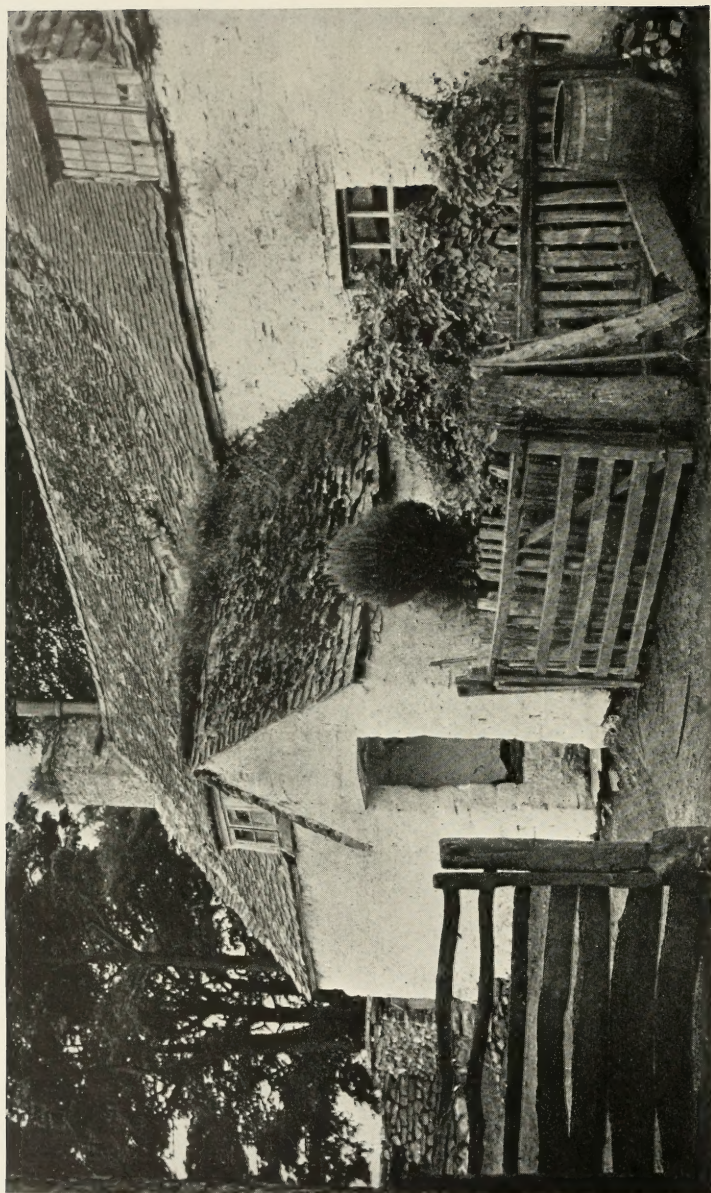




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CEFNBIRTH (see p. 3).
(Photo. D. J. Davies, Lampeter.)

JOHN PENRY

HIS LIFE
TIMES AND WRITINGS

BY

WILLIAM PIERCE

AUTHOR OF

"AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE MARPRELATE TRACTS," ETC.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
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TO

LADY PRICE

A DESCENDANT OF JOHN PENRY,
WHO WITH HER HUSBAND

SIR WILLIAM PRICE, J.P.

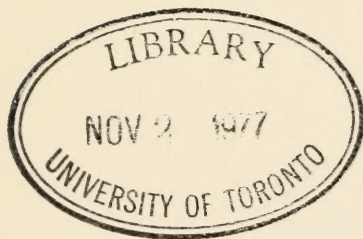
SHARES THE DISTINCTION OF HAVING BEEN BORN
IN PENRY'S NATIVE PARISH, THIS LIFE OF HER
ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTOR IS, WITH GREAT GRATITUDE,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR

BX
9339
P. 4 P. 5

I am a poore young man borne and bredd in the mountaynes of *Walles*: I am the first since the last springing upp of the Gospell in this latter age that publickly laboured to have the blessed seed therof sowen in these barrayn mountaynes. . . . And now beeing to end my dayes before I am come vnto the one half of my yeeres in the lykely course of nature, I leave the successe of these my labours vnto such of my Contreymen, as the Lord is to rayse vp after mee for the accomplishing of that worke, w^{ch} in the calling of my contrey vnto the knowledge of *Christs* blessed Gospell I beganne.

(Penry's petition from prison to Lord Burghley,
May 22, 1593. *Lansd. MSS.* 109. 316.)



PREFACE

THE Life of John Penry which I here offer to the public may be regarded by some as a natural sequence to my earlier volumes on the Marprelate controversy. That is not wholly my own view. Penry himself, and quite apart from Marprelacy, occupies a place of sufficient importance in the religious history of his age to justify the study of his life and works. Marprelacy was never more than an accident in his career; his connection with it still remains more or less a mystery. It was never part of the real business of his life. To me he is a man of more compelling interest than the great Unknown, the worshipful Martin, with his cap and bells and his Geneva Bible, intriguing as is that uncommon combination.

For all generous hearts Penry will have many attractions; the chivalric spirit of a young knight of the Cross, moral courage of a high quality, stedfast, heedless of danger; the refinement of the scholar and the lover of all good learning; an eloquent and imaginative writer, a winning and pathetic figure as seen in his struggle against the secularisation of religion; a pure-minded and saintly witness who laid down his life for his faith; for his country we might with good warrant say, his one dream being, The Gospel for Wales. He must be given a shining and conspicuous place in the constellation of Welsh patriots. Heaven be thanked that the day is long past in this free and liberal land, when such a man, let him profess whatever creed he choose, should, on any base pretence, suffer a violent death in the name of the law!

The title-page announces that some account of his times is part of the design of this volume. The bare facts of his

career and a statement of the contents of his various writings are not sufficient to enable us to form a true conception of his personality or to understand the purpose of his brief but strenuous life. Therefore some account is given of the educational system of his day, of the development of the mediaeval University, and of student life and work in the age of Elizabeth. Similarly a division is devoted to the social and religious condition of Wales during that period. His own progress in religious thought called for an account of the rise of English Separatism and its founders. It is against this historic background that I have endeavoured to project the figure of the young Welsh Evangelist. I have not formally undertaken his defence as against his detractors, whether of contemporary or more recent date, but as far as might be have left Penry to vindicate himself through his writings and the assured facts of his life, as understood in the light of his times.

Apart from the outline of his life in the *National Dictionary of Biography* by Sir Sidney Lee, which now needs a little revision, the only modern attempt to write a life of Penry, based on an independent study of original documents and an examination of his own writings, is the small volume by Dr. John Waddington published in 1854. It is brief and incomplete, and in some matters inaccurate ; but it has many excellences, not least being its entirely sympathetic understanding of Penry's career. Waddington gives liberal extracts from Penry's writings and from contemporary documents of the highest value, which he had succeeded in tracing. He had a genius for this class of work, but he left the pieces of evidence which he brought to light, in considerable confusion. My task has partly consisted in a patient disentanglement of the disorderly and often uncritical accumulation of facts, and the elimination of old errors regarding Penry.

I had confidently thought that I had given the quietus to the unwarranted identification of Martin Marprelate with Penry. A recent Oxford book of some authority, however, repeats the old error, despite all that has been written these past thirty years. Readers of the present volume will notice

that I give several items of evidence, small but conclusive, showing once more, that whoever was hiding behind the mask of Marprelate it was most certainly not John Penry.

I have been a long time writing the present volume. The intervening years were not favourable; one carried into the quiet of libraries a mind preoccupied with anxieties for one's country; and sometimes a heart rent with sorrow for the young heroes who died to save us from the loathsome serfdom which then threatened us. The confusion of the times often caused interruptions, and more often modified the pace of progress. And the years which have followed the victorious close of the war have not been favourable for the publication of works of the character of this present. But the completion of the volume brings the pleasant task of thanking those, and they are not a few, who have so kindly helped me in my work. So far back as 1910 I spent the first of several summer vacations at Aberystwyth, that in the National Library of Wales I might forage among the rich collection of early printed Welsh books, the noble gift of Sir John Williams, Bart. The authorities may have forgotten the special kindness they then showed me, though I thankfully remember it. And the same courtesy has been manifested to me at the Bodleian, the library at Trinity College, Cambridge, the Archbishops' Library at Lambeth, Sion College, and the Congregational Library, London, and at the Record Office. But, as before I had to acknowledge, the greater part of my present work has been done, and could only have been done, at the British Museum, to whose courteous and learned officials, as well as to the intelligent staff of obliging attendants, I am under the greatest obligation. I should like through their chief, Professor A. W. Pollard, C.B., F.B.A., Keeper of Printed Books, to offer my grateful thanks for the accommodation granted me in the North Library these many years.

My accustomed place in the Library has tempted me, times without number, to draw upon the great and varied learning of my neighbour-reader, Mr. Robert Steele, who is known to students as the editor of the large and standard work on the *Royal Proclamations*, and is the editor of the

Latin works of Roger Bacon, and also an authority on Franciscan matters, and who writes with expert knowledge on Playing Cards, on old Arithmetics, on Mediaeval Astrology; indeed, whose erudition I have found covers most branches of learning. In the very difficult and technical problem in law, presented by the trial of Penry, after many inquiries, and much burrowing in law books, I received the first real enlightenment on my exasperating perplexity from Mr. Steele, with helpful directions for further research. Remembering my constant appeals for his help, I am unable adequately to express to him my thanks for his patience and his unvarying kindness.

I had naturally to apply to Peterhouse for information concerning Penry, and made my request through the Rev. T. A. Walker, whose history of that very ancient house of learning I found so interesting to read and so helpful in my own particular task. Dr. Walker, amidst his many duties as Fellow, Tutor, Bursar and Librarian of Peterhouse, found time to give me most valuable assistance. I had a desire to examine the buttery books of the College. Better than I could have ventured to ask, Dr. Walker gave me the benefit of his own expert assistance in examining them on my behalf, supplying me with new and valuable information concerning Penry's career at Peterhouse, and adding most acceptable information concerning his fellow-students. My particular acknowledgements will be found in the pages given to Penry's life at Cambridge. I have also to thank Dr. Walker for obtaining for me the permission of the Master and Fellows to use their portrait of the famous head of the house, Dr. Andrew Perne. He was the Master during Penry's years of residence. The photograph actually used was taken for Dr. Walker by the late Mr. H. A. Chapman, M.A., Principal Assistant at the Fitzwilliam Museum.

The frontispiece is a reproduction of an excellent photograph of Cefnbrith by Mr. D. J. Davies of Lampeter, to whom I offer my best thanks for its use. It is, I think, a very favourable example of his professional skill. The reproductions of the title-page of Penry's *Exhortation*, and of his last

letter, are given by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

I have to acknowledge special help given me by friends who must not be presumed to share my views of the ecclesiastical settlement under Elizabeth, or my estimate of particular bishops of her appointment. My obligations to Miss Caroline A. J. Skeel, D.Lit., will be found acknowledged in the section on Elizabethan Wales. But her more recent contributions to our knowledge in Tudor and Stuart times came under my notice too late for me to make full use of her most valuable studies. Dr. Skeel, however, in her kindness, has looked at this part of my work, and has enabled me to make a number of corrections and improvements in my manuscript; for which I cordially thank her. My gratitude is also due to two other competent scholars: to Miss G. Murphy, M.A., who has given me valuable technical assistance in preparing the Bibliography; and to Miss Ethel Seaton, M.A., who examined with minute care the final section of the book, and helped me to make many improvements in its form.

To Maud, Lady Calthorpe, I tender my best thanks for permitting me on several occasions to consult the volume of the Yelverton MSS. in her possession.

Readers of my Marprelate volumes may remember my reference to the help and advice given me by a venerable scholar, known to me from my early days. It is a real pleasure to acknowledge once more the assistance I have received from the Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., whose initials are so familiar to those whose studies have been among the leaders of the Nonconformists and of the non-subscribing movements generally, from the Tudor times onward. I have from time to time the more confidently ventured upon his kindness, because when he was a young minister, occupying a very distinguished position in my native city, I used to sit at his feet, one of a number of schoolboys who formed a small class which he voluntarily tutored. I am sorry I can recall so little of what he taught us, save this one thing. I realised for the first time, that the leading characters in Hebrew history were real men, and not conventional church-window

figures. I began then to wonder at the extent and exactness of Mr. Gordon's knowledge, and at his tolerant indulgence of troublesome and inquisitive boys. These old memories will explain the special esteem and affection with which I regard this fine old Christian scholar and gentleman; still, with undiminished intellectual vigour, poring over his books at the British Museum; never unwilling to be interrupted by an inquiry, and never too deeply immersed in his grave studies, to brighten his answer with a witty anecdote very pat to the occasion.

It only remains to me now to record my debt to my friends the Rev. J. Westbury-Jones, M.A., the Rev. J. T. Rhys, and Mr. Thomas Davies, Secretary of the Welsh Congregational Church at King's Cross, and a native of John Penry's parish. These friends, when I supposed that the post-war costliness of printing large volumes would prohibit the publication of my book, took the manuscript out of my hands, and achieved a task more difficult, as it seemed to me, than mine has been in writing it. If my kind readers find any value in these following pages, they are bound to unite with me in thanking these gentlemen for their gratuitous services in securing their publication.

WM. PIERCE.

TYDDYN MEILIR,
ABERERCH, CARNARVONSHIRE,
June 1923.

P.S.—The Welsh verses on pp. 135, 136 are taken from the Rev. J. C. Morrice's *Manual of Welsh Literature*.

