a thing that the wary university doubted whether they might comply with, without giving offence to the queen, or transgressing any law of the kingdom; since such fasts, used sometimes among the puritans, made them obnoxious. It is worth taking notice, what wary answer that wise man, their chancellor, gave them, who had thus prudently requested his advice herein, notwithstanding that bishop was their diocesan. It may be observed, here, by the way, that in the beginning of this year, the archbishop of Canterbury enjoined to all his diocese prayers and devotions to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays, upon the account of a terrible earthquake; and also prayers in every family; and had appointed a form for that purpose. And the cause that might probably move this religious prelate to call for fasting unto those under his care and inspection, was the mighty preparations that were now making abroad by the pope and his sworn confederates of the holy league, to invade this land: of which news came from all parts, and to this bishop from his friends in Helvetia.

But to proceed to the letter the chancellor wrote to the vice-chancellor, containing his grave judgment and advice in this point. Which was in these words:

"Mr. Vice-chancellor, I have considered of your letter, and of the bishop of Ely's also, sent to you. And where you desire to have my counsel and present direction in the matter mentioned in the bishop's letter, I thank you for the respect you have of me, as being your chancellor: and I am sure that the matter propounded, bearing the name of a *public fast*, is not expressed to me with the due

circumstances, either by the bishop's letter to you, or by your own; so as either the counsel or direction, as you desire, is unmeet for me: not knowing by what authority the bishop doth prescribe this at this time; or how far the circumstances that concern me be intended by his lordship, or by such as he authorizeth thereto. And yet, if the same may be done, as his lordship writeth, that all things shall be done in order and comeliness, I think that there can be no just offence taken thereat. I were greatly overseen, if I should not allow both of fasts and of exhortation thereto: and I think the same ought to be accompanied with two elder sisters, although I find no mention thereof in the bishop's letter: that is, of prayers, which are for all persons to use; whereas fasting is not expedient for all persons: and the second is *alms*, in relieving of the poor; which is the action of the rich. And therein I think my lord himself Will begin the example most abundantly.

"But some direct answer to yours: I, as a public counsellor of the realm, cannot warrant by my directions in the church, but that which I find established by the laws of the realm, or by the usual practice of the church; as by direction from the metropolitan, or by synod, approbated by the queen's majesty's authority, as head governor. And if the form which my lord of Ely. shall prescribe, or his delegates shall devise, may accord with any of these authorities, I wish it should take place, and wish it good success; to move Almighty God to mercy, and to forgive us, by the means of the three actions: that is, our offence in gluttony, by fasting; our general in all, and particularly, in abusing the plentifulness of his word, by invocation and repentance, uttered in public prayers; and, thirdly, in abuse of our wealth, by distributing alms to the poor.

"All which three actions I think so necessary, as without we be by some means more moved thereto, than I can see we are yet disposed of ourselves; surely we ought by God's justice to fear the withdrawing of all that wherein we now abound; that is, in all bodily and ghostly food; and, thirdly, in worldly wealth.

"But in what sort those good exercises shall be begun and continued, I must leave it to the discretion of the preacher, who can best tell how to apply the same. Not all in one sort. For, as I said, I think every person, without difference, is not to be enjoined to fast.

For I am sorry to consider, how many poor people are forced to fast for lack. And among the scholars, I know a great number are very near the same, for lack of allowance of diet; as I think there are in some colleges a number that have too great an allowance. And if I were to give my advice, surely such would be moved to abstinence, and to employ their increase of allowance to such as lack. And so at one *time* there should be both fasting and alms exercised.

“As for prayer and invocation for mercy, I know there is none to be excepted or exempted. And yet some are more to be sharpened forward herein than others. For I do not think with the Stoick, *omnia peccata be paria*. Well, good Mr. Vice-chancellor, bear with my hasty writing: for I can but wish well to this action; and hope that the preachers will do herein their offices as preachers and exhorters, not as devisers or commanders of new orders in the church. Lest thereby, in meaning well, they may yet by novelty give cause of offence. From Richmond, the 15th of September, 1580.

Your friend,
W. Burghley.”

As to one of the colleges in this university of Cambridge, viz. that of St. John's, great disorders were committed therein, and all things there in confusion. And the great reason thereof was, that they were as yet without statutes; the old ones being so blotted, defaced, and interlined, that they were of no use: whereby the government of the college was very lax. There had been some years past visitors appointed for this college, to make new statutes, and to settle that considerable house of learning. Of these visitors, the bishop of Ely was one, and Dr. Ithel, his chancellor, another: but this latter, a very useful man, was now dead. And things remaining there still in so ill a posture, the said good bishop called upon the lord Burghley to forward this good work, (he himself having once been of that college, and still a great friend and patron to it,) in a letter, dated from Downham, in the month of June, to this import:

“That it was now three years since a visitation of that college was intended. That they, the visitors, had deprived them of their statutes. That they had now no rules, no lectures, almost no disputations in effect; no government, no order, no obedience, no reverence: all went into confusion. Scarce half of the senior fellows

there. All scattered here and there. The master a good man, but often absent at his livings. That he would therefore procure the statutes to be finished, that Dr. Ithel had told him were even brought to a conclusion, and get them confirmed by the queen. Wishing so weighty a matter were finished before his death, which he hoped was near." This is the sum of what the bishop's letter contained, being writ in Latin to that lord: which is transcribed thence *verbatim* in the Appendix.

As for the other university, that of Oxford, the great earl of Leicester was their high-chancellor. And how things stood there, both in respect of religion and learning, and the revenues of it, a book writ about this time gave this account; which I will take leave to transcribe, always allowing for the spite thereof.

"The priests and Jesuits executed here within the land, and other that remain, either in prison or abroad in comers, are they not all, in a manner, of that university? I speak not to the disgrace of any that remain there, or that have issued out thence into the Lord's vineyard. But, for the most part, they of this our time, have they not either flown beyond the seas, or left the places for discontentment in religion; or else become serving-men, or followed the bare name of law or physic, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the service of God's church or the commonwealth? And wherehence, I pray you, ensueth all this, but by reason the chief governor thereof is an atheist himself, and useth the place only for gain and spoil? For herehence it cometh, that all good order and discipline is despoiled in that place; the fervour of study extinguished; the public lectures abandoned, (I mean of the more part;) the taverns and ordinary tables frequented; the apparel of students grown monstrous; and the statutes and good ordinances, both of the university and every college and hall in private, broken and infringed at our good lord's pleasure, without respect either of oath, custom, or reason to the contrary. The head officers are put in and out at his lordship's discretion; and the scholars places either sold or disposed by his letters, or by those of his servants and followers. Nothing can be had there now without present money. It is as common buying and selling of places in that university, as of horses in Smithfield."

And then he makes comparison between the two chancellors: him of Oxford, that he had spoke of before, and the other of Cambridge, viz. the lord treasurer Burghley, after this manner.

“If there were not other things to declare the odds and difference between him [the chancellor of Oxford] and the other [him of Cambridge] which he cannot bear; so that every way he [earl of Leicester] sees him to pass him in all honour and virtue; it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two universities, whereof they are heads and governors Let the thing speak for itself. Consider the fruit of the garden, and thereby you may judge of the gardener’s diligence. On the one side, look upon the bishoprics, pas-torships, and pulpits of England, and see whence principally they have received their furniture for the advancement of the gospel. And, on the other side, look upon the seminaries of papistry at Rome and Rheims, upon the colleges of Jesuits, and other companies of papists beyond the seas, and see wherehence they are especially fraught,” &c.

This for the universities. To which I add the mention of a very learned man and writer, fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, namely, William Whitaker, B.D. who, by the favour of the said chancellor of that university, was made chancellor of St. Paul’s church, London, this year: who shewed Iris grateful heart towards that lord for this favour, in a well-penned letter in Latin: the sum whereof I will repeat. *Recente tuo auctus et ornatus beneficio, facile aliter non potui, nec quidem fas esse existimavi, quin ut pro tantis in me meritis tuis, quanta hactenus extiterunt, aliquas tandem tibi, si non quales deberem, at quales pos-sem, agerem gratias, &c.*

“For this last benefit especially, as for former expressions of favour, he returned him all possible thanks. For what his lordship’s mind long since towards him was, and his judgment of him, he had sufficiently understood by marks, and the speeches of many. Whence he took as well the greatest pleasure that he could please his lordship, being a person altogether most worthy praise, and most wise, and in a sort divine: and also he became much more cheerfully to follow those studies, for which he once began to be known unto him. But he passed over his former and old good turns, and came to that which was the greatest of all, and lately conferred to him. Wherein indeed were, as he proceeded, many things, for

which it ought deservedly to be most grateful and most desirable to him. For that it happened at that time to him, when he could neither think nor imagine any such thing. And it the more delighted him, that it came from his lordship almost before it was heard of by him; and was brought into the society of that college and church, in which his best uncle, Dr. Alexander Nowel, had lived now many years with singular praise. But certainly, added he, to confess ingenuously, although in this favour were many great things, yet nothing seemed greater and more joyful to him, than that it proceeded from his lordship. For the remembrance of his judgment delighted him more, than the greatness of the fruit itself accruing from it." It was dated from Trinity college, 3 idus Septembr. 1580.

The queen, sensible of her danger from abroad, issued out a proclamation in April, in order to the strengthening herself with sufficient numbers of horsemen especially, and for the breed of horses. Setting forth,

"How she found, by the view of the last certificate of musters, the number of horsemen especially, in certain counties, to be much less than she looked for, considering the great charge that from time to time had been given by letters, directed by her highness' special commandment, from her privy-coun-cil unto such of the justices of the peace to whom the principal care of the musters had been committed, to see as well such laws and statutes put in execution as tended to the maintenance of horsemen, and also other good orders and directions, sent to the said justices, tending to the same end. That she was also given to understand, that the most necessary and profitable laws, provided for the breed and increase of horses, were either not at all put in execution, or very negligently; whereby numbers of serviceable horses, that heretofore had been bred within this realm, were greatly decayed: whereby great numbers of her subjects were in danger of great penalty, if her majesty should seek the due execution of her laws.

"Therefore that she found it expedient to make choice of certain principal noblemen of this realm, and others of her privy-council, to whom she had of late given authority under the great seal of this realm, to see due execution of the laws and statutes of this realm provided in that behalf; and of such other orders as heretofore had

been taken, or by them might be devised hereafter, as well for the increase of the number of horsemen, as also for the breed of horses.

“The due execution of the said statutes and orders, tending to a common defence of the realm, wherein every good and faithful subject is interested, and ought to be careful of the same: therefore the punishing with all severity such as should be found offenders here was very necessary. That the queen, having a great disposition to have her subjects forewarned of her good pleasure and intention, thought it necessary and expedient, both to notify unto them the great dislike she hath of the remissness that hath been heretofore used in a matter, tending only to the security of her person, the public defence of her dominions, and the particular benefit of every good subject; and not meant to be a precedent to draw any person into any other charge or burden.

“That after this admonition given by publishing this present proclamation, whosoever should be found to offend in the premises, should receive such punishment as by the laws and orders of this realm might any ways be inflicted upon them: and that she had given special charge and strait commandment to the said commissioners, to see such as should hereafter be found offenders punished with all severity. And she ordered the justices of peace, and other public ministers, to see due execution of such order, as by the said commissioners from time to time should be devised and set forth for the advancement of this service,” &c.

Given at the palace at Westminster, the 13th day of April, 1580, the 22d year of her majesty's reign.

We descend now to take notice of a few matters more private and domestic. This summer the queen fell sick. Whose sickness seems to have been occasioned by her bathing, which her physicians persuaded her to do: when, either taking cold, or by some other accident, she presently sickened, and so continued two days together; but within a short time after she recovered again. So the earl of Shrewsbury was informed by a letter from Mr. Bawdewin, his steward, then at court. But secretary Wylson, in a letter of his of court-news to another noble peer, the earl of Sussex, relates, that her distemper proceeded from her writing a private letter upon Sunday, at night, to monsieur, to be sent away immediately; and taking cold thereupon, since had kept her chamber.

The foresaid Bawdewin, in the same letter to that earl, mentions a new, strange sickness then at court, and in the city, which grieved men in the head, and with a stitch over the stomach. But few died thereof, though many were infected with it. And it was credibly reported, that forty students in Lincoln's Inn were taken with the said malady in the space of twenty-four hours. At the court, the lady Lincoln, the lady Stafford, and the lady Leighton, were at that time sick thereof; and many of the inferior sort. The lord chamberlain, then at his house at Newhall, [in Essex,] was said also to be sick thereof.

It being now a season usual for the queen to make her progress, there was a desire in the countess of Shrewsbury to have the honour of the queen's company at Chatsworth, the noble seat of that earl. For which end she sent a letter to the lady Burghley, the lord treasurer's lady, that she would find a way to move it to the queen. But the said lord declared unto his lady, when she spake of it unto him, that her majesty was unwilling to take that journey; and that so he had advertised the said lady Shrewsbury. But the lady Burghley moving him again in this matter, he uttered his mind to this effect:

“That he had moved her majesty, whom he found resolutely bent against going thither: and that both because of the busy affairs with which she was troubled at that time, and also by reason of her sickness, the opportunity served not for him to proceed any further with the queen on that behalf; which otherwise he willingly would have done.”

Adding this secret advertisement, (as a true friend, and one that knew well the queen's disposition, and the present state of affairs,) that if her majesty should perceive that either he, the earl, or she, the countess, were earnestly suitors for her coming, she would perceive a mislike of them for the same. And so he let them understand.

Of what nobles and gentlemen the queen's court consisted, and who her great officers were from the beginning of her reign unto this time, and who were deceased, a certain list will shew; drawn up by the lord treasurer's own hand: from whose paper I transcribe it.

LORD CHANCELLORS

Archbishop Hethe

Sir Nicolas Bacon
Sir Thomas Bromley

LORD TREASURERS

Marquis of Winchester.
Lord Burghley

LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAINS

Earl of Oxford. The Father
Earl of Oxford. The Son

I omit the rest, being many: choosing to set the whole list in the Appendix. A great and terrible earthquake happened this year, April 6, Wednesday in Easter holydays, felt in London and other parts of England. Whereupon an order of prayer was appointed to be used upon Wednesdays and Fridays; to avert and turn away God's wrath from us, threatened by the late terrible earthquake. And was to be used both in parish churches and households too. In this book of prayers is a long prayer, for *the state of Christ's church*, to be used on Sundays: and there was a rubric, *That the curates shall call upon their parishioners, to cause their families every night, before their going, to bed, to say the prayer set out for that purpose, meekly kneeling upon their knees*. It began, "O eternal, mighty, and most loving Father," &c.

There was also a *godly admonition* put forth by authority, to be read at such times, as an homily. Therein were these words, shewing how the people of this land were degenerated, and become great sinners, in order to the stirring them up to repentance:

"Who complaineth not of corruption in officers, yea, even in officers of justice, and ministers of the law? Is it not a common by-word, (but I hope not true, though common,) that *as a man is friended, so the law is ended*? In youth, there was never like looseness and untimely liberty; nor in age, like unsteadiness and want of discretion, nor the like carelessness of duty towards others. The boy mateth the man of aged gravity, and is commended for that for which he de-serveth to be beaten. Servants are become masterless, and followed with masters; and masters, unable to master their own affections, are become servants to other folks' servants, yea, and to their own servants too. Men have taken up the garish attire and nice behaviour of women; and women,

transformed from their own kind, have gotten up the apparel and stomach of men. And as for honest and modest shamefastness, the prefferer of all virtues, it is so highly misliked, that it is thought of some folks scarce tolerable in children.

“Hatred, malice, disdain, and desire of revenge for the weight of a feather, are the virtues of our young gentlemen, in commendation of their manhood and valiantness. Deep dissimulation and flattery are counted courtly behaviour. Might overcomes right, and truth is trodden underfoot. Idleness and pride bring daily infinite numbers to that point, that they had rather rob, and be shamefully hanged, than labour, and live with honesty. Usury, the consumer of private estates, and the confounder of commonweals, is become a common (and in some men’s opinions commendable) trade to live by. Faithfulness is fled in exile, and falsehood vaunteth himself in his placed till he have gotten great sums of money into his hand, that he may pay the bankrout, to the undoing of such as trust him. The sabbath days and holydays, ordained for the hearing of God’s word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behooful for body and soul at God’s hand by prayer, for the being mindful of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks to him for the same, and, finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tippling, gaming, playing, and beholding of bear-baiting and stage-plays; to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men’s substances, which ought to be better employed. The want of orderly discipline and catechising hath either sent great numbers, both old and young, back again into papistry, or let them run loose into godless atheism.” This is a period of that homily, composed upon the foresaid earthquake.

In Hith, one of the cinque ports, above three miles and an half from Folkestone, this earthquake was so great, that the bells in the church sounded. And the first of May following was another earthquake in Great-Chart, in the same county of Kent; which so affrighted the inhabitants, that they arose out of their beds. The appointment of prayer upon this earthquake by the archbishop of Canterbury, and confirmed by strict order of the privy-council, is more at large taken notice of in that archbishop’s

Life. And how the bishop of London speedily appointed prayers through his diocese may be seen in that bishop's Life.

This year died Henry earl of Arundel; being an old courtier, and a very princely man in all his actions. Among other things that were remarked of him this was one, that he always spake his own natural language in foreign courts. Concerning which custom of his, Dr. Wylson tells this passage: that on a time, passing from England towards Italy by her majesty's licence, he was very honourably entertained in the court at Brussels by the lady duchess of Parma, regent there. And sitting at a banquet with her, where also was the prince of Orange, with all the greatest princes of the state, the earl, though he could reasonably well speak French, would not speak one French word, but all English, whether he asked any question or answered it. But all was done with *truch*-men, [interpreters.] Insomuch as the prince of Orange, mar-veiling at it, looked aside on that part where Dr. Wylson himself stood, a beholder of the feast, and said,

“I marvel your noblemen of England do not desire to be better languaged in foreign languages?” This word was by and by reported to the earl. Quoth the earl again, “Tell my lord the prince, that I like to speak in that language in which I can best utter my mind, and not mistake.”

I have a note here to make of the very ancient and noble family of the Berties: to which the barony of Eresby pertained before the conquest, as was asserted by Peregrine Bertie, son and heir of the duchess of Suffolk, upon occasion of a controversy happening this year, 1580, for the title of lord Willughby and Eresby: which, it seems, was not allowed by the queen. There is a paper among the Burghleian MSS. which at large endeavours to prove this lord's title to it; shewing how this barony, before the conquest, belonged to the see of Durham. And that at the conquest by the conqueror, with the bishop's consent, it was given to Pinzon; who thereby became lord of Eresby. And his tenure was, to serve the said bishop of Duresm, at the day of his consecration, in the office of *skewer*: which service, by special words in the grant, might not be done by any other deputy than his eldest son, being a knight, or by some other knight. Therefore it argued in himself a higher degree, as to be a baron. And the same style to be incident to the head manor of that barony, by name Eresby · which ever had, and hath divers manors, as members belonging to the same. For otherwise the bishop might take lack of so honourable tenure. For if it would descend to

an esquire, and convey to him no higher degree, the right tenant should be unable to do the service belonging to his tenure: which should be a great absurdity and inconvenience.

This above is part of a paper thus entitled, *Allegations and Proof*; proposed by Richard Bertie, esq. for his claim and interest to the name and style of lord Willughby, of Willughby and Eresby, in the right of the lady Katharine, duchess of Suffolk, his wife, daughter and heir to William lord Willughby and Eresby, deceased. This controversy, which happened about this time, was heard by some whom the queen especially deputed for that purpose: who made a decree for granting him his style. But the paper, containing the said decree, is indeed but a draught of it. Whether it passed at this time, I find not. But I find Peregrine Bertie styling himself lord Willughby and Eresby, was not allowed yet by the queen: which occasioned him in great discontent to apply himself to the lord treasurer by way of letter; wherein he writeth thus:

“That he found his senses so overcome with just pensiveness, that he could not presently write so fully as the treasurer’s person and his own cause required, by commending it to his honourable and friendly defence, &c. And his chiefest care was, that her majesty might not be induced sincerely to interpret worse of his claim than the matter ministered occasion, because he took the title and claim of Willughby and Eresby.” He added, “That the question was handled in king Henry the Eighth’s reign. And the right upon claim made by sir Christopher Willughby, younger brother and heir male to the lord Willughby, my grandfather, was adjudged to the duchess, my dear mother.

“Now if my right, after sentence given; after so long seizin, and a dying seized of the duchess, shall be called in question, I must needs think myself an abortive, and born in a most unfortunate hour; that her majesty had rather spoil her crown of a barony, than I should be the person should do that service. But in case your honour shall, of your friendly disposition towards me, and justice, safely pilot me over this tempestuous sea, you shall confidently account, that thereby you have erected a pillar in your own building, which shall never shrink or fail you for any stone whatsoever. And thus reposing myself wholly on your honourable

goodness, with hearty prayer for your so good estate, I humbly take my leave. From Willoughby House.

Your lordship's humbly and assuredly at commandment,
Peregrine Bertie."

To add a remark or two of this gentleman; who made a considerable figure in queen Elizabeth's reign. When young, he was chiefly under the eye of secretary Cecil, by the earnest desire of his pious mother the duchess: and by his means and care he profited in good learning, as well as other courtly accomplishments. So that in the year 1568, being not above fifteen or sixteen years of age, he wrote a handsome Latin epistle to the secretary. Wherein he expressed his thankfulness to him for his fatherly love, which he had always shewn towards him: mentioning, how desirous he had been of his proficiency in good learning; and promising him to use diligence to attain it.

So that he was bred at court, and had learned there to be somewhat wild; insomuch that his gracious, good mother desired his tarrying no longer there: and in the year 1577, writ to the said Cecil, (now lord Burghley,)

"entreating him, for God's sake, to give the young man, her son, good counsel; to bridle his youth, and to help him to despatch him the court: that he might go down to his father; while, she trusted, all was well."

He was warlike and militarily disposed; and went into the Low Countries with the earl of Leicester. And at Zutphen he unhorsed a great captain, and took him prisoner, as Camden writes. He assisted the protestants in France. And in the year 1585 he was in Crounenburgh in Germany: sent thither to raise succours for the king of Navar, either by men or money. But he received a marvellous cold answer. Thus expressing his success in a letter to the lord Burghley:

"That they understood better, *proximus sum egomet mihi*, than they had learned *humanum nihil a me alienum puto*. And that the state of the German princes continued still in their deep security and lethargy; careless of the state of others; dreaming of their *ubiquity*. And some of them, as it was thought, inclining to be Spanish and popish, more than heretofore."

These are some historical passages among a great many more that I could relate of this right noble gentleman.

CHAPTER 25

Books published this year. A Discourse of God's Judgments against great Sins. A Description of the Earthquake. Dr. Fulke's Retentive. His Challenge. Forty popish books in English set forth by this time. What they were. All answered. The Genealogy of Queen Mary, queen of Scots: set forth by bishop Rosse. Glover, Somerset herald, writes against the bishop of Rosse's book. Dr. Dee's Instructions for the North-east Passage. Everard Digby's dialogue against a book of P. Ramus. Answered. The holy Exercise ora true Fast. The occasion of the writing thereof.

THESE books following I find came out this year among others.

A discourse, containing many wonderful examples of God's indignation, poured forth upon divers people for their intolerable sins, &c. Printed by the queen's printer, Christopher Barker. In the title-page was added, that a part of it might be read instead of some part of the homily. It was composed therefore, as it seems, upon occasion of the earthquake: for then followed in the book a report of the earthquake; which is thus described:

“On Easter Wednesday, being the 6th of April, 1580, somewhat before six o'clock in the afternoon, happened this earthquake. It was not great in respect of continuance of time, continuing little above a minute of an hour; and no great harm done. It shook all houses, castles, churches, and buildings wherever it went, and put them in danger of utter ruin. Yet within this realm it overthrew few or none, saving certain stones, chimneys, walls, and pinnacles of high buildings, both in this city [*London*] and divers other places. None received bodily hurt by it, save two children in London, a boy and girl; being at a sermon in Christ's church by Newgate-market. The boy was slain outright by the fall of a stone, shaken down from the roof of the church; and the girl was sore hurt at the same instant, and died within few days after. It was universally almost at one instant. It was not only within this realm, but also without; where it was also much more violent, and did much more hurt. It struck exceeding horror into men's hearts.”

In this book the author labours to prove, “that this earthquake was not natural, but of God’s own determinate purpose; to make the very foundation and pillars of the earth to shake, the mountains to melt like wax, the seas to dry up. to shew the greatness of his glorious power, in uttering his heavy displeasure against sinners. For in earthquakes that proceed of natural causes, there were these signs, which were not in this: as, a tempestuous working and raging of the sea, the weather being fair, temperate, and unwindy; calmness of the air, matched with great cold; dimness of the sun for certain days before; long and thin strakes of clouds appearing after the setting of the sun; and the weather being otherwise clear: *the* troubledness of water ever in the deepest wells; *yielding* moreover an infected and stinking savour: and lastly, great and terrible sounds in the earth, like the noise of groanings, or thunderings, as well afore as after the quaking. But none of these happened before the *coming* of this earthquake.”

This year Dr. Fulke, professor of divinity in Cambridge, set forth a book which he called his *Retentive*, in answer to Bristow’s *Motives*, intended to bring protestants over to the Romish church. In this *Retentive* he made a challenge openly in print to all learned papists, to dispute with them the points in difference: and three years after, in his *Confutation of sundry cavils*, he repeated it in these words:

“*If* you be so sharp upon disputation, as you pretend, why doth never a papist of you all answer my *challenge*, made openly in print almost three years ago, set before my *Retentive*? Wherein you may express what you have in maintenance of your opinion, without suit, without danger; and to the best and surest trial of the truth.”

Unto this year, and in it, that is, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign to this time, came forth in print near forty popish books, written by English fugitives, against the reformed religion professed in this land: and all answered by divines of our own. The names of all which books, and those that gave answers to them, are set down in a tract of Dr. Fulke, a great champion of our church in these times; who himself answered many of them. The list whereof may be found in the Appendix. They are set down by the said Fulke in the page next after the title of his book, printed anno 1580, entitled, *Stapleton and Marshal confuted*.

In the year 1580, the bishop of Rosse, the Scottish queen Mary's great agent, and sometime her ambassador to queen Elizabeth, procured to be printed at Paris a genealogy of the kings of England; to shew the fight title to this kingdom, coming to the said queen Mary. The pedigree is displayed in a fair large table containing three sheets of paper. In one corner of this table it is thus written:

Cum nonnulli, regnendi cupidine, nescio quibus titulis, ad Anglicani regni diadema aspirent; ad tollendam omnem hac de re dubitationem, hoc schemate provisum est: quo constat, Henricum VII. Angliae regem, cujus faelix fausta que sit memoria, ex Elizabetha conjuge tres tantum liberos superstites reliquisse; Henricum ejus nominis octavum, Margaretam majorem natu filiam, Jacobo IV. Scotorum regi nuptam; et Mariam Lodovico XII. Francorum regi primum, deinde Carolo Brandon, Suffolciae duci, collocatam. Henrici VIII. itaque sobole deficiente, successionis regnorum Angliae et Hiberniae jus ad serenissimam Mariam Scotorum reginam, Jacobi IV. et Margaretae ex Jacobo V. Scotorum rege eorum filio, neptem, ejusque deinceps liberos, rectissime, aliis omnibus exclusis, devolvi debere, hoc schema intuentibus apparebit.

And at the bottom of another corner was this writing:

Lectori Benevolo.

Habes hic (lector benevole) continuam florentissimi Anglicani regni abhinc quingentis annis successionem. Quam non tam serenissimae Scotorum reginae Mariae, ejusque filio, optimae spei principi, gratificandi studio, proponere volui, quam ut sublato omni de legitima successione scrupulo, totius Britanniae dignitati, paci ac saluti consulatur; et omnis seditionis materia, quae inde suboriri posset, penitus extinguatur. Vale; et huic nostro labori fave.

Jr. Lesleus, episc. Ross. Parisiis, anno MDLXXX.

Glover, a learned man, Somerset herald, this year writ a book against the said bishop of Ross; who, beside this pedigree, had writ a tract in defence of the queen of Scots' title to the crown of England. Which book of Glover's, I think, was never printed; but remains in the Heralds' Office in London. Of this book I have made mention before.

Dr. Dee, the famous astronomer, set forth a book for the Cathay voyage, which was intended this year for discovery of the north-east parts of the world. It was entitled, *Instructions for the two masters, Charles Jackman and Arthur Pett, in two barks, the George and William: given and delivered to them at the court-day, holden at the Muscovy-house, the 17th day of May, 1580.* With which instructions a new chart, made by hand, was given also to each of the said two masters, expressing their Cathay voyage more exactly than any other yet published. It began, “*In the name of Jesus.* If we reckon from Wardhouse to Col-goyeve island, 400 miles,” &c. It was found among the MSS. of the lord treasurer Burghley; and was afterwards printed by Mr. Hackluit, in his book of voyages. I only mention an addition in the conclusion of the MS. left out in print. The last period is this:

“You have opportunity also to sail over to Japan island; where you shall find Christen men, Jesuits, of many countries of Christendom, and perhaps some Englishmen. At whose hands you may have great instructions and advice for our affairs in hand.” Thus far the print. Then follows in that MS. “God be favourable to these attempts, greatly tending to his glory, and the great honour of this kingdom. *Amen.*”

Let me add here the mention of a book writ against Eve-rard Digby; the same with him, I suppose, that was fellow of St. John’s college in Cambridge: against whom Dr. Whitaker, the master, took occasion by some branches of statute, to expel him the college: especially suspecting him to be a papist. Of which matter see the Life of Ardbishop Whitgift. This Digby had writ somewhat dialoguewise against Ramus’s *Unica Methodus*: which in those times prevailed much; and perhaps brought into that college to be read; the rather, Ramus being a protestant, as well as a learned man. Whereupon one Francis Mildapet, a Na-varrois, writ against Digby, in vindication of Ramus, a small book, entitled, *Admonitio ad Everardum Digby, An glum, de Unica P. Rami Methodo, rejectis caeteris, ret-nenda.* It was printed at London, and dedicated to Philip earl of Arundel: beginning thus; *Prodiit non ita pridem Everardi Digbei adversus Unicam P. Rami Methodum dia-logus; equidem, ut multi opinantur, magis audacter emissus, quam erudite contextus, ut ego existimo, non ita magno judicio institutus. Attulit enim ad eandem pervellendam, non vim acutissimae rationis, sed commentum ingenii sui: illudque per omnes dialogi partes ita fusum sine artificio, ut quidvis potius agere, quam de methodo disserere vide-atur.* That is, that this dialogue was thought by

some to be more boldly sent abroad than learnedly composed: and this writer esteemed it framed with no great judgment; and more wit than reason appeared throughout in it. So that Digby seemed to oppose Ramus's philosophy chiefly out of a prejudice against him upon the account of religion. But that which Digby's adversary did, was, as he said, that he thought it not amiss to unravel the artifice of that book; and to admonish Digby freely, and yet modestly, of retaining that *only method*.

Another small book was this year printed with allowance *concerning fasting*; with directions for a right and practical observation of it: entitled, *The holy exercise of a true fast, described out of God's word*. That religious exercise of *fasting*, it seems, in those times, was very much neglected by those that professed the gospel, upon the prejudices that had been taken up against it, by reason of the superstitious practice of it among the papists; the book having this expression towards the beginning of it:

“Let the papists go, who, through a shameful superstition in it, rather pine away their souls, than take down their bodies. It is a shame to speak how few there are that bear the name of gospellers, that have so much as the knowledge of this exercise; so far are they from any lawful and right practise of it: for a great number, as a needless thing, reject it altogether, (as shaking off the pope's yoke from their own necks,) by using, or rather abusing their liberty. Likewise another sort of men there were then among them, who thinking it fitting to the Christian profession to keep the flesh in some bridle, allowed indeed of the exercise of fasting; but for want of a better, they stuck still in the mire of a popish fast. For remedy whereof this treatise was set forth, that the true fast might be understood by both parties.”

And as an argument to this duty, the threatening sword hanging over the nation was as a call from God thereunto, to avert that feared judgment: the writing having this expression, (with an eye to the queen's many popishly affected subjects ready to rebel in all parts of her realm.) “The sword hath been shaken at us, both in the north by traitors, and in the south by disordered wicked persons.”

And thus this History is brought to the twenty-second year of queen Elizabeth's happy reign.

APPENDIX

OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS;

REFERRED TO IN THE ANNALS.

BOOK 1

NUMBER 1.

Thomas Cartwright, B.D. lady Margaret professor, to sir William Cecil, knight, chancellor of the university of Cambridge; in vindication of his readings.

COMMUNIS totius literatorum hominum nationis (hono-ratissime vir) patronus et propugnator cum sis, in bonam spem venio, ut ipse quoque in aliqua parte curae et sollicitu-dinis tuae maneam. Et cum multi docti vid singularem tuam experti sint, et praedicarint humanitatem, patere, quaeso, me hominem non a literis prorsus alienum, illius quoque fieri participem. Video, et quidem meo cum magno malo sentio, quam sit verbum illud verum, *Nihil esse magis quam calumnia volucre*; nihil citius emitti, facilius nihil dilatarı. Quae si nostris parietibus constitisset calum-nia, et aulae et tui imprimis honoratissimi viri aures non pulsasset, multum esset de dolore meo detractum. Mihi vero homuncioni te virum honorafissimum objici, et tan-quam adversarium opponi, id me demum pungit acriter. Hic ego primum εὐθυγλώσσους (ut ille loquitur) desidero, qui si non defuissent, nulla mihi apud te purgandi fuit necessitas.

Liceat enim mihi apud te, quod vere possum, libere etiam profiteri, me esse a seditione et contentionis studio aversissimum, nihil docuisse quod ex contextu quem tracta-bam, non sponte flueret: oblatam etiam de *vestibus occa-sionem*, praetereundo dissimulasse. Non nego quin docuerim

ministerium nostrum ab avitae et apostolicae ecclesiae mini-sterio deflexisse: cujus ad puritatem nostram exigi et effor-mari cupiebam. Sed dico hoc a me placide et sedate factum esse, ut in nullius nisi aut ignari aut maligni auditoris, et calumniarum aucupis, reprehensionem potuisset incurrere. De quibus tamen universis audio me apud tuam Praestan-tiam insimulari.

Quaeris, qui ista confirmem? En! fero tibi (honoratissime vir) plurimorum et incorruptissimorum hominum, qui inter-fuerunt, testimonium. Parum certe abfuit, quin academiam innocentiae meae testem protulissem. Nam nisi mihi ro-ganti vicecancellarius concionem cogere abnuisset, equidem non dubitarem, quin illa a me, contra quae perhibentur ca-lumnias, sententiam diceret.

Non possum omnia, quae ea ipsa lectione, quae istum ru-morem pepererit, continebantur, *κατὰ λεπτὸν* epistola inclu-dere; sed me nihil eorum quae proposucri, tibi roganti inficiari velle polliceor sancte. Et cum meae improbitatis (si quae sit) supplicium non recusaverim, tuum in praesenti causa, quoad illa justa fuerit, imploro patrocinium.

Ergo, ne patiaris (honoratissime vir) certorum hominum odio, me, imo ipsam veritatem, obrui. Nam cum mihi priva-tim invideant, per honestum et gloriosum *pacis* et *ecclesiae* nomen oppugnare volunt. Dominus Jesus tuam indies spi-ritu sapientiae et pietatis Praestantiam augeat. 9 Julii, anno 1570.

Honoris tui studiosissimus,
T. Cartwright.

NUMBER 2.

*Letters wrote from divers of the university
to their chancellor, in behalf of Cartwright,*

MAGNUM sane acrbumque dolorem cepimus, hono-ratiss, vir, ex eo, qui ad nos pervenit nuper, rumore, de molestiis tuis, et alienata a Cartwrighto nostro voluntate. Nam cum tibi omnes tanquam patrono singulari, ac acade-miae parenti unico devinciamur, Cartwrightum vero singu-lare literarum ornamentum eximie diligamus, nihil potuit nobis accidere quam ut ad curas et labores tuos a nobis quicquam adderetur, aut ille in discrimen

nominis et existimationis suae cuique bono veniret. Putavimus itaque officii nostri esse, et ejus quam tibi debemus observantiae, aegritu-dinem illam ex falsa tantum opinione contractam levare, et Cartwrightum, si fieri potest, in veterem locum apud te, et gratiam reponere. Et quamvis videri possimus parum considerate facere, qui in maximis occupationibus, et quibus paene conficeris, reip. negotiis, tibi per literas obstrepere non vereamur; putamus tamen non convenire, ut cum alii ad accusandum fuerint tam celeres, nos ad defendendum non simus tardiores: beneque speramus, quod istam defensionem, quam falsam accusationem, multo libentius audieturus sis.

Primum itaque de Cartwrighti nostri *moribus* non erit necesse nobis multa dicere. Putamus neminem esse, qui eum alicujus criminis, aut in tota vita macule faedioris cri-minetur aut accuset, sed tamen, ut Honori tuo constet, qua-lem illis hominem vocant in invidiam, hoc de eo vere affir-mamus, quod exemplar sit pietatis et integritatis, et quod quo propius ad illius vitae consuetudinem et instituta acce-dimus, eo nos ipsos plura faciamus et amemus.

Religionem scimus sinceram esse, et ab omni labe puram. Non enim emersit solum ex vasto et infinito papisticarum haeresium pelago, dulcissimaque Christianae religionis aqua se proluit, sed etiam ad nullam earum opinionum futilium et levium, quae quotidie disseminantur et disperguntur, tanquam ad scopulum impigit. Ad sacram scripturam, regulam morum et doctrinse certissimam se astrinxit; neque unquam ant errore lapsus, aut novitate seductus, illius li-mites, quod scimus, transilivit. Itaque magnum in eo non solum adversus senescentes Romanensium fabulas, a quibus magnopere non metuimus, sed etiam peregrinas vafrorum hominum opiniones, quae graviorem plagam minantur, prae-sidium ponimus. Atque idem de eo tu tibi certo potes pro-mittere.

Doctrinam suspicimus et veneramus. Vere n. de eo dici potest quod est alicubi apud poetam, Quae liberum hominem aequum est scire, solertem dabo. Junxit, quod ille in magna laude posuit, Graeca cum Latinis. Addidit etiam ultra, quod erat non exigui laboris, Hebraica. Atque ita quidem, ut etiamsi in singulis pares aliquos, in universis certe supe-riorem invenimus neminem. In ea vero quam profitetur theologia quantum valeat, ex eo potest intelligi, quod tanta omnium ordinum multitudo atque frequentia ad eum audi-endum quotidie confluat, tam diligenter attendat, in ejus-que sententia libenter conquiescat. Neque vero hoc fit propterea, sicuti fortasse quidam tibi in aures insusurrave-runt, quod semper veniat novus, et

peregrinis sententiis auditorum aures titillet; sed quod acutus sit in interpre-tando, felix in docendo, denique quod rerum gravitatem atque pondus sententiarum verborumque copiam superare videatur.

Itaque haec nostra de eo sententia est, quam neque preci-bus ullis, neque privata amicitia persuasi ad te scripsimus, sed quia virtuti hominis et pietati favemus. Nunc humil-lime rogamus Honorem tuum, ut siquam de eo pravam opi-nionem concepisti, deponas, atque nobis potius, qui vitae ejus et religionis et doctrinae consci sumus, fidem habeas, quam rumoris, qui auctorem non habet, aut certe multa non saris candide interpretantem. Conservato, Cancellarie dig-nissime, academiae tuae virum eum, cujus semper cupientis-sima fuit, cujusque postquam nacta est, voce fruitur avidis-sime. Dignissimus est tam celebri academia alumnus, dig-nissimus tanto patrono cliens. Fuit in omni vita magno or-namento et splendori academiae tuae: sed nunc demum multo quam antehac unquam majori. Non enim solum co-litur a nobis domesticis et familiaribus, sed a peregrinis multo magis; quorum exilium lenitur suavitate ingenii ejus, et doctrinae. Quique non dubitant eum cum iis conferre, quorum tam illustris est apud exteris nationes, et pervagata fama.

Pauci sumus qui hoc ate rogamus; rogamus tamen voce multorum. Nemo enim fere omnium est, qui eum non ad-miretur, non diligat, non omni ratione defendendum putet. Si igitur academiae tuae prodesse vis, nihil utilius, si gratifi-cari, nihil acceptius potes facere, quam si Cartwrightum ei conserves et quovis in ea honore dignum censueris. Deus O. M. te reip. et nobis quam diutissime servet incolumen. Vale. Cantabrigiae, quinto nonas Julii

Honori tuo devinctissimi,

Gulielm. Pachet — Richardus Grenham. — Edmundus Rockrey. — Richardus Howland. — Robertus Tower. — Simon Buck. — Robertus Lynford. — Edmundus Sherbroke. — Robertus Soome. — Georgius Joy. — Bartholomeus Dodington. — Alan Par. — Osmundus David. — Thomas Aldrich. — Joannes Swone. — Gualter. Alen. — Robertus Holland. — Joannes Still.

Honoratissimo viro D. Gulielmo Cecilio regiae majestati a secretis, et academiae Catabrigi ensis cancellario dignissimo.

NUMBER 3.

Epistola alia, D. Cancellario data; ut restituatur Cartwrightus ad legendum.

VIX credas, ac ne putes quidem (honoratissime vir) quantum nobis Cantabrigiensibus alumniis tuis nuper grati-ficatus sis, quantumque abs te beneficium accepisse arbitra-mur. Num cum avide jam diu expectaremus quid de Cart-wrighto nostro futurum esset, multaque pericula animo vol-veremus, lama non dubia ad nos pervenit, omnia illi apud te feliciter et ex votis nostris contigisse. Criminationibus enim illis, quibus injuste vexabatur, te eum perhumaniter liberasse: literasque ad praesides nostros, ad eorum animos leniendos, qui te contra eum exacuerant, misisse. Et quod unum laetemur maxime, ad ecclesiam poliendam, et nitori suo restituendam, operam promisisse. Quare non tu solum fecisti, idque merito, Cartwrightum, virtutis pietatisque tuae testem et praeconem, sed nos etiam, quotquot sumus, mul-toque plures, qui illius studio et doctrina ad religionem in-stituti, in Christiana rep. majore cum fructu deinceps ver-sabimur. Sed vide quam nihil sit omni ex parte beatum. Intervenit huic voluptati nostrae, quam ex tua in Cart-wrightum facilitate percepimus, dolor non mediocris, quod etiamsi nobis per te restitutus sit, vivat tamen in silentio, neque ad solitum docendi munus admittatur.

Hic igitur ad te, Cancellarium nostrum dignissimum, et patronum singularem, iterum confugimus, supplicesque ro-gamus, ut schola illi pateat, et ne ab eo cursu prohibeatur, in quem ingressus est cum magna laude sua, et utilitate nostra non minore. Est quidem nobis valde jucundum, quod bene tibi de eo persuaderi passus es: cui si hoc etiam addideris, ut illius doctrinam regustemus, qua jamdiu magno cum dolore caruimus, ultra tibi in hoc negotio, nisi quod urgeat vehementius, molesti non erimus.

Antea pro Cartwrighto tantum apud te intercessimus; nunc agimus communem causam. Non enim illius tantum, sed nostra etiam interest, ut illi haec facultas permittatur. Atque te quidem ad id scimus saris facilem et propensum esse: quia tamen ii, qui sub Honore tuo gubernacula reip. nostrae commissa sunt, hoc recusant facere: concede nobis et Cartwrighto rogantibus, ut majore abs te auctoritate ad id confirmentur. Ita fiat, ut studiis nostris quam optime consuluisse videaris, et integerrimi hominis existimationi. Quam eousque necesse est, tanquam ad metas, haerere, quoad interpretandi munus illi restitutum fuerit. Lites ullas aut

controversias non est cur verearis, habes sanctissimi viri fidem, scil. ne ullius quidem vulneris cicatricem refri-caturum. Perge itaque ut coepisti de eo bene sentire, et ab injustis malevolorum calumniis vindicare. Atque sic ha-beto neminem esse, vel propter religionem et doctrinam, tanti viri patrocínio et tutela digniorem. Deus Opt. Max. Honorem tuum quam diutissime incolumem conservet et in-stituta fortunet. Vale. Cantabrigiae, tertio idus Augusti.

Dignitatis tuae studiosissimi,

Thomas Aldrich, — Simon Bucke, — Ruben Sherwood, procurat. Acad — Robertus Tower, — Edmund Rookrey, — Alanus Par, — Robertus Soome, — Rogerus Brown, — Robertus Rhodes, — Edmundus Chapman, — Joannes Moore, — Hugo Boothe, — Thomas Barbar, — Will. Tabor, — Hen. Knewstub, — Gualterus Alen, — Thomas Leache. — Robertus Holland, — Edmundus Sherbroke, — Robertus Willan, — Richardus Grenham, — Georgius Slater.

NUMBER 4.

*An astrological calculation concerning the queen's marriage.
Written by secretary Cecil, propria manu.*

De significationibus 7mae domus, et de conjugio.

SIGNIFICATORES conjugii sunt quinque; Sol et Mars, Cancer signum, Luna et Saturnus.

Sol et Mars reperiuntur in signis negantibus conjugium. Igitur negant affectionem moventem ad conjugium.

Sed domus septimae Cancer, et ejus domina Luna conjugium promittunt optimum.

Saturnus vero loci sui ratione, conjugium promittit aetate consistente: et ex dispositione significatorum, principaliter ex Saturno in angulo occidentali, expectatur tarditas conjugii; et quod post maturam aetatem habebit juvenem virum, qui antea non duxit uxorem, circa annum suae aetatis 31 labentem.

Uni tantum viro socia dabitur. Colligitur ab eo, quod uni tantum planetae matutinati, videlicet Saturno, applicata. Idem etiam testatur constitutio solius Mercurii inter medium coeli et Venerem.

De qualitate viri sui.

Cum extraneo contracturam matrimonium indicat pars conjugii in nona domo. Similiter peregrinatio Saturni principalis significatoris conjugii, virum extraneum promittit.

Abhorre et non multum delectare videtur in conjugio, praecipue in medietate vitae, indicant Mars et Venus in signis masculinis, et Saturnus in septima. Viro obediunt, reveretur, et in magna aestimatione habebit eum, indicat utrumque luminare in signo foemineo.

Perveniet ad matrimonium prosperum, sed tarde et post multa consilia, et vulgarem ubique gentium rumorem. Et de ejus matrimonio erit ubique locorum maxima disputatio et altercatio per multos annos, universis personis, priusquam ad matrimonium perveniet. Et tamen sponsa fiet sine ullo impedimento. Haec colliguntur ex trino aspectu Martis, Veneris et Mercurii, et ex sextili aspectu Saturni et Solis.

Vir praemoriatur, et tamen diu vivet cum marito; et possidebit multa bona viri. Id Saturnus in septima affirmat.

De liberis.

Nullus planetarum reperitur in locis prolium, excepto Marte, qui parcos liberos promittit; nisi trinus Veneris aspectus ad cuspidem domus filiorum ipsius Martis iudicium annullaverit.

Verum Venus est in domo propria, conjuncta Mercurio, domino filiorum. Et idcirco spes maxima datur de filio uno robusto, claro et felici in aetate sua matura. Luna in Tauro unam filiam designat.

NUMBER 5.

The charter for wrecks on the coasts of Sussex; granted by king Henry VI. to Adam, bishop of Chichester.

HENRICUS Dei gra. rex Anglie et Francie, et dom. Hib. Omnibus ad quos presentes literae pervenerint, Sal. Monstravit nobis venerabilis pater Adam

epus. Cicestren. et custos privati sigilli nri', qualiter quamplurima dominica et collata prope costeras maris in comit. Sussexie situata exist-unt, homines et tenentes; non solum ipsius epi', verum etiam homines tenentes canonicorum, et aliorum ministrorum ejus-dem ecclesie, necnon residentes super eadem dominica, ma-neria, terras, ten' et feod' per admirallium nostrum Angl' et ejusdem locum tenentem, ac eorum deputatos, officarios et ministros multipliciter, &c. Clam' etiam per cartam et diploma manerii de Ripla cum hundred' et ecclesia et pertinentiis suis, tempore conquestus Angl. et a tempore quo non existat memoria.

Item, Clam' wrakea maris per omnes terras et feod' sua ja-cent, juxta mare de tempore ante conquest. Angl. et a tem-pore quo non exstat memoria: et quod ipse et predecesso-rum suorum plene usi sunt libertate predict. &c.

NUMBER 6.

Cautions given by Mr. Fox to the reader of his Acts and Monuments; concerning, some things mentioned in the first edition thereof.

MR. GEORGE BLAG is named one of the privy chamber. *Nota bene*, That tho' he were not admitted as one of the privy chamber, yet his ordinary resort thither, and to the king's presence there, was such as tho' he were one of them; and so commonly taken.

In the story of the duke of Somerset, where it is said, that at the return of the earl of Warwic out of Norfolk, there was a consultation among the lords, assembling themselves together at the house of Mr. York, &c. against the duke of Somerset: here is to be noted, that that coming of the lords to the said house of Mr. York, was not immediately upon the duke of Northumberland's return, but first he went to Warwic, and from thence, after a space, came to that house aforesaid.

Item, Here is also to be noted touching the said duke of Somerset, that albeit at his death relation is made of a sudden falling of the people, as was at the taking of Christ; this is not to be expounded as that I compared in any part the duke of Somerset with Christ. And tho' I do something more attribute to the commendation of the said duke of Somerset, which dyed so constantly in his religion; yet I desire the gentle reader so to take it not, that I did ever mean to derogate or impair the martial praise or facts of

other men; which also are to be commended in such things where they wel deserved.

Item, Touching the duke of Somerset, where the story is, that he was *attainted*, read *indicted*.

Item, Where mention is made of one Nicholas Under-wode to be the betrayer of the duke of Suffolk, joyn with the said Underwode also Nicolas Laurence, alias Nicolas Ethel, keeper of Astely-park. Who taking upon him and promising to keep the duke for two or three days, until he might find some means to escape, conveyed him into a hollow tree, and after most traiterously bewrayed him. Both these live, one at Coton by Nun Eaton, and the other at Nun Eaton.

Item, In the story of sir Tho. Wyat, there is also to be corrected, that where the story saith, that he was taken by sir Clement Parson, which was not so, nor he no knight, amend it thus: that he came first to Clarentius, being sent unto him, and after yielded himself to sir Morice Barckey.

The martyrdome of one Snel, about Richmond, [in Yorkshire,] in Q. Maries time, omit in the history. There were two of the Snells taken up for their religion. One, after his toes were rotted off by lying in prison, by order of Dakins, the bishop of Chester's commissary, and so went upon crutches, at last went to mass, having a certain sum of mony given him by the people. But in three or four days after, drowned himself in a river called Swail, by Richmond. The other [Snel] was burned.

A story of one Laremouth omit in the body of the history. He was a Scotchman, and chaplain to the lady Anne of Cleves. The story, for the strangeness and incredibility thereof, he would not insert in his history of the Acts and Monuments. But being testified by one Thorn, a godly minister, yet alive, which heard it of the mouth of the party himself, he added it here. He heard a voice sounding in his ears, being in prison in Q. Maries days, *Arise, go thy ways*. Which he giving no credit to at first, the same words were spoken the second time; which was about half an hour after.

So he arising upon the same, immediately a piece of the prison fell down: and as the officers came at the outward gate of the castle or prison, he leaping over the ditch escaped. And in the way, meeting a certain beggar

changed his coat with him; and coming to the sea shore found a vessel ready to go over, was taken in, and escaped the search.

[NUMBER 6.]

Dr. Thomas Wylson to sir William Cecill, kt. when he sent him the copy of his translation of certain orations of Demosthenes for his patronage thereof.

ET jam quidem Demosthenis tres Olynthiacas orationes, cum quatuor Philippicis, tandem aliquando indigenas feci, et nostrates, ut potui: sed ita tamen ut advenas, ut ex ser-mone cognoscas. Tam enim concisus orator iste est, tam astrictus, et acumine sic ubique excellens, ut illud in eo τὸ δεινὸν vix sermone nostro explicari possit, aut ingeniosi nostri tenuitate comprehendi. Sed quomodocunque a me conversae sunt, si tu eas in tuo nomine apparere patieris, ego in vulgus emittam tanti vid orationes, et formis excudendas parabo. Sed ita, si tu nostrae imbecillitati sic suffragaberis, ut igna-vorum quorundam contumeliae tuo spiritu et gravitate com-pescantur.

NUMBER 7.

Mr. Walsingham, the queen's ambassador, his letter from Paris to the lord Burleigh. His discourse with the queen mother, concerning her majesty's matching, with the duke of Anjou.

IT may please your lordship to advertise her majesty, that Mr. Cavalcant arrived here the 24th of this month: by whom I received her majesties letters. The contents whereof after I had perused, and conferred with him touching his proceeding, for that both the king and queen mother were departed out of this town, the one to S. Leggiers, the other to Monceons, to bring the duke and dutchess of Lorain onward on their way; it was agreed between us, that he should repair the next day to Monceons to the queen mother there, to deliver her majesties letters; as also her answer to the articles propounded by the king. Touching his proceedings with her, I refer your lordship to his own letters. By him I understood at the return, that Q. mother would speak with me at her return to the town, if I had any thing to say unto her. So the 26 of this month [April] she repaired hither.

And for that during the time of her abode here, she could have no leisure; she sent me word, that the next day, in the morning, I should repair unto her to S. Clou, four English miles from Paris; and that there I should have audience. So according to her appointment, I repaired thither the next morning, and at the time of my access unto her presence, I shewed her, that I was come thither to know how she rested satisfied with the answers she received from her majesty, sent by Mr. Cavalcant, to those articles as were propounded by the king and her, to the end I might advertise her majesty.

She shewed me, that the answers made unto the articles seemed to her not to be direct; saving that which was made unto the second article concerning *religion*. Which, saith she, is very hard, and neerly toucheth the honour of my son; so far forth, as if he should yield thereto, the queen, your mistress, should receive also some part of the blemish, by accepting for an husband such an one, as by sudden change of religion might be thought drawn through worldly respects, void of all conscience and religion. I replied, that I was willed to say unto her from her majesty, that she doubted not but that monsieur, her son, by her good persuasions, would accept in good part the said answer. Who meant not such sudden change of religion, as that he or his houshold should be compelled to use the rites of the English church, contrary to his or their consciences. But forasmuch as the granting unto him of the exercise of his religion, being contrary to her laws, might, by example, breed such an offence as was like to kindle such troubles as lately reigned in France; whereof both her self and her said son had too good experience; she therefore hoped that he, who, if the match proceeded, was to sayle with her in one ship, and to run one fortune, would not require a thing which she by no means could yield to: who tendred nothing more than the quiet and repose of her subjects. And therefore, in respect thereof, could by no means consent to any such permission, as by any likelihood might disturb the same.

To which she replied, that the not having the exercise was as much as to change his religion: which thing he could not do upon a sudden, without the note to be of no religion. Which dishonour I am sure (added she) no respect can draw him to endanger himself to. And as he in respect of the said ignominy is resolved fully not to yield; so can I with no reason persuade him thereto. And as for any peril that may happen by the same, I think rather it shal be the best way of safety for your mistress: who always, by the way of his brother's sword, should be the better able to correct any

such evil subjects, as should go about to disturb the repose and quiet of her estate: which she may assure herself he wil do, without having respect to any religion: whereof lately some trial hath been made, by his consenting with the king, to have some good justice and example of punishment don at Roan.

In answer whereof, I then besought her to consider as wel the queen's danger, as her son's honour. I shewed her that of this permission three great mischiefs would ensue. First, the violating of her laws. Secondly, the offence of her good and faithful subjects. And lastly, the encouragement of the evil affected. Which three mischiefs if you wil weigh, said I, together with your son's honour, you shall find them of great moment and that the queen's majesty, my mistress, hath great cause to stand to the denial of any such permission, whereof is like to ensue so manifest peril. And as for the aid of the king's sword, I shewed her, that I thought, that the example by permission would do much more harm, than either his own or his brother's sword could do good. For that the issue of our mischiefs by civil dissensions fell out commonly to be sudden and short, but very sharp; and were not drawn in length, as those that happen in other countries: we having neither walled towns nor forts to retyre to, thereby to protract our warrs.

To this she answered, that she feared that her son would too soon be overcome with the queen's persuasions in that behalf; who was more zealous than able by reason to defend his religion. Whereby the same inconvenience of example wil not long last. For, saith she, it is generally feared by the catholics, that this match wil breed a change of religion throughout al Europe. In the end, she concluded, that neither monsieur, her son, nor the king, nor her self, could ever yield to any such sudden change for any respect: neither could her majesty wel desire it, considering how much it would touch his reputation, whom she is to match withal, if it procede.

I asked then of her, whether she would have me so to advertise her majesty. She desired me in any case so to do; and to know directly, whether by yielding or not yielding to the said second article, with al reasonable caution, she meant to procede or forbear. Whereof she desired her majesty, at the furthest, to have answer within ten days; for that the king stayeth his progress onely upon that. And if so be she meant to procede, then to send the articles that are to be propounded by her majesty.

Monsieur de la Mot, as I learn by monsieur de Foix, hath given very honorable report of the queen's proceedings, assuring them, that there is nothing but sincerity meant. If her majesty resolve to procede, I learn that monsieur de Foix shal come over with the king's answer to such articles as shal be propounded by her majesty; and so to grow to some true conclusion. And so having nothing else to advertise her majesty at this present, I most humbly take my leave of your honour. At Pads, the 28th of April, 1571.

Your honours to command,

Fra. Walsingham.

NUMBER 8.

A motion in parliament, 13 Elizab. about the succession to the crown; according to K. Henry VIII. his will.

SO great a matter as we have in hand, which concerneth the whole realm universally, and every one of us particularly, I think I should not need any long *proheme* to purchase your favours, to be content to hear, or to move you to be attentive to mark, what shal be said. For as we, a few, be chosen of an infinite multitude, to treat and do those things that shal be for the benefit of the commonwealth, and be put in trust for all the body of the realm, so I trust hath nature grafted in us a desire to seek those things that may do us good, and avoid that may do us hurt.

Wherefore not minding to use mo words than needs, nor fewer than methinketh the greatnes of the cause re-quireth, I wil directly procede unto the matter. The horrible murthers and bloody battels, that were of long time between the factions of the red rose and the white, the houses of York and Lancaster, for the crown of this realm, by the happy marriage of king Henry VII. and Q. Eliza. beth, were ended. Whereby great quietnes and peace (thanks be unto God) hath followed in this realm. God grant it may so continue. This K. Henry VII. and Q. Elizabeth have issue K. Henry VIII. the lady Margaret and the lady Mary. K. Henry VIII. had issue king Edward, Q. Mary, and Q. Elizabeth, the queen's majesty that now is. The lady Margaret was first married to James, the king of Scots; who had issue James, king of Scots, father unto Mary, now queen of Scots. After his decease she married the earl of Angus; and had issue by him, the lady

Margaret, now countess of Lenox. The lady Mary, the other daughter of K. Henry VII. was first married to Lewis the French king, and had no issue by him. After that she was married to Charles duke of Suffolk, first secretly in France, and after openly in England. The duke and shee had issue the lady Frances and the lady Eleonor. The lady Frances being eldest was married to the marques of Dorset. By whom she had issue the lady Katharine and the lady Mary. The lady Eleanor was married to the earl of Cumberland, and had issue the lady Margaret, now wife to the lord Strange.

By the statutes of the 28th and 35th of K. Henry VIII. the crown was entailed, as yee know, for lack of issue of K. Edward, to Q. Mary, and after to the queen's majesty that now is. And for lack of heirs of their bodies, to such person or persons, in remainder or reversion, as should please K. Henry VIII. and according to such estate, and after to such maner, form, and fashion, order or condition, as should be expressed and limited in his letters patents, or by his last will in writing, signed with his most gracious hand. For the more sure establishing of which succession, we the subjects of this realm (besides our promises by that act declared) were all sworn by oath, that we should be obedient to such as K. Henry, according to his said statute, should appoint to succede to the crown, and not to any other within this realm; nor to any foreign authority, power, or potentate. Which words I beseech you to imprint wel in your minds. Whereupon some say, K. Henry made his will accordingly, and put the heirs of the lady Frances first; and next of the lady Eleanor, in the remainder. Others say, that he made a will, but not to the statute; for it was not signed with his hand; and some say, that he made no will at all.

The question groweth, whether the heirs of the Scottish queen, or the heirs of the lady Frances and the lady Eleanor be next inheritors to the crown; if it should please God to take from us the queen's majesty, without heirs of her body. Or whether none of them is inheritable; whereunto I wil declare my mind and judgment. For the legacies and bequests that Henry the king made to divers, both of lands and mony, declare manifestly that he made a will: for all were performed and satisfied. As I am informed also, after his decease divers indentures tripartite were made between K. Edward, the executors of K. Henries will, and others. And divers letters patents passed under the great seal of England, in consideration of the accomplishment and performance of K. Henries will. Thirdly, There was a will in name of

K. Henry enrolled in the chancery, and divers con-stats thereof made under the great seal.

In the which will the reversion of the crown was in the heirs of the lady Frances first; and after of the lady Eleanor. Finally, in the same will there was a clause, that al other wills made at any other time, should be void, and of none effect. Which needed not, if there had not been other wills made at any other time; and those signed with his hand. Al which be evident arguments, that K. Henry dyed not intestate; but that he made a will: and that it was the same will that was enrolled in the chancery. For it is not to be thought that such enrollment was in vain. If this will was made according to the statute, then it is without al doubt, that as we be bound, and have taken them for kings and queens that be expressed in the statute by name, so we be bound to accept them that be declared by the will in remainder or reversion; that is, the heirs of the lady Frances and the lady Eleanor. For they be expressed in the will, and ought to have it by like authority and title, as others expressed in the same statute. Because it was in like manner don with the consent of the whole realm, and confirmed with our oaths: which not being contrary to God's law and the law of nature, and being in our power to observe and keep, we ought not in any wise to alter or break. For you know the judgments of the Lord are certain, that he wil not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. And so the act and wil is a bar and conclusion [exclusion] to al others, be they neerer of blood, if any be.

But some say, it is no will made according to the statute. Why so? Because it is not signed with the king's hand, say they. I pray you consider wel the matter. If it should now be doubted, whether it was his hand; and that none should be interpreted his hand, but that was written with his own fingers, yee should adnull some of his parlaments, made by king Henry VIII. For the statute made in the 33d of K. Henry VIII. cap. 21. saith, that the king's royal assent by his letters patent under the great seal, and signed with his hand, and declared in the higher house to the lords and commons, is of such force as if he were present. According to which act, divers assents of parliament were made; and in some of them [some] were attainted of treason, and suffered. Now if we should doubt whether it were his hand or not, we might perchance bring such things in doubt as we would not gladly should come in doubt. For we should put whole parlaments in doubt.

But it may be, sith by these statutes that power was given to K. Henry, that he might make his will of the crown, (which otherwise by law he could not do,) reason it is that he followed the form that the law prescribeth. If he have not done it, then it is void in law: for because *forma dat esse fei*. To this I answer: that albeit it were not signed by his hand, yet it is not a sufficient cause that we should reject it. For if the form be so necessary to be observed, why, I beseech you, do you allow Q. Maries parlaments, that were called by writs without the addition of the title and style of *supreme head in earth of the church of England, &c.* when there was a special statute, and of the greatest importance therefore before made, of purpose to declare, that the bishop of Rome had none authority in this realm; and chiefly upon this case: for that K. Henry, seeing his daughter Maries stubbornness and malice to his doings, and her fond devotion to the pope, meant, that if she should at any time come to that place, she should not, if she would, undoe that he had done. If yee wil say, that these words of *supremacy* mean [need] not, albeit there were such a statute, much less say I these words, *with his hand*, need in this case. For if yee mark wel the consideration, why this authority was given to K. Henry VIII. for the establishing of his succession, yee shal find, that it was to none other end than the statute of the 28th of Henry VIII. declareth: that is, because after his life, this realm should not bd destitute of a lawful governour; which yee see in this part by this will is fully performed.

For by this will he hath put no remainder out. First, The heirs of the lady Frances, and then of the lady Eleonor: who being next of the bloud and kin, and such as he loved, and had no cause to hate, nature did move, and reason did teach him to prefer above all others. The heirs of the Scotch queen, you know, he did cease to love. For king James, when he had promised to meet him at York, mocked him; and after made war against him. And when the lords of Scotland, after king James's death, had promised him the marriage of this queen, they deceived him. And her marying with the earl of Angus was not only without his consent, but also unorderedly and unlawfully don, as it is said.

And for these words in the statute, *The wil to bee signed with his hand*, they are not of necessity, to the end that it was meant for the succession. For he might have appointed a successor certain, without his hand-writing. But for a more surety, that there might not be any counterfeited will in his name; which cannot be presumed of this will, when those be named in remainder, that of nature and right ought to be preferred thereunto. Shal

we then with cavilling of words go about to subvert the statute, when by true meaning of the statute, without injury to any, we may maintain and preserve our country in quietness and safety? Surely, in my judgment, there is no reason, equity, nor conscience, that can lead us so to do.

But say they, it is not his wil, signed with his hand, as his statute requireth. How prove they that, sith it must be disproved by a sufficient number of witnesses? such as I take the law civil and common doth allow. For by what law it was made, by that law it must be disproved; or by comparing of the hand and sign wherewith the *prothocal* is signed with other writings that were signed with his hand. But such conferring cannot be, because the original cannot be found. And to say the very truth, after the will was once proved and allowed, (which I take to be sufficiently don, where it is enrolled in the chancery, and published under the great seal of England by king Edward VI. being supreme head in earth of the church of England, and so sufficient,) ordinary [original] and *prothocal* needed not, for the record was of more strength. But say they, there can be no such record found in the chancery. Whether there be a record remaining thereof, or not, I know not, but sure I am there was a record thereof, and divers *constats* made of it under the great seal of England; for every of the executors, and also for some others. But I pray you tel me, is it reason, because the original, nor any record thereof appeareth, the right of those that bee in the remainder should be lost? Do men loose their inheritance, if their inheritance be by force, or otherwise destroyed? Did sir Richard Sackville, sir John Mason, sir Henry Nevyl, the heirs of sir Philip Hoby, loose their right to the bishop of Winchester's lands, because the record was destroyed? I trow, you wil deny it: because the last parliament yee did orderly restore them. And albeit there be some of the *constats* do remain; and also copies thereof, and the memory thereof is yet so fresh, that albeit al the *constats* and copies were destroyed, yet there be men living that do remember there was such a wil; and that the remainder was declared to be in the heirs of the lady Frances, and after of the lady Eleanor.