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BOOK I

*THE BIRTH AND TRAINING OF
THE EVANGELICAL APOSTLE OF WALES*

DIV. I. EARLY LIFE AND SCHOOLING, 1563-1580

DIV. II. UNIVERSITY CAREER, 1580-1587

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DIVISION I

EARLY LIFE AND SCHOOLING

CHAPTER I

THE PENRYS AND THEIR HOME

1. *Cefnbrith*.—John Penry was a native of Brecknockshire in Mid-Wales, and was born early in the reign of Elizabeth. The exact place of his birth is a matter of tradition, and the weight of tradition points to a farm in the parish of Llangam-march to-day known as Cefnbrith,¹ though in more ancient times it was known as Llwyn yr hebog. For reasons now unknown, this place took over the name of an adjoining farm, and for many generations it has appeared in the records of the parish as Cefnbrith.² The tradition that this farm is the birthplace of Penry is fairly strong, and extends sufficiently far back to escape suspicion of having been invented to meet the curiosity of the modern tourist, or to give completeness to the story of a national hero. It is a remote mountainous region where changes are few, and where old families for unbroken generations would carry on the memories of the countryside.

Cefnbrith lies on the north slope of Mynydd Epynt, in the beautiful valley of the Irvon. The river Irvon flows east and north to Bulth, where it joins the Wye. The only other claimant to the honour of being the birthplace of Penry is the adjoining mountainous parish of Merthyr Cynog; but it is a much fainter tradition.

¹ English readers will be glad to know its pronunciation is Kevnbreeth, with the stress on the last syllable.

² Personal information from the local authorities.

Across the valley from Cefnbrith at the foot of a long slope, and therefore named descriptively Troedrhiwdalar, there is a Congregational Church, one of three churches of the same order in this district which claim to have been founded by Penry. For a period of one hundred and fifty years the Church at Troedrhiwdalar has had but three pastors. One of the three, the late venerable David Williams, was himself a descendant of the Cefnbrith Penrys. Altogether the tradition of the birthplace of John Penry, and of his activities in the Irvon Valley is sufficiently ancient and continuous to be regarded as trustworthy.

The Cefnbrith farmhouse is a very old building; until recent years it had a thatched roof. It is a long, plain, structure, enclosing one side of the farm-yard, the floor of which is the native rock, which here outcrops. The dwelling-house is entered from the farm-yard by an antiquated porch, furnished on either side with a rude wooden bench. Within, the great kitchen remains in its primitive state, with its roomy open fireplace and chimney. Visitors are shown a small chamber on the ground floor, which, upon slender authority, is said to have been in pre-Reformation days, a confessional chamber. It had a doorway now built up, opening on the orchard at the back of the house.

2. *The Cefnbrith Family: Birth of John Penry.*—The genealogists state that in the sixteenth century the elder branch of the Penry family were living at Cefnbrith, and a junior branch of the same name and stock dwelt at a farm named Llwyncyntefin, in the same county. They also give us the name of Penry's father, Meredith Penry, and of his elder brother, Thomas, who married one Gwenllian Powell, and survived till the year 1620.¹ We know from Penry's own statements, that when he was at the University his father and mother were both living. When he wrote from prison to his wife he makes no mention of his father; but he speaks of his mother, and of his 'brothers and sisters,' as then living.²

¹ See Edwin Poole, *John Penry*, Brecon, 1893.

² *A Viewe*, p. 3; *Letter to his Wife*, *Yelv. MS.* 70; also *To his Daughters*, *ibid.*

The year of his birth is given in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses* as 1559. We do not know Cooper's authority for this date, but it has been followed by all subsequent writers. It is, apart from decisive evidence on the point, an unlikely date. It makes Penry a man of twenty-one when he went to Cambridge, although we know the ordinary age of matriculates at Oxford and Cambridge, at this period, to have been from fourteen to sixteen; some still younger, and some, the number lessening as the age advanced, older; solitary cases ranging from twenty to thirty. But Cooper is not our only witness. We have brief depositions from two of his various examinations, subsequent to his arrest in 1593; in each of them he is described as 'of the age of xxx yeres or thereabouts.'¹ This no doubt represents in each case the answer to the question of his age formally put to Penry, and noted by the court official. There is no reason to suppose that he gave other than a truthful answer to the interrogation. Nor need we be troubled about the seeming indefiniteness of the word 'thereabouts.' It represents no more than the inexactitude of the age as expressed in bare years; unless the deponent were being examined on his birthday. In the same series of depositions we have several instances, all within an interval of a few days, of a prisoner being examined a second time. For example 'Francis Johnson, Minister,' examined on the 2nd or 3rd of April, gives his age as 'xxxi yeares.' On the 5th of April, being again examined, but this time before an official with a meticulous eye for precision, and his age is entered as 'xxxi yeres or ther aboutes.' Again 'Thomas Settle mynister,' twice examined during the same period, on the first occasion is said to be 'of the age of xxxviij yeares'; three months later his age is given in his deposition as 'xxxviij yeares or their aboutes.' From Penry's depositions we may with sufficient confidence believe he was a man of thirty in 1593, and that he was born in the year 1563. When he went to Cambridge in 1580 he was not more than a year or two older than the majority of the freshmen.

3. *Mynydd Epynt and its Scenery*.—We have to picture to

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 34, 86.

ourselves a bright boy, scion of an old and honourable stock, living with his parents, who were in comfortable circumstances, on their small patrimonial estate ; brought up by them to be an ardent lover of his country, and proud of his ancient Welsh blood. He was surrounded by scenes of great beauty ; mountains rose on every hand, separated by valleys and watercourses of surpassing loveliness. A small stream, the Annell, ran by the farm. It rose in a dark cavernous gorge a little higher up the mountain-side. Over and beyond the ridge, away to the south, the slopes of Mynydd Epynt are gradual ; they extend some ten to fourteen miles ere they reach the valley of the Usk. Here, on the northerly and Cefnbrith side, the descent is steeper, the little streams draining this part of the watershed, having but a swift and short course of a mile or two to reach the main valley.

As viewed from the upper slopes of the mountain, the scene has probably changed but little since the days of Penry's boyhood. Up on the ridge are the three prehistoric mounds, Y tri Chrugyn. If at this point we view the circuit of the land, north, south, east, and west we find it is shut in by a tangle of mountains, rolling and featureless, but well-wooded, in the north, the east, and west. South and west lie the dark Carmarthenshire Vans, the Black Mountains. More directly south rise the blue and picturesque Breconshire Beacons, which approach 3000 feet in height. Below our feet, as we turn to the valley, lie the ancient farmsteads and the green meadows bordering on the Irvon. The river, through an opening in the hills just over against Cefnbrith, emerges from the moorlands to the north, and making a sharp angle, flows north and east to its confluence with the Wye.

The man whose bright brief career we have to follow, whose warm figurative style as a writer will impress us ; whose idealism, patriotic and wholly disinterested, will touch our sympathies, and qualify our judgement upon his public acts ; the child of an imaginative race, he began just here, all unconsciously, his education. A passionate love of Wales was part of his natural inheritance. These hills and valleys, woods and murmuring streams, contributed to make him the man

he was, as we see him acting his strenuous part on the public stage. The course of his early steps in letters we must endeavour to sketch from contemporary documents relating to education ; but we are sure that the fair land of his birth was, as soon as he escaped from his mother's knee, his first and profoundest teacher. As he peeped from his little window at Cefnbrith, his eyes beheld a scene,

‘Where even a god might gaze and stand apart,
And feel a wondering rapture at the heart.’

4. *The Fable that Penry was a Papist.*—When Penry was a child, the breath of the new age was stirring the leaves and making a sound in the tree-tops, even in the sequestered valleys of Wales. Remote Cefnbrith felt the impulse of the Renaissance, and the quickening life which affected the kingdom, once the barren spirit of reaction under Mary gave way to the awakening adventurous spirit of Protestantism under Elizabeth. For it need hardly be said that the legend which describes Penry as in early life an ardent Roman Catholic is entirely without foundation. It was taken into Cooper's otherwise careful biography in the *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, from the mendacious pamphlet *An Almond for a Parrat*, a scurrilous contribution on the episcopal side to the Marprelate controversy. The anonymous author states, ignorant of, and supremely indifferent to, the facts, that when Penry entered Peterhouse he was ‘as arrant a Papist as ever came out of Wales,’ with much more to the same effect. With the same measure of truth he says that Penry was a foundling ; and he slanders his victim generally through several pages of his vulgar and unprincipled inventions. That was indeed what he was hired to do. Punchard, whose *History of Congregationalism* is usually worth consulting by reason of its sound judgements, seems to be the only writer to see that a statement in *An Almond for a Parrat* is no evidence on any phase of Penry's life.¹ The Penrys were members of the reformed parish church. John Penry testifies that he was converted after he went to England ; but on the

¹ *Op. cit.* ed. 1867, vol. iii. 129, 130.

lips of a Puritan, his words can only mean conversion, not from Romanism to the reformed faith, but from nominal Christianity to a living union with Christ. There is not in all his writings a single allusion to support the fable that he began life as a Romanist. As to his family we have every reason to believe that they warmly sympathised with his zeal for the evangelisation of Wales. They sent their son to Cambridge and to Peterhouse, and he in his earliest book, the *Aequity*, expresses his deep concern that they at home have not the benefit of a preaching ministry at Llangammarch. Not only is the source of the Papist fable utterly worthless, but for many reasons it is in itself entirely incredible.

CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY SCHOOLS

1. *The State of Popular Education.*—The greater part of the poor folk of England and Wales, and an appreciable number of those not poor, when Elizabeth came to the throne were illiterate. Earlier in the century, in the year 1541, we have a definite statement in regard to the section of the Principality in which Penry was born. In Henry VIII.'s patent for the foundation of Christ's College at Brecon, the monarch is represented as saying that his 'subjects and lieges dwelling in the said south parts of Wales, oppressed by great poverty, cannot educate their sons well, and no ludus literarius [Grammar School] is kept in these parts; whereby both clergy and laity of every age and condition are rude both of their duty to God, and of the obedience which they owe to the King, and are even unacquainted with the common English tongue, so that they cannot understand the obligation which the law imposes upon them.' How widely true was this unlettered condition may be gathered from the fact that the President of the Council of the Marches in 1550, William

Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, could neither read nor write.¹ Indeed a few years earlier (1547) an act of Parliament was passed to secure to a peer, guilty of a first offence of felony, benefit of clergy, 'although he cannot read.' He was put on a par with a learned clerk, and treated as 'a clerke convicte.'²

2. *The Testimonies of Bishop Davies and Humfrey Llwyd.*—The language factor, no doubt greatly complicated the question of education as it did that of the general culture of the people. Richard Davies, bishop of St. David's in his 'Epistol at y Cembu' [Epistle to the Welsh]³ prefixed to Salesbury's Welsh New Testament, in which he himself had a hand, complains that—

'Wales has not profited by the Printing Press, by having works issued in her own tongue, until recently William Salesbury put into print the Gospel and Epistles in Welsh, as used in the Church throughout the year, [*Cyniver Llith a Ban*, 1551], and Syr Jhon Prys the Paternoster, the Creed, and the X Commandments [*Yny Llyvyr hwnn*].'⁴

But in the year following the publication of the Bishop's 'Epistol' we have a much more favourable view of the state of education in Wales. In 1568 Humfrey Llwyd of Denbigh wrote to Abraham Ortelius, the celebrated geographer and map-maker of Antwerp, his account of Britain. It forms a chapter in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, and was Englished by Thomas Twine and published in 1573, as *The Breviary of Britayne*. Llwyd says that 'in this one thing' his countrymen surpassed the English, that—

'there is no man so poore, but for some space he setteth forth his children to Schole, and such as profite in studie, sendeth them unto the Universities, where for the most part, they enforce them to studie the Civile law. Whereby it chaunceth, that the greater sort of those which professe the *Civile* or *Canon* lawes in this Realme are *Welshmen*. And you shall finde but few of

¹ O. M. Edwards, *Wales*, p. 325.

² 1 Ed. VI. c. 6.

³ Reprinted in Morus Kyffin's *Deffyniad y Ffydd* (*Jewel's Apology*), ed. by Chas. Edwards, Oxf., 1671, p. 223.

⁴ The two first books printed in Welsh. See below, § 2, p. 107.

the ruder sorte, which cannot reade and write their own name, and play on the Harpe after their maner. And now also the holy Scriptures, and dayly service [as noted above] are printed in their tongue.'¹

In our consideration of these somewhat different estimates, though Llwyd only claims for the common people that they can sign their names (and play the harp), something may perhaps be allowed to two sets of circumstances affecting the respective writers. First, the good Bishop, a true lover of his nation, conscious of her deficiencies, was anxious to stimulate his countrymen to a higher endeavour. Humfrey Llwyd on the other hand, was contributing to a great classical work, sumptuously produced, with maps, which seen by our sober eyes, may be pronounced gorgeous, a chapter to glorify his ancient race. The tendency of the one is to deplore over much ; of the other, over much to praise.

3. *The Educational Movement in N. and S. Wales.*—But something also must be allowed for the fact that Bishop Davies wrote from the extremity of South Wales, while Humfrey Llwyd wrote from Denbigh in the North. There was a national awakening, a minor Renaissance in progress in Wales during this century. Out of the chaos and misrule of the earlier centuries, Henry VIII. rescued the country, by abolishing the local and native tribunals, and bringing in the administration of justice under the general rule of English law. The founding of the Council of Wales and the Marches, with its seat at Ludlow, also did much to suppress the lawlessness and oppression which widely prevailed. The reduction of the country to some kind of settled and orderly legal administration, though sometimes applied with unnecessary harshness, together with the closer coördination of the normal life of the country with that of England, gave freer course to those influences which had been released in Europe at the Revival of Learning, and might be regarded as its secular and cultural side, as the Reformation represented its religious. Wales began to show signs of this quickening in a hunger for knowledge, for academic learning ; for these, partly, for

¹ *Brev. of Brit.* ff. 60 v. and 61.

their own sake, partly also as the key to public office and its emoluments.