But let us consider, I beseech you, at what time, and to what purpose and end, the record and the wil was defaced and destroyed. It was don in queen Mary's time, as the common report goeth. And it must be presumed, so wise and circumspect men as then bare the sway of the realm, would not do it for nought. Was it because Q. Mary would not satisfy the bequests and legacies therein declared? That cannot be; for al were largely performed and payd, before her time, to the uttermost. Was it because they

would not have the *obits* and masses therein expressed, continued? That cannot be thought, when she, and those that did it, put their chiefest trust of salvation in masses and *obits*. Was it because they tendred so much king Henry's honour, that they would not have it appear, that his wil after his death, and his doings in his life were contrary? How could that be, when by al means they could, they laboured to undoe al that he had don, to dishonour and debase him in every thing; and, as some think, burnt also his bones. Was it because there was any thing in his wil that might authorize the executors to withstand queen Mary's affection? None were so pliable to her devotions, as the executors and those that were named in the wil. Was it because they would defeat the queen's majesty that now is of her right of the crown? That could not be; for she claimed not by the wil, but by the statute.

Sith then none of these causes that I have told you served to maintain their doings for the destruction of this wil; and that both the original, and also the record of the wil be destroyed; it must needs of necessity be concluded, it was only don, for that they knew the wil to be lawful, and saw none other way to deprive the heirs of the lady Frances of their right to the crown; or else that they had no cause to concele it. Which to imagine of them (esteeming themselves so wise and so learned) would be deadly sin; considering that William Sommer used not his madness to do any thing, but he would render some reason or colour for it. And I pray you, is it like, when lust was law, will reason, wrong right; and some so earnestly laboured, contrary to the law and their oaths, to dissolve the acts of succession, if they had known that any man could justly have preferred their purpose, and said it was a counterfeit wil, would they not have made him to have don it by hook or by crook, for hope of reward, or for fear of torture? Would they not have don it by some colour of law, by examining of witnesses? Should it not have been published in the star-chamber? preach'd at Paul's Cross? declared by act of parliament? proclaimed in every quarter of the realm? Yes, doubtless, nothing should have been omitted that had been possible to have been devised, whereby so manifest an untruth, so much to their commodity, might have appeared. But because they saw they could not do it justly, nor yet handle the matter so craftily, but every man would perceive their doings, and in time disclose their jugglings; therefore belike, like politic men, they took an unorderly means, and destroyed the whole record.

If then no witness could be found, and now some wil appear, methinks it were a very strange thing. For if it should be said, either it must needs be his will signed with his hand, or els it is no wil at al, it wil be as easy to prove the one, as to deny the other. But say they, it cannot be but a will. For there be eleven witnesses, men very honest and substantial, that with the subscription of their names to testify the same. And upon that foundation the executors proved the will, took upon them the administration; and have in every point fulfilled it. Surely it cannot be denied but the witnesses were very honest men, substantial and worthy to be credited. But the self same witnesses that say it was a will, affirm in like manner, that it was signed with the king's own hand. For the words of the will be thus: "In witness whereof we signed it with our own hand in our palace at Westminster, the 3d day of December," &c. being present, and called to be witnesses, these persons that have written their names under, John Gates, &c.

So that I can see no remedy, but either both must be granted, or both denied. That is, that either it is no will, or els it is signed with his own hand. Against their own testimonies can none of the witnesses come. If they do, they discredit themselves. If any of the executors wil go about to impugn this foundation and testimony of the witnesses, then shal he not only destroy his chief building, but also now say against that that he hath manifestly before confessed; when he allowed it, and procured it to be enrolled and put forth under the great seal. And so with his doubleness shal make himself no meet witness. Besides these two kinds of witnesses, I cannot imagine [others.] For some of the executors, and these eleven witnesses, were such as were continually waiting upon the king's person. If any other will come forth, and say it is not his hand, then it is to be considered, how many, and what they be. Not one or two will serve the purpose. They must be many, and those *omni exceptione majores*. If they were privy or consenting to the embroiling of the *prothocal*, or destruction of the record, then the law will not admit them for witnesses. For it accounteth them *falsarios*, and so infamous. But sith in this will, which is called king Henry's will, there is this clause, that *all other wills made at any other time should be void*, it appeareth then, that [he] had other wills. If any man will deny it, not only the words of the will (which otherwise should be in vain) will plainly reprove him, but also there be yet living that have seen the same: and how some of them were interlined by king Henry; and some of them, in all or the most part, written with his own hand.

But perhaps it will be doubted, whether there were any successor limited and forth set in the said wills; which me-thinketh ought not. For it will appear by manifest presumption. First, It is not to be doubted, sith king Henry, so long before, like a prudent prince, foresaw the dangers the realm mought have fallen into for the uncertainty of succession; and that he had procured authority and power by his parliament to establish it; and that minding in his old days personally to invade France; but that like a good father of his country, with good avisement and deliberation, he made his will, and established the succession. Now, secondly, it must needs be, that in that will so made before his going over, the limitation of succession was in such manner and form as is declared in his last will. For, as I said before, there was no cause why he should bear any affection to the Scottish queen, nor yet to the lady Lenox: and having no cause to be offended with his other sisters (the French queen's) children, it is to be judged, that he would not leave it to any other before them; especially, when he had none other kinsfolks of his whole bloud to leave it unto. Thirdly, This last will can be no new will devised and made in his sickness; but the copy of his former will, and fair written; if it were not the very old will. For if it had been a new will they devised, who could think, that either himself would have declared manifestly himself contrary to himself, or that any man durst have moved him to put so many things therein, contrary to his honour. And sith it seemed to be so before wrkten of his own advice, and no man durst move him to alter it in those points that were against his honour; much less durst they themselves advise any new succession, or move him to alter it, otherwise than they found it: when they saw it otherwise could not naturally be disposed.

And therefore if it could be justly proved, that this will that you call king Henry's will, were not signed with his own hand, as it will be a very hard matter to prove *negati-vum factum*; yet cannot it be denyed, but some of the other wills (out of which this will was copied) was written and signed with his own hand; or at the least enterlined. Which may be said a sufficient signing with his own hand; albeit perhaps at this present the very originalls cannot be brought forth.

Sith then it appeareth that king Henry made a will: sith it appeareth by the testimony and subscription of eleven witnesses, that it was signed with his own hand: sith it was so proved by the executors: sith it was, as his will, enrolled in the chancery, and published under the great seal of England: wherein it was written, that *it was signed with his own hand*: sith the

prothocal and the record be without order destroyed: and sith there can come forth no such witnesses to disprove it, as the law admitteth for sufficient, and as we ought to credit: sith he had other wills written with his own hand to the same effect that this will is; methinketh, that there is no reason nor colour to men, as to think that this was not king Henry's will, made according to the statute; and that that we call king Henry's will is the very true, right will, and that by the statute and by our oaths we be bound to receive them for kings and queens, that be in remainder by the will, if it shall please God to take the queen from us without issue.

But let us admit an untruth, that there was no will, to the end there may nothing be imagined, that cannot justly be answered. And that the truth may be known, (which for my part I only desire may appear to all men,) who is the right and lawful heir in reversion to the crown; it will be said, the Scottish queen; because she cometh of the eldest sister, and is next of blood to king Henry VIII. according to the maxim in the law. Truth it is, there is such a maxim: but it may not be so largely taken, but it must be restrained to such as be inheritable by the laws of the realm. Which be such as be born in the king's allegiance, of father and mother English; or out of the king's legiance, of parents English, and in the king's legiance. For if yee will put strangers and right English in one case, what availeth the liberty of England, or what profiteth it to be an Englishman born? Yea, it were a great deal better to be born a stranger, than an Englishman: for strangers, albeit they have not so great commodity in England in all things as Englishmen have, yet in some things they have more: neither be they bound to serve the realm with their witts, to maintain it with their goods, serve it with their bodies, defend it with their blood, as we be: but may come when they will, tarry as long as them listeth, and depart when it pleaseth them.

Wherefore by nature there ought to be great difference between strangers and Englishmen: and those should enjoy the sweet, that be bound to tast of the sowre. And so our laws have provided, if ye will suffer them to stand in force. For the statute of the 23 Edward III. (which expoundeth the law in this case) saith, that the king's children, wheresoever they be born in the realm, or without, be inheritable to their auncesters: and that others which from time to time shall be born out of the legiance of the king, whose fathers and mothers at the time of their birth, be at the faith and legiance of the king of England, should be in like maner inheritors to their auncestors. Whereby it is a consequent, *a contrario*, that these that be born out of the legiance of the king of England, be not inheritable to this realm. And so it

appeareth by Bracton, that the old law before was, For he saith in one of his exceptions thus; *Sicut Anglious non auditur in placitando aliquem de terris et tenementis in Francia; ita non debet Alienigena et Francigena, qui sunt ad fidem regis Francisae, audiri placitando in Anglia.* In another place, *Libro 4to de exception. dilatoria*, Bracton saith thus: *Ita respondere poterit, quod particeps, de quo di-citur, nil capere potest, antequam fiat fides regi Angliae.* And Lit. saith, as yee know, “That in an action real or personal, brought by one born out of the king’s legiance, it is a good plea for the defendant to say, that the plaintiff was born out of the king’s legiance.”

But some say, that Scotland is a member of the crown of England. and therefore the people therein born be in the legiance of the king of England. Although Scotland by right belong to the crown of England; yet it is not a sufficient cause to prove, that the people born in Scotland be in the king of England’s legiance. It cannot be denied, but that Normandy belongeth of right to the crown of England; yet it followeth not, that the Normans therefore be in the le-giance of the king of England. Now, albeit Normandy be-longeth to the crown of England; yet because the people thereof declined from their faith and allegiance that they ought to the king of England, and became subjects, and gave their faith and legiance to the French king, their lands were eschiated; as appeareth by the statute, *De Prerog. Regis, cap. 12.* Callis was a member of England. The people therein born, when it was under the government of England, as free of England as those that be born in England. But yet now being in the French king’s hands, those that be born there, be no more free in England than those that be born at Paris. So in like manner, albeit Scotland belong of right to the crown of England, and the king of Scots have sometimes done their homage therefore to the kings of England: yet we see they have of long time forsaken their faith and legiance to England, and have not only become rebels, but rather have been taken for enemies to England. For they have been [not] unusually ransomed upon their taking, like enemies, and not executed with death like tray-tors. And by that means king James, their now queen’s father, was at the time of his birth, and at his death, out of the legiance of England. Wherefore to say, that she was born in the king’s legiance, because she was born in Scotland, is a mere cavillation, *secundum non causam, ut causam*; more worthy to be laughed at, than requiring any answer at all.

Now let us compare these things together. You know, that the Scottish queen is not the king of England's child, nor is a free-woman of England. Wherefore by the laws of England she cannot inherit in this realm. And if yee desire a precedent and an example for the very self same cause that we now treat of, ye may find it in the chronicles, how Margaret, daughter and heir unto Edward, the outlaw, son and heir to Edmond Ironside, king of England, being married to Malcolme, king of Scots, never claimed the crown of England, nor any of her children after her. But both her husband, and her three children after her, and their issue, kings of Scotland, did homage to the kings of England.

But it will be objected, that K. Henry II. was born out of the king's legiance. His father was no denizen; and yet he inherited the crown. True it is, that he was born out of the king's legiance: but whether he was free or no, that is uncertain. Albeit it is to be supposed, that his grandfather minding that he should succede, omitted nothing that might serve for that purpose. But this ye may know by our chronicles, that he came in rather by election and consent of the realm, than by inheritance. For Henry I. procured, that the clergy and nobility should be twice Sworn to the succession of Maud the empress his daughter, and her heirs. And for breaking that oath, and receiving Stephen, the history sheweth, how the realm was marvellously plagued, and especially the clergy and nobility; and that by Stephen himself. And besides, if we will weigh the matter indifferently, we may truly say, that Henry II. enjoyed the crown lawfully by inheritance. For albeit Maud were not queen of England *de facto*, yet was she de jure: for Stephen was but an usurper. And so king Henry was the queen's child. Which yee see, by the statute of Edward III. is free, wheresoever he be born.

Another objection there is in Richard II. how he was born at Bourdeaux, out of the realm, and yet was king. To this I answer, he had it justly; for he was born of father and mother English. Thus I take it to be very plain, that the Scottish queen can make justly, by the law of England, no claim to the crown thereof; because she hath no right in law nor reason.

And therefore will procede to the examination of the title of the lady Lineux [Lenox.] Whom perchance some will think to have the next right, because she was daughter to the lady Margaret, the eldest sister of K. Henry VIII. Truth it is, she was her daughter: but her father, the earl of Angus, was a Scot, an alien, and no denizen. But it will he said, it maketh

no matter what her father was; for she was born in England, as it cannot be denied she was. For, as some say, the law of England alloweth every person to be English, that is born in England, of whatsoever nation that his parents be; if his parents, or father only be *ad fidem regis Angliae*, that is, sworn to be true to the king of England, and his subject; as the earl of Angus, at the birth of the lady Lineux his daughter, was not.

Perchance it might somewhat make for that purpose in the opinion of the common people: albeit in very deed, and by the laws of the realm, it seemeth nothing at all. For it appeareth [by] 14 Edward III, and 14 Henry VI. that albeit an alien be sworn to be true to the king and the realm in any leer or session; yet he is [not] abled thereby to purchase lands, but he must be enabled thereto expressly by the king's letters patents. But that the child should inherit, and the father not free in England, it cannot but seem very strange, how any such opinion should be conceived by any man learned. For it differeth from the laws and policy of all other places of the world, [and] written law of this realm. None is to maintain it; and reason, whereon such custom should be grounded, hard I think it should be to find. In all other places the law is, *Partus sequitur patrem*. That is, the child shall be counted of that nation where his father was born. If the father be French, whensoever the child be born it shall be counted French. Or if he be Italian, the child shall be Italian: if he be Dutch, the child shall be Dutch; except the father hath forsaken his own native country, and hath not only given faith to another prince or state, but also is admitted to be a citizen or freeman there.

And the reason seems to be this, that sith a man is naturally disposed to live in some society, and must needs so live, if he will indeed live well and safely like a man, and not wander abroad like an unreasonable beast, he must joyn himself to some one society or congregation: wherein as he desireth to enjoy the benefits that grow of such civil society, so it is meet and reasonable that he should be partaker of the burthens, and faithfully to maintain and defend it, by which he himself is preserved and maintained. And because God first made man, and of man woman, and hath made him a more apt instrument to serve in the commonweal, in the functions both of the mind and of the body; therefore is man preferred to woman, and thought the more worthy person; not only by the laws of nature, but also by all other laws, and by the laws of this realm; as appeareth 47 Edward III. And so the children in all other places follow the condition and state of their father, as the most worthy person; which others do also here in

England. For the law in like maner saith, *Partus sequitur patrem*. Which, if it should be examined only in the cases of the bondman and his wife, and that the child should be bond or free, according to the condition of the father, then it is no maxim, as the law termeth it. For a maxim is a rule that serves to rule and discuss more eases than one.

But let us seek if we can find out a reason to maintain this opinion, that every person born in England, of what nation soever the parents be, shall be free. For positive law written, that is contained in the book of the *Exposition of the terms of the laws of England*: (which of what authority it is, I know not.) But what saith that book? verily thus: "If an alien come and dwell in England, which is not of the king's enemies, and there hath issue, this issue is not alien, but English." But now such alien was the earl of Angus: for as the chronicle witnesseth, he came not into England with mind to tary and inhabit there. But after he had married the Scottish queen, both without K. Henry his brother's consent, and also of the councils of Scotland, there fel such variance between her and him, and the lords of Scotland, that she and her husband (like banished persons) fled and came into England, and wrote to the king for mercy and comfort. The king enclined to mercy, sent them apparel, vessels, and all things; willing them to live still in Northumberland, till they knew further of his pleasure. Whereupon they lay still at Harboute, where she was delivered of the said lady Lyneoux. And after, when the king sent for her and her husband, the earl, to come to the court, and the earl promised so to do, and she was coming and asked for him, he was returned to Scotland, (belike to his own wife, as ye shall hear hereafter,) or mistrusting that the king had understanding, how he had distained and abused his sister: and so she came without the earl to the court. When the king heard that the earl of Angus was so departed, he said, it was done like a Scot. And so after this queen had taried a year in England, she returned to Scotland. Whereby it may appear, that the said earl of Angus is not of that sort of aliens of whom this book of the *Exposition of the termes of the laws of England* speaketh. For he came not into England to dwel, nor had any dwelling place there: but rather was to be judged as a guest; or as a bird, that for a time leaveth his native country while the foul weather lasteth: or as a wild beast chased with hounds out of his haunt, flyeth, till he perceive they persecute him no longer. And so the lady Lineoux can claim no benefit by this law, if it be taken for law: but rather it maketh altogether against her.

Moreover, statute there is none to maintain this opinion, that saith, every person is English that is born in England, of whatsoever nation his parents be. Then of necessity it must be by custom, if it be law: which having no reason to maintain it, or if it be contrary to reason is no law, have it never so long continuance; but is, as evil, to be abolished, as the laws of the realm do plainly teach us. For they say, customs not grounded on reason, or contrary to reason, cannot prescribe.

But yee will say, the reason is to entice strangers the rather to come into this realm. What enticement can it be, where they themselves shall not, by their coming, be free, nor may purchase any land to leave to their posterity?

And albeit that reason maintained this custom, yet can it not serve the lady Lenoux. *For* her father, the earl of Angus, came not into this realm to inhabit and dwel in the same, as before is sufficiently declared. Perchance it will be said, that it is the nature of the soil to make all such bee born in England, free of England. But how happeneth it, that this property is private to England, and not common to all other countreys? Truly, this is not allowed in any other country: and not without good reason. For the constitution of kingdoms and states, ordinances of cities and commonweals, and the liberties and freedoms thereof, are not by nature, but come by the consent of men and mens laws. And they receive none to be free, and they allow none to be free in their commonweals, but such as either for the faith and truth their parents, being citizens, bare thereunto, they do not suspect but that they will walk in the steps of their parents fidelity; or else are such as upon great consideration and promise of their faith and allegiance, they do newly admit citizens. Of which number young babes cannot be for simplicity. The magistrate can have no respect of them: nor they be not able to make any promise, or bond of fidelity to the commonwealth. For as the commonwealth is bound to preserve them that be free thereof from injury and injustice; so it doth require of them promise to be true thereunto, to serve and defend it to their uttermost power.

And mark, I pray you, now into what absurdities ye shall fall, if this should be admitted for law, that every one born in England should be free in England, of whatsoever nation his parents were. I ask this question, If the child of an alien born in England should be free in England; and by reason his father is a Scot before also in Scotland, (as doubtless by the law he is, wheresoever he be born,) if wars should happen, (as it hath done many

times between these two realms,) whose part shall he take? No man can serve two masters at one time, saith the right Lawmaker, and also common reason. If he follow the Scotch part, then he is a traitor to England. If he should with England, then he is a traitor to Scotland. If he will take part with neither, then is he a traitor to both. For every man by the laws of nature, (which is God's law,) and by the law of every realm, is bound to declare himself a member of one commonwealth: that is, to bestow his life and goods in the defence thereof, when need requires. Therefore I ask, which part it is like that he will take, that is a mongrel of both nations? Truly in my judgment, there is no reason to move either England or Scotland to think such a person can be true to either of them both. For it hath been a principle received of all men, even as long as division of states and commonweals have been, that no man can be a citizen of two cities or commonweals; because he cannot serve them both at once. Wherefore I cannot see how this proposition, that every person born in England (of what nation or parents soever he be) should be free in England, should be justified by law or reason. And therefore the lady Leoneux can take no benefit thereby.

But admit the law of the realm were certain, that all children born in the realm should be free, of whatsoever nation the parents were: if it be true that is reported, the lady Leoneux is clearly excluded by the laws of the realm to be heir of any person, of any possessions within this realm. For as it is said, when her father, the earl of Angus, was married to the Scottish queen her mother, he had another wife living. Wherefore a divorce was sued between him and the Scottish queen. And after the same divorce, the Scottish queen, in the life of the earl of Angus, the lady of Lineux father, married the lord Muffyn. With whom she continued all her life, as man and wife, without any trouble or appele to revoke the divorce. But it may be said, that divorce cannot disable the lady Lineux to be inheritor to the crown of England. For albeit he had another wife living at that time he married the Scottish queen; yet forasmuch as she was ignorant thereof, and married him *bona fide*, the child born of them is by the common laws lawful. True it is, that by the common laws she is legitimate: but the laws under which we be born, whereunto by God's law, and the law of nature we be bound; and whereby in cases of inheritance we be, and must be ruled, do not allow her for legitimate: that is to say, inheritable; as it doth not likewise others in other cases.

The canon law saith, if a man beget a child of a woman, not married, and after the birth of the child do marry her, the child shall be counted legitimate, and as if it had been born in lawful matrimony. But the laws of England be, and ever have been contrary; that it shall not be taken for legitimate, albeit that great suit hath been made to the contrary: and to bring the laws of the realm to agree with the common laws in this point, as appeareth in the statute of Marton, cap. 9. So in like manner albeit the common law alloweth the child born in second marriage, the first not being dissolved, to be lawful, if any of the parents think the marriage good; yet do not the laws of the realm allow the same. But because the first marriage was never lawfully disallowed, but that one man can have but one wife at once, it accounteth the second marriage void; and the child born therein it adjudgeth bastard, and not inheritable in this realm: as appeareth by Glanville, Bracton, and Britton. And all the whole course of our laws received and used from the beginning to this present time.

Wherefore the lady Leoneux can pretend justly no title to the crown of England. So that it may appear by the laws of the realm, neither the Scottish queen, nor yet the lady Leoneux have any manner of title or claim to the crown of England, be they never so near of blood. The one because she is not the king's child, nor free in England; the other, because if she were free, that yet the law cannot allow her for legitimate, as inheritable to this realm. And therefore as the next of blood, and the true and just heirs of our laws, the crown ought to descend to the heirs of the French queen; which be the daughters of the lady Frances and the lady Eleanor. And presently to the lady Katharine, being the eldest daughter to the eldest sister, the lady Frances.

Against these heirs of the French queen is objected: say they, These cannot inherit. Why so? Because they were not lawfully born. For Charles, duke of Suffolk, had at that time, when he married the French queen, another wife living; that is, the lady Mortymer. To this I answer, that altho: it were true, that the lady Frances and the lady Eleonor were not lawfully born, (as it is not true, as ye shall hear hereafter,) yet it hurteth not the title of the heirs given by king Henries will. For it is appointed to the heirs of them, not to themselves, as the will plainly declareth. But verily, this is a mere slander grown altogether on malice; and no accusation made upon any just presumption. For I beseech you tell me, is it like, or can any reasonable man think, if duke Charles had had another wife living, when he had married the French queen, that king Henry would have consented, that his sister

should have received so great an injury, that she should have been kept for a concubine? Would the council have suffered so great infamy to have come. to their master's stock? Would the nobility of the realm with so great triumph have honoured so unlawful an act? Would the common people, who many times are ready to speak evil of weldoing, have holden their tongue in so manifest adultery? Is it like, that in so long time as the French queen and the duke lived together, as man and wife, (that is, all the days of the French queen,) that she should not have heard of it? Was it possible, that among so many women, that daily resorted unto her, (whose natures are to seek for all such things, be they never so secret, and to communicate them to others,) that none should have told her? Is it to be believed, that she, contrary to the nature of all women, would have content that another should be partaker of that flesh, that she, according to God's word, took only to be her own? Or can any man think, that any woman can be content to live in mean degree, when she may be a dutchess; as the lady Mortymer should have been justly, if she had been the duke's wife? Surely, methinks, there is no reason to make any man to think, how much less to report so.

But suppose that the duke had another wife living, at what time he married the French queen; yet forasmuch as he and she were married openly, continued together all their lives, as lawful man and wife; and nothing said against them; and every man took them for man and wife: and that the lady Frances and the lady Eleonor were not, during their lives, taken to be bastards; now, after their death, neither they, nor their children may by the laws of this realm, be convented therefore. For the laws of the realm say thus, *Nec justum est aliquando mortuum facere bastardum, qui toro tempore suo tenebatur pro legitimo*: as appeareth by judgment given at Westminster, 13 E. I.

But for the declaration of the truth of this matter, and to pluck out of the heads of the people their fond opinion and consideration; and maintained of such as pass not so much of the truth, as they desire to satisfy their fond affections; yee shall understand, that the duke being sir Charles Brandon, living in the court, being sole and unmarried, made a contract of mariage with a gentlewoman called Anne Brown; and before any solemnization of mariage, not only had a daughter by her, which afterwas married to the lord Powis; but also brake promise with her, and openly and solemnly married the lady Mortymer. Which mariage the said Mrs. Anne Browne judicially accused to be unlawful. For that the said sir Charles Brandon had made a

precontract with her, and had carnally known her. Which being duely proved, sentence of divorce between the said sir Charles and the lady Mortymer was given. And he married solemnly the said Mrs. Anne Browne. At which marriage all the nobility was present, and did honour it. And after had by her another daughter: which was married to the lord Mounteagle. After this the said Mrs. Anne Browne continued with him all her life as his wife, and dyed his wife, without any impeaching of that marriage. After whose death, king Henry, having the said Charles Brandon in great favour, meant he should, for his better preferment, have married the lady Lisle, being a young madam, and an *inheritrix*. Whereupon the said Charles Brandon was created viscount Lisle: but that marriage, by reason of her youth, took no place. After this he was created duke of Suffolk. And Lewis the French king dyed; and leaving the said lady Mary, king Henry the Seventh's daughter, a widow, the said duke Charles being sent into France for her, with consent of king Henry married her twice: first, secretly in France; and after openly here in England, as before is de-dared. And then lived together quietly, as man and wife, all their lives. They were so accepted, and taken of all persons. No person impugned, or gainsayed the said marriage. For there was no cause. And had issue between them, the said lady Frances and lady Eleonor.

Against whom the said lady Powis, their base sister, in the time of king Edward VI. alledged bastardy: but they were, by the laws of the realm, and the canon laws, declared to be legitimate, and born in lawful matrimony. So that no man that hath understanding, can say they be bastards: and if they could, yet at this present, (because it was once adjudged for them; and also that they both be dead; and dyed taken as legitimate,) he ought not to be heard by order of any law in the world, if he would object against them. But having no true ground of occasion; but spewing out his malice, is rather as a slanderer to be reprov'd; going about to sow sedition in the common weal, as a seditious person to be punished; minding to sow civil wars in the realm, and to bring it to destruction and dissolution, as a traitor to the realm, to be taken; persuading to subvert the providence of Almighty God, as God's enemy to be adjudged and used.

Thus have I declared my judgment unto you, touching the right heirs of the crown in remainder and reversion: which is, as I take it presently, the lady Katharine, daughter to the lady Frances; both by the will of king Henry, and also by the common laws of the realm. And that we be bound both by our oaths, and also by the law, so to take her. If we shall for any affection

take away the right from those that have the right, let us remember the saying of the Holy Ghost, *Propter injustitias et injurias transfe-retur regnum a genre in gentem*. This have I put in writing, that I may be the better and more perfectly answered. If any man will take the pains to do it, I require it may be don in writing: so it shall quickly come to an issue. If he can confound by just argument that I have said, he shall satisfy many; and find me ready to say as he saith. If he cannot, then do I desire him for God's sake, and for the love of his country, to give place to truth: quickly.

NUMBER 9.

A letter of Mr. Randolph, the queen's agent in Scotland, to the lords Graunge and Lyddington: exciting them to leave the Scottish queen's party.

WHERE we see how little our dealing with you by mouth can do, to bring you unto that which we know is best for your selves; having spent a great deal of time to little effect; wee thought good to try another way: which is, to prove by our advice in writing, if we can win that out of you, that by word we are not hable to do: because we will have nothing undon that we may do, or at the least minded to do. That we be not charged hereafter by you, not to have don as much as in friendship we might do.

We are commanded to deal with you in two principal points: the one for your obedience to the king. The other, to acknowledge the regent. Against these you alledge conscience, honour, and saufty. If in all these you be reasonably answered, I trust you will remain satisfied.

For the first, she is not worthy to live, whose cause ye defend, having committed so horrible offence. *Ergo*, No conscience, by order to put her down: and less not to obey her; least, to obey her unjust quarrel. This you know your selves: this you have spoken your selves: this you have allowed your selves. Your selves wrot against her, fought against her, and were the chiefest cause of her apprehension, and imprisonment, and dimission of the crown; with somewhat more than we might say, if it were not to grieve you too much herein. But plainness argueth friendship, and so do I trust yee take it. If at that time there was nothing don against conscience, what moveth you to take conscience to leave her; but alledge conscience for your defence in setting up of her, that hath been the overthrow of your

country, shame, and cause of all the misfortunes that have fallen unto you, or shall fall hereafter, if ye remain in the will ye be of?

Can either of you believe, that your lives shall be happier under her, if she be at home again in her former estate, whom ye have so many ways offended, than now it may be under her son, a babe ignorant and without malice or will to revenge, if ye dutifully live under him, and yield your obedience unto him? If ye doubt the time to come, when he shall be of lawful years, ye may well think it easier by good deserts in the mean time to obtain his favour at that time, than you can at any time, if this woman, whose nature ye know how vindictive it is, full of malice, and presently (whatsoever ye judge of her your selves) as evil disposed and bent towards you two, as to none worse in Scotland. So that you two were the chief occasions of all the calamities, as she hath said, that she is fallen into. You, lord of Liddington, by your persuasion and counsil to others to apprehend her, to imprison her; yea, to have taken presently the life from her. And you, lord of Graynge, by your solicitation, travail, and labour, to bring in others to allow thereof, and to put in execution that which by the other you, lord of Liddington, was devised.

Set apart therefore all conscience in this matter, where we believe that neither of you both is touched in this matter, so much as you pretend, or wish that we should believe. If not in *conscience*, which is dearest, and wherein men ought to be precisest, much less in *honour*; in which the world is chiefly respected, and yet weighs down. But that may be so solved, and your selves by all honest and godly men better allowed of, in respect of your countries weal, somewhat to yield of your own particular; yea, though to your disadvantage, then to se daily so much bloudshed; besides many calamities that men suffer through the occasion of this intestine sedition. Honour is to be respected where justice procedeth. If the cause you defend be unjust, what honour can there be to maintain it? but rather shame and ignominy to stand so long by it, as yee have done? How unjust it is, if no more could be said of all your practices, of all your attempts, the extremity of all those that hitherto in this action took her part doth sufficiently manifest.

Of these two points, because in my conscience you can sooner resolve your selves, than we can sufficiently write of them, receive them to your own consideration. And go to the third, which is the chief, and to you hardest. To us not of such difficulty as ye make it.

Mary, my lord of Lyddington, like his, *Tu si hic esses, aliter sentire;* truly we are with you in care of mind. We have compassion of your present hard state and extremities, apparent to ensue. As friends, we lament it: as well-willers, we are careful to provide for it. Thus far therefore we may promise, that your state by composition shall be no worse than theirs presently is, that have been of your part and mind with you. Saufty to your life we dare promise. Restitution to your lands and livings we dare assure you of. And so to all others that take your parts. What may be done for recovery of your losses, there shall be as reich don as lieth in us: and so much I dare say, as your self shall be witness more cannot be don for the recovery of it, wheresoever it be found or be heard of.

If ye doubt of the regent person, yee seem to know less now then beforetime ye have don. Whose honesty towards the world ye have allowed of in time past. Of whose particular good will toward your self, we have well reported and thought. Of whose zeale and love towards the word of God, and love to his country, no man ever doubted. What my mistres advice to him, and reverence he bears unto her to follow the same, doth or may work in him, we find, and can assure our selves sufficiently, that it is such as neither shall his promise be broken unto you, nor any thing be left undone by him, that is in his power to perform.

Whatsoever ye doubt of my lord of Morton, ye shall have the like security of him; and my mistress to interpose her self so far, as in honour and reason she may. If this be not sufficient, be your selves the devisers, yee shall find us friends, fellows, companions, debtors, commissioners; term us as ye will; faithful and indifferent any way that we can to do you good. If nothing of this will serve, trust us upon our words, ye stay to your greater destruction. Yee are disappointed of your purpose, and shall be driven to that extremity, that we are both loth to think *of*, much less willing to put it in writing. Give us your answer hereunto. And so wishing you to be well advised, we bid you both farewell.

NUMBER 10.

Dr. Storie last will and testament, made at Lovain, anno 1552.

EMANUEL. In the name of God, *Amen*, and in the year of our Lord God 1552, and in the last day of May, I, John Storie, doctor [LL.] lawded be

Almighty God, being whole of mind and body, do to God and the world declare my last will and testament in maner and form following. First and before all things transitory, as I do most humbly render thanks, lawd, and praising to my Lord God, for my creation and redemption; so do I also most humbly acknowledge his great mercies by leading me, a wretched sinner, out of my native country; the which being swarved out of the sure ship of our salvation, I beseech Almighty God of his infinite mercy to restore again to the unity of the same vessel, being our mother, the holy catholic church, for his holy names sake. And having full trust and alliance, that I am one, and within the number of the said catholic visible church, (which doth, and here on earth shall, contain both bad and good, until the same by wilful leaping out, or lawful separation be excluded,) I do confess to God, and before the world, that I in this perillous time of tryal of the corn from the moveable chaff, do believe, and have full trust and alliance in all and every article, clause, or sentences that our said mother, the holy church, continued from the time of the apostles, hath and shall decree, set forth, and deliver to be kept and observed by us her children. And for my breaking any commandment set forth by the authority of the same church, and for my non-observance of any decree, ordinance, or counsil of the same; and especially, for mine offence in forsaking the unity of its by the acknowledging of any other supreme head than our Saviour Jesu Christ did depute here in earth to remain, which was S. Peter, and his successors, bishops of the see of Rome; I do most humbly and penitently crave God mercy; desiring of him pardon; as I do also ask forgiveness of all such as by my said offence and evil example, I have by any means slandered or offended in this world: desiring all Christen people remaining within the unity of our said mother, the catholic church, to pray-for me, being a simple and a wretched member of the same.

And as concerning such my temporal goods as, by the sufferance of Almighty God, I have been steward of here in this vale of misery; my mind is, that all my debts be truly contented and payed by mine executor, &c. Also, I give and bequeath to Ellen Storye, my daughter, the sum of 600 and threescore florens, to be payed and delivered to her at the day of mariage: so, and under this condition, that she do take to husband and mary such one as her mother then living, or my overseers here under named, or any one of them, do first consents &c. And if my said daughter, following her own sensuality, do chance to mary with any man without or against the good will, pleasure, &c. then my mind is, that she shall have

only threescore florens towards her rayment, and no more. And if my skid daughter Ellen, by God's good motion, do enter into religion, then I do give and bequeath to the house and company where she shall chaunce to be professed 120 flo-rens; desiring them to be good instructors of my said daughter, and of their cheritie to pray for the souls of my father and mother, Nicolas and Joan, for my soul and all Christen souls.

Also, I do bequeath my soul to Almighty God; of whom this my mortal flesh hath received the same: and my body to be buried within the Grey Friars in Lovain, if I do depart in Lovain, as neer unto the burial of Mr. Thomas Tybald as may be permitted. For the which my funeral exequies, and other divine services, then by that convent to be don and solemnized for the wealthe of my soul, I do bequeath to the same convent twenty florens. Also, I give and bequeath to the said convent forty florens more, desiring them of their cherite, in their daily celebration of mass, that they will pray for the souls of Nicolas and Joan my parents, for my soul and all Christen souls; and to limit and appoint one devout person of their company, by the space of two years next after my burial, daily to make a special memory to God for my soul and of all Christen souls. And my mind is, that the same convent, the next day after my *months mind* is by them to be kept for my soul, do receive of my executrice the same whole sum of money, viz. threescore florens. For the which I beseech them that I may have my *years mind* kept with mass and *dirige*, by the space of three years.

Also, I do give and bequeath to the house and companie of the Charter-Louse in Lovain, the sum of twenty florens; requiring them of their cherite in their celebration to pray by special memory for the soul of my said parents, and for my soul; so long as by their cherite they shall be moved thereto. Also I give and bequeath to the great hospital, which lodgeth and keepeth sick persons, the sum of ten flo-rens; desiring them of their cherite to pray for my soul and al Christen souls.

The residue of al my goods and specialties, in whose hands soever they be, upon ful trust and confidence that I have in the promise of my welbeloved wife Joan Storye hereafter mentioned, I do give and bequeath unto her; whom I make my whole and sole executrice to performe this my last wil. Provided always, and it is my ful mind and deliberate wil, that my said executrice shal not take ne demand my whole mony out of my great and special friend Mr. Bonvice hand by the space of three years next after my

decease: but shal receive only such mony of him, as wil pay my legacies, to be prayed for, &c.

Item, I do desire my said good friend, Mr. Anthonie Bon-vice, to be overseer of this my last wil; most heartily desiring him to be a good instructor of my wife, to keep and performe her promise made to God and me. Whereupon I have altered the last end of my wil above written. Which promise that she at no time, until the land of England be restored to the unity of the church, wil resort thither, or cary her daughter and mine into that land: except it be for the only intent to procure her mother to come thence. And in such case not to tary there above the space of three months, unless she by compulsion be forced thereunto. In witness whereof, I have written these presents, and subscribed my name.

Per me Johannes Storye.

NUMBER 11.

Two letters of Jewel from Oxford to Parkhurst; soon after the access of queen Mary to the crown.

PARKHURSTE mi, mi Parkhurst. Quid ego te nunc putem agere? Morine an vivere? In fletu esse, an in *fletu*? Certe quae tua semper fuit aequitas animi, nihil dubito te haec omnia, quaecunque sunt, boni consulere, &c. Nova apud nos nulla sunt: plus enim satis est veterum. De Har-leio quid factum sit, quo in loco tuae res sunt, quid speres, quid timeas, nisi molestum est, quaeso, rescribe. Saluta Vrianum, Robinum, Hallingum, et omnes tuos. Vale. Oxon. 15. Octobr.

Jo. Juel tuus.

Quid ego nunc ad te, Parkhurst, scribam, vel quid potius taceam? Quid agas, quid egeris, quo loco sis, jamdu-dum audire cupio. Etsi Clæva tibi erepta est, et alia mutata sunt omnia, animum tamen illum tibi tuum nec eripi, nec mutari posse spero, &c. Saluta meo nomine Vrianum. Octobr. 22. Oxon.

NUMBER 12.

Certain puritans, taking offence against a sermon preached by the bishop of Norwich, digested their exceptions thereto under certain articles, sent to him by way of letter; as followeth.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ direct you by his holy Spirit, that you may walk rightly, after the sincere truth of the gospel.

Beloved father in the Lord Jesus; so long as ye walk sincerely in this truth, and continue in the same: wee, being somewhat aggrieved with your late sermon, are moved in conscience to utter some part thereof: desiring *your* wisdom not to be offended, because we use not the name of *lord*: which willingly we would have done, if God did approve it by his holy word. Our griefs are as followeth.

First, In the entry of your matter, among other things you recited a place out of Jeremy, chap, 23, where it is said, *He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord.* But in the end, you yourself delivered us chaff and wheat together, persuading us to content our selves therewith; and so to receive the same; saying, we had the wheat, let us not strive for the chaff. And sith we had the kernel, let us not strive for the shell, &c. Concluding, that those that did not content themselves therewith were wanton and full, and had not the Spirit of God. Truly, a very hard and severe judgment. But we fear, least this persuasion uttered by you, neither came from the Spirit of God, nor savoured any whit at all thereof. And this is our reason: God is not pleased with a mixture in religion. Neither did we read, neither, as we believe, shall you ever be able to prove, that God's Spirit in the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and the apostles, did at any time exhort God's people to content themselves with a corrupt manner of serving of God. But you think God may be served with a mingle mangle, and have taught the same.

Therefore we are fully persuaded, that in this point you speak not by God's Spirit. We demand this question, If one of your farmers should give you freely an hundred quarters of pure and clean wheat: and his servant, whom he put in trust, should deliver you wheat and chaff together; would you think him a good servant? And that sith I have the wheat, I will not strive for the chaff? We think not. Even so, sith God hath given us the pure wheat of his word, and saith, *What is the chaff to the wheat?* may either

you teach the same, mingled with the chaff of anti-christian traditions, or we, or any other receive the same from you, seeing we know it to be contrary to God's wil, reveled in his word? Judge your selves, that you be not judged of the Lord.

Secondly, You said, that you came not to defend those things: neither could you deceive one child of God for all the good in the world. But I pray you consider, what greater deceit could you use, more deeply to deceive, than to alledge these scriptures and examples which seemed to make for you, and to omit those which were and are directly against you? And what greater colour of deceit could be devised, than to bring particular examples of men uncompelled, to confirm general corruptions without reason urged. Indeed Paul did circumcise Timothy, and sheare his head. But who compelled him thereunto? The same Paul would not circumcise Titus, tho' it were required. Much less would he have observed the law of a Nazarite, or gone with his head shorn twelve years together, if he had been thereto enforced. And whether that fact of Paul were allowable, or not, we will make you and your fellow bishops judges therein. Whose words in the Great Bible, set forth by your own consent, upon the same place of the 21th of the Acts, are as followes. "Paul yielding to the same ceremony offended as sore as Peter did, when he was reprov'd of Paul for abstaining from meats in the presence of the gentils," &c. Again, circumcision and the law of the Nazarites had their original from God, and were by him commanded. But these things which you retain, and labour by these examples to defend, were not commanded by God at all, but have their beginning from the Devil and antichrist: whose implements and trappings they are.

Third, Ye said, that some were offended, because that in giving orders you used to say, *Receive the Holy Ghost. Confirmations*, by which you seemed to approve that the same may lawfully be retained, were specially two, so far as we remember.

1. By words used in baptism.

2. By words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples concerning *absolution*.

And the effect of their reason was this; Ministers in baptism may say, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*. Therefore we may say, in giving of orders, *Receive the Holy Ghost*.

Ministers, perceiving a man to be truly penitent for his sins, may certify him, that his iniquities are before the face of God in Jesus Christ forgiven him. Therefore bishops in ordering of ministers may say, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. But, good Lord! what slender proofs be these! They neither savour of reason, nor smell of divinity. For the apostles, and in them their successors, had a special commandment to baptize in the name of the Father, &c. And also a promise, that whose sins they remitted were remitted. But you in giving orders have neither a commandment to say, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, neither any promise, that the Holy Ghost shall be given by your hands. You may as well breathe upon them, which is Christ's action, as use his words, saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. And you may as lawfully allow the papists these words, in consecrating their massships shavelings, Receive the yoke of chastity, as arrogate to yourselves power and authority to use these words, in ordering of ministers, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. But if you do worthily mislike and disallow that in popery, so do not, contrary unto right, retain this or any other ceremony in the time of the clear light of the gospel.

Again, if these words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, had been either commanded or thought necessary of the Holy Ghost to have been used, the eleven apostles would not have omitted the same, in the allotting of Matthias: and also with the rest, would have used it in making of their ministers. Of whom we read no such words, altho' you affirm you never heard or read the contrary. God grant you speak not contrary to knowledge.

Now whereas you wished, that if you were the cause of this rent in the church, you might be cast into the sea with Jonas: surely wee are not of that mind. But this we wish, and heartily do pray to God, for that he would once in mercy stir you up from slackness in doing your duty, as he did Jonas from drowsy sleep under the hatches, to an earnest and diligent executing of your office, in preaching the gospel sincerely and purely. And that as he moved the mariners to cast Jonas into the sea, so he would put it into the heart of the queen's majesty (whom God preserve) to move you from your over-quiet states, pompous livings, and lordly titles. Neither crave we at this present any other thing, but that which once Mr. Elmer exhorted bishops unto: as appeareth in a book, intituled, *The harborough of faithful subjects*. And this also we wish further, that that be not verified in you, which Christ pronounceth against Scribes and Pharisees; namely, that *you shut up the kingdom of heaven. For yee yourselves go not in; neither*

suffer yee them that would enter, to come in. Our meaning is, because yee will neither reform religion, in God's church, yourselves, for fear of losing your pomp and honour: neither will ye suffer those that would, even with the loss of living, liberty, and life, that the beautiful face and purity of the apostolic church might once shine in England. Which God, for his crucified Christ Jesus sake, bring to pass at this parliament, if it be his good pleasure. *Amen.*

IV. That Paul's word, 1 Cor. iii. (where he only blameth those which preferred one with the dispraise and contempt of another, they all teaching one sincere truth, without any *pharisaical* mixture, and may rightly be applied against such, who only refuse to follow those which couple their own devices and antiehrastian remnants with the gospel of Christ) is yet unbelieved of us. For it is very unlike that Paul, who so boldly reproved Peter, because he went not the tight way to the truth of the gospel, would so sharply rebuke such, as sectaries, which did walk rightly therein; but after his doctrine and example: who willed to be followed, as he followed Christ. And who also said, *Be yee followers of me, and look on them which also walk so, as ye have us for an example.*

But now whether more nigh the apostles institutions and ordinances; whether treadeth more rightly the paths; whether walketh more sincerely in their ways, they which are said to be sectaries, or renters of the church, or they which so term us, let the mighty word of God, which only is the truth it self, and which alone must end controversie, and which shall either justify or condem us in the terrible day of the Lord, uprightly judge.

V. You said, As meat was for the belly, and the belly for meats, yet God should destroy both: even so the back was for *apparel*, and apparel for the back: but God shal destroy both. To which we answer, God indeed shall destroy the use of both. For in heaven we shall neither hunger nor be a cold. But meat is prepared for the belly in this life, to serve necessity, not for excess and gluttony. And so is apparel for wameness; and not for pride or superfluity: as woollen upon linnen, and linnen upon woollen, and silk upon silk, &c.

VI. Yee said, Meat commendeth us not to God: but if I eat, I am not the worse; neither, if I eat not, am I the better. This is very true. But if we drink till we are drunk, and eat till we surfet, and that with the offence of our brother also, wee are then the worse. For drunkards and gluttons shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. Even so, if wee use excess or pride in

apparel, or delight to wear strange apparel, as is the habit of antichrist; and do wear the same to the hurt of our brother, and to offend the weak, grieve the strong, encourage the obstinate, confirm the hypocrite; and by defending the same, make glad the hearts of God's enemies, and make sad the hearts of his dear children; then we see that apparel thus used maketh a man the worse: and God will punish such as so use it. And if you had but one spark of that love which Paul had in Christ Jesus, yee would not have said, What is white? What is black? What is square? What is round? But ye would have said with Paul, you would never wear white, black, round, nor square, while the world standeth, that you would not offend your brother. Neither would you for these matters, which you yourself confess are but trifles and of small importance, have deprived from livings, thrust into prison, stopped the mouths of so many grave, learned, and godly zealous preachers, as you have done. Neither would you have kept back, as you daily do, from preferment such as well and worthily have deserved the same; and such as the Lord God himself hath from time to time stirred up to the simple service of, according as he hath reveled. The Lord lay not the sin of persecution to your charge.

And what should move you to maintain them so stoutly, seeing you confess they are but *trifles*? Wee say, not. For *trifles* are not to be maintained in God's church; because they edify not; because they are not expedient; because they are not to be allowed in the service of our jealous God; because God will be worshipped as he himself hath prescribed in his word; which is not with trifles, but with earnest, pure, and undefiled religion.

VII. The last thing which grieved our consciences was, your demand which you made: What is white? What is black? What is round? What is square? They are, said you, the good creatures of God. But we are sure, that white, black, and square, as you now use them, are not God's creatures, as he created them, but as antichrist hath formed them. From whence you have received both fashion and form. And therefore still the creatures of antichrist. And that in such sort, as all the laws and proclamations that ever have been or shall be in England, cannot make them theirs, as [to] form and fashion, neither God's creatures, nor the princes; no more than the king of France can with a proclamation make acts of another noble king his. As also, for example, if the Turk should decree by laws, statutes, and edicts, that all the ceremonies of Moses law, as offering of calves, incense, oyl, and flower; and all Aaron's attyre should no more be taken for Moses's ceremonies and Aaron's attyre, but for his ceremonies and his attyre:

should not Moses's ceremonies continue Moses's ceremonies still? and Aaron's holy garments continue Aaron's garments still? Wee think, yea: and wisdom hath so thought also. Then no proclamation, law, or statute can dispossess antichrist, the pope, from his ceremonies, ordinances, constitutions, and attyre. But look, what ceremonies, ordinances, and constitutions and attyre were his twenty years ago, shall be his ceremonies, ordinances, and constitutions and attyre still, tho' a thousand proclamations should command the contrary.

Therefore herein we consent with you, that in respect of substance they are God's good creatures; but in the consideration of the use, form, fashion, and end, whereunto they were and are appointed, we judge them altogether unlawful, proceeding from antichrist, that man of sin, and the sworn enemy of God and his truth.

And what estimation shall the minister get by wearing the badge and cognizance of his masters deadly foe, we referr it to your own wisdom and discretion. And thus, although rudely, yet truly, we have declared the cause of our griefs; wishing them to be satisfied by you or some others, out of God's word: whereupon we may ground and settle our consciences. For bare asseverations are but weak confirmations. Neither may we be carried away with the countenance of any man's calling: but whereunto we must subject both our senses and our selves, is the mighty word of the eternal God. Which if it might bear sway, as of right it ought, O Lord, how many sinners should be extinguished and buried, that now a vain policy doth maintain and strengthen! How many and grievous burthens should then be taken from us, that no Christian's eyes and ears can scarce behold and hear! God grant, that all abuses may be with expedition reformed; and that you and your fellow bishops may labour speedily to reduce our English church as nigh as may be to the form and patern of the apostles church. *Amen.*

NUMBER 13.

A true report of the words and confession of Thomas late duke of Norfolk, at his death on the Tower-hill, June the 2. 1572.

THE duke came forth of the Tower to the scaffold on Tower-hill, guarded with the sheriff of London and officers; and accompanied with sir Owen

Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, sir Henry Lee, Mr. Nouel, dean of St. Pauls, and Mr. Fox, sometime his schoolmaster, with other gentlemen. When he ascended the scaffold, after a little talk that he had with Mr. Nouel, he demanded of the standers by, which way he might best direct his face to speake unto the people. And it was answered him, Toward the east side of the scaffold. Where presently he placed himself, and uncovered his head, with taking view of the people, and especially of such as stood neer him. To whom with a cheerful countenance and bold looks, he uttered these words: It is not a rare thing, good people, to se a man come to this place, to take his death: although in our queens gracious and most merciful reign, you have had no experience thereof. And it is my fortune, first to be; I thank God for it, and pray unto God I may be the last. *Whereunto a number of the people said, Amen.*

I must desire you, good people, to bear with me. For it is not usual with men of my vocation to speak in such an assembly, and surrender to every man that is not bold spirited alike, and especially in such a place and at such a time as this is. Yet if you will give me leave, I trust to speak, as my conscience shall be discharged, and not one of you offended. For I would be loth to offend the least that is here. And that you may the better understand and cary away that which I say, I will divide my speech into three parts; and I pray you take altogether with you, and do not take here and there a piece. For if you will take it together with you, it wil plesure you the better.

First, as concerning my offence, I come not hither to excuse my self and my fault. For I must heeds confess, that I have had dealing with the queen of Scots, more than either my duty or allegiance doth permit me. And after my first coming to the Tower, I made my submission to the queen's majesty; which troubled me most of all; though not by solemne [vow] or receiving the communion, never to deal in it again, as I have been charged. But I promised her grace in writing, that I would never deal with the Scottish queen. And this notwithstanding, I must needs confess, that after my delivery out of the Tower I had secret conference with divers concerning the aforesaid queen. The which yet sticketh in my stomach. But what moved me to do it, God knoweth. Some may think, for fear of my life. But a man should never fear death. Furthermore, I must needs confess, that I conferred with divers suspected persons. Of which some have been found faulty. As namely, Rodulpho for one, being a stranger. Whom I never dealt with, but only except for a recognizance, wherin I stood bound;

which all the world knoweth. And then, I confess, I found him apt to attempt any treason that could be devised, and [having] an envy to this commonwealth. Whereof I cannot excuse my self. For although I did not condescend to their request, I did not bewray and disclose it, as a good and dutiful subject ought to do.

Further, I did see two letters from the pope; the which my men deciphered; but I did never consent unto them. And for the depriving of the queen's majesty, and the invasion of the realm, and the destroying of the city of London; it was never my intent.

Here the sheriff interrupted him, and said, the time now served to make manifest his faults, and not excuse them, by the impeaching of the good name of his peers: who justly have found him guilty. Whereunto he answered, and said, Good Mr. Sheriff, I come not hither to justify my self: but my meaning is to clear my peers. And therefore I desire you, masters, to bear me all witness: and so report of me afterwards. Then proceeding a little further in such like terms, Christopher, one of the secondaries of the Counter, interrupted him the second time, and said, That he was condemned and judged to dy by the order of the law and his peers, and that he had as princely a tryal as any man had. And now the writ was come to execute him. And therefore wished him, either to surcease from such protestations, or else to hold his peace. Whereunto he answered, I pray you, good gentleman, give me leave to speak, and you shall well perceive, that my coming [meaning] is not to excuse my self of my fault at all. And turning himself to the people he said:

You see how I am interrupted. And therefore I think that I shall hardly make an evil tale. Well, I will come to my second particular, which is my conscience and religion. And as touching my religion, I have been suspected to be a papist. I must confess, that divers of my familiar friends, and divers of my servants and officers under me, were papists. But what meaning I had in it, God, who seeth above, knoweth it. For my self, God is my witness, I have always been a protestant, and never did allow of their blind and fond ceremonies. And now, before God and you all, I utterly renounce the pope, and all popedome. Which thing I have always don, and will do to my life's end. And to that which is the chiefest point of our belief, I believe and trust to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ only, and by none other means. For if I did, I should be greatly deceived at this instant.

Lastly, I do crave pardon most humbly of the queen's majesty for all mine offences; whose gentle clemency I have abundantly tasted, as well in forgiving me my faults, as also granting me so long a time of repentance of my bypast life. And furthermore, I thank her gracious majesty, that it hath pleased her to promise to be good and gracious lady to my poor and orphan children; which was my only request. And I beseech Almighty God to grant her a long, prosperous, and quiet reign over you.

I could use a similitude, although the place and state of the speakers are far unlike; yet not unmeet for this time and place. I did once hear in king Edward's time, Mr. La-tymer, a good old and blessed martyr, preach, that he feared great plagues were to come upon the people for their exactions, and contentions, and disobedience. But contrary, I hope verily, that this realm shall be blessed, and the state of it most prosperous, by reason of your dutiful obedience to your prince and her laws. Which by my death I pray God you may take example to do. Most earnestly, I beseech you to continue true, good, and faithful subjects to your prince. And before all things beware of factions, con-spiracles, and disobedience, as whereof men cannot be good, as daily experience doth teach us. And I fear me divers of you, if you might have your wishes, full little do you know in what safety you should live afterwards. Wherefore, for God's sake, beware of it.

Thus I beseech God to grant the queen's majesty long life, to reign over you in peace: and, if it be God's plesure, even to the end of the world, the which I think is not long thither. And thus I desire you all to pray for me.

Then turning about, he kneeled down, and read with a loud voice the lth Psalm, with two other Psalms, [whereof one was that, beginning, *O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, &c.*] And happening upon a sentence, wherein was contained forgiveness of sins, suddenly he started up, saying, Masters, I had forgotten one thing, which is, to ask forgiveness generally. Wherefore I now forgive all the world from the bottom of my heart. Then kneeling down again, he made an end of his prayers. That don, he took his leave of all the gentlemen that were there upon the scaffold, using some words in secret to sir Henry Lee. And then he put off his gown and doublet. And stretched himself upwards, looking towards heaven: and withal cast his arms abroad; and with singular signes of loving affection embraced Mr. Nowel, bowing his body even to the ground with great humility. And with him also he used secret talk. Then he demanded for to se the axe: and it was shewed unto him. Then the executioner did ask him

forgiveness, which he willingly did, and gave him forgiveness. The executioner offered him a linnen cloth to wind before his eyes. He said, My fellow, I will not move; for I do not fear death: for I hope to go singing into heaven. Then, without declaring any exterior sign of inward passion or grief, by alteration of his countenance, he meekly offered his head upon the block to the executioner, and his soul to the mercy of Almighty God.

[NUMBER 13.]

Mr. Dering and Mr. Hansby, the duke of Norfolk's chaplains; their epistle to him concerning a book of prayers, that they had composed by his command, for the use of his children.

Illustrissimo duci, ac dno. ipsis colendissimo Thomae duci Norfolciensi, salutem in Christo sempiternam precantur Edwardus Deringe et Edwardus Hansbie.

QUAE dederas ad nos mandata (Domine nobis multis nominibus colendissime) de precibus tuis liberis conscribendis, ea qua potuimus fide persecuti sumus, atque confecimus. Quod vero reliqui officii nostri putamus esse, Deum omnis gratiae, omnisque misericordiae patrem, rogamus et quaesumus, ut quae tibi prima consilia dederit, verissima inviolatae pietatis auguria, ea ita conserver, foveat, enutriat, ut quae agunt in te radices sanctissimas immortalitatis, ea fructus maturos aliquando afferant, quae tibi propagentur et crescant in vitam aeternam. Nos vero (quod debemus, quoniam sumus tibi et tuis meritis, et sancta servitutis religione devinctissimi) non dubitamus te et rogare et hortari, ut quoties tibi subeunt hujusmodi sacratissimi profecto motus animi, eos multa commentatione et cura sic intus verses, ut nisi in sensus reconditos atque intimos, eos aliquando reposueris, nihil unquam, ne ad punctum quidem temporis de acerrima atque attentissima cogitatione remiseris. Nos profecto ut te huc invitemus, servitutis nostrae nomine, in id potissimum incumbimus. Tu, si obsequare, illum fructum capies, quem tuae Celsitudini speramus a nobis fore amplissimum. Qui quantus futurus est, si integris atque valentibus oculis non-dum potes providere.

Avoca paulisper mentem a consuetudine istorum sensuum, et paucis commonebimus, quam sint in hoc positae omnes faelicitates tuae. Non potes non meminisse, quibus Dei Opt. Max. beneficiis ornatus es; quo in

loco te posuerit, quibus meritis auxerit; quanta animi gratia, quanta benevolentia armaverit. Omnia fere habes supra aetatem, supra consuetudinem, omnia innumerabilia beneficia, quomodo tandem sustinebis? Quam gratiam tuus animus capiet? Quam frustra remunerationem meditaberis? Annon pro tam immortalibus beneficiis te totum, ac tuam vitam debes Deo? Et quomodo exolves fidem? Aut quid retribues Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit tibi? Hoc illud est (Princeps illustrissime) quod te ante monuimus. Hic fructus co-gitationum tuarum, quem diximus uberrimum. Quoties tibi venit in mentem Dei; quoties precationis, pietatis, virtutis, religionis, mortalitatis tuae, sancti studii, sanctaeque indu-striae, vide, ut accuratius ea mediteris et cogites. Nec ante te sinas ab eo abduci, quam te cognoveris meliorem. Ita demum erga Deum, authorem salutis tuae, tam optime de te meritum, quamvis non reipsa (est enim hoc ἀδύνατον) at animo certe et voluntate, quam gratissimus fuisse indica-veris. Et erunt hae tibi cogitationes, non honoris hujus se-culi, id est, unius diei ludibria, sed sempiterna illius faelici-tatis certissima testimonia, quibus et nunc frueris, in isto do-micilio, ad magnam et incredibilem animi tranquillitatem; et post haec, cum hinc emigraveris, eadem sacrosancta olim consignatura est immortalitas.

O! te multo faeliciorem, ac infinito amplius, quam illo verbo veteri τρὶς καὶ τετράκις, si ad istas fortunas tuas, quas habes, amplissimas, etiam illas adjunxeris, quas immensa illa et infinita beavit aeternitas. *Deus omnis gratiae, qui vo-cavit te ad aeternam ejus gloriam in Jesu Christo, parumper afflictum, is te confirmet, roboret, stabiliat*, ut fide ista vivas in aeternum. Vale feliciter in Christo Jesu. Cantabrigiae, 13io. Septembris, 1569.

Tuae dignitati oi. obsequio deditissimi,

Edwardus Deringe.

Edouardus Hansbie

Siquid in hiis precibus volueris immutari, ut aut longiores sint, aut breviores, pluresetiam aut pauciores, postquam rescierimus, pro nostra in Christo facultate, expedie-mus omnia.

NUMBER 14.

Five causes shewed against the queen of Scots, anno 1572.

I. THE first, *Claim to the crown of England in possession*; with refusal and delay to remove the same. Giving the armes of England without difference, in escutcheons, coat-armes, plate, altar-cloaths: which were openly seen at the triumph. Writing of the stile of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, in letters patents, during her coverture. And of her pedigree, conveying her three Ways to the crown, viz. as descending from the eldest daughter of king Henry VII. Another way, from the duke of Somerset. The third from a daughter: of Edmond before the conquest.

II. The second, *Seeking a mariage with the duke of Norfolk*: to advance that title and possession. For part of the matters whereof the duke of Norfolk was indicted, arraigned, and condemned. For which was alledged, in proof sufficient, her advice to perform the mariage by force.

III. *The procurement of the late rebellion in the north.* By messages continually to and from the earl of Northumberland, sent by Thomas Busshop, and his son, and by Ham-lin, Oswould Wilkinson, toward the Spanish ambassador: and brought to him by the bishop of Rosse, her ambassador, (to whom he was directed,) to procure aid of men and mony for the rebellion. The fear she had and sorrow, when she heard the earl of Northumberland was taken by the earl of Sussex, for cumbring of friends; as she wrot to the duke of Norfolk.

IV. *The relieving the rebells after they fled.* She procured 12000 crownes from the pope: whereof 6000 by her order were distributed. Viz. To the earl of Westmerland, 2000. The countess of Northumberland, 2000. And the lord Dacres, Norton, Markenfield, and the rest, 2000. The receiving and entertaining of the rebells in Scotland, at their first flying, by her friends onely.

V. *The practising of an invasion by strangers into England and Ireland*; and of rebellion in both the realms. Her long letter in cipher to the bishop of Rosse: wherein she discourseth her estate: and shewing many causes, not to trust upon England, Scotland, nor France, resteth at the last upon Spain. Her opinion to send an express messenger to solicit the pope and

king of Spain. Her choice of Radolphi, the popes secret agent in England. The going of Radolphi accordingly, first to the duke of Alva: then to the pope: and after to Spain with instructions. Whereunto were privy the duke of Norfolk, the Spanish ambassador, and the bishop of Rosse. The sum of his message was to procure 10000 men to arrive in England: and to joyn with the duke and his friends. The port was Harwich in Essex, for neerness to Norfolk. Randolpho returned answer of his message to John duke of Alva. Who did accept the request, and protested to further the same. This Rydolpho [alias Radolphi, or Randolpho] wrot three letters in cipher. One to the bishop of Rosse; one to the duke, intituled 40: and one to the lord Lumley, intituled 30: declaring the duke's answer. The pope writ two letters; one to the queen of Scots, and one to the duke of N. in cipher, promising aid. The bishop of Rosse hath confessed all this, and the whole practice, in a letter which he sent to the queen of Scots, sithence he was in the Tower. Her practice with Rolston, sir Thomas Stanley, and sir Thomas Ger-rard, for her escape by force. In Rolston's confession of their intent to proclaim her [and Norfolk] after her escape, king and queen of England.

NUMBER 15.

*Whether it be lawful for a protestant to marry with a papist?
Which question was occasioned by a motion of a match between
the queen and the French king's brother.*

THE question was by the writer propounded thus, *Whether it be lawful for one that professeth the gospel*, such an one I mean as do profess it according to the sincerity of the word written, *to mary with a papist?* That is, such an one as professeth the gospel also; yet not sincerely; viz. After the maner of the church of Rome, very corruptly.

[The answer in this tract is, *negatively*.]

My answer is very plain, He may not do it. If we consider, how il a match it is in its self: and how evil it is, in respect of those antient formes of idolatry. Which by the word of God made it an unlawful thing for an Israelite to match with those heathens that dwelt among them.

How evil it is in its self, he proved from that one place, Gen. iii. that God did put perpetual enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, &c. So many as profess popery are to be accounted of the seed

of the serpent. And out of other places, then by him alledged, (wherein God forbad Israel to mary or have any converse with the heathen people,) thus, said he, we may reason against whom this decree of God doth so flatly oppose, with those we may not have so special friendship, as to couple our selves in mariage with them, &c.

This tract endeth thus. I am not advised of any objections that are worthy the answering. As for that which is commonly said, that they are Christians by common profession: and that they are much better than those other idolatrous people, [i. e. the heathen nations.] And therefore that it should seem, that they are less dangerous in this matter: both these points being the substance of the treaty it self, are already sufficiently answered. So I for my part am fully resolved, that it is directly by the scripture forbidden, that any that professeth religion, according to the word of God, should mary with any that professeth the same after the maner of the church of Rome, being so corrupt, as in these days of ours we find it to be.

This seems to be done by Thomas Cartwright.

NUMBER 16.

A tract of the lawfulness of marying with a papist.

THIS writer undertakes to answer the objections of those that asserted the unlawfulness thereof And first he answereth those places of scripture that were alledged for it. As that of Abraham against the marriage of Isaac his son to the Canaanites, Gen. xxiv. And of Isaac for the mariage of Jacob his son, against taking a wife of the daughters of Canaan, Gen. xxviii. And that assertion of the sons of Jacob to Hemor, that it was not lawful to match their sister with the uncircumcised, Gen. xxxiv. And that peculiar law given by God to the Israelites, not to mingle with the heathen, Exod. xxiii. And lastly, it was urged for this purpose, how unhappy such mariages have often proved: as tokens of God's being offended therewith.

The discourse in answer is somewhat long. Towards the end the answerer argueth thus: To fear or hope, to persuade or dissuade by regard of bad or evil successes of former mariages, is fallible and deceitful. As if one should use this induction, divers of their ancestors marled in Spain, Germany, Italy, and France; and had ill success: therefore beware how you match there. A plain mariner's answer to a justice of peace in Kent may aptly be

turned over to such opponents. The justice meeting him in the highway, demanded what he was. He answered, A mariner, miraculously delivered of shipwrack; the son of a mariner; the son also of a mariner. And added, that both his father and grandfather had both perished in the sea. What a mad fellow, quoth the justice, art thou, that canst not be warned, but wilt also go to the sea. I pray you, sir, quoth the mariner, what is become of your father and grandfather? Live they? No, quoth the gentleman; they dyed both in their beds. The mariner answered, Then, sir, if I were as you, I would no more come in bed.

The first seven husbands of Sarah, young Tobias's wife, were murdered one after another by a devil; which, as the bruit ran, possest her. Therefore friends used that manner of argument, before recited, to dissuade the marriage. Nevertheless Tobias shut his ears to man, and openeth his heart to God. And never any marriage succeeded better.

What Israelite durst imagine, that of Ruth and Tamar, both heathens, their Messiah should descend?

Many mariages made by man are like to an old anthem, beginning with Christ, and ending with Barabbas. It grieveth me to rehearse one thing, albeit in public notice too true, (but it shall be spoken to the condemnation of the professors, and not of the profession.) A man may find out within this realm as many repentances and wilful divorces (without public order) of protestant matches, as of any other. God amend it. For it was that, and fornication, (for which 24000 perished in one day,) that portend plagues to us; and not lawful mariages.

It is a presumption intolerable and unpardonable, in the censure of matrimonial matches, to seem wiser than the Holy Ghost. For where they are contracted with unfeigned love, joyned with devout prayer; with a hope and desire to win the unbelieving part to the religion; (an evident fruit of a good faith;) the office of a Christian friend shall be rather to say to the man, if he be a brother, *O man, what knowest thou, if thou shalt save this woman?* and if she be a sister, *O woman, what knowest thou, if thou shalt save this man?* than to slander and condemn it. This doctrine is out of holy writ.

Another both out of the same, and out of all other stories from the beginning to this day, I will deliver by diligent observation, that where the wife is a sister, there is less peril of her revolt, and more hope of the

husband's conversion than the contrary. For as every wife retaineth still a natural kind of *rhetoric* and insinuation, from her mother Eve, towards her husband; so every husband abideth firm in the old credulity of his father Adam towards his wife.

I conclude, that at mariages in form beforesaid made, by the words of the angel to Tobias, the Devil hath no power to be present. And where Christ is a guest, there is feare of nothing, all is honorable and complete.

NUMBER 17.

*Whether a protestant prince may tolerate mass.
Both the argument and the answer.*

IT is against the law of God. It is not to be doubted, but that the usage of the private popish mass, (wherein the use of the sacrament is turned to a sacrifice for sins, and intercession is made to saints, with other things derogatory to this first institution of Christ,) is to be rooted out of the church, as a great evil. Whereupon this followeth, that as it is evil to continue it, so it is not good to suffer it to be used, where it is not. And according to the rule of the civil law, *Agentes et consentientes pari paena plectuntur*. And altho' such things that be sometimes evil, and sometimes may be good, are thus suffered, where the end is either good, or intended for good: yet where a thing is merely evil of it self, it is a rule, *Non est faciendum malum, ut inde veniat bonum*.

THE ANSWER HEREUNTO.

If a man that alloweth the mass to be good, and one that doth think it to be indifferent, (that is to say, good, where there is a good intent in the sayer or hearer, and evil where there is an evil,) should make answer hereunto, many things would be alledged for the toleration thereof at the least, *a howsoever the reasons might appear to tend to the allowance thereof*. But seing the mass, as the Roman church now abuseth it, cannot by scriptures be defended, it must be considered, not whether it be evil, but whether a good Christian may permit another Christian that believeth the mass to be the service of Almighty God, and not to contain any offence against God, to use to himself, with this meaning, that the party may also be instructed in time coming, to understand the error thereof. For which purpose it is

good to use some examples of like nature; how they have been permitted by Christ himself, and his apostles.

For whether it will serve or no for any argument, that the prince here suffereth the ambassadors of France and Spain to use the mass: and as in other princes countries of the Roman religion, the protestants which do condemn the mass are suffered to use their own religion, and a partaking, in their own formes, of sacraments; it may be doubted: because it is an argument to establish man's conscience, to follow no examples, but such as are contained in the scriptures.

Therefore these few out of the scripture shall suffice. Christ himself kept company and dined with them, who esteemed their own traditions more than the commandments of God. Christ also was so often in the company of sinners, as he was called a Samaritane. And yet the Samaritanes were not of the Jews religion.

The meats which the infidels dedicated to idols (whereof St. Paul thus writeth, *Quae immolant, daemoniis immolant, non Deo*) was permitted to the Christians that lived among the Corinthians, with safety of conscience. As appeareth chap. x. Corinth. *prima*, in this sort: *Quod si quis infidelium vos vocat, et vultis ire, quicquid apponitur vobis, edite, nihil interrogantes propter conscientiam*. Whereby also appeareth, that Christians were not prohibited the conversing with infidels.

Secondly, It is certain that Christ by his authority confirmed the New Testament, and abolished the Old; as St. Paul writeth to the Hebrews: *Hoc, quod dicit novum, antiquavit prius*. And the use thereof was not the service of God. And if the Jews took it to be still as needful, as the papists now do the mass, nevertheless St. Paul, &c.

AND HERE THIS PAPER ENDS ABRUPTLY.

NUMBER 18.

Another discourse upon the same argument.

IF the meat which was of the infidels dedicated to idols might be used and suffered of the Christian Corinthians with a safe conscience; then the mass which the *papists* use may be now used and suffered of the fight Christians

with a safe conscience. But the meat dedicated by the infidels unto idols might be used and suffered of the Christian Corinthians with a safe conscience. *Ergo*, the papistical mass may be now used and suffered of the right Christians with a safe conscience.

The *minor* is proved from the 2 Cor. x. *Siquis infidelium vos vocat, &c. and ye are minded to go; eat whatsoever is set before you, asking no question for conscience sake.*

Here we be taught two lessons. First, That that which is offered to idols is not unlawful by it self, but in that it is offered to the Devil, and not unto God. The second, That tho' it be offered unto the Devil, and not to God, and so most wicked; yet for all that, this abominable abuse and idolatry mar not the liberty and the indifference of the meat, so ungodly abused, but that it may always be eaten lawfully, where no offence is given to the weak. Whereupon we may wel gather, that the wicked abuse of the mass taketh not away the free and indifferent using of the same. without the abuse.

Christ by his death confirmed the New Testament; and so the Old was no longer his Testament. And Paul saith, Hebr. viii. *Quod dicit novum, antiquavit prius.* Nor the service thereof was no longer God's service; nor the using thereof was no longer profitable: nor was it no more to be used for religion and God's honour, than the mass, or any thing devised by man. And yet notwithstanding all this, the Jews still accounted it so needful, that they thought they could not be saved without it, nor please God without it. And Paul knew all this to be true, and yet he suffered Timothy to be circumcised: he kept himself the feast of Pentecost at Jerusalem: he went into the temple: he cleansed himself: he vowed: he shaved his head with the Jews. He was, as himself writeth of himself, *Judaeis fac-tus tanquam Judaeus.* And commanded, that none should condemn the Jews, which for conscience and religion durst not eat that that was forbidden by the abolished law of Moses. Nor would not for devotion break the holy days commanded by the same law.

How then can we rightly condemn them, which for ignorance use the mass with such holiness .and opinion, as the papists? For as they judge it necessary for salvation, and for worshiping of God, so did the Jews judge the abolished law of Moses to be. And as the mass is but the ordinance of man, no more was the Levitical and ceremonial law, being before taken away by Christ. And afterwards used was, I say, not God's law, but man's mere ordinance, &c. And therefore as the superstitious users of the

abolished law of Moses were born withal, so ought we to do with the superstitious users of the mass. For where like cause of bearing is given, there we ought to bear alike.

NUMBER 19.

An extract out of the Admonition to the Parliament: containing such slanderous and unseemly termes, as there, by the authors thereof, against the orders of the church of England, and the state of the realm, that now is, are uttered.

OUT OF THE PREFACE TO THE ADMONITION.

WEE mean the lordly lords, archbishops, bishops, suffragans, deans, doctors, archdeacons, chancellors, and the rest of that proud generation: whose kingdom must down; hold they never so hard. Because their tyrannous lordships cannot stand with Christ his kingdom.

Ungraciously, cruelly, and pope-like, they take upon them to beat them: and that for their own childish articles: being for the most part against the manifest truth of God.

Their rigor hath too plainly appeared ever since their wicked reign.

That one part being proud, pontifical, and tyrannous.

OUT OF THE ADMONITION.

Wee in England are so far from having a church right reformed, according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same.

Besides, that ridiculous, and (as they use it to their own creatures) blasphemous saying, *Receive yee the Holy Ghost*.

Now they must be discovered from others by popish and antichristian apparel, as cap, gown, tippet Now princes pleasures, mens devices, popish ceremonies, and an-tichristian rites, in public pulpits, are defended.

Remove homilies, articles, injunctions, a prescript order of service, made out of the mass-book. Take away the lordship, the loitering, the poms, the idlenes, and livings of the bishops.

If he come not at the whistle of him, who hath by God's word no authority to call: we mean chancellors, officialls, doctors, and all that rabble.

OUT OF THE TREATISE FOLLOWING, CALLED, A VIEW OF POPISH DEVICES.

Wee must needs say, that this book, *The Communion Book*, is an unperfect book, culled and picked out of that popish dunghil, the mass-book, full of all abomination.

Wherewith we justly find fault. And they too contemptuously, for the love of their livings maintain, smelling of their old popish priesthood, &c. Meaning the bishops. But drawn they are and shew their own shame, to strive so eagerly to defend their doings, that they will not only acknowledge their imperfections, but will enforce other men to allow them.

The queen's chapel and cathedral churches must be patroons and presidents to the people, of all superstitions: thrust away most sacrilegiously that order which Christ hath left to his church, &c. They shew, they hold the doctrine with us, but in unrighteousness, with an outward shew of godliness, but having denied the power thereof: entring not in by Christ, but by a popish and unlawful vocation. L. 15. As the names of archbishops, archdeacons, lord bishops, chancellors, &c. are drawn out of the pope's shop, together with their offices; so the government which they use by the law of the pope, which is the canon law, is antichristian and devilish, and contrary to the scriptures. P. 2. 1. 10. Lord bishops, their suffragans, archdeacons, chancellors, officialls, proctors, doctors, and such ravening tablets.

The archbishops court, or that filthy quavemire and poisoned plash, of all the abominations that do infect the whole realm. L. 29. This petty pope primate, and metropolitan of all England.

If they all should perhaps see this writing, they would be as angry as wasps, and sting like hornets. Three of them would be enough to sting a man to death. For why? They are high commissioners. P. 2. 1. 5. They take upon them blasphemiously to say, *Receive the Holy Ghost*.

That this reign of antichrist may be turned out headlong from among us.

The view of that church that the authors of the late published Admonition would have planted within this realm: containing such positions as they hold against the state of the said church, as it is now.

OUT OF THE FIRST TREATICE, NAMED, AN ADMONITION TO THE PARLAMENT.

First, They hold and affirm, that we in England are not yet come to the outward face of a church, agreeable to God's word. *L. ult.* They will have the ministers to be called, chosen, allowed, and placed by the people.

They will have none made minister, but the minister of some one certain church or parish. *L. 9.* They hold, that a bishop at no hand hath authority to ordain ministers. *L. 17.* They say, for a bishop to say to a minister, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, is blasphemous and ridiculous. *L. 28.* They will have the ministers at their own plesure to preach without licence. *L. 81.* They will have the ministers discerned from others by no kind of apparel. And the apparel appointed they term *antichristian*; and the apparel appointed by the prince, disobedience against the prince.

They will have all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, and all other ecclesiastical officers, together with their titles, jurisdictions, courts, and livings, clean taken away, and utterly with speed removed. *L. 9.* They will not have the minister tyed, as they term it, to any form of prayer, invented by man; but as the Spirit moveth them, so to make their prayers. And therefore they will be bound to no prescript order of prayers: so, *1. 12.* will they have the Book of Common Prayer clean taken away.

The Book of Common Prayer, they say, containeth a great number of things contrary to God's word; that it is patched, for the most part, out of the popes *portuise*; that it is an imperfect book, culled and picked out of the popish dunghil, the mass-book, full of all abominations.

They will have all advousons, patronages, impropriations, and bishops authority in ordaining of the ministers, to be removed. They will have the court of Faculties plucked down, and utterly overthrown, without hope of restitution. *L. 15.* They will have no *homilies* read in the church. *L. 16.* They will have no articles nor injunctions set out, nor used. *L. 31.* They will have the sacrament in no wise ministred in a house. *L. 18.* They will

have the word in no wise read, but preached onely. P. 2. 1.17. They will not have the epistle nor gospel read; and whatsoever is said before, they utterly mislike, and call it a popish *introite*. L. 2. They cannot abide to have the creed read at the communion. L. 19. They will have the communion received at the table sitting, without further reverence. Kneeling, they say, is utterly unlawful. L. 11. They pick a quarrel, that the minister in delivering the sacrament, saith, *Take thou, eat thou*. He should say as Christ said, (say they,) *Take yee, eat yee*. L. 14. They mislike of these words, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given to preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life*. L. 15. They mislike of *Gloria in excelsis*. L. 12. They will not have one word or circumstance more than Christ used.

They will have no papist, neither with his will, nor constrained, to receive the communion. L. 16. They will have no godfathers nor godmothers

They will have all ministers equal. L. 12. They mislike of collectors for the poor.

They say, there may yet a more perfect form and order of a church reformed be drawn. That this is but an entrance to a further matter; promising, that they will yet go further therein.

OUT OF A SECOND TREATISE, CALLED, A VIEW OF THE POPISH ABUSES YET REMAINING.

They find fault, and mislike of the daily service, and call it in mockery, *a reading service*.

They hold opinion, that because the ministry is an office of preaching, the minister must not in any wise read. L. 21. They cavil at the delivering of the Bible to the minister by the bishop. And they hold this opinion withal, that when the minister is once licensed to preach, he may not be restrained. And therefore do mislike of renewing of licenses. L. 33. Reading of service or homilies in the church, they say, is as evil as playing upon a stage, or worse too.

They will have no holydays at all, but only the Sunday. They will have no remembrance of saints, not so much as in any prayer mention to be made of them. P. 2. 1. 7. They can in no wise abide, that they should be called *priests*: and withal do hold this position, that they never read in the scriptures of the New Testament this word *priest*, as touching office, taken

in good part. L. 28. They say, that the priest may not minister the communion to three or four; and think it unlawful for the sick man to receive the communion with the minister, and one more. The reason whereof they alledge to be this; for that Christ said to his disciples, *Take yee, drink yee.*

They cavil at these words, used in baptism, that Jesus Christ did sanctify the flood Jordan, and all other waters, to the mystical washing away of sin; as tho' we should attribute that to the sign, which is proper to the word of God in the blood of Christ; and that virtue were in the water to wash away sin. P. 2. 1. 10. Touching marriage, they mislike the marriage ring. They are angry with the taking of it up, and laying it down. They will not have the Trinity named therein. They say, we make the man to make an idol of his wife, because he saith, *With this ring I thee wedd, with my body I thee worship, &c.* L. 21. They will in no wise have the wedded persons receive the communion; because in the popish times they were then wont to have a mass. L. 30. Our *confirmation* they mislike; and call it superstitious, popish, and peevish.

Touching *burial* of the dead, they will have no prescript service for it: they will have any man indifferently to bury the dead; and not to be tyed to the minister. They mislike of this prayer then used, *That wee with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul.* They will have no sermons at burials; because they are put in place of *trentalls*: not so much as the lying of the coarse; the place of burial; the fetching to church; the meeting of the minister, &c. but they cavil at.

They will in no wise have women purifyed. They call it Jewish. They are in hand with their lying-in; and find fault with their coming to church. They like not, that a white sheet should be cast over their beds; that they should wear a vail over their heads: as tho', say they, she were ashamed of some folly. P. 2. 1. They find fault with saying of the Psalm, *I have lifted up mine eyes, &c.* L. 4. They mislike, that we pray in the Litany, that all men may be saved. L. 5. They mislike, that we pray to be delivered from thundring and lightning; because when we so pray oftentimes no danger is nigh.

They find fault with the singing of *Benedictus*, *Nunc dimittis*, and *Magnificat*, in the Common Prayer; and call it prophaning of the holy scriptures. L. 13. In all our order of service, they say, there is no edifying,

but confusion. The saying of the Psalmes interchangeably, they call tossing of tenise balls.

The regiment of the church, they called antichristian and devilish; and say, that they may as safely subscribe to allow the dominion of the pope over us, as to subscribe to it. P. 2. 1. 14. They will have every minister to have full

jurisdiction in his own parish. L. 28. They hold, that the ministers at this day enter not in by Christ, but by a popish and unlawful vocation. L. 28. They hold, that it is unlawful for one man to preach in another man's cure; nor any man to preach out of his own cure.

They would have all cathedral churches pulled down, with deans, prebendaries, &c. to be clean taken away; and call them the dens of loitering lubbers, &c.

The state of the church at this day they call, *the reign of antichrist*.

[NUMBER 19]

Field and Wilcox, from Newgate, to the lord treasurer for their liberty: cast into prison for a book of reformation, written by them, presented to the parliament.

INSIGNIS benevolentia, qua omnes pios complecteris, (honoratissime vir,) nos jam in carcere misere devinctos, ad scribendum summa cum fiducia, et libertatis nostrae po-tiundae, et veritatis propagandae, impulit. Scimus nos, quam variis hominum iniquorum dictis apud procures jac-tari causam nostram, quamvis justam,, maledictis eorum scindi, et veritatem Dei (quod omnium maxime horrendum est) male apud multos audire. Ac veritas, cum non quaerit angulos, pro seipsa loquatur, et innocentiam nostram, et causae sequitatem tibi commendet, obsecramus assidue, ob-testamur submissee, et rogamus enixe.

Scripsimus nuper quidem librum justum horrendorum abusuum reformationem postulantem, iis animis, ut religio sincera, a papisticis superstitionibus immunis, a totius regni calatis comitiis (regia majestate id approbante) redderetur. Nihil tentavimus per nosmetipsos vel corrigere, vel immu-tare, sed omnia ad judicia eorum, prout tanta res postularet, retulimus. Hinc inde sperantes, ut pacem ecclesiarum, et reconciliationem

fratrum, jamdiu de hisce (proh! dolor) nimis infeliciter litigantium, restituendam.

Hac enim hierarchia ecclesiastica a verbo divino haud consentiente, ecclesiae unitatem vidimus scindi, turbas quoti-die inter pios excitari, et pacem illam suavissimam (quae inter fratres, unam eandemque religionem profitentes, esset arctis-sima) pessundari: ut interim taceamus bonarum literarum contemptum, sincerioris religionis corruptionem, ministerii depravationem, et vitiorum incrementum, et alia hujuscemodi.

I taque ad scribendum, et causae sequitate, et spe horum omnium emendationis allekti, accingimur. De abusibus illis a nobis nominatim taxatis, (cum omnes exterae ecclesiae purioris reformationis, et eruditione clarorum virorum scri-pta unanimiter, et praedicant, et agnoscunt teterrimos esse,) non est quod nunc dicamus, nisi ut te (illustrissime vir) quam humillime supplicemus, ut in reformatione promo-venda, quantus, quantus *es*, incumbas.

Interim de nobis *quaesnmus*, ut suspicionem omnem si-nistram, siquam conceperis, deponas: et potius de libertate nostra sic cogitas, ut tua ope et industria, regia majestas, erga omnes benefica, fiat etiam erga nos benevola. Quorum animus, fides, obedientia, et erga illius majestatem obser-vantia summa, non solummodo voce nostra, saepe sit publice omnibus testata, verum etiam privatim fidelibus multis sa-tis explorata.

Itaque moveat te in nostrum bonum et commodum, causae nostrae sequitas, miseriarum nostrarum turba, uxorum et liberorum inedia, amicorum petitio humillima, et om-nium fidelissimorum incredibilis dolor, et queremonia, nostra denique in regiam majestatem, in te, et in omnem magistra-tum pia et propensa observantia. Sic speramus fore, ut in pristinam libertatem, quae jam summo jure, nostro malo eripitur, restituetur. Deus Opt. Max. finem imponat his *rixis*, det regno pacem, paci regina Elizabetha. Ut diu pie et feliciter vivat, hie et in aeternum. Amen E
nova porta, 3io Septembris, 1572.

Tui honoris studiosissimi,
Jo. Fieldus,
Tho. Wilcocks.

NUMBER 20.

The lord treasurer Burghley to Mr. Dering: who had excited him to restore Mr. Cartwright; and accused him somewhat rudely of his want of religion.

MR. DERING, since I received from you, in a piece of paper, a biting letter, pretended (as by the beginning of a few of your lines appeareth) for Mr. Cartwright, whose name you reiterate, for that you will me not to be in heat at the memory of his name; I have been in doubt, whether I should, either tbr wasting of my time, or for nourishing of your humour, make you any answer by letter: but I have yielded, as you see. As for so much as concerneth Mr. Cartwright, I answer you, *sine excandescencia*, (which is your term,) that, *quo possum candore reditus ejua erit mihi gratus: eique optime cupio et opto*. But as for the reading of a public lecture in Cambridge, I can promise nothing of my self. For therein I know no power that I have. I know very well it is my duty to further all good learning and quietness in that university; that undecent contentions be excluded from thence.

The rest of your pamphlet or letter (worse I will not name it) containeth divers ejaculations against me. As one, that if I were so void of knowledge or godliness, as your words make me, I should be ashamed to live in the place where I do. But most of all, I might be reputed a pagan, without sense or knowledge of my God. But what I am indeed, God onely knoweth first, and secondarily my self: who am, as you may be, for your self, partial. And therefore, except it may please God to direct good men to think better of me than you do, I shall not be in danger of any vain-glory. If I shall flatly deny your pronuntiations of me, and say they are not true, or that you do erre, yet I may be licensed so to say: I pray you, do not by recrimination charge me, and say, that I justify my self. Indeed to the contrary of your hard speeches, through God's goodness, I do affirm, that I have not to my knowledge conceived or held *obstinata consilia*. I say also, by the goodness of the same my good God, through good erudition in my young years, I have beheld the gospel, or evangely of Christ, that Son of God, not *eminus per multos jam annos*, as you write; but in very deed with such inward feeling of God's mercy by Jesus Christ, reveled to me in his gospel, and confirmed to me by his sacraments, as I trust I may say with the church, *Pater noster, sanctificetur nomen tuum*. And though I am made of

worldly elements, as other creatures are; and thereby, while I live in this tabernacle, subject to sin and infirmities; so as I may not glory of any perfection, wherein others think themselves to excel their brethren: yet I will confidently use St. Paul's speech, *Non erubesco evangelium*, [i. e. I am not ashamed of the gospel.] And why? *Virtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti*, [i. e. For it is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth.]

And as you pronounce hardly of me in taxing my religion; so surely, yielding to you the use of your calumination, or uncharitable reprehension, to proeede of just cause, which I utterly deny to you, and all your bolsterers, if any you have in your licentious liberty of writing what you list, I might bear with the rest, when you write *tanquam e sub-limi speculatorio*, [i. e. as from a high watch-tower,] that, *non magni ni facis, sive te commendem, sive vituperem; sire tuis rebus et fortunis consulam, sire me habeas tibi pertinaciter offensum*; [i. e. that you do not much care whether I commend or dispraise you, whether I have a regard for your good and benefit, or whether I am greatly offended with you or no.] Indeed you may esteem me less than thus, if I be so far off the knowledge of the gospel as you make me. And yet if I were in some great fault, except you will add your fault to mine, you are taught by St. Paul thus, *Si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo de-licto, vos qui spirituales estis, instituite hujusmodi hominem in spiritu lenitatis; considerantes vosipsos*; [i. e. If a man be overtaken in some fault, yee which are spiritual, instruct such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering your selves.] But if you will change this maner of authority to enter into judgment of your brother's faith and religion, I must say to you as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, *Qui me judicat Deus est*; [i. e. He that judgeth me is God.]

And as in the Epistle to the Romans, *Tu autem quis qui judicas servum alterius? aut in qua re spernis fratrem tuum?* [i. e. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? or wherein dost thou despise thy brother?]

And yet by this my writing, you may not gather, that I may mislike brotherly erudition, or reprehension. For I thank God, I can well say, *Iniquitatem meam annuntiabo, et cogitabo diu, pro peccato meo*, [i. e. I will declare my iniquity, and be sorry for my sin,] as the Psalmist teacheth me. And I cannot forget that which is often repeated out of St. John's Epistle, *Si dixerimus, quia peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, &c.* [i. e. If we shall say we have not sin, we deceive our selves, &c.] And

so surely in your office, professing, preaching, or reading, I esteem you, as having authority. And therein St. Paul doth teach you in his Epistle ad *Thessalonicenses*, *Rogamus autem vot, fra-tres, inquietos corripite, pusillanimos consolamini, infirmos suscipite, patientes estote erga omnes;* [i. e. Rebuke the unquiet, comfort the feeble-minded, receive the weak, be patient towards all.] In which fatherly sentence, having four **κῶλα** or *commata*, there is but one that maketh you a master corrector: and that is, *inquietos corripite*. The Other three move you to favourable compassion and instruction.

And now to end, lest you may think me too copious in citing of scripture to you, I may remember you somewhat of my years, or of mine old service in the common weal. And then I trust hereafter, until I be very obstinate, as partly you note me, you will also remember St. Paul to Timothy, *Seniorem ne increpaveris, sed obsecra, ut pa-trem; juvenes, ut fratres, &c.* [i. e. Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father, the younger as brethren, &c.] And so wishing to my self that which you judge that I do lack; and to your self all that which you seem to have. And what you have, for the charity I bear you, I heartily wish you more, than by your behaviour you seem to have. And both of us to require of *God, qui est καρδιογνώστης* [i. e. who is the knower of hearts,] to plant in our hearts true fear of him, and to transplant out of our hearts all seeds or roots of vain-glory; directing you in all your contemplations and teachings, and me in my cares and public labours, to the glory of his Son Jesus Christ. Apr. 3, 1572.

Yours to be taught, but not to be condemned,
W.B.

*Non alta sapientes, sed humiliter
consentientes, Rom. 12.*

NUMBER 21.

*Mr. Edward Dering, the puritan, to the lord Burghley: justifying of
a former letter, wherein be had made some severe reflections upon
that nobleman.*

GRATIA, misericordia, pax. Multi sunt anni (Burleie colendissime Domine) ex quo tam adversa valetudine utor, ut non raro putaverim mihi fere imminere ultimum hujus lucis diem. Nuper vero sic mihi sunt fractae, aut

potius excussae vires, ut multos dies viderim, in quibus non admodum mihi persuaserim me ad vesperam usque victurum. In hae sorte et conditione meorum temporum, si ego vel con-secter glorias, vel captem populates auras, equidem nihil video, quid ad hanc incredibilem insaniam possem adjicere. Sed melius voluit Dominus mihi esse consultum, quam ut una cum valetudine rationem etiam amitterem. Imo fecit me saepenumero et morbo et morte superiorem; dum mihi subiit illorum annorum, in quibus positis mortalitatis exuviis, aeternis perfruemur triumphii honoribus, et assequemur cum omnibus sanctis Dei, *τὸ πλάτος καὶ μήκος καὶ βάθος καὶ ὕψος*. Haec mihi tum contemplatio et consideratio ita fuit duleissima, dum omnibus defungerer pietatis officiis, ut quam plurimos adducerem in faelicem hujus gaudii societatem.

In quo consilio tui saepius non meminissem, qui tenes hanc et sustines administrationem imperii, nunquam mihi ipsi fuisset meum tam solidum gaudium. Hinc fiebat, quod in omnibus meis literis et negotiis, quae tecum semper habuerim, sedulo illud caverim, ne mercenariis praeconiis, vel ad meum quaestum, vel ad tuum damnum abuterer. Haec illa fuit scribendi licentia, quam its criminariis: qua tamen adhuc fuimus neutri deteriores, Habes (ornatissime Domine) causam verissimam sanctae libertatis nostrae, quam summa cum injuria maluisfi dicere libidinem et licentiam: superest, ut de ipsis literis respondeam aliquid.

Primum, quod ex eis conjicias mihi tuam pietatem videri tam exiguam, rogo atque obsecro, si ita vis, ut mihi denuo liceat meas literas aspicere, siquid est in illis tam indignum et honore tuo, et meo munere, nihil faciam libentius, quam ut tantam temeritatem, vel carcere luam, vel meo chirographo puniam. Criminariis aliquid de obstinatis consiliis, talia fateor dicebam esse Satanae, quae franget aliquando Deus Israel. Tuis cogitationibus et curis labem illam aspergere, scelus est atrocius quam ut meum agnoscam. Quod dixi te multos jam annos evangelium *eminus* aspicere, nunc fete diligere: non eo negavi tua, prae caeteris, studia, ad propagationem evangelii fuisse semper paratissima. Scio ego (nisi admodum fallor) quid istic feceris, et quantam sustinueris dimicationem. Verum cave, putes te hic fecisse quicquam, sic ut debeas facere. Pone ante oculos labores tuos, vigilias, curas, aerumnas, angores animi. Cui tandem rei dicasti ista tam multa, tam gravia? An aut honoribus accumulandis? aut augendis opibus? O! magno partam, et comparatam miseriam! Ita est, mi Domine, ita, si aeternum negaveris: sed nullam faciam injuriam tuis studiis, ne minimi quidem temporis.

Evangelio propagando dieasti ista? Evangelio, inquam, quod ipse jam didicisti virtutem esse Dei, quae te et cominus et intus illustravit, **κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ**. Sic tandem perfundat amore suo, ut illud posthac eminens non aspicias modo, sed et spiritu ferveas, sic ut serio eum imiteris, quem amas, apostolum; et dantes ex anitae, quit-quid est ubique sceptrorum et opum, **ἡγοῦμαι σκύβαλα εἶναι, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω**.

Ac tu, quin istud agis (honoratissime Cecili) ac tibi fide praemunias suavissimam olim profectionem, quae labentes an-nos, et noctium dierumque vicissitudine nimis ingratos, aeter-nis commutabit tabernaculis; in quibus **οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι νύξ καὶ χρεῖαν οὐκ ἔχουσι λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἡλίου, ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς φωτίζει αὐτοὺς καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, τῶν αἰώνων**. Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι **πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί**. Quid, nisi ergo hic accusem nostro-rum hominum **χρηστολογίας** qui dum suae serviunt libidini, plausu plusquam scenico umbras insequuntur et imagines, susque deque habentes religionem, pietatem, fidem.

Quanta ille melius et uberius, **ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης**, et quae sequuntur, nota enim tibi sunt. Sed et erit melior et uberior hujus laboris et industriae fructus, cum erit illud, **Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ νῦν σπένδομαι**, &c.

Certe quod ad me attinet, dicam ingenue quod pro me dico pie, non magni facio, ne lucem quidem istam, dummo-do consumam cursum meum cum gaudio, et me conscientia rectae voluntatis ad rogam usque comitetur. Sed quorsum ista, inquires? Certe, mi Domine, ut melius intelligas, tantam esse pietatis et fidei remunerationem, gloriam, dignitatem, ut nemo sit omnium, qui religionem vel fere diligat. Job ille, post hominum memoriam, unus fere sanctissimus, sic ut nihil pertinacius usquam defenderet, quam suam justitiam; postquam Deum ipsum quasi propius cerneret suam ante de-testatus industriam, in cinere et pulvere peccata luget. Paulus apostolus, cujus erant infinitae vigiliae, et labores huma-nis viribus majores, qui et libere fatetur, siquis est omnium hominum, qui suas jactet industrias, ipsum esse imprimis: cum tamen evangelii Christi recordatur, cui tantopere sudaverat, suos labores, velut e subhmi despicit, ac putat esse quisquilias.

In simili cogitatione mea et studio, cum de te cogitarem, si vet eminens, vel fere te dicerem evangelium diligere, eo ipso te mihi proposui hominem

omnibus modis amabilem, officiis colendum, ornandum laudibus, juvandum precibus: nolo plura dicere: neque horum poenitet.

Est in extremo literarum tuarum, quo tua gratia exulcerata videtur, quod ita scripserim, *sive me commendes*, &c. Utinam adjecisset quod ego scripseram integrum, minorem certe fecisses suspicionem mei criminis. Praeposueram, ni fallor, (quod ad me attinet,) et nunc adjicio, quencunque me esse putes, non sunt in eo positae fortunae meae. Non quo scribam hoc tanquam ex sublimi speculatorio, aut te nihili faciam. Sunt ista profecto gravia: sed feram, ut potero. Verum ita dixi; non ita me ferri ac fervere cupiditate rerum terrestrium, ut si affluant illis admodum efferer, aut si non habeam, eas admodum flagitem. Ac propterea me haec ad te scribere calamo Christiano ac libero, ut causam optimam tibi magis commendem. Si me satis nosses, ipsum ingenium illud non inhumanum, in tam inimicam interpretationem non incidisset. Ego te e sublimi despicio? Peroportune mihi hic venit in mentem poetae,

Quaquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit,

sed moderate, ac ut debeo, respondeo, *μή γένοιτο* Sed ita est. Est *ζηλότυπος* honor. Patere me (mi Domine) spud cordatum hominem sine fueo dicere. Equidem ad sublimes et honoratas sedes sic omnis afferuntur foeta adulationibus, ut nihil habeat fere neque locum, neque gratiam, neque venustatem, neque veniam, quod est sincerum et integrum. Sit homo ipse religiosus, prudens, sapiens, a solio ipso et dignitate multum est periculi. Utinam tibi cedant haec omnia in lucrum. Et ex hiis intelligas, quid sit illud apostoli, *τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες* Non deerunt tibi unquam meae preces; et scies olim melius, quem habueris honori tuo obsequentissimum.

Haec potui per valetudinem impraesentia respondere: quae sive probabuntur tibi, sive non probabuntur, sunt ab eo profecta animo, qui in *καρδιωγνώστου* Dei misericordia et bonitate faeliciter conquiescit.

De Cartwrighto quod scribis, et laetor plurimum, et gratias ago, et quibus debeo officus, utinam perpetuo referam. Superest, ut hoc unum adjiciam. Audio brevi habenda publica regni comitia, dum de hominibus religiosis et piis, et aliens potius culpa quam sua, laborantibus, quod potes et debes, amicissime religiosissimeque cogita. Noli, per Deum rogo, noli peregrinos mores, in societatem cogitationum tuarum admittere. Tecum loquere. Te adhibe in consilium: tibi obtempera. Nemo est, qui tibi quam tu, melius consilium dabit. Neseio quid alunt monstri, qui infulata auctoritate

subnixa, sic ambulant, ut evangelium regni e sublimi despiciant. Cave, quaeso, existimes me quemquam religiose pium, et episcopum perstringere. Quid dicam, scio, et cui loquar, intelligo. Id solum cupio, ut caveas ab iis qui sibi, non tibi blandiuntur.

Deus Opt. Max. cujus in miserieordia et vivis et es, ad eam te erudiat spem vivam et insitam: ut dicas cum illo rega, *Melior est misericordia tua quam vita*: et hoc amore perfusus longa senectute perfunctus pie, dicas ad extremum, *Cu-pio dissolvi et esse cum Christo*. E cubiculo mane. 5 Aprilis, 1572.

Honori tuo deditissimus,
Edwardus Dering.

NUMBER 22.

Coverdale's epistle dedicatory to his edition of the Holy Bible, by him translated into the English tongue, anno MDXXXV. Unto the most victorious prince, and our most gracious sovereign lord, king Henry VIII. king of England and of France, and under God the chief and supreme head of the church of England.

THE right and just administration of the laws, that God gave to Moses and unto Joshua, the testimony of faithfulness that God gave unto David, the plenteous abundance of wisdom that God gave unto Solomon; the lucky and prosperous age, with the multiplication of seed, which God gave unto Abraham and Sarah his wife; be given unto you, most gracious prince, with your dearest just wife, and most virtuous princess, queen Jane. *Amen.*

Caiaphas, being bishop of that year, like a blind prophet, not understanding what he said, prophesied, that it was better to put Christ to death, than that all the people should perish: he meaning that Christ was an heretic, and a deceiver of the people, and a destroyer of the law: and that it were better therefore to put Christ to death, than to suffer him for to live, and to deceive the people, &c. Even after the same manner the blind bishop of Rome, &c. not understanding what he did, gave unto your grace this title, *Defender of the faith*, only because your highness suffered your bishops to burn God's word, the root of faith, and to persecute the lovers and ministers of the same. Where in very deed the blind bishop, though he knew not what he did, prophesied, that by the righteous administration,

and continual diligence of your grace, that faith should so be defended, that God's word, the mother of faith, with the fruits thereof, should have his free course through all Christendom, but especially in your realm, &c.

Then the writer went on to prove, that no priest or bishop is exempt from the obedience to his prince: and that from scripture.

Wherefore, most gracious prince, there is no tongue, I think, can fully express and declare the intolerable injuries which have been don unto God, unto all princes, and to the communalities of all Christen realms; since they which Should be onely the ministers of God's word, became lords of the world, and thrust the true and just princes out of their realms. Whose heart would not pity it, yea, even with lamentation, to remember but only the intolerable wrongs don by the antichrist of Rome unto your graces most noble predecessor, king John; I pass by other; the pestilent picking of Peter pence out of your realm; the stealing away of your mony for pardons, in benefices and bishopricks; his deceiving of your subjects souls with the devilish doctrines and sects of his false religions: his bloud-shedding of so many of your graces people for books of the scripture? Whose heart would not be grieved, yea, and that out of mesure, to call to remembrance, how obstinate and disobedient, how presumptuous and stubborn, that antichrist made the bishops of your realm against your graces noble predecessors, in time past, as it is manifest in the chronicles? I trust verily, there be none such now within your realm: if there be, let them remember these words of scripture, *Presumptuousness goeth before destruction; and after a proud stomach there followeth a fall.*

What is now the cause of all these intolerable, and no more to be suffered abominations? Truly, even the ignorance of the scripture of God. For how had it else been possible, that such blindness should have come into the world, had not the light of God's word been extinct?

Only the word of God is the cause of all felicity. It bringeth all goodness with it: it bringeth learning: it gendreth understanding: it causeth good works: it maketh children of obedience: briefly, it teacheth all states their office and duty. Seeing then that the scripture of God teacheth us every thing sufficiently, both what to do, and what we ought to leave undon: whom we are bound to obey, and whom we should not obey: therefore I see, it causeth all prosperity, and setteth every thing in frame. And where it is taught and known, it lighteneth all darkness, comforteth all sory hearts; leaveth no poor man unhelpe; suffereth nothing amiss unamended; letteth

no prince be disobeyed; permitteth no heresy to be preached; but reformeth all things; amendeth that is amiss, and setteth every thing in order.

And why? Because it is given by inspiration of God, &c.

Considering now, most gracious prince, the inestimable treasure, fruit, and prosperity everlasting, that God giveth with his word; and trusting in his infinite goodness, that he would bring my simple and rude labour herein to good effect; therefore as the Holy Ghost moved other men to do the cost hereof; so was I boldened in God to labour in the same. Again, considering your imperial majesty, not only to be my natural, sovereign liege lord, and chief head of the church of England; but also, the true defender and maintainer of God's laws, I thought it my duty, and to belong to my allegiance, when I had translated this Bible, not only to dedicate this translation unto your highness, but wholly to commit it unto the same. To the intent, that if one thing therein be translated amiss, (for in many things we fail, even when we think to be sure,) it may stand in your graces hand to correct it, to improve it, yea, and clean to reject it, if your godly wisdom shall think it necessary.

And as I do with all humbleness submit my understanding and my poor translation, unto the sprete of truth in your grace, so make I this protestation, having God to record in my conscience, that I have nothing wrested nor altered so much as one word, for the maintenance of any manner of sect; but have with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of five sundry interpreters' having only the manifest truth of the scripture before mine eyes: trusting unto the goodness of God, that it shall be unto his worship, the quietness and tranquility of your highness, and a perfect establishment of all God's ordinances within your graces dominions; a general comfort to all Christen hearts, and a continual thankfulness both of old and young, unto God and to your grace, for being our Moses, and for bringing us out of this old Egypt, from the cruel hands of our spiritual Pharaoh.

Your graces humble subject and daily orator,
Myles Coverdale.

NUMBER 23.

Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, to Mr. Thomas Fowle, Mr. John Handson, and Mr. John Grundye: for setting on foot the exercise of prophesy at Bury S. Edmonds.

SALUTEM in Christo Jesu. Forasmuch as the godly exercise of expounding the scriptures by way of prophesy is seen daily to bring no small benefit and furtherance to the church of Christ, where the same is used within this dioces: and for that sundry godly and well learned persons, as well of the clergy as otherwise, neer adjoining to the town of Bury S. Edmonds, have made request, that the like exercise might be erected and established at Bury aforesaid; I have thought good by these presents to appoint and authorize you there, that is to say, Mr. Thomas Fowle, Mr. John Hand-son, and Mr. John Grundye, to take the charge and order of this exercise upon you. That the whole clergy thereabouts may, by your order and direction, assemble themselves at Bury aforesaid, at such time and times, and in such place as by you there, two or one of you, shall be thought most meet and convenient. And if any of the said clergy shall, either of negligence, or wilful forwardness, shew themselves contrary and disobeying unto you in the premisses, then do I will and require you to signify the said disobedient persons unto my commissary: that by his authority the same may be reformed, as appertaineth. And if the same shall so require, I will not fail, upon knowledge given, for the reformation accordingly.

And whatsoever shall seem unto you, the aforesaid persons, to order and decree, for the better execution of the premisses, I do by these premisses promise to ratify, confirm, and allow; being not against the law of the realm: not doubting but that of your wisdom and godly zeale, ye will foresee, that all your said doings may wholly tend to the advancement of the glory of God, and to the profit and en-crease of knowledge of his church and congregation. To which purpose and intent onely this assembly and exercise is appointed. Dated at Ludham, this 16th of February, 1572.
et nostrae consecrationis xxmo.

Your assured friend in Christ,
Johan. Norvic.

NUMBER 24.

Notices and characters of divers persons of eminence, living in the reigns of king Henry VIII. king, Edward VI. and queen Mary; given by Parkhurst in his Epigrams.

UPON THE DEATH OF QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

*Inclytæ faeminae Janae, reginae Angliae,
et regis Edoardi matris, epitaphium.*

*Hic jaceo, per quam tellus Britannia beatur:
Nomen si cupias noscere, Jana fui.
Henrico regio conjunx fidissima nuper;
Filiolum peperit: deinde quidem perii.
Nec perii tamen, utpote cui sit vita perennis.
Et quæ perpetuo vivit, ea haud periiit.*

TO QUEEN KATHARINE PARR.

*Si te novissent latii vatesque pelasgi,
Ornassent tanta laudeque Penelopen?
Non certe ornassent.
Nam tu virtutibus anteis
Penelopen multis passibus Argolicam.*

TO KATHARINE DUTCHESS OF SUFFOLK.

*AEternum salve, princeps clarissima, mentis
Dotibus, eximiis adnumeranda viris.
Vix dici poterit, quantum tribuat tibi vulgus,
Quantum magnates, doctaque turba virum.
Nil tam suspiciunt homines tua stemmata clara,
Insignes dotes quam, Catharina, tuos.*

EPITAPH UPON CHARLES DUKE OF SUFFOLK. ANNO 1544.

*Carolus exigua jacet hac Brandonus in urna,
Heroum splendor, gloria prima ducum.
Quem flent magnates, quem flet promiscua turba,
Quem luget madidis Anglia maesta genis.
Integritas cum quo sunt nobilitasque sepultæ.
O! quantas gazas contegit urna brevis?*

**AD ILLUSTRISSIMAM PRINCIPEM D. ELIZABETHAM,
EDOARDI REGIS SOROREM, ANNO 1547.**

*Ex colloquiis heri tuis
Pereruditis et piis,
Collegi ego facillime,
Tua celsitudo in literis,
Quod non modo pedem moverit,
(Magnus est et hoc in faemina)
Sed pludmum promoverit.
Doctrinam in ipsum laudibus
Coelum extulere plurimi
Sacrae Minervae milites, &c.*

Then the poet praiseth her eloquence, her modesty, her integrity,

*Morumque mira suavitas,
Candor gravis, sanctus pudor,
Et intemerata castitas, &c.*

That she knew the holy scriptures perfectly well, and that she understood the French language, the Italian, *et Grae-canica ad unguem cognita.*

**AD D. GRAIUM MARCHIONEM DORCESTRENSEM, VIRUM
NOBILIASIMUM, POSTEA DUCEM SUFFOLCIAE.**

*Quamvis et genus et pietas et plurima virtus
Nominis aeternos in te cumularit honores;
Non extrema tamen laus est, clarissime princeps,
Ingeniis doctorum hominum, caeptisque favere,
Et studiis juvenum crescentibus addere vires.
Quid memorem quanta Wilocus, Skinnerus, et Haddon,
AElmerusque tuos ornarint lucc penates?
O Deus, O quales juvenes! Quo principe digni!
His tua luminibus splendet domus.*

**AD INCLYTAM PUELLAM JANAM GRAIAM EJUS
HONORIS FILIAM.**

*Mirari veteres desine Laelias,
Sapphos, Aspantias, atque Learchidas.
Illa omnis veterum gratia pectorum*

*Nunc uno incipit in pectore crescere.
 Nil unquam cecinit carmine melius.
 Nil Graia loquitur voce suavius,
 Romano sonat aut ore disertius.
 Perge hoc ingenio, perge, puellula, &c.*

AD D. THOMAM CRANMERUM PRAESULEM CANTUAR.

*Cantiaeus populus felix, nimiumque beatus
 Dicitur, ut cujus tradita cura tibi est.
 Dii faxint, ut grex pastod paret omnis.
 Sic dignum summo fiet ovile Deo.*

**AD EUNDEM, CUM QUIDAM ARCHIPAPISTAE EJUS RUINAM
 MACHINATI SUNT.**

*Turba maligna tuis sanctis conatibus obstat,
 Turba maligna quidem, turba pusilla tamen.
 Adversus sed tu fluctus audentior omnes
 Ito, nec Christi desere jura tui.
 Christus te forti, praesul sanctissime, dextra
 Proteget; invidulos atque perire sinet.*

AD D. RICHARDUM MORISYN.

*Vates finxerunt veteres Musas habitasse in
 Montibus, in sylvis, irriguisque locis.
 Hoc quam sit verum, videant illi; hoc scio verum,
 Pectore quod maneant, mi Morisyne, tuo,*

**AD D. GULIELMUM BUTTUM, ILLUSTRUM MEDICORUM
 CHORO ADNUMERANDUM.**

*Buttum si nobis aetas antiqua tulisset,
 Inter praecipuos posset habere locum, &c.*

AD EUNDEM.

*Nae tu, Butte, Deo debes gratissimus esse,
 Solus nam Christus meta scopusque tibi est.
 Huc spectas solum, huc conatus dirigis omnes,
 Hic det, Butte, tibi prospera cuncta, vale.*

IN D. STEPHANUM GARDINERUM, EPISCOPUM WINTON.

*Stephanus sibi concreditum vorat gregem,
Et vult haberi episcopus.
Tali sed hoc non convenit nomen viro.
Ergo vocabitur lupus.*

IN EUNDEM.

*Sollicite quaeris, quem dicat te esse popellus:
Dicit te esse lupum; dicit habere lupas.*

IN EDMUNDUM BONERUM EPISCOP. LONDON.

*Cum te genuerit sacrificex Savigius,
Dic unde Boneri, rogo, nomen tibi?*

IN EUNDEM EDMUNDUM.

*Sacrificus pater immundus, scortum tibi mater
Immundum, immunda relligione tumes.*

**AD D. RICHARDUM COXUM, EDUARDO REGI AB
ELEEMOSYNIS, ET OXON. ACADEMIAE CANCELLARIUM.**

*Consequier verbis nequeo, nec prendere mente,
O Coxe, vir clarissime,
Quam cupiam nostros in te defigere vultus,
Manui manumque jungere.
Sic te depinxit nobis Parvisus uterque,
Sic nunc Juellus et meus:
Sic te miratur doctorum turba virorum;
Amore ut inflammer tui.
Quare me adscribas numero, vir magne, tuorum,
Et ista consulas boni.*

**IN COXUN, COCUM, ET CHECUM, REGIS EDOARDI
PRAECEPTORES IN BONIS LITERIS.**

*Inclyta ter felix est Anglia, rege Edoardo.
Et ipse terfelix tribus didascalis.*

**DE QUIBUSDAM VIRIS ADMODUM PROECLARIS,
SUB INITIO REGNI EDOARDI VI.**

*Si qui sunt Christi quos gloria tangit Iesu,
Honor suique principis:
Hi sunt eximii homines, Seymerus uterque,
Uterque clarus Marchio:
Dudlaei, Hastingsi, Russelli, Herbertus, Hawardi,
Ratclyffi, Clynton, Graii,
Rossus, Wentworthi, Caraeus, tuque Cobhame;
Northus, Rychus, Montioius,
Baconus, Darcaeus, Morysynus, vosque Knolaei,
Caecillius, Cokus, Wrothus.
Sadlerus, Croftus, Mildmaei, Smythus, Hobaei,
Chaecus, Wilsonus, Berteus.
Hos, O Christe, velis sancta defendere dextra,
Et quot cupiunt regi bene.*

DE QUIBUSDAM MALIS EPISCOPIS.

*Si qui sunt Christi quos urit gloria Jesu
Honos suique principis,
Hi sunt, Gardnerus, Sampson, Tonstallus, et illud
Monstrum Bonerus sordidum:
Hos, O Christe, velis ad te convertere tandem,
Tandem velis vel perdere.*

DE QUIBUSDAM PRAECLARIS ET OPTIMIS EPISCOPIS.

*Si sint pontifices quos gloria tangit Iesu,
Honorque sui principis;
Hi sunt, Cranmerus, Ponetus, Hoperus, et ipse
Milo, Harleus, Ridlaeus,
Barlus, Gudrichus, Balaeus, tuque Scoraee,
Godaker, Tayler, Ferrarius.
Hos, O Christe, velis sancta defendere dextra,
Et quot favent verbo tuo.*

AD D. GULIELMUM CAECILIUM.

*Caecili, primas tibi dat Anglia,
Soli statuit, palmamque de viro bono.
Atque ista laus tibi proprie tam convenit,
Ut senfiat siquis secus, nil sentiat.*

IN EUNDEM.

*Si sint in quoquam pietas, doctrina, suada,
Haec in Caecilio sunt sociata meo.*

**IN HARLAEUM NUPER EPISCOPUM HEREFORDIEN. AD
LODOVIC. LAVATERUM.**

*Cur Harlaeus doctissimus,
Pius vir, humanissimus,
Episcopatum linquere
Siet coactus, accipe.
Ingens patrauerat scelus,
Dirum scelus, nefarium,
Immane, detestabile,
Abominandum et insolens,
Dignum scelus suspendio,
Dignum scelusque incendio,
Summi Jovisque fulmine,
Scelus quod expiarier
Vix credo posset vel sacri
Lateris, salisve aspergine:
Vixit pia cum conjuge.*

AD D. JOHAN. SCORY EPISCOPUM CICESTRENS.

*Doctus es in sacris, non indoctusque profanis.
Nulla, Scoraee, tuis moribus est scoria.*

AD D. JOHAN. PONETUM NUPER EPISCOPUM WINTON.

*Salveto, nuper praesul, praesulque futurus.
Namque brevi Stephanus praesul, puto, desinet esse.*

STEPHANI GARDINERI EPISCOPI WINTON EPITAPHIUM.

*Dogmata dum satagis delere perennia Christi,
 Dum commenta hominum noxia ubique seris:
 Exilio, gladio, dum saevis carcere, flamma,
 Dum vafra patriam prodis et arte tuam;
 Abstulit horrenda Christus te morte furentem.
 Exemplo caveat turba papaea tuo.*

REX EDWARDUS.

*Edwardus bene se rexit, regnumque libenter
 Recturus melius, si licuisset, erat.*

EJUSDEM REGIS EPITAPHIUM.

*Cum mors Edvardum rapuisset livida regem,
 Junxisset superis cum Deus huncque choris:
 Josias adit, amplexatur, eumque salutans,
 Sic ait, O! Salve frater et alter ego.*

ALIUD.

*Rex, regis natus, regum decus, unica regni
 Spesque salusque sui, conditur hoc tumulo.*

**INCOMPARABILIS FAEMINAE CATHARLNAE, NUPER
 ANGLIAE, FRAN-CIAE ET HIBERNIAE REGINAE, DOMINAE
 MEAE CLEMENTISSIMAE, EPITAPHIUM. ANNO 1547.**

*Hoc regina novo dormit Catharina sepulchro,
 Sexus foeminei flos, honor, atque decus.
 Haec fuit Henrico conjunx fidissima regi:
 Quem postquam e vivis parca tulisset atrox,
 Thomae Seymero (cui tu, Neptune, tridentem
 Porrigis) eximio nupserat illa viro.
 Huic peperit natam: a partu cum septimus orbem
 Sol illustrasset, mors truculenta necat.
 Defunctam madidis famuli deflemus ocellis;
 Humectat tristes terra Britanna genas.
 Nos infelices moeror consumit acerbus:
 Inter coelestes gaudet at illa choris.*

AD D. JOHAN. HOPERUM, EXTEMPORE.

*Gloria magna tuae patriae, laus et decus ingens,
 Nostra saepe rudi forte canende chely;
 De facie licet ignotus tibi mitto salutem:
 Nots tamen probitas est tua, Hopere, mihi.
 Plurima turba tuas patulo nam praedicat ore
 Virtutes, summis laudibus atque vehit.
 Doctrinam, ingenuos mores, laudat pietatem,
 Ingenii dotes, tollit ad astra tuas.*

DE D. THO. WYLSONO.

*Si quisquam est doctus, prudens, et fidus amicus,
 Si quisquam vegeto floreat ingenio;
 Si quisquam comis sermone est, arte politus,
 Si quisquam ex animo Pallada utramque colat;
 Si quisquam est virtutis amans, osor vitiorum,
 Hic Wylsonus erit, teste vel invidia.*

AD BARTHOLOMAEUM TRAHERON.

*Ingenium, pietas, doctrina, modestia, candor;
 Haec sunt cur te oculis, Bartholomaeae, feram.*

**AD JOAN. BALAEUM, IN SUAS 14 CENTURIAS
SCRIPTORUM BRITANNICORUM.**

*Quos peperit vario populosa Britannia nixu
 Scriptores, praesens, eh! tibi monstrat opus.
 Quorum res gestas hic cernis, nomina, dicta,
 Libros, conatus, consilia atque obitus.
 Hic et pestiferi legis incrementa papismi,
 Rasorum sectas, stupra, venena, dolos.
 Hoc lucubravit opus doctissimus ille Balaeus,
 Irradians patriae sidus et aura suae.
 Autori gratus sis, lector candide, vitae
 Exoptesque pio stamina longa seni.*

**IN FRONTEM LIBRI D. THOMAE CRANMERI,
ARCHIEPISCOPI CAN-TUAR. VERSUS INSCRIPTI, IN
GRATIAM D. RICKAR. COXI.**

*Accipe praeclarum, lector studiose, libellum,
Quem tibi Cranmerus scripserat ante rogos.
Hic docta sanctam tractat ratione synaxin,
Insistens patres, quas docuere, viis.
Hic, Gardnere, tuas phaleratas detegit artes;
Detrahit et larvam, saeve tyranne, tuam.
Atque tuo ipsius jugulum transverberat ense,
Ut jaceas veluti sensibus absque fera.
Denique rixosis hic obstruit ora papistis;
Rixandi posset si tamen esse modus.
Solvitur in cineres corpus, mens scandit ad astra,
Fama superstes erit, tempus in omne memor.*

IN QUOSDAM AVAROS ECCLESIASTICOS.

*Multi qui sunt pastores animarum, oviumque
Has pascunt, illas non curant, praeda lupis sunt.
Piscationibus student. Dant mereibus operam.
Molendarii sunt, carbonarii, aucupes, coloni item.
Lanii quoque ferrarii, lanarii, bubulci, et usurarii.
Sunt Domini servi turpis avaritiae.*

NUMBER 25.

The examination of one Blosse, alias Mantel; that reported king Edward VI. was alive, and queen Elizabeth was married. Taken by Fleetwood, recorder of London: sent with his letter to the lord treasurer Burleigh.

THE 20. of October, 1572, Robert Blosse, alias Mantel, examined before the recorder, saith, that he was born in London: that his father was a goldsmith. And being young he was brought up under Mr. Bale, the learned man, prior of the white friars in Ipswich. At his man's estate, he married one Mr. Egelden's daughter, being town clerk of Sandwich. And he confesseth, that at the time of his marriage, he was a gunner in the king's

ships; and can shoot off and discharge great ordnance. His wife and he not well agreeing, he did depart from her; and she doth now live in Cambridge.

And he saith, that about 16 years past, [that is, anno 1556,] one Walker, a scholar at Oxford, told this exami-nate, that king Edward VI. was living in Flanders; and if this examine did live, he should see him again within this realm. And he saith, that ever sithence he hath nourished in his mind that lewd and false matter, and hath reported it for a truth. For the which he saith, that he is sory from the bottom of his heart. And he saith, that the last time that he reported the same, was upon Wednesday at night last past, at one Tower's house, neer Aldersgate, in London. At which time Norris the pursevant, standing behind a cloth, did hear him, and thereupon did arrest him.

And at the same time this examine saith, that he did most wickedly report and say, that the queens highness was married about eight years ago [that is, anno 1564.] unto my lord of Leicester. And that during which mariage, she had four children. And this false rumour he first conceived by a report of an old priest of Hampshire, about six years ago.

And for his religion he saith and affirmeth, that he did never hear mass since Anne Askew was burned. And more he will not utter.

This was the deposition set down. And underneath, in the same paper, was the recorder's letter writ with his own hand; and was as followeth:

My very good lord. This is the examination of Robert Blossse. And because I had studied all the statutes of treasons, and could not find him within the letter or meaning of them; and for that the fellow, which was executed in queen Maries time, did offend in saying, that he himself was king Edward; therefore I noted that cause to be treason: but not so of Blossses cause. I therefore yesternight did argue the case with Mr. Attorney General by the space of an hour and more. And he resolved it for a clear case to be no treason. And for the second cause, he should have lost one of his ears, if he had been convicted within three months. But now that time is past. And therefore by the statute he ought to be set at liberty. And so thought Mr. Attorney. 17. Jan.

Your Lordships,
W. Fletewood.

NUMBER 26.

An extract of the estate of certain mines in Cumberland, an. 1576.

COPPER, silver, and lead, then made and contained in the ewrs [ores] thereof.

At the melting house at Keswick, in copper MVCCCC quintails weight.

In head ewrs above ground, containing therein fine silver by *assay*, 298 pound weight.

More in the said ewrs, containing lead, to be made after the silver parted from it.

Made in perfect copper (her majesties fifteenth part deducted) 533 quintals.

More, in fine silver, delivered into the mint 87 pound weight, 4 ounces.

More, in lead, sold at the mine.

NUMBER 27.

Occur`rents at the siege of Rochel; and of the election of monsieur king, of Poland: sent from Dr. Dale, the queen's ambassador in France, to the earl of Sussex; in a letter dated May30, 1573.

ON the 13. of this present until this day, there hath been three divers exploits at Rochel, upon the bastilion L'Evangele. The first was done the 13th, when monsieur de Guaz entred at Sonwares, upon the said *bastilion*, with 500 harquebusiers; and did surprize those of the watch, and slew them without the loss of any one soldier. Notwithstanding he was constrained in the end to abandon the said place; by reason that the townesmen came upon them with a great number of harquebusiers, and did hurt some of them with artificial kinds of fire. The second was done on the 18th. In the which conflict monsieur de Guatz and De Colombes were sore hurt, and Stephano d'Urbain slain with divers of his soldiers. The third, the 20th and 21st of this present. And in this combate it is reported, that one Besme, who in the last massacre at Paris slew the admiral, had his thighs quite stricken off with a canon: monsieur de Puisgaillarde, governor of Anglers, sore hurt; or as some judge, dead. monsieur Polliac, collonel of his twelve

ensignes, slain, besides a great number of soldiers. The 21st of this present, the Rochelois being advertised, that the greatest part of the king's camp was going to see the arrival of the Swisses, issuing forth and finding the trenches not so well furnished, they entred into them. And many they slew, and others they chased away. They did also cloye four great peeces of artillery, and brought away with them six ensignes: and they retyred themselves into the town.

It is given forth, that monsieur intended to give the general assault the 28th of this present. The counte of Retz, and the counte of Filiasque departed from the camp the 22d of this present with twenty ships of war, and six gallies, with intent to drive Mountgomery out of Belle Isle.

Mountgomery being advertised of that coming, and perceiving the enemy to be too strong for him, hath forsaken the said Isle, and is retyred, as they say, either into England, or else into Flanders.

The 28th of this present, those of Sanzerre pretending that they would gladly parlement with La Chastre, and, if it were possible, grow to some good agreement, issued forth of the same town at midnight, and did surprize a certain fort, and slew such as kept the same. Of late monsieur de Chastre took a certain gentleman, called Lantray, prisoner upon suspicion, that he was an espial, and sent him up to the court: who sithence being put upon the rack at two several times, hath confessed to the king's provost marshal, that there were certain gentlemen of good account in the camp at Sanzerre, who did advertise the townsmen from time to time of all their enterprizes: and that there were also that did the like at Rochel.

Of late the king is advertised, how that those of Nevar-ryne encrease daily in number; and that they of late have taken a castle from the count Carnaignan, brother to monsieur de Foix. And they do presently march forward, with intent to besiege S. Sever, a town of no small consequence.

It is written from the camp by such as are wont to make credible report, that there should be six ships entred into Rochel, in the mean time while that the king's navy was before Belleisle.

The king is appointed to remove toward Monceaux upon Monday next; and the clergy is to meet very shortly at Paris for the granting of their mony. There is a rate made, that they should pay threescore thousand millions of franks towards the payment of the king's debts. They are put in

good hope to be discharged thereby of their tenths. But men think if it be once granted, they shall pay both notwithstanding.

They do impute the election of monsieur [to be king of Poland] to the worthiness of the dukes person, and unto the oration of monsieur de Valence. Upon whose oration, they do say, all men gave their consent *una voce*. But others do judge it to be by the reason that they feared, lest the emperors son, being so mighty, and so nigh a neigh-bour, should make the kingdom hereditary and no more elective, if he were once in possession. And that the authority, credit, and menace of the Turk do very much in the matter [of the election of monsieur.] It is thought that the king elected will pass to Polonia by sea to Dansig, and not through Germany. This extraordinary charge maketh the queen mother to try all her friends for mony. It is agreed, that the clergy shall contribute 300000 crowns to the charge of monsieur. She her self doth grant 300000 franks.

A cousin of monsieur de Mon]uc arrived at the court the 29th of this present, with news that the election of the king of Poland was published the 13th of the same. The marshal of Polonia is looked for as ambassador from thence within very few days. There is an ambassador preparing to the king elect of Polonia of 2000 horse.

[NUMBER 27.]

The consecration of Dermic O Clier, bishop of Maion, in the province of Tuam in Ireland. The instrument of cardinal Sanctorius; declaratory of the same, and of the oath of the said O Clier, of fidelity taken to pope Gregory XIII.

JULIUS Antonius Sanctorius, miseratione divina ti-tulo sti. Bartholemei in insula, stae. Romanae ecclesiae presbyter cardinalis stae. Severinae nuncupat, universis et sin-gulis prsesentes literas inspecturis, lecturis, et audituris, sa-lutem in Dno. sempiternam. Noveritis, quod nuper sanctissimus in Christo Pater et Dns. noster, dns. Gregorius di-vina providentia papa 13ius, vivae vocis oraculo, nobis im-posuit et commisit, ut aliquo die dominico, vel festivo, ad-hibitis nobiscum duobus epis. gratiam et communionem se-dis apliceae, habentibus, et uno ex magistris ceremoniarum, et in loco ad hoc condecanti, et nobis bene viso, reverendo patti dno. Dermicio O Clier, electo Maionens. in provincia Tuamens. in

Hybernia, consecrationis munus, impendere-taus; eundemque juxta formam et ritum stae. Roman. eccle-siae, consecraremus. *Post* quas quidem commissionem et impositionem, nobis, ut praemittitur, vivae vocis oraculo fact. Nos Julius Antonius Sanctorius cardinalis praefatus, adhibitis et assistantib, nobis reverendis patribus dnis. Joanne Baptism Sanctorio et Josepho Panphilo Aliphan et Siguin. respective epis. in Romana curia residentib, gram. et com-munionem sedis aplicae, habent, et infrascript, magistro ceremoniarum, de speciali et expressa commissione nobis, ut praeittitur facta, in capella Sixti nuncupata, praefatum rev. dom. Dermicium Oclieram electum Maionen praesen-tem, in epum. et pastorem dict. ecclesiae Maionen. Cum solennitatibus et ceremoniis consuetis praestito prius per eum in manib, nostris juramento in forma ab electis prae-stari solita, juxta ritum et morem stae. Roman. ecclesiae, consecravimus: sibique munus consecrationis in similibus dari solitum, impendimus; ipsumque Dermicium Ocliera epum. per praesentes consecratum fuisse et esse denuntiamus.