The stream of young Welshmen flowing to the two English Universities began very sensibly to increase. Even remote parts of the Principality were feeling the impulse of the new time. Yet when we examine the literary output of the century, for some not obvious reason, the outstanding names are those of writers hailing from the northern parts. If we take the chapter in Morrice's *Manual of Welsh Literature* on 'The Welsh Prose Writers in the Sixteenth Century,' we discover this remarkable circumstance. Of fourteen names in the record ten are men from Carnarvonshire and Denbighshire; one is claimed by Merionethshire; of the remaining three, the birthplace of one is doubtful, and two are from the central county of Brecknock. It may be added that of eleven of these writers known to have had an English university training, nine were graduates of Oxford. These facts may possibly indicate a greater cultural movement at this particular period in Gwynedd than in the south; and this surmise is strengthened by the northern birth of the four Catholic writers mentioned in Morrice's chapter. The different estimates offered by the Bishop of St. David's and the old scholar at Denbigh may be explained in some measure by the facts revealed above. It has been pointed out that there were in South Wales at this period a number of capable poets and prose writers.¹ The statement however holds good, that the movement to the Universities is more marked in North than in South Wales; and it is reflected in the figures of the Matriculates at Oxford hailing from Wales given in the next chapter. The pause in educational progress in the south may have sharpened the Bishop's pen to write in his 'Epistol'—

'Awake thee, betimes, fair Welshman, my beloved and dear brother in Christ; do not denationalise thyself; look not down, glance upwards to the place whence thou didst spring.'

He was sorrowing for a land with a long love of literature;

¹ By Mr. Ifano Jones, the well-informed Welsh librarian at Cardiff, in a personal communication.

you can hear his anguish—‘for Thee, Land of the Cymry, that wert once first [and] now art last.’¹

4. *The Wide-spread Establishment of Elementary and Grammar Schools.*—Early in Elizabeth’s reign we find endowed Grammar Schools in various parts of Wales. Christ’s College at Brecon was founded in 1541. Shrewsbury School, ‘which served the Welsh march,’ and St. Asaph’s School followed the Commission of inquiry sent to Wales in the reign of Edward VI. The Friars’ School in Bangor was founded in 1568; Carmarthen School in 1576. The researches of Dr. Venn into the records of Gonville and Caius College have, moreover, greatly enlarged our views upon the means existing throughout the country of preparing youths to enter the Universities. Dr. Caius was careful to enter in his College register the name of the school at which the candidate was educated, and we are astonished to find that his list includes not only the well-known foundations at Winchester, Eton, Shrewsbury, Banbury and elsewhere, but schools in towns and villages in all parts of the country. It could not be maintained, observes Dr. Venn, that—

‘every one of them was a *school* in the strict sense of the word; it is possible that in some cases it was the private venture of some local parish clergyman. But the fact remains that they were places where enough was taught to enable a boy to come up to the University. Wherever he was born he found such opportunities within a few miles of his house. . . . Whatever the boys learned, or did not learn, at their school, it is quite certain that they must have acquired a fair knowledge of Latin.’²

From other contemporary sources we find the existence of schools to be very general in various parts of the country; though those having ancient foundations have in so many cases ceased to exist, their funds being diverted to alien and even private uses. William Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent* (1576) refers to schools at Canterbury, Rochester, Sandwich, Tunbridge, Maidstone, Great Charte, Brydendene,

¹ The quotations from Bp. Davies’s ‘Epistol’ are translations from the Welsh.

² *Early Collegiate Life*, 1913, 134-5.

Cranbrook, and 'Sennocke or (as some call it) Seauen Oke.'¹ We find in Wales also, where we least supposed them to exist, there were schools in out of the way and unexpected places. Henry Rowlands, Bishop of Bangor (1598) was born at Mellteyrn, in the remote promontory of Lleyrn in Carnarvonshire, and was educated at a school then existing in the inconsiderable village of Botwnog,² a few miles distant. From Botwnog he proceeded to New College, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1593.

5. *John Penry's First Schools.*—With these facts before us, we have less difficulty in accounting for the education of John Penry in his sequestered mountain home on the slopes of Mynydd Epynt. The local clergyman, though among the 'no preachers' in the episcopal returns, may have been a competent teacher. He would hold his school at the parish church at Llangammarch. In the reign of Edward, in the diocese of St. Asaph, we find that in many parish churches schools were opened for the poor, and, no doubt, many not to be reckoned among the poor, would share the great privilege.³ Meredydd Penry and his wife were clearly enlightened people, with a worthy ambition as to their son's education, handsomely supporting him during his career at Oxford and Cambridge, as with filial gratitude he acknowledges. If therefore the clergyman of Llangammarch opened a school for the children of his parishioners we are sure that John Penry was among his pupils. Here he would receive the rudiments of his education such as were assigned to be taught in the 'petty school.'

There was, moreover, a fully furnished Grammar School within his reach at the county-town, Brecon, which lay at the foot of the southern slopes of the Epynt, a journey of fifteen or twenty miles, according to the route then available.

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 54, 283, 383.

² Mr. F. O. White (*Eliz. Bishops*, 400) states that Rowlands 'was educated at the Grammar School at Penllech,' but gives no reference. Sir John Wynn (*Memoirs*, 102, Miss Lloyd's Ruthin ed.) makes a more circumstantial statement. The future Bishop he says was educated at Botwnog, and in gratitude to his old school, he left it a bequest in his will. Mellteyrn lies midway between Penllech and Botwnog.

³ Archd. Thomas, *Diocesan Hist. of St. Asaph*, 1888, p. 68.

Up the slopes behind Cefnbrith, crossing the ridge at Y tri Chrugyn, then over the downs and down the winding valley of the Escair Fechan is a delightful journey of perhaps sixteen miles; no great matter in a day when most travelling was done afoot. There was a natural connection between Llangam-march and Christ's College at Brecon. Two-thirds of the tithes of the parish were part of the original endowment of the school.¹ The son of the leading parishioner would have a natural claim upon the institution, whose royal foundation was an honour to the ancient borough and to the shire. A brief description of the school will illustrate the educational movement in Wales.

6. *Christ's College, Brecon.*—Thomas Churchyard in his *Worthines of Wales* which was published in 1587, devotes some of his homely pedestrian lines to 'Breakepoke' and mentions the College.

	‘The Towne is built as in a pit it were By water side, all lapt about with hill :
‘Maister Games dwelles here.	You may behold a ruinous Castle there, Somewhat defaste [defaced] the walles yet standeth still. Small narrow streates, through all the Towne ye have,
‘Doctor Awbrie hath a house here.	Yet in the same are sondrie houses brave : Well built without, yea trim and faire within, With sweet prospect, that shall your fauour win. The River <i>Oske</i> and <i>Hondie</i> ² runnes thereby. Four Bridges good, of stone, stands ore each streame : The greatest Bridge, doth to the Colledge lye A free house once, where many a rotten beame Hath bene of late, through age and trackt of tyme : Which Bishop now refourmes with stone and lyme. Had it not bene with charge repayred in haste That house and Seate had surely gon to waste.’

The College happily has renewed its youth after centuries of poverty and neglect, owing chiefly to the appropriation of its ample funds by the successive bishops, deans, and prebendaries of St. David's. The patent transferred the endowments of Abergwili College to the vacant Priory at Brecon,

¹ Sir Thos. Phillips, *Wales*, p. 375 n.

² From this small tributary the town takes its Welsh name, Aberhonddu.

formerly possessed by the preaching friars, and this 'with all the property belonging to the Priory at the time of its dissolution' was to found a school to be called Christ's College. The reasons given for the suppression of the Abergwili College are interesting. It supported four priests, four choristers, and two clerks to celebrate divine service. But it was 'inconveniently placed,' out of the way, so that no one save those engaged in the service, was likely to profit by it; and for the same reason they had never an opportunity of showing hospitality, which was one of the invariable objects in establishing such houses. It existed for the sole benefit of its officials. Its endowments, amounting to £53 sterling per annum, the patent declares 'may be turned to better uses, as in instructing young men and youths in letters, and in lectures to be given every day by some pious and learned man,' on the religious duties which are due to God and the King, to the great advantage of the people at large.

The spirit of the new age breathes through this last sentence. And in this spirit the 'ludus literarius' was founded. Its benefits, religious and educational were to be given to the King's lieges gratis, 'without taking anything from the same boys or their parents, for the education of the said youths.' From the reports of the Commissioners appointed in the reign of Edward VI. to inquire into the condition of the schools of England and Wales, we learn something of the organisation of Christ's College and how their funds were expended, these amounting in gross to £72 16s. 8d. 'James Faber, Grammar master there' received £13 6s. 8d.; and 'the same James, for redyng the divinitie lecture there,' an additional £6 13s. 4d.; Richard Watkins 'vssher of the Scole there,' £6 13s. 4d.; David Edwards 'stipendiary prest,' £6 13s. 4d.; 'Gruffith llwyd, Clerke, stewarde, and Receyvour there, £3 6s. 8d.' In addition there are 'twenty pore Scolers' who receive a stipend of '20s. a peece.' The names of the scholars are given; judging by their names they are all Welshmen save two, and they also may be accounted Welsh by long settlement. But the two are significant. 'Thomas Barlow' is surely the name of one of the kindred of the

Bishop, who had a large instinct for providing for his family out of church funds. And 'Hopkyn Awbrey' is without doubt of the lineage of Dr. William Aubrey, who, Churchyard has told us, had a house in the town, and we may rely on it one of the 'sondrie houses brave,' and was sometime member of Parliament for the borough. He was an ecclesiastical lawyer, and had gained possession of innumerable manors, messuages and tenements scattered all over South Wales. Archbishop Parker referred to him as one of the 'insatiable cormorants, of my diocese.' It would have been strange if one of his kindred had not been on the foundation for 'pore Scolers.' Penry's name is not in this list; but here nevertheless we are strongly inclined to believe he was prepared for the University. It was the natural and most convenient grammar school for a youth coming from Cefnbrith and the parish of Llangammarch.¹

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM

1. *The Universal Teaching of Latin.*—It is not easy to us to-day to realise how entirely education in the Middle Ages depended on mastering the Latin language. It was the necessary key to all knowledge; the language of the Church, of the University, of the learned professions. Except by its aid no single step upward could be taken. It was the intellectual gymnastic of that period of European history. The scientific precision of its syntax brought the powers of the mind into discipline. The measured and stately beauty of its greatest literature was a school of taste. Its histories were a means of political education. Therefore the whole school-life of the boy was spent in working at Latin grammar and

¹ The account of Christ's College is taken from John Lloyd's *Historical Memorials of Breconshire*, 1904, vol. ii. pp. 38 ff.; and A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 316-318.

literature. It was no mean intellectual training, for he was required to be sufficiently proficient in the tongue to write it readily, as well as to read Latin authors. He was drilled in prepared dialogues, so that he could in his school days speak it after a fashion. At the University up to Tudor times, the professors' lectures were almost wholly given in Latin. With all the great changes which have taken place in our educational methods during the past three centuries, classical learning has still a firm place in the higher culture of our country. It is really a remarkable fact that a physician should still prescribe in Latin. The fragments of the old latinity lie scattered along the whole course of common legal procedure, and the merchant's clerk in the city office still writes his debits and credits and per contras, just as did Chaucer when he was comptroller of custom and 'kept the rolls of his office written in his own hand.'

2. *The Horn-book and the Absey Book.*—Little Penry would begin with his horn-book, learning the Alphabet in capital and small letters, the cross of Christ standing at their head, on guard, lest the devil should run riot amongst them. 'Ye learned Christ's Cross,' writes Bradford the martyr, 'afore ye began with A.B.C.' The A.B.C. or Absey Book would take our scholar a little farther. It was a slender little primer, and is sometimes found prefixed to the Latin grammar. It contained the alphabets, capitals and small letters, and sundry other matters; as for example, in a copy before us, the Lord's Prayer, *Salutatio Angelica*, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and several short prayers, all in Latin and English. This copy is dated 1543. The range of teaching at the petty school at Llangammarch, at which Penry would qualify for entrance at Christ's College, Brecon, is indicated by the demands the grammar schools of the time made upon their entrance-scholars. There is a general agreement on the part of the higher schools in asking that every applicant should know the Latin accidence. Sir Nicholas Bacon in his statutes for St. Albans Grammar School, drawn up 1570, when Penry was eleven years old, prescribes that 'none shall be received into the school, but such as have

learned their Accidence without book, and can write indifferently.’¹

3. *John Colet's School and Latin Grammars*.—Extremely interesting in this connection are the rules laid down by that great Englishman, John Colet, pioneer in education and lover of little children, for St. Paul's School in London, which he founded and endowed with the wealth he inherited from his father, a former Lord Mayor. They are contained in a slender little manual—surely the most sacred memorial of patriotic solicitude for the education of the young which England possesses—issued by him for the use of the younger scholars. He thought they might be overweighted and depressed by the Latin Grammar of his learned High Master, William Lily. Colet says,

‘¶ If your chyldre can rede and wryte latyn and Englysshe sufficiently so that he be able to rede & wryte his own lessons, than he shall be admytted in to the schole for a scholar.’²

It is worth noting, that among other conditions, he lays down that if the child ‘after reasonable season proued’ be found unapt at learning, he is to be removed. And he is rigorous on regular attendance. The one ‘cause resonable’ which he admits for absence is ‘alonely sycknesse.’ It was a daylight saving age. The scholars in summer were up with the dawn. In winter they began work while it was yet dark, so that the parents of the child are required to ‘fynde hym wax in wynter’ (for candles). Even at the universities students began their day with devotions at five o'clock in the morning. In a ‘lytell proheme to the booke,’ which concludes the Prologue, Colet says that many have written introductions to the Latin tongue, called ‘Donates and Accidences’; he has written this out of the love he bears to ‘the newe scole of Powles and to the children of the same.’ Then follows his ‘introductyon of the partes of speking for chyldren & yonge begynners in to latyn speche.’ The

¹ Leach, *Eng. Gram. Schools to 1660*, 187.