Qui rev. Dermic Oclier. antequam consecraretur, et benediceretur, in manibus nostris praestitit corporale juramentum in hanc modum. Videlicet.

“Ego Dermicus Ocliera elect. Maionen. ab hac hora, ut antea, fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, staeque Roman. ecclesiae, et dno. nostro dno. Gregorio papae 13io suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, vel membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi cre-dituri sunt per se aut nuntios, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum, et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero, ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum se-dis apostolicse, in eundo et redeundo, honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo.

“Jura, honores, privilegia et auctoritatem Roman. ec-clesiae, et aliqua sinistra vel prsejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur, &c. *Et* si talia a quibuscunque tractari novero, impecham hoc pro posse, et quanto citius potero, significabo eid. dno. nostro, vel alteri, per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam per-venire. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta et ordina-tiones, reservationes seu dispositiones, promissiones et mandata aplica, totis virib, observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari.

Haereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eid. dno. nostro vel successoribus predict, pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

“Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi praepeditus fuero canonica praepeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis annis Romana curia existente citra Alpes: ultra vero montes singulis bienniis per meipsum visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuntium, nisi aplica, absolvat licentia. [Et si post primam visitationem personaliter factam, aliquo legitimo impedimento praepeditus personaliter visitare non potero, per aliquem fidum nuntium de gremio meae Mai-onen. ecclesiae bene instructum: qui vice mea aplico. conspectui se praesentare, et de legitimo impedimento hu-moi saltem per iuramentum legitimum fidem facere re-neatur; id adimplebo.]

“Possessiones veto ad mensam meam pertinentes nec vendam, nec donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice, *etiam cum consensu capituli mei*. Sic me Deus *adjuvet*, et haec Dei sancta evangelia.”

In quorum omnium singulorum fidem et testimonium praemissorum praesentes literas fieri, et per magistrum ceremoniarum applicarum, infra scriptum ibid. ex officio suo praesentem et intervenientem subscribi, nostrique soliti sigilli appensione muniri fecimus. Datum Romae, ut supra, sub anno a nativitate Dni. millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quarto, indictione 2da, die vero 12ma mensis Martii, pontificatus praelibati sanctiss, in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Gregorii divina providentia papee 13ii anno. praesentib, ibidem reverend, dominis, fratre Guglielmo Macarmuit, fratre Joanne Hoargo de Hybernia; et reverendo domino Joanne Callanario abbate de Portu patrum, Anachduanen. canonico regulari in Hybernia; testib, ad praemissa vocatis atque rogatis.

Ego Lodovicus Branca de Jermanis, ceremoniarum applicarum. Magister, ex officio ceremoniarum praedietar. premissis interfui, et de iuramento rogatus subscripsi.

NUMBER 28.

Mr. Dering's answer to certain articles of matters that he had spoken at some public dinner: presented to the lords of the Star-chamber.

MOST humbly I beseech your honours to consider, that in matters of accusation, not only words, but also the manner of speaking, must be witness of the truth. Else our Saviour Christ lost the innocency of his cause: who was charged but with the words of his own mouth. Matth. xxvi. 62. Job ii. 19. And indeed the most perfect words, as they be spoken in their order, may have a very ill sound, if you will draw them apart. When Christ said, he that will be his disciple, must hate his father and his mother: if you change his purpose and maner of speaking, you shall open wide the mouth of the slanderer unto much bitterness. This example of our Saviour Christ, it is precious and dear unto your honours. So that you will never receive a report of words, but in good warrant of the manner of speaking.

And, my very good lords, the more plentifully you have received grace, and a spirit of government, fear the more, lest the accuser should here deceive you. Constan-tinus, that excellent emperor, manitimes justified Athanasius against his accusers: yet at the last he was overcome; and believing the evil report, banished an excellent bishop. Theodosius, a singular man, and of a meek spirit; yet he was caried away, and decreed against Cyril, a singular bishop. David, a man according to the heart of God, believed a false accusation against Mephibosheth; and did his faithful and good servant wrong. These examples make me sometimes fear. And therefore I beseech your honours pardon me, tho' I were bold to alledge them. And for all the things, whereof I am accused, first, I beseech God revele the truth; and then, before God, I profess unto you to write the truth of that I know I have spoken.

Against *godfathers* and *godmothers*, saving only the name, I spake nothing. I know they are used in reformed churches: and I confess the use is good. And they that speak against them, I think, they are worthy to be punished. Of the charge given to them, to se the children brought up; to exhort them to hear sermons, &c. and thereof to make progress in the church of God; which yet they did not keep; I said, it was very ill, and perhaps I added, one of the worst things in the book of service. Wherein I also blamed the French book; not only our own.

More than this, on my part, was never thought. And therefore I am sure not spoken by me. Where it was further objected against me, that I said,

The statute for the provision for the poor was no competent way devised for it; or any such words. In which I might seem to blame either the act of parlament, or the makers of it. I utterly deny it, as a most impudent report:

and such as it grieveth me once to remember it. I thank God I have better learned than in dishes and cups to blame so proudly the state of a kingdom. I allowed of the order already taken. I commended it. I said, it wanteth only the good will of men to execute it. Where it is further objected,

That I could provide for the poor two ways. The one was, I could commit them to the rich to be kept; to some two, to some three, &c. Another way was, to what purpose is this superfluity? Or, what do we with so much plate? These all I utterly deny, as the words which I never spake, and the thoughts which were never yet in my heart. And if I should have spoken the one or the other, I had spoken wickedly, and deserved punishment accordingly. And thus much I profess and protest, upon the warrant of a Christian man's words before the seat of justice; where I dare not lye. And to prove my saying true, I have brought the hand of those that were present. If contrary witnesses come against me, as I understand Mr. Toy, Mr. Willet, and Mr. D. Chaderton will do, I beseech your lordships, give me leave to except against their testimony: and you shall hear more plainly what I have to say. Only this now shall be sufficient: Mr. Toy confessed before Mr. Killegrew and Mr. D. Fulke, he heard me speak nothing of plate, nothing of that book, nothing of committing the poor to the rich. Only he remembred, I said at dinner, To what purpose is this superfluity? And of the charge of godfathers, who did very ill, that they looked no better to it. Mr. Willet said to Mr. Fulke, he would he had not been there: for indeed my words, except they were strangely construed against me, might be well taken. Mr. Chaderton praised me much at the table, and said, he was sure the university would willingly give me again my grace, to commence this next year: and after dinner, privately to Mr. Hodgson, he used much fair speech of me. And since he accused me, he wrote his letters to me, that he had spoken nothing, but as occasion was offered; and he meant no ill in his words toward me: and it must needs be thought somewhat strange, that so special words, so full of offence, so boldly reported by Mr. Chaderton, should be remembred by none but by the two brothers.

Last of all, I beseech your honours, if occasion shall so serve; enquire of mine accusers, what chapter I read after dinner; and the words I used of the mutual duty of poor and rich; of private men and of them in authority. Which if they will remember, they cannot construe my first words so strangely, to devise any evil meaning of them.

Now because in report of my words there is great suspicion, lest I should secretly fancy a community of things, I testify it before God and his angels, that this I know, such a community is but a common confusion; tending to the spoil of God's people, and utter shame of all his saints. For seeing the heart of man is full of corruption, which en-creaseth more by all unbridled liberty, what resting place should be for the godly, which must render again good for evil? except community could place out of our nature envy, malice, covetousness, strife, concupiscence, &c. How miserable were the church of Christ, that must needs be subject to so cruel a multitude! He that teacheth this doctrine, let him be cut off, whosoever he be. For our part, we have not so learned Christ. But we say with St. Paul, *Let every man abide in that calling in which he is called; whether he be bond or free.* That he may be taught by the grace of God, how to abound, and how to want; how to be rich, and how to be poor. And blessed be the Lord of Israel, that hath established for his people (not of transitory things) so great a warrant of faith. For in all poverty, sorrow, card, affliction, what comfort do I feel, when I can say with the prophet David, *I hold my peace, O Lord, because thou hast done it!* How happily do I see the troubles to come, when God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes! And again, in all abundance of riches, honour, favour, authority, what witnesses are they unto me of God's goodness! when I can say in the midst of them, *Vanity of vanity; and all is vanity:* when I faithfully dispense that is committed unto me: when I truly believe, that my treasure is not earthly: when I look through honour, and see in spirit, that to fear God and keep his commandments, this is all the happiness under the sun. It is a cursed community that taketh this blessing from us. And Satan turneth himself into an angel of light, when he maketh such entrance into the pathways of love.

God hath given to every man goods to dispense; to some more, to some less, even as he would: and unto all a property in the things they have. Which truth shall stand, when heaven and earth shall pass. For it hath the strength of the law of the Lord, *Thou shalt not steal.* And upon it Christ will build up the inheritance of his saints for ever, *when he shall say unto them on his right hand, When I was hungry, you gave me meat, &c.* As likewise with it he shall condemn his enemies, and make it known, he gave unto every one a property in his goods, when fear and terror shall teach them his judgments; and in his wrath he shall speak, *Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and for his angels. When I was hungry, yee gave me not meat, &c.* Then this is it I do believe, and this I

do teach, there is no such community in the church of God; nor ought to be; nor ever was since God first created man upon the earth. They have opened wide glass windows for anabaptists to enter into the commonwealth, that of late have written, that in the apostles times all things were common. Let them preach on so; and the end cannot be good. Wee know no such community, nor the church of God.

The apostles are our last schoolmasters, and their gospel we will hold to the end. It is written, *They that believed had all things common: and they sold their possessions and goods, and gave it to every man, as they had need.*

Acts ii. 44. But they sold it themselves. And yet our Saviour Christ said, he was a true Israelite. So that selling or giving, it was still their own. And what can be more plain, than the saying of Peter to Ananias, speaking of his land, *When thou hadst it, it was thine own: and when thou hadst sold it, it was in thine own power,* Acts v. 4. And therefore there was then no community, tho' some sold their lands, as the time required: they did it by the motion of the Spirit of God. They did it not by commandment or law of the church.

But I need not say more of this. For all is but a colour. They do not think me an anabaptist, that do most accuse me. And I would they did remember, *Non eget verbum Dei mendacio, ut loquamini pro eo dolos.* It is as true now as it was in the days of Job. And it testifieth as well now a want of truth, where any thing is holden up by falshood and deceit.

And now to say more what I think expedient; and humbly to bring your honours in remembrance of the peace of the church. I would a great many preachers in London, which are unlearned, and rash of speech, were admonished by the bishop of their doings. For while they flatter to get livings, they make the pulpit to be contemned. I heard of late one in the wide church of Paul's, preach much for authority of bishops; and what a thing it were to have them honorable, and said thus; "I would five or six of the council were Aarons. I would the lord keeper were a bishop. Not that I think justice ill ministred, but I would have the clergy in honour. I would a bishop were master of the rolls. I would all the six clerks of the chancery were priests. This would make the order in estimation. In time past a good justice of peace durst not offend a parish or hedge priest. Now every broom-man in Kent-street will controwl bishops." These words they do not

edify the conscience of man. He spake not as St. Peter commands,
tanquam eloquia Del.

It grieveth me to see one pretend the person of Christ; and to speak words of so great vanity. And yet this is but one man among many: whom if it pleased God, I would your honours did hear. But because I am not to accuse others, but to purge my self, I leave this, and will answer to one other accusation, which is yet against me, touching my lord of Canterbury.

I am charged, that I put off my cap, bade them hearken, and said, *Now I will prophesie, Matthew Parker is the last archbishop that ever shall sit in that seat.* Mr. Cartwright should say, *Accipio omen.* To this I answer, that I have confessed what I said; and here I send it witnessed by their hands that heard it. I put off no cap, nor spake of any prophesy. But Mr. Blage commending much a book which he was about, of the archbishops of Canterburys lives, I said merrily, as before a sick man, in whose chamber we were; that he should do wel to be somewhat long in this bishop's life: for peradventure he should be the last that should sit in that place. I do not excuse these words, but leave to your honours to consider the weight of them. And I beseech God give me that grace, that hereafter I may be careful, that I speak so as St. Paul saith, that in all my words I may bring grace to the hearers. Onely this I beseech your honours with favour to remember, that seeing my private speeches so long time have been so narrowly searched, if mine open preaching had been more faulty, it had been more easily known.

And thus I leave further to trouble your honours: offering my self ready in what place soever I may be thought profitable in the church of Christ, I beseech that living God long to keep you to his honour and glory, and your endless comfort, *Amen.*

1573, Novemb. 27.

NUMBER 29.

A letter of the lords of the privy council to the Dutch church: upon occasion of such as found fault with the customs of this church.

AS our gracious queen, out of her pious principles, hath taken compassion on your being persecuted, and of the miseries you have suffered for the

religion, (being com in her kingdoms,) and is willing to give you her protection; so shee expects from you such services as become honest and godly subjects; and all such actions as become thankful acknowledgments. And is very glad that shee hath hitherto found the performance of that duty; and hopes, that it will alwaies continue. But since there is a seditious sort of people sprung up, not content with the peaceable state of the commonwealth, seeking for occasions to broach what is new and strange; and that especially in regard of the usual forms of religious worship, and the ceremonies of the publick prayers: that so they might seem to be something, and to understand more than they which first instituted the same, by publick advise and counsils. This hath caused in her majesty apprehensions, least such tumultuous spirits should occasion you to misuse your privileges; imagining, that the way they invent will bee more acceptable to you, than that which is in use with us; as seeming more conformable with your customs than ours; and will pretend to the common people that you despise our way.

It is not unknowne to us, that in divers churches, ever since the Christian religion had a beginning, divers waies and ceremonies have been used, som standing, som falling on their knees, others flat downe, have addressed and prayed to God. And yet one and the self-same religion, if the prayers are don in truth to the true God, and no impiety and superstition mixt with it. In divers places and countries the same God, whose is the whole world, is believed and adored of divers nations, and in divers tongues and languages, and in divers manners, and with varietie of cloathing and ceremonies; yet is it the self same faith, the same religion, the same Christ, and God the Father of all.

Wee do not despise your custom, nor compel you to ours, but wee account your ceremonies good, as fittest for you, and most agreeable to the republick from whence you come. And wee hope also, that you in anothers commonwealth, will not be so ungratefully curious, that you will condemn those customs which wee have bin moved to establish out of the principles of true pietie and religion, with common consent of the whole kingdom, by the command of pious princes; and which the great labor of wise and learned men have ordained, as most proper for our people; and were confirmed by the bloud and death of many martyrs: and have bin for a long time thus settled amongst us: that you should not despise them, but rather these tumultuous and disquiet people, who would bring confusion to what is so well settled; nor to approve or give aid to such actions, either by word

or any part of your authoritie, And if any amongst them should presume to affirme, what you are cautioned against, yet would we not suspect such imprudence or inconstancy of your wisdom. Be it far from you, to do any thing whereby you might create any suspi-sion of disturbing the peace of our common-welth, and the state of our religion, so wel settled, and so breed occasion of difference and discord.

For by your wisdom you know very well, that the queen's majesty would rather drive you out of her kingdom, than to suffer, that by such guests, (who were received on a religious account,) by such wicked and unkindely means, her state should bee brought in danger.

Therefore if there be any that seek to cause a discord between us, be they English, or of your own people, drive them from your flock, and suffer them not to make so ill a use of you. Or if there be any that, out of a wanton conceitedness, leave and come from the use and custom of their native country, and will joyne themselves with you, such wee think ought not to bee received by you, that so they may not occasion discord and contention; which would be troublesom to us, and prejudicial to you; for wee foreseeing the things that might arise from such differences, have thought it necessary by this our letter to warn you against it. And we doubt not, by all possible means and diligence, you will take care, according to your wisdom and pietie, that neither to our glorious and pious queen, nor us, any cause of offence, nor any suspicion of ingratitude or disobedience shall be given: whereby it will come to pass, that you may live here in peace and security; and that we may shew you all the favour we can, to our mutual comfort. Farewel in Christ our common Savior.

And what your opinion is of this concern, wee pray you to let us know it by your answer, with as much speed as conveniently you can.

April 1573.

Your friends,

Bacon, C.S.

W. Burghley.

E. Lincoln.

T. Sussex.

Arundel.

R. Leycester.

T. Smith.

NUMBER 30.

Answer of the Dutch congregation to the aforesaid letter.

NOBLE and honourable lords, it being your pleasure, we answer herewith yours written unto us,

Most humbly praying to receive and apprehend it, with well affected minds.

We first thank the eternal God, and then our gracious queen, and your honours, for the great and manifold goodness, and benefits, by the grace of God, and the queen's benignity, and your lordships favours, and the whole kingdoms civilities shewn unto us, poor strangers and refugees; and also, that our inhabiting here, and services, are acceptable to your lordships; and that the queen's majesty nor your honors are not wearied in doing us good. And amongst many others, it is none of the least favour, that whereas (we holding unity in doctrine with you) you favour us with our usual ceremonies in our own languages: the same being accounted by us most convenient for our people and country; and whereunto we are accustomed; and have enjoyed the same since the reign of the godly king Edward; and that we are not compelled to ceremonies here in use: we hope there will never prove occasion to her majesty nor your lordships, to repent of these favours shown unto us, and that it will appear you have not bin mistaken in your good opinions of us; and that you will please not to beleev or regard malitious reports to prejudice us.

For your lordships will not be deceived in firmly beleev-ing, that we do not countenance such tumultuous people, nor approve their words or deeds, much less assist them in any manner whatsoever.

Wee despise not the ceremonies of other churches, in comparing them with ours; what a pious magistracy hath established, what they judge most fit for the people, and tending to true godliness, requires submission.

Wee know also, that as it doth not become us, to be curious inspectors into other men's matters, nor to pass our judgment on them; so it becoms us much less to encourage any changes, or to encourage others thereunto; but wee commit the care thereof to them whom God has ordained for it, and who by experience best knows what is most fit for them who are committed to their care.

Wee shall also for the future (God willing) take care that nothing shall be don by us, that might occasion any suspition of us, or just cause to her majesty of offence against us. And as you are pleased to command, so we shall expel from our flock, all such as we find to be of tumultuous tempers: neither shall we take amongst us any English, who from such principles seek to separate themselves from their own country customs. Wee have never accepted any such amongst us. In our congregation are not above four English, whereof two since their comming hither from their exile, have continued amongst us. The third is one that married a Dutch woman. The fourth came in their company, and continueth for the improoving in the language.

And to compel our people to a perfect dutiful behaviour, and to avoid all disputings, we have read your commands to the congregation.

Finally, Wee pray God never to withdraw his mercies from you, but to increase them more and more, in true godliness and obedience to him.

Your most obedient and humble ministers, elders, and deacons, of the Dutch Congregation.

NUMBER 31.

Mr. William Heydon's Christian letter to the bishop Norwich, for a reconciliation, after some falling out with him at his house, about admitting a layman into order's.

MY lord, immediately after my return home, which was not very joyous unto me, considering our bitter departure, may it please your lordship to be advertised, that such was my chance to joyn in that company, where you and your state, from the top to the bottom, was unripped. I weighing both your earnest zeale, and mine own in and towards the gospel, and seeing that the enemy, clawing the elbow for joy, that one spark of discord should be kindled among us; I thought it meet and convenient, as I have always to the uttermost of my power tendred your *estate*, to procure a means that we may be together lovingly reconciled again. And albeit that flesh and bloud did so rise in us at that time, that we both perchance, I for a season forgot my self to be dutiful to your lordship; and you perhaps adminstred some spark of choler on the other side; yet considering my duty towards you, and you weighing what credit your dealing ought to win towards the

gospel, thought it convenient at this time to salve the sore on my part: lest at any time the common enemy, the papist, might jest, that the chiefest gospellers are at bitter hatred and contention among themselves.

Surely, I need not instruct your lordship, of whom I would learn willingly, that such is the subtil slight and old policy of Satan, that if he may breed dissension or discord among them, in whom there ought to be a sweet harmony and agreement, he is no time more glad or joyful. It is no new thing that the children of God have disagreed: and therefore the sooner in us to be amended. Paul and Barnabas, as the Acts make rehearsal, were at such bitter dissension between themselves, for the receiving of Mark, that the one departed from the other in great heat and choler. The words that past between them were sharp and bitter. But when the Lord saw it so good, they were reconciled again. Whatsoever bitter words have past between us, I for my part do acknowledge mine own imbecillity: and desire your lordship of pardon herein, if I have offended: binding my self, as I have both tendred your state, and defended you, when my words might stand you in sted, so you would bear in silence whatsoever hath proceeded on either part. And as the first cause and chiefest occasion was derived neither from you, nor from my self, so I wish the amendment that bred this discord; and wish that in other things he may have the less credit. And surely as I have to thank your lordship, because at my commendations it pleased you to entertain Mr. Mouse, a man both godly and zelous, into your service, so I trust at any time, neither I nor my letters shall commend any unto you which shall not both try themselves godly and honest, and that praise that I give upon them well bestowed.

But thus much I must needs inform your lordship of, that you know as well, that as you give too light credit to some that are always about you, so you procure your self some discredit in giving no heed to these that both love you earnestly, and tender your state accordingly. Thus beseeching your lordship to acquit me with a line or two, to the satisfaction and quietness of my mind, trusting, that for all this, your opinion is not diminished of me, who make as good account of you as of the chiefest bishop of this land, with my unfeigned duty and commendations; desiring the Lord God so to ravish your heart with his holy Spirit, that you may be an ornament to the church, a light to the gospel, and an ey-sore to all the papists, (whose eyes are cast wholly upon you,) I most humbly take my leave of you. From Holt, this 10th of June, 1573.

Your lordships every way to command,
William Heydon.

[NUMBER 31.]

*The same bishop's fatherly and friendly answer
 to the former letter.*

I AM glad, and I thank God for it, that hath moved your heart so speedily, and as it were before the sun go down, to forethink your self of such things as of late were don at my house: and whether the cause come of you, be judge your self. You bring unto me a simple old man, spent with labours and turmoils of the world, who through his age and other imperfections, is no longer able to labour for his living, (for so he himself hath reported,) that he should now enter the ministry: his knowledge in the Latin very small; in the scriptures as little: by his occupation a husbandman, The canons do appoint, (and I have given my consent thereto,) that no bishop shall lay his hand upon any that hath been brought up in husbandry. For these be the words of the canon. He confessed to me, that he hath been brought up in husbandry from his youth upwards. What would you have me to do P Should I go clean contrary to that to the which I and all other bishops have subscribed, and set to our hands? You think that your estimation should somewhat be lessened for the denial of your request. And I know that my estimation should much be appared for granting of the same. Oh! Mr. Heydon, I and all Other bishops have made too many such. Necessity drave us to do the same. But to continue so doing, it were a fault too hainous. Of late years I have had great care in this behalf; and do intend so to continue by God's grace.

Truly, Mr. Heydon, you must bear with me, although I love you dearly, if I shall not agree to you in matters, in my judgment, offensive to God and my conscience, and slanderous to the church. Remember the old saying,
Amicus, sed usque ad aras.

Another part of your letter toucheth my credit somewhat; that you should think of me so much lightness, that either would believe, as you say, any about me, farther than there shall be cause; or not credit, nor give heed to such others as both love me, and tender my state. The contrary whereof is true, Mr. Heydon. The which, but for lack of time, I could declare unto

you many ways. This saying is not so true, as often uttered against me: which might be left well enough, that acre hath been so much ploughed already.

To let these things pass, and to conclude. I thank God for your friendship, and for your great zeale, and favour to God's gospel. In which respect I account of you as of a most dear friend. Touching the heat of words passed, let each **of** us say, *Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*. For my part, I forget all, and forgive all unfeignedly; and do heartily rejoyce to understand the like of you. And thus I bid you heartily well to fare. Scribbled in hast with my rude hand. At Ludham, the 16th of June, 1573.

Your assured loving friend in Christ,
J. Norwic.

NUMBER 32.

A discovery of the present estate of the bishopric of St. Asaph, in the year 1587.

THE estate of the bishopric of St. Asaph now standeth thus.

Most of the great livings within the dioces, some with cure of souls, and some without cure, are either holden by the bishop himself *in commendam*, or else they are in possession of such men as do dwell out of the country.

These are holden by the lord bishop *in commendam*.

I. The archdeaconry: being well worth 400*l.* yearly. To the which the benefices with cure do belong: Llangrostenin, Diserth, and Rhylyfnwyd. And these without cure: Aber-gele, rectory, Bettws, R. Llandrillo, in Rhos Porc. Llanrwst, Pore.

II. Gwin, R. *sine cura*, yearly worth 50*l.*

III. Llandrillo in Deirnyon, R. *sine cura*, worth 80*l.*

IV. Llangwin, R. *sine cura*, yearly worth 60*l.*

V. Llandrinia, R. with three cures, viz. Llandrinio, Llandissiho, Melferley, worth yearly 160*l*.

VI. Llysveyn, R. *cum cura*, yearly worth 50*l*. or better.

VII. Castell, R. *cum cura*, yearly worth 50*l*.

VIII. Malloyd, R. *cum cura*, yearly worth 70*l*. Nine cures, and seven without cures.

The said lord bishop hath had in his *commendam* six other benefices with cure: the which he resigned upon having of the better, viz.

1. Abergele, vic.
2. Bettws, vic.
3. G resford, vic.
4. Myvot, vic.
5. Arbistock, rec.
6. Llanyckill, rec.

These following are in the *possession* of them that ly out of the country. Whereof some were collated by the lord bishop that now is. Viz.

I. Vaynol, prebend, yearly worth 200 *marks*, in the *possession* of D. Yale, of the *Arches*.

II. Llanufyth, preb. well worth a 100*l*. yearly, in the *possession* of D. Lewyn, of the *Arches*.

III. Kilken, R. worth 50*l*. yearly, in the *possession* of Mr. Tomson, dwelling about London. A *sine cure*.

IV. Skeiviog, R. in the *possession* of Mr. Henry Mostyn.

V. Whittington, R. *cum cura*, of the patronage of Mr. Albany, in the *possession* of Mr. Bay-shaw, of Litchfield.

VI. Oswestrie, vic. of the patronage of the earl of Arundel, in the *possession* of . . .

VII. Machynllaeth, R. in the *possession* of Mr. Hughes, of Merionethshire.

And of antient collation these.

I. Meleden, preb. worth yearly *50l.* in the possession of Mr. Ireland, of Chester.

II. Llanwrst, R. in the possession of D. Jones, of the Arches.

III. Llansannan, R. Porc. in the possession of the same,

IV. Llanarmon, R. in the possession of the dean of Canterbury, Mr. Rogers.

V. Estyn, R. in the possession of the same man.

VI. Covwen, It. in the possession of D. Mev-ricks, of Litchfield.

VII Llandyssel, R. in the possession of D. Lewys, the queen's chaplain.

There is never a preacher within the said dioces, (the lord bishop only excepted,) that keepeth ordinary residence and hospitality upon his lyving, but D. Powel and D. Morgan, and the parson of Llanvechen, an aged man about 80 years old.

By reason of the *commendams* and absence aforesaid, hospitality now of late is greatly decayed in that dioces.

These are clean gone, which of late were great housekeepers.

I. The dean. He that now hath the name to be dean, never kept house in all his life: and is an unfit man for that place and calling in all respects, being not past four and twenty years old.

II. The archdeacon hath been the best house-keeper in the countrie. But now the lyving is in the lord bishops *commendam*.

III. The parson of Llysvaen, now the lord bishops *commendam*.

IV. The parson of Skeiviog, now absent.

V. The vicar of Cwin. The now incumbent, being also parson of Northop and of Whitford, two of the greatest lyvings in all the dioces, boordeth in the alehouse.

VI. The parson of Whyttinton, now absent.

VII. The parson of Llandeiniio, now the lord bishops com-mendam.

VIII. The parson of Castell: a great housekeeper, now the lord bishops *commendam*.

IX. The parson of Llandrillo, now the lord bishops *commendam*.

X. The parson of Mallayd, now the lord bishops *commendam*.

The lyvings being subducted, the relief of the poor must needs decay.

Parcells of the bishoprick leased, and confirmed by the lord bishop that now is, to the hindrance of his successors.

I. The lordship of Meleden (the moyety whereof being in lease before, he bought of Mr. Symon Theloa; to whom he gave the vicarage of Moulde for the same) he hath confirmed for lives, to the use of his own children.

II. The rectorie of Llanhasaph he hath, for the sum of 300*l.* confirmed for lives to Mr. Piers Mostyn, esq.

III. The manor of Llandegla, to his Cousin, Hue Kendryk, of London.

IV. The bishops lands in S. Martins he graunted to the old tenaunts, if they will pay him 170*l.* Otherwise the same are graunted to the use of his own children.

V. A portion of fith, in the parish of Blodwall, of the yearly rent of 15*l.* he hath confirmed in lease to Marmaduke Jones, gent. for 40s. rent, in part of payment of a purchase of certain freehold lands, which he purchased of the same Jones, to him and to his heirs for ever. For the which, besides the said lease, he gave 100*l.* in mony, the lands being worth 20*l.* yearly.

VI. Llangwstenin, a parcel of the archdeaconrie, he hath confirmed in lease to William ap Richard of Conwey.

Other leases which the said lord bishop, for mony or other pleasures, hath confirmed.

I. The rectorie of Llanrhajader, being yearly worth 160*l.* he hath confirmed in lease to the widow of Mr. John Dudley, a small rent reserved to the incumbent.

II. The rectory of Whytfor he hath in like maner, for a piece of mony, confirmed to Mr. Roger Maneringe of Nantwiche.

III. the rectorie of Northope, being the best in all that dioces, he hath in like maner confirmed in lease.

IV. The rectorie of Estyn he hath likewise confirmed in lease.

V. The rectorie of Llansilin, being the dividend of the chapter, he confirmed to the use of his own wife and children: promising great preferments to some of the prebends, to graunt to him their portions of the same. And when he had obtained his request, he now refuseth to perform his promise with them.

VI. He hath also confirmed a parcel of tith belonging to the vicarage of Henllan, and the two coportianarie prebends of Llanvair to his own sister.

And to that end he may confirm what he will himself, he hath gotten all the keys of the chapter seal, to the keeping of his own chaplains, whom he may command. Whereby it may well appear what he meaneth to do hereafter.

1. The said lord bishop, in all his ordinary visitations, caused the clergy of his dioces to pay for his diet, and the diet of his traine; over and above the accustomed procurations, appointed by the laws for that purpose, and contrary to the same laws.

2. He commonlie giveth no benefice before he hath gotten the harvest for himself, if the same do fall, that he may so do.

3. And now (the more is the pity) he is altogether given to the purchasing of lands to him and to his heirs: and hath given out great sums of mony upon mortgage of lands. As upon the lands of Mr. Edwards of Chirke, (as it is reported,) the sum of 700*l.* And the lands

of Mr. Conwey, the sum of — Which thing is a scandal to his profession, and an evil example for usurie to the laity.

4. The officers of his consistory court do receive great sums of money of offenders, in redemption of their corporal penance. And never send the same, nor any part thereof, to the parishes, where the offences are committed: but either take the same to their own uses, or give it to his lordship, without any notice or satisfaction to the congregation offended.

5. There is no table *of fees* set up in the consistorie, according to the late canons.

6. There are no *overseers* appointed for divine service within that dioces, according to the Injunctions. Which thing hath been a great cause of so many recusants in that countrie.

All the premisses are to be found of records, or notoriously known. So that they cannot be denied.

[NUMBER 32.]

The bishop of S. Davids to secretary Cecill; concerning the filling two Welsh bishopricks vacant.

PLEASETH it your honour to be advertised; whereas both bushops, my neighbours, the busshop of Landaff on the one side, and the busshop of Bangor on the other, are departed this miserable world, I have continual care rooted in my hart, and my prayer unto God is, that such men may be appointed to the rowmes, that by preaching of the word of God, and lyving according to the same, may set forth thc glory of God, and shew light in these places of extreme darkness.

For I have heard, that one Mr. Hughes sueth for Lan-daft, a man to me unknown, but by divers I have heard of him, that he is utterly unlearned in divinity, and not able to render a reason of his faith. If it be so, what service shall he be able to do to God and the queen's majesty in that place, that of all other places in England hath of long time most lacked good doctrine and true knowledge of God; and where in matters of religion no reformation or redress hath been, since the time of the queen's majesties visitation.

For the other busshoprick, that is Bangor, I would think Mr. Huett, chaunter of S. Davys, a man for learning, gravity, and language, meet for the same. Thus have I thought necessary to signify unto your honour, as the chieftest means that lyeth in me to use, to forward Christs church in these places, and to prevent inconvenience. And so with my daily prayer, I commit your honour to the tuition of Almighty God. From my house at Aberguelley, the xxxth of January, 1565.

Your honours most bounden,

R. Meneven.

NUMBER 33.

Lands of the bishopric of Durham, sometime detained, but restored to bishop Pilkington; and sold away again in the years 1648 and 1649; with the names of the purchasers, and at what values.

Anno 1648-49 (*L. s. d.*)

Sold to William Cave, esq. the royalties and perquisites of the mannor of North Allerton	1453	6	8
To Thomas Dodd, lands in North Allerton	186	17	2
To Robert Metcalf, lands in North Allerton	1081	7	3
To sir Thomas Widrington and Thomas Coghil, the mannor of Crake in Yorkshire	1163	8	2
To George Foxcroft, two water-mills, &c. in Welton Howden, &c.	876	6	3
To Thomas Lascells, lands and mills in North Allerton	553	17	3
To Robert Metcalf, other lands in North Allerton	286	0	3
To Thomas Ledger, Henry Dawson, &c. Frankland wood and colyery, with med-dows in Durham moore, &c. meddows in Gateside, toll of the town of Gateside	2559	2	0
To Thomas Haslerigge, the whole mannor of Bishop Middleham, &c	3306	6	6
To Henry Darly and Jo. Wastel, for the borough	237	3	2

of North Allerton			
To Walter Boothby, for the mannor of Easington	8528	2	3
To Moses Jenkins, lands in North Allerton	113	0	4
To William Underwood, Thomas Coghil, and Matthew Brigg, the whole mannor of Howden, &c	5192	15	0
To Henry Darly, lands in the mannor of North Allerton	125	1	0

Norham castle, and the lands about it, (said to be valued at 120*l.* per ann.) were alienated long before, in king James's time, to the earl of Dunbar, by Toby Matthews, then bishop of Durham: there was also then an act of parliament passed by that lord's interest, to prevent all future alienations.

NUMBER 34.

A note of the particulars of lands of the bishoprick of Durham demised to queen Elizabeth, chiefly by bishop Barnes.

Date of leases.

Apr. 26. an. reg. 24.

May ult. an. reg. 19.

Apr. 17. an. reg. 20.

June 20. an. reg. 20.

May 14. an. reg. 23.

Numb. of years

99

100

40 50

80

Yearly rent.

L. s. d. 117 15 8

82 0 0

27 18 8 **18** 0 0

26 9 8

I. ALL the manours and towns of Whickham and Gateside. *Memorandum.* Lost in this lease 110*l.* reserved in leases in *esse*. Which were for coalmines to three persons, viz. Anderson, Lew-en, and White; and to one, named Blackeston, for way-leave, 10*l.* per annum. (Apr. 26 a. reg. 24, 99 years)

II. All the fishings in the water of Tweed, within Norham and Norhamshire, with all rents, issues, liberties, &c. (May ult. An. Reg. 19, 100 years)

Memorandum. These fishings are expresly restored to the new bishop, but paid to her majesties receiver of Northumberland.

III. All the watermills in Darlington and Blackwell, &c. (Apr. 17 an. Reg. 20, 40 years)

IV. All the rectory and parsonage of Leake, in Yorkshire; and all the tithes, oblations, profits, and commodities thereunto belonging. (June 20 an. Reg. 20, 50 years)

V. All the manour and graunge of Mildredge, with the appurtinances. (May 14, an. Reg. 23, 80 years)

VI. All Wolsingham park, the watermil there, chapel walls, &c. (Oct. 24. An. Reg. 24, 80 years)

VII. All the manour of Hove-don, in Yorkshire, &c. (July 24. An. Reg. 26, 90 years)

VIII. All Coundon graunge, &c. All the manour of Morton, in the county of Duresin. Twelve messuages in Stanhope park, at Westgate, &c. (Jan. 17 an. Reg. 27, 70 years)

IX. All those meddows and pastures, called Bishops Close, neer Ryers graunge. All Bishop Midlam park, with appurtinances. All the demesne of Midlam, &c. (Oct. 15 an. Reg. 23, 80 years)

X. All the manour of Crayke; and all graunges, houses, messuages, milns, &c. wasts, woods, demesn lands, quarries, wards, mariages, ha-riots, fines,

courts waves, &c. All jurisdiction, privileges, franchises, &c. All the manour of Welehal, the demesn lands there. The fishings in the waters of Owse. Thedemesn lands of Walkington, &c. All the wood and underwood at Walkington. The passages, shores, fishings, and fire-boot, at Hovedondyke, (Sept. 29, an. Reg. 28, 80 years)

NUMBER 35.

Dr. Gardiner to the bishop of Norwich: in answer to an angry letter of the bishop's to him, about the archdeaconry of Norwich.

YOUR letters, my lord, have always been as welcome to me as good. I did earnestly look for them at my last being in London about your business. But tho letters came at length to divers, I received not so much as any line: whether that defect was in your lordship, or in your secretary, or in your messenger, I know not. Now unlooked for, I have received such an one, as I did think never to have received from your lordship, considering I never deserved, any such at your hands. I do admit your love to your friend; and omit your bitter words to a well-wilier: and so to the matter. What reports are I weigh not. The truth shall try it self. That I went about to do nothing, before I had made your lordship privy to all. And I stayed the finishing of my thing to such time as I had obtained Mr. Roberts goodwill: without the which I was assured never to have yours. If I had been well, I had been with Roberts, or now. I have, as your lordship requested me, written unto him, and desired him to send your lordship my letter.

But I beseech your lordship to pardon me to speak for my self, being thus ill used at all hands. Why should it be said, that I *undermine* any? Have I not said, and do say still, that if he have any just title to it, he shall never be hindred by me? And that though he have no just title, yet for your sake he shall enjoy the mean fruits, viz. 120*l*. Do you think that Mr. Roberts, or any in Norfolk, would deal so with me? And I am well assured, he hath no more matter for him to enjoy that archdeaconry, than I have to enjoy the benefice of Dicleborough. If your friend, for my friendship offered, use me in this sort, I will call back my word, and I will either enjoy all or loose all. I had no cause to boast of your consent, to plesure me to his hindrance. No, I could wish your lordship yet to be but upright and indifferent: as you gave me not the archdeaconry, so not to hinder me of it, when the queen's

majesty hath given it me: in this you do me wrong. I made your lordship privy to it. I stayed it in the midst, as I declared at

my return. I was willing to abide your end in all things: yea, I had rather loose that, and all the living I have, than loose my lord the bishop of Norwich. Unto whom, in a reverend respect of his great good will towards me at all times, and of that faithful and unfeigned service, in friendship whereof I have bound my self with a religious vow, I my self, and all that ever I have beside.

Your lordship writes, your lordship *will withstand any that offereth him* [i.e. Roberts] so *great wrong*. It is an easy matter to withstand me, but not so easy to withstand the queens presentation, when she hath right. I sucked not this out of my own fingers. It came from other heads, how it [i. e. the archdeaconry] came void. And it is so far in other men's heads which wished me unto it; because they thought I should have your goodwill, and do good in the room: which had need of a waking archdeacon, and one that hath eyes: that if I have it not, Mr. Roberts shall not enjoy it.

I trust my credit remaineth uncracked for any note of ambition shewed in this. O Lord, where are men's eyes? I speak it plainly, it is no ambition for one man that is rich, without charge, well provided for, yet no travailer in the church of God any maner of way, to seek an archdeaconry for the living only; when there is an advouson out, [by which Rugg was presented;] which indeed is, and was good in law, if it had been well handled; and to defend the intrusion *fas nefasque*. But it is ambition in the poor man, that hath wife and four children unprovided for, and that hath travailed (*absit jactantia verbo*) painfully in the church of God these eleven years in one dioces, to seek for an archdeaconry, when it is clearly void in law, and not without a care to discharge that great charge that this office bringeth: and to seek it in such humble sort as he referreth his furtherance to them that hinder him most. Judge then my cause, O God. Where you wish me to give you no cause of misliking, or of breach of friendship; O my good lord, as I have at all times and in all places acknowledged your fatherly friendship towards me, so do I now. And loth were I ever to have any occasion to the contrary. Even *so*, I speak it boldly, have I acquired your goodwil with as true a heart as ever poor man did bear to prelate. You may, to plesure your other friends, cast me off, yet shall the world witness with me, that it was don without my deserving.

As for your parenthesis, *to continue as of old, (if I use you and your friendship well,)* I wish to breath no longer than I use your lordship as it becometh; yea, your friends, your servants, and your dogs for your sake. And although you have provoked my patience, as much as ever it was, with a sharp, a bitter, and taunting letter; containing untruths, which you have received of reports; yet shall you not loose my heart, my hand, my service, and all I have to command at your will, as much as it pleaseth you. I wrot once before, that if the whole right of the archdeaconry were in my hand, your lordship should order the matter as it pleased you. So do I now, when I am fully persuaded, it is in my hand indeed, &c. I mean plainly, let Mr. Roberts ask counsil, and then answer me surely. Thus with my humble commendations to your good lordship, I take my leave, 29th of June, 1573.

Your lordships as heretofore, so to the death,
Geo. Gardyner.

NUMBER 36.

Dr. Gardiner to Mr. Roberts; concerning the archdeaconry of Norwich: which he sheweth him was lapsed to the queen: and so became his by her grant.

SALUTATION in Christ Jesu, &c. I have received a very rough letter from my lord bishop; and such an one as I did never think to have received from him, considering I never deserved the like. The matter concerneth you and your archdeaconry. Wherein you shall well perceive, that I never undermined you, as I am falsely accused, but have carefully sought to keep your good will, and to seek your commodity, as mine own; and more than I think any man would have don for me. So it is, that in Easter term I understood by those that are well learned in the laws, that John Rugg could not enjoy the archdeaconry, because he was not presented thereunto by Bernes, or any of those unto whom Thimelthorp had made a deed of gift of his goods and chattels: which otherwise without controversie he should have enjoyed, if either the deed of gift had not been good, or if he had been presented thereunto by any of those four unto whom the deed was made. Then was it certain, and so is it still; and so shall you find it: that seeing that their advouson was good, if it had been well handled, your advouson could take no place (this is plain) at this time. But after six months, it fell into lapse in my lord of Canterburies hands; and after twelve months, into

the queens. Where now it doth remain. For my lord, our bishop, can have no advantage of lapse, in those things that he is patron of.

I declared all these things to your attorny, and to Mr. Baispole, in Easter term; offering this, that if he would sue for it to the queen's majesty, for my lord his sake, you should have my furtherance. If not, then if I might have my lords good will and yours, I would sue for it. And in consideration of your advouson lost, I would give you the mean fruits of these two years by-past. To this Mr. Bais-pole answered, that he would warrant me it should be mine own. For he thought that you would not enter into new charge and trouble. Yet dealt I not upon this warrant; but returning home, I told my lord as is before. *Who*, after the old manner, wishing the thing to you above all men, if it might be, next graunted his goodwill to me upon the obtaining of your goodwil. Which he willed me to crave. Whereupon I was determined to come to you in my journey to London: but that I was caried another way with company. At my being there, although I had good occasion to try my friends in this and other matters; yet this token I gave of a reverend regard to the friendship of my lord bishop, that having my honourable friends to do as much as I required, yet I left the matter *re infecta*.

I might finish here: and if I had not been so visited in my feet, that I could neither ride nor go, I had been with you my serf, before this rumour should have come to your ears. And for a conclusion make your choice, whether I shall have your goodwill to go forwards upon the former conditions; or that you will leave it to some other, that will admit no such condition. For truly without my lord bishops goodwil, which I cannot have without yours, I will not once write or speak more in the matter. And yet I wish you to look to it, either in taking it, or in departing from it. And thus I crave, that you will return me answer of your pleasure in the premisses: and that you would send this letter to my lord: and then you shall command twice as much. Thus resting to trouble you any further, I commit you to God.

The 28th of June, 1573.

Your assured in Christ,

Geo. Gardyner.

[NUMBER 36.]

Some heads of the university of Cambridge, to the lord Burleigh, their high chancellor: acquainting him with the case of Mr. Aldrich, master of Benet college, as to his breach of a college statute.

OUR dutiful thanks for your lordships continual goodness towards this whole university, most humbly premised. According to your lordships appointment, we have called before us the master and company of Benet college. Wee have heard their complaints and causes of controversy. And have entred to consider the state of their house. And now to make report to your honour of our proceedings. May it please the same to be advertised, that touching the principal difference between Mr. Aldrich and the fellows, viz. whether the said Aldrich, being not qualified according to the statute, may still nevertheless retain his mastership. After deeper weighing of the said statute, and heating what might be alledged in his defence, we inclined in opinion to this point, that like as the like statutes are in sundry colleges binding the collegiates to be qualified diversly; for not accomplishing whereof, some heretofore have either voluntarily relinquished, or been put from their rooms: and considering again how dangerous a thing it were to admit the contrary example in one house, to the special prejudice of a great number; so likewise were we in this case induced to think, that the plain meaning of that statute is, that whoso hath not the quality required, is not to occupy and enjoy the place.

Nevertheless forasmuch as by the parties consents heretofore, (as most of them have confessed,) the resolution of the same doubt was referred to the judgment of the archbishop of Canterbury, we have thought it not amiss to follow that course; as well to satisfy his grace in behalf of our late thought: whereby we meant only to preserve our privileges, and not to withdraw from his graces hearing any private matter that before had been orderly committed unto him: as also, and chiefly, for that your honour, not without great consideration, (as we verily take it,) eftsones advised Aldrich to ensue that way. To the which effect we have address our letters to his grace, not doubting but that as he hath a singular care for the good estate of that house, so he will determine in this case accordingly.

For our own part, we thought best not to set down any definitive sentence therein, unless your honours speedy advice shall otherwise direct us. The

blessed God long preserve your lordship in most prosperous estate to his good plesure, and our chief comfort. At Cambridge, the 8th of August, 1573.

Your lordships most bounden humbly at commandment,
Thomas Byng,
Roger Kelke,
Edward Hawford,
Jhon Whytgifte.
Andrew Perne,

NUMBER 37.

A description of the queen's progress, anno 1573; with a particular account of her magnificent entertainment at Canterbury: by the archbishop, and of her return home. Omitted in the editions of that archbishop's Life, intituled, Mathaeus.

DE qua Cantiana peragratione, ejusque ordine atque for-ma, ut posteritati rerum anteactarum memoria in scriptis monumentis reservetur; ex earumque comparatione, quid sequendum fugiendumque sit, animadvertatur, opportunum ease ducimus, hoc loco declarare.

Decimo quarto igitur die Julii, qui dies Mercurii eo anno fuerat, regina Elizabetha ab aedibus suis Grenovici discessit, et Croidonam profecta est. Ibi cum sua familia in domo Cantuariensis episeopi septem dies permansit. Indequè Or-pingtonam migravit ad aedes Percyvalli Hart militis. In qui-bus cum triduo permansisset, ad suas aedes Knollae conces-sit. In illis quinque diebus morata, venit Birlingam, tri-duoque baronis Burgavensis hospitio usa, cal. Augusti ad alteras ejusdem baronis aedes Eridgae positas, accessit. A quibus post sex dierum moram, Bedgeburiam ad domum M. Culpeperi pervenit. Indequè postridie Hempstedam se contulit a M. Guilford milite paulo post creato, hospitio accepta, triduoque ibi peracto, venit Riam maritimum in Sussexia oppidum, atque portum: ad quem ante illum diem, nunquam regem aut reginam pervenisse ridicule aiunt. Elap-soque ibi triduo, Sisinghursti, in aedibus M. Bakeri, quem equestri postea dignitate affecit, alterum triduum contrivit.

Tum 17 Augusti, qui dies Lunae fuit, a M. Thoma Wut-ton, in villa quae Bocton Malherb dicitur, hospitio lauto ac-cepta, post biduum, ad aedes M.

Tufton Hothefildae, pro-fecta est. Alteroque illic transacto biduo ad domum suam Westinhanger, quae D. barons Buckhurst custodiae committitur, pervenit. In ea quadriduum consumpsit. Tum cum ad Doverum festinasset, in itinere in castello Sandownensi pransa, Folkestonam montem conscendit. In quo monte archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, qui tum Beakesbornae morabatur, et D. baro Cobham, maritimis portubus praefectus, cum magno famulitii sui grege suae majestati obviam ibant. Militesque atque generosi Cantiani amplius trecenti cum famulorum equis insidentium turmis ac catervis eo con-venerunt. Quibus a montis Folkstonae fastigio fere ad Doveri oppidi fines late distinctis et extensis, regina ad Doverum transiit.

In cujus finibus summus oppidi magistratus, quem *majo-rem* vocant, et jurati trecentis armatis militibus comitati, reginam excepit, et sub noctem ad Doverum perduxit. Interea frequentes tormentorum ictus ex castro, navium statione, et alii arcibus emissi, tanquam tonitrua, in aere resonabant. Hic adventus die Martis, qui 25 Augusti fuit, archiepiscopi, nobilium, generosorum ac militum Cantii, tum frequenti multitudo celebrabatur. Doveri itaque sex dies permansit. rum Sandwicum venit. Ibi a majore ac juratis saris laute accepta peregit triduum.

Postridieque, qui tertius Septembris fuit, Winghamae in itinere pransa, accessit Cantuariam, paulo post horam tertiam pomeridianam. Ejusque per occidentalem portam in cathedralem ecclesiam ingressus, ab adolescente quodam scholae grammaticalis discipulo oratione Latina celebrabatur. Qua finita, cum se ad scamnum genibus flexis inclinasset, preces consuetae ab archiepiscopo, Lincolnensi, Roffensiisque episcopis, et Doveri suffraganeo in adventum ejus, fundebantur. Tum decanus una cum praebendariis, canonicis, ministris, et choro ecclesiae cathedralis, nonnullisque sui sacelli cantoribus, eam sub conopseo a quatuor militibus erecto sequentem, per chorum usque ad oratorium suum praeibant. Indeque finitis vespertinis precibus, reversa per urbis plateas ad suum palatium, quod antiquitus Augusti-nense dicebatur, transiit. Ac die Dominico ad eandem ecclesiam curriculo per plateas ducta, rursus rediit. Eo die decanus e sacro suggestu concionatus est. Cumque is peroravisset, ad palatium eadem via curriculo regressa est.

Postridie vero, qui septimo mensis Septembris fuit, ad convivium ab archiepiscopo invitata ad archiepiscopale palatium cum tota familia venit. Is natalis fuit reginae dies.

Namque anno Domini 1533, et 25 regni patris sui Henrici Octavi, Grenovici 7 Septembris, qui eo anno Dominicus dies fuit, nata est, quadraginta ante has archiepiscopales epulas annis; eademque nempe inter primam et secundam pomeri-dianam, qua convivata est hora. Triduo autem postquam nata est, in porticu ecclesiae conventualis fratrum Observantium Thomas Cranmerus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, ac illustrissimae viduae, D. Agnes, Thomae, quondam Norfolciae ducis, et D. Margareta Thorcestrensis marchionis relicta, eam in baptis-mate susceperunt. Johannes Stokesleius, Londinensis episcopus, assistentibus sibi Westmonasteriensi, Sancti Albani, Sti Salvatoris atque Stratfordiensi abbatibus: tum Thoma Norfolciensi, et Carolo Suffolciensi ducibus Thoma Dorcestrensi, Henrico Exoniensi, marchionibus, Henrico Essexiae, Henrico Wigorniensi, et Thoma Wil-toniensi comitibus, ac nonnullis aliis illustribus viris praesentibus, eam baptizavit.

Sed in hoc lautissimo archiepiscopali convivio, quod ipso suo natali die atque hora cum quadragesimum, aetatis suae annum attigisset, celebravit, hic ordo observabatur:

Nobiles soli reginae ministrabant. Quae simulatque manus abluisset, accessit ad mensam, in summo aulae archiepiscopalis loco, in latitudinem extensam. Ad cujus medium in veteri quadam marmorea cathedra pannis auro infusis ornata, sub pretioso auroque fulgenti regio conopaeo, discubuit. Tum comes Rhetius Galliae marischalcus, qui paulo antea rege Galliae ad reginam, cum centum generosis Cantuariam legatus venisset, una cum D. Moto ejusdem regis ad reginam oratore, a dextris reginae, ad ejusdem mensae extremitatem, ore ad reginam, tergoque ad aulam; ut convenientius familiarisque conferri sermones poterant converso sedebant. Alteramque a sinistris mensae extremitatem, qua tuor illustres faeminae, marchionissa Northamptonensis, comitissa Oxoniensis, comitissa Lincolnensis, et comitissa Warwickensis, occupabant.

Reginae a stipatoribus, quos *pensionarios* appellant, in mensa ministratum est: legato autem, et oratori Gallico, necnon marchionissae atque comitissae, a satellitibus regiis. Ferculorum carnibus ac piscibus delicatissimis refectorum, ordines duo apponebantur, praeter tertium, qui ex selectis-simis placentarum generibus constabat.

Reliquae omnes aulae mensae convivis repletae sunt. In proximis reginae mensis, a dextris discubuerunt, cum archiepiscopo, consilarii, cum quibusdam tum viris tum faeminis illustribus. Et ex his praecipui illorum

qui ex Gallia cum Retio venerant. A *sinistris* nobiles ac illustres faeminae. In remotioribus vero mensis major Cantuariensis, cum illius civitatis senioribus, et Cantiani comitatus generosi viri et mulieres sederunt. Hisque omnibus ab archiepiscopi fa-mulis toto convivio servitum est.

Interea vero, dum multi spectatum frequentes *introissent*, et aulam mediam paene complessent, removeri *eos*, et ad aulae latera concedere subinde jussit regina; ut aulae longi-tudinem et discumbentes per omnes mensas convivas intue-retur. Epulis autem peractis, et remotis *mensis*, postquam assurrectum *est*, regina cum Rhetio legato, et D. Moto, ora-tore Gallico ad longam illam mensam secretum sermonem habuit, interea dum inter nobiles ad instrumenta musica tri-pudia haberentur. Ac paulo post per viam secretam in ar-chiepiscopi deambulatorium ascendit. Ibi cum eodem legato ad noctem fere colloquium perduxit, Tum archi-episcopum accersivit, narravitque quam gratum atque ho-norificum sibi visum esset illius diei convivium: actisque summis gratiis ad palatium suum curriculo per plateas reducta est.

Atque praeter hoc magnificum ac sumptuosum convi-vium, archiepiscopus insignia quaedam dona reginae dedit; salsarium, viz. ex auro affabre factum, in ejus coopertorio achates gemma, divum Georgium draconem trucidantem, cum Gallicis versibus in regiis insigniis consuetis continens, intextitur: in orbe autem sive concavo ejusdem, alter achates indudebatur; in quo vera reginae imago in albo achate in-cisa fuit. In coopertorii autem summo aurea navicula ada-mantem oblongum tenuit. Hoc salsarium, cum sex Portu-galensibus aureis ejus concavo inclusis, quorum singula tri-bus libris decem solidis Anglicis valent, archiepiscopus reginae dono dedit: quod ducentis amplius Anglicis marcis aestimabatur. Praeterea equum ei praestantem, quem in monte Folkstonae, cum famulatum (ut diximus) archiepi-scopi praetergressa est, inter caeteros ejus catervae equos conspexit, ac animadvertit, archiepiscopus donavit. Cujus etiam generis equos nonnullis procedbus, reginam huc co-mitantibus, largitus est. Quibus praeterea singulis, atque consiliariis, virisque in aula illustribus, librum Latine nuper editum de *Visibili Romanarchia* contra N. Sanderi Monar-chiam: matronis autem atque faeminis illustribus commen-taria in *Ecclesiasten* in Anglicum sermonem versa, et Biblia minora Anglica, artificiose ac ornate ligata, dedit. Ad ex-tremum, inter regii hospitii ministros atque famulos quin-gentos amplius aureos distribuit. Toto etiam tempore, quo regina Cantuariae commorata est, archiepiscopi domus, con-vivis tam ex aula, quam ex comitatu, aliisque advenis con-fluentibus,

beneficentissime patuit. Et in magna camera tres convivarum ordines singulis diebus, pro proceribus, consiliariis ac illustrioribus convivis, apparabantur. Quorum duo ad mensam archiepiscopi, tertius ad aliam adjunctam quadratam mensam, appositi sunt. Aula vere minor in prandiis, coenis, necnon matutinis jentaculis, satellitibus caeterisque inferioribus hospitii regii ministris, cum magna frequentia indies replebatur.

A tque horum omnium conviviorum apparatus, ciborum-que in eis varietas, in rotulis seorsum describuntur.

Sequente rursus die Dominico, regina ad ecclesiam cathedralem, in curriculo per plateas rediit, precibusque matutinis finitis, concioneque a Lincolniensi episcopo habita, ad palatium suum eo quo ad ecclesiam accessit ordine, regressa est.

Haec reginae mora Cantuariæ quatuordecim dierum fuit. Namque die Mercurii, qui decimus quartus post adventum suum esset, eo Fevershamiam migravit: ibique permansit biduo. Tum die Veneris ad Sitingbornam perexit, et in sedibus Mri. Cromeri armigeri pernoctavit. Postfidieque Roffam appulit; quatrduoque in hospitio Coronae sic dicto di-versabatur: ac die Dominico in ecclesia cathedrali Roffensi matutinis precibus et concioni divinae interfuit: semelque in aedibus M. Watts pernoctavit. A Roffa ad suas aedes Dartfordiae sitas progressa est. Indeque post biduum, Grenovicum tandem iterum reducta, a peregrinando cessavit, atque requievit. In tota autem hac Cantiana peragratione, quam ex omnibus, quas unquam peregit provinciarum suarum, seu comitatuum lustrationibus, ob Cantiorum summam humanitatem ac lautitiam, regina crebris laudibus extulit. Vicecomes cum militibus atque generosis Cantii catervatim cum comitabantur.

Et postquam regina discessisset Cantuaria, archiepiscopus, ad residuum ejus copiae, quam in reginae adventure, ut lautus pater familias comparaverat, ex urbe, et vicinis parochiis et multos convivas invitavit, liberaliterque excepit, et pauperes abunde pavit assidue.

NUMBER 38.

*The direction of the ecclesiastical exercise
in the dioces of Chester.*

THE moderators of every several exercise shall select such parts of scripture, to be handled amongst the ministers, that are to attend the same, as they in their discretions shall think meet. So that they take, in every several place of the exercise, divers parts of scripture.

The writers shall be appointed to gather several observations upon every verse of that part of scripture which shall be assigned unto them. And so procede with the whole, verse by verse.

The speakers shall be appointed (every of them) in order to treat upon so many verses of the same, as by an equal distribution of the whole text amongst them all shall be assigned to every one.

THE MANER OF PROCEEDING IN THE EXERCISE.

First, Prayer shall be aptlie conceived, for the present occasion, for the blessed estate of her majesty, of the church and commonwealth, by one of the moderators. Who in order shall every of them accomplish the same at every several exercise.

Then the first moderator shall propose and read the first verse of the text, which is to be handled.

Upon which verse the writer shall in order read the observations which they have gathered.

After whom the speaker, assigned to that part of the text, shall in some larger maner discourse upon the same.

After him the rest of the speakers shall have liberty to give any brief notes upon that verse.

In all which actions of the writers and speakers, the moderators [office] that proposed the verse, shall be to make special observation of any errors, negligence, or ignorance in any of them. And the same to correct and reform with as brief speech as may be. After which he shall further add such observations as he shall gather upon the said verse. And after him the rest of the moderators and preachers, in due order, shall do the like, till as much be said upon that verse as shall be thought convenient.

All which time both the speakers and writers shall take notes in writing of those observations which shall be given by any the speakers, preachers, or

moderators. And so in due order shall all the moderators procede with the whole text, verse by verse.

Then shall the moderators call before them those, whom, by any information, they are to admonish of any misdemeanor or enormities of life. And if after such admonition, they shall again fall into the like offence, then the moderators shall certify the bishop thereof, and crave suspension of them.

After, the moderators shall procede against the *absents* in this sort: viz. They shall at the next exercise after every such absence, call before them the said parties: who, if they cannot be able to prove a sufficient cause of their absence, and the same well approved by the moderators, then the moderators shall exact the mulct imposed by the order set down by the right reverend the lord bishop, without abating any part thereof in any respect; lest any thereby learn to presume of favour in such case to be shewed. Which mulct if any shall refuse to satisfy, and not duely conforme themselves in that behalf, or not come in place to give account of their actions, then the moderators shall without delay pro-cede to suspension, according to the said orders. Which suspension they shall forthwith certify unto the said bishop, according to the said orders; and further with all instance prosecute the said suspension with full effect.

In fine, the whole action is to be concluded with prayer, as it was begun.

NUMBER 39.

A copie of the authorite gytven by the bisshop of the said di-oces to the moderators of every several exercise: with the names of the moderators throughout the dioces; and other orders to be observed in the exercises.

WILLIAM by God his providence, bysshop of Chester, to Peter Shawe, parson of Burie, Oliver Carter, preacher of Manchester, William Langley, parson of Prestwich, Thomas Williamson, vicar of Eccles, moderators for the exercises holden at Burie, within the dioces of Chester, greeting. Whereas the right honourable the lords of her majesty's most honourable privy council, upon careful zeale for the furtherance of the good proceeding and course of religion, have recommended unto us some further enlargements of the ecclesiastical exercise, to the end they might be more

frequently used, and in more places in this dioces, then before it had been; whereupon we have, upon good deliberation and by good advice, appointed, that the said exercise shall be had and kept at more places: sithence which time we do understand, by credible information, that many who ought to frequent the said exercise, and diligently endeavour thereby, as well to profit themselves, as to make the ministers in those parts better thought of, do either negligently deal in the same, or wilfully absent themselves; so that the hope of good that were to be wished, and is expected to come by the said godlie exercise, is like to languish and greatly decay, if remedie therein be not had, and that with convenient speed:

Wee have thought good to meet with the said negligence and wilfulness by some cohercion and restraint for the time; intending hereafter, if the said negligence and wilfulness (as God forefend) increase, to augment the punishment, and to lay sorer punishment upon those that shall be found culpable. These are therefore to authorize you, and everie one of you, that you do in your next assemblle to be holden for the said exercise, gyve notice to all the clergy and others of the same assemblie, of the contents of these presents. And if you shall fynd any, of what degree soever they be, negligent, wyful, or contemptuous in that behalf, after warning given, that upon call of such person or persons before you, or any two of you, upon his or their defect, to suspend him or them so offending, *ab officio per sententiam in scriptis, donec a nobis vel nostro vicario in spiritualibus generali absolutionem seu relaxationem a dicta suspensionis sententia obtinuerit, vel obtinuerint*. And what you do in and concerning the premisses, we will you certify us, our chauncel-lor, or other deputy, as conveniently as you may: in witness whereof to these presents we have caused our seal episcopal to be put. *Dat. apud Cestr. 1. die mensis Septembris, 1585.*

THE PLACES OF ASSEMBLY, AND THE RESPECTIVE MODERATORS.

Imprimis, The first Thursday in the month of Februarie, the exercise is holden at Prescott, within the deanery of Warrington.

Mr. Nuttal, B. D. and parson of Sheston, (Aghten, Bebington.)

Mr. Meade, vicar of Prescott, and B. D.

Mr. Caldwel, M. A. and parson of Winwick.

Mr. Harwood, M.A. and parson of Warrington.

The second Thursday at Burie within the deanry of Maccklesfield.

Mr. Shawe, B. D. parson of Burie.
 Mr. Carter, B. D. and preacher of Manchester
 Mr. Langley, M. A. and parson of Prestwick.
 Mr. Williamson, M. A. and vicar of Eccles.

The third Thursday at Padian within the deanry of Blackburne.

Mr. Ashton, M. A. and parson of Middleton.
 Mr. Sharpe, M. A. and parson of Ratcliffe.
 Mr. Osburne, M. A. and vicar of Whaley.
 Mr. Midgely, the vicar of Ratchdale.

*The fourth Thursday at Preston within the deanry of
 Amounderness.*

Mr. Fleetwood, M. A. and parson of Wigan.
 Mr. Leigh, B. D. and parson of Standish.
 Mr. Welshe, the vicar of Blackburne.
 Mr. — the vicar of Lancaster.

If Thursday be holyday, the exercise is kept on Tuesday before.

All parsons, vicars, curates, and schoolmasters within every deanry, are to appear personally on every exercise day, there either to write or speak.

Every parson that is absent is to forfeit for his first absence iis. and iiid. And so the second time double. And so still double.

Every vicar that is absent, for his first absence iis. For the second time, double, &c.

Every curate that is absent, for his first time xiid. For the second time iis. &c. And likewise schoolmasters.

All are to meet by eight of the clock in the morning: and so to continue till ten. And from ten of the clock till eleven, a sermon is made by one of the moderators, of the same text of scripture which was handled and entreated of before, by the speakers and writers. From eleven of the clock till twelve, all do take their repasts and refreshing. Then do meet again before one of the clock, and so continue till three of the clock, in the months of March, April, May, June, July, August. In the months of September, October, and February, but till two of the clock.

Whoever is not personally present before eight of the clock in the morning, he is counted as absent, and is to pay the mulct for the same.

The writers that have profited by writing, are appointed to speak, if the moderators so think good, and to surcease writing any longer: many of which that could do little good before in the church, by this means have been brought in a short time to do some profit in the church. Much good hath ensued of this exercise. The Lord continue it to his glory, and to the encrease of many painful labourers in the church.

The byshop of the dioces is to have the exercise of all the writers, with their names subscribed thereunto, delivered up unto him, eveiy quarter of a year once. That he may see who do profit, and who do not.

All the people and the whole congregation are to resort to the sermon, but none to the other exercise but clergiemmen onely, parsons, vicars, curates, and schoolmasters.

NUMBER 40.

Littleston's declaration, Novemb. 1574, of certain English gentlemen, that have entertainment of the king of Spain. To the right honorable and mst singular good lord, my lord high treasurer of Yngland.

THE certain notes of such Yngles gentlemen, that came into Spain for entertainment at the king's hands, and what the king gave to each man in mony at times.

George Chamberlain came to Madrid the 10th of Decem-bet, anno 1571. The king gave him entertainment for Flan-ders, with letters to the duke of Alva. And more, the king gave him in mony 300 duckats: and he departed the last of February, 1572. Duc. 300.

Timothy Moquet came to Madrid the 16th of December, 1571. The king gave him entertainment for Flanders, with letters to the duke there. More the king gave him in mony 150 duck. And departed the last of March, an. 1572. 150. Anthony Standen came to Madrid the 16th of December, 1571. The king gave him letters for entertainment for Flan-ders. More, the king gave him in mony 150 duck. And departed the last of March, 1572. 150.

All these following came also to Madrid; the dates of their coming, their gifts, and the dates thereof, and the dates of their departure, were as followeth.

Anthony Molesworth, 13. of Jan. 1572. The king gave him letters to the duke for Flanders for entertainment, and 150 duck. Departed ult. March, 1572.

John Parrot, 1. of March, 1572. Entertainment for Mel-len, [Milain,] 100 duck. Departed the last of May, 1572.

Egremond Ratcliff, 2. of May, 1572. The king gave him in July 300 duck. More, September 8. following 200 duck. Returned from Milain, the king gave him 300 duck. The 20. of September for Milain; where the king gave him entertainment there one duck. per day. Then he departed from Spain, May ult. 1574. towards France and to Flanders.

Thomas Genny, 2. of May, 1572. Given him in September 200 duck. And in January, 1572, 100 duck. And more, 20 duck. per month. Departed for Flanders.

Edward Daycres, [Dacres,] the 10. of August, 1572. In October the king gave him 300 duck. In January next 200 duck. And more,, 30 duck. per month in Flanders. Departed 20. of February, 1573, for Flanders.

Sir John Nevyl, the 20. of November, 1572, came from Rome. Given him 200 duck. and 30 duck. per month in Flanders. Departed for Flanders the 20. of February, 1573.

Hugh Owen, 26. of November, 1572. Given him 150 duck. November 26, and allowed 20 duck. per mens. Departed for Flanders, February 20, 1573.

Rowland Tournier, [who named himself at Madrid, my lord Awdley,] Christmas-day, 1572. Given 50 duck. and had a letter to duke Alva.

A friar of Ireland, cared friar John, 100 duck. Had the king's letter for Flanders.

Myget Tempest and his son came to Madrid, May 1574. The king gave to the father and to the son 300 duck. And gave to the father 20 duck. per month, and to the son 15 duck. per month. And they returned for Flanders, July 1574.

Tyrrel, Cotton, Pet, Tichborn, Strodlen, [Stradling,] Greffy, Swynborn, and Smith, came to Madrid, November

1573. The king gave among them 1300 duck. and entertainment; some for Flanders; some, as Mr. Pett, for Mel-len [Milain.] And some had 20 duck. per month, and some 15 duck. per month.

Dr. Sanders came from Rome to Madrid, Nov. 1573. The king gave him, at his first coming, 300 duck. And more since that day, 200 duck. And there he as yet remaineth.

The archbishop of Caswell, [Cassilles,] in Ireland, came to Madrid in March, 1574. The king gave him 300 duck. in April following. And there as yet he remaineth.

My lord Morley, Edmund Parker, my lords youngest brother, and Rowdman [Redman] came to Madrid, March ult. 1574. The king gave my lord Morley and his company 600 duck. at one time. And there they remain.

Richard Ley came to Madrid, May ult. 1574. The king gave him 150 duck. And there as yet he remaineth.

The bishop of Methe, of Ireland, came to Madrid 20. of July, 1574. The king gave him 200 duck. And there as yet he remaineth.

Thomas Steukely. The king gave him at times, from his first coming into Spain, anno 1570, to this time of August, 1574. And for the keeping of Thomas Steuekly his house at Madrid at the king's charge for 6 months at 500 re. of plate per day, which amounteth in the whole sum to 27576 duck.

The king doth give to Thomas Steukley for his pension by the year 600 duck. And doth give to William Steukley for his pension by the year 400 duck.

Countess of Northumberland; the king doth give her by the year 2000 duck.

I have seen the treasurers books by his clarks; and by hear-say by divers of good credit, that the king is charged in Flanders by the year, given to Englishmen there, the sum of 231 thousand duckats yearly in pensions.

NUMBER 41.

Scory, lord bishop of Hereford, to the lord treasurer: against some clarks of the exchequer, intending to suppress, under the name of colleges, divers parsonages in his dioces.

RIGHT honourable, may it please your lordship to be advertised. That whereas leud persons, being clerks of the exchequer, by colour of their office, and countenance of the court, have attempted to overthrow certain parish-churches in my dioces, (of whose leud and wicked practices I certified your lordship heretofore,) nevertheless, either favoured by the court, or maintained by the officers, cease not to vex and molest the poor incumbents of the said churches. Their purpose is, that such parish-churches as are divided into portions, where are two or three parsons, should under the name of colleges be suppressed, and come to the prince by the statute of Suppression. Which if they bring to pass, not onely many parish-churches in my dioces, but very many throughout the whole realm, both parsonages and vicarages, should be overthrown. The overthrow whereof were the slandering of the gospel, the defacing of religion, and the disquieting of the quiet estate of this realm. For what a slander were it unto the church of England, to have the parish-churches destroyed? And what a grudge would it breed in the hearts of the people, to see their churches spoiled, their ministers and preachers defaced, and their lands and tiths abused?

I beseech your lordship remember, how we are already slandered by Dorman and others, that our churches in England, some are made houses of private men, some stables, and other some thrown down and made fiat with the earth. God grant we suffer not these unjust reports of the popish Lovainists to be justly reported of us. There are in present suit in the exchequer, three great parish-churches of my dioces; and more, as I understand, shall come in very shortly. But, I trust, your lordship, by whose wisdom the church of England hath hitherto been defended, will not suffer this spoil: that the parish-churches, where was never any sign of college, should be overthrown under the name of *colleges*.

The church of Bromyard hath been long in suit, and the parsons thereof greatly impoverished, being from time to time delayed. They seek nothing but justice. I beseech your lordship that they may be heard, and have tryal according to order of law, without any farther delay. Thus committing their

cause unto your lordship, I most humbly take my leave, commending your honour to the gracious protection of the Almighty, this 24th day of January, 1574.

Your honours most humbly to command,
Jo. Heref.

[NUMBER 41.]

Mr. Rafe Lane's account of his offer to go into the Levant in the king of Spain's service, against the Turk, from his own pen. Viz. An account of my proceedings touching my intended Levant service, (by the favour of God,) as well toward her majesty, as otherwise, the 19. of Jan. 1574.

FIRST, drawn on by mine own particular occurrences, having thought of sundry employments of my self by her majesties licence for certain years, reason and mine own affection, before all others, recommended unto me a Levant service against the Turk, if the same from hence might by her majesty be favoured, and of the king of Spain well entertained. Whereupon I made Anthony Guerrasse [the Spanish agent] to be asked his opinion, if a bulche of Eng-lishmen, being of service either for sea or land, or both, were offered unto the king his master from hence, whether the same would be well accepted with pay, or not. His answer was directly, that if the same might be with her majesties favour, he knew assuredly that they should not only be largely entertained for their payes, but also otherwise most honourably used, and most heartily welcomed to the king: yea, and would open a greater gate of kindness between these two great princes, her majesty and Spain, than yet there hath been any likelihood of.

Hereupon in summer I entred my *secret* unto her majesty for two years leave to seek mine own aventure by service. Which in the end obtained by honourable friends. By the same means I obtained her majesties letters of the 15th of January, 1574, unto the *commendador*, testifying her majesties desired liking unto the service intended; and assured, that my offers, sent by the bearer of her said majesties letters, with the conditions being accepted by the said *com-mendador*, the same should on my part with all sincerity be performed.

And thus mych until the 19th day of January, 1574. There resteth now for me to make my offers of service, with the conditions, unto the *commendador*. Which offers will of his part be either refused or accepted. If refused, then the matter is at an end; and her majesties uttered good conceit of me in this resteth without spot or blemish, &c. But if the *commendador* do accept the conditions, then shall I be as able as willing, and both able and willing to perform the same.

Then follow the conditions.

Lane's letter to Dr. Wylson in Flanders.

I requested him, as my singular good lords, my lord treasurer, my lord of Leicester, and my lord of Warwick had addrest their honourable letters in my favour unto him: and to move him to take knowledge of my offered service against the Turk unto the *commendador*: so also, that it would please him, at my poor request, to take some favourable regard unto it. And that as Mr. Dygby was directed unto him with the conditions of contract, so it would please him to countenance those, especially such as concerned a sort of allowance of four things, &c.

NUMBER 42.

A true certificate and perfect note of fees and duties paid heretofore, and now be paid at this present, for citations, and all other ecclesiastical instruments, concerning my [i. e. the bishop of Norwich's] consistory court.

FIRST, every citation for writing and sealing was 8d.

Item, Every personal decree likewise 8d.

Item, Every excommunication in like maner 8d.

Item, Every monition, and other process direct for the appearance of any person 8d.

Item, Every primer citation 11d. 3d. too much.

Item, Every other process aforesaid 2d. 4d. too much.

Item, Every act to the scribe 2d.

Item, Every allegation 4d.

Sentences, examinations of the parties principal, or of witnesses, are used as they have been heretofore.

Item, Every institution 12s. 4d.

Item, Every induction 18s. 8d.

Item, Every proxy 16d.

Item, For admission of proxies out of court 2s. 6d.

Item, Every constitution 4d.

Item, Every stipulation 4d.

Item, For certificate of any agreement

NUMBER 43.

Sir Thomas Smith, and the earl of Leicester, to the lord treasurer Burleigh, members of the society of the art, for transmuting iron into copper: Medley, the chy-mist, undertaker.

WEE have now commoned with William Medley, mer-vailing why he stayeth here, and goeth not down to the works. He layeth excuses, part for wanting of mony to defray his charges here, and part too, for his charges in tryals making, now these two years and more, and his buildings and vessels, 400*l.* allowed him. Of which 150*l.* wee had once commoned for his vessels, housing, and casting up of earth, and other such necessities, which the society shall receive of him. Whereof I, sir Thomas Smith, was content that the 100*l.* which I have already payd for him to Mr. Jobson, should be part; and going in hand with the work, I was always content for such portion ratable as my lords do contribute, to allow of and give an acquittance for it. Or if each partner do contribute an 100*l.* to redeliver the obligation, wherein Mr. Dier standeth bound to me for the whole.

I, the earl of Leycester, have given already to sir John Hybbord one 100*l.* and also order to him for iron, cask, and lead, to the setting forward the work. He saith, that your lordship was content that part of your mony should go to the payment of the said vessels, and the rest you would send to sir John Hybbord; who should have the chief charge of provisions, for all things necessary for the work, and of disbursing of mony by accounts.

The which to keep at the works, I, sir Thomas, have sent down a trusty man; and will send also down part of sir Homfreys [Gilbert] mony out of hand, to pay the workmen he shall find there; and will send the rest after.

For I long to have it go in hand without delay: and will take order, if I can, to hear every fourteen days what is done.

Other notes we have sent here to your lordship to have your advice therein; especially in such as we have not yet ascertained. Or if there be any other thing that you think meet to be considered, we pray you to write unto us. And so we commit your lordship to Almighty God. From Richmond, the 7th of March, 1574.

Your loving friends,

Tho. Smith.

R. Leycester.

W. Burleigh

Who writ his name to this letter, to shew his allowance, as it seems, of what was done, and his consent.

NUMBER 44.

Sir Thomas Smyth to the lord treasurer Burleigh; upon the same business. That they might once know whether the gain of this new art would answer the charges.

MY very good lord, yesternight I wrot to your lordship, and sent such matters as past here betwixt my lord of Leicester, Mr. Medely, and me. I see he makes no hast, but seeketh to tary: and now would amuse himself here about the Jewes conclusion. I am still of mind, that the Gentiles were wise in their sacrifices, when the priests called ever and anon, *Hoc age*. For they love to be always *aliud agentes*; either they deceive themselves, or other men. I would we had once set orders and accounts, what this *new art* will do. Eight days of March be now past. Sir John Hybbord's man now at Killingworth. And therefore my lord, and your lordship and I, writ to him, to take the charge in hand. If he be either gon from thence, or will not take the charge, then is there another excuse, subterfuge, and delay. Yet if Medley will go down, and begin so well as he can, with that which is there, 150*l.* which my man shall carry, will set the work going, till we shall truly be certified what can be done in a week or a month. For if there be not so much made as shall be on a day when he hath more lead and iron, yet there may be so much, as we may know what proportion of charge is to the proportion of gain; and what hope we may conceive.

And if sir John Hybbord do accept the charge, and do provide the iron, lead, and cask formy lord of Leicester, yet in the mean while may the workmen do somewhat: and my man to attend upon them, and keep the book: and so that time not altogether lost. While the new iron and lead be brought, the melting furnace may be made, the bellows brought, and set in place, &c.

Your lordship shall do well to call upon Medely, that he make no more delays. Before, all was that his name was not in the book; therefore he procrastinated, he dissembled, he would not teach his cunning. Now all the world knows it. Sir John Perot hath a whole discourse of the whole maner of that work in writing. My lord Mount-joy hath gotten one of Mr. Medeley's chief workmen to him. Divers in that country, it is told me, know the earths, and the working of it. And yet we do nothing. I would I might go down my self, and surely I might, for any good I do here. In less than eight days, I would be certified my self, and certify your lordships. My man shall shew your lordship what maner of acquittance I require of sir John Hybbord. For the like sir Homfrey had of me; penned by a lawyer before. And it is reasonable one Irishman standeth still in an agony: but rather like to quail. Yet that is irresolute also. Thus I bid your lordship most heartily farewel. From Rychemond, the 8th of March, 1574.

Your lordships always at commandment,

T. Smyth.

NUMBER 45.

Mr. John Dee to the lord treasurer: offering to discover to the queen where treasures of gold, silver, &c. were hid in the bowels of the earth.

RIGHT honorable and my singular good lord: whereas of late your honour very favourably used me, considering your marvaillous scantness of leisure from very weighty matters and public; I am now therefore *most* humbly to render thanks to your honour. Since which time I have some days attended at London, hoping for your lordship coming thither. And on Friday last perceiving your honour to be almost in a readiness to ride towards the court, ere I could get to London too, &c. Therefore finding your lordship at all times of usual access for suitors, so fraught with matters of more

importance, than any of mine can justly be deemed, I thought good, with your lordship's leave and favour, thus by writing to enjoy one hour of your lordships leisure, (best known to your lordship when that is,) to view the pattern of some part of my simple suit, which heretofore I would gladly have opened unto your honour by word of mouth. And that is this.

So much of my intent and studious doings is well known unto your lordship, and the most part of all universities in Christendom, (and further,) that for these twenty years last past, and longer, it may be very truly avouched, that I have had a mervailous zeale, taken very great care, endured great travail and toyl, both of mind and body, and spent very many hundred pounds; only for the attaining some good and certain knowledge in the best and rarest matters, mathematical and philosophical. How little or much therein the eternal God hath imparted to me, (for my talent,) he onely best knoweth: but certainly by due conference with all that ever I yet met with in Europe, the poor English Britan, (*il favorita de rostra excellentia*,) hath carried the bell away. God Almighty have the glory. The same zeale remaineth, (yea rather greater is grown,) but the ability for charges is far lesser: and that somewhat occasioned the sooner through my frank dealing, for procuring and purchasing speedy means of good knowledge. Which also I did upon no small hope, that some needful supportal would be for me in due time devised, either through the mere and gracious good favour, that I was persuaded the queen's most excellent majesty did bear unto me: or else through the procurement of some of the right honourable counsellors: which both right well know by hard dealing my father, Rowland Dee, (servant to her majesties father, and most renowned and triumphant king of our age,) was disabled for leaving unto me due maintenance; and also sufficiently understood of sundry suits in any behalf mentioned, for some aid towards the atchieving of some of my honest intents. Of which suits no one hitherto hath taken the wished for success, for any my behoof: nay, in the mean time of some of my travails beyond the seas, unless your honour had put to your helping hand, I had been defeated of that little exhibition which I enjoy: being but borrowed a while by special privilege and favour extraordinary. And that unwillingly on my part, if I could otherwise have had the supply thereof in like yearly value: which, as God knoweth, findeth not me and my poor family necessary meat, drink, and. fewel, for a frugal, philosophical diet, &c.

To compare with any in public deserts and learning, I neither dare, nor justly can; but in zeale to the best learning and knowledge, and incredible

toyls of body and mind very many years, therefore only endured, I know most assuredly, that the learned never bred any man, whose accounts therein can evidently be proved greater than mine.

Then he proceeded to mention his discourse with the lord treasurer, at his last being with him, of trespure hid. Concerning which he thus expatiated.

I. It may please your honour to consider this clause, truly by me noted out of Theseus Ambrosius, fol. 206. b. *In copiosa illa Antonii de Fantis Tarvissini librorum multitudinem, magnum sane volumen repertum fuit; in quo ab-dita quamplurima: concerning philosophy, medicine, knowledge of herbs also, pertaining unto astrology, geomantia and magia. Et, in ejus praecipua quadam parte, tracta-batur de Thesauris per totum fere orbem reconditis, atque latentibus: quorum admodum clara atque specifica notio haberi poterat.* Secondly, Out of *Henric. Leicestrensis*, I suppose, it is noted in the *Summary of English Chronicle*, anno 1344, of a Sarazin coming then to earl Warren, as concerning a great treasure hid in the ground, in the marches of Wales, and of the good success thereof. Thirdly, This twenty years space, I have had sundry such matters detected unto me in sundry lands. Fourthly, Of late I have been sued unto by divers sorts of the people. Of which some by vehement iterated dreams, some by vision, (as they have thought,) others by speech formed to their imagination by night, have been informed of certain places where trespure doth ly hid. Which all for fear of *keepers*, (as the phrase commonly nameth them,) or for mistrust of truth in the places assigned, and some for some other causes, have for-born to deal further; unless I should encourage them, and counsil them how to procede. Wherein I have always been contented to hear the histories, fantasies, or illusions to me reported; but never intermeddled according to the desire of such. Hereof might grow many articles of question and controversy among the common learned, and scruples among theologians. Which all I cut off from this place: ready to answer only your lordship most largely, in termes of godly philosophy, when opportunity shall serve; making small account of vulgar opinions in matter of so rare knowledge. But making always my chief reckoning to do nothing but that which may stand with the profession of a true Christian, and of a faithful subject.

But if besides all books, dreams, visions, reports, and *vir-gula divina*, by any other natural means, and likely demonstrations of *sympathia et antipathia rerum*, or by attraction or repulsion, the places may be discryed

or discovered, where gold, silver, or better matter doth ly hid within certain distance; how great a commodity should it be, for the queen's majesty and the commonwealth of this kingdom, if by such a secret, not only tresure hid may be deciphered in precise place, but also it may be disclosed, where in this land any mines, veins, or owre of gold and silver, be naturally planted?

Then he mentioneth the name of a strange book, which in old time was in this land, viz. *Pandulphus de Meatibus Terrae*.

One part of his present suit to his honour was, that by his lordship's wisdom the queen's majesty might be induced to think somewhat favourably (as very many other noble and learned of foreign lands do) of my great travails, patience, constancy, cost, and credit, in matters philosophical and mathematical. And thereupon in the end of my careful race, to let some token of her majesties royal good affection procede towards me: whom your lordship knoweth, or may know, that emperors, kings, princes, dukes, marchises, earls, barons, and others, many men of great power and magnificent courage, have sued unto in my time, to enjoy my simple talent in their service or company. To whom all I ever have given answer, (as my duty was, and my stomach served me thereto,) for the honour of my natural and dread sovereign, for the time, here reigning, &c. The value of a mine is matter for a king's tresure, but a pot of two or three hundred pounds hid in the ground, jarr, or tree, is but the price of a good book, or instrument for perspective, astronomy, or some feat of importance, &c.

He proffered to do his endeavour the best he can, at his own cost and charges, to discover and deliver due proof of a mine, or owre of gold or silver, in some one place of her graces kingdoms and dominions, to her graces only use: upon this consideration, that her majesty give him, by her letters patents, her right and propriety in all *tresure trove*', by digging and searching any where in her kingdomes, and his assignes. And this to dure the term of his life. And in token of my heart fully bent to shew my self thankful to your lordship for compassing either of these two ways, I mean, either by provision for 200*l*. yearly, or this casual mart of painful search (before God I promise unto your lordship, or will by oath upon the evangelists be bound) of all *tresure trove*', coming to my hand, to impart unto your lordship, or assure one half, &c.

Thirdly, The last and principal point of this my present suite to your lordship is, for your lordships hand to a letter, directed to Mr. Harley,

keeper of the records of Wigmor castle, or to whom in this case it doth appertain. For that at my late being there, I espied an heap of old papers and parchments, obligations, acquittances, accounts, &c. in time past, belonging to the abby of Wigmor, (and there ly rotten, spoiled, and tost in an old decayed chapel,)not committed to any man's special charge. But three quarters of them I understand to have been taken away by divers, either taylers or others, in time past. Now my phantasy is, that in some of them will be some mention made of noble men, or gentlemen in those days: whereby either for chronicle, or pedegree, some good matter may be collected out of them by me, at my leisure, by way of a recreation. And whatsoever I shall find in them, either of your lordships auncestors, in direct line, branch, paternal, or match, (wherein I am not utterly ignorant,)either of any other matter worthy your lordships knowledge, I will make true report, and deliver the same to your lordships ordering, &c. Dated the 2d of October, 1574.

Your lordships most bounden,
John Dee.

NUMBER 46.

A proclamation for the redress of inordinate apparel, anno 1559.

THAT although the queen might levy great sums of mony at this present, by due execution of sundry wholesome laws upon great numbers of her subjects, for wearing of such excessive and inordinate apparel, as in no age had been seen the like: whereby also should ensue such notable benefit to the commonwealth, as hard it were by any other ways to devise the like: yet the singular goodness of her majesties nature was such to forbear the extending of any sudden and unlooked for extremity. That in these cases her majesty thought rather by this proclamation to notify her highnes determination with her privy council, among many other her weighty affairs, for this that followeth, than suddenly to extend the penalties of her laws.

First, Her majesties said council shall and will presently take order, that the statute made in the first and second year of king Philip and queen Mary, and certain other branches of another statute, made in 24 H. 8. against excessive apparel, shall be put in execution, both within her majesties

court, and in their own houses; with a certain fa-vourable proceeding touching such as cannot presently, without their over great loss, change their unlawful apparel; which they presently have. Wherein, because her majesty trusteth that the example shall induce the rest of her subjects to reform their disorders, her majesty willed her said privy council to publish their decree and order in this behalf. And for like toleration towards such as live in the country out of her court, her majesty chargeth forthwith all majors and governours of cities and towns corporate, all sheriffs and justices of peace in shires, all noblemen of the state of barons; and, above all, governours and heads of any societies and companies, either ecclesiastical or temporal, forthwith, or at the furthest within the space of twelve days after the publication hereof, to devise, accord, and take order for the execution of the foresaid statute and branches, specified hereafter in a brief abstract and draught annexed to this proclamation, within the limits of their charge: so as her majesty may take some comfort of her toleration, and the commonwealth some relief of the great damage hereby sustained.

And because the tolerations of these abuses shall not be drawn into a sinister occasion of the continuance of this abuse, she charged, that there be no toleration had, or excuse allowed, after the 20th day of December next, as touching all the contents of the said statute in the first and second year of king Philip and queen Mary: neither after the last of January next, as touching the branches of the other statute of the 24th of Henry VIII. except it be for certain costly furs and rich embroideries, bought and made by sundry gentlemen before this proclamation, to their great cost, &c. Yeven at the palace, Westminster, the 21st of October, in the first year of her reign.

NUMBER 47.

Cox, bishop of Ely, to the queen: upon her requiring his house in Holborn for Mr. Hatton, her vice-chamberlain.

SCRIBUNT quidam: Jupiter nutu totum tremefactat ae. Serenissima regina, ita literae tuae in Hattoni tui gratiam scriptae me non parum turbarunt et terruerunt. Quod enim prius subtimui, cum in gratiam tuae pietatis aedium mearum partem Hattono tuo cessi, jam evenire pa-lam est. Constantiores, fateor, fuerunt patres mei. Potentissimus rex, pater tuus, non obtinuit pro cancellario suo Wriothlesleo, nisi ad tempus, aedes Elienses. Magnificus ille

Northumbriae dux non valuit illo tempore episcopum ab aedibus illis exigere. Neque ego charissimo tuo servo magistro Parris vel tua majestate interpellante aedes meas concessi. Ipse vero tandem precibus fatigatus trepido quidem animo, ne ingratitudine majestatem tuam laedere viderer, locari partem aedium mearum tuo Hattono ad annos viginti unum. Jam vero postulatur, ut in perpetuum cedam. Cedam, inquam, non solum ea, quae tunc temporis cedere nolui, sed etiam alia subduntur et postulantur, quibus aegre admodum cedere possum. Navigo inter Scyllam et Charybdim. Optarim enim (Deus testis est) magis mori, quam majestatem tuam merito offendere. Verum si Deum nostrum temere offendero, mors secunda timenda est: et si unum ex Christi pusillis offendero, *expedit, ut mola asinaria*, &c. Dignetur tua pietas mecum perpendere, quo in loco me posueris, et quo me vocaveris. Episcopum me voluisti esse: nimirum ad bonum opus obeundum, ad veri Dei gloriam propagandum, ad regni tui non infimum ornamentum ad ecclesiae ministros in ordine continendum, ne scilicet schismata et contentiones subinde oriantur, ad subsidia principum opes nostras conferendum, quoties res ita postulat, et ad miseros oppressosque pro viribus juvandum. Tu vero Deo longe charissima et devotissima, data es ab ipso Deo ecclesiae tuae ministra, nutrix indulgentissima, et defensatrix fortissima. Episcoporum vero ordinem tu sola loves et sustentas, eo quidem zelo, quo avi tui divino Spiritu ducti instituerunt et conservaverunt. Quorum quidem pium ardentemque in veram religionem affectum, absit ut ego, misellus homuncio, vel extinguere vel minuire videar. Si qui ante me in hac re peccarunt, non mea referre debet. Mea cura est quidque Deo imprimis, deinde quid majestati tuae praestandum sit. Accepi ego praedia, aedes et alia hujus generis, quae pientissimi principes judicarunt functioni nostrae necessaria. Haec ego accepi (te donante) a praedecessoribus meis, quorum custos, non dissipator esse debeo. Absit enim, ut ego solus in tanto episcoporum numero successoribus meis ea, quae bona fide accepi, mala fide tradam, et sacrilegii reus evadam. Absit autem, ut pias principum regumque voluntates sciens et prudens violem, sacraque testamenta rescindam: quam ipsi ea in tam pios usus tradiderint, quorum profanationem ulcisci solet justus Dominus: cavendumque in pia et Christiana republica ne quis ulli ullam afferat injuriam: maxime vero in hiis, quae Christo sancte consecrata sunt. Sed unde petam subsidium nisi a tua eximia pietate, quae in ecclesia Christi Dei vicaria es. Verum longe pientissimum est de amicis et charis servis bene mereri. Sed ea naturae et Christi regula firmissimo clavo in cordibus nostris figenda est perpetuo: *Non facias alteri, quod tibi non vis*

feri. Non ullius commodum alieno in-commodo augendum est. Magnos vero sumptus fecit tuus Hattonus in aedibus meis. Aiunt legisperiti non satis firmam esse locationem aedium Hattono factam. Ego vero ut fir-mior reddatur opto, si id per me confici possit. At ut perpetua fiat alienatio, nondum induci potest timida mea con-scientia. Nec libenter me et successores meos nudos relin-qui velim, ut horto pomario et pastura muro cincta, desti-tuantur, et aedes meae in nimis arctum comprimantur. Ignoscat, nobilissima heroina, liberae sacerdotis tui voci: vix justificare audeo eos principes, qui in vere pios usus collata in usus minus pios transferunt. Denique, si ulla ratio exco-gitari possit, quae justa et aequa videatur, qua pietati tuae gratificari possim, non laeso Domino Deo meo summo omnium iudice, in me mora non erit ulla: qui majestatem tuam per multa secula beare dignetur. Ex aedibus meis Eliensi-bus. 20 die Aug.

Tuae majestati a sacris et mista humillimus.

NUMBER 48.

Cox, bishop of Ely, to the queen: who had wrote to him to demise the manor of Somersham to her, for the lord North.

LITERAS a celsissima majestate tua, mense Maio scriptas, hodie, nimirum, 18 Junii, accepi. Quibus serio petit tua sublimitas dimissionem terrarum mearum in agro So-mershamio. Hic auribus lupum tenere videri possem; et dubius in bivio versari: si voto tantae principis et reginae tot modis de me optime meritaе, non responderem, ingratus ha-bebor, indignationemque subibo morte graviolem. Rursum vero, si postulationi et voto illorum, qui has literas a majes-tate tua multa solitudine obtinuerunt, inficias ivero, nimis aegre ferent, et de ingratitudine et pervicacia me insimula-bunt, et in celsitudinis tuae odium trahere non cessabunt. Ex altera vero parte, si quod optant concessero, et me et successores meos injuria et maximo incommodo affecero, et iniquus habebor, si iniquis eorum optatis applausero.

Tentarunt me in hac causa non ita pridem aliquot nobi-les, et precibus, et pecunia, et amicis, ut me expugnarent. Ego vero hactenus inexpugnabilis perstiti. Nunc autem cum extrema tentant, ad sacram anchoram mihi fugiendum est, nimirum ad supplices preces. Quare per aequitatem, per justitiam, et per innatam tibi miserationem obsecro et obtestor, ne aegre

ferat tua summa prudentia, si rationes in medium protulero, quae huic postulationi non respondere, me movent. Scimus tributa et vectigalia, etiam decimas, primos fructus, et subsidia, potestatibus superioribus deberi. Imo, quicquid in illorum usum cedit, in publicum bonum cedit. Verum enim vero, longe diversissima est subditorum ratio. Illis enim alienis commodis inhiantibus et insidiantibus non cedendum, sed obsistendum potius, maxime vero, si in bona ecclesiastica involare pergunt.

I. Nam si pii reges atque reginae, si vere nobiles, si etiam populus quoque ipse, evangelii propagandi zelo accensi, communicaverunt eis de omnibus suis bonis, qui ipsos catechizarunt in verbo Dei, quam male pius et ignobilis ille judicandus est, qui non solum non communicat catechizantibus in ullis bonis, sed catechizantium bona minuere, auferre, et in suos usus nequiter commutare satagunt?

II. Peccat quidem certe, vel in jus gentium, dum testamentum testatoris, et ultimam voluntatem violat et labefacit. Scribit D. Paulus, *Hominis testamentum sistit comprobatum, nemo rejicit, aut addit aliquid.*

III. Praeterea, cum Deus in lege sua, suis sacerdotibus et Levitis, abunde suppeditavit ad vivendi rationem: cumque idem dictat ipsa natura: et D. Paulus scribit, *de evangelio vivendum esse*: denique, si Spiritus Christi Christianorum pectora ita pietatis zelo accenderit, ut in pios usus, nimirum, ad evangelium propagandum, et ad hospitalitatem servandam, sua bona, suos fundos, et agros sanctissime collocaverint; quis ille est, qui hanc divinam providentiam labefactare audeat? Gravissime succensuit populo suo Deus, quod ministri ejus misere essent expilati. *Maledictione maledicti estis.*

IV. Optandum, a Domino Deo, ut regula naturae, imo, regula Jesu Christi, pectoribus aliena captantium insiderent: *tunc facias alteri, quod tibi vis fieri.*

V. Deinde, nonne satis molestum est, sacerdotes tuos passim contemni et conculcari, et pro mundi rejectamentis haberi, nisi quae possident commoditates passim obliguriantur, et abradantur? Deus meliora. Insignis admodum ingratitudo, si nostri labores et pericula, seu Deus potius per nos, papam et papistica omnia exegit ex Anglia; si regem regnamque suo justissimo solio reposuit; si denique, per nos aedes et agri innumerorum monachorum, infinitos Anglos, hos e mendicatione vindicarunt, illos

ditaverunt, alios ad ho-nores evexerunt; haecine tandem nostra merces, ut ingra-titudine compensemur? ut commodis nostris privemur? Ut barathrum concupiscentiae malae impleamus?

Denique, vehementer dolendum est, quod qui ista tentant, manifestum Dei Opt. Max. mandatum contemnere audeant: audeantque majestatem tuam in simile discrimen illaqueare. Mandatum est, *Non concupisces cujusquam domum*, &c. Fas non est mandatum Dei violare. Fas non est mandati violatoribus auxilium praebere, aut favorem.

Haec justissimorum argumentorum pondera ita animum meum premunt terrentque, ut omnino non audeam talibus votis assentire. Proinde, per omnia sacra prece humillima peto, ut pietatem tuam exoritam habeamus, quo iis, quae tua benignitas nobis verbi ministris jam olim contulit, uti, frui liceat quam diu hac nostra functione non indigni esse videbimur. Esto per Christum Jesum cleri tui pientissima nutrix, fautrix, et defensatrix in hoc seculo nequam, atheo-que. Dignetur prudentissima tua pietas hanc meam confi-dentiam candide interpretari, a pio et Del timente pectore profectam. Dominus Jesus Christus majestatem tuam per multa secula servet incolumem, ad gloriam nominis ejus, et ecclesiae sanctae salutem.

Tuae majestati a sacris et pastor humillimus,
Richardus Eliens.

[NUMBER 48.]

Reasons drawn up by Cox, bishop of Ely, and sent to the lord treasurer: to tender the state of God's ministers.

THE Jews pinched God himself, in their sacrilegious defrauding him of his tiths and first fruits. Whereby they procured his heavy displeasure and indignation. At this day some men pinch God, in withdrawing double honour from his ministers: and not onely not communicating, but plucking from their catechizers [i.e. teachers.]

They pinch God in withdrawing things from a godly use to a profane use: wherewith God was never pleased, as by stories and examples doth appear.

They violate the testaments and wills of their forefathers, who were zealous and bountiful unto God's ministers, for the maintenance of God's holy gospel.

They pinch the ministers against the law of nature and charity. *Hoc facias alteri quod tibi vis fieri*. They pinch the ministers by wringing away part of their livings, against God's express commandment, *Non concu-pisces*, &c.

St. Paul laboureth with many substantial reasons, to shew how bountiful the Christians ought to be towards their pastors. Again, St. Paul willeth, that the pastors being watchmen, and must account for the souls of their flocks, so be used, that they might do their office chearfully, and not dolefully. *Hoc enim non expedit vobis*.

Essay prophesied of kings, and queens, and godly governors, that they shall be nourses to God's flock, to tender them, and to defend them in their just doings, from malicious accusers, slanderors, and persecutors.

St. Paul, tendring the state of God's ministers, and considering the malice of the wicked world, writeth thus: *Take no accusation against an elder under two or three witnesses*. St. Paul cannot but mean lawful witnesses. For quarellers, hateful and malicious, are excluded by all laws.

It may please you at your convenient leisure to read Mr. Calvin upon this place of St. Paul, 1 Tim. v.

NUMBER 49.

The substance of the complaints of the lord North against the bishop of Ely, in his letter to him. With the bishop's answers to each.

First, What I have done I was urged thereto by such commandment as I dare not disobey. Yet have I dealt in nothing against you, but received such griefs as the parties themselves do exhibit.

Answer. I am fully persuaded, that her majesty would not urge you in such sort, but upon your urging and exaggerating of matters against me. And it is not true yee received onely griefs against me: but ye have sent for some to the intent ye might get matters against me.

II. I wish you from the bottom of my heart to shake off the yoke of your stubbornness, &c. and to lay aside your stubborn determination.

Answer. My duty to her majesty, I trust, I always shew: who I hope will not so judge of me as ye pronounce. Indeed it belongeth to her highness to judge of us both. But you, my lord, thus to judge of me, I may say, *satis pro imperio*.

III. To whom as yet ye have done no special service.

Answer. Indeed I have done no special service in embassy to any mortal king, as ye have done. But I do special service daily by ambassage for her highnes to the King of kings. And I do, and by grace will do, her majesty special service, to the uttermost of my power, whensoever I am commanded, either by word, letter, or commission. Her highnes hath many mo special services than embassy.

IV. I hear say, ye have reported to your friends, that ye would leave your bishoprick to her highness, to dispose at her plesure.

Answer. What I have said to her majesty, she well know-eth. I use not to report such matters abroad.

V. I know well how ye are horsed and manned.

Answer. I thank God I have horse, and hable men in livery and wages, well neer fourty, and horse to serve them; as may appear. As for reteyners, I have no rout of them to brag on.

VI. My lord, it will be no plesure for you to have her majesty and her council to know how wretchedly ye live within and without your house.

Answer. I am open to all the world, how I deal within and without: whereof I have no cause to be ashamed. Malice set apart, I will be judge by noblemen, gentlemen, and other honest men. *Wretchedly* is no meet term for your lordship.

VII. How extremely covetous.

Answer. Covetousnes lyeth hidden in the heart, which cannot be seen. And this is sore and extremely judged of you. Mine account made, it shall easily appear how covetous I am, if ye be not mine auditor.

VIII. How marvailous a dairy man, how rich a fer-mour, how great an owner.

Answer. As for dairy man, I have made answer; a few things I have gotten for my children, to the value of 40*l*. If ye envy that, I cannot do withal. To other things which ye charge me with, I have fully answered.

IX. Imposts which ye raise on God's ministers.

Answer. This is utterly false. I never raised peny of any minister: but I have been forced by process out of the exchequer to pay unto the queen's majesty a great sum of mony for issues, for not payment of the subsidy; due before I came unto the bishoprick by divers poor ministers in the diocess of Ely, in the 4th and 5th years of Philip and Mary. Which issues I shall never recover again. Onely I have a *Constat* for the subsidy, which I paid out of my purse to be levied of the best benefices in the same dioces, according to the law. And to this hour I cannot get one peny of it. Nevertheless of very pity I bestow yearly upon divers poor vicars: on some, four nobles; and upon some, fourty shillings, in respect of their great penury.

X. Ye enrich the evil, and discourage the good.

Answer. Surely this is untrue, and spoken of an uncharitable affection. I maintain no evil to my knowledge. I might return that fault to you.

XI. If my learned counsil deceive me not, I will draw you into a *premunire*, by 6 or 7 several points.

Answer. Let all men judge, whether this your dealing tend not to the utter undoing of me and mine.

NUMBER 50.

More objections to the said bishop by the said lord, in another letter to him: with the bishop's answers.

I. I HAVE been a poor justice these eighteen years, and I never granted the good abearing; and Seldom have heard it granted. Howbeit your lordship maketh it a common bond in the isle. It is ungodly and uncharitable. Neither like a bishop nor a Christian, to bind any man to impossible bands.

Answer of the bishop. The law bindeth no man to impossibilities. And the justices and judges are not anti-christians. It is a necessary band to

restrain troublesome and evil doers, slaunders and raylers: and, by the judgment of good lawyers, a most necessary band in this licentious world.

II. When I hear the bishop of Ely hath forgiven any man, I will say, *Nunc dimittis*.

Answer. To say the truth, I have forgiven more these sixteen years, than I can presently tell of. I doubt not, but I am able to make a book of a great sum.

III. I mervail your lordship shameth not to throw this in my dish, especially [viz. dismissing a popish recusant] yee did as much for Cook at Mr. Hutton's request.

Answer. At your request, and at Mr. Hutton's request, I gave time to Pards and Cook, to win them to God's true religion. Cook yieldeth himself to me; offering that he would come to the church. But Parris could never be brought to that point. And how your lordship hath earnestly travailed with me and divers others for him a great many years, I am sorry to see it. You say, my favour came not *gratis*. Indeed you brought me 10*l.* from himself towards the amendment of Somersham bank. Which is to be employed to that use. If ye give more to that use, it shall be well employed. But the fault [of letting an obstinate recusant loose] thereby nothing excused.

IV. Your lordship doth untruly and dishonestly charge me, that I devise ways and means to practise the utter undoing of you and yours.

Answer. In your letter the 20th of November you wrote, that ye are to search all injuries that I have done: and so charge me with a number of matters. And that ye have found 6 or 7 points of a *premunire*. Is not this to seek the undoing of me and mine?

V. Many grievous facts committed by you and yours, as the parties themselves say to me. And to me they come as their high steward, for remedy.

Answer. My lord, I made you high steward, to be my friend and defender; and not to hear every light and untrue tale, to mine infamy and hindrance. I acknowledge you not such an high steward, to hear causes and complaints, and to redress them at your plesure. For that

ap-pertaineth partly to me, and partly to the chief justice of the isle, with the rest of the justices, according to mine ancient graunts. If Balam, your man, or Hasyll, have any wrong done unto them by me or mine, in orderly sort I am to satisfy them.

NUMBER 51.

A large book of sundry articles of complaints against the bishop of Ely: with his answers to each. Many of those articles false, and matters in all of them miarepresented.

I. DOCTOR Ty, bound to make a lease of the parsonage of Dodington at half the value of the rent.

The bishop's answer. I know no such bond that Dr. Ty made at any time, saving a bond that I had of him at the request of his wife, that he should not let any part of his benefice without my consent, but from year to year.

II. One Goodrike was expelled his farm, and driven to make the bishop a lease of the moyety for xx nobles by year.

Answer. Bishop Thirleby was in suite with Thomas Goodrike for an unlawful lease, and was in possession of the thing so long as he continued bishop; which if queen Mary had lived, bishop Thirleby had obtained. And when I entred, at the suit of Mr. Richard Goodrike, one of the counsil, I stayed the suit, and was content to allow of the lease, retaining only the moyety: I paying therefore 20 nobles by year, the fermour paying to me for the whole but 20 shillings by the year. This agreement being made twelve years ago, I mervail it should be complained of now, seeing we have quietly enjoyed our parts hitherto, according to the agreement.

III. The bishop contending with Robert Styward for a common, the lords of the council gage order it should be tryed at the assizes in Ely, and that the prenotaries [pro-tonotaries] of the court of Common-Pleas should draw up their books of pleading. Which was performed. Means was found, the original writ was embezzilled off the file. So as the matter is yet undetermined.

Answer. If the original writ was embezzilled from the file, God knoweth: I wot not. And at that time I was as much offended with it as Robert Styward was. I mervail, that this should be laid to my charge, the thing being nine or ten years past. I mervail also this should now be revived, he dying in good friendship with me.

IV. The bishop denyed his benevolence to the collectors for the poor, alledging poverty. He hath no mony, but all goeth in his childrens name. He grazeth for his children: and setteth the names of John, Roger, &c. his sons, upon the baggs of his mony.

Answer. Touching my benevolence towards the poor, I will report md both to the poor, and to the collectors also. Indeed I denyed some time, and told the collectors, that I would distribute it to mine own folks. As I did indeed; because they [i. e. the collectors] were suspected of partiality. I graze not for my children: and at this day they have not one bullock to sell, nor never had. As for baggs, I protest before God, they have not one penny in any bag: except one 100*l.* for the mariage of my child.

V. Hee is a dairy man, and letteth out his milches to farm, as garden [guardian] for his sons.

Answer. At the first, certain beasts were let to some for butter and cheese (as my predecessor had used before me) to serve my house: and to the intent the market might be the more plentifully served, mine officers forbear to take up any such thing there. Indeed I gave my lord North a patent for the keepership of my park in Somersham, with the allowance of certain milch kine; and bought it again for my sons. And I do use it for them as he did use it for his sons: but it is not lawful for to do the like, by Mr. Styward's judgment.

VI. The bishop oppresseth his tenants for cariages.

Answer. I take no cariage of my tenants, but such as have been used of my predecessors time out of mind, and pay them for it. Where, by duty divers of my tenants are bound by their tenure, in consideration of the small rent they pay, to cary onely for bread and drink; as appears by mine antient records, called *The cowcher*.

VII. He converteth three parks into dairies, and farmeth them out.

Answer. I have in every park twenty kine, more or less, which serve for my necessary things, as aforesaid: and serve also for the benefit of the poor. Who for their necessity fetch daily milk and whey for their relief. And in their necessity they have butter and cheese also. And every Sunday in the year they have the milk of all the kine distributed among them. And yet there is sufficient pasture both for deer, geldings, and bullocks. Would God, all the parks in England were no worse used.

VIII. Tolls accepted by the bishop.

Answer. I know of no tolls, saving only of Watersey bank: which is used, as it hath been time out of mind, for the maintenance of the said bank. The repairing whereof at my first entring, stood me in fourteen score pounds: and now of late confirmed by the commission of sewers, as a thing needful and necessary for the preservation of the country.

IX. The bishop having graunted the office of the clerkship of the crown within the Isle of Ely unto sundry persons, did, by way of forfeiture, violently thrust them out of the same.

Answer. This is an untrue report. If any were put out, (as it might be there were,) I doubt not but there was. good cause so to do; or else it should not have been done.

X. Upon controversies between Neal and Styward, for the auditorship of the bishoprick of Ely, the bishop willed them to prosecute law; and promised to accept him that should recover. The bishop in the interim graunteth the said office to his wife's brother, and one of his sons. The bishop is sued in chancery, and will not answer upon his oath, but upon his honour.

Answer. I bestowed the office of mine audit upon Mr. Ander, and one of my children, because it is in my hand to give to whom I thought good, as my counsil, learned in the law, did inform me. He chargeth me that I will not answer upon my oath. Which I am most ready to do in such maner as I was informed the bishops were wont to do. And it is untrue, that ever I answered upon mine honour.

XI. Austin Styward, having the keeping of the park at Downham, demanding his fee of the bishop, it was with-holden, and denied him,

challenging the forfeiture of his office: for that the chapel within the house of Downham was made a milk-house. The said Styward and a minister with him, were both indicted for breaking of the milk-pans. The minister having a living of 16*l.* pension in Ely, he was forthwith suspended from his living, and ministring within the dioces of Ely. No copies can be had of the indictments: and the said Styward must yield tñe at the bishop's plesure, or else ly in prison.

Answer. I never denyed him his fee, albeit he never did me service, but this: in mine absence he entred into mine house, and brake up my chapel doors. And whereas in the heat of summer, for two or three days in the time of thunder, my woman had set her milk-pans in a cold place of the chapel, he spurned them down with his foot. And Dr. Turner misliking of his doings, the said Styward with lavishing words termed him Dr. Pispot. I suppose this is not the office of an house-keeper. Notwithstanding I meant not to take any forfeiture of his patent. For since that time he hath received his fee. But for his leud dealing in abusing my house, and breaking up my doors, he and his chaplain are indicted. And this chaplain, Peter Tye, was discharged of his service by my chancellor justly. For divers of Ely have been much offended with him for his negligence in teaching and catechizing the children: and also, for that he is a common dicer, a common bowler, and a common hunter, and is indicted for killing of deer. And I ought not to suffer him to be parish priest and a minister in the cathedral church also, and to keep his residence in Ely, having a benefice in Northfolk. And yet notwithstanding I cannot drive him from Ely to his benefice. And no mervail; for an evil beginning seldom hath a good ending. His father, Dr. Ty, hath told me and others, not without grief, that he wrot a letter, counterfeiting his father's hand, and carried it to my lord of Canterbury; and by that means was made minister.

XII. The bishop forbiddeth the poor inhabitants to fowl in the merches within the Isle without licence in writing. For which he exacteth 2*s.* for every writing; and looketh for weekly presents of fowl at a certain price. His plesure herein is openly proclaimed in all the churches within the isle.

Answer. That 2*s.* is exacted for licence, is untrue. For they pay only to my knowledge but 4*d.* to the clark of my kitchin for their licence. About 14 years past I demanded of the fowlers, how they, having licences, would serve me of fowl: they willingly and well content

agreed upon a price: which hath continued until this day, without any misliking; but that it pleased this gentleman now to complain. As for proclaiming in churches, I know no such thing.

XIII. One Dean, a minister, dying, bequeathed by his will certain goods and horses to his children; naming the colour of the horses, &c. One sir Lutt, a priest, married this Dean's widow. He killing himself, the bishop seized of all his goods, and took also the poor childrens legacies of Deans, and denyeth redelivery of the same.

Answer. This matter of Dean is untruly reported. For when Lutt had killed himself, mine officers did not seize upon his goods alone, but the dean's officers seized of his goods also. I remember well, I had certain horses and mares. Which when I understood by his wife that they were legacies to be answered to Dean's children, I agreed with her and her husband, Laurence Charles; and contented her and her children fully; as appeareth by an acquittance of their own hands remaining by me.

XIV. The bishop suffereth his tenants to be distrained, and taketh the benefit of the distress, being sold; he being bound by lease to discharge the reparation of the bank within the Isle.

Answer. This is untrue. For no distress hath been taken for not repairing of any bank of mine.

XV. The poor men's turves, inhabiting in Downham, within the Isle, are taken out of their yards, being their fewel, by the bishop, at the Q. [queen's] price, without pity or regard.

Answer. I take no turves from any man, but as hath been used in all my time, and in my predecessors time before me: paying 2s. for a thousand. And no man ever complained of it, but only you. For they do sell to others for the same price, as well as to me.

XVI. Order being taken of antient time, that no sheep but great cattel should graze within the marsh of West-more, within the Isle, three or four townships having commodity of the same; the bishop, contrary to order, doth feed the said marsh alone with his flocks of sheep; and selleth them fat to the butcher.

Answer. There are two great fens, Byal fen and West-more fen. The tenants made a by-law in the court, that none of them should put any

sheep in any of these fens. The lord was never included in the law. And yet the tenants, contrary to their own order, keep sheep in Bial fen. And Austin Styward findeth no fault therewith: but the lord (by Mr. Styward's judgment) may keep none in any fen. Where this year only, the lord hath kept for necessity 200 sheep, or thereabouts; though it pleaseth him to call them flocks: and where he saith, I sell them, being fat, to butchers, it is utterly untrue; saving, that my servants perceiving half a hundred old ewes, that could not well eat, and fearing they would dy ere I could spend them in mine house, sold them away, and bought as many young in their place.

XVII. The master and fellows of Christ's college in Cambridge, purchasing 30*l* land by year, holden of the bishop, the said bishop entreth upon the said land, as upon his escheats, for alienation in mortmain: and presently made a lease of the same to certain of his kin of trust.

Answer. True it is, that there was certain land, that held of me in chief, in the right of my bishoprick. Which land the master and fellows of Christ's college purchased without my privity. Whereof when I understood, I made over a lease unto a friend of mine for the maintenance of my right; which otherwise should have been extinguished. Nevertheless the lease was never put in ure. And afterwards, upon their suits made unto me, I promised them licence of alienation for the better assurance. Which they may have at all times.

XVIII. The bishop, being informed by one Ficas of Dodington within the Isle, that a tenement there was his by right, (for that one Pemford, owner thereof did kill himself,) entred upon it; and charged t'homage at the next court to enquire of this *escheate*. The informer refused to swear, but the bishop continued possession. The right owner of the tenement entred again upon the bishop, and dispossessed him. The bishop clapt him and his wife in the jayle. And they remained there more than a month; till they were constrained for 60*s.* to leavy a fine to the bishops use.

Answer. There Was one Markham of Dodington, that had a very small college decayed, and having not above one acre and a rood of arable land belonging to it: which was free, and pay'd but 6*d.* a year to the lord. And when he was dead, upon search and presentment made by the tenants, there was no heir found to possess it. Whereupon, according to the laws of this realm, it was escheated to the lord, who immediately

made a graunt thereof to one of his servants. Which enjoyed it quietly three or four years; until the husbands of the brothers children of one Pemford, under colour of title, that their wives should have to it, did enter by force, and kept it, till my servant complained to the justice. By Whose order, and according to law, they were removed, and he put in possession again. And he willing to have the matter tryed, procured an original process against the parties, retornable within the Isle at the next sessions. By the which process they were arrested, and for lack of sureties for their appearance at the next sessions, they remained in the custody of the under-bailiff, and paid nothing for their charges all the while they were there. But for any enforcement that was done unto them to make them agree, is utterly false. For there was no cause why it should. For one Drakes, after they were discharged, made a new claim unto it: and in very deed shewed more apparent matter to be heir to it than they. And yet in the end was contented to give over also.

XIX. A poor man, One Sharpe, a tenant of the bishops at Downham in the Isle, because he did not transport Mrs. Coxe to a certain place by water, according to her commandment, his copy-hold was seized. The poor man, after long suit to be restored, was enjoined, as in nature of a fine, to cast the bishop an huge pond in his park, which was a thing impossible for him to have performed, without the charitable help of his neighbours. He was rewarded for casting of this huge pond with an half-penny loaf, and a quart of beer. His report being brought to the bishops ears, the poor man keeping an ale-house, his sign was beaten down; and he could not again be admitted, but with a second fine.

Answer. This is a slanderous report. The man was not put from his copy-hold at all; but a shew made as it were a seizure; for that he did not his service and duty, as of right he ought to do, to make him take warning hereafter. And where he saith, he cast an huge pond in my park for a fine, it is utterly untrue. He cast no pond at all. But he, with the help of other my tenants, let water out of a pond: and they were paid for their labour by mine officers. Also, he layeth to my charge, that for displeasure I took with the man, I caused his sign to be beaten down, and put from victualling; which is utterly false also. He was indeed brought before a worshipful justice in the Isle, by a complaint that his neighbours made of him, for suffering and maintaining unlawful playing and gaming in his house, contrary to the law. And being proved

and found true, he discharged him justly from victualling. But shortly after, upon promise of amendment, was restored again.

XX. The bishop causeth all strays, taken upon his wast, to be sold after three weeks keeping. Insomuch as one Bownet, his servant, sold four colts, after that maner estrayed, by the bishop's commandment. And were thereupon indicted and arraigned by the owners.

Answer. This is utterly false. And as for Bownet, if he sold any that were not yeared, it was unknown to me, neither gave I him any such commandment. Bownet had no dealings with strays for me these ten or eleven years.

XXI. Wisbich castle defaced. The lead and timber sold, and taken away by the bishop.

Answer. This is untrue. The castle is not defaced; but there standeth in the midst of a castle-yard an old tower, which in old time had divers lodgings in it, after the maner of gross building, which was used in those days: and was so decayed within, that no man durst go into it: neither was occupied (as I suppose) this hundred years. At my first entry into the bishopric, the gentlemen of the country gave me counsil to pull down the inner parts of it, and to bestow the mony that came of it upon a bank, called Water-sea bank, being three miles of length. Which was in so great decay in bishop Thirlebie's time, before I came to the bishopric, that neither man nor horse could escape. I at their earnest request caused the inner part to be pulled down, but let the tower stand wholly; which in very deed doth make as fair a shew of the castle still, as ever was. And that mony which it was sold for, which was 50*l.* or thereabouts, have I bestowed on the bank: and 200*l.* more, besides that, out of mine own purse, or ever that it could be made good again, as shall be proved, if need so require.

XXII. The bishop hath entred upon Wisbich Barton farm; being demised by lease, and bound to all reparations. And hath pulled down the barn, and sold it off the ground.

Answer. This is false. I never entred upon Barton farm; neither have I pulled down the barn, nor sold it. But Meggs, my farmer, pulled it down, and sold it. And I bought it of him to whom he sold it.

XXIII. Contrary to an act of parliament, he daily en-grosseth farms, and doth buy and sell them. And paying only 10*l.* rent, he hath raised it to 55*l.* yearly.

Answer. This is false. I engross no farmes; I have bought two farmes for two of my children only. And I know of no raising of rents; but that my child's tenant have made of it to his most advantage.

XXIV. Being inhibited all spiritual persons to gain by buying and selling, the bishop doth daily buy and sell all manner of cattel, white meat, fruit, timber, and such like.

Answer. This is utterly false.

XXV. The bishop and one Mr. Brackyn of Ely were in communication for the loan of 200*l.*

Answer. This is utterly false.

XXVI. The bishop having the forfeitures of the commission of sewers, useth to set great paines upon the heads of the poor townships of the country. And they say, he made the last summer 900*l.* of the forfeitures.

Answer. This is a slanderous report. For I set no pains at all upon any man; as the rest of the commission of sewers can and will testify. There is no pain set, but at a full session; when a competent number of commissioners be present: and that with good advisement; and not without the consent of the jurators, who present the faults. I do know, there be great pains *set, ad terrorem*: and not withoat cause; for it lyes upon the preservation of an whole country. But I am sure they are not gathered, as he falsely reporteth. My books shall make appear, that where he saith, I made the last summer 900*l.* I have not had, in all together, 40*l.* towards the charges of the commissioners diet, and rewards for the clerks of sewers, and other charges.

XXVII. He setteth down such strait orders, with penalties for commission of sewers, as can by no means possibly be kept. And not being performed, he most extremely levieth the penalties upon their goods, to the utter undoing of the poor men.

Answer. This is utterly false, and a slaunder to me and the rest of the commissioners.

XXVIII. The bishop is loth to let Mr. Hatton have Ely house in Holborn, because his brother by his consent hath leased out the gardens to divers persons; and both the base Courts, with bands to enjoy the same a year after the bishops decease.

Answer. This is utterly false.

XXIX. One Love of Littleport, paying a rent to the bishop for a certain fishing, which he hath for years, sparing to fish this last summer, there came great store of fish into his fishing. the bishops servants hearing of this, came and cast their nets, and took a mervailous deal of fish. The poor man being spoiled of this fish, asked them, who bade them fish there. They answered, The bishop. My lord of Ely, quoth he, I think, will have my heart bloud. The bishop understanding this, the poor man was driven to ask him forgiveness in the church: notwithstanding the bishops servants continued fishing ever when they would. A brother of this Love's also, being a poor waterman, and getting his living by carrying of things by water, finding the bishops men fishing in his brothers water, asked them, who gave them authority to fish there. They answered, The bishop. If a man should take an ox, quoth he, out of Downham park, the bishop would make him hold up his hand. Hereupon the poor man being indicted, de *scan-dalis magnatum*, but not found by the jury, the bailiff distrained his vessel: which was the onely hope of his living: and left the party without any other help to live. Who for very thought and poverty dyed the last year.

Answer. Love of Littleport hath a fishing: which he enjoyeth quietly; and having entred a great way further than his lease doth bear him, he was justly restrained thereof. And in case he hath done me wrong, reason willeth he should make me recompence. In case my servants have done him wrong, he is also to be recompenced. And the matter to be used equally and justly. But men to fall to outrageous talk and railing against their neighbours, is not to be maintained. And therefore though one of the Loves acknowledged his fault openly, the other was amersed by the justices, and not by me, in 10*l*. Whereof I forgave him 8*l*. and the poor had 20*s*. and a man of mine other 20*s*. And that he dyed for thought is nothing like.

XXX. The bishop gave orders in a common alehouse at Erythe to fifty or sixty persons: and did minister the com-reunion unto them: some of them

being driven to kneel in the street, the room of the house containing scarce xx foot square.

Answer. There remaineth at Erythe a certain house, which heretofore was an hermitage, the uttermost part of the Isle. My predecessors, bishops of Ely, lying at So-mersham in Lincoln dioces, and the hermitage in Ely dioces next adjoyning, have used heretofore to give order there; and no man then agrieved at it. And so in such case have I done. It pleaseth the accuser to term it an alehouse; and to number them to 50 or 60. But if he could find in his heart to tell the truth, he would say, they were but now xix. now xi. and xxiii, at the most.

XXXI. Having made 4000*l.* in woods, he never saved the spring of one tree.

Answer. This is false. For this sixteen years I have made of my woods not one thousand pounds; as shall be well proved: and the springs well maintained.

XXXII. He hath enclosed a green in Ely, and a highway to a house, which he hath bought. And hath left the high-way so strait, as they can scarce turn a cart in it.

Answer. There is an unsavoury and a fulsome ditch in Ely, conveying from the high-street the water and refuse of the street; which I have stopt up, to the great benefit of the people, and conveyed the water closely through my grounds: and I have set a pale upon mine own wast, somewhat within the ditch, noisome to no man; and left a way with a great breadth: which heretofore hath been a way but only for footmen. And the chiefest of the parish have declared their contentation herewith in writing. But Sty-ward, in his bravery, forbade my workmen, and discharged them with threatnings, as though he had been the lord of the Isle.

XXXIII. The accompte of his expences in house seem great. His wife, Mrs. Cox, selleth him butter and cheese. The bishop spendeth not half the strayes he hath in the year. The best of them are sold to the butchers. The worst Mrs. Cox selleth to the bishops steward. If they be worth 20*s.* Mrs. Cox maketh the steward allow her 40*s.* the piece. And so it is entred into the book.

Answer. For the expences of my house, it is certainly known to my steward and clark of the kitchen, what it is. And for my wifes selling of butter and cheese, I know not. But sure I am, my house is served by the butter and cheese that her servants make. And the rest that remaineth, the poor being relieved, her servants do sell for to pay their wages, and other necessities pertyning unto them. And for my strays, I never had so many in any one year, as would serve my house a month. And sometime I have not one stray in a year. And for selling of any, either to the butcher or to my steward, it is utterly false.

XXXIV. Sithence king Edward the Thirds time, no bishop of his predecessors have had so many suits as this bishop within these seventeen years.

Answer. How like this is to be true, all wise men may judge. The wrangling and deceitful world is such at this day, as never was the like. Unles a man would yield unto and maintain the unjust dealing of people, he must needs crave help at the law. My continual suit these sixteen years, or thereabouts, hath been in the chancery to my great charges and expences, to recover a stock of a thousand mark, which my predecessors have quietly enjoyed from one to another, since king Edward the Thirds time; till Dr. Thirleby possessed the bishoprick of Ely, by his executors with-holden. Other suits I have, for that I cannot get my rents of divers of my tenants; besides Mr. Sty-ward, and the unjust dealing of one Symcotts for a piece of land.

[All these articles before, were drawn up by Austin Sty-ward, for spite and malice against the bishop, he having a controversy with the bishop. His pretence is framed into the last article: which follows. And it is this.]

XXXV. Austin Styward, having twenty-nine years to come in the lease of the manor of Downham, tendring his rent upon the ground according to his lease, the bishop desirous of his farm a long time, because his wife pretended forfeiture for non-payment, he made a lease of the said farm to two or three several persons, onely supposing sixty shillings of rent to be behind unpaid. Which hath been offered him, and 20*l.* more for his favour. But it hath been denyed; and his men have been imprisoned by his absolute authority, and without law.

Answer. This is falsely reported. The truth is, I made a re-entry for lack of payment of my rent. And I did it not without good

consideration. My farm in Downham hath a great deal of arable land belonging unto it: which being tilled and occupied as it ought to be, and hath been heretofore, had been a great help to the inhabitants of the town: which be a great number. And now of late years, the tenant that did occupy the farm hath left a great deal of the arable land to ly lay, and will neither till it himself, nor let the poor men of the town have it for their mony, (as other farmers have done heretofore,) to the great impoverishment of the town: and also a very great loss unto the person. Also he will not suffer my poor tenants, according to their time out of mind, to common upon his lay-grounds. So that by this means they are less hable to maintain themselves, their wives and children, as heretofore they have done. These and such like complaints came daily to me, and desired my help. I remembring these complaints, upon just occasion given unto me for not paying my rent, re-entred: that by having the farm in my hand I might redress these disorders.

This done, a young man, Edward Meggs, (who at the same time had the lease of the farm, and said nothing to me, that he had put it away,) came unto me, bringing with him a letter in his favour, from Mr. Nowel dean of Powles, and desired my favour for Meggs: for that his tenant had without his knowledge forfeited his lease. I minding by this means to have a redress of those defaults above rehearsed, told him at that time, I was not fully resolved what was best to be done; minding nothing less than to take it from him, as may appear by mine answer at that time to Mr. Nowel's letter. And further I willed my receiver to say unto Mr. Nowel, by word of mouth, that I minded so to deal with the young man, that Mr. Nowel should well like thereof. But at his next coming I was determined to set down in writing what order should be taken to help my poor tenants. But I never heard of him after, till a bruit was given out all over the town, that he had sold his lease to one Austin Styward: who shortly after came thither in great heat, and said, I had undone him in taking his farm from him: threatning that he would complain of me to the best in England. And ever since hath been full of trouble, seeking by outrageous speeches, and buying other men's titles, to vex and molest me.

Yet notwithstanding, I was content, at his request, the matter should be tryed in Westminster-hall, at the common place bar, to avoid all partiality: when he, clean contrary to his promise, brought it down into the country, and a quest was pannelled very favourable, as I was informed, on his behalf, and as it appeared by their verdict. And further, understanding that

the lord North is bent against me, he hath sold the farm to him, to move further vexation, (he taketh it.) Who strait upon the sale hath made an entry in great hast, not only on the farm, but also upon my park, wherein my dwelling house doth stand: which the farmer, unto whom the lease was first made by bishop West, in the fourteenth year of king Henry VIII. never enjoyed. Which bishop lived eleven years after the lease was made; and enjoyed the park still notwithstanding the lease. And after him bishop Goodrike was bishop twenty-one years, and enjoyed the park quietly. After him bishop Thirleby, who was in the see five years, enjoyed the park quietly. And now I have been these sixteen years; which maketh in all fifty-three years. And all this time the park was never claimed. Because he knew well enough it was never the bishop's meaning to let away his park from his dwelling house, from him and his successors.