² *Ioannis Coleti Theologi olim decani diui Pauli, aeditio unà cum quibusdā G. Liliij Grammatices Rudimentis. Londini, in aedibus Wyande de Worde. Anno MDXXXIII.*

explanatory portions are in English. Later this appears as 'An Introduction of the eight partes of speach,' and is bound up with Lily's Grammar, the *Brevissima Institutio*, which was wholly in Latin. Lily's Latin Grammar obtained a monopoly from Henry VIII., which was renewed by Edward VI. and Elizabeth. It was the national grammar for centuries, appearing, with some inevitable changes, in our own day as the Eton Latin Grammar. But for some years Lily's work had a strong rival in the Latin Grammar of John Stanbridge, the celebrated master of Banbury School, which was specifically required to be taught by the foundation deeds of certain schools. His *Parvulorum Institutio* was a famous book in its day; in the form of a catechism in English it explained the Latin accidence, and in an elementary way showed 'what is to be done when an englysshe is gyven to be made in latyn.' With all this concentration upon the one supreme subject of study, we shall not be surprised to find that a schoolboy of Penry's day, passing through the curriculum prescribed at Brecon, or at one of the grammar school foundations of the country, would become acquainted with a considerable range of Latin literature, and have some practical knowledge of the language as a written and spoken tongue.

4. *Moral Reading-books*.—A section of the books useful for exercise in reading, was specially selected from manuals of good behaviour and morals. The old *Stans puer ad mensam*¹—in a contemporary edition, with a vigorous woodcut on the title-page showing 'a boy standing at the table,' at which sat a monkish schoolmaster—was a recognised oracle on schoolboy manners. A stanza from the English translation by John Lydgate will indicate its general character.

'My deere son fyrst thy self enable
with all thyn hert to virtuose discipline
afore thy sovrayn [master] standyng at the table
dispose thy thougth after my doctrine
to all norture thy corage to endure
fyrst while thou spekyst be no rechelesse
keep fete and fyngrys and hands styll in pese.'²

¹ By an Italian Grammmarian, John Sulpicius, who was settled at Rome in 1475.

² MS., Camb. Univ. Lib., Hh. N. 12.

Cato de Moribus also had an age-long European reputation both as a Latin schoolbook and a handbook in gnomic wisdom. It was sometimes published with an English translation of each distich. It invited the young scholar to ponder such quaint wisdom as, *Ipse qui dissidet secum conveniet nulli*, He that falls out with himself will agree with nobody.

5. *Writing and Arithmetic*.—As for other subjects which to-day are accounted indispensable and part of the regular scheme of education, they were treated as ‘extras,’ something like ‘lessons on the violin’ or ‘painting in water colours’ in the prospectus of a private school of our own time. English grammar was supposed to be learnt through the Latin; as indeed, it continued to be in the chief schools of England, especially those concerned in preparing boys for Oxford and Cambridge, until recent years. History was not taught systematically, but only incidentally as it occurred in the pages of the author being studied. No provision was made for the teaching of arithmetic; boys were sent for short terms to ‘Cypher schools.’ Masters attended periodically to teach writing—‘secretary and chancery hands’; they also gave practical instructions in the art of cutting a quill pen, and how to make ‘a good penne knife’; and added recipes for making ‘common yncke,’—a quart of wine is the first item, with gum, galls, copperas as ingredients—and some other pieces of information. All these matters are set forth in *A booke containing diverse sortes of hands, as well the English as French secretarie, with the Italian, Roman, Chancelry and Court hands*, produced in 1571 (when Penry was about eight years old) by John De Beanchesne and John Baildon. Beanchesne was a Frenchman and a popular teacher of writing in London. His book of engraved examples had a long vogue.

If we add to the foregoing the use of the Primer as a religious guide, and of the Scriptures, we have probably included the entire scheme of grammar-school teaching in Penry’s day.

CHAPTER IV

FROM CEFNBRITH TO PETERHOUSE

1. *The Choice of University and College.*—John Penry entered Peterhouse as the son of a well-to-do squire, paying as a pensioner for his board and lodging, and not stinted in his expenditure. A poor man's son would have entered the University as a sizar, having free quarters and free commons, and rendering in return personal services; acting as valet to the principal or one of the fellows, and making his meals from the broken victuals, left by those he had been serving as they sat at meat. Penry was able to pay, however, as we shall see, for superior quarters, and before the end of his residence sat with the richer men's sons at the fellows' table. His father and mother both concurred in giving him every help and encouragement to become a qualified scholar and were solicitous of his comfort. They no doubt felt that the learned clerk had a key which opened many doors leading to preferment, and were not wanting in a pride in having a son bred a scholar. There are some indications that Penry was not endowed with robust health; it was a plea put forward on his behalf, when he suffered harsh imprisonment at the close of his brief life, and it may have some relation to the break in his residence at Cambridge, which in the case of so religious a man, could not be readily explained except by ill-health.

The larger current of young Welsh scholars flowed to Oxford. Indeed, out of the whole number of distinguished Welsh writers of the century, a century in which Welsh prose took literary form, only three were Cambridge men: Bishop William Morgan, the translator of the Welsh Bible, Dr. Thomas Huet, also a translator of the Scriptures, and Archdeacon Prys, author of the popular Welsh metrical version of the Psalms. The remaining names are those of men trained at Oxford. And what is true of the distinguished men of

the period, is true of Welsh graduates generally. There were reasons, however, why a family, with sympathies in favour of the reformed religion, should choose to send their son to Cambridge. Cambridge had long been the home of the reformers, among them the brave and famous leaders who were burnt at the stake by Mary. Mary showed greater favour to Oxford, and it was to Oxford that the Roman reactionaries sent their sons rather than to Cambridge during her reign.¹ The admissions to the degree of B.A. for the years 1555-9 at Oxford were, 216; a small record, indeed. Yet at Cambridge the number was only 175.

With the accession of Elizabeth, the royal favour changed its direction, and Cambridge was the first to be visited by the Queen. The acceptance of reformed religion was to be a condition of her good opinion. Every effort was made by the visitation of the Universities ordered in the year of her accession, and by the common policy of the newly elected Chancellors, Leicester at Oxford and Burghley at Cambridge, to clear both seats of learning of their irreconcilable and reactionary Catholic elements; but the more powerful reforming tradition of Cambridge may be seen in the great preponderance of its graduates among those appointed to episcopal sees under Elizabeth: such were her three Archbishops of Canterbury, Parker, Grindal and Whitgift; and most of the leading Bishops, such as Sandys, Cox, Aylmer, Bancroft, Guest, Young, Pilkington, Chadderton and others. If a Welsh squire felt strongly upon the question, there would be a reason why he should not follow the example of the majority of his fellow-countrymen, who sent their sons to Oxford, but, by reason of its more powerful evangelical tradition, send his son to Cambridge.

To Cambridge and Peterhouse was the family decision, and thither John Penry adventured his way in the spring of 1580. The journey from the heart of Mid-Wales to the East of England was no small undertaking in his day; and it being our intention to give some small account of the world in which he moved and played his part, for the fuller

¹ Mullinger, *The Univ. of Camb.* ii. 167-8.

understanding of his character, we must try to form some picture of the route he had to travel and the conditions under which such a journey would be made.

2. *Preparations for the Journey.*—He set out on his travels about the middle of May; as soon as the roads dried a little and the weather became pleasanter for the journey, with a lengthening day for the accomplishment of each stage. For the roads were atrociously bad, almost impassable, in winter. Moreover the traveller was exposed to many dangers. We may therefore be sure that before John started, there had been long and serious forethought. The route had to be determined. Information useful to wayfarers had to be diligently gleaned. A certain amount of travel information was common property. Men who had ventured abroad had related their experiences; clerics, schoolmasters, and lawyers were to be met in Wales who were university-bred, and were ready to tell what they knew; traders, wool and corn factors, driving a string of ponies carrying their commodities in panniers and pack-saddles, attended the great fairs and markets; men from Breconshire in all likelihood attended the great Sturbridge Fair near Cambridge, and, if so, would be the best of authorities for the route and the inns at which it was wise to put up. A diligent inquiry would lead to an accumulation of knowledge of sorts.

As yet there were no road-books, or 'travellers' guides.' One wonders whether Penry had a map; some home-made graphical representation of the country he had to cover; especially of its farthest-off section. The country had to wait nearly a century before John Ogilby appeared with his measuring wheel, and produced the first map on which roads were indicated, and also issued his *Tables of Measur'd Roads*.¹ Proper inquiry would show Penry that the fairly direct road to Cambridge town lay through Leominster, Worcester, Warwick, Northampton and St. Neot's.

3. *Foot-travel.*—Naturally he would travel on foot; as students then almost invariably did, in journeying to and

¹ Ogilby's *Britannia* was published in 1675, and his *Tables*, etc., in 1676.

from Oxford and Cambridge and their homes. Bernard Gilpin when on the road, met Hugh Broughton travelling on foot, and asked him whence he came. Broughton, who was of good family and estate, answered, 'Out of Wales, and that he was going to Oxford with the intent to be a scholar.'¹ And Richard Hooker many times made the journey from Oxford to Exeter and back on foot, 'which,' Izaak Walton remarks, 'was then either more in fashion, or want of Money, or . . . Humility made it so.'² Practically the choice lay between going on foot or on horseback. The cost of baiting a horse was as much as the board and lodging of its rider; and at the end of the journey there was the difficulty of keeping it at the university, probably, for a year at least, till it would be needed for the home journey. A thrifty Scot, it is true, in the next century, rode from London to Edinburgh in nineteen days, and at Edinburgh sold his horse for eight guineas, the price he had paid for it in London.

4. *Condition of the Public Roads.*—The roads were bad at all seasons; in winter they were forbidding. They were unenclosed; as late as the Civil Wars armies moved across England unimpeded by hedges. Technically they were not constructed roads at all; they were trackways, broad or narrow according to the volume of traffic, across commons and fields, and through miles of woodlands, then far more extensive than to-day. In the wet season, except when hardened by the winter frost, they were puddles, full of dangerous holes. The rivers and streams were liable to be flooded; bridges were few; and on the rise of the stream the usual fords became impassable. Then there was nothing for it, but to wait patiently until the water subsided, or to make a long detour. No one ventured to travel in winter except under great necessity; university students remained in their colleges through the Christmas vacation. When John Udall travelled from Newcastle to London in midwinter at the imperious command of Archbishop Whitgift, he might

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. Nuttall, 1840, iii. 52.

² Pref. to Hooker's *Works*: 'A Life of Mr. Richard Hooker,' by Iz. Walton.

well say that it was a journey he would not have wished an enemy to make. Often guides had to be hired to show the best route and to point out where rivers were fordable.

In the absence of tolerable roads coaches could only be employed on a limited scale and in special neighbourhoods. The only wheeled vehicles in ordinary use were the rough-built two-wheeled carriers' carts and farm carts. The transport of goods was for the most part by pack-horses; to a small extent oxen were used. Long lines of laden animals often blocked the way, their drivers showing no consideration for travellers on horse or foot, as they desperately urged their beasts through the sloughs and marshy bottoms; or the double-panniered animals filled the narrow sunken roads on the older routes, worn deep by long generations of traffic, those 'Holloways' whose descriptive name still survives, in some of which a man on horseback could not see beyond the trench in which he rode. Ladies and invalids were carried in litters, and horse-litters were in use.

One of the earliest coaches used in England for personal conveyance was introduced for the service of Queen Elizabeth; but she must have used it more for its novelty and display, than for its comfort and convenience. Ten years after she came to the throne, she complains apologetically to de la Motte Fénelon, the French ambassador, of the aches and pains from which she was suffering, after a ride in her coach. Fuller states that he saw an old lady being drawn to church in her own coach by a span of six oxen.¹ When judges took to going on circuit in coaches, a hundred years after Penry's time, exigencies of travel added to the law's delays; schedule-time could not be kept by their lordships, since from time to time they had to be dug out of a bog, or a relay of plough horses had to be requisitioned to haul the coach out of a deep miry rut. Even in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Arthur Young, writing of his journey from Preston to Wigan, states that he 'measured ruts four feet deep, floating with mud, only for a wet summer'; between the two towns he

¹ *Worthies* [1662], ed. Nuttall, 1840, iii. 52.

‘actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory.’¹

In Wales, also in Scotland, roads were even worse. The lower ground in the valleys was usually marshy; bogs of large extent were not infrequent. In the difficulty of finding a possible track, the road sometimes lay along the bed of a small stream. Generally the rough slope of the hill afforded a precarious path, and when no choice was offered but to descend to the lower ground, the road meandered right and left in the effort to avoid the sinking morass, or to turn an abrupt boulder not otherwise to be negotiated. In the beginning of last century Lord Sudeley taking his bride from Welshpool to his home eighteen miles away had a memorable experience. Their carriage stuck in a quagmire, but the happy party succeeded in getting out of the vehicle and finished their journey on foot.

5. *Difficulties of Provincial Intercourse.*—The difficulties of travel, its hardships, dangers, its tediousness as well as its cost, had a material effect on the social condition of the country. Commodities could only in a limited measure be transported from the centres of production to the people who were anxious to purchase them. Stores for building, ironware, and heavy goods generally, were carried on horseback, unless they could be sea-borne, or navigable rivers were available along which heavy freight could be floated. Staffordshire pottery was carried on the hawker’s back. With such roads, and under such burdens, horse and man were to be pitied. In winter this kind of trade almost ceased. Every household had to lay up its stores for the season. Fortunately for country-dwellers, on every small farm almost the entire need of the household was supplied by the land and by the labour of the inmates. It will easily be understood that under such conditions, with travel and all traffic difficult in summer and practically prohibitive in winter, the different sections of the country knew but little about each other. Southerners

¹ See Fordham’s *Studies on Carto-Bibliography*, Oxf., 1914; F. J. Bennett, *Our Roads*, 1905; Venn’s *Early Collegiate Life*, 1913; Sir Walt. Gilbey, *Early Carriage Roads*, 1903.

knew little of Lancashire and the northern parts; indeed they commonly believed the inhabitants of those boreal regions to be a more or less wild and barbarous people.