I am most humbly to crave at your honours hand, to be so good and gracious lords to me, as to take so much pains for me and my successors; that a quiet and a good end may be made in this matter: which otherwise, I doubt will grow to great trouble; which is not convenient for me now in mine old age. And this I desire for peace sake, which our Saviour Christ so much commended unto us all.

Causes of complaints against the bishop of Ely, by Hasyl of Cambridge, who had been his servant seven years; of the same spiteful nature with the former. The chief whereof were these that follow.

THERE is a bank in the Isle, called Watersea Bank, which is the safety and defence of four townes, containing in them all twenty-six score households: which calsey or bank is the bishop's charge. These four townes were drowned about six years past with rage of water, the bishop being asked before but 10*l.* to repair the said bank, to save those townes. But the bishop unchristianly denied to disburse any mony. Moreover, he hath raised great tolls and exactions upon all travailers passing through the Isle, taking 2*d.* for man and horse, without any letters patents or authority from the prince. There are two of the Ashwoods of Dodington, which have paid in one year for toll for their parts twenty marks. This toll hath continued twelve years.

Answer. What charge I have been at touching Water-sea Bank, the whole country can tell. And as for 10*l.* which he saith was required of me for the banks, is untrue. And yet both at the time, and since the

time, at the great outrage of stormes, I have bestowed upon the banks within the hundred of Wisbich more than my whole revenue of the country, (which is six-score pounds by year,) for the space of three years and more together. And as for toll for helping of the bank, it hath continued time out of mind. And at this present, the bank is well repaired, whatsoever this article slanderously doth report. It is answered more at large in the eighth article of Styward's complaint. He reporteth that two Ashwoods, which be horse-coursers, have paid for toll twenty marks. I cannot tell what they have paid for toll; but I hear it reported by the whole country thereabouts, that those two horse-coursers do more hurt with the number of cartel that they drive, than many other that pass that way.

Another article was this. An house and ground violently taken away by the bishop.

Answer. This is not true. There was no house and ground violently taken away by me, nor none for me. But one Thomas Coward of March, being my copy-holder of a tenement with the appurtenances, holden of my manour of Dodington, one George Hasel, brought down a commission for conceled lands, (as it was said,) which Hasel so informed, and persuaded this poor man, Coward, my tenant, (as it should seem,) that he was contented to become tenant of the said tenement, and to purchase it of the said Hasyl; and so to hold it freely. By reason whereof, *ipso facto*, the copy-hold was forfeited. For that according to the custom of my manour, no tenant may do any act to alter his copy-hold to free-hold. And therefore upon the said forfeiture, which was apparent, I graunted such interest as I had in the same copy-hold unto one Henry Serle and to John Chapman, two of my servants. And what end or order they have taken in the same, since my graunt, I know not.

Item, The servant of this complainant was indicted of felony for four hogs, and should have been hanged by the bishop.

Answer. The man was charged for four hogs, and brought before the justice, who committed him for felony. And at the next sessions an indictment being presented against him, the great inquest found the bill true. And thereupon arraigned, and found guilty. And in the end saved by his book.

Item, A lease taken away by force by the bishop.

Answer. It is utterly false. There was no lease taken away by force; but there was an house let by lease (being a copy-hold) without licence; contrary to the custome of the manour. And thereupon a lawful seizure made into the lord's hands. Also the commissioners of sewers had laid a paine of 30*l.* for the not scowring of a certain loade, belonging to the said copyhold. The not doing whereof was very noysome to the whole country thereabout. And for that of necessity the thing was to be done forthwith, I was faine the rather to take the house and load into my hands, and to set men a work to do it myself, to my great cost and charge. At the suit and request of the lord North, I gave a like forfeiture to his brother in a town of mine, called Thriplow. And then it was lawful; but now it is not, against his man.

Item, The bishop's men forcibly entred Hasyll's house, and took away a patent out of a chest they brake open; which the bishop had graunted him of divers offices.

Answer. First his patent was delivered him of trust, to shew what authority I had given him, and to return the same again to my keeping. The said Hasyll used himself so naughtily in the office, that the whole country exclaimed of him, and of his evil dealing. And divers times he was indicted of extortion, as appeareth by the records. This exclamation of his evil doing coming to mine ears, I oftentimes after spake unto him, to bring me the patent again, which I delivered him of trust: upon which demand he oftentimes made promise to bring it again; but he kept none of them. It followed, by the means of these and divers other ill abuses, I put him clean out of my service. And afterward, by reason of divers outlaws against the said Hasyll, the commodities whereof of right due unto me, I did clearly remit and forgive. But there came one especially afterwards, at the suit of Richard Barnes, clerk. By reason whereof, and by good warrant, unto the bailiff of the liberties directed; the said bailiff entred upon such goods and chattels as were then found to be the said Hasyll's. Among which the said patent was one. And the bailiff brought it unto me, as of right he ought to do. And which matter the said Hasyll before this time brought in question in the star-chamber: where he was answered, that it was lawfully done, which both the bailiff and I had done. And since that time he hath been divers times out-lawed, as may appear; but especially

by two writs extant, signed under the hand of her majesties attorney general, Mr. Gerard.

A BILL OF COMPLAINTS EXHIBITED BY CHARLES BALAM, GENT. OF THE ISLE OF ELY.

Item, Wood felled by Mr. Balam upon his own ground, and sold for repairing of certain banks: the bishop caused his officers to fetch the said wood off the gentleman's own ground and inheritance.

Answer. Charles Balam not paying my rent of xx nobles by year, for the space of xi or xii years, a distress was taken upon the ground, to the number of an hundred and half of faggots.

Item, The bishop's officers do both threaten, and also offer the gentleman great injuries: only to enforce him to sell his lands to the said bishop.

Answer. This is utterly untrue and slanderous.

ARTICLES EXHIBITED AGAINST THE BISHOP BY ONE RADCLIFF, GENT.

1. The bishop practised to frustrate a lease of the parsonage of Swavesy, and made a re-entry upon refusal of the rent.

2. Item, The rent was tendred and received by one of the bishop's officers.

3. Item, The rent being demanded the 27. April last past, it was tendered, and refused by one Mr. Alden, gentleman: who made a re-entry upon the lease.

4. Item, The lessee having disbursed 52*l.* upon reparations of the parsonage, which the bishop standeth bound to answer, he can get no allowance of the same.

Answer to the 1, 2, S, and 4th articles. This lease is of a parsonage impropriate, which I had in exchange, among others, of the queen's majesty, for certain manours and parks, belonging to my bishoprick in Northfolk and Marsh-land. Which parsonage the queen's majesties auditors did set down to me in writing to be leased out for fourty years; and the rent set down also. And this man claimeth it by a lease of fourscore years yet to come; being dated the same day and year that the

other lease of 40 years is. Where the other lease maketh end within these two years. And for that I do not allow of this long lease, he will not pay me rent. And therefore driven to re-enter. And for allowing of reparations, I do stay till I can learn how it cometh to pass, that he hath such a lease, and the queen's officers not privy to it. I am bound by the lease to repair all his houses: and he buildeth new houses, and would have me pay for them.

5. Item, He detaineth a rent of twenty six shillings and eight pence per ann. going out of Water Beach, and de-nyeth payment.

Answer. I know of no such rent: nor he himself sheweth not wherefore.

LAURENCE JOHNSON (THE BISHOP'S UNDER-KEEPER) AGAINST THE BISHOP.

1. The bishop put him to great charge and trouble of long time; for that he would not cleanse certain waters, which the bishop was bound to do, and did of long time.

Answer. The commissioners of sewers of the Isle, having made a law that the occupiers of fishings and all waters should cleanse their waters, I leased Laurence Johnson and others certain waters heretofore; not binding my self to scowre them. Notwithstanding he refused to do any cost upon them; nor would suffer his under tenants to do it. And to bragg out the matter the better, he hath let them over to Austin Styward, and occupieth them himself under him. Notwithstanding this summer past, I have scowred them at my own charges for the necessity of the country. And yet he complaineth that he is troubled.

2. Item, The bishop onely of malice, and without any just cause, caused the said Johnson to be bound to the good abearing.

Answer. This is maliciously uttered. He compared my wife in his talk to Jezabel, for a matter which she never heard of. Which was complained of to the justice. Who wrot unto me, that he was content to submit himself. Which notwithstanding he did not perform. And at the next sessions, he denyed that he had offended me, but said openly in the face of the court, that I had done him wrong. Whereupon the justice bound him to the good abearing. For the which how

outrageously the lord North before a good number, intolerably taunted the chief justice, because he presumed to touch his man, it doth plainly appear. Besides this, it is witnessed to me and other justices, that the said Johnson did prick forward one Bownet to complain of me to the honourable council. And besides that, I was credibly informed from time to time, how leudly and un-dutifully he hath used his tongue against me and others. Whereupon I discharged him of mine underkeepship. And straitways the lord North took him to be his man.

3. *Item*, The bishop took certain kine from Johnson without warning, and contrary to covenant.

Answer. It is false that any kine was taken from him contrary to covenant, For I let him have twelve kine from year to year: which were all I had in my park at that time. And for that he liked not of the bargain that my servant made with him, but said, he was a looser by them, they were taken again, when the year was ended.

4. *Item*, The bishop took a common marsh from the town of Somersham, and demised it by lease to his wife's brother.

Answer. It is utterly untrue that I have let a common. But true it is, that I have let a lease unto mine auditor of a several marsh pertaining to my self and my successors; containing about xx acres, lying in Bluntesham parish. Which neither I nor divers of my predecessors made any account of: for that it was for the most part always drowned, and at this hour is. And because he doth intend to bestow cost to drain it, and bank it, to keep it hereafter from drowning, I was the willinger to let him have it.

APPENDIX.

BOOK 2.

NUMBER 1.

JAN. 29, 1576.

The names of all such, as be certified into the exchequer, to be fugitives over the sea, contrary to the statute of an. 13 Eliz. &c. And in what countries they inhabited.

ESSEX

Henry Parker, L. Morley.

Charles Parker, gent.

Edward Parker, gent.

Miche, doctor of laws.

Thomas Clement, gent.

John Clement, doctor of physick

John Griffin.

Richard Norton, late of Norton, in com. Ebor.

Walter Ellys.

EBORUM.

John Twynge, gent.

Anthony Langdale, gent.

John Browne, gent.

Francis Moore, gent.

DERBY.

John Sacheverell, arm.

Henry Babington, gent.

LONDON.

Hugh Charnock, gent.
Humphrey Shelton, gent.

SUFFOLK.

Anthony Wilkinson, parson of Melford
Nicolas Wendon, doctor of laws, archidiaconus. Ibid.
Walter Jerningham, gent.
Robert Stepes, parson of Hackstede.
Edmund Smarte, gent.
Richard Selye, gent.
Henry Drury, gent.
Walter Ellys
William Soane, gent.
John Watson, miller
Anthony Goldingham, clerk.
Anthony Noller
Thomas Laurence, jun.
John Watson, miller

SURREY.

Thomas Copley, arm.
John Prestal, gent.
Anthony Standon, gent.

SOUTHAMPTON.

John Flower, clarke.
William Smythe, clarke
Anthony Williamson, gent.
Thomas Shelley, gent.

KANC.

John Heywoode, gent.
Robert Gyles, gent.

SUSSEX.

John Leedes, arm.
 James Shelley, arm.
 William Stapleton, gent.
 Thomas, his son.

BERKS.

Thomas, his son.
 Francis Englefield, knight.

LANCASTER.

Evan Heydock, gent,
 Thomas Houghton, arm.

STAFF.

Richard Hopkins.

DORS.

Roger James, clarke

CANT.

Robert Kowte, clark.
 Thomas Hanadyne, clark.

HERTF

Robert Chauncy, gent.

MIDDLESEX

Richard Shelley, *miles, unus confratrum nuper hospital. Sti. Johis. Jerlm.*

LEIC.

John Pott, schoolmaster.
 Henry Joliffe, clark.
 John Bowcer, late abbot of Leic

NORF.

William Dade, returned.

BERKS

Francis Englefield, knight

SOMERSET.

James Bosgrave.

James Fitz James, clerk.

Gilford Barford, clerk.

Edward Crockford, clerk.

William Goode, schoolmaster

Giles Capell, clerk.

William Phelps.

OXON.

John Bustard, gent.

Margaret Harte.

Elizabeth Harte.

John Harte, yeoman.

BEDF.

Edward Cussen, clerk.

[NUMBER 1.]

A prayer composed by Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, suited to the beginning, of the reformation of religion under queen Elizabeth.

MOST righteous Judge, and merciful Father, which of love didst punish thy people [the Jews] being negligent in building thy house: that by such sharp correction, they might be stirred up to do their duty, and so have pleased thee: wee acknowledge and confess before the world and thy divine majesty, that we have no less offended thee in this behalf then they have don. And that for all the sharp plagues which you laid upon us, we could

not awake out of our dead sleep, forgetting the earnest promotion of thy glory and true religion: but rather consented to the persecution of thy true and faithful people. Until now of thy unspeakable goodness, by giving us a gracious queen, and restoring the light of thy word, thou hast letten us tast of the treasures of thy mercy. Wee fall down therefore flat before the throne of grace, desiring pardon of this great negligence, and of all our former offences, and pray thee, that thou wilt not deal with us as we have deserved: but as of thine own free will thou promisedst thy people, falling earnestly to thy work, and restoring of thy temple, that from thence forward thou wouldest bless all their works and fruits, overthrow their enemies, and save thy people: that thou wouldest make that house also more glorious than the first, by the preaching of thy gospel: so we desire thee for Christ's sake, to be no less good and gracious Lord unto us, yet once again going about to restore thy true religion, trodden down and defaced by the cruel papists.

Send forth, O *Lord*, many such faithful preachers, as will set out thy glory unfeignedly. Open the hearts of thy people, that they may see how far more acceptable unto thee is the lively preaching of thy holy word, than all the glittering ceremonies of popery. Deliver us, we beseech thee, from all our enemies. Save and preserve our gracious queen as thine own signet. Endue her and her counsil with such reverend fear of thee, that, all policy which is contrary to thy word set apart, they may uprightly seek and maintain thy true glory, minister justice, punish sin, and defend the right. Confound, most mighty God, and bring to nought all the devices of such as go about to overthrow thy word and true worship. Open our eyes, that we may see how dearly thou hast loved us in Jesus Christ, thy Son our Lord. Hold us fast, O Lord of hosts, that we fall no more from thee. Grant us thankful and obedient hearts, that we may encrease daily in the love, knowledge, and fear of thee. Encrease our faith, and help our unbelief. That we being provided for, and relieved in all our needs by thy fatherly care and providence, as thou shalt think good, may live a godly life to thy praise, and good example of thy people: and after this life may reign with thee for ever through Christ our Saviour. To whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be praise and thanksgiving in all congregations for ever and ever. *Amen.*

NUMBER 2.

Another prayer by the same reverend person; for faithful preachers to be sent out by God, to preach the gospel at this needful time.

MOST mighty Lord, and merciful Father; who didst stir up the Jews to the building of thy house by the preaching of thy prophet Aggeus: wee thy miserable creatures beseech thee for thy mercy sake, to have mercy upon us, and thrust out diligent workmen into thy harvest. Send forth faithful preachers, which may by the hard threatnings of thy law, and comfortable promises of thy gospel, awake all thy people out of their dead sleep, wherein they ly wallowing, forgetting thee and their duty.

Wee have all sinned from the highest to the lowest, in not earnestly professing thy holy word and religion, both the princes, rulers, and magistrates, bishops, ministers of all sorts, and all the people, no state nor condition of men hath done their duty herein unto our onely Lord and God. Therefore we all with heavy hearts ask thee forgiveness of our great sins. Open our eyes, O good God, that we may consider the plagues that thou hast laid on us so long for our great disobedience towards thee and thy word. Give us new hearts, and renew thy holy Spirit within us, O Lord. That both the rulers may faithfully minister justice, punish sin, defend and maintain the preaching of thy word; and that all ministers may diligently teach thy deerly beloved flock: and that all people may obediently learn and follow thy law, to the glory of thy holy name: for Christ's sake, our onely Lord and Saviour.

NUMBER 3.

Another prayer by the same; against error and popery.

MOST righteous and wise Judge, eternal God and merciful Father; which of thy secret judgment hast suffered false prophets in all ages to rise, for the trial of thine elect: that the world might know who would stedfastly stick unto thy undoubted and infallible truth, and who would be carried away with every vain doctrine; and yet by the might of thy holy Spirit hast confounded them all, to thy great glory, and comfort of thy people: have mercy upon us, we beseech thee, and strengthen our weakness against all

assaults of our enemies. Confound all popery, as thou didst the doctrine of the Pharisees. Strengthen the lovers of thy truth, to the confusion of all superstition and hypocrisy. Give us due love and reverence of thy holy word. Defend us from men's traditions, Encrease our faith. Grant us grace never to fall from thee; but uprightly to walk according as thou hast taught us, swerving neither to the right hand nor to the left: neither adding to, nor taking any thing away from thy written word; but submitting our selves wholly to thy good will and plesure, may so pass this transitory life, that through thy goodness we may live everlastingly with thee in thy glory, thro' Christ our Lord. Who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reignest one God and Saviour for ever and ever.

NUMBER 4.

*Richard, bishop of Carlile, to the lord treasurer:
upon his remove to Durham.*

MY most humble duty and commendation of all faithful service unto you, my dear and singular good lord, ever premised; whose I rest in the Lord Jesus, &c. I am to render not only by these letters most intyre thanks to your honour, for your goodness towards me, in commending me to her highness in way of my preferment to Deereham, and for interposing your credit for my service, &c. which I understand from Mr. Warcoppe, your good lordship hath in most amplewise done; but also to devow my self and service unto your honour for ever; and to assure you, that neither I shall be found unthankful or ingrate, nor unmindful to accomplish your lordship's behests: and so, as I trust, shall tend to th'advancement of God's glory, and her highness good service, and your lordships good comfort: and that within short time, if I may be well backed at the beginning by her highness and your good lordship, and other of the honourable privy council, as I doubt not but I shall be. My singular good lord and patron, I most humbly beseech your honour, to account and accept of me and mine as your own: and so to use and command the same.

Your lordship was mine onely preferrer to Carliell, where I have served my seven years; and I trust, discharged the promise yee then made unto her highness on my behalf; which in this poor and bare living was all that I could do. Now by your good means being preferred to a better, if in time I be not thankful, &c. if I discharge not my duty, and answer not your

undertakings, then deserve I to be noted as most ingrate, and as the poet saith, *In-gratum dixeris, quidvis dixeris*. And so beseeching your lordship of continuance of your good favour towards me, I rest your own. And here cease to trouble your lordship by letters any further, until it may please God that I may come my self to do my duty to your lordship. Which that your good lordship would hasten, and consummate that which you have begun for me your poor client, I most humbly pray. God bless and encrease his heavenly graces upon your lordship, with prosperous health and encrease of much honour. *Amen*. From the Rose-Castle in Combreland, the xxiiii, of March, 1576.

Your good lordships most bound, and at commaundment,
Ri. Carliolen.

NUMBER 5.

The lord treasurer to the queen. In relation to his daughter, and the earl of Oxford her husband, unkind to her. Written March the 3. 1576.

MOST sovereign lady. As I was accustomed from the beginning of my service to your majesty, until of late, by the permission of your goodness, and by occasion of the place wherein I serve your majesty, to be frequently an intercessor for others to your majesty; and therein I did find your majesty always inclinable to give me gracious audience: so now do I find in the latter end of my years a necessary occasion to be an intercessor to your majesty, or rather an immediate petitioner for my self, and an intercessor for another next to my self, in a cause, godly, honest, and just. And therefore having had proof of your majesties former favours, and so important, I doubt not but to find the influence of your grace in a cause so neer touching my self, as your majesty will conceive it doth.

And yet my intention is not to molest your majesty with the particularities of the same, neither as I now do, would I have attempted, but that I fear my silence, while others should be open mouthed, and either of ingratitude, or of purpose, might occasion some other conceit with your majesty, than I am sure the truth of the cause shall work in you. To enter to trouble your majesty with circumstances of my cause I mean not, for sundry respects, but chiefly for two. The one is, that I am very loth to be more cumbersome

to your majesty than need shall compel me: the other is, for that I hope in God's goodness, and for reverence born to your majesty, the success thereof may have a better end than the beginning threatneth.

But your majesty may think my suit will be very long, where I am so long ere I begin. And truly, most gracious sovereign lady, it is true, that the nature of my cause is such, as I have no pleasure to enter into, but had rather seek means to shut it up than to lay it open: not for lack of the soundness thereof on my part, but from the brickleness of others from whom the ground-work proceedeth.

My suit therefore shall be presently to your majesty, but in general sort, that where I am, by God's visitation with many infirmities, (and yet noe great,) stayed from coming to do my duty to your majesty at this time; and my daughter the countess of Oxford also occasioned by her great grief to be absent from your majesties court; and that the occasion of her absence may be diversely reported to your majesty, as I said before, by some of ignorance, by some percase otherwise; it may please your majesty, because the ground and working thereupon toucheth me as neer as any worldly cause in my conceit can do, to continue your princely consideration of us both. Of me, as an old worn servant, that dare compare with the best, the greatest, the oldest, and the youngest, for loyalty and devotion: giving place to many others in other worldly qualities, as your majesty shall prefer any before me: and of my daughter, your majesties most humble young servant, as of one that is toward your majesty in dutiful love and fear, yea, in fervent admiration of your graces, to contend with any her equals.

And in the cause betwixt my lord of Oxford and her, whether it be for respect of misliking in me, or misdemeanor of her, (whereof I cannot yet know the certainty,) I do avow, in the presence of God and of the angels, whom I do call as ministers of his ire, if in this I do utter any untruth, I have not in his absence on my part omitted any occasion to do him good, for himself and his causes. No, I have not in thought imagined any thing offensive to him. But contrariwise I have been as diligent for his causes to his benefit, as I have been for my own. And this I pronounce of knowledge for my self. And therefore, if contrary to my deserts I should otherwise be judged, or suspected, I should receive great injury.

For my daughter, though nature would make me to speak favourably, yet now I have taken God and his angels to be witnesses of my writing, I renounce nature, and pronounce simply to your majesty, I did never see in

her behaviour, in word or deed, or ever could perceive by any other means, but that she hath always used her self^r honestly, chastly, and lovingly towards him. And now upon expectation of his coming, is filled with joy thereof: so desirous to see the time of his arrival approach, as in any judgment no young lover, rooted or sorted in love of any person, could more excessively shew the same in all comeliest tokens.

Now when after his arrival, when some doubts were caused of his acceptance of her, her innocence seemed to make her so bold, as she never cast any care of things past, but wholly reposed her self with assurance to be well used by him. And with that confidence and importunity made to me, she went to him, and there missed of her expectation: and so attendeth, as her duty is, to gain some part of her hope.

And now lest I should enter further into the matter, and not meaning to trouble your majesty, I do end with this humble request, that in any thing that may hereof follow, wherein I may have wrong with dishonesty offered to me, I may have your majesties princely favour, to seek my just defence for me and mine: not meaning for respect of mine old service, nor of the place whereunto your majesty hath placed me, (though unwillingly,) to chalenge any extraordinary favours. For my service hath been but a piece of my duty, and my vocation hath been too great a reward. And so I do remain constantly to serve your majesty in what place soever your majesty shall command, even in as base as I have done in great.

NUMBER 6.

The inscriptions upon the monument of sir Anthony Cook, knt. in the chapel of Rumford in Essex.

OVER HIS HEAD.

DNS. ANTHONIUS COCUS, ordinis equestris miles, ob singularem doctrinam, prudentiam et pietatem, regis EDOARDI sexti institutor constitutus. Uxorem habuit ANNAM, filiam GULIELMI FITZ WILLIAMS de Milton militis, vere piam et generosam. Cum qua diu feliciter vixit, et supervixit. At tandem, quum suos tam natos, quam natas, bene collocasset, in Christo pie mortuus est, anno aetatis 70.

**OVER THE HEADS OF HIS TWO SONS,
KNEELING BEHIND HIM.**

RICHARDUS COCUS hujus dni. COCI filius et haeres, ANNAM duxit generosi viri JOANNIS CAULTON filiam. Qui pieta-tis ergo hoc monumentum erigi curavit.

GULIELMUS COCUS, ejusdem ANTHONII proximus filius, duxit FRANCISCAM filiam dni. JOANNIS GRAY, fratris ducis SUFFOLCIAE.

UNDER SIR ANTHONY AND HIS LADY.

In obitum clarissimi literatissimique dni. ANTHONII COCI equitis aurati carmen Επιτάφιον

ANNA tibi fuerat quamvis pulcherrima conjux,
Diminuit studium non tamen ANNA tuum,
Bibliotheca fuit, gaza praestantior omni:
Librorum facerent nomina nuda librum.
Hinc pulchros flores, fructus hinc promissos amoenos,
Hinc mentis pastus, deliciae tuae.
Τὰ γνωσθέντα λέγων, καὶ μὲν τὰ δεόντα γινώσκων,
Τοῦ πλούτου κρείττων καὶ φιλοπάτρις ἔῃς
Cur te, Roma, facit Cornelia docta superbam?
Quam multas tales, et mage, Cocus habet?
Quinque sciunt natae conjungere Graeca Latinis,
Insignes claris moribus atque piis.
Has tu nobilibus (res est bene nota) locasti:
Qui Christum vera religione colunt.
Et quorum prodest prudentia summa Britannis,
Qui virtute valent, consiliisque graves.
Quinque peregrinis vixti regionibus annos,
Dum revocat princeps te ELIZABETHA domum.
Utque solet Phoebus radiis nitidissimus almis,
Nubibus excussis, exhilarare diem:
Sic regina potens, regali sede locata,
Et Coco et natis omnia fausta tulit.
Haec inter vitam COCE, beatam
Traduxit, cupiens caelica regna senex.
Et veluti recidunt maturo tempore poma,
Sic facili caelum morte solutus adis.
Hocque simul tumulto duro cum marmore structo,
Doctus eques, conjux intemerata cubant.
Quos socialis amor, pietas, quos junxit et alma
Virtus in terris, vos Deus unus habet.

*Neer this monument in the chancel, on a flat stone, a brass plate,
thus inscribed, (being sir Anthonies farewel to his wife deceased.)*

Chars mihi multos conjunx dilecta per annos,
Cura domus, multa non sine prole parens,
ANNA, vale, moriens miserum complexa maritum
Immemorem merito non sinis esse tui.

*Against the east wall of the chancel, in the similitude of a table
hanging by a chain in stone, are verses intituled,*

An epitaph upon the death of the fight worshipful sir Anthony Cook, knt.
who dyed the 11th day of June, 1576.

You learned men, and such as learning love,
Vouchsafe to read this rude unlearned verse.
For stones are doombe, and yet for man's behove
God lends them tongues sometimes for to reherse
Such words of worth as worthiest wights may pierce.
Yea, stones sometimes, when bloud and bones be rots
Do blaze the bruit, which else might be forgot.
And in that heap of carved stones do ly
A worthy knight, whose life in learning led,
Did make his name to mount above the sky.
With sacred skill unto a king he read;
Whose toward youth his famous praises spred.
And he therefore to courtly life was call'd,
Who more desir'd in study to be stall'd.
Philosophy had taught his learned mind
To stand content with country quiet life:
Wherein he dwelt as one that was assign'd
To guard the same from sundry stormes of strife.
And, but when persecuting rage was rife,
His helping hand did never fail to stay
His countries staff, but held it up alway.
Nor high avaunce, nor office of availe,
Could tempt his thoughts to row beyond his reach.
By broont of books he only did assaile
The fort of fame, whereto he made his breach,
With fire of truth which God's good word doth teach.
The wealth he won was due for his degree,
He neither rose by rich reward nor fee.
And yet although he bare his sail so high,
The gale of grace did spred his course so fast,
That in his life he did right well bestow
His children all before their prime was Fast.

And like them so that they be like to last.

What should I say but only this in sum,

Beatus sic qui timet Dominum.

Their only skill to learning bears the bell,

And of that skill I taught poor stones to treat;

That such as would to use their learning well,

Might read these lines, and therewith oft repeat,

How here on earth his gift from God is great,

Which can employ his learning to the best.

NUMBER 7.

Sir Nicolas Bacon, lord keeper, to the queen; shewing, her three great enemies, France, Spain, and Rome. And the remedies to be used against each of them.

MOST gracious sovereign. That which if time and your affairs would have suffered, I meant to have done by present speech, I am driven by absence to do by letter; not doubting nevertheless, but that though my pen and speech were not present, yet your majesties great understanding considered, together with the advice of your grave and wise counsellors, all things should be sufficiently foreseen and provided for. And yet my trust is, knowing (as by proof I do) your majesties gracious acceptation of things well meant, you will take this my writing (although not needful) in good part.

Your majesty knoweth right well, that perils and dangers be great or small, as the enemies that do breed and bring them forth be of great and small power. Now France, Spain, and Rome, being mighty and potent princes, and your inward enemies, as by sundry their doings it plainly appeareth, it followeth necessarily that your dangers and perills sought by them must needs be very great. As they be great, so be they imminent and at hand. Because power and occasion doth at this present concur with their wills, having made peace with their enemies. And therefore require speedy provision to withstand them; lest else the mischief be put in execution, before the remedies be provided. And so shall all things grow desperate, and all things remediless. Surely, madam, the fear of this groweth so greatly in me, that I could not be quiet in my self without remembring the same unto your majesty, according to my bounden duty. And methinks it were better for me to offend by fearing too much, than by hoping too

much. The former seeketh for remedies; the second breedeth careless security: whereby things be driven so long, that they pass sometime the help of counsel. Whereupon I thought good to put your majesty in mind, that as your perills be three by reason of your three great enemies, so have they three easy ways and means greatly to annoy you. And you also three ready remedies to withstand them, being taken in time: the means that France hath to annoy you is by Scotland; Spain by the Low-Countries; and Rome by his musters here in England. The two former being foreign forces, and outward; this latter is intestine and inward. And how unable the people of England divided is to withstand the powers without, united, as it makes not my pen only, but my self, to quake to think of it. Now the helps contained in my understanding are these. First, to withstand France, (which hath his way by Scotland,) is to assure Scotland to England. A thing not hard to do, seeing as their state now standeth, their safety and perills stand joyned with yours. And their commodity, it will grow by such a conjunction; as these [advantages.] First, France thereby shall have no footing in Scotland; whereby they may invade your majesty on main land. But that they are first to set sail for it: a matter of very great moment, the chance of wind and weather remembred. By the second commodity your highness shall have the assistance of the force of Scotland from time to time, as well to offend the attempts of a competitor, as also to suppress rebellions that may arise in the time of troubles. And besides, shall be ready to give you succour and aid, in all your necessities within your realm. Which succours shall need no transporting, but may repair at all times upon main land. The third commodity that will grow by the assurance of Scotland is, that thereby you shall be safe and free from the great perills and dangers that were very like to grow by them to you, if they should be joyned to France. Whereunto they must needs yield, except they were assured to your majesty. For the nature of man is such, that if he cannot find surety where he would, he will seek it where he may get it. Now I know no way so good to assure Scotland to your highness, as by giving to the principal persons of that realm convenient pensions. And this to have you to do, I would not onely be a counsellor, but also from the bottome of my heart a most humble and earnest petitioner. And where it may be doubted the French will outbid you, O! madam, I pray you to call to mind, that the Scots can take no pensions to join with the French, but that it must tend to the overthrow of religion established: from the which I cannot think they can be won. For that were to make merchandize of religion, to the danger of their souls. Again, they cannot join with France for pension sake:

for thereby they shall not only endanger to loose their pensions promised, but also in time their lives and livings, what promises or practices soever be made unto them. For who can doubt, but that if the French be received to joyn with the Scots, then will the faction of the Scottish queen be set up? which must needs breed and bring the destruction of them that govern now, being her utter enemies. So as it may be concluded, that as the taking of your pensions, tending to their sureties, will be received, so the pensions already offered by the French, tending to their destruction, both of body and soul, will be by them refused.

The second remedy is by the Low-Countries. But because things stand there very uncertain to my knowledge, therefore for the better framing of a remedy that way, it were good your majesty did send some man of credit, both to confer with the prince of Orange, and otherwise also to understand in what case and condition all things be there; and what is thought there to be the best remedy to defend, and to meet with all danger, that may grow that way. And thereof to certify your majesty, to think that thereupon that way be devised, that best should serve for your majesties surety.

And as touching the third and last remedy to be had here in England against Rome, your majesties good countenance and credit to those your good subjects that be enemies to the usurped authority of Rome, and earnest, severe handling of the contrary part, is the readiest way to bring the matter to good effect. And it is high time thus to do; because of late years they have grown in number. And those that maintain the authority of Rome, must needs maintain and defend the *sentences* and *decrees* made at Rome by the Romish authority, your highness right well knoweth. Besides, here at home your navy, your men, munition, and all other your martial provision, would be made in a readiness. For an end, that besides these remedies, it might be provided, that Cassimire might be prepared to be ready against all chances, then should all be done that I can devise.

Thus with all humbleness praying pardon of this my long and tedious letter, I commit your majesty to the tuition of Almighty God; who may bless you and all your actions. The 20th of November, 1577.

NUMBER 8.

Cox, bishop of Ely, to the lord treasurer Burghley: upon the queen's command for the suspension of Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury.

SIR, I write unto you, *non sine anxietate cordis*; her majesty *adeo indignata suo primo sacerdoti: cujus indig-natio mors est. Deus meliora. Sacerdotem vero tam clementem principem, et religionis sinceræ fautricem irritate, fontem lachrymarum merito ex oculis elicit.*

Since the beginning of our acquaintance, both you and I (God's blessed name be glorified) have constantly, through many brunts, *a dextris et a sinistris*, persevered: and you especially. Now at this pinch, *esto fortis, et viriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum.*

I understand of late the matter is touching a *conference*, which hath been used, or rather abused, and not by publick authority established, And therefore not unworthily by authority abolished. Which, I trust, no man doth maintain. But, I trust, hereafter, the thing being deeply and considerately weighed, her majesty, seeking especially the glory of God, and the quiet and needful edifying of her people, may be moved to have further consideration of this matter. And when the great ignorance, idleness, and lewdness of the great number of poor and blind priests in the clergy, shall be deeply weighed and considered of, it will be thought most necessary to call them, and to drive them, to some travel and exercise of God's holy word: whereby they may be the better able to discharge their bounden duty towards their flock. I trust I shall not need either with words or reasons to move your righteous heart to mitigate her majesties displeasure and indignation against her archbishop: who, I doubt not, will use himself with all dutiful submission. I have written to her majesty after my humble maner. *Absit, ut tam grave exemplum edatur in ecclesia Anglicana, quam tantopere Romana tyrannis infestare et devorare sat-agit, &c.* Thus the Lord Jesus bless you with encrease of health, and with all goodness that your heart can desire. From my house at Dodington the 12th of June, 1577.

Your lordship's assured,
Richarde Ely.

NUMBER 9.

The queens letter to the bishop of Lincoln: to cause the exercises, called prophesyings, to cease in his dioces.

RIGHT Reverend, &c. Although we doubt not, but that you do well and effectually remember our speeches unto you, to continue and encrease your care and vigilancy over your charge in Gods church, (a matter of no small weight,) warning you also of the dangerous presumptions of some in these days, who by singular exercises in public places, after their own fancies, have wrought no good in the minds of the multitude, easy to be carried with novelties: yet forasmuch as we have been sithence credibly informed, that in sundry places of your dioces, namely, in Hertfordshire, those exercises, or, as they term them, *prophesyings*, are yet, or were very lately continued, to the great offence of our orderly subjects; and therefore, and for divers good respects, we think requisite, that they shall be forborn to be used: Wee let you wit, that having in singular recommendation God's people under our government, whom we desire to have guided in an uniformity as neer as may be, wee charge and command you, as a person who by your function wee look should ease and satisfy us in this behalf, within your charge to have dutiful consideration hereof: and furthermore, to take express order through your dioces, that none other exercise be suffered to be publickly used, than preaching in fit times and places, by persons learned, discreet, conformable, and sound in religion, heard and allowed by you without partiality; reading of *homilies*, as is set forth by public authority, by the Injunctions appointed, and the order of the Book of Common Prayer.

And further, that ye signify unto us, or to some of our privy council, attending about our person, the names of all such gentlemen, and others, as have ben the setters forth and maintainers of those exercises; and in what places; and of such as shall impugne this order. And also, what you shall have done herein from time to time. Hereof not to fail, as you tender our plesure, and will avoid the contrary at your peril.

NUMBER 10.

The order of the government of the colledge of Westminster, syns the last erection, begonne by D. Byll, and con-tynued by me [Dr. Goodman] with the assent of the chapiter: as appeareth by divers decrees, recorded in the chapiter book.

DAILY prayer in king Henry the Seveths chappel at six of the clock in the morning: and a lecture there read upon the Wednesday and Friday.

Dayly service song in the chancel of the great church, according to the order of her majesties chappel, at the usual hours; that is, upon Sundays, from eight to eleven in the forenoon. Upon Wednesdays and Fridays, and other holy-days, from nine to eleven. And on other days, to begin at nine until almost eleven. Or in the afternoon service to begin at four, and to continue until five, or after five.

A sermon every Sunday in the year, either by the dean, or one of the prebendaries, or some other for them. The dean to preach four times in the year in his own person, unless there be cause to the contrary: that is, upon Christmas-day, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and Allhallowen-day. Every prebendary to preach in their own persons upon the Sundays in their course of residence; or else some other for them.

A solemne communion ministred upon the great feasts, and every first Sunday of every month. Where by order there do communicate the dean and prebendaries present: the ministers and four of the clarks, and four of the almes-men.

Upon those days that the dean is bound to preach, either he himself doth minister the communion, or some one of the prebendaries.

Twelve almesmen of her majesties foundation are bound to be resident; and in the church daily at service, according to her majesties order.

Every Sunday in the year, there is 40 mess of meat, for 40 poor householders of the parish, by the oversight of the chaunter of the church. Every mess being allowed there in flesh, or fish, a peny loaf in bread, and a peny in mony.

Every Saturday the dean, or one of the prebendaries, whose course is to be resident, after the service, morning prayers being ended, they do call before

them the ministers of their church, and the clarks of the twelve almosemen; and whom other they see cause. And there the chaunter of the church, in the book of Perditions, doth shew the default of such as were absent, or negligent in the week before.

Dr. Byll did appoint two square tables, and one mess to either of them: the one for himself, or whom he would call unto him. The ordinary allowance of the same for himself and six of his men, was 28s. The extraordinary as occasion served, he did further allow.

The other table, to serve the four prebendaries, whose course it was to be resident. And they bear each one for himself, and his man, 7s. a week. But shortly after, by decree in chapiter, it is encreased so, that every prebendary was to allow for himself and his man, in his course of residence weekly 10s. *in toto*. For four 40s.

In my time, for ease of charge, I and the four prebendaries have joyned together at one table, having one full mess, and sometimes more, as occasion serveth, I allowing thereto my ordinary portion, and the residentaries theirs. The detriments are born by the college; unless there be some special occasion of some special allowance.

The schoolmaster, and such as be officers, are allowed all the same table. The scholars do dine and sup in the hall, by the dean and prebendaries; and be allowed according to their rates: having a several buttry or pantry, and cellar by themselves.

The servants in likewise in the hall, having the reversion of the masters, and special allowance for those that are the college servants, and necessary officers, according to a necessary proportion.

Every week, commonly upon the Saturday after dinner, the charges of the week past is cast by the weekly charges of masters and servants in one book. The scholars charges in a several book by themselves.

The dean hath the general charge of all. The sub-dean under the dean to oversee the good order of the church and house. The archdeacon hath to do with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and such causes, either by himself, or by his official. The treasurer, one in like wise of the prebendaries, receiveth of the receit what is convenient for all charges. The steward of houshold, who is also a prebendary, re-ceiveth of the treasurer, or general receiver; and layeth out for the necessary charges of the house in diet and other

provisions. Under him is an under-steward, and the clark of the kitchen, and other officers.

Once a year the general receiver, treasurer, stewards, and all other accomptants and under-officers, make their accounts unto the auditor.

There be two teachers, the schoolmaster and the usher of the school. The scholars of the grammar be in number fourty: elected both into the house, and from the house to the universities, according to a special statute from her highness.

The scholars for their prayers in church, school, and chamber, for their teaching, for their diet in the hall, and lodging in one chamber, and for all other orders, they are served as they were in Dr. Bylls time, and was appointed, by him in special statutes: very like the orders used in Eton and Winchester schools.

The master of the singing boys hath his house, and other due allowances for himself and ten children. Whom he is charged to bring up in song, for the daily service of the church.

NUMBER 11.

Edward Phaer, condemned for counterfeiting coin, his letter from the Tower to the lord treasurer: offering to make great discoveries of coiners, such as used magic, &c.

AFTER *supplication for his life and liberty, he thus opens himself.* I began first at York: where I learned first to practise with one Morehouse, and of Fra. Jobson, Nic. Ricoard, and another; and made certain dollars. After I came to Nottingham, and there with one Mr. Fairfax, Warcup a priest, Nelson, and Dawson, we made foreign and English. All this was to no purpose: for we wrought with the mould. I suffered imprisonment therefore, and was delivered again; since which time I have practised other devices and tools to coin. Some of other men's inventions, and some of mine own, in such order (together with my stoutness in prison to yield and confess nothing) as began to spread my fame abroad, to excell in that art, and to be sought unto from divers places. As, in Yorkshire, Robert Warcup, gent. James Green of Lambwel, gent. William Bucton of Semer, gent. Meynil, gent. Three of the Claphams of Beamsley, gentlemen: and

divers more gentlemen; as Gower neer Stockton, Thwaites in the Woulds, Garston, Constable, about Whitly Strond: two of the Con-yers, gent. And there these gentlemen offered to place me in a castle of my lord Monteagles at his charges. In Northumberland, with Stephen Fenick, Robert Car, gent. Coldwel, and others. In Lancashire, Thomas Wolfal and Bretton, gent. In Lincolnshire, Fra. Carsey and his brother, gent. In Gloucestershire, with Chattertons, two brethren, gent. In Northamptonshire, Robert Mallery, Robert Harrison, and two gentlemen more. In this city [i. e. London] out of Kent, Jerom Brett, gent. sir Warham St. Leger: and moved to sir John St. Leger; and to have an island of his in the sea. Beaumont and others in Suffolk. Bray and Tiler of London, and Thomas Hains. And moved to deal with one Mr. Greenfield in Devon, and So-mersetshire one Ellis. And offered to be placed by captain Chester in Holland. One Browning neer Colchester. And another confederacy of John Prastals: and an alchymist. And were about to deal in Essex, about Candlemas last, with a justice of peace; which I could soon sift out. I have been willed to Ireland by divers, as James Haydon, gent. Thomas Eden, and others.

Thus, my lord, I have reveled the onely names unto your honour, and no matter at all. Neither is it to any purpose, if I should accuse the most of them. For none of all these but have heard of my trouble, and would flatly deny me: and those whom I could not touch with sufficient matter, would go free away. And so by fending and proving shall I never be able to shew the service which I fain would. But assuredly, my lord, if it may please the queen's majesty to give me life, and some reasonable maintenance, &c. and to be preserved for some quality of mine, to be used in the mint, &c. (for that way I must do service, and not openly,) will find ways and means enough to catch them that deserve thereafter: yea, twenty against one the other way. And so, is it not the most of these men, but a great multitude of others, (now unknown,) would help me for that purpose. And further, I would insinuate my self with all workmen, as smiths, gravers, and alchymists: so that I suppose nothing should escape my reach in that craft. And most sure I am, that no subtil device or invention can blind me, if it ply in that work. And so might they be taken in season, and with the manifest proof it self. And without some such special watch, undoubtedly they will still be doing, unknown, passing any magistrates understanding. I say not here commendation of my instruments and working tools, which be

of great speed and of fine handling. To the use whereof I am to give place to no man. Your honour is to consider thereof, as it shall please you.

For *magic*, I can find out as many that way. And if I might speak with my old companions, (and many of them are in this town,) I would hunt out a mervailous pack of them, with their books and reliques. Yea, and with their art goeth many a filthy ceremony, as mass, sacrifice, and their service of the Devil: also, my acquaintance, supposing me to be the same I was before, would disclose their minds unto me. Whereby I should understand that which now my conscience and bounden duty would not permit me to concele: and thereby save many a true man his goods.

Thus your honour doth understand the sum of my pretence: that which, upon my salvation, I have shewed of zeale and of good will towards my country; and am ready to perform full as much as I have said, and more, in every respect. For one thing brings on another. He that seeketh shall find. And first, a name, then a man's own commendation, and a liberal tongue to discourse, is a sufficient credit to any master of these arts, to bring him customers enough. I am sure these things and many other have I had light of in my time. And now I am both further known, and thought much more cunning: which would bring treble acquaintance. So should your honour by my life have all the intelligence I were able to learn, unfeign-edly, by all possible means. And certainly, that should be both much and needful.

My hope is verily to weed and cleanse this country of *coining*. And for other matters, all the good I can to purge it. Your honour hath preserved many to amendment of life. God well knoweth, I would not live to be a stay and hindrance to all those which are to find favour and mercy for their deserts, coming after me. I desire none, but a sufficient true living by the day. For, God be judge, I wish not otherwise to live; and I ask it of her highness; for that I determine to serve her majesty faithfully. Mine own ability is nothing. And if I had grace and liberty, yet I could not do this service altogether with empty hands. For I must seek some that look not for me, and keep company with the rest as fall out, for that purpose: not doubting, but I shall endeavour my self, so as should well merit my reward. Or for default thereof, I shall be content to loose life and all, my duty not supplied. And by my death shall be but presented the example of all evil members. And so shall dy with me all the light and evidence before spoken. For if I do suffer the extremity of the law, it will be too late for me to shew this my well affected service. Neither am I in that mind, by death to do it.

But if I go thereto, I am fully determined, that every man shall bear his own sins; praying to God for their amendment. And for my own part, my perfect hope is to be saved at the Almighty God's hand: unto whose high mercy I commit my self. And so I end; praying to the Lord for the long life, health, and happy days of your honour to endure.

Your honours humble and poor captive,
Edward Phaer.

NUMBER 12.

*George Buchanan to Mr. Randolph, concerning,
 publishing, his history: and his distemper.*

MAISTER, I hauf resavit divers letters from you, and yet I hauf aunswered to naine of them. Of the quhyllz albeyt I hauf mony excusis, as age, forgetfulness, and disease; yet I will use naine now, except my sweitness and your gentleness. And geif ye think none of thoise sufficient, content you with ane confession of the falt without fear of punition to follow on my own peculiar kindness.

As for the present, I am occupiit in writing of our history; beying assurit to content few, and to displeasure mony tharthrow. As to the end of it, if ye get it not or this winter be past, cippin [look] not for it, nor none other writing from me. The rest of my occupation is with the gout, quhyllz haldys me besy both day and nyt. And quhair yee say, ye half not lang to lyif, I trust to God to go before you; albeyt I be one rut [foot] and ye ryd the post Praying you als not to dispost the post at Newerke tone of Kelsterne. This I pray you partly for the awne quhame I thought ane gud fallow, and partly at request of lyk, as I dare not refuse. And thus I take my leave shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen God pleads: committing you to the protection of the Almighty. At Sterling the 25th of August, 1577.

Yours to commaund with service,
G. Buchanan.

NUMBER 13.

Sandys, archbishop of York, to the lord treasurer: concerning his enquiry into the holy orders of Whittingham, dean of Durham. For which some complaint was made of him at court.

MY very good lord; I have great cause to thank you for your most friendly answer for me. You shall never receive dishonour by me. For my doings tryed, shall ever be found sincere, and not in right to be blamed. Neither shall there any man be more ready to charge me, than I to answer it, if I may be called and admitted to it. Verily, my lord, I receive great wrong. My faithful and upright service is ill requited. I have given no occasion of offence in word or in fact. Whosoever shall charge me with either shall greatly wrong me.

This Durham matter breedeth a great broyl. The dean hath gotten mo friends than the matter deserveth. The discredit of the church of Geneva is hotly alledged. Verily, my lord, that church is not touched. For he hath not received his ministry in that church, or by any authority or order from that church, so far as yet can appear. Neither was there any English church in Germany that attempted the like, neither needed they to have done; having among themselves sufficient ministers to supply the rowne. But yf his ministry without authority of God or man; without law, order, or example of any church, may be current, take heed to the sequel. Who seeth not what is intended? God deliver his church from it. I will never be guilty of it. And yet I trust that I shall never swerve from the truth of God, nor shrink in matter of religion. But I shall ever mislike of confusion. If her majesty had liking of it, or yf the lords had called me, I would have attended after Easter. But seeing that no such order is taken, I dare not leave my charge. Neither have I further to deal in Durham matter. For I trust the lords will not make me a party. Yet yf I shall be burthened with matter worthy to be answered, yf the lords call me thereunto, I will readily and gladly come. But to intrude myself into the action, I mind not. I shall humbly pray, that I may be clearly acquitted of it.

It hath created me much displeasure, as I hear. But I bear it more quietly, having the testimony of my conscience, that I have dealt uprightly, and have given no just offence to any man. I have written to the lords somewhat more at large to the like effect. I would wish your lordship should be at the board, when those letters, shall be read. Thus

acknowledging, how much I am bound unto you, for your honorable constant favour towards me, I humbly recommend your good lordship to the good direction of God's holy Spirit. Bushopthorp, this 4th Aprilis, 1579.

Your lordships most assured,
E. Ebor.

NUMBER 14.

Cox, bishop of Ely, to the queen. His letter congratulatory to her, now in her progress; and excusing himself for not waiting upon her.

INDIGNUM facinus me admisisse arbitrabuntur inter-pretēs parum aequi, augustissima regina, quod in hac tua peregrinatione, obsequium tuae majestati non praebeam. Ve-rum modo nec Deo, nec tuae sublimitati ulla detur offensa, aliorum judicium susque deque fero. Si autem intelligerem meam operam ulla in re serenitati tuae usui esse posse, in genua provolutus reperem potius ad sublimitatem tuam, quam officio meo deessem. Spero equidem majestatem tuam aetatis meae rationem habere, et virium mearum imbecillitatem perpendere. Senio confectus sum. Quod ex se morbus est. Unde rude donari, et alteri lampada tradere, id est, valentiori viribus, ingenio, eruditione, et acerrimo legis Dei propugnatori, humiliter ab sequitate tua petebam paucis retro annis. Quando majestas tua benignissime re-spondit: *Nondum hoc fiet.*

Moses senescens Josua successorem instituit: Augustinus senescens Alipium sibi succedere curavit. Tuae fidei tra-dita est a Deo Anglicana ecclesia, quae regnum Dei est: in quo patefactus est Christus Jesus in salutem nostram. Hu-jus tu es gubernatrix, defensatrix. Hinc igitur inutiles sacerdotes, ambitiosi, avil, et simoniaci, ab ecclesia tua pel-lantur, explodantur, exhibentur. Christus ipse e templo flagellis talia monstra exturbavit. Interim qui pii sunt ec-clesiarum pastores, zelo verse religionis accensi, foveantur, animentur, duplici honore digni habeantur: non contemnantur, non conculcentur, non ostentui habeantur. Grave illud, *Qui vos spernit, me spernit.* Haec aperta via est ad Papismum, ad Turcismum, denique ad omnia scelera et ini-quitates.

Verum longe alio tendit tuus pientissimus zelus, qui hac-tenus per gratiam Dei constantissime et dexterrime veram Christi religionem per annos viginti, invito Diabolo, et hosti-bus tuis universis, conservasti, defendisti. Neque tuae ec-clesiae naevos abscindere et sanare contaris, verum etiam catholicae ecclesiae atque vicinarum ecclesiarum sollicituaine tangeris. Nam nuper didici, huc pietatem tuam tendere, ut viros ex tuis mittas ad sedandas contentiones in ecclesiis Germanicis. O! reginam, O! faeminam vere piam, quae ad Constantini Magni exemplum tam prope accedas.

Praeterea, mirifice benedicit conatibus tuis Dominus Deus noster; ut per te regnum tuum (quoad fieri potest) in pie-tate et tranquillitate degit. Ad haec, frementibus undique bellis, tu interim prudentissime procuras, ut pax domi, et foris, sarta tecta conservetur. Denique non possum non ingentissimas gratias agere eximiae tuae pietati, quod contro-versiam meam ab implicatis legum tricis benigne exemeris; et cancellariae, quae est aequi et boni curia, reddideris. Quae res tamen non sine magna difficultate obtenta est.

Dominus Jesus Christus celsitudinem tuam servet, de fide in fidem augescentem, et multos annos incolumem, felicique regno beatum, ut tandem cum Christo in celesti paradiso vita fruaris aeterna. Ex aedibus meis in insula Eliensi.

Episcopus tuus humillimus,
Richardus Elien.

NUMBER 15.

Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, to the lord treasurer: to hinder a design to impropriate a benefice; or to get a lease of it for 500 years.

MAY it please your lordship to be advertised, that the lord Thomas Powlet, dwelling within the county of Somerset, patron of a parsonage called West Moncton, hath been (as I am informed) minded to make the said parsonage an impropriation to him and his heirs for ever. But being doubtful he should bring that to pass, he hath changed his mind, and hath gotten the consent of him that is now incumbent to have a lease of the said parsonage for 500 years to come; allowing the incumbent that shall be 30*l* by year. And the said incumbent to stand to all maner of charges ordinary and

extraordinary whatsoever. The said benefice is worth an 100*l.* by year. So the said lord doth give unto him that is now incumbent, during his life, 80*l.* yearly, charges born. And hath moved me divers times that I would give my assent thereto as ordinary. Which thing I have refused to do; considering the example thereof is like to follow to the great decay of the clergy. For if this precedent should be brought into a custome, there are few benefices, but they should be brought to little or nothing. By such alteration the queen shall loose that is due unto her highness; the ministers brought to poverty, more like to ask then to give bread; and so the gospel and ministry brought to utter contempt.

I understand that the said lord Powlet hath given the patronage of the forenamed parsonage unto the queen's majesty; and he that is now incumbent hath made a lease to her highness for 500 years: and that she hath confirmed the same to the said lord Powlet. And so remaineth, that I should put my hand thereto. My humble duty is to obey her majesty. Which I do and shall do while I live; and will in no wise deny that her highness hath done: but would be glad to know what is best to be done; lest that her majesty being misinformed, might graunt that which hereafter shall turn to the great undoing of her clergy.

The letters of such graunt as her majesty hath given to the said lord Thomas Powlet, I have not hitherto seen; but am informed that he hath them. As I shall learn, so will I do your lordship to understand. And in the mean season to stay my hand for confirming; unless I shall be advertised to the contrary by your lordship: having no other refuge to whom I may resort for better advice. I am bold thus much to enterprize: wishing your lordship's prosperity long to continue to God's honour and glory. At Wells, this 21st of November, 1578.

Your lordships daily orator,
Gilbert Bathe and Wells.

I understood by my said lord Powlet, that as yet he hath not the graunt from the queen's majesty; but requieth my hand, for the more speedy obtaining of the same.

NUMBER 16.

Wilsford denyes the queen to be supreme head of the church: better informed, writes to the lord treasurer to obtain her majesties pardon.

RIGHT honourable: as man hath his constitution of divers qualities, so is he subject and vexed with divers passions and perturbations. Wherewith I being opprest by the ingrate and unkind dealing of certain gentlemen I have had to do for in my vocation, that I got my living by: and thereby brought into miserable poverty, that I durst not, nor dare I not, go abroad to provide for my wife and children. And so at home occupying my self in the study of God's book, by the often meditation of the same, and reading St. Powle's Epistle to the Hebrews, in the fifth chapter, concerning the pontification and priesthood of Aaron and Christ; and many other places, as well in the same epistle, as of other epistles of St. Paule, concerning the same dignity of Christ, I perceived that Aaron's pontification and priesthood was earthly, and continued by succession here on earth. But Christ's pontification is celestial, without succession in this world; and not passable ever to any other person in earth. For that Christ is *pontifex et sacerdos ad rationem Melchisidechi*. And by that means only mediator between God and man; and *caput ecclesiae*. And thus being in captivity, as Joseph was; who, for his delivery out of the same, took upon him to expound dreams; so I devised with my self to open to the queen's majesty, that it was not lawful for any person to take upon him to be *caput ecclesiae*, except the same person will be Christ's adversary and antichrist, as the pope is.

But since being better advised and admonished by master secretary Wylson of my rash enterprize therein. For that the queen's majesty assumeth not unto her self, neither to be *summus pontifex*, neither yet to be *caput ecclesiae*, as it is Christ's mystical body: which the pope doth, presuming by his ordinances and traditions to give remission of sins, and to offer sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead: whereby he sitteth in the temple of God, boasting himself as God: and so is antichrist. But her majesties supreme government is concerning the civil and political government of the clergy and laity of Christ's church and mystical body. Which authority and supremacy, her majesty, withal other princes and

potentates, have in their realms and dominions, justly and dutifully, both by Christ's gospel, and all the apostolical doctrine.

Wherefore I shall withal submission and most humble obedience, beseech your magnificent honour, with all the rest of their honours, to whom this my impudent behaviour is made open unto, to be mediators unto the queen's majesty, to pardon and forgive, as she is a most merciful and clement prince, this my temerarious presumption and im-pudency; done of good zeale towards her majesty, although void of good knowledge and science. And that I may have my liberty, to provide for my wife and children; which now live in miserable penury by this my captivity. And so shall we all be bound to pray for the prosperous supreme government over all her graces dominions, to the plesure of the eternal God; and also for the eternal felicity of all your honours. The 25th day of November, 1578.

Your most humble and addict suppliant,
John Wilsford.

NUMBER 17.

A decree for the restraint of the excess of apparel, both for the unreasonable costs and the unseemly fashions of the same; used by scholars and students in the university of Cambridge.

CONSIDERING that the original cause of the collection together of multitudes of men into such publick places as the university of Cambridge is, and the endowing and donation of the same with great lands, liberties, and privileges from kings, princes, and other estates, was onely to bring up and instruct in good learning, godlines, vertue, and maners, all such as should come thither to continue as scholars and students; whereby the church of God and the whole realm might have, as fi'om a storehouse, sufficient provision of meet men in all degrees, that should be able, by God's grace, with their learning and vertues, to serve in all the places of the publick government, as well in the church as in the civil estate: and therefore all means are to be used, (and so it is the duty of the heads of the university,) both to cherish and avaunce all means that may tend to the encrease and conserve of godlines, good learning, vertue, and maners; and in like wise to remove in seasonable time all impediments that are averse to the same.

For which cause it is found at this time very necessary, that some speedy remedy be provided for the restoring to the said university the antient modesty of the students, scholars, and all other that shall be accounted members of the same, as well in all exterior behaviour, as in knowledge and learning; which of late years hath greatly been decayed and diminished by the negligence, sufferance, and remisseness of the heads and governours of the private colleges, as may be conjectured; but especially, by suffering of sundry young men, being the children of gentlemen, and men of wealth, at their coming to the said university, contrary to the auncient and comely usage of the same, to use very costly and disguised manet of apparel, and other at-tyres unseemly for students in any kind of humane learning, but rather meet for riotous prodigalls, and light persons: thereby not only being more chargeable to their friends than is convenient, but by their ill example induce-ing others of less habilitie to chaunge and cast away their modesty and honest frugality, to the overcharging of their friends: and namely, to the attempting of unlefeful means to maintain them in their said wastful disorders; and consequently, to neglect or intermit their former studies. So as if remedy be not speedily provided, the university, which hath been from the beginning a collection and society of a multitude of all sorts of ages, professing to learn godlines, modesty, vertue, and learning; and a necessary storehouse to the realm of the same, shall become rather a storehouse, or a staple of prodigal, wastful, riotous, unlearned, and insufficient persons, to serve, or rather to unserve, the necessity of the realm, both in the church and civil policie.

Therefore it is ordered and decreed by the right honourable William lord Burghley, high chancellor of the said university, with the advice and consent of the vicechancellor of the same, and all the masters and heads of colleges, houses, and halls, that from the feast of Michaelmas next coming, no person shall have any lodging in common, or resiance in any college, house, or hall, or to be taught by any within the university, but that he shall within the compass of every college, hall, or house, and in the common schools, and in his going and returning to the same, wear such seemly apparel, both for the stuff and fashion, as shall become a student and professor of learning. And for more manifest expression of the meaning hereof, by way of prohibiting the monstrous misuse lately crept into the university, no student shall wear within the university any hoses of unseemly greatness or disguised fashion, nor yet any excessive ruffs in their shirts; nor shall wear swords or rapiers, but when they are to ride onely.

Nor shall any person coming to study, wear any apparel of velvet or silk, but such as by the laws of the realm, according to their birth, or as by certain orders published by proclamation in her majesties time, are allowed, according to their several degrees of birth and wealth.

And generally, all the heads of houses shall cause all such as have any sustentation, stipend, or other maintenance within their houses, to conforme themselves; and to reform all their disorderly apparel, according to the local statutes of the house: or otherwise, if time in some points have caused alteration, yet to use such as shall be comely, and agreeable to their vocations. And that as much as may be, the diversity of fashions in every degree be avoided: to reduce the number, as near as may be, to one uniformity of comliness and modesty, according to their degrees.

And for the execution of this decree, the vicechancellor and the heads of colleges shall confer together; and shall in writing, by common consent, prescribe some particular rules for the directing of all sorts, and for the prohibition from that time, of all unseemly innovation in all kind of apparel and attyre; with regard to such as be the sons of noblemen, or of other principal estates, or knights in the realm, which have no living in any colleges. That according to the degrees of their parents, they may be permitted to use the more cost in their apparel: so that the same be not excessive, nor in fashion unseemly for students and professors of learning. And if any shall upon reasonable warning attempt to break such orders as shall be prescribed, the same shall be expelled the house where he doth reside, and shall not be suffered to enter into any other publick house of learning, nor into the common schools. Neither yet shall any within the university presume to teach or instruct him, while he shall continue his offence in any part within the said university.

NUMBER 18.

The vice-chancellor and heads of the university of Cambridge, to their high chancellor: complaining of the im-peaehing of their free suffrages in their election of fellows, by letters procured from the queen.

Honoratissimo domino dno. de Burghleye, totius Angliae summo thesaurario, et academiae Cantabrigiensis can-cellario dignissimo.

FACILE facit academia quod semper facit (illustrissime Burleiensis) ut ad tuam semper humanitatem confidenter accedat; ut in omni sua petitione tuam protenus opem se-dulo imploret; et in tuo quasi sinu omnes suas curas et cogitationes profuse effundat. In quo sane admirabilis quae-dam elucet humanitas tua: quem neque tua ipsius negotia, neque universi hujus imperii multiplex sane proeuratio un-quam impediit, quo minus importunitati libenter vacares, et petitioni nostrae amanter concederes. Hac spe freti ve-nimus ad te hoc tempore, sicut ad parentes filii solent acce-dere.

Querimur apud dignitatem tuam laedi a quibusdam aca-demiam nostram, minui et infringi libertatem, affligi et per-turbari libertatem. Addimus etiam, defervescere apud nos nonnullorum studia, dejici animos, languescere industriam, angi postremo omnes et singulos academicos; atque segre quidem id ferre; cui tamen nisi per tuam solius authorita-tem nullo certe modo mederi possunt. Quod nam veto est istud, inquires, malum, quod adeo vos conturbat? Quodnam tam grave vulnus quod tantopere vos affligit? Timide dici-mus, honoratissime Mecaenas; et tibi tamen dicendum est libere. Id enim et observantia in te nostra hactenus con-suevit, et necessitas hoc tempore exigit, et tua benignitas jamdiu permisit. Dolemus, ornatissime Cecili, eripi nobis libera in societatibus collegiorum nostrorum disponendis suf-fragia, id est, ut nos interpretamur, auferri virtutis et stu-diorum praemia. Cum enim regio diplomate id apud nos obtineatur, quod summae in bonis literis assequendis dili-gentiae, quod assiduo virtutis studio, morumque probitati solet concedi; cum princeps id mandet fieri, quod praeclara ingenia, honesta officia, probi mores solent demereri; fit sane, ut adolescentes nostri pulsus paulatim obedientiae repagulis, nec non excusso suavissimo nutricis omnium virtu-tum, humilitatis jugo, desertoque plane superioribus suis omni honesta ratione placendi studio, beneque merendi de-siderio, non academicos quibuscum vivunt, implorare, mo-rumque suavitate promereri studeant; sed aulicos, quibus ignoti sunt, omni modo ambire cupiant: nec jam eorum quos rei summa penes esse solet, suffragia aestiment; sed aulicorum literis plerumque se muniant: illeque tandem voti sui compotem se fore confidit, non qui in academia bene meritum, sed qui ex aula mandatum afferre possit.

In quo sane magnum nobis negotium faciunt, ingentique cura onerant, valdeque discruciant, ne vel regiae majestati immorigeri (quod nullo certe modo esse debemus) vel pri-vilegiis nostris ab ipsamet majestate nobis concessis plane infidi, aut, si id minus durum sit, parum profecto providi inveniamur. Ista tu nos cura atque anxietate pro ingenti humanitate tua liberares, prudentissime Burghliensis. Obte-stamur te, et per tuam in nos fldem, ac benevolentiam; et per nostram quam tu maxime amas, salutem et dignitatem, aufer nobis istam mandatorum frequentiam, quibus non tam promoveri homines importunos, maximeque audaces, quam animos despondere, planeque languescere ingenuos et verecundos; cum non nullo certe dolore, cernimus et la-mentamur. Tu vero, si justa postulare videri possumus, huic nostro dolori finem imponas: atque apud regiam majestatem, cum occasio erit, prudenter perficias. Ut quam ipsa nobis libertatem benigne concessit, liberam nobis, sar-tamque tectam, pro divina benignitate sua, esse velit. Rem sane efficies supra quam dici potest, academiae utilem, et tibi ipsi proculdubio non minus jucundum et honorificum. Dominus Deus, Pater luminum omni te honore atque amplitudine cumulatissimum reddat. Vale. Cantab. 11. ca-lend. April. 1578.