6. *Dangers of the Highway*.—To add to the natural dangers of travel, the main roads were infested by highwaymen. These were more numerous on the highways converging on London, because of the number and importance of the travellers faring to and from the metropolis. It is inevitable that the reader should be reminded of Falstaff and his company planning to waylay on Gad's Hill, the travellers setting out from the inn at Rochester for London. Hounslow Heath and the great Bath road were notorious stations of these gentry of the road. Bawtry on the great north road we read, suffered greatly from their attentions. The stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds was originally established to secure order and safety for travellers in that region. On the main roads by an *Injunction*, all the bushes on either side to a depth of two hundred feet, were destroyed, to give no lurking-place to robbers. Here and there by the roadside stood a gibbet, with perchance the grim remains of a skeleton dangling from its chain, to remind those criminals who took to the road, what their destination might be. Yet the severity was not effectual to cure the evil, until it was reinforced by a vigorous public opinion, which, at least in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign was lax upon this point, associating crimes on the highway with a spirit of romantic adventure, and the crude socialism of the Robin Hood legend, in which the robbers took toll from the rich and spared the poor. Sir John Popham, who became Lord Chief Justice of England and presided at the court which unjustly condemned Penry, in his earlier years practised his illegalities in company with a band of desperate characters, in the regular business of highway robbery. 'The fact,' says Lord Campbell, 'seems to stand on undoubted testimony.'¹

7. *First Stage of Penry's Journey*.—From all the circumstances as outlined above, the journey which John Penry was now undertaking could not be regarded by his parents

¹ *Lives of the Chief Justices*, i. 209 f.

as other than a serious undertaking. He is a youth of seventeen, and it is May-time, the hard winter a vanishing memory and spring at its full, and the difficulties will not appear to him so serious. He has the youth's enthusiasm at the prospect before him, with whatever adventure it should afford, an eagerness to see something of the world beyond the hills, and of becoming a member of a learned university. The family having fair means at their disposal would see that he had a cheerful and comfortable start, with a horse to ride for the first stage and a companion to bear him company, and to bring back the nag; perhaps the shadowy brother Thomas, of the genealogist's table, filled the office. Along the valley, past the village of Llangammarch to Builth is a matter of seven or eight miles. He would cross the Wye at Llanelwedd bridge, and shortly enter the narrow, steep valley which leads into the Radnor Forest. A steady climb of a thousand feet has to be faced ere he reaches the dip of the land towards New Radnor, which ancient Leland tells us was formerly 'metely well wallyd,' but had been 'partely destroyed by Owen Glindour.' The 'valey is very plentiful of corne and grasse,' and 'streccith [stretcheth] up on way to Limstre.' This is the way our travellers must go; very rough and hilly, crossing the line of demarcation, Offa's Dyke, to reach Presteign, naturally the earliest stage on his route. Forty-five years earlier it had a sinister reputation, according to Bishop Rowland Lee, as a very nest of thieves,¹ but Leland states it had a 'very good market of corne.' It was the agricultural centre of a very wide district, and a chief gateway into the great English world. Penry has travelled twenty-odd, and for the most part, very rough miles.

8. *Presteign to Leominster*.—With the earliest dawn, as was customary, and our traveller is farm-bred, he would shoulder his pack and take his now solitary road to the east. We have concluded from various small indications, that, naturally, he is not very robust, but he is young and has an undaunted spirit. He will not see Wales again, in any case, until next year's long vacation; so his pack must

¹ Dr. Caroline Skeel's *Council of the Marches*, 61.

contain his careful mother's provision of hose and linen and underwear ; and there are the books, and they we know are solid and heavy baggage, though he limit himself to those regarded as essential. He cannot leave behind his Geneva Bible, and Beza's Latin New Testament, nor William Lily's Latin Grammar, *Institutio compendiaria totius Grammaticae*, with haply a favourite classic or two, and a vocabulary. These with his writing materials, a small stock of foolscap, some Cefnbrith goose quills, the ingredients for making ink and an inkpot ; starch-grains to give a good writing surface to his paper. And surely in his pack would be found a parcel of simples, herbal remedies of ancient repute, the forethought of his mother. Well, these would be sufficient to enable our pilgrim, and he not over robust, to realise how many yards there be to a mile, long ere the towers of Cambridge shall gladden his eyes.

His route lay across a rolling country, by way of Shobden, veering to the north at Mortimer's Cross, for the sake of the harder ground ; it then crosses Watling Street, and inclines south and east by Kingsland to ancient Leominster, built on its many streams ; a fifteen-mile stage. We will put him up at the Golden Fleece, for the old town is widely famous for its wool. While eased of his pack, he can gossip with the landlord over a mug of small ale, and hear the virtue of 'Leominster ore,' the name given to its celebrated wool, 'whose staple doth excel, And seemes to overmatch the famous Phrygian fell,' as Drayton sings. But the talk would be sure to turn on his expedition. Each resting-place would furnish information of use for the next stage of his journey ; for the remainder of which we must follow him rapidly.

9. *Through the Orchards to Worcester.*—He is still in a half-Welsh country. Aubrey states that in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, Welsh was spoken at Hereford ; that is, a section of the inhabitants spoke the old tongue by preference ; and only during the previous century had its use slowly receded from the Severn. But Penry would be no Welshman, no child of the mountains, one of a race that suffers beyond others from nostalgia, if he did not feel the pangs of hiraeth, home-

longing, to be a heavier pack than that which he bore upon his shoulders.

‘ How heavy do I journey on my way,
 When what I seek—my weary travel’s end—
 Doth teach that ease and that repose to say,
 “ Thus far the miles are measured from thy friend.” ’

For the most part it was a lonely journey for Penry, cheered chiefly by the spring songs of the birds. His next principal stage is Worcester. His path lies through the meadows. The busy river Lugg, whose course he has followed at intervals from the heart of the Radnor Forest, is finally left as he crosses the bridge below Leominster. Taking the higher ground at Eaton, and travelling by way of Bredenbury, over a pleasantly undulating country, he will be half-way to the Severn at Bromyard, where many roads meet ; a little town struggling down the hillside. The section now before him is hilly and solitary for many miles ; but all the more delightful will be his arrival in the beautiful valley of the Teme. The rushing river must be crossed at Knightsford Bridge, a mile after entering Worcestershire. And now his path leads him through a pleasant land of green springing cornfields and blossoming orchards ; pear orchards as well as apple, for this was a famous pear country, and from its crops says Penry’s fellow-student, the traveller Fynes Moryson, with his full share of British prejudice, ‘ they make Perry, a counterfeit wine, but cold and flatuous as all those kinds of drink are.’¹

Crossing a small tributary of the Teme he will catch sight of the square tower of Worcester Cathedral, and presently enter the city by the bridge across the broad stream of the Severn. We cannot linger with him in this ancient and interesting city, but we know enough of Penry to be certain that he took the opportunity of visiting the Cathedral, and would not fail to recall the fact, familiar from Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, that the most popular and beloved of the English martyrs, Hugh Latimer, was once bishop of the diocese.

¹ *Itinerary* (ed. Macle hose), iv. 155.

10. *Shakspeare's Country*.—Leaving Worcester by Red Hill Penry has a fairly direct road before him, across the grass lands to Auster (Alcester), and onward to Stratford-on-Avon; then a quiet little country town entirely unknown to fame, except its 'gramar scole,' the existence of which was somehow known to most of the old compilers of itineraries. The close of the month of May was a delightful season in this leafy township,

When daisies pied and violets blue
 And lady-smocks all silver white
 And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue
 Do paint the meadows with delight :

as we know they did, from the observation of the son of a burgess, a dealer in corn and wool and an ex-alderman, one John Shakspeare; which said son, William, was to make the ancient borough famous in all lands, for all time, by being born within its liberties. When Penry trudged through its precincts it is a very small chance that he even passingly saw him; for William, a youth of sixteen or seventeen, now supposed to be assisting his father, and the ex-alderman was illiterate, was finding consolation under the shadow of adversity that rested on the Shakspeare corn and wool business, by making violent love to Anne, the daughter of Richard Hathaway, a yeoman living over at Shottery.

From Stratford Penry's route led to Warwick, then as now dignified by its stately and picturesque Castle. And here he was entering the borders of the region where dwelt the men and women who were to influence greatly his brief but intense and adventurous career. The Midlands were a great stronghold of the Puritan and reforming party in the Church. Resident at this time at the Castle was Ambrose Dudley, widely known as 'the good Earl of Warwick.' He had been associated with his father, the Duke of Northumberland, in the attempt to establish a Protestant dynasty in this country, by ousting Mary Tudor, on the death of young Edward and placing on the throne Lady Jane Grey, the wife of Guildford Dudley, Ambrose's brother. Both brothers purged themselves of their attainder by their singular courage

in the wars in France. On the accession of Elizabeth, Ambrose Dudley was taken into royal favour, and in 1580 had been for twenty years Earl of Warwick. Penry was soon to know him as a strong support of the evangelical reforming party.

11. *Warwick to Northampton.*—At Warwick Penry would leave the great main road to Coventry, and by cross-roads pursue his way through a very sparsely-populated district. His route lay through the little villages of Radford and Ufton, and was crossed by the old Fosse Way about half-way between these two places. By skirting Stone Thorpe Park he reached Southam, an inconsiderable village, but well-known as a stage on the route running northwards through Coventry. A lonely road proceeds from Southam to Daventry—better written Daintry, the current pronunciation—but having gained travelling experience long ere this, he will leave this route at Straverterton, and take the more direct track through Newnham to Weedon Beck. He is now within the domain of the principal man of the county of Northampton, Sir Richard Knightley of Fawsley House. When Penry embraced the views of the Puritans he became well-acquainted with Sir Richard.

The thriving borough of Northampton now lies ahead, due east nine or ten miles by a direct road; through Floore, the only village on the high road till you reach Upton, hard by the town. There is a farmer at Upton, one Jeffs, a tenant of the younger Knightley, who will in a small way come into our later story. It was his cart that brought the secret press, on which much contraband Puritan literature, including the earlier numbers of the famous Marprelate Tracts, was printed, from East Molesey by Richmond to Fawsley House, through the intervention of Penry. Little the youth knew, as he crossed the bridge over the Nene, and entered the historic borough by the West Gate, for it was still protected by a high wall, how intimately he was to be related to some of its citizens, and how important a centre of his life's interests it was destined to become. An inquiring stranger, he would note the ancient Castle facing him as he entered; and if he had any eye for architecture, the most ancient church in the

borough, St. Peter's, on the right-hand side of the road, could not be passed by unremarked. The town church, All Hallows' confronted him at the top of a gentle rise. Somewhere near by, or in the adjacent Market Square, he would find a choice of hostelries.

12. *On to Cambridge.*—Quickening our paces, we may now follow him on the morrow by the road on the north side of the Nene towards Wellingborough; through Billing and Ecton, eight miles of 'champagne, corne, and pasture ground, but litle wood or none,' says Leland. Then crossing the river he will soon see in the distance the handsome crocketed steeple of Higham Ferrers, and when that great landmark lies behind him, he is rapidly approaching the Fens, the great flat marshy lands stretching away to the sea coast, on the borders of which he is to live for the next five or six years. It will not be many weeks or months before he will long for a sight of the hills and valleys of his native land. And so through Great Stoughton on the Ouse; then crossing the wooden bridge at St. Neot's, his heart will beat quicker, filled with contending hopes and fears, for our young Welshman is drawing near his goal. Twelve miles of 'champeyne counterey,' along the St. Neot's road by Ellisley, passing near Maddingley and he is in the University town.

His entry is by the north-west, where the roads from Huntingdon and St. Neot's meet; over against him is the Castle, in that day still regarded as a place of military strength. Bearing now to the right by St. Peter's he will reach the river, and get his first view of some of the collegiate buildings, whose names would be familiar to him. Since he definitely determined to seek at Cambridge his university education had he not discussed with his friends the respective excellences and educational advantages of the different collegiate foundations, and the conditions under which a scholar might enter their gates and enjoy their privileges? Here to the left is Magdalen College; but the fine succession of houses of learning which now we see as we walk through the town would not gladden his eyes; for the streets were narrow, and the college buildings do not, as in the case of the great

cathedrals and almost equally great monasteries, overtop rows of houses, hostels, and inns, which then lined the streets; not to speak of the high walls which some of the colleges had themselves erected to gain a measure of privacy. Crossing Great Bridge, a wooden structure in Penry's day, he is in Bridge Street, and presently turning to the right, at a slight angle, he is in Trumpington Street, the famous Cantabrigian highway of colleges, churches, and learned institutions; which had not in Penry's day taken on its sectional names of John Street and Trinity Street, though the central section was known as 'Heighe Ward.' Glimpses of the 'backs' he would have had as crossing the Bridge; and through the gateways opening on Trumpington Street he would see something of John's and Trinity. On the right, now known as Trinity Lane, was Findsilver Lane, a narrow turning leading first to the entrance to 'Gunvell Hall'—Gonville and Caius College—and bending round, to Trinity, Clare, and King's Colleges. Penry may have caught a sight of the pinnacles of King's College Chapel as he passed along the narrow street; but Great St. Mary's would be in full view. Further, but lying behind a congeries of dwelling-houses, and the ancient 'Bernarde Ostell,' he would catch sight of St. Benedict's Church, and the adjoining college of Corpus Christi, more commonly known as Benet's. Our inquisitive and not unintelligent pilgrim may have known that Matthew Parker was Master of Benet's, till the accession of Mary, and that in the later day of his archiepiscopal power and prosperity, he became its very generous benefactor. It was more likely, possibly, that he had heard that it had since gained some notoriety as a centre of Puritan influence.

Here it is but a few yards and he is at the end of his journey. After passing the celebrated inn 'The Cardinal's Hat,' where now stands the Pitt Press, he crosses the narrow King's Ditch; at this spot, the remaining post of what once was Trumpington Gate, was standing solitarily. Past Penny Farthing Lane, on the left was Pembroke College, and, nearly opposite is Little St. Mary's, and hidden behind its high wall, his own college, Peterhouse; flanked by a row of houses,

perhaps the original hostels which the pious Hugo de Balsham, founder of the College, built or bought for the lodgement of his little company of scholars. The entrance in 1580 lay on the south side of the College and was reached by an opening from Trumpington Street.

So have we brought our travel-worn pilgrim to his goal. Mynydd Epynt was by this time, very remote, in the land of the sunset. It must have been weeks since he last heard the language of his native country. Men and cities has he indeed seen in his first glorious tramp over the hills and across the rolling plains of central England, to this flat fen-land of Cambridge. And now, not without some perturbation of spirit, but with shining eyes, full of eager Welsh enthusiasm, he hammers at the gate of the most ancient of the colleges of Cambridge, and will be forthwith ushered into the presence of the Master, Dr. Andrew Perne, who by reason of some deplorable weaknesses, as, well as by many excellences, is easily at this time, the best known figure in the University. On the morrow, the 11th of June, his name, spelt, and no doubt pronounced, by the cook, 'John Penere' first appears in the Bakery Book of Peterhouse. He has taken bread and salt with his new sodality.

DIVISION II

UNIVERSITY CAREER

CHAPTER I

THE MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITY

1. *The Development of the University.*—The community at Peterhouse is part of a larger whole, the University. And of this institution it will be helpful to know a little, if we are to appreciate rightly Penry's collegiate life, and the course of his studies. Our account of its growth, its relation to its constituent colleges, and the condition, in the years immediately preceding Penry's studentship, of the two great English universities, must of necessity be brief and summary.¹

(a) *Origin and Spreading of Universities.*—When Penry came to Cambridge, his University was already a venerable institution; one of a series of European foundations for higher education, whose earliest example reaches back to the twelfth century, and whose influence, as Dr. Rashdall teaches us, has been full of significance for the intellectual progress of the western nations. The University, like so many things destined powerfully to affect the destinies of men, came into existence without observation. An association of scholars, prepared to give instruction to those desirous to learn, not foreseeing the issue of their enterprise, they must be set

¹ The chief authority for this chapter is Dean Hastings Rashdall's important work *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1895, which in these pages it would be impertinence to praise. Great help has also been found in Prof. Rait's small book, *Life in the Med. Univ.*, which is much more than a convenient abridgement of the larger works.

down among those who building as they could, built better than they knew.

They were not the first greatly to interest themselves in education, though the cause of erudition and enlightenment had in the preceding age fallen upon evil times. There were special features distinguishing this new undertaking which help to explain its rapid extension, and the place of supreme importance it has come to fill in the history of all western and progressive nations. It was not the result of any ecclesiastical decree. It drew its teachers from all quarters, it opened its doors to all comers. It was born in an age eminent in history by reason of its intellectual awakening; that earlier Renaissance of the twelfth century whose quickening influences spread through Europe. Men of genius and erudition appeared upon the scene, and naturally gravitated to these centres of studious life. And there was on the part of men a hunger for knowledge, so that wherever a great scholar with a gift of imparting it sat in the teacher's chair, he never lacked eager and enthusiastic listeners.

(b) *Fixing a Standard for the Studium Generale.*—There was before long a growing feeling that it was necessary to regularise the establishment of these new institutions, especially as small schools in small towns, with a meagre teaching apparatus were assuming the name of university; much as to-day all manner of nondescript undertakings as well as small private schools, label themselves colleges. The University, to merit its special distinction, must conform to a certain standard of teaching; it must be occupied in one or more of the higher faculties of theology, law, or medicine. Again it must open its doors to all the world. Efficiency in its teaching equipment must be secured by a 'plurality of masters.' The earlier foundations had by their achievements secured for themselves recognition. When Irnerius gave his lectures on jurisprudence at Bologna, he made his law-school famous throughout Europe. The reputation of the lecturer, and the crowds of students who sat at his feet, drawn from all lands, gave university status to this, one of the earliest of all European *studia generalia*. But the high designation

must be reserved for those serious organisations which offered men the substance, besides alluring by the name ; and being duly authorised their teachers had acquired the right to deliver their lectures in all other universities—the *jus ubique docendi*. The special reputation of certain of the older universities appears to have been due to the pre-eminent fame of one (or more) of their teachers in a particular branch of study, a man great enough to train and inspire a succession of teachers in that branch. Among the older universities Salerno was famous in medicine, Bologna in law, and Paris in theology and philosophy. English students in the earlier days owed a great debt to the great school at Paris. Dr. Arthur Gray points out that in the thirteenth century almost all English scholars received part at least of their education at Paris—Walter Map, Giraldus Cambrensis, Robert Grosstête, Roger Bacon, Stephen Langton, are pre-eminent among the number.¹

(c) *Clerical Character of the Earlier History of Universities.*—Although the University was not founded by the Church, its clerical character in its early period was a matter of course. The cleric almost alone possessed learning ; he wrote the learned books of the period in all branches of knowledge, he filled every office in the state requiring education. Outside his class few received even elementary education ; and of these but few went on to the higher branches of knowledge. The greater clerics of the Middle Ages were also great officers of State. They were chosen for high ecclesiastical office because of their gifts as statesmen and lawyers. In our own country among clerics of eminent gifts and strong personality, Wolsey, the statesman, is the type ; Grosstête, the scholar and pastor, the exception. In papal France, the clerical tradition prevailed into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under cardinals Richelieu, Mazarin, and Fleury. But it is to be noted that under Elizabeth no ecclesiastic held a political office ; though the establishment of the church as a department of government, under the guidance of the Queen, and the operations of a number of quasi-legal church

¹ *History*, new ser., April 1921, 'The Beginnings of Colleges.'

courts, gave the church great power. Nevertheless, the distinction between the lay offices of the State and the cleric offices of the Church was definitely recognised; except in the case of Elizabeth herself. She, as head of the State, woman though she was and incapable of ordination, was, in no idle sense, Chief Governor of the Church.

(d) *Gradual Transference of Rule to Laymen.*—The predestined development of the University lay in the gradual transference of its control from the cleric to the layman, and the liberation of the scholars from ecclesiastical vows and obligations; but it must be clearly understood that the ‘clerk’ was not necessarily in orders, ‘not even in minor orders.’¹ The governing fact in our English Universities was that they had at their head not the bishop of the diocese, but their own chancellor. Cambridge took Oxford for its model in this matter, and in the fifteenth century became free from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ely. Under the reactionary reign of Mary, Cardinal Pole visited Cambridge chiefly to see that the students had taken the tonsure. Perne during that visitation we know shielded Whitgift, whose Protestant convictions already were too pronounced to permit him conscientiously to submit to the first step in the discipline of a cleric. With the Protestant Queen came liberty.

2. *The Relation of the Students to the University.* (a) *Gradual Establishment of Discipline.*—Speaking of the mediaeval scholar, Dr. Rashdall observes that his unrestricted liberty, ‘not to say his licence,’ was the most astonishing thing about him. For at their first foundation the Universities assumed no responsibility as to his conduct outside the lecture-room. Generally, he was a youth in years, little removed from the schoolboy stage, far away from the restraining influences of his native place, and weighted with an undue sense of his superiority to the ignorant and unlettered multitude. If this precocious young gentleman broke the laws of the city or violated the canons of the Church, he then, like his elders became subject to the penalties of civil or ecclesiastical law.

¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.* i. 411; Rait, *op. cit.* 47.

The rector or the learned lecturer of the University took no interest in him, once he left the classroom.

(b) *Student Combinations*.—It was inevitable that this state of things could not continue. Some restriction was necessary on his liberty to do evil. The University was bound to make an effort to range him under her control, and to bring his life under the subjection of some salutary rules. A serious obstacle appeared during the early stages of university history which made the establishment of discipline a slow process. Very soon the instinctive combination of the students against authority began to show itself. In the mass, swayed by tumultuary emotions the students became a formidable, and sometimes, an unreasoning, body. In one type of university, Bologna is an example, the students, strongly organised, were the very real rulers. The *universitas* in these instances was the self-governing guild of students. The process of imposing upon these unruly elements a reasonable moral code and regimen was naturally slow. But the effort was incessant and not without result.

(c) *Academical Penology*.—In the course of four centuries it advanced from no discipline at all, till in Penry's day the undergraduate was reduced to the status of the grammar-school boy, and was flogged for grave misbehaviour. During the intervening period, for serious misbehaviour penalties of varying degrees were inflicted, though what to-day impresses us in regard to them is their lightness. Two instances are given us. At Ingoldstadt the penalty for killing a fellow-student in a drunken brawl was the confiscation of the offender's scholastic apparatus; but no expulsion. At Prague the authorities mustered resolution to expel a M.A. who had assisted in cutting the throat of a friar. Generally, and according to our modern standard, punishment was lamentably inadequate to the heinousness of the offence. There is something callous in the regular tariff for crime which was drawn up. A Leipsic student lifted up a stone to throw at a Master and the schedule indicated his fine—two new groschen. His companion actually threw his stone, and, though his aim was defective, the table indicated a

payment of eight florins. Had he hit his mark the offence would have been regarded as serious; the details of the punishment are given in a later statute. Had there been wounding he would have been lucky to get off, at the price of eight florins. If he mutilated his victim, destroyed an eye, let us suppose, then expulsion was denounced against him.¹

(d) *Hostels, Halls, and Colleges.*—A step forward was taken in this gradual process of tightening the bonds of discipline, when the students were housed in community-buildings. When halls or hostels were put up for their accommodation, they were found to be convenient and economical. At first the inmates of the hostel drew up their house-rules, and governed themselves, electing one of their own number as 'principal' to see that the rules were observed. The struggle came when the authorities sought to appoint the principal. When this was achieved and a graduate of their own nomination kept the peace and saw to the locking up of the doors at night, some real control was gained over the conduct of the wayward and unruly fraternity.

The founding and endowing of Colleges, however, proved to be the vital factor in exercising an effective discipline over the students. The founding of a college was an act of charity. When monastic establishments were growing into disrepute, the pious benefactor found, as already noted, a more wholesome object for his charity in providing funds for the maintenance and education of poor students. This had many recommendations, besides gratifying the donor's benevolent instincts. Charity was a means of grace, it was an approved method of lightening and shortening the pains of purgatory. Moreover it was as patriotic as it was generous to educate a secular clergy, and to provide the country with physicians, lawyers, and with learned clerks capable of filling the responsible offices of the State. Naturally, rules had to be laid down to guarantee that the purposes of the donor were carried out, for there was a constant danger that the endowment would be misapplied. If a youth desired to be housed and fed

¹ Rashdall, *op. cit.* ii. 612, 614, 615.

and partly, if not wholly, gratuitously educated in one of these charitably endowed institutions, he must submit to the rules of the house, which usually were of a very comprehensive character. They commonly demanded spiritual services in memory of the benefactor (and his wife). Bishop Symon a benefactor of Peterhouse, reissued in 1344 the statutes of the College, and required all the beneficiaries, in gratitude for their temporal advantages, to bestow liberally 'offerings of masses, prayers, and other spiritual benefits' upon these almoners of God. Among them he included the Founder, and himself; he also piously added the names of his father and mother. Both the names and surnames of all the benefactors for their identity should be clear, were to be publicly recited, periodically, to keep them in grateful remembrance. The College Statutes however, and especially, in their later form, aim at covering the whole of the common life of the society at Peterhouse, and eventually the scholar, who in the earliest stage of his history had such unqualified and unquestioned freedom, found himself surrounded by the high walls of his college enclosure, whose great gates were inexorably closed at nightfall; and he had to step as delicately as Agag, if he meant to avoid violating one or the other of the many laws regulating his life and conduct for the four-and-twenty hours of each day.

(e) *Special Incitements to Disorder.*—The mediaeval undergraduate appears from the records to have been a distinctly quarrelsome young gentleman. Most of the academical communities had among their numbers, a proportion of dark-hued if not black sheep; but the unremitting discipline of the College, with the threat of expulsion in case of recalcitrancy, wrought inevitably a change in their demeanour. The University also, and especially the English university, as the general governing body, by slow stages realised its responsibility for the morals, as well as for the studies, of the Colleges associated with it. But two special sources of tumult remained to add to the anxieties of the authorities. In the early combinations of students, to secure to them an effective part in the government of their university, a natural grouping was

by nationalities, which acted harmoniously while fighting for a common end, but presently began to breed antipathies and rivalries towards each other. At Oxford and Cambridge there was continual friction between the nationals, who grouped themselves into two sections, the northern and the southern. A celebration by either section was regarded as an invitation to the rival group to intervene to moderate the overweening pride of the celebrants. Many statutes witness to the existence of the antagonism by providing against undue regional favouritism being shown by the proctors, or in the election to a fellowship. Anthony à Wood records the revival at Oxford of 'the old country quarrels' between Northern and Southern and Welsh scholars, which led to some bloodshed in 1587/8. He confesses that he does not know the merits of the quarrels, but is content to remark, 'I am verily persuaded that they arose from the troublesome Welsh,' who it may be observed, were at the time, in considerable numbers at Oxford.