Tuae semper dignitatis studiosissimi, Procancellarius, et reliqui collegiorum praefecti.

[NUMBER 18.]

Articuli propositi pro parte et nomine illustrissimi du-cis Andegavensis, fratris unici regis Gallorum, serenissimaereginae Angliae; de et super matrimonio inter ipsius majestatem, et praefati ducis celsitudinem, 16 Junii, 1579.

I. IMPRIMIS, quod in honorem et gloriam Dei, dictum matrimonium celebrabi-tur, peragetur, consummabi-tur, quam primum fieri po-test, paribus atque eisdem ri-tibus et ceremoniis, quibus antiquitus et a primis regum temporibus ad hodiernum us-que diem, regum ac principum augustissima matrimo-nia celebrari consuerunt et solent. Quodque si propter religionis discrimen quod re-giae majestati cum praefato illustriss duci intercedit, ali-qua nascatur difficultas, ea ratio inibitur, qua utriusque conscientiae consulatur.

II. Quod dictus illustriss. dux, et omnes ex Galliis ori-undi, qui domestici ejus sunt; omnes item alii, cujuscunque generis aut nationis extite-rint, qui celsitudini ejus in-serviunt, et famulantur, libe-rum habebunt exercitium religionis suae catholicae Roma-nae in regno Angliae.

III. Quod post matrimo-nium celebratum et consum-mature dictus illustr, dux co-ronabitur rex Angliae consu-etis ceremoniis et solemnita-tibus in regibus Angliae in-augurandis, usu receptis et adhibitis: unoque cum dicta sereniss, regina consorte sua censebitur et gaudebit stylo, honore et nomine regio.

IV. Quod omnes donationes... beneficiorum, ma-gistratuum... remuneratio-num... scriptorum regio rum, redituum, proventuum regnorum et dominiorum praefatae sereniss, reginae per ... conjunctum dicto illustr. duci.

V. Quod omnes literse pa-tentes, provisiones, collationes, donationes, concessiones... et alia scripta quaecun-que... expedientur, emana-bunt, tam nomine dicti illus-trissimi ducis, quam dietae se-renissimae reginae. Quodque per omnes officarios, locum-tenentes et regulos quoscun-que in dictis regnis, tetris do-miniis... labuntur, concipi-entur et... prout sequitur, *Franciscus et Elizabetha, rex et regina Angliae, &c.*

VI. Quod dictus illustriss. dux ratione regalis familiae quaae... sui ex proventibus et aere habebit et pereipiet an-nuatim... ginta mille libras sterlingorum... Et pro as-severatione cujus summae da-buntur dicto illustriss, duci ducatus Lancastriae et Ebo-racensis cum pertinentiis et dependentiis suis. Quibus re-ditibus, fructibus et proven-tibus utetur, fruetur pro ar-bitrio et libitu suo juxta fa-tionem et proportionem, et usque ad valorem summae praedict. durante vita sua na-turali, habebit liberos ex prae fato matrimonio natos, vel secus.

VII. Quod dictus illustr. dux dabit, constituet, assig-nabit dictae sereniss, reginae summam quinquaginta mille coronatorum de sole, pro dote. Quam quidem summam as-signabit capiendam et perci-piendam de et super ducatu suo Andegavensi annuatim, tanta cum securitate et juris provisione, quanta fieri po-test, et debet maxime. Ad quam quidem assignationem et donationem melius et effi-cacius corroborandam confir-mandamque, pro bono et commodo dictae sereniss. re-ginae, dictus serenissimus Gal-lorum rex, praefati illustr. du-cis frater unicus, dabit et de-cernet literas suas

patentes. Quae quidem Irae. legentur, promulgabuntur, in acta re-ferentur in omnibus curiis et locis debitis, et consuetis.

VIII. Quod si praefata se-reniss, regina praemoreretur relictis haeredibus ex praefato matrimonio susceptis et pro-creatis; idem illustriss, dux habebit tutelam, regimen et educationem eorum; retine-bitque nomen, titulum etqua-litatem regis, patris et admi-nistratores dictorum regno-rum, pro et nomine dictorum haeredum, suorum liberorum: idque quousque dicti liberi coronabuntur rex aut regina; poteruntque pro juribus et consuetudinibus dictorum regnorum, terrarum et dominiorum plenam et liberam eorundem administrationem ipsi obtinere, et in manus ca-pere.

IX. Quodque nullis relic-tis matrimonio superstitibus, idem illustr, dux gau-debit et fruetur vita naturali supradictis sexaginta mille libris sterlingis, ut honorificentia... prout regem de-cet, regium splendorem et amplitudinem sustineat alat-que. Quam quidem rem perficiendam habebit et tenebit sibi assignatos et assecuratos praefatos ducatus et terras, possessionesque notatas et comprehensas in articulo sexto.

X. Quod pro adeptione et acquisitione dicti regni Angliae qua... virtute hujus matrimonii... cogitat, nec omnino in... discedere de jure suo... habere potest in R... et aliarum terrarum... quoad jura, privilegia... actiones attinet.

XI. Quod ad perpetuum robur et... mentum pactorum supra conclusorum alio rumque quae concludentur de et super negotio praefati ma-trimonii contractus ejusdem legetur, promulgabitur in acta, referetur in omnibus cu-riis, tam regni Franciae, quam regni Angliae, quibus potest, et fieri assolet, ab eisdem de-cernetur, confirmabitur, et promulgabitur.

XII. Quod inter regem Christianiss. regna Angliae et Hiberniae, et liberos procrea-tos ex dicto matrimonio, eo-rumque posteros, erit perpetua amicitia, et confoederatio.

Responsum ex parte serenissimae reginae exhibitum, 17 Junii, 1579.

I. II. DUO haec priora capita, quae ad religionem, et matrimonii celebrandi ritus attinent, relinquantur trac-tanda et definienda inter se-reniss, reginam et illustriss. tempore colloqui, &c.

III. Caput hoc de inau-guratione et regiae coronae petitione, relinquitur tractandum per dictam serenissimam reginam et illustr. ducem, ut super eo statuatur, tempore dicti colloquii, adhibito consensu et auctoritate parlamenti hujusce regni: quod ideo in eam rem circa tempus dicti colloquii convocabitur et indicetur: et semel indictum, non prorogabitur, aut diff' eretur, donec caput hoc finitum sit.

IV. Caput hoc relinquitur tractandum tempore dicti colloquii.

V. VI. Relinquuntur etiam haec tractanda tempore dicti colloquii et convocationis parlamenti, ut latius in capite de inauguratione, et regiae coronae petitione scriptum est.

VII. Summa hujusce doctissimi relinquitur statuenda tempore dicti colloquii.

VIII. Quae petenda ab illustr. duce, quoad aequa fuerint concedi, non negabitur illi tutela filii vel filiae suae, cui ex hoc matrimonio prognato regnum Angliae pertinebit; ac gubernatio regnorum: eodem modo eisque conditionibus et provisionibus, quibus, statutum est per quasdam ordinationes magni parlamenti Angliae in favorem regis Hispaniarum, quando sereniss. regina Maria putabatur ex eo gravida.

IX. Caput hoc relinquatur tractandum tempore dicti colloquii, et convocationis parlamenti; ut latius in capite de inauguratione et regiae coronae petitione scriptum est.

X. Conceditur.

XI. Conceditur.

XII. Conceditur.

NUMBER 19.

The prayer of Mr. John Fox, after his Good-Friday sermon, preached at St. Paul's-cross, about the year 1578. concluding his sermon with these words:

“And now let us pray as we began, making our earnest invocation to Almighty God for the universal state of Christ’s church, and all other states and degrees in order particularly, as custom and also duty requireth.”

LORD Jesus Christ, son of the living God, who wast crucified for our sins, and did rise again for our justification, and ascending up to heaven, reignest now at the right hand of the Father, with full power and authority ruling and disposing all things, according to thine own gracious and glorious purpose: wee, sinful creatures, and yet servants and members of thy church, do prostrate our selves and our prayers before thy imperial Majesty, having no other patron or advocate to speed our suits, or to resort unto, but thee alone. Beseeching thy goodness to be good to thy poor church militant here in this wretched earth; sometime a rich church, a large church, an universal church, spread far and wide through the whole compass of the earth; now driven into a narrow corner of the world: and hath much need of thy gracious help.

First, the Turk with the sword, what lands, what nations and countries, what empires, kingdoms, and provinces, with cities innumerable, hath he won, not from us, but from thee: where thy name was wont to be invoked, thy word preached, thy sacraments administred; there now remaineth barbarous Mahumet, with his filthy Alcoran. The flourishing churches in Asia, the learned churches in Graecia, the manifold churches in Africa, which were wont to serve thee, now are gone from thee. The seven churches of Asia, with their candlesticks, whom thou diddest so well forwarn, are now removed. In all the churches, where thy diligent apostle St. Paul, thy apostles Peter and James, and other apostles so laboriously travailed, preaching and writing, to plant thy gospel, are now gone from thy gospel, in all the kingdoms of Syria, Palestina, Arabia, Persia, in all Armenia, and the empire of Cappadocia: through the whole compass of Asia, with Egypt and with Africa also, unless among the far Ethiopians, some old steps of Christianity peradventure yet do remain. Either yet in all Asia and Africa, thy church hath not one foot of free land; all is turned either to infidelity or to captivity, whatsoever pertaineth to thee. And if Asia and Africa were decayed, the decay were great, but yet the defection were not so universal.

Now of Europe a great part is shrunk from thy church. All Thracia, with the empire of Constantinople; all Graecia, Epirus, Illyricum; and now of

late all the kingdom almost of Hungaria, with much of Austria, with lamentable slaughter of Christian blood, is wasted, and all become Turks.

Onely a little angle of the west part yet remaineth in some profession of thy name. And here, alack! cometh another mischief, as great or greater than the other. For the Turk with the sword is not so cruel, but the bishop of Rome on the other side is more bitter and fierce against us: stirring up his bishops to burn us; his confederates to conspire our destruction; setting kings against their subjects, and subjects disloyally to rebel against their princes. And all for thy name. Such distinction and hostility Satan hath sent among us, that Turks be not more enemies to Christians, than Christians to Christians, papists to protestants. Yea, protestants with protestants do not agree; but fall out for trifles. So that the poor little flock of thy church, distressed on every side, hath neither rest without, nor peace within, nor place almost in the world where to abide; but may cry now from the earth, even as thine own reverence cryed out from thy cross, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*

Among us Englishmen here in England, after so great storms of persecutions and cruel murders of so many martyrs, it hath pleased thee to give us these alcoin days; which yet we enjoy, and beseech thy merciful goodness still they may continue. But here also, alack! what shall we say, so many enemies we have, that envy us this rest and tran-quillity, and do what they can to disturb it. They which be friends and lovers of the bishop of Rome, although they eat the fat of the land, and have the best preferments and offices, and live most at ease, and ayl nothing, yet are they not therewith content. They grudge, they mutter and mur-tour, they conspire and take counsil against us. It fretteth them, that we live by them, or with them, and cannot abide that we should draw the bare breathing of the air; when they have all the most liberty of the land. And albeit thy singular goodness hath given them a queen so calm, so patient, merciful, more like a natural mother than a princess, to govern over them; such as neither they nor their aun-cestors never read of in the stories of this land before: yet all this will not calm them; their unquiet spirit is not yet content; they repine and rebel, and needs would have, with the frogs of Egypt, a Ciconia, an Italian stranger, a bishop of Rome, to play *rex* over them, and care not if all the world were set on a fire, so that they with their Italian lordships might reign alone. So fond are we Englishmen of straunge and foreign things; so unnatural to our selves; so greedy of new-fangle novelties; never contented with any estate long to continue, be it never so

good. And furthermore, so cruel one to another, that we think our selves not quiet, unless it be seasoned with the bloud of others. For that is their hope, that is all their gaping and looking: that is their *golden-day* of jubilee, which they thirst for so much; not to have the Lord to come in the clouds, but to have our bloud, and to spil our lives. That, that is it which they would have; and long since would have had their wills upon us, had not thy gracious pity and mercy raised up to us this our merciful queen, thy servant Elizabeth, somewhat to stay their fury.

For whom as we most condignely give thee most hearty thanks, so likewise we beseech thy heavenly Majesty, that as thou hast given her unto us, and hast from so manifold dangers preserved her before she was queen; so now in her royal estate she may continually be preserved, not only from the hands, but from all malignant devices, wrought, attempted, or conceived, of enemies, both ghostly and bodily, against her. In this her government be her governour, we beseech thee; so shall her majesty well govern us, if first she be governed by thee. Multiply her reign with many days; and her years with much felicity; with abundance of peace, and life ghostly. That as she hath now doubled the years of her sister and brother; so, if it be thy plesure, she may overgrow in reigning the reign of her father.

And because no government can long stand without good counsel; neither can a counsil be good, except it be prospered by thee: bless therefore, we beseech thee, both her majesty and her honourable counsil; that both they rightly understand what is to be done; and she accordingly may accomplish that they do counsil, to the glory and furtherance of the gospel, and public wealth of this realm.

Furthermore, we beseech thee, Lord Jesu, who with the majesty of thy glory dost drowne all nobility, (being the only Son of God, heir and lord of all things,) bless the nobility of this realm, and of other Christian realms. So as they christianly agreeing together themselves, may submit their nobility to serve thee: or else let them feel, O Lord, what a frivolous thing is the nobility that is without thee. Likewise to all *magistrates*, such as be advaunced to authority, or placed in office, by what name or title soever, give, we beseech thee, a careful conscience, uprightly to discharge their duty. That as they be publick persons to serve the commonwealth, so they abuse not their office to their private gain, nor private revenge of their own affections. But that justice being administred without bribery, and equity bal-lanced without cruelty or partiality, things that be amiss may be

reformed; vice abandoned, truth supported, innocence relieved, God's glory maintained, and the commonwealth truly served.

But especially, to thy spiritual ministers, bishops and pastors of thy church, graunt, we beseech thee, O Lord, prince of all pastors, that they following the steps of thee, of thy apostles and holy martyrs, may seek those things which be not their own, but only those which be thine: not carefull how many benefices nor what great bishopricks they have, but how they can guide those they have. Give them such zeale as may devour them, and graunt them such salt, wherewith the whole people may be seasoned; and which may never be unsavoury. But quickned daily by thy holy Spirit; whereby thy flock by them may be preserved.

In general, give to all thy people, and the whole state of this realm, such brotherly unity in the knowledge of thy truth, and such obedience to their superiors, as may neither provoke the scourge of God against them, nor the prince's sword to be drawn against her will out of the scabbard of long sufferance, where it hath been long hid. Specially, give thy gospel long continuance amongst us. And if our sins have deserved the contrary, graunt us, we beseech thee, with an earnest repentance of that which is past, to joyn a hearty purpose of amendment to come.

And forasmuch as the bishop of Rome is wont on this Good Friday, and every Good Friday, to accurse us, as *damaged hereticks*; we here curse not him, but pray for him, that he with all his partakers, either may be turned to a better truth, or else we pray thee, gracious Lord, that we may never agree with him in doctrine, and that he may so curse us still, and never bless us more, as he blessed us in queen Maries time. God of his mercy keep away that blessing from us. Finally, insted of the pope's blessing, give us thy blessing, Lord, we beseech thee, and conserve the peace of thy church, and course of thy blessed gospel.

Help them that be needy and afflicted. Comfort them that labour and be heavy laden. And above all things, continue and encrease our faith. And forasmuch as thy poor little flock can scarce have any place or rest in this world, come, Lord, we beseech thee, with thy *factum est*, and make an end: that this world may have no more time and place here; and that thy church may have rest for ever. For these and other necessities, requisite to be begged and prayed for, asking in Christ's name, and as he hath taught us, let us say the Lord's Prayer. *Our Father which art, &c.*

[NUMBER 19.]

Sir Philip Sidney's letter to queen Elizabeth, concerning her marriage. Printed entire from Cabala.,

Most feared and beloved, most sweet and gracious sovereign.

To seek out excuses of this my boldness, and to arm the acknowledging of a fault with reasons for it, might better shew, I knew I did amiss, then any way diminish the attempt, especially in your judgment; who being able to discernlively into the nature of the thing done, it were folly to hope, by laying on better colours, to make it more acceptable. Therefore carrying no other olive-branch of intercession, then the laying of my self at your feet; nor no other insinuation, either for attention or pardon, but the true vowed sacrifice of unfeigned love; I will, in simple and direct terms, (as hoping they shall onely come to your mercifull eyes,) set down the over-flowing of my mind, in this most important matter; importing, as I think, the continuance of your safety, and (as I know) the joys of my life. And because my words (I confess shallow, but coming from the deep well-spring of most loyal affection) have delivered unto your most gracious ear, what is the general sum of my travelling thoughts therein; I will now but onely declare, what be the reasons that make me think, that the marriage with monsieur will be unprofitable unto you; then will I answer the objections of those fears which might procure so violent a refuge.

The good or evils that will come to you by it must be considered either according to your estate or person. To your estate: what can be added to the being an absolute born, and accordingly respected, princess? But as they say, the Irish-men are wont to call over them that die, They are rich, they are fair, what needed they to die so cruelly? Not unfitly of you, endowed with felicity above all others, a man might well ask, What makes you, in such a calm, to change course? to so healthfull a body, to apply so unsavoury a medicine? What can recompence so hazardous an adventure? Indeed, were it but the altering of a well-maintained and well-approved trade: for, as in bodies natural, every sudden change is full of peril; so, this body politick, whereof you are the onely head, it is so much the more dangerous, as there are more humours to receive a hurtfull impression: but hazards are then most to be regarded, when the nature of the patient is fitly composed to occasion them.

The patient I account your realm; the agent, monsieur and his design: for neither outward accidents do much prevail against a true inward strength; nor doth inward weakness lightly subvert it self, without being thrust at by some outward force.

Your inward force (for as for your treasures, indeed, the sinews of your crown, your majesty doth best and onely know) consisteth in your subjects, generally unexpert in warlike defence; and as they are divided now into mighty factions, (and factions bound upon the never dying knot of religion,) the one of them to whom your happy government hath granted the free exercise of the eternal truth; with this, by the continuance of time, by the multitude of them, by the principal offices and strength they hold; and, lastly, by your dealings both at home and abroad against the adverse party, your state is so entrapped, as it were impossible for you, without excessive trouble, to pull your self out of the party so long maintained. For such a course once taken in hand is not much unlike a ship in a tempest, which how dangerously soever it be beaten with waves, yet is there no safety or succour without it: these, therefore, as their souls live by your happy government, so are they your chief, if not your sole strength. These, howsoever the necessity of humane life makes them lack, yet can they not look for better conditions then presently they enjoy: these, how their hearts will be galled, if not aliened, when they shall see you take a husband, a French-man, and a papist, in whom (howsoever fine wits may find further dealings, or painted excuses) the very common people well know this, that he is the son of a Jezabel of our age; that his brother made oblation of his own sisters marriage, the easier to make massacres of our brethren in belief; that he himself, contrary to his promise, and all gratefulness, having had his liberty and principal estate by the Hugonots means, did sack Lacharists, and utterly spoil them with fire and sword: this, I say, even at the first sight, gives occasion to all, truly religious, to abhor such a master, and consequently to diminish much of the hopefull love they have long held to you.

The other faction (most tightly indeed to be called a faction) is the papists; men, whose spirits are full of anguish, some being infested by others, whom they accounted damnable; some having their ambition stopped, because they are not in the way of advancement; some in prison, and disgraced; some, whose best friends are banished practisers; many thinking you are an usurper; many thinking also you had disannulled your right, because of the popes excommunication: all burthened with the weight of

their conscience; men of great numbers, of great riches, (because the affairs of state have not lain on them,) of united minds; (as all men that deem themselves oppressed naturally are;) with these I would willingly joyn all discontented persons, such as want and disgrace keeps lower then they have set their hearts; such as have resolved what to look for at your hands; such, as Caesar said, *quibus opus est bello civili*; and are of his mind, *Malo in acie quam in foro cadere*: these be men so much the more to be doubted, because, as they do embrace all estates, so are they, commonly, of the bravest and wakefullest sort, and that know the advantage of the world most. This double rank of people, how their minds have stood, the northern rebellion, and infinite other practices, have well taught you: which, if it be said, it did not prevail, that is true indeed; for, if they had prevailed, it were too late now to deliberate. But, at this present, they want nothing so much as a head, who, in effect, needs not but to receive their instructions, since they may do mischief enough onely with his countenance. Let the Sisingniam, in Hen. 4. time; Perkin Warbeck, in your grand-fathers; but, of all, the most lively and proper is that of Lewis, the French kings son, in Hen. 3. time, who having at all no shew of title, yet did he cause the nobility, and more, to swear direct fealty and vassalage, and they delivered the strongest holds unto him: I say, let these be sufficient to prove, that occasion gives minds and scope to stranger things then ever would have been imagined. If then the affectionate side have their affections weakned, and the discontented have a gap to utter their discontent; I think it will seem an ill preparative for the patient, I mean your estate, to a great sickness.

Now the agent party, which is monsieur, whether he be not apt to work upon the disadvantage of your estate, he is to be judged by his will and power' his will to be as full of light ambition as is possible, besides the French disposition, and his own education; his inconstant attempt against his brother, his thrusting himself into the Low-Countrey matters, his sometime seeking the king of Spain's daughter, sometimes your majesty, are evident testimonies of his being carried away with every wind of hope; taught to love greatness any way gotten: and having for the motioners and ministers of the mind, onely such young men as have shewed, they think evil contentment a ground of any *rebellion*; who have seen no common-wealth but in faction, and divers of which have defiled their hands in odious murders; with such fancies and favourites, what is to be hoped for? or that he will contain himself within the limits of your conditions, since, in truth,

it were strange, that he that cannot be contented to be the second person in France, and heir apparent, should be content to come to be second person, where he should pretend no way to sovereignty? His power, I imagine, is not to be despised, since he is come into a coun-trey where the way of evil-doing will be presented unto him; where there needs nothing but a head to draw together all the ill-affected members: himself, a prince of great revenues, of the most popular nation of the world, full of souldiery, and such as are used to serve without pay, so as they may have shew of spoil; and, without question, shall have his brother ready to help him, as well for old revenge, as to divert him from troubling France, and to deliver his own cuntry from evil humours. Neither is king Philip's marriage herein any example, since then it was between two of one religion; so that he, in England, stood onely upon her strength, and had abroad king Henry of France, ready to impeach any enterprize he should make for his greatness that way: and yet what events time would have brought forth of that marriage, your most blessed reign hath made vain all such considerations. But things holding in present state, I think I may easily conclude, that your cuntry, as well by long peace, and fruits of peace, as by the poyson of division, (wherewith the faithfull shall by this means be wounded, and the contrary enabled,) made fit to receive hurt; and monsieur being every way likely to use the occasions to hurt, there can, almost, happen no worldly thing of more eminent danger to your estate royal. And as to your person, in the scale of your happiness, what good there may come by it, to balance with the loss of so honourable a constancy, truly, yet I perceive not. I will not shew so much malice, as to object the universal doubt, the races unhealthfulness; neither will I lay to his charge the ague-like manner of proceedings, sometimes hot, and sometimes cold, in the time of pursuit, which always rightly is most fervent: and I will temper my speeches from any other unreverend disgracings of him in particular; (though they might be never so true:) this onely will I say, that if he do come hither, he must live here in far less reputation then his mind will well brook, having no other royalty to countenance himSelf with; or else you must deliver him the keys of your kingdom, and live at his discretion; or, lastly, he must be separate himself, with more dishonour, and further dis-unit-ing of heart, then ever before. Often have I heard you with protestation say, no private pleasure, nor self-affection, could lead you unto it; but if it be both unprofitable for your kingdom, and unpleasant to you, certainly it were a dear purchase of repentance: nothing can it add unto you, but the bliss of children, which, I confess, were a most unspeakable comfort; but yet no

more appertaining unto him then to any other, to whom the height of all good haps were allotted, to be your husband: and therefore I may assuredly affirm, that what good soever can follow marriage, is no more his then any bodies; but the evils and dangers are peculiarly annexed to his person and condition. For, as for the enriching of your countrey with treasure, which either he hath not, or hath otherwise bestowed it; or the staying of your servants minds with new expectation and liberality, which is more dangerous then fruitfull; or the easing of your majesty of cares, which is as much to say, as the easing of you to be queen and sovereign; I think every body perceives this way either to be full of hurt, or void of help. Now resteth to consider, what be the motives of this sudden change, as I have heard you, in most sweet words, deliver: fear of standing alone, in respect of forreign dealings; and in them from Whom you should have respect, doubt of contempt, Truly, standing alone, with good fore-sight of government, both in peace and war-like defence, is the honourablest thing that can be to a well-established monarchy; those buildings being ever most strongly durable, which lean to none other, but remain from their own foundation.

So yet, in the particulars of your estate at present, I will not altogether deny, that a true Massinissa were very fit to countermine the enterprize of mighty Carthage: but how this general truth can be applied to monsieur, in truth, I perceive not. The wisest, that have given best rules where surest leagues are to be made, have said, that it must be between such as either vehement desire of a third thing, or as vehement fear, doth knit their minds together. Desire is counted the weaker bond; but yet that bound so many princes to the expedition of the Holy Land. It united that invincible Hen. 5. and that good duke of Burgundy: the one desiring to win the crown of France from the dauphin; the other desiring to revenge his fathers murther upon the dauphin; which both tended to one. That coupled Lewis the Twelfth, and Ferdinando of Spain, to the conquest of Naples. Of fear, there are innumerable examples. Monsieur's desires and yours, how they should meet in publick matters, I think, no oracle can tell: for as the geometricians say, that parallels, because they maintain divers lines, can never joyn; so truly, two, having in the beginning contrary principles, to bring forth one doctrine, must be some miracle. He of the Romish religion; and, if he be a man, must needs have that manlike property, to desire that all men be of his mind: you the erector and defender of the contrary; and the only sun that dazleth their eyes. He French, and desiring to make France great; your

majesty English, and desiring nothing less then that France should grow great. He, both by his own fancy and his youthful governours, embracing all ambitious hopes, having Alexanders image in his head, but, perhaps, evil painted: your majesty, with excellent virtue, taught what you should hope; and by no less wisdom, what you may hope; with a council renowned over all Christendom for their well tempered minds, having set the utmost of their ambition in your favour, and the study of their souls in your safety. Fear hath as little shew of outward appearance, as reason, to match you together; for in this estate he is in, whom should he fear? his brother? Alas! his brother is afraid, since the king of Navar is to step into his place. Neither can his brother be the safer by his fall; but he may be the greater by his brothers; whereto whether you will be an ac-cessary, you are to determine. The king of Spain certainly cannot make war upon him, but it must be upon all the crown of France; which is no likelihood he will do. Well may monsieur (as he hath done) seek to enlarge the bounds of France upon his state; which likewise, whether it be safe for you to be a countenance to, any other way, may be seen: so that if neither desire nor fear be such in him as are to bind any publick fastness; it may be said, that the only fortress of this your marriage is, of his private affection; a thing too incident to the person laying it up in such knots.

The other objection, of contempt in the subjects, I assure your majesty, if I had heard it proceed out of your mouth, which of all other I do most dearly reverence, it would as soon (considering the perfections both of body and mind have set all mens eyes by the height your estate) have come to the possibility of my imagination, if one should have told me on the contrary side, that the greatest princess of the world should envy the state of some poor deformed pilgrim. What is there either within you or without you, that can possibly fall into the danger of contempt, to whom fortunes are tyed by so long descent of your royal ancestors? But our minds rejoyce with the experience of your inward ver-tues, and our eyes are delighted with the sight of you. But because your own eyes cannot see your self, neither can there be in the world any example fit to blaze you by, I beseech you vouchsafe to weigh the grounds thereof. The natural causes are length of government, and uncertainty of succession: the effects, as you term them, appear by cherishing some abominable speeches which some hellish minds have uttered, The longer a goodprince reigneth, it is certain the more he is esteemed; there is no man ever was weary of well being. And good encreased to good maketh the same good both greater and stronger; for it

useth men to know no other cares when either men are born in the time, and so never saw other; or have spent much part of their flourishing time, and so have no joy to seek other: in evil princes, abuse growing upon abuse, according to the nature of evil, with the increase of time ruins it self. But in so rare a government, where neighbours fires give us light to see our quietness, where nothing wants that true administration of justice brings forth, certainly the length of time rather breeds a mind to think there is no other life but in it, then that there is any tediousness in so fruitfull a government. Examples of good princes do ever confirm this, who the longer they lived, the deeper still they sunk into their subjects hearts. Neither will I trouble you with examples, being so many and manifest. Look into your own estate, how willingly they grant, and how dutifully they pay such subsidies as you demand of them. How they are no less troublesome to your majesty in certain requests, than they were in the beginning of your reign: and your majesty shall find you have a people more then ever devoted to you.

As for the uncertainty of succession, although for mine own part I have cast the utmost anchor of my hope, yet for England's sake I would not say any thing against such determination; but that uncertain good should bring contempt to a certain good, I think it is beyond all reach of reason: nay, because if there were no other cause, (as there are infinite,) common reason and profit would teach us to hold that jewel dear, the loss of which would bring us to we know not what: which likewise is to be said of your majesties speech of the rising sun, a speech first used by Scilla to Pompey in Rome, as then a popular city, where indeed men were to rise or fall, according to the flourish and breath of a many headed confusion. But in so lineal a monarchy, where-ever the infants suck the love of their rightfull prince, who would leave the beams of so fair a sun, for the dreadful expectation of a divided company of stars? Vertue and justice are the only bonds of peoples love: and as for that point, many princes have lost their crowns whose own children were manifest successors; and some, that had their own children used as instruments of their ruine; not that I deny the bliss of children, but only to shew religion and equity to be of themselves sufficient stales: neither is the love was born in the queen your sisters daies any contradiction hereunto; for she was the oppressor of that religion which lived in many mens hearts, and whereof you were known to be the favourer; by her loss, was the most excellent prince in the world to succeed; by your loss, all blindness light upon him that sees not our misery.

Lastly, and most properly for this purpose, she had made an odious marriage with a stranger, (which is now in question, whether your majesty should do or no;) so that if your subjects do at this time look for any after-chance, it is but as the pilot doth to the ship-boat, if his ship should perish; driven by extremity to the one; but, as long as he can with his life, tendring the other. And this I say, not only for the lively parts that be in you; but even for their own sakes, since they must needs see what tempests threaten them.

The last proof in this contempt should be the venomous matter certain men impostumed with wickedness should utter against you. Certainly not to be evil spoken of, neither Christs holiness nor Caesars might could ever prevent or warrant: there being for that no other rule, then so to do, as that they may not justly say evil of you; which whether your majesty have not done, I leave it in you, to the sincereness of your own conscience, and wisdom of your judgment; in the world, to your most manifest fruits and fame through Europe. Augustus was told, that men spake of him much hurt; it is no matter, said he, so long as they cannot do much hurt: and lastly, Charles the 5th, to one that told him, *Les Hollandois parlent mal, mais ilz payent bien*, answered he. I might make a scholar-like reckoning of many such examples. It sufficeth that these great princes knew well enough upon what wings they flew, and cared little for the barking of a few currs: and truly, in the behalf of your subjects, I durst with my blood answer it, that there was never monarch held in more precious reckoning of her people; and before God how can it be otherwise? For mine own part, when I hear some lost wretch hath defiled such a name with his mouth, I consider the right name of blasphemy, whose unbridled soul doth delight to deprave that which is accounted generally most high and holy. No, no, most excellent lady, do not raze out the impression you have made in such a multitude of hearts, and let not the scum of such vile minds bear any witness against your subjects devotions: which, to proceed one point further, if it were otherwise, could little be helped, but rather nourished, and in effect begun by this. The only means of avoiding contempt, are love and fear: love as you have by divers means sent into the depth of their souls; so if any thing can stain so true a form, it must be the trimming your self, not in your own likeness, but in new colours unto them: their fear by him cannot be encreased without appearance of French forces, the manifest death of your estate; but well may it against him bear that face, which (as the tragick Seneca saith) *Metus in authorem redit*; as because both in will

and power he is like enough to do harm. Since then it is dangerous for your state, as well because by inward weakness (principally caused by division) it is fit to receive harm; since to your person it can no way be comfortable, you not desiring marriage, and neither to person nor state he is to bring any more good then any body, but more evil he may, since the causes that should drive you to this are either fears of that which cannot happen, or by this means cannot be prevented; I do with most humble heart say unto your majesty, (having assayed this dangerous help,) for your standing alone, you must take it for a singular honour God hath done you, to be indeed the only protector of his church; and yet in worldly respects your kingdom very sufficient so to do, if you make that religion upon which you stand, to carry the only strength, and have abroad those that still maintain the same course, who as long as they may be kept from utter falling, your majesty is sure enough from your mightiest enemies.

As for this man, as long as he is but monsieur in might, and a papist in profession, he neither can nor will greatly shield you: and if he grow to be king, his defence will be like Ajax shield, which rather weighed them down, then defended those that bare it. Against contempt if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent vertues of piety, justice, and liberality, daily, if it be possible, more and more shine; let such particular actions be found out, (which be easie, as I think, to be done,) by which you may gratifie all the hearts of your people: let those in whom you find trust, and to whom you have committed trust in your weighty affairs, be held up in the eyes of your subjects. Lastly, doing as you do, you shall be as you be, the example of princes, the ornament of this age, the comfort of the afflicted, the delight of your people, and the most excellent fruit of your progenitors, and the perfect mirrour of your posterity.

NUMBER 20.

A letter to the queen from some person of quality; upon the subject of her marriage, and the succession moved to her by her parliament.

MOST excellent princess, my most gracious sovereign, and good lady,

I crave of your majesty, prostrate before your feet, pardon for my boldness in writing unto you at this time, whereunto I am brought by the great

confidence I have had given unto me heretofore by your self for my writing unto your majesty: and partly am enforced by mine own conscience, burthened with the charge of my love and duty to your majesty and my country, and with the knowledge and foresight I have, as a man may have by some experience; how much the matter whereof I will write doth import, either to the content and quietness of your majesties mind, and to the perpetual tranquility and peace of this realm; being perfected in a right course, or to the contrary, if by private affections; without any respect to that which may, and is like to follow hereafter, if it be otherwise finished at this time, than it ought to be by right and conscience. I understand, that there hath been a suit moved unto your majesty for the *mariage* of your most noble person, (whom I beseech God long to preserve unto us,) and for the *entail* of the succession of your crown, if you leave us without heirs of your body. Which suit made unto your majesty in general, without limitation for your mariage, or for the succession, like, as I suppose, no good man may or can be against the furtherance of the suit, (and I my self have heretofore not long ago written unto your majesty by your favour to that effect.) So that if any person shall do prejudice unto you, by debating and disputing of titles in open and great presence, he is not much to be commended. For it should not, be done in open presence, I say, without your majesties former licence. For so might follow much inconvenience, which doth not, nor cannot yet appear. It is the greatest matter that ever I or any man alive at this day can remember, hath been brought in deliberation in our days. And therefore every part thereof, as well your majesties answer to the motion, did require good consideration (which I heard you did most prudently) as for the further progress by your majesty in that part of the matter, which toucheth *succession* must of necessity have a time to be determined; because it is subject to divers affections and humours, founded upon private respects: some desiring (after your majesty and the heirs of your body) that a man should succede without any regard to the title of a woman, whatsoever it be, forgetting, (as I have heard that noble prince of worthy memory, the king your father, say,) that the greatest anchor-hold of this crown after king Henry I. took root from the heir-general Mawde, daughter and heir to the said Henry. Who was married first to the emperor, and after his decease to Jeffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. Of which second came Henry II. (none alien, though he were born out of the realm,) rightful king by course of nature, and by descent of blood. Of whom your majesty is rightfully descended; and unto whom, by course of nature, descent of blood, and by the laws of this land, your majesty is right

and lawful heir and successor of this crown. And therefore I say under your majesties correction, that right, whether it be in man or woman, ought to take place. For it is well known, sithence the conqueror's time, yea, and before also, that the greatest troubles, yea, and almost the only trouble that hath chaunced within this realm, (until your grandfather and grandmother, king Henry VII. and queen Elizabeth his wife; the one claiming from the house of Lancaster, and the other from the house of York, were joined in one,) hath been for lack of right dealing in matter of succession; and by swarving therein present civil war hath followed. And if not some time present, yet within three descents after the swarving, great mischief and inconvenience hath followed unto the heirs of the swarvers, and their partakers, and to many others, both great and small of the other party that were not guilty.

And in brief, to repeat to your majesty, first, when king Stephen in the right of his mother, suster to king Henry I. took upon him the crown, by the help and power of Henry the bishop of Winchester, (one of his uncles,) from his cousin Mawde, daughter and heir to king Henry I. his mother's brother, upon colour that he was a man, and Mawde a woman; and her son Henry Plantagenet young, and not able to govern, it is well known what cruel wars did follow thereupon in the realm, until such time as the matter being taken up by communication, Henry, Mawde's son, was restored to the right of his inheritance.

Then after Henry II. reigned his son Richard I. who dying without issue, appointed Arthur of Britain, son to Jeffrey, his second brother to be his heir. But John, the younger brother of Richard, after Richard's death, took upon him the crown. Whereby great troubles within this realm followed then presently; and afterward, both in John his own time, (notwithstanding that Arthur dyed,) and also in his son's time, king Henry III. that civil plague ceased not.

In Richard II. his time, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who married the daughter and heir of Lionel, duke of Clarence, was declared heir apparent by parliament. Yet nevertheless, when the said Richard was deprived of his kingdom, Henry, earl of Darby, son to John, duke of Lancaster, a second brother to the said Lionel, was by parliament made king. After whom his son Henry V. reigned. And after him his son Henry VI. In whose time was mervailous great civil Wars; great ruines of great families, and great effusion of the bloud royal. For it is written, by the swarving in the right of

succession after the death of Richard II. until the time that Edward IV. by mariage with the heir of Clarence, had gotten the quiet possession of the crown; there was in the mean season slain fourscore of the bloud royal.

And in Richard III. his time, what mischief fell by his taking the crown upon him; and disinheriting his brother Edward IV. his children, I have heard divers men tell in my time, that they both knew it, and felt part of the smart of it. And then came that happy mariage, as I have said before, whereby the houses of York and Lancaster were conjoyned. Which happy conjunction of those two in one, if it should be broken, and brought to any one of the house of York alone, or of the house of Lancaster alone, as long as there is any alive that hath just title to them both, the child which is yet unborn may feel the smart of it: besides those which may suffer in the mean season.

Now last in your majesties own days, what civil discord was like to have risen by swarving from the right line of descent; the lady Jane Gray taking upon her the crown of this realm, your majesty did see, if God had not provided otherwise. And some others did feel the smart of it. Whereof some yet remaining, I trust, will learn by the time past: and other will take example by them in the like hereafter.

And because there be some that speak of the *entailing* of the crown by your majesty, alledging examples of some of your auncestor: persuading therefore that there is no cause, why your majesty should fear to name your successor: truth it is indeed, that I have heard, that Some of your auncestors did make the entail, but yet never to any other person than to their own children, or to their brethren or sisters children. And so left it to the next right heir; cutting off all other utile. Whether your majesty be in the case of your auncestor or no, I doubt not but by your wisdom you do consider.

The government of the realm of France, in appointing the crown to the heir male only, cutting off the heirs general, causeth some men here to like well of the heir male here in this land. But whosoever shall read the story of France, sithence Philippus Purcher his days, shall find after the decease of his son without heirs, that by the disherison of Isabel, Philippus his daughter, mother to Edward III. who was indeed, (and so is your majesty,) by descent from her, rightful heir to the crown of France; there was never realm that hath suffered more calamity in it, by us, and by our means, than that realm hath suffered, ever sithen it swarved from the right succession,

until within these twenty years; the quarrel nevertheless remaining unto this day.

This discourse, wherein I note a disherison of some right heirs, and of calamities that fell thereupon, is to put your majesty in remembrance, to use great and deep deliberation, and to understand truly, where the right resteth by the law of this land. Which is the rule, whereby all your subjects must be ordered; and whereby they hold al that they have; and wherunto the princes of this realm use to promise so-lemnely at their coronation to have a special regard. If your majesty knew not already, where the right resteth by the law of this land, your majesty hath good means to know, (if it shall please you to use it,) by calling to your own self all your judges, barons of the exchequer, your sergeants, and attorneys general, of the dutchy and of the wards, and solicitors: and in your majesties own royal person, to adjure them by such solemne and earnest word, as I know your majesty can use in such an earnest matter; not only to declare unto your majesty, after they have considered thereupon, in writing subscribed by their hands, in whom by the laws of this land the right resteth: and also to keep secret unto themselves their opinions therein; without disclosing the same unto any person without your majesties former li-cence; but to your majesty your self, as they will answer at their perills. And then may your majesty at your will and plesure, keep close or discover the same, as time shall require; to whom and in such sort, either in open council, or in other open assembly, or in this parlament; or, if time will not serve, at another time of parlament, as your majesty shall think convenient, after a full and mature consideration had thereof. And your majesty may know the opinions, if it please you, also of other, though they be not of *your* council, grave and learned men in the laws of this realm; for the better conducing thereof, to effect a pedegree, to be delivered by your majesty to your said judges and learned council, with such objections as may be alledged against any person that hath at this time any maner of pretence to the succession.

In this wise your majesty shall both preserve the dignity, prerogative, and majesty of your estate royal; and also satisfy the desire of your good subjects: avoiding thereby also all such partiality as at this day peradventure leads divers men to lean to divers, upon divers respects. And finally, so order the matter, as your majesty shah never be disquieted in mind. And so procede by your wisdom with good advice taken and followed, as the case shall so require. That neither the state of the laws of the realm at this day (which divers much do fear) neither yet any other

thing, shall not be in any part or member altered or changed, contrary to the government already established.

And if it will please your majesty to be after a sort a Christ unto us, a redeemer and a saviour of us, by mortifying your own affections for us and for our sakes, take the mariage, take the pains to bring forth princely children; then should you not need to fear the *entail*; then should your majesty be quiet; then should we be happy; and then might your majesty, with a better security, and with longer deliberation, (by understanding of every bodies pretence, and whatever each one of them could say for themselves,) establish the matter rightfully. But in this point I speak the less touching marriage, because I have heretofore, by your majesties goodness, presumed, not only to write unto you at large, but also presently to move your majesty eftsones by word of mouth therein. And I pray God direct your heart in these two points especially; and in all other your doings, according to his will and plesure.

Thus ceasing to trouble your majesty any longer, I make my refuge where I began, to your majesties clemency; trusting that you will take this my writing in gracious part, according to my true meaning. For I take God to record, I have no maner of respect in this matter to any maner of person, but only unto the right, upon whomsoever it shall fall by the laws of this land; for getting of you knowledge; whereof I have briefly declared mine opinion, for a mean to be used by your majesty, if it shall so please you. And I have summarily set forth before your eyes the civil wars within this realm, with their causes, times, and persons. And this I have done for the discharge of my conscience towards God, and my duty towards your majesty and my country. And I have done it rather, because I was appointed by your writ to be at your parlament with other noblemen, to give coun-sil in great and weighty matters concerning the publick weal of this realm. From whence being inforced by sickness to be absent, and having your majesties licence, (as my good lord Robert [Dudley] hath declared unto me on your majesties behalf,) I have thought it my part to write thus unto your majesty; and to your majesty alone: [And therewithal my poor opinion, that as soon as the subsidy shall be granted to your majesty, and some such other thing brought to pass as your majesty liketh, it shall not be amiss that your majesty prorogue the parlament.] And so trusting, and also beseeching your majesty most humbly, that it will please you to take this my writing into your protection, as a thing submitted in every point to your majesties judgment and correction, I pray God preserve

your majesty long, to his honour, your own contentation, and the comfort and *quietness* of us all, and of our posterity.

NUMBER 21.

*Cox, bishop of Ely, to the lord treasurer:
upon the queen's leave to resign his bishopric.*

INCREDIBILIS ista tua humanitas, et benignitas, qua yeterem tuum amicum, licet jam tandem membrum invali-dum atque inutile, candide prosequeris, solidum mihi adfert gaudium. Probe autem intelligere te rationes meas omnes fete, quomodo traetatus fuerim in episcopatu meo hisce fere xxii. annis, tuam prudentiam non fugit. Somersamia aliquid negotii mihi facessivit. Jucundae fuerunt nonnullis maneriorum meorum aucupationes. Nec te latet quanta pecuniae summa mihi constiterit multiplex et frivola delatio ilia ad regiam majestatem; cujus tua prudentia probe conscia est. Alia minutiora prudens prsetereo. Tandem injustissima ilia querela ex dni. Goodrici indentura, nihil minus sentiente, quam quod Richardus Bruchinus, magna aulicorum turba fultus, conatur invertere, vix dum in cancellaria finem obtinere potest. Nec unquam obtinebit, nisi ipsa majestas, sicut olim mandavit, ut in sua curia cancellariae terminaretur, hoc negotium praeceperit atque mandaverit: ita nunc pro sequitate et clementia sua, qua tantam litis materiam praebuerit, ut ipsa jubeat istam indenturam evacuari atque cancellari. Hoc enim postulat aequitas et bonitas. Atque hujus rei probe conscius est regius cancellarius.

Quod vero regia majestas adeo candide acceperit literas meas qualescunque animi pii significationes, illius majestati me plurimum debere fateor: imo, alias, pro innumeris ipsius beneficiis. Maxime vero ingentem illam benevolentiam, nuper in me exhibitam ingenue agnosco, quod aetatis atque imbecillitatis memor, tanquam pia matrona, imo, indulgentissima mater, mei rationem habet, ut ab onere episcopali, longe quam olim ad id muneris ineptiorem, eximat, alterisque benigne concedat. Et quoniam facile credo illius animum non esse alienatum ab episcopo Norvicense; teque non alienum ab eo animum gerere; equidem, si ita ipsius majestati aequum esse videatur, non ipsum successorem recusavero.

Quod ad petitiones meas attinet, eas omnes exaravi, tuaeque prudentiae examinandas proposui: et per tabulam per filium meum tuae celsitudini

examinandas [misi.] Quicquid autem regiae sublimitati approbatum fuerit, mihi que concessum, si ipsum, quicquid est significare mihi non dedigneris, imprimis curabo, ut consiliorum meorum prudentia in ordinem redigatur, et ipsius majestatis judicio submittatur. Deus Opt. Max. pietatem tuam utraque benedictione, hoc est, hujus vitae et aeternae, beare dignetur, cum toto tuo famulatio. Ex aedibus meis Dodingtoniensibus, decimo sexto die Decembris, 1579.

Tuns pro sua tenuitate fidiss, amicus,
Richardus Eliens.

[NUMBER 21.]

A list of papists imprisoned, anno 1579, in divers places in the realm. Their names, qualities, and ages.

IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

D. Rich. archbishop of Armagh in Ireland; about 50 years old.
 D. Thomas Methamus, priest, licentiate in divinity; quadragenarius.

IN THE CUSTODY OF THE BISHOP OF ROFF.

D. Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln; about 60.

IN THE CUSTODY OF THE BISHOP OF ELY.

D. John Fecknam, late abbot of Westminster; about 60.

IN THE FLEET, LONDON.

D. Henry Cole, priest, D.D. octogenarius.
 D. Robert Cook, priest; about 50.
 D. Windam, LL.D. 50.
 Ambrose Edmund, nobilis, [i. e. gent.] about 50.
 Erasm. Saunders, nobilis, [gent.]
 William Iveson, gent. about 50. — Cotton, gent.

IN THE MARSHALSEA, LONDON.

D. Thomas Wood, priest; about 80.
 D. Leonard Bilson, priest; about 50
 D. Thomas Cook, monk; about 70.
 D. Thomas Bluet, priest; about 40.
 D. Christopher Thomson, priest.
 D. William Allen, priest; about 70.
 Thomas Pound, gent.
 William Philips, gent. 40.
 Peter Carew, gent. 30 years old.
 Edward Burnel, gent. 40.
 Richard Webster, schoolmaster.
 William Grene, layman.
 Norwich, gent.
 Becket, gent.
 Gray, gent.
 Grene, gent.

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

D. John Young, priest, D.D. 70.
 D. Thomas Mirfeld, priest; 80.
 Fra. Trigian, gent.
 William Sherewood, gent.
 Richard Holson, gent.

IN THE WHITE-LION, LONDON.

Peter Titchborn.
 John Beckensal.
 John Ludlow.

IN THE GATE-HOUSE.

D. Rosseus, priest,
 60. John Gifford, schoolmaster.
 John Pinchin, and his wife.
 Richard Sampson, 40.
 John Savage, 20.
 D. James Shaw, priest, 60.

D. Thomas Harrison, priest, 50.
 John Hewes, 50.
 John Geale, 60.
 James.

IN THE COUNTER.

Henry Creed, 60.
 Gregory Owinele, schoolmaster, 40.
 Elizabeth Johnson, left by her husband; a gentlewoman, with her servant Leonard.

IN THE PRISON OF NORTHAMPON.

D. Fra. Stopford, priest, 60.
 Thomas Mudd, 50.
 D. Ste. Hemsworth, priest, 60.
 John Thrackwray.
 William Justice, with his wife.

AT WINTON.

D. Thomas Palmer, priest, 80.
 Thomas Travers, 80.
 Thomas White, gent. 33.
 Hermanna — widow; whose husbands dyed in prison
 Waia, — widow; whose husbands dyed in prison
 Beckinsalla, — widow; whose husbands dyed in prison
 Grena, — widow; whose husbands dyed in prison

IN THE PRISON AT HULL.

John Cumberford, priest, D.D. 80.
 D. Wright, priest, B.D. 40.
 D. Thomas Bedell, priest, 60.
 D. John Almon, priest, 70.
 D. Robert Williamson, priest, 60.
 John Terry, schoolmaster, 40.
 Fra. Parkinson, layman, 40.
 John Fletcher, layman.
 William Tesmond, with seven others.

AT HERSAM.

Robert Boughwater, 80.

AT HEREFORD.

D. Thomas Feasard, priest, 60.

D. William Basset, priest, 60.

John Grene, of the laity.

William Smith, of the laity

AT CORNWAL.

Richard Tremain, gent. 30.

Thomas Harrison, schoolmaster, 45.

John Kemp, gent. 40.

Richard ... gent.

John Williams, A.M. 35.

John Philips, 30. James Humfrey, 30.

Henry Benfeld, gent. 40.

John Hody, layman.

AT WEST-CHESTER.

D. Richard Sutton, priest, 80. D.

John Cuppage, priest, 60.

With some others.

NUMBER 22.

*Prowde, parson of Burton upon Dunmore, to the lord treasurer:
exciting him to speak freely to the queen in behalf of religion, (as
professed by some,) discountenanced.*

THE peace of God is felt in a good conscience. The which I wish unto your honour more and more, unto the end and in the end. Amen. Your bringing up in true religion; things published by you to the comfort of the brethren; (that hath bewrayed the smaching that we have of the sight of sin, and wrath of God against sin;) hath made me ever to love and reverence you with my heart: and sometime when I could pray, to pray and to be thankful

to God for you: desiring him so to bless and preserve you, that you might increase in all godliness for ever; to the most furtherance of his glory and your comfort in Christ Jesu.

But afterwards the report was, that ye did openly revolt from your religion, and fell to go to idolatrus sarvys: and so, by your dead doings therein, consented to all the bloud of the prophets and martyrs that was shed unrighteously in Manasse's days. And now in Josia's days ye came not to God's persecuted church, that he builded, maintained, and defended from time to time, against the force of the wolf and the lion; which was not corrupted, nor polluted with idolatry; wherein was the word of God purely preached, the sacraments godly ministred, and discipline without partiality executed: and hearty prayer to God was made for God's afflicted church. By the which I perswade my self, and for the suffering of the just of that church, that both ye, and others now in great authority, and the whole land beside, fared the better. Ye came not I say, I say thither, [viz. to Frankford, Strasburgh, Zuric, Geneva, &c.] as others did, that were in your fault; confessing there your open falls and sinning in idolatry; axing mercy of God for it, and purposing, by his grace, never hereafter to fall into sin again. And so to have entered into a new league and covenant with him; purposing fully in your heart, by his grace, never to do so ill again. But being rid out of idolatrous bondage, it is said and reported, ye gave your consent to the building of God's house or church; that was not builded in all points so perfectly, as the other that he himself had builded, without any lawful or godly magistrate; and left in those days for an example, as I suppose, for you to have followed.

Also, it is said, that ye were one of them that at the first maintained that, for the which many good men lost their livings: and by little and little the practice of the papists, as it is feared, hath grown to displace good justicers, to put down profitable *exercises* of the word, as also of prayer and fasting, sometime used: where tears were shed, not only for their own sins, but of those murnyng souls of Sion, for all the abominations of Jerusalem. Which a heathen king seeing his people given unto, was so far from forbidding of it, that he confirmed it by his writing and dede-doing. Which turned the wrath of God from them: as their desire was, that here used this exercise of prayer and fasting: foreseeing the evils now present, and more to be feared to be at hand. For I fear, they see not their practice that first set brother against brother herein.

Also, it is said, that you from time to time, fearing to exasperate the prince, and to make her worse in religion, have spared your plainness, and have not dealt with her so plainly from time to time, as your knowledge hath required, both touching God's chierche, her own preservation, and the safe-tie and profit of the commonwealth; to the increase of God's gospel to us, and our posterity for evermore.

For alas! my good lord, I know small of these things, for truthe, if any. But this, I say, the knowledge of God, and the benefits of your good prince, should move you (if you be not) to be bold and courageous in both their causes; venturing your life for her; as she doth daily for you. For he that dealeth plainly with her shall find more favour in the end, than he that flattereth. And when can you do God, your prince, country, and posterity, better service than now, in being courageous in all those good matters that ye know full well may serve well these turnes; although it should cost you your life?

I suppose, if it had been required of him, that, as it is said, cometh in, [the duke of Anjou,] that he should be heartily sorry for his going to the idolatrous mass and popish religion: and so to acknowledge, and that openly before the whole congregation, that he hath done very evil in going to it, and that he now, nor never hereafter purposeth, by God's grace, to do so ill again; that rather than he would have done this openly, he would never have come among us: except he be thoroughly persuade in godly religion: which is feared he is not. For the popish religion, you know, alloweth none to be Christians, except they renounce their faith openly, and bear a fagot. Nor the Jews custome in God's religion alloweth any for a Jew, except he be thrice circumcised.

And in this methinketh (wishing well to your goodness) I have committed no great fault, if any at all; but to let you to understand what is said of you, that I hear; and my love to the whole church. And this rule seems to bear it, *Do as thou wouldest be done by*. And as I have written it, none knowing of it; so you may burn it, none seeing it. And thus God's grace, I beseech him, to give you in all your great affairs; and his mercy embrace you for evermore, Amen. By him that hath great cause to love and reverence your honour; because of the great care you have of God's church, as for the good you do unto it. Rychard Prowde, parson of Bowrton upon Donsmore, although unworthy of so great calling, having no greater learning. 13th of May, 1579.

NUMBER 23.

Mr. Hugh Broughton, of Christ's college, Cambridge, to the high chancellor of that university; complaining of his being wrongfully deprived of his fellowship, being that founded by king Edward VI. Desiring justice against Dr. Hawford, the master.

DR. HAUFORDUS adhuc obstinate reluctatur hono-ris tui literis, ut me affligat pecuniae ac temporis dispendio. Hoc autem jam controversum est, an licebit soli, vel cum paucioribus, honorario tuo arbitro resistere. Peto autem quaesoque ita eum accipias, ut mihi aliqua ex parte compen-set iterum sumptus: quandoquidem non potest inficiari, quin contra leges me ejecerit, indicta causa pulsum: nullo die conducto ad agendum. Quam vero me insuper cruciave-rit; quantum honoratis viris obstinatione sententiae displi-cuit; quantopere coegerit academiam plerumque meis casi-bus ingemiscere; nihil dico, in medio relinquo; tute judicabis.

Quoniam autem audio eum ad honorem tuum missurum quempiam actorem suae causae; nec ipse possum interesse; fractus antea laboribus, et nunc valetudinarius; necesse habeo et absentiae veniam summissee petere, et causam denuo ape-rire: nequa obscuritas aliorum sermonibus afferatur. De so-dalitia igitur Edovardi regis possum idoneis testibus confir-mare, atque adeo D. Haufordum ad fatendum cogere, soda-litium hoc primo fundamine *medico* fuisse designatum: qui collegio percommodus merito visus est: descriptum librum novarum legum, qui sic ordinaret: librum hunc dum gesta-retur ad Ridleium, tum visitatorem, infeliciter in itinere cum capsula quadam periisse. Haec pleraque D. Haufordus ipse crebro memoravit. Et quidam D. Johnsonus, tum Christi-cola, adhuc Cantabrigiensis, vir dignus fide, testabitur. Nul-las ex illo leges latas de hac re: consuetudinem autem et voluntatem contubernii licentio-rem fuisse constat. Quum enim D. Margareta duos non patiatur esse socios ex eodem comitatu; hic Sandersonus, Northumbrius, *Lewinus*, *Es*-sexius populares suos, alter Northumbrium, alter Essexium, collegas habuerunt. Lewinus etiam ministerium sacrum re-cusare situs est; quum dispensationes D. Margareta abjudi-cet. Quod si tolerationem nuncupabit D. Haufordus, cur non potuit idem mihi dare? Nonnihil autem valere debet sociorum sermonibus haec usurpata licentia. In quibus D. Stillus nuper procancellarius coram D. Haufordo, multis au-dientibus, opinabatur, se nunquam futurum fuisse theolo-gum, si non Margaretam altricem studiorum, sed regem Edovardum

habuisset. Haec dixit procancellarius, cum illius iudicium valere in caussa potuisset.

Omitto multa brevitatis ergo, duobus ut respondeam, quae forsitan obijciuntur. Alterum est obscuritas quaedam in do-natione regis Edovardi: alterum, jusjurandum datum D. Margaretae. His duobus saepius videri voluit D. Haufordus triumphare. Edvardo regi tenetur collegium unum socium *sustinere per et juxta ordinem foundationis*. Quae constat dici de *stipendio*, ut sit non minus alibile atque opimum, quam alia D. Margaretae. Id nisi ita esset, quorsum illa con-silia et leges de medico? Unde nata contraria consuetudo atque judicia? Jusjurandum vero non dant aliud, quam de-bent etiam pensionarii; ut videat humanitatis tuae mollitudo nihil hoc contra me facere. Id. Mart.

Tuus supplex,
Hugo Broughton.

NUMBER 24.

The fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge, to the chancellor of that university: in behalf of Mr. Hugh Broughton, against the master of the college; who had declared his fellowship void.

QUOD allatum ad nos fuit, quatuor ex nostris sociis una cum custode collegii ad honorem tuum seripsisse contra D. Broughtoni caussam; excitati sumus et nos, ut scriberemus, quid de hac re sentiamus; nequid potior aut probabilior caussa nostro silentio detrimenti caperet. Tres itaque literas honoris tui amicissime scriptas contemplati probavimus, et obviis ulnis amplexi sumus. Quae omnes D. Broughtoni caussae patrocinebantur. Secundarum mentio facta est, quae nonnihil cederent: quas nec vidimus, nec videre cupimus ejusmodi. Namque ut sit sciens honos tuus, quantopere illius partibus meritissime studeamus; nos ipsi ad D. Mildmaium nonnulli scripsimus, ut alumnum suum, Graios mu-sarum agros fortiter colentem, cum fundi nostri calamitate non pateretur ex gremio collegii nostri penitus avelli. Nos iidem authores, et consuasores fuimus D. Broughtono jure-consulto, Broughtoni nostri germanissimo fratri, ut jurecon-sultus, ex jure frater fratris caussam fraterne tueretur. Nostrarum etiam literarum accitu, Broughtonus noster Dunelmo maturius quam alioquin voluisset cogitabat reditionem do-mum: quae tamen valetudinis perturbatione fuit praepedita.

Adhaec, cum D. Haufordus autumaret ac pronuntiaret cum socium non esse; iidem ex animo vere et sincere acriter restitimus: tam quod indicta caussa id fieri inhumanum et injustum esse rebamur; quam quoa ex jure juxta nobiscum socium eum esse justissimis ex caussis arbitrati sumus. Nec minus segre laturo illius talem amissionem, quam si ipsi de presidio et statione sodalitiis nostri depelleremur. Et quid opus est plura? Nam et aequitas cum illo facit, uti tuum prudens et sincerum iudicium statuit. Et si revivisceret rex Edovardus, silere leges potius mallet, quam utilitas collegii, et dignitas academiae suprema lex non esset. Quae cum ita sint, summis petimus ab honore tuo ut ne desistas eum tueri, quem tutari tam humaniter et considerate coeperis. Cantab. id. Mart. [1579.]

Tui honoris observantissimi,

Joannes Ireton,

Brake Babington,

Ambrosius Barker,

Martyn Kaye,

Christopher Bambriggus,

Thomas Bradocke,

Roger Acroe,

Thomas Todd, nuperrime socius, cum haec maxime agebantur.

NUMBER 25.

The lord treasurer to the earl of Sussex. News at court, concerning the French ambassador, and the prince of Conde from the king of Navar: both together in private conference with the queen.

MY very good lord, with thanks for your letter and messenger: who on Friday met me coming from Theobalds. I came yesterday hither about five of the clock; and repairing towards the privy chamber, to have seen her majesty, I found the door, at the upper end of the presence chamber, shut. And then understood, that the French ambassador had been a long time with her majesty, and the prince of Conde also. Where there were none other of the council, but my lord of Leicester and Mr. Vicechamberlain [Hat-ton:] Mr. Secretary Walsingham being sick in his chamber. And so about seven of the dock, the French ambassador being ready to depart towards London, came to me, and told me a great part of their proceedings, being pleased well with her majesty for her temperate

dealings: but no way contented with the prince of Conde. In whom he findeth more disposition to move troubles in France, than to enjoy peace. And he addeth, that he verily thinketh, that these troubles in France, and the princes coming hither, are provoked from hence. Wherein I know nothing of certainty; but should be sory it should be so in truth. Nevertheless he augment-eth his suspicions upon the sight he hath of the great fayours shewed to the prince of Conde by certain counsellors here; whom he understandeth have been many times, both on Friday and Saturday, with him at the banqueting house, where he is lodged.

Yesternight late in the even, her majesty told me her dealing with the ambassador and the prince. Wherein she commended the prince's modesty, in declaring the cause of his coming to be, to shew to her majesty the just causes that have moved the king of Navar to take armes for his defence against marshal Montmorencie and Byron. Of whose violences (as he supposed, without warrant from the king) he shewed many particular cases. To which the ambassador made defence, by retorting to the king of Navar, the occasion of the marshal's actions to have grown from the king of Na-var first. The prince also declared the cause of his coming from St. John D'Angeli to have been, to serve the king in the government of Pycardy. Where he sought to obtain the good-will and liking of the townes in Pycardy. Because the king and his mother also had assented for their parts, that he should have the government; saving, that they found the states of the country unwilling. Which was, as he understood, but a suggestion, made by means of the house of Guise to them; that D'aumale might have the government from him. And so, he coming into Pycardy, found (as namely, at Soissons) the people glad at his access. And yet notwithstanding, his adversaries, on the part of the duke D'aumale, procured contrary suggestions to be made to the king. And in the end he found certain numbers of men of war amassed by the lige of Pycardy to have trapped the prince. And thereof complaining, and finding no remedy, he was forced to flee towards Almayne; leaving the house of La Fere guarded. And perceiving that the French king was induced by his adversaries to credit their false complaints, he came hither to entreat her majesty, that the French king would suspend his judgments, both against the king of Navar and him; and accept them as his dutiful sub-iects, as they meant and intended sincerely and plainly, without attempting any force, otherwise then for their de-fence against their oppressors.

And to this, as I understand, the ambassador used small defence. But excused the king, as one that was very loth to come to termes of war. But he answered, that his master was so provoked, as he thought it a hard matter to stay him from proceeding with such force as God had given him, to the expending of his life and crown.

The ambassador went to London, and the prince to his lodging; conducted by my lord of Leicester. And Wylkes the clerk of the council attendeth upon him. By her majesty I perceive the just cause of his coming is for mony in this sort; that is, after this rate: the charge to be born: viz. a part by the king of Navar, and his part: another by Cassimire and certain princes, protestants: and a third is required from her majesty. What they may prove, I know not. I wish her majesty may spend some portion to sollicite for them some peace, to the good of the cause of religion. But to enter into a war, and therewith to break the ma-riage; and so to be left alone, as subject to the burthen of such a war, I think no good counsellor can allow.

It is likely that the prince shall depart to morrow by sea to Flushing: from whence he came by sea. And thither by the Rhine from Colen, without taking land. But I think he will now at his return visit the prince of Aurenge. Thus your lordship hath all my knowledge. Her majesty removeth on Tuesday. On which day I mean to be at Westminster, if I may. My lord Grey is making him ready for Ireland. From the court at Nonsuch this Sunday the of June, 1580.

Your lordships most assured,
W. Burghley.

NUMBER 26.

Thomas Randolph, esq.; late-the queen's ambassador to Scotland, to the lord chancellor: concerning the Scots king; Daubigny; and Scottish matters.

WHERE I am so much bound, I ought not to omit any token of a grateful mind; lest, of all I be thought ingrate-ful. Seeing the duty that I owe is far greater than wherewith I have to recompence; I will rather compound as a bad debtor, than become clean bankrupt, to deceive my whole creditors. Your honour therefore shall at this time, for myth that I owe through my

long silence, be now re-compenced with a few lines, to informe your lordship of the state of Scotland, where I have now been a good space discharging my commission. Sought by all means to persuade the king and council to harken unto reason; to remember the queen's majesty my sovereigns benefits unto them; to yield in reason to her requests, for the indifferent tryal of the earl Morton, and removing of count Debonie [D'Aubigny] from the king, a man known to be an utter enemy to Christ's religion, and great disliker of any amity to stand between these two countries. To remedy these two evils, as her majesty hath taken no small care, so hath my travail been in will to answer unto her highness desire, according as I have been instructed from her majesty; or directed by others that have had power to command.