Then, it must be kept in mind, that the students were living in the midst of a civilian population. 'Town and Gown' rows were inevitable, they have not yet vanished from the amenities of university life. The Town, proud of its ancient liberties, resented the extra municipal privileges of the collegians; and they on their parts heartily despised the unlearned burgesses. What was happening in the streets of Oxford we see clearly, as we read of a penalty of four shillings imposed for a violent shove with the shoulder, or a blow with the fist.¹ Peace demanded that the students should be forbidden the public houses of the town; that they should not be allowed to carry arms, and that noisy street-processions, celebrating College saints and founders, attended by masked dancers, should be rigorously banned.

3. *English Universities under the Tudors.* (a) *Deterioration.*—When Penry arrived at Cambridge, the two English Universities were recovering from a period of depression. The standard of educational efficiency began to decline before the death of King Henry, and notwithstanding an outward

¹ Rait, *op. cit.* 96.

appearance of increased numbers, continued under his son, the boy-king Edward. The downward movement in morals and in scholarship accelerated under Mary.

The Edwardian period was one of enlightened ideals, but of emasculated performances. The schoolboy-sovereign was frail of body, yet despite his youth, despite his diseased body, and we should add, despite his physicians, his Tudor blood asserted itself. Only the execution of his royal will had to be carried out through a series of intermediary agents, and the original impulse was lost in transmission.

(b) *Rich Men's Sons usurping Scholarships for the Poor.*—The benevolences of the aristocracy did not keep pace with their increased wealth, derived from the plunder of the religious houses. Even lands and tithes diverted from this source specifically to the cause of learning at Oxford or Cambridge, or to the maintenance of Grammar Schools, were not safe from the shameless depredations of Edward's Visitors. There was no satisfying their voracious maw. Hugh Latimer and Roger Ascham had courage openly to denounce this corruption. Thomas Leaver, a Puritan minister, and later Master of St. John's at Cambridge, spoke with some warmth at Paul's Cross, of this malversation of public funds by court favourites. As plunderers, he said, that 'one courtier was worse than fifty tun-bellied monks.' A particularly shameful form of corruption was the usurpation by the rich of the charitable provision made for the education of the poor, and *mediocri fortuna*. College fellowships, which were foundations of this character, the endowment of the poor scholars constituting the original college society, were openly enjoyed by the sons of men of wealth. 'There be none now but great men's sons in colleges' said old Father Latimer preaching before Edward. The court favourites were quite equal to closing a useful public school so that they might pocket the endowments.¹

(c) *Delusive Appearances of Prosperity.*—Rich men's sons living at the Universities on the patrimony of the poor swelled

¹ Mullinger, *The Univ. of Camb.* ii. 89, 90. Our indebtedness to Dr. Mullinger's work is beyond what can be indicated in our notes of reference.

the numbers on the rolls. It had become a passing fashion for these gilded striplings to attend the University for a year or two. But they were utterly unwilling to undergo the labours necessary to the attainment of scholarship, and commonly left in a few years, without attempting to graduate. The 'schools,' the halls in which tutors and professors delivered their lectures, were almost deserted. In the first year of Edward's reign Walter Haddon speaks of a lecturer addressing himself to one solitary student.¹ Under Mary Oxford, as was to be expected, received the greater attention. It was the more hopeful ground for the propagation of Catholic doctrine. Not until the advent of Elizabeth, however, do we become conscious of a quickening of the intellectual pulse of the two great homes of English scholarship. The Protestant Queen favoured Cambridge first by a royal visit; but both Universities had to conform to the new religious order now represented on the throne. The men who gathered around Elizabeth's council-table, lay and cleric, were lovers of sound learning, most of them scholars bred at Cambridge, which had a great tradition of advanced erudition descending from the Renaissance.

(d) *Religious Influences at Oxford and Cambridge.*—In Edward's time Cranmer had introduced into England several Continental scholars who became teachers at the Universities. Peter Martyr, called also Vermigli, to distinguish him from his distinguished namesake, Peter Martyr Anglerus, and Martin Bucer both taught the reformed theology. Martyr, the more advanced and outspoken, was curiously enough settled at Oxford. Bucer, a gentle soul, and a conciliatory theologian lectured at Cambridge, the reputed home of advanced and aggressive Protestantism. Under Elizabeth both Universities had strong chancellors, men definitely and vigorously Protestant, Leicester at Oxford and Burghley at Cambridge. Both Chancellors made it their concern to see that Romanism was no longer taught in the colleges, openly or secretly. Two years after Elizabeth came to the throne, Burghley threatened to retire from Cambridge because the

¹ Mullinger, *The Univ. of Camb.* ii. 94, 95.

Heads of the Colleges were not caring enough for discipline, and an 'encrease of learning and knowledge of God.' He was only appeased by the Convocation accepting his new and more stringent Injunctions, enforcing church attendance, diligence at lectures and disputations, and a stricter personal supervision of the conduct of the students. Pilkington, Master of St. John's, on leaving Cambridge for the see of Durham in 1561, told Cecil that few of the Heads did any good, and that the morals of his own College were low.¹

CHAPTER II

LIFE AT PETERHOUSE

1. *Penry's new Home and its Master.*—John Penry had entered the most ancient of the colleges of Cambridge. There was some little connection between Wales and Peterhouse. A famous Lord President of the Marches, Bishop Alcock, was a benefactor of the House. He was also, as bishop of Ely, its official Visitor, and in this capacity he revised its statutes, making a more generous allowance for commons for all degrees of men on the foundation.² Perhaps the friends of Penry attached more importance to the fact that Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, six years later, in 1586, to be elected Lord President, was a Peterhouse man. To him Penry dedicated his important *Exhortation vnto the Gouvernours . . . of Wales* (1588).

Peterhouse had prospered greatly under the Mastership of Dr. Andrew Perne, growing regularly under his competent administration, till in 1574/5, according to Dr. Caius' enumeration, it was eighth in the list of fourteen colleges, and by the year of Penry's entrance, was at the height of its prosperity, with 154 names on its roll, and probably fourth; that is,

¹ Mullinger, *The Univ. of Camb.* ii. 185.

² James Heywood, *Early Camb. Statutes*, p. 53.

immediately after the two greater colleges, Trinity and St. John's and also after Christ's, which had 157 names to its credit in 1575. It is quite possible that Perne's tolerance in regard to ecclesiastical and theological views, may have had some weight when the family council at Cefnbrith was deciding to which learned house John should apply for admission.

(a) *The Collegiate Buildings.*—The main outlines of the Peterhouse buildings had assumed their permanent aspect when Penry first saw them ; subsequent additions only carried out the original and natural scheme of a quadrangle enclosed by the necessary buildings for a resident community. Entering by the gate, then on the south side, the small court is before us ; beyond a dividing wall was the large court ; together they formed a long quadrangle. Roughly, the buildings on two-thirds of the south side of this open space were occupied on the ground floor by the hall, and above it, the master's room, combination room, and common rooms. The buttery, kitchen, and servants' quarters occupied the remainder of this side. The west and shorter side of the quad housed the library. The students' chambers occupied the whole of the north side. On the street front there extended a row of small houses separated from the quadrangle by a high wall. These have been swept away and the College buildings now reach the street. In the smaller court now stands the College Chapel. In Penry's day and for thirty years in the following century the community used the adjoining church, St. Mary's the Less, to the precincts of which the members had private access from their side. The church stands immediately to the north, with a public entrance from Trumpington Street. On the south side of the College lay the Master's Garden ; to which he had entrance from his own rooms by a stairway in the tower, which rose on the south side and abutted on the garden. On this side the college enclosure included the ground now occupied by the Fitzwilliam Museum, and in time of Elizabeth extended still further south along Trumpington Street. Voyle Court was purchased and let out on lease ; later it was known as New Gardens. The College

however retained the right to use this extension for recreation, the tenant covenanting to keep the walks 'fair and passable and well graviled.' The eastern boundary of the grounds was a high wall into which was built a tennis court; a small erection on the top of this wall, called the *spectaculum*, gave a view far over the fen-land. A branch of the river ran, or we should perhaps say, crept, alongside the wall.

(b) *Dr. Andrew Perne*.—It was a pleasant and interesting home into which young Penry entered, dignified by venerable associations, moderately strict in its discipline, without cloistral asceticism. The Master, Dr. Andrew Perne was certainly a very interesting person. He had already occupied his responsible post for more than a quarter of a century, greatly to the advantage of the community. In the November following Penry's arrival there would be some stir in the House when Dr. Perne was for the fifth time elected Vice-Chancellor of the university, a clear testimony to his university standing and to his undoubted capacity for affairs. As far back as 1546 he had been Proctor of the university. There was one feature in his career which, however, left him open to public criticism. In all the ecclesiastical changes which had passed over England from the days of Henry to those of his daughter Elizabeth, Perne's creed passed through a series of corresponding changes. Yet sometimes it was with reluctance that he discarded his old professions. Three months after Edward came to the throne he preached Catholic doctrine in a London pulpit, maintaining among other things that pictures of Christ and of the saints should be adored. But in a couple of months and in the same church of St. Andrew's Undershaft, in Aldgate, he recanted his opinions. He so far progressed in his Protestant views that he delivered an argument against transubstantiation before Edward's Commissioners, and was appointed a royal chaplain. He was elected Vice-Chancellor of his university first in 1551, and was appointed Master of Peterhouse in Mary's reign, in 1554. But his troubles were repeated under the Catholic rule of Mary. He without much delay discreetly conformed; how far his real convictions were involved we may gather from



Dr. ANDREW PERNE, Master of Peterhouse, 1554-1589

From an original Panel-painting in the possession of the College.

(Photo. the late H. A. Chapman, M.A., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)

his readiness to shield Whitgift, then a student at Peterhouse and meditating flight to the Continent, because of his Protestant views. Perne promised to 'winke at him'—it was, as already stated, during Cardinal Pole's inquisitorial visit to Cambridge—but urged upon him discretion in his speech.

It was Perne's ill-fortune to be selected, being Vice-Chancellor at the time, to preach the sermon when, in 1556 the bodies of the foreign reformers, Bucer and Fagius, were barbarously exhumed, tied to a stake, and then burnt; a posthumous martyrdom. In seeking some connection between the text of his discourse, 'Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity,' and the occasion, one wonders if the preacher were not indulging in some quiet but grim irony. The authorities cannot, however, have thought so, for Mary the following year, gave him the deanery of Ely. When Elizabeth came to the throne he readily accepted the reformed articles. The fires of Smithfield relieved men of many of the lesser difficulties in accepting the reformed faith. It stood in the nature of things that the creed which lit the faggots could not be Christian. But being Vice-Chancellor he presided in 1560 at a meeting of the Senate when a grace was unanimously passed to restore to Bucer and Fagius their honours, and at the public proceedings in connection with this act of justice to their memory Perne had to listen to strong denunciations of those concerned in the sacrilege of 1556.

These credal gyrations led the students to turn Perne's name into a Latin verb (*perno*=I turn) and to perpetrate other mild witticisms at his expense. All this notwithstanding, he seems to have been a genuine lover of sound learning, and greatly averse from all religious persecution. Men of standing and importance sent their sons to Peterhouse chiefly that they might be under his care, and Penry and his family were no doubt wisely advised when the selection of his college was determined upon.

Perne was not overlooked by the satirical writer of the Marprelate Tracts; the friend of Whitgift was too obvious a target. But for the most part he is treated to light raillery,

and is mixed up in mischievous fun with the sharp whipstrokes of the old gossip Dame Margaret Lawson. It was her complaint that Whitgift threatened her with Bridewell, simply because she offered to tell Perne how to get his name out of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, 'where the turn-coat is canonised for burning Bucer's bones.'¹ The typical Marprelate reference, however, to Perne is to call him Andrew Ambo and to commend him as a referee, because of his experience in viewing disputed statements from both sides. Perne was a man of some wit, and not the type of mind to take dogmatic utterances too seriously.

(c) *The Students' Mock Initiation*.—At the threshold of Penry's academical course he had to go through an experience of which a brief account must be given. Penry matriculated at the end of September, but an ancient tradition common to all European universities required that he should submit himself to a travesty of this procedure, under the direction of the students already in possession of the privileges of his college. He must 'pay his footing.' Under its grotesque forms it represents the resentment of those in possession against those invading their domain. So the apprentice on being 'free of his mystery' has to pay for a carousal of those who entered the guild before him. Dean Rashdall says the university celebrations gratified three ruling passions of the student; love of social excitement, for which there were few opportunities to those shut up within the high walls of the college; love of bullying a novice; and the love of a carousal, especially at another's expense. These farcical proceedings attained ample dimensions in many of the German universities, marked often by odious details and a degree of coarse cruelty that went far beyond what a young fellow would endure good-naturedly, as part of the rowdy fun proper to such an occasion. The college freshman, the Bejanus—bec-jaune, yellow-bill, fledgling—had to be fitted into the life and decorum of the superior community into which he had the temerity to enter; a mock priest had to shrive him from enormous transgressions, and a bogus physician to cure him

¹ Pierce, *Marp. Tracts*, 'Epistle,' p. 31.

of fearful physical defects, to be followed by a Teutonic carousal for which the victim had to pay. So powerfully established were these customs that the authorities found it more expedient to regulate them, than to try to abolish them outright. In the English universities some mitigated form of the mock initiation no doubt existed. We have a contemporary account of what took place in the seventeenth century. The sum of the matter is that the shy freshman was called upon to make a speech, 'some pretty apotheme, or make a jest or bull, or speake some eloquent nonsense to make the company laugh.' The happier practitioners received some 'cawdell' prepared to grace the occasion; but the clumsy and the dead failures had perforce to drink a draught of caudle or college beer strongly dosed with salt.¹ At a guess, confronted with such an ordeal, one would say that Penry's mother-wit and ready tongue would carry him through successfully. And having drunk his jorum with more or less salt added, according to the humour of the gay company, he is now free to pursue his studies for 'determination' as bachelor in the faculty of arts.