I find no good success of my travail to either of these purposes. The earl of Morton is very rich: he hath goodly houses, and well furnished. He hath great lands, and many friends in his prosperity. The doubt of his power, when he was at liberty, procured him many enemies. His great goodness to give that which he hath, is thought to many, quarel sufficient. I find little hope of his life the sooner, for that divers of his own most assured friends and servants, as he thought, are his accusers. Some, that he was guilty of the king's murder: others, that he was consenting to the poisoning of the earl Athol: some, that of late he intended to have taken the king, and to have killed the earl of Argyle, the earl Lenox, and Montros. If this be true, his fault is greater than can be born with. If he be innocent, yet is the malice so great, as he cannot escape with his life. Nay, I cannot my self wish him any favour, if that be true that is said of him, and confessed by those in whom he had no small trust. This in time will be tryed: and her majesty shall be truly informed what his doings have been.

How I have dealt from time to time with the king and council; and what answer I have received; as also of my hasty departure out of that country, that both had libells set up against me, and harquebuse shot in at my chamber window, I trust your lordship knoweth, by such letters as are come to Mr. Secretary Walsinghams hands. I will no further trouble your lordship, but humbly remembring my duty, I take my leave. At Barwick.

NUMBER 27.

The bishop of Ely to the lord treasurer: informing him of intelligence he had received of 12000 Italians to be sent by the pope and Spaniard against the realm.

ETSI multis modis tibi notum sit, et satis cognitum, quid moliatur ille antichristus Romanus; interim tamen cum per amicos procul dissitos antichristi incendium accen-datur Romae, et in omnem fere orbem divulgetur; ut nu-per accepimus a vere amicis nostris, et regno et reginae nos-trae, atque ejus proceribus, impensissime faventibus: quod antichristus ille, ut bulla Alexandrino cardinale exhibere-tur contra sereniss. Angliae reginam, atque quingenta exem-plaria imprimerentur, quae in eam orbis partem emittantur, quae catholicissima judicantur; antichristus et Hispanus in idem consentiunt. Adeo ut duodecim millia Italorum in militiam Hispanorum brevi conscribantur.

Haec quidem ad me jam ex Helvetia transmittuntur: quae pii fratres candide nos admonent. Etsi procul a nobis absint, precibus tamen prope adsunt, &c. Dominus Jesus Christus te nobis diutissime servet incolumem. Downamiae, 18 Junii, 1580.

Tuae celsitudini ex animo longe carissimus,
Richardus Coxus.

NUMBER 28.

Rodolphus Gualter, minister of Zurich, to Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury: informing him of many copies of the excommunication of pope Pius V. against the queen, printed at Rome; to be dispersed: and of the pope's and Spaniard's preparation for invading England.

S. QUEMADMODUM anno praeterito amplitudini tuae ex animo gratulabar, domine et pater in Christo reveren-dissime, quod de tua liberatione seu restitutione lama apud nos pervenisset; its postea non absque magno dolore cog-novi me isto nuntio falsum fuisse. Rursus tamen mihi spem bonam fecit nuper suis literis dignissimus praesul, Eboracensis archiepiscopus; quae ut

rata sit toto corde Deum precor, per filium suum dilectum, Jesum Christum.

Scribendi vero occasionem mihi praecipuam praebuerunt in praesenti, quae per fidos mercatores Norinbergense ex Roma cognovimus. Nimirum, Alexandrinum cardinalem exempla bullae Pii V. papae, qua hic serenissimam Angliae vestrae reginam excommunicavit, plura quingentis exprimi curavisse: ut non Romae modo, sed per omnes aulas re-gum catholicorum (ut ipsi loquuntur) publicentur. Insti-tutionis hujus causae potissimae hae adducuntur. Prima, ut hac ratione legatus Anglicus ab aula Portugalensi excluda-tur. Altera, ut eadem opera impediuntur nuptiae inter Alazonium regis Galli fratrem et reginam Elizabetham. Tertia et praecipua, ut ab ea omnes reges ac principes alie-nentur; nequam illi opem ferant adversus Hispaniae re-gem. Qui classem instructissimam parare fertur, qua vobis bellum moveat. Additur, conscribi debere in Italia duo decim millia militum qui classi isti imponantur.

Haec (inquam) Roma scripta sunt, 23 Januarii proximi. Etsi vero non dubitem serenissimam reginam, et regni consiliarios habere suos excubitores, qui illos de omnibus, quae alibi fiant, admoneant; quia tamen Angliam vestram magno suo merito, semper amavi, et eam nobis unius et ejusdem fidei confessio artissime conjunxit, me hoc ex officio vobis debere putavi, ne celarem quae vobis struuntur insidias. Ut si forte nihil hujus ad vos pervenerit aliunde, per me hoc vobis innotesceret.

Moveat me etiam, quod addebatur, Hispanum occasio-nem istam ex eo arripuisse, quod papistae vestri in plurimis locis res novas moliantur. Scio quidem Deum esse regno-rum omnium praesidem, et regem regum; Christum item regna ea conservare ac tueri, quae ecclesiae suae hospitium tutum praebent; quod jam multis annis serenissima regina vestra fideliter fecit. Attamen nobis quoque vigilandum est adversus Antichristum, qui oculos hominis habet, et irre-quieto studio occasiones omnes captat, quibus Christi reg-num evertat; aut saltem piis turbas det.

Scripseram de hac re jam ad dignissimos praesules, Ebo-racensem et Eliensem. Sed quia ille procul a Londino habitat; hic vero per aetatem frequenter se domi continet, necessarinm putavi ut tuae etiam amplitudini ista significa-rem; et hanc meam pro vobis sollicitudinem, etsi fortassis supervacanea sit, vobis tamen gratam et acceptam fore, non dubito.

[NUMBER 28.]

The content of a letter written by one Solomon Alfred, (sometime a hosier in Birching-lane, London,) from Lions or Rhemes; to Robert Downes, esq. now prisoner in the gaol of Norwich.

IN the first part whereof was conteyned the great enter-teynment, geven to the writer, his wyfe and her woman, by the pope his holiness (as he termed him) at his house, where he then lay; within twelve miles of Rome. Where at their first coming was a chamber prepared to them to dyne in; and six gentlemen, appointed by the pope himself, to attend upon them at dynner: and how the pope did send unto them a reward of every dish of meat that was upon his own table: and that when at their departure they came to take their leave of him, he gave unto him and his wife a pension of twelve pistoletts a moneth, during their lives: willing them, if they thought it too little, to ask more, and they should have it graunted: and dismyssed them with such courteous words, as there was none of them that departed without shedding of tears.

Secondly, The writer wished Mr. Downes, that if he would take the benefit of a licence, which he heard he had, to go beyond the seas, he should now put it in execution: advising him, if he mynded so to do, that he should make means to his brother's factor at London, to take order for the exchange of his mony, to be delivered him agayne, either at Depe, or else where he would within France. And admonished him for his better securitie, to take shipping at Rye, and to land at Depe. And there to chuse, whether he would go to Rhemes, or else to Lyons: where he would procure his brother to meet him, and to brynge him to his house; where he and his wife should be very honourably received. But he willed hym in no wise to come by Paris, for feare of the ambassador. And if he would nedes see the city, he bade him then first, to leve his wyfe at his brother's, house, and to go from thence to Paris for three or four dayes. And at his return agayne from thence, he would take such order with his brother as he should be placed in France, where he best lyked.

Thirdly, He signified, that there was a bulle: whereof there were printed either iii score, or iii score and odd copies; I do not well remember whether: which should be delivered to Dr. Morton and to one Webbe. But what the contents of them were, or how to be employed, I do not remember it specified in the letter.

Fourthly, He said, that there were two Jesuites, and other persons, that were to come over, to do the country good.

Lastly, He certified, that there was at Rome, as I take it, a nobleman, either of Turkie or Jurye, with xx persons more, christened, whilst he was there. And this is the whole content, as far as I can remember, of all the letter: which was written, as I hear, in April last.

Mychael Hare.

*An account of the abovesaid letter, given by Roger Martin, esq.
and the occasion of his hearing, it read, and of the burning of it.*

Our supper prepared by our keeper, I came owt of my chamber, and went into an entrye, which some termyth a *gallerye*, having lyght but on the one side, (where our sayd keeper was attending upon us,) towards the place where we should suppe. Where I saw Mr. Downes openyng and redying of a letter in the wyndow: which he sayd came from beyond the seas, from one that he dyd not see this xvi yeres. Wherein standing by, I hearde hym rede, what grete interteynment and pension the sender of the letter had of the pope, being then a xii myles from Rome. And also he dyd sygnifie what enterteynment the sayd Mr. Downes shold have, yf he wold come over and take the benefice of his lycense: wishyng him not to go to Paris, onless yt were for 3 or 4 dayes, for fere of the imbassador. And so red imperfectly for lack of lyght: that I could not in some places understand hym, tyll as I gesse he came to about half of the letter, or somewhat more. Then goyng into the place where the cloth was layd, and the candel brought in by our sayd keeper, Mr. Hare being there, Mr. Downes de-lyvered yt to hym. Who red yt somewhat openly unto the place, as I thynke, where he namyd, that yf Mr. Downes wold come over, as ys abovesayd, he shold be honorablye receyved. Whereat Mr. Syllyard and Mr. Bedyngfeld, standyng by the fyre, lawghyd and scoffyd. Then Mr. Hare coming to a place, where a bull, and certeyn copies were namyd, whether to be prynted, or was prynted, I know not, he red that saftely to hymself, I standyng by; yet here and there I myght heare hym: and dyd hear him name one Morton. But whether the copies shold, or were delyvered to hym, or to any other, or to whom, or what shold be done with them, or what was the effect of them, I do not remember that I heard hym rede that: neyther, to my knowlege, was that expressyd in the letter.

Then, as I remember, he sayd, certeyn persons, namyng none; whereof there shold be one or two Jesuytes, as I remember, which shold come and do the countrey good, not namyng the countrey by name.

And fynally, then he sygnyfied, that a grett man, and a xx Jewes or Turkes, or Jewes and Turkes, were there chrystenyd.

The letter I dyd not rede; neyther ever dyd see any of the persons mencyoned, savyng my prison fellows.

Which letter before Mr. Hare had red yt to the full end, Mr. Downes seeyng them styll scoffyng at hym for his *honorable* receyving, (my self saying to hym, *God send thee honestie, and let honour go,*) did take yt of Mr. Hare, and sodenly threw yt into the fyre, and burnt yr. Which after Mr. Hare and I had told *hym*, that yt was to be detected and disclosyd, he repentyd: who in my conscience dyd not rede a word thereof, after he came into the chamber. Whereupon he and we beyng sorry that he had so rashly burnt yt, we callyd to our remembrance every man, what the effect of the letter was. And so did truly and plainly set yt down in wrytyng, accordyng to every man's knowledge. And was not quyett, tyl we had sent notice thereof to my lord. Which we dyd with all spede; without the advice, counsel, or pryvitie of any other person; voluntarily, and of our own minds: desyrous to shew our selves such subjects, as we have and do professe our selves to be: that ys to saye, not wylling to conceale any thyng which may prejudice the state, and be hurtful to thys our natural countrey of England. Of the which we agnise Elyzabeth to be our sove-raigne and lawful quene; and we her obedyent vassals and subjects: beseeching Almyghty God to preserve and defend her from al enemies, foreyne or domestical. Amen.

Your dayle orator,

Roger Martyn.

NUMBER 29.

A trewe note of certen artycles, confessed and allowed by Mr. D. Feckenam, as well in Christmas holidays last past, as also at divers other tymes before that; by conference in lerning before the reverend father in God, the bisshoppe of Elye, and before D. Perne, dean of Elye, master Nicholas, master Stanton, master

Crowe, Mr. Bowler, chapleines to my lord of Elye: and divers others, whose names be here subscribed.

FIRST, That he doth believe in his conscience, and before God, that the xiiii, chapter of the First to the Corinthians is as truly to be understood of the common service to be good in the mother tongue, to be understood of the vulgar people, as of the preaching or prophesying in the mother tongue.

Secondly, That he doth find no fault with any thinge that is set forth in the book of common service now used in the church of England: but his desyre is to have all the rest of the old service, that was taken out, to be restored agayne: as the prayer to the saints, 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 to the laye-people; so it were done by the authoritie of the church.

Thirdly, He doth very well allowe of the interpretation of the othe for the quenes majesty her *supremacie*, as it is interpreted in her highness Injunctions; that is, that the quenes majesty under God have the soveraintie and rule over all manner of persons, born within these her realmes, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be. The which othe he offereth himself to be at all tymes readie most willinglie to receive, whensoever it shall be demanded of him by authoritie.

Fourthly, He being demaunded, whie he wyl not come to the service in the church of England, as it is set forth this day, seing 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 mother tongue: he answered, Because he is not of our church for lack of *unitie*; some being therein *protestants*, some *puritanes*, and some of *the familie of love*. And for that it is not set forth by the authoritie of general councill.

Lastly, Mr. D. Feckneham will not conforme himselfe to our religion, for that he can see nothing to be sought, but by the spoyle of the church, and of bisshoppes houses, and of colleges landes: which he sayth maketh manye to pretend to be *puritanes*, seeking for the frutes of the church. Alwayes requesting Almighty God to put in her majesties mind, and her honorable councill to make some good stay therein; otherwise, he saythe, it will bringe in ignorance in her highnesses clergie, with a subversion of Christiane religion; and finally, all wickedness and paganisme.

*Richard Ely,
Andrew Perne,
John Fecknam, priest.
Gulihelmus Stanton,*

[NUMBER 29.]

*Radulphus Gualter to Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury;
concerning a purpose in the synod at Frankford, of framing a
general confession of all the protestant churches; and an harmony
of confessions.*

S. In Germania passim [dissensiones] dat con-cordiae formula, quam Jacobus Andreae, Brentii successor, et *ubiquitatis* apostolus, cum suis conjuratis, cudit: et cui tres electores principes, Saxo, Palatinus, et Brandeburgien-sis, cum multis aliis, subscripserunt. Opponunt sese constanter illustrissimus princeps. Hessorum Guilhelmus, et Anhaltinus. Octobri mense inter trium electorum legatos et Guilhelum Hessum acerrima actio fuit Cassellis. Cui Jacobus Andreae etiam et Chelnitius theologi interfuerunt. Sed virum sese prae-buit Hesus; neque se a sententia, et semel suscepto veritatis patrocínio dimoveri passus est. Interea ex synodi Francofordianae, quae anno 1577. mense Septembri habita fuit, decreto, confessionem fidei commu-nem scripsit vir doctissimus Hieronym. Zanchus, quam D. Beza et nos [ecclesiae Helvetiorum] examinare debebamus: ut, postea ab aliarum quoque gentium ecclesiis cognoscere-tur. Quia veto D. Zanchus, dum multa diligentius more scholastico persequitur; neque brevitati, neque perspicui-tati studere potuit, quae in causa hac potissimum requirun-tur; et rix fieri potest, ut inter tanto locorum intervallo dissitas gentes, absque longissimi temporis mora, et crebris conventibus, in unam confessionem consensus fiat; dum qui huc usque obscurius locuti sunt, suas phrases retinere studebunt, ne sententiam mutasse videantur: alii veto a recepta et semper usitata perspicuitate discedere neque vo-lent, neque poterunt; putavimus consultius esse, ut confes-sionum omnium *harmonia* conscribatur, adjectis interdum marginalibus scholiis; quibus quae in nonnullis obscurius dicta videri possunt, illustrentur. Ut ex illa deinde toti orbi constet nostrarum ecclesiarum consensus.

Laborant in hoc opere conficiendo D. Beza, Danaeus et Selvardus. Et fortassis jam illud ad finem deduxissent, nisi D. Bezae adversa valetudo

obstitisset. Qui ex gravi morbo sub hujus anni initium, decubuit. Sed jam per gra-tiam Domini nobis restitutus est. Quod si infelix illa dis-cordis *concordiae* formula, electorum principum subscrip-tione munita, prodierit, poterimus nos harmoniam illam con-fessionum plurimorum illi opponere. Quam piis omnibus jucundum cognitu, et ad veritatis defensionem utilissimum fore speramus.

De his tuam amplitudinem, reverendissime in Christo pater, certio-rem facere libuit. Quam precor, ut haec mea benigno vultu excipiat. Deus Opt. Max. hostium suorum consilia ubique gentium dissipet, ecclesias server, et te quo-que, dignissime praesul, servet ad nominis sui gloriam, *Amen*. Tiguri, 8. Martii; anno nati in carnem aeterni Filii Dei, 1580.

Cum nihil novi apud nos his nundinis prodierit praeter Psalmos, quos quidam pius et doctus frater Phalucio carmine non infeliciter reddidit, eos literis istis conjungere li-buit; quod lectu non indignos neque ingratos putarem.

Tuae amptudinis observantissimus,

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et doRodolphus Gualtherus. mino,
D. Edmundo Gryndallo, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi dignissimo,
domino suo summe observando.

NUMBER 30.

The Apology of Mr. Robert Horn, (afterward bishop of Winchester,) giving the reasons of his flight abroad in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary. Set before his translation of two sermons of Mr. Calvin.

GRACE, peace, and mercy from God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. After that God had stricken our head shepherd under Christ, that worthy king and confessor, Edward VI. (good Christian brethren,) which he threatned, by his faithful servants long before, if we would not turn from our sins and wickedness; I perceived it could not be avoided, (God so disposing the matter for our unthankful-ness,) but that the kingdom of God, at least for a time, must be taken from us, and the Christian flock dispersed. The which thing began to appear to me more plainly, when I saw God's book, containing the word of life, taken forth of the churches in

the bishopric of Durham; and a foul sort of idols, called *laymens books*, brought in therefore: when the *Common Prayer*, commanded by authority, set forth after St. Paul's rule, to the edifying of Christ's congregation, in the vulgar tongue, was, against God's law, and also against the law of the realm, banished; and in the place thereof a kind of prayer used, far dissonant from God's law, and the example of the primitive church, in a strange tongue, farced full of superstition, idolatry, and false fables; having nothing tolerable in it, saving, that the people could not understand it. And therefore were less harmed thereby. Although I suppose the popish prelates keep it in a strange tongue, lest that if the common sort of men should hear it in their own tongue, they should perceive it to be vain, false, lying fables. And therefore credit their doings much worse in all other things.

But especially when I saw the Lord's table, whereon was ministred the holy supper of the Lord, according to his own institution and ordinance, was caried away; the communion abhorred as heresy. And for these, Baal's altars reared up, and his priests and monkish hypocrites returned to their abominable, blasphemous, and idolatrous mass, as dogs to their vomit.

Wherefore I began to record with my self, and call to my remembrance, not without earnest calling on God's name for the assistance of his Spirit, mine own state and condition: and to examine more deeply, both the doctrine which I had taught, whereof I perceived that of necessity I must render an account, and that within short time; and also of my duty of allegiance unto the queen's highness. Wherein I found my self so clear and blameless, that if the Devil himself and all mine enemies should do their worst, they could not have accused me justly; neither of word nor deed perpetrated against her grace. And as concerning the doctrine which I had taught, the more diligently I did examine it by the holy scriptures and the testimony of the antient fathers, the more sincere and pure it appeared; I was the more earnestly persuaded and settled in the truth thereof. My conscience did more plainly lay to my charge, that I could not revoke, say against, or dissemble it, without blasphemous contempt of God, and most horrible denial of his Son Jesus Christ. So that I found no fault in my self, as touching my preaching, but that, as an unprofitable servant, I did not so much as I ought to have don; although I had done much more than some thought I should have thanks for.

But whatsoever men thought or spake, as touching thankful reward for my labour, I persuaded my self, that I should have all things weighed after

equity. And therefore considering both mine own integrity, that I had offended no law of the realm, and lived like an obedient subject; and also that the same men bare the chief rule under the queen's highness, and should be my judges, as did know that the sword was delivered them for defence of the good and obedient subjects; so soon as I heard tell that I was exempted the queen's highness pardon, I took my journey towards London with so much convenient speed as I might. Where I found all things far otherwise than I would have believed, if I had not been put in experience thereof my self. For I found in the place of equity, prejudice; for law, lust; for reason, will; and such as should have given sentence, according as matter had been objected, and justly proved, played both the part of the accuser and the witnesses, and also of the judge: and gave this sentence immediately, that I should either understand that I had done, or else... What that *or else* meant, I knew well enough. For I had the exposition thereof by his own holy ghost, [meaning bishop Gardiner,] then my good lord chancellor: who was always sure at a need. Perceiving [viz. bishop Tonsal] that I stood to this, that I had offended no law, to help at a pinch, objected, yea, three or four time for failing, a matter no less malicious than false. But because nothing should be left out that would help forward the matter, this good old father of Durham, who had played three parts, [i. e. under king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. and now under queen Mary,] chargeth me with a matter, not only malicious and false, but so foolish, that I had much to do to refrain my self from laughter; I could not choose but smile.

At the last my lord chancellor, after certain talk had unto me, and mine answers made, concluded, that it was not only preaching, wherewith I should be charged, the which he perceived I sufficiently defended by the king's laws, (indeed I had asked counsel of them that were learned in the laws of the realm,) but also matters touching the queens highness, which were the same wherewith he and the bishop of Durham had charged me before; as I learned by three or four of the bishops own servants: who had made no false report of their master before of my matters; but as they wrote home to Duresme to their companions, what things I should be charged withal; and what should be my judgment: so afterwards I found it true.

And therefore upon the Monday at afternoon, which was the 30th of October, after it was told me by a friend of mine dwelling in London, who was familiar in that bishop's house, and at that time frequented it, the more

to hear somewhat as touching me, that he had learned, and was credibly informed, both that all my goods at Durham were seized on, in the queen's graces name: that I my self should on the morrow be committed to the Tower; both because I had contemned the queen's highness letters; and also for that I was a Scot. I say, after I heard these things, considering, how many godly, learned preachers were imprisoned, and commanded to their houses, for *religion* without all doubt, and yet another pretence made; perceiving, that abiding could not profit my self, nor yet the congregation, and my departure might do both; I committed my self to the guiding of the Lord, and went my ways; not making any man privy to my departing.

Mervail not, good brethren, though after that I was en-tred into my journey, I were troubled with sundry cares; but chiefly with this, lest that I should now be apprehended by mine enemies: and so give them (that they would have been glad of) some honest colour, wherefore they might have seemed justly to have wrought on me their will. For that they were not ashamed to invent false and feigned accusations; how would they have rejoiced, yea, triumphed over me, when they might have laid to my charge flying the queen's realms; and that not only without her graces licence; but being convented before her highnes honourable council, and commaunded to attend till they espyed a time for me. You may be assured a lawyer's wit, wanting neither cunning, nor yet good will, and having full authority to say and do what he list, could easily have amplified this crime; and have formed of a small gnat a mighty elephant.

But after that the Lord had delivered me, at the least at that time, out of the mouth of the lion, and saved me out of the hand of all mine enemies which hated me, I began to study with my self, and more diligently to consider, to what end God had wrought thus my deliverance. Which was not that I should now live as one that had no regard of God's glory, nor of mine own duty. But that, as I was appointed to be a workman in his vinyard, and a watchman over the house of Israel, so I should now most earnestly hunt those wild swine that destroy the Lord's vinyard: gather together (so much as in me lieth) the Lord's sheep that now are dispersed throughout mountains, hills, and groves; and to give them warning of the fearful sword that hangeth over their heads. Which thing I shall not cease to do by the aid of God's most holy Spirit.

But forasmuch as I knew right well, the proud papists, whose mouths are full of bitterness and cursed speech, will not cease, yea, out of their pulpits,

with boasting and glorious words to carp and slaunder me, for my sudden departure, as though thereby they had vanquished and overcome God's truth, which I had set forth; and my kinsfolks and friends will much lament my state; taking this to be unkindness, that I should not make them privy of my purpose; thinking that they should have turned my mind: and also (which moveth me most of all) the weak flock of Christ, which I had fed with the true doctrine of the gospel, may by the subtil persuasions of the crafty hypocrites be brought in doubt of the verity thereof; as though I myself should have forsaken it; and thereby be offended, and brought from God: I say, for these causes I thought best to answer the malicious hypocrites; whose mouths although I could not stop, yet at the least they should not hereafter say, but that they were warned; if that they would not cease to speak that they ought not, they should hear that they would not. And hereby satisfy my kinsfolks and friends, who I know, of friendship and loving-kindness, look upon my matter with a wrong eye. And also to admonish the weak Christian brethren, both to beware of the leaven of the dissembling hypocrites; who although they be clothed in lamb-skins, yet by their fruits they may know them to be ravening wolves: and also to confirm themselves in that doctrine which I have preached unto them; which also they have received; and not to be easily caried away into any other contrary, although an angel should come from heaven and preach it to them, &c.

But this I know they will charge me withal, and many others; that herein I shewed myself a carnal preacher; for that I did not live a sole life, without marriage, as they do. If they live chaste without marriage, let them give God thanks therefore. I do not envy in them that gift of God. But surely God gave not me that gift, that I could live a virginal, chaste life, but after the manner of hypocrites. And therefore did enter into that holy estate of matrimony, (which is *honourable among all men,*) to the end I might serve God in pure chastity of matrimony, &c. I will not now enter in the dispute of this matter. I may be so occasioned, that I shall speak of it another time. But I will herein purge my self of this crime, whereof I and my fellow preachers are accused, as carnal, because we are married. And I will purge my self after the order of the canon law, as I saw it put in practice once in Cambridge, for the purgation of a holy and learned virgin, if all unmarried priests be virgins. The order was, that being accused of whoredome, four or five, as honest as himself, and of no lower degree in that university, must (after he himself have taken an oath that he is no whoremonger)

swear that they think his oath to be true. Which done, the matter standeth clear; and he may justly take an occasion of slaunder against them that accuse him. Nor do I affirm before my judge, Jesus Christ, and the whole church, that I have not sinned, because I took a wife. And therefore again falsely accused, as a carnal and fleshly man for so doing. And for my purgation herein, and to prove my saying to be true indeed, and also to approve my doing herein, I take to witness the law of God, the law of nature, and the civil laws, till three hundred years after Christ's ascension; the example of Christ's apostles, St. Paul's counsel to the Corinthians; and in many other places; the council of Nice, and all the fathers of the church to the second Carthage council, which was 420 years after Christ's ascension.

Afterwards speaking of king Edward's reign, and the preachers then, thus he wrote. The rulers themselves took us so much contrary to flatterers, and men-pleasers, that they did much blame us of too bold and plain rebuking their sins. Insomuch, that they would at the last hear no more sermons. Which was a manifest token that God's plague was at hand: as indeed it shortly followed upon them and the whole realm. And for the lordly loitering prelates, with all their sentinel of dumb dogs, I trust they will bear us witness, we flattered them no deal, &c.

And then in excuse of the flight of professors in those times. But is it any mervail that we run away from the cruel claws of these wild beasts, in whose hands there is no mercy? We fled not, because we did suspect our doctrine; but because we knew well their cruelty. We went not away, because we would not abide by our doctrine, and prove it true; but for that truth could not be heard with indifferent judgment. I pray you make this practice, and look, if the like were found in any history. They cast the chiefest learned men in prison, or commanded them to keep their houses, or not to come abroad; or banished them the realm: as P. Martyr, John a Lasco, with others. And when they be sure of them, that they shall not meddle, (for they were not able to abide their learning,) then they blind the eyes of the people: they pretend a disputation; and Call the matter into question, when there is no man to answer them, as they think: and also when they be already determined, let the truth appear never so plain to the contrary, what they will decree.

Then cryeth a stout champion at Paul's Cross boldly, Where be our new preachers now? Why do they not now come forth, and dispute? Think you

this lusty *roisterkin* doth not know full well that they be fast enough? They may not come to answer him. Yet by those whom God hath delivered out of their hands, although they be nothing to be compared in learning with them they have locked fast up, it shall plainly appear to all indifferent men, that their doctrine is true, and may easily be maintained by the scripture and testimony of the antient fathers of Christ's church: and that the contrary cannot be defended, neither by God's word, the antient church, nor by no honest way. And therefore they are drove, and with shame enough, to bolster and keep it up with fire and sword; with, *Thus will we, and thus it shall be*. And because they would seem in the face of the world to do it by learning, and the consent of most part of learned men of the realm; they gather a sort of blind priests together into the convocation house; whose living hangeth, as they called it, of making Christ's body; and of pretenced chastity; being for the most part unlearned asses, and filthy whoremongers. And these with a shout, Yea, yea, yea, or Nay, nay, nay, must determine these matters.

Another practice, (which in very deed was that moved me to save my self from them, by fleeing out of the realm,) they have not lately invented, but derived from their forefathers, the Jewish pharisees, and yet put not in ure of many years: and that is, they will not leave alive one learned man in the realm, which is not of their own sect. No, nor yet ere they have done, one nobleman that now liveth. Although they will not pretend religion to be the cause, but invent some other weighty matter. I must needs here give the noblemen warning of that I heard, because I love them, and am sorry to hear of strangers this dishonour of them; that they are not able to rule themselves; and therefore must desire a pole-shorn bishop to govern them, and the whole realm.

At my last being at London, waiting, at the parlament house, on my lords of the council, as I was commanded, I met with a familiar acquaintance of mine; although not of my opinion in religion; but one that for matters of religion doth favour the popish bishops: and is both familiar with the best of them, and also taken to be a wise man, and of great foresight, as he is indeed. He asked me of my state, saying thus unto me, Did not I tell you, that your religion would not continue? And so would have persuaded me to give place, and revoke my opinion. Wherein when he saw he prevailed not, he said friendly, He was sorry for me, and wished that he were of power to do me plesure. To whom I said, It was sufficient for me, that he would continue his familiar friendship with me. And thereupon I charged

him, as I was often wont, of friendship to tell me, what he thought of our bishop-like proceedings. Whereto he answered, As to matters of religion, very well. But in other matters, nothing so. For, saith he, I have entred talk with some, that be most nigh of their counsil; and I perceive this by all their proceedings and purposes, that they are fully bent to set up the power of the clergy as high as ever they were above the laity: and I have good reason that moves me also to think this to be true. Whereunto I said, That can never be brought to pass. For although the noblemen do favour their religion; yet they will never suffer them to climbe so high again. Tush! said he; they shall first of all help them to bring to pass at this parlament that they would: and then they will have their heads off one after another. What! said I; they will never so do: for the nobility favoureth them. Yea, said he; and they favour some of them again. But they love none of them so well, but they love themselves better. They see that the whole youth of the realm, and especially of the nobles and the worshipful, are affected with this heresy and *new learning*: and they shal hereafter undoe again all that they now do: and then the latter end shall be worse than the beginning. And therefore will they chop off the heads of the fathers. And thereby both their children are disinherited, and shall be hable to do no harm. And also they may in their place make noblemen of their own kindred and friends. What! said I; it were too much cruelty. Whereunto he saith, Yea, yea, they think it is better, an inconvenience than a mischief. God deliver the noble bloud of England put of the danger of these dissembling wolves: and let the noblemen consider, how many of their own friends, and most dear darlings, with whom they were joyned in confederacy for the bishop of Rome, wretched Winchester and devilish dreaming Duresm have brought to confusion: and they shall have sufficient warning how they may trust these bloody butchers. If Dr. Ridley were alive, the bishop of Durham's chaplain, and one hand, he would vouch it to his face, as he did the last time he ever did speak to him: that he careth not whose bloud he shed, to bring his purpose about. What would this unsatiable bloudsucking hypocrite have cared, to have wrought my destruction, whom he took to be an enemy to his devilish devices? He invented all the ways he could, to bring me to revoke the truth. He caused two noblemen to charge me with preaching, as he termed it, *heresy*. He himself accused me that I had infected the whole dioces with *new learning*. But when that would not serve, because I had done nothing but that was confirmed by the laws of the realm, he was not ashamed to lay to my charge, that I was not an Englishman born: that I had exercised his office in his bishoprick: that I had brought a wife of mine own

into that church, wherein never woman came before. And then the lord chancellor chargeth me with contempt of the queens highness; as though I should have received three letters of commandment to repair, and make mine appearance before the council; and would appear for none of them. If both these butchers had been so well known to king Henry VIII. for rank traitors to the crown of England, as they were indeed; which now they shew plainly,

(As I am well known to be a mere natural Englishman,) they should never have brought that noble realm now in danger to be overrun and conquered by strangers. The which thing men that be half blind may plainly see they go about. I never meddled with his office. I was in danger of much displeasure, as the honourable council did well know, because I would not take upon me his office. And herein he uttereth his malicious hypocrisy, and what an unshame-faced baud he hath been, is, and will be to the monks of Durham, when he saith, there never came woman within that house before my wife came there. For he knoweth right well that the church of Durham was replenished with married priests. For bishop William, by the help of Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury, did obtain licence from pope Hildebrand, to banish the married priests, and to bring monks from Warmouth and Jarrow, [the former place in Northumberland, the latter in Durham.] And also it is not unknown to him, nor to his chancellor, nor to any one of his officers, that every monk of them all for the most part hath a concubine in the town: who hath come, and doth come to their church and chamber, and no fault found. And the honest men of the town, and also of the country, are offended therewith; but dare say nothing, for fear of the great baud their patron. Yea, the bishop and his monks know well enough, that I did know too much of their juggling. And therefore it is time to rid me out of the way.

But when Winchester came in also with his false accusation, (for I never received one letter nor token of commandment from her highness, nor from her honorable council; but a letter the post delivered me by the way, as I was coming to London,) and laid it earnestly to my charge, as though I had been a stubborn rebell; I perceived they would serve me, as they had done others; I mean, to punish me for religion, and pretend treason; and suborned two or three false witnesses, (and they have plenty in store,) to affirm that I had made some offence to the queen's highness, &c. Wherefore I thought it best to deliver my self out of their hands, by forsaking my native country; seeing there was neither equity nor just

judgment to be looked for; although my doctrine was never so pure, my behaviour never so upright, and I never so able to answer with truth to that was objected.

And therefore my friends and kinsfolks have no cause to be sorry for me. For though I have lost a great living, all my goods I have, not one farthing left me; am banished my native country; shall use no more the familiar company of my friends; what have I lost? Nothing: but shall be a great gainer. For if to save these things, a man loose his own soul, what hath he won? And if the departure from these have everlasting life to reward, what damage is there? Our Saviour Christ, whose promise is much more sure and precious than the uncertain and flattering glory of the world, hath made faithful promise, that *whosoever for-saketh house, brethren, sisters, father, mother, wife, children, for his name's sake, the same shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life*. As for living, he that feedeth the sparrows will not see me unprovided for. *Godliness is great riches, when a man is content with that he hath*. When we have food and rayment, let us be therewith content. For this is a plain case, *We brought nothing into this world, nor we can cary nothing away*. We have here no dwelling place, but we seek a city to come, the heavenly Jerusalem; where our Saviour Jesus Christ is. For whose sake I count all things but loss, and do judge them but dung, that I may win him.

And then as to his own translation of Calvin's two sermons, he shewed; that he did it for the sake of his friends that were left in the midst of so much idolatry at home: that they might learn to bear Christ's cross on their backs, and to follow him strongly, he translated for them two sermons of that great, learned, and godly man, John Calvin, made for the purpose. These I have done travailing; having no place certain where I will remain. But I trust shortly to be where I will stick down the stake, till God call me home again.

And forasmuch as the bishop of Durham did openly to my face call the doctrine which I taught, as touching the popish mass, *heresy*; I shall, by God's grace, declare and prove by the testimony of scripture, and the ancient fathers of Christ's church, that the popish mass is the greatest heresy, blasphemy, and idolatry, that ever was in the church. Which shall be the next thing that you shall look for from me, by God's grace.

NUMBER 31.

The answer of AElmer, bishop of London, to divers objections made to him, for felling and sale of the woods belonging, to the see.

Objection. To Kendal and. Wray, 300 timber trees.

Answer. A piece of wood stocked by Edmund, bishop of London. And a few trees left in it, in the time of Edwin, bishop of London. The same trees were cut down by the middle, in the name of lopping: which for the most part grew seare, and withered. Which the said bishop confesseth to have sold. For else they would have withered all. And not thirty timber trees among them.

Object. To Parkinson; for one hundred trees of timber.

Answer. I do confess the sale of so many in two years: but all such as were withered in the tops, and seare. The most part of those that remain; which, if they be not felled, will shortly decay. The choise of these my predecessors sold for 4s. a tree.

Object. To Mr. Cholmely an hundred timber trees.

Answer. To him, being my steward, I think I sold eight, or thereabout.

Object. To Tarry and Kimberly, twenty timber trees.

Answer. This article is untrue.

Object. To the repairing of an house in Harnesey, bought by my lord, 40 trees.

Answer. I bought no house in Harnesey; but a lease of a copy-hold; where I have bestowed eight trees, being the lands of the see; and the trees seare.

Object. To two brewers of London 30 acres: 4*l.* the acre.

Answer. In two years I sold coppice wood 21 acres. Which I might lawfully do, saving the spring.

Object. To the dutchess of Suffolk 6 or 8 acres.

Answer. Onely I sold to her of coppice wood, two acres.

Object. To Kimberley 6 or 8 acres.

Answer. Onely one acre. The springe whereof being my woodwards, he destroyed. Whereof I have him in suite.

Object. Lopt and topt a great number of trees.

Answer. Lopt and topt for the poor certain trees.

Object. Wood and timber sold since Michaelmas, in Finchley and Sowe wood, the great park and little park, for the sum of 400*l*.

Answer. It is utterly untrue.

Object. To Mr. Clark and Peacock sixscore acres of wood, at 4*l*. the acre. To every acre two timber trees.

Answer. I confess so much sold by my lord Dyers arbitre-ment; and the consent of the tenants; sold before by Edmund bishop of London' allowing two pollards to every acre. Which were no timber trees, nor never so taken.

Object. To Barret and Kimberley sixscore acres. Two timber trees to every acre.

Answer. Barret I know not; but I confess I sold these three *years, annis* 1577, 1578, 1579, of coppice woods sixseore acres by his said arbitre-ment; with two lopt and doated trees to every acre, *ut supra*. Which I will justify to be an increase of wood. For when I have, and shah have 300*l*. at the next sale, the spring being kept, there are that will give 500*l*.

Object. To Lynford 7 acres and 60 timber trees.

Answer. I confess 5 acres, and no timber trees. The 60 trees I confess: but not 10*s*. a tree.

Object. To Kimberley 9 acres.

Answer. I deny this article. But being but copt wood, I might lawfully have done it.

Object. To Lynford and Paxton 200 trees.

Answer. I confess so many, but pollards, and not timber trees. For the best of them will not be sawed to boards. And if with great labour they be sawed, some for timber; yet in the sawing they fall insunder. So that they are compelled to pin them together.

Object. The sales in the whole amount to 1000*l*.

Answer. I think all the sales in three years come to 600*l*. First, Note, that in these three years I have and must pay to her majesty 1800*l*. besides my house-keeping. In which I have threescore persons, young and old. I have bought my fewel at Fulham wholly. At London and Harnesey coals, sparing wood. Which comes to sixscore pounds yearly. In the whole, in fewel eightscore pounds. The burning of my house charges, 200 marks. And I am able to prove, that where 400 acres of wood be destroyed by my late predecessor, and three acres in my time are, but within these dozen years, the see shall be better yearly by an 100*l*.

NUMBER 32.

*A form of government by rural deans, or superinterutents;
exhibited by the chancellor of Norwich, from the bishop.*

THE strength of God's enemies being grown so universal; and their spreading so dangerous to the state; and licentious looseness of life through corruption of ecclesiastical officers so untamed; that it is time that ecclesiastical government be put in due and severe execution, without affection and corruption, according to the wholesome laws, provided and established in that behalf.

And for that the bishop is counted in the law the pastor of the whole diocess, in consideration thereof that antient father cryeth out; *Vae mihi: non essem de numero dam-natorum, si non essem de numero praelatorum.* And therefore bound to have a special knowledge of every particular man of his diocess, as near as possibly he may. And he must devise and practise the most certain and ready way, to set before his eyes, as it were in one view, the true estate and platform, and every several part thereof.

To which end, since it appears by antient records in the bishop's office, for these three hundred years, that certain choise, picked men were appointed and authorized in every several deanry, called in law *decani rurales*; and in the bishops canons, *superintendentes*; that is, some preachers, resident in the deanry, orderly, grave, learned, discrete, and zealous: it is necessary to renew and revive that antient, commendable practice.

Whereby the commissaries and officials, to the great ease of the country, and avoiding excessive charges, may be en-joyed to keep their circuits; and once a year, or twice at the most; whereto law restraineth them.

In whose visitation, what selling of the peoples sins, without any regard or consideration of duty at all; what unfileing of verdicts for mony; what manifold corruptions and briberies are used by abuse of registers; all the whole country, with detestation, seeth. And thereupon most men, by the abuse, do utterly contemne all ecclesiastical government.

Whereas the *dean rural* or *superintendent*, (if *prophesie* may continue,) to prophesy; if not, to a sermon every month, may call the ministry and questmen. And then and there inquire of all disorders. And to compound and reform the lesser, and certify to the bishop the greater.

Which *superintendent* shall make faithful, careful, and diligent enquiry, not only of every minister in the deanry, but also of every man of account; which may either be profitable or dangerous to the state, in their several parishes. And exhibit their names, according to every several deanry, in a fair long parchment scrole, to the bishop, or his chancellor; to remain with them, or either of them: giving advertisement from time to time, of their amendment, or waxing worse and worse. Whereby the bishop shall be able to cut off any mischief, as it first springeth forth; and be a most notable instrument of advertising and preserving the estate. Besides, by the authority resident, and as it were overwatching the behaviour of the neighbours round about, all smaller, usual offences, as swearing, drunkenness, leud, lascivious talk, and such other enormities, which are as it were entrances into the more grievous and enormous sins, may be restrained and punished. Which now are jesting matters, of small account.

The better countenance and assistance of which *deans rural*, such justices of the peace as are zealous in religion, and favourers of the gospel and state, are to be moved and required, to help and fortify, their lawful proceedings:

to be present at their solemn assemblies and preachings; to their better encouragement, and the good example of the common sort.

And whereas there hath been a solemn order of long time commonly observed, that every Sunday a publick sermon hath been used and frequented in the Greenyard in Norwich; it were very convenient, that these *superintendents*, having open warning of their days appointed at the synod, should as it were in course be called, to supply that place: not onely to testify to all the world, and to make manifest to the enemies of the truth, the uniformity and consent in religion; but also to confer with the bishop, and his chancellor, touching the several scrolls of every deanry, exhibited, as before; to impart unto them of the amendment of the former abuses certified. And to take both order and courage to procede in the same or other accordingly.

And whereas now the usual synods are gathered together only, as a briday, to set and spend their mony, (the synod-mony not commonly received then, but committed over to the registers at their plesure otherwise,) these *superintendents*, whom the law termeth *testes synodales*, assembling and meeting there, and having countenance of the bishop or chancellor, setting openly, as their assistants, if any slothful or disorderly minister, or other person whatsoever, after his often private or public admonitions, should not amend and conform himself, he might there be rebuked, or suspended, before, all the clergy of the diocess, and the whole congregation there assembled; to his speedy amendment, and the example and terror of others. Where also the bishop or his chancellor, being advertised by conference with them of all disorders, might give present order for redress. And for the undoubted fears of maintaining schismes and factions in *prophesyings*, if they were established, or preachings otherwise, these *superintendents*, being conformable men, are to be appointed moderators of the exercise.

And whereas law hath plainly forbidden, that process out of the court should be awarded to bo served by the adverse party, or any of his assignment, whereof we see by daily experience the inconveniency; for that the adversary, keeping the process by him, will await such time and business of the party, that he cannot appear, and often such slender returns are made as bear no credit: it were greatly to the furtherance of justice and indifferent dealing, all process should be directed to the *superintendents* in their several deanries, by their officers to be executed, and returned

authentically according to law. Whereby the subject shall have no cause of grief; and justice better may be executed.

If it be objected, that the usual courts of *archdeacons* should hereby be abridged: nay, the lawful authority of archdeacons shall be renewed and established; and their unlawful usurping, to the great charges and trouble of the country, restrained; and law duly exercised without corruption. Beside, that this office of *superintendent* is presumed by common law to be joyntly at the bishops and the archdeacons appointment; unless the custome and prerogative of the bishop be otherwise. Which is to be proved by continuance above 300 years, by antient record, without interruption, only to appertain to the bishop of Norwich. Whereby the archdeacon's right is shut out, in appointing himself joynt with the bishop: howsoever he be in law a common officer of both.

And whereas *probates* of wills, and granting of administration, as matter of civil law, are therefore committed to the queen's disposition and jurisdiction; for that the law presumeth the bishop, for his profession, to be a man of that conscience; and for his wisdom a man of that policy and care, most tenderly to provide for the state of widows and orphans; their parents and husbands so deceased: the corruption of the officers hath been such, and the greediness of registers so intolerable, that men of these countries, presuming for a little mony thereupon, have not feared, either to suppress the testators true will, making him dy intestate; or to alter and forge his will after his decease. For that the officers, one greedily snatching before another, without due examination or consideration of the circumstances, either unawares, or wittingly, through corruption, prove these wills by a proctor. Whereby the party deemes himself to have taken no oath: and therefore may do what he list, as most free. For remedy whereof these *superintendents* might do great service to us, if any should dy within their deanry, to send for the minister, or some of the parish, to examine the truth of the will without alteration; or the occasion of his dying intestate.

Which all might be very well done at their assembly at *prophesies*, or preaching every month or fortnight. Whereby all those which otherwise of devotion would not peradventure frequent those exercises, might upon occasion of necessary busines do it. Then the *superintendents*, upon tryal and knowledge, taking the parties oath, to forth it to the officers, there to be proved accordingly. This one service of the *superintendents* would stay infinite suites.

And whereas the strength and comfort of God's people consisteth in mutual love, peace, and amity, how many wrangling suites of defamation, tiths, and other causes, shall his wisdom and discretion cut off, before they rise, even at home; for the perfect knowledge he may quickly, or must already needs have of his neighbours causes.

If it be objected, that the archdeacons may prove wills, (although by common law they cannot,) yet let them set down what by prescription or composition they may truly challenge: and let every man have his own. Or let order be set down, what value the commissary or official shall or may prove. And let them enjoy the same. But in the mean season let not that frivolous delay hinder the course of ecclesiastical discipline: which all good men groan for; and without the which speedily put, and wisely and strongly, in execution, the enemy will even swallow up the state.

And whereas the lewdness of *apparitors*, scouring of the countries; following their masters trade and exercise; some have been detected of 40 marks bribery in half a quarter of a year, in half a deanry; the *superintendent* shall cause some honest, religious, quick person, to whom he shall upon his credit commit those things he shall be put in trust with. Who attending every consistory day upon the court, may certify and return all processes; and advertise of all abuses needing reformation.

And if the making of ministers be according to the late canon ordered, as well for their competent sufficiency, as public ordering upon due and severe examination of half a dozen of such incorrupt persons, as the bishop shall name, with a testimonial of their allowance, subscribed and delivered to the bishop under their hands: and further, for such as be, upon presentation, made by their patrons, instituted to any benefice, one day in the week, and one time appointed, when and where they come to be examined: and then and there, in presence of the bishop or chancellor, with four, five, or six others, orderly appointed, and requested to take pains therein: that as well the parties sufficiency, thorowly sifted and known; and consideration of the greatness of his charge, the quantity of his living, and the necessity of the time, and the party likewise; to pass their allowance subscribed under their own hands. Which exhibited to the bishop, the bishop then to set to his hand of allowance. And not otherwise to pass the chancellor; to whom the institution by my lord bishops graunt appertaineth.

I do not see, but the minister thus sifted, before his entrance into the ministry, or taking any benefice, and by watchful oversights of

superintendents, urged to usual speaking at the exercises, and restrained by admonitions, and other censures ecclesiastical, from their loose, loitering, or greedy, covetous life; the preaching of the gospel, and other usual exercises of religion so frequented; but the word of God would flourish, the enemy be daunted, who could not lurk in any corner; and her majesty have an assured, safe, and quiet government: my lord bishop in part perform his great charge; and his officers enjoy the true comfort of performing their duty to the uttermost of their power. And that which is worth all the world, the number of the elect appear more and more, by the means of preaching, the ordinary and effectual means of their vocation. But this must be done without revocation and it must be ready to be put in execution before it be known to the enemy.

NUMBER 33.

A letter of the lord Burghley, high chancellor of the university of Cambridge, to the vice-chancellor, and the heads of the said university: sending them his determination of two graces: whereof there had been great debate between the heads and the other doctors: sent by Dr. Barrow.

AFTER our very hearty and loving commendations, with wish unto you all in general, and particular, the grace of God's Spirit, to lead and conserve you in concord and peace. So as the knowledge of God may encrease among you, that by your altercations and dissensions the enemies of learning and of the gospel have not just occasion to rejoyce thereof; and spread abroad slanderous reports, to the defamation of the whole body of that famous university. And not without cause do I simply begin thus to write, that from the bottome of my heart, perceiving as I have done by late letters received, sealed with your common seal, and subscribed in the name of you, the vicechancellor and senate; and other letters also from all the heads and masters of colleges, subscribed with their own proper names; that there is arisen some cloud, containing a matter of some tempest of controversy among you. Which, if by some favourable wind of admonition in God's name, the father of peace, it be not blown over, or dispersed, is like to pour out upon the whole body of that university some contagious and pestilent hu-mour of contention, sedition, or some worse thing than I will name.

And upon the receipt of these contradictory letters, and perusing the grounds and causes thereof, I was somewhat Comforted, in that both parties had so courteously and reverently (which I mean in respect of the office I have, to be your chief chancellor) referred the order and direction of all these begun controversies to my censure. Wherein although I think by direct laws, ordinances, and antient customs of that university, I might challenge to my self such a power so to do; yet I cannot but very thankfully and comfortably accept this your courteous and loving manner of yielding to be ordered by me. And therefore I have been more careful how to discharge my self herein. For which purpose, without using any prejudicial conceit of judgment, by mine own consideration of the cause, I did by my special letters partly recommend this controversy, and the whole cause, to the most reverend father in God, my very good lord, the archbishop of Canterbury's grace: requiring him both to consider of your letters, and to hear as well Mr. D. Barrow, coming with the letters from you, the vice-chancellor; as Mr. D. Howland, master of S. John's college, coming from all the heads of the colleges; and to peruse the statutes mentioned in this controversy. And to call to his grace also some persons of experience in such university matters. Which I perceive, and so Mr. D. Barrow can inform you, his grace hath done very diligently and painfully, as by his letters his grace hath signified: declaring to me, at good length, what either party hath al-ledged for maintenance or disallowance of the two motions called graces; whereupon the controversies have principally arisen. And thereupon his grace hath plainly imparted to me what he thinketh thereof. Wherewith, after some further consideration of the particular chapter of the statutes, against which these graces have been preferred, I do concur. And so, although verbally I have pronounced mine opinion to be, the foresaid doctors being the mes-sagers at this time, whom I think sufficient to declare the same unto either part; yet I have thought my self not discharged in conscience and office, without also expressing my censure and determination, as your chancellor and chief officer. In writing which I most earnestly require *per om-nes charitates* to accept, as from one that herein am touched with no particular affection towards any person; but in the sight of God, whose assistance, by the Spirit of peace, I have invoked, I do declare my mind as followeth: which, as your chancellor, I require to be obeyed and allowed.

I do think and judge it meet and necessary, that the two late graces should be reputed as void and none. Whereof one was a motion to have all other

doctors, not being heads of colleges, to be joyned with the doctors that are heads of colleges, in the pointing or pricking of officers; though by the statutes the same be expresly limited to the heads. The second was, that doctors in divinity should be compellible to preach as frequently as other younger divines. Which two, called by you *graces*, though indeed *disgraces* to the queen's majesties statutes, may percase not be in precise words well avouched; because the same I have not present with me at the writing hereof: yet my meaning is manifest unto you, that I do deem and adjudge them to be void, and not to be accepted, as things to bind any person thereby. And though I have and do see many reasons to move me hereunto, whereof I have expressed some to Mr. D. Barrow; and that I hope there will be none so unruly among you as to impugn this my sentence; yet as briefly as I may in a letter, I will touch to you a few reasons, as fol-loweth.

First, I cannot allow to have any decrease attempted, to please a multitude, to the violation or alteration of any her majesties statutes, so lately with great deliberation and advice made; and by that whole university accepted and approved; except there shall be better consideration afore-hand had, than was in those proceedings. Wherein I may not forget to remember you, that in respect of the office I have to be your high officer, and have never shewed my self careless of your causes, it had been at this time meet and convenient, and so hereafter ought to be, to have made me first acquainted; and to have had my clear consent, as well to the violating or changing of your statutes; as I was at first a principal author to procure them to be made. And though I perceive, and hear by some report, that some of you have in your defence alledged, that you had heretofore on your part moved this matter to me, as indeed you did, and that I had allowed thereof, which is not so; I omit words of worse sense, to controle such reporters. And some hath, as I hear, in open assembly alledged, that I did to that end write my letters to M. D. Howland, then vice-chancellor, which he was charged to have suppress: I am sorry, in this my common letter to you all, to be constrained to use some sharper speech than my nature alloweth of, to be contained in a letter from a chancellor to his loving scholars, as generally I esteem you to be: my speeches shall onely touch the private persons, that have forgotten their duties, to alledge an untruth against me. And not contented to speak of me untruly, being absent; but have hazzarded rashly their credit against D. Howland, that was vicechancellor, charging him with suppression of my letters. But in few words I affirm, that I never did

consent to this motion: neither did I write any such letters to D. Howland for that purpose.

When M. D. Hatcher, and, I think, his son in law D. Lougher, and D. Barrow, as I remember, moved me herein; and added another matter, that the vicechancellor and heads of colleges did not use to make the Oppidan doctors acquainted with the university causes: I answered, That I thought it reasonable they should be called, as others of their degrees were, to be made acquainted with the causes of the university. But to have authority with the heads in causes against the statute, I never asserted. But I said, I would speak with the heads of colleges therein; as I did, and found good cause in my opinion, as yet I do, to the contrary. And that is principally, because I think the statute very good, as it is; to reduce the nomination of these kind of publick officers to be done by a number; neither too few, for lack of consideration; nor committed unto too many, for fear of confusion. And none other can I think than the heads of colleges, or, in their absence, their vicegerents: who are to be thought to have best knowledge of their companies, both for discretion and learning: and fewer do I not think, than all the heads of the colleges: lest some colleges might lack preferment. And contrariwise to encrease this multitude by foreign doctors, that have not *domicilia fixa*, but are here and there at their pleasures; and have not either special care or certain knowledge of the learning and discretion of scholars in colleges, must needs carry an absurdity two ways. The one is, that the number of such extraordinary or extravagant doctors may exceed the number of the heads; to controwl their censures, grounded upon knowledge. The second is, that there may be by faction drawn a devotion of scholars from their heads, to serve the appetites of foreigners; and so leave their own fathers for stepfathers.

But because I see I should excede the limits of a letter, if I should prosecute this matter, I will alter my purpose with concluding my former sentence for both the *graces*: which without the allegation of any arguments ought to be accepted in favour of continuance of laws, against any that will take the office to abrogate: which you know how in some commonwealths were so disliked, as they were ordered to speak thereof with ropes about their necks: you can tell why. And yet I do not, like a stoic, maintain this opinion; but I do know how the same may be limited in times and places.

As for the intention of your last *grace*, to compel doctors to preach more often than by constraint they need; I like well of all voluntary actions; especially in such action as preaching is. Wherein I think admonition more convenient than to make new laws so suddenly against laws in use. And so far forth am I moved to have them preach, as I wish them to lose the name and preferment of doctors, that will leave the office of doctors; which is by etymology to *teach*.

I must now end, with my most hearty exhortation to move you all to concord; and to shew your earnestness in observing the laws which you have: and especially to be more careful for government of the youth, being, by common report, far out of order, in following all sensuality in sundry things that I will not now name. For I should then speak of sundry things ungrateful to hear; and yet not unknown to you that are heads of colleges, nor to you that by marriage are heads of families.

NUMBER 34.

A part of a letter of the bishop of Ely to the lord Burghley; of the ill state of St. John's college: for want of statutes.

ALIUD est, quod sedes D. Johannis maxime attingit. Jam agitur triennium fere, quod gregis illius nescio quam visitationem molimur. Statutis illos fraudavimus. Hactenus enim nullis statutis, nullis regulis, nullo regimine, et nullo ordine continentur, nullis fere lectionibus, nullis fere disputationibus, nulla prorsus obedientia, nulla reverentia, omnia confuse, aguntur. Seniorum vix pars dimidia adesse dicitur. Omnes fere huc illucque sparguntur, atque evagantur. Magister bonus homo; sed saepe procul abest, sacerdotibusque suis saepe vacare cogitur.

Desideratur et meus et tuus Ithellus. Ex cujus quidem morte, ne unus quidem ex visitoribus ad me accessit. Unde in tanta tanti collegii confusione et dissipatione, ad te solum in tam gravi et horribili hominum malitia confugere invitatus cogor. Scio enim quam undique maximis variisque negotiis adhuc obrueris atque involveris. Facile quidem hoc negotium meo iudicio absolvere poteris, si vel antiqua statuta reddideris auctoritate regia confirmata, et admodum paucis mutatis, et in ordinem redactis. Hoc autem meo iudicio facile tu quidem effeceris, si vel acutius calcar addere digneris istis in academia substitutis. Ipsi enim ad tuum

incitamentum in re tanta, tam pia, festinabunt currentque. Est enim, ut Ithellus mihi retulit, ad umbilicum perducta. Utinam autem, ut res tanta perficiatur, priusquam ipse fatis concessero: quocirca mox futurum esse sperandum est. Dom. Jesus Christus te nobis diutissime servet incolumem. Dow-namiae, 18 Junii, 1580.

Tuae celsitudini ex animo longe carissimus,
Richardus Coxus.

NUMBER 35.

The names of all the noblemen and great officers of the queen, from the beginning of her reign till about the year 1580. Drawn up by the lord treasurer Burghley's own hand.

Note, Those that have a * standing before their names were then deceased.

LORD CHANCELLORS.

- * Archbishop Hethe.
- * Sir Nich. Bacon.
- Sir Thomas Bromley.

LORD TREASURERS.

Marquess of Winchester.
 Lord Burghley.

GREAT CHAMBERLAIN.

- * Earl of Oxford, the father.
- Earl of Oxford, the son.

LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Lord Paget.
 Lord Howard.

LORD MARSHAL.

* Duke of Norfolk. Earl of Salop.

LORD ADMIRAL.

Earl of Lincoln.

LORDS OF THE PRIVY-COUNCIL.

* Archbishop of York.

* Sir Nicolas Bacon.

Sir Thomas Bromley.

* Marquis of Winchester.

Lord Burghley.

* Earl of Arundel.

* Earl of Salop

Earl of Salop.

Earl of Sussex.

Earl of Darby.

Earl of Warwick.

Earl of Bedford.

* Earl of Pembroke.

Earl of Leicester.

* Lord Howard.

Lord Hunsdon.

* Sir Thomas Cheney.

* Sir Thomas Parry.

Sir James Croftes.

* Sir Edward Rogers.

Sir Francis Knowles.

Sir Henry Sydney.

Sir Christopher Hatton.

* Sir Thomas Smith.

Sir Francis Walsingham.

Dr. Wylson.

* Sir William Petre.

* Sir Ambrose Cave.

* Sir John Mason.

Sir Richard Sackville.
 * Dr. Wotton.
 Sir Ralph Sadleir.
 Sir Walter Mildmay.

OFFICERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

LORD STEWARD.

* Earl of Arundel.
 Earl of Pembroke.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

* Lord Howard. Earl of Sussex.

TREASURER.

Sir Thomas Cheney.
 Sir Thomas Parry.
 Sir Edward Rogers.
 Sir Francis Knowles.

COMPTROLLER.

Sir Thomas Parry.
 Sir Edward Rogers.
 Sir James Crofts.

MASTER OF THE HORSE.

Earl of Leicester.

VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.

Sir Edward Rogers.
 Sir Francis Knowles.
 Sir Christopher Hatton.

CAPTAIN OF THE GUARD.

Sir William Saint Loe.
 Sir Francis Knowles.
 Sir Christopher Hatton.

TREASURER OF THE CHAMBER.

Sir John Mason.
 Sir Francis Knowles.
 Sir Thomas Heneage.

MASTER OF THE REQUESTS.

Dr. Haddon.
 Dr. Wylson.
 Thomas Sackford.
 Dr. Dale.

MASTER OF THE JEWEL-HOUSE.

John Astley.
 Mr. Waldgrave.

MASTER OF THE WARDROBE.

John Fortescue.

MASTER OF THE REVELS.

Sir Thomas Benger.
 Tylney.

MASTER OF THE POSTS.

Sir John Mason.
 Mr. Randolph.

STEWARD OF THE MARSHALSEA.

Thomas Sackford.

KNIGHT MARSHAL.

Sir [Owen] Hopton.
 Hopton.
 Sir George Carey.

OFFICERS FOR JUSTICE.

Lord Chancellor.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

Sir Robert Catlyn.
 Sir Christopher Wray.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COMMON-PLEAS.

Sir James Dyer.
 Sir [Edmund] Anderson.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

Sir William Cordal.
 Sir Gilbert Gerard.

LORD PRESIDENT OF WALES.

Lord Williams, of Thame.
 [Sir Henry Sydney.]
 [Earl of Pembroke.]

L. PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH.

Earl of Salop.
 Earl of Rutland.
 Archbishop Young.
 Earl of Sussex.
 Earl of Huntington.

WARDEN OF THE STANNERY.

Lord Loughborough.
 Earl of Bedford.
 [Sir Walter Rawleigh afterward.]

OFFICERS FOR THE REVENUE.**LORD TREASURER.**

Marquis of Winchester.
 Lord Burghley.

CHANCELLOR.

Sir Thomas Baker
 Sir Walter Mildmay.

CHIEF BARON.

Sir Edward Sanders.
 Sir Robert Bell.
 Sir John Jeffrey.
 Sir Roger Manwood.

UNDER-TREASURER.

Sir John Baker.
 Sir Richard Sackfield.
 Sir Walter Mildmay.

CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY.

Sir Edward Waldgrave.
 Sir Ambrose Cave.
 Sir Ralph Sadler.

MASTER OF THE WARDS.

Sir Francis Englefield.
 Sir Thomas Parry.
 Lord Burghley.

NUMBER 36.

A catalogue of all the English popish books writ against the reformation of the church of England; from queen Elizabeth's first entrance to the year 1580. With the names of such learned divines as answered them.

- I.** Harding against the Apology of the English Church. Answered by Jewel.
- II.** Harding's Answer to Jewel's Challenge. Answered by Jewel.
- III.** Harding's Rejoynder to Jewel Answered by Edward Deering.
- IV.** Cole's Quarells against Mr. Jewel. Answered by Mr. Jewel.
- V.** Rastell's Return of Untruths. Answered by Mt. Jewel.
- VI.** Rastel against Mr. Jewel's Challenge. Answered by William Fulk.
- VII.** Dorman against Mr. Jewel. Answered by Mr. Nowel.
- VIII.** Dorman's Disproof of Mr. Nowel's Reproof. Answered by Mr. Nowel.
- IX.** The Man of Chester, answered by Mr. Pilkington, bishop of Duresme.
- X.** Sanders of the Sacrament. In part answered by Mr. Nowel.
- XI.** Fecknam's Scruples. Answered by Mr. Horn, bishop of Winchester.
- XII.** Fecknam's Apology. Answered by William Fulk.

- XIII.** Fecknam's Objections against Mr. Gough's Sermon. Answered by Mr. Gouge and Mr. Lawrence Thomson.
- XIV.** Stapleton's Counterblast. Answered by Mr. Bridges.
- XV.** Marshal his Defence of the Cross. Answered by Mr. Caulphil.
- XVI.** Fowler's Psalter. Answered by Mr. Sampson.
- XVII.** An infamous libell or letter (*incerto autore*) against the teachers of the divine Providence and Predestination. Answered by Mr. Robert Crowley.
- XVIII.** Allen's Defence of Purgatory. Answered by William Fulk.
- XIX.** Heskin's Parliament. Repealed by William Fulk.
- XX.** Rishton's Challenge. Answered by William Fulk and Oliver Carter.
- XXI.** Hosius of God's express Word, translated into English. Answered by William Fulk.
- XXII.** Sander's Rock of the Church. Undermined by William Fulk.
- XXIII.** Sander's Defence of Images. Answered by William Fulk.
- XXIV.** Shacklock's Pearl. Answered by Mr. Hartwel.
- XXV.** The Hatchet of Heresies. Answered by Mr. Bartlet.
- X XVI.** Mr. Evans. Answered by himself.
- XXVII.** A Defence of the private Mass. Answered (by conjecture) by Mr. Cooper, bishop of Lincoln.
- XXVIII.** Certain Assertions, tending to maintain the Church of Rome to be the true and catholic Church. Confuted by John Knewstub.
- XXIX.** Sander upon the Lord's Supper. Fully answered by D. Fulk.
- XXX.** Bristow's Motives and Demands. Answered by D. Fulk.

XXXI. Stapleton's Differences and *Fortress* of the Faith. Answered by D. Fulk.

XXXII. Allen's Defence of *Priests* Authority to remit Sins, and of the Popish Churches Meaning concerning Indulgences. Answered by Dr. Fulk.

XXXIII. Marshal's Reply to Mr. Calfhil. Answered by Dr. Fulk.

XXXIV. Frarius railing Declaration. Answered by Dr. Fulk.

These Popish Treatises ensuing are in answering.

I. Stapleton's Returns of Untruths.

II. Rastell's Reply.

III. Vaux his Catechisme.

IV. Canisius his Catechism translated.

THE END OF VOL. II. PART II.

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