2. *The Peterhouse Community*.—When the gates of Peterhouse closed upon Penry, he found himself one of a little commonwealth of scholars. During his undergraduate life his intercourse with the outside world was strictly limited. The modern undergraduate passing in and out of the College premises during the hours of the day, unless for some misdemeanour he is 'gated,' represents an entirely different social order of university life. Peterhouse was Penry's home, not a temporary residence during certain weeks of the year. His Welsh home being so far away, and winter travel so difficult, he had no vacation at Easter or Christmas. Students from distant homes would even remain at Peterhouse during the long vacation. And at any time they could only leave the college precincts for specified objects and under prescribed conditions. The college determined or supervised the whole round of their lives.

(a) *Not a Monkish Community*.—Even before the Reforma-

¹ Rait, *op. cit.* chap. vi. pp. 109 *et seq.*

tion the Peterhouse fraternity were not monks. Their status was determined by their pious founder Hugo de Balsham, who took for his example Merton Hall at Oxford. References to the rules drawn up by Walter de Merton for his pioneer foundation at Oxford are not infrequent in the old Peterhouse Statutes. The object of these pious founders was to train a secular clergy; to found, the one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge, a house of learning capable of supplying the country with enlightened and competent statesmen and administrators. The members lived a community life under the constitutional rule of the Master, and shared with him the responsibilities of government. The paying undergraduate lodger, the pensioner, did not appear upon the scene for long years, and only grew to considerable numbers in Tudor times; they increased most rapidly during the reign of Elizabeth, when the Buttery Books, says Dr. T. A. Walker, contain, besides entries for the master, fellows, bible-clerks, and poor scholars, the names of scores of pensioners.¹ The year following Penry's admission, a special statute was passed to protect the College from becoming responsible for their bad debts. His tutor became responsible for the pensioner's liabilities, a regulation which tended to control the numbers of 'paying lodgers.' For unless the Master, or a Fellow, agreed to act as his tutor or guardian, the applicant scholar could not enter the House as pensioner; could not, that is, help to swamp the accommodation intended originally as a charity for such as could not pay.²

(b) *A Close Corporation of Scholars.*—The members of Peterhouse in 1580 still formed a close, learned corporation, as conceived by Bishop Hugo three centuries earlier, and their constitution was reaffirmed in the Statutes of 1344. They were a little republic of letters, living in learned industry upon the endowments of the foundation. Members of this fellowship were selected from the students living in the House. These were first received as poor scholars and became eligible for election as 'perpetual scholars' on graduating as bachelors in arts. They served a year as probationers, covenanting,

¹ Walker, *Peterhouse*, 56, 69.

² *Ibid.* 70.

on entering upon that status, to obey the Master, and, generally, to be well-behaved and diligent students. In regard to their financial position they particularly declared that they held no parochial benefice, or any other source of income of the annual value of one hundred shillings.¹ It was never the intention that the members of the College should be ascetics and live on hard fare; but strict economy was a necessity in the early days, and it was only gradually that the establishment was able to maintain its full complement of fellows. But by 1516 the endowments of a succession of pious benefactors had so accumulated that the Visitor found that the community were faring sumptuously every day, and that the collegiate life and discipline were suffering in consequence. He therefore restricted their allowances: Fellows to receive fourteen pence weekly, a sufficient sum to enable them to live in community in comfort. Things reached a more generous level when Matthew Parker made his report in 1545. The Master was then receiving forty shillings per annum, with an additional £7, 3s. 4d. for commons and livery; each Fellow £5, 3s. 4d., and Bible-clerks 43s. 11d.

3. *The College Residents in Penry's Time.*—The Society when Penry became an inmate of Peterhouse consisted first of the Master, who was chosen not because of his exceptional scholarship, but because of his business abilities. Dr. Perne had special aptitude for affairs, but so absorbing were his administrative duties that he was exempt from teaching and lecturing and from attending disputations. Special rooms were assigned him, and he was allowed a manservant, and a horse and its keep. As a business man Dr. Perne notably fulfilled the demands of his office. He had moreover a fund of humour which helped him in the management of men. He was, besides, a lover of books, his own library being pronounced one of the finest of the time. To the College he bequeathed a valuable collection of printed books and

¹ Additional Statutes. Heywood, *Early Camb. Statutes*, 1855, p. 49. Relaxed on the accession of Elizabeth so that Senior Fellows could hold livings within 20 miles of not more than £20 annual value. Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 72.

manuscripts, and provided for the building of the present library.

In 1564 when the College was honoured by a visit from the Queen, there were in residence besides the Master, 10 Fellows, [14 in 1545], 17 Fellow Commoners, 2 Bible-clerks, 24 Pensioners, and 7 poor scholars. The number in 1581, the hey-day of the prosperity of the institution, drawing commons was 154; the increase on the earlier record came no doubt from the accessions of paying students, pensioners, and fellow-commoners. The fellow-commoner, in virtue of enhanced fees, dined with the fellows at the upper table and had access to the fellows' parlour. He paid, according to the Old Statutes, twenty-shillings entrance money, his weekly share of the cost of meat and drink, and fourpence for fire, spices and salt. The fire, to the cost of which he contributed, was probably the winter-fire kindled in the parlour or common-room. The regular college-servants were the Master's servant, the butler—the first man in Peterhouse whose acquaintance Penry made, for he was also the janitor,—the chief cook and under cook, a barber, and a laundress who lived in the town.

4. *Penry's Quarters*.—We should know more of the influences which went to form Penry's mind, did we know the name of the tutor assigned him by Dr. Perne. Under his direction Penry would select his bedroom. At Peterhouse two or three students occupied the same room. To keep them in good behaviour the younger students were quartered with seniors. A poor student, or sizar, who also acted as a servant to one of the senior fellows, generally slept in a trundle-bed. A character in *The Return from Parnassus* (Act ii. sc. 6) refers to the time when he 'was in Cambridge, and lay in a trundle-bed under my tutor.' Penry, as the price he paid indicated, chose one of the better rooms; it probably accommodated one other student. Apparently the beds were fixed against the wall, one above the other, like berths in a ship's cabin. And here again, so far from being in narrow circumstances, Penry paid an extra 6s. 8d. '*pro inferiori*,' which Dr. Walker, in a personal communication, interprets as 'the lower bed.' That is, in the equivalent of our time, he could afford to pay two

or three guineas for the better position. The cost of his rooms as entered in the College books is twenty shillings for the academical year. He also paid two shillings for his pensioner's admission fee, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1580.¹

5. *Daily Routine.*—Penry's first business on entering his college was to learn the rules and the routine of his new home. He would find that the Bursar's was a very busy and important department of the house. It was a kind of general store. The bursar was indeed a considerable trader. He received rents due to the College, paid in kind, and drove 'a brisk trade in rabbits, pigeons, and sucking-pigs, in wood, malt and corn.' The rabbits were snared in the Grove, or in the adjoining field.² His store supplied part of the daily needs of the college.

(a) *Meals.*—The ideal set before the members of the Peterhouse society was one of plain living and high thinking. The needs of the inner man were thought to be sufficiently provided for by two good meals per day, dinner and supper. In Penry's day work began about seven o'clock in the morning, and dinner was at noon. Early in the history of the universities, the day began at five in the morning, and later at six; the dinner hour corresponded, in the earlier days being at ten, and in the century before Penry, at eleven o'clock. The jentaculum or early breakfast, at first quite exceptional, was gradually becoming more general, though still in 1580 regarded as an extra. It consisted apparently of a piece of bread and a mug of beer. The midday meal was a substantial affair.³ In the early days of Peterhouse a reader was appointed, to read at the table from the Bible or other 'authentic writing' to be selected by the Dean with the advice of a theologian, should there be one in residence. It looks like a thrifty utilising of all opportunities for the impartation of useful and edifying knowledge; but probably like the in-

¹ The information about Penry's rooms, the dates of his arrival and departure, notes on his contemporaries, have been supplied by the kindness of Dr. T. A. Walker, Fellow, Tutor, Bursar, and Librarian of Peterhouse.

² Walker, *Peterhouse*, 48.

³ Rashdall, *Universities*, ii. 653.

junction that all conversation within the College should be in Latin (except at special social festivals), it had in view the suppression of gossip and small talk. Each student brought with him his own knife—a small knife for use at meals, as Dr. Caius calls it—the only weapon he was allowed to carry. This small weapon was, however, sometimes used in student quarrels or in town and gown tumults, with deplorable results.¹

When dinner was at ten in the forenoon, the second meal was at six in the evening. When dinner was taken at noon, the supper was presumably at a correspondingly late hour; in the eighteenth century it was at eight o'clock. Under Dr. Caius that was the hour at which students went to bed. The character of the supper we may judge from the fact that its money value in the allowance of a fellow was one-half the money allowance for dinner. But there was a considerate provision for the needs which remained unsatisfied by the two regular meals, and the early semi-official jentaculum. The Statutes of 1516 provide for a 'Biberium' at the third and seventh hour after noon. Immediately the bell rang each Senior Fellow's servant could get from the buttery one pint of drink (he must bring his own cup) and one-eighth of a halfpenny loaf, to be taken to his master's room. All Fellows studying divinity were also served in their own room; they too were to provide their own drinking cups. The rest of the House had their biberium in the Hall. They were served as they were seated on the outward bench, 'first with bread and then with drink; twice if required.' But the laws of the house strictly forbid them to loiter in the Hall, after biberium is consumed.²

(b) *Vestments*.—We must almost certainly attire Penry in an academic gown—black, and of a simple cut, by prescription; though the undergraduate of history had to start with no distinctive attire. Regulations concerning dress relate, in the early period, almost exclusively to the distinguishing vestments of the various classes of graduates. Penry's hat, of the

¹ Venn, *The Early Collegiate Life*, 115.

² Walker, *Peterhouse*, 65; 'Old Peterhouse Stat.,' in Heywood, *Early Camb. Stat.* p. 60.

academic pattern, must also be black. His hair must not be worn long, or curled, 'but that he be polled, notted or rounded after the accustomed manner of the gravest scholars of the Universitie.' And generally there is a veto pronounced on all the frivolities of the fashionable dress of the period, and a restriction in colour to 'blacke or sad-colour neere unto blacke,' or 'London russet.' It was part of the difficulty of the authorities in maintaining a modest style of dress, that the Proctors set the students so bad an example, both in this respect and in yielding due obedience to the higher ruling powers. The two Proctors and several of their rebellious adherents were accused in 1572 of wearing garments which, if they were as outlandish as the names describing them, must have been scandalous indeed; for the list includes 'greate Galligaskens and Barreld hoese stuffed with horse Tayles, with Skabilonions and knitt nether-stockes to[o] fine for schollers.'¹ The trouble continued long. In 1578 Burghley and the University authorities issued a decree against extravagance in dress, and in 1585 fresh regulations were issued, as the fault was on the increase.

(c) *Recreations*.—A goodly number of the young men drawn to the Universities came from homes where field sports filled a large space in the programme of life. This is reflected in the rules of the Colleges, which prohibited students from keeping dogs or falcons in their rooms; the statute justly observing that 'if one can have them in the House, all will want them, and so there will arise a constant howling,' making study impossible. From the King's College Statutes, Dr. Rait gives a remarkable list of animals not allowed within the College. It includes monkeys, bears, wolves and stags; the article also adds that nets for hunting and fishing were not allowed as furnishing for rooms.²

At first among Penry's recreations would be to see the town. He actually left the College premises to attend Chapel. The Peterhouse men attended Little St. Mary's which was next door. To see the town he would be accompanied by a fellow-student; perchance by William Brewster, the Elder of

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 306.

² Rait, *Life in Med. Univ.* 63, 64.

the Church of the New England Pilgrims; they would be kindred spirits. There were other colleges, halls, and university buildings to be visited. The stately collegiate buildings of Oxford and Cambridge, and of Cambridge especially, were the admiration of visiting scholars from the Continent. Dr. Mullinger quotes aptly from the University sermon of Peter Baro (1588), a Peterhouse man, describing them as 'so sumptuous and stately buildings, enriched . . . with such ample revenues' that 'there are scarce any in all Europe to be compared with (them).'¹ On market-days country-bred youths would be interested in all they saw, especially to see butter sold in measured lengths, convenient to be cut in the College butteries into 'sizes,' squared slices.

Walking was the principal recreation allowed to Penry, and as it was summer-time when he arrived, there was every inducement to ramble over the surrounding district. Most games were under a ban; football appears to have been an exception, grudgingly allowed, it being a 'hurtfull and un-scholerlike exercise'; therefore it must be played within the grounds of the colleges, each college playing separately. No match was allowed; the element of rivalry between the houses represented would have made the contest too fierce. The authorities preferred country-walks to strolling about the town as a suitable exercise for students, and they particularly prohibit them from loitering about the Cambridge Market Hall, or sitting upon the stalls, or entering any tavern or victualling house, 'especially upon Fryday or other fasting nights,' without a Tutor's permission. They are also warned not to 'use or resort to Bull-bayting, Bear-bayting, Common bowling-places, Nine hoals or such like unlawfull games.'² Walks outside the town were not free from danger. 'Light and decaied persons' had in recent years been 'showing hurtfull pernicious and dishonest games' in the neighbourhood of the University and especially at Gog Magog Hills.³ Great Chesterton was in disrepute because of the exhibitions of

¹ Mullinger, *Univ. of Camb.*, 1884, ii. 374 n.

² Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 32.

³ *Hist. Reg. of the Univ. of Camb.*, 1911, p. 200.

bull-baiting and bear-baiting arranged there with a view of alluring young men from the University. A case which attracted some attention occurred in the spring after Penry's arrival at Cambridge. It happened on Sunday, which added to the offence; worse still, during church-time. The officers of the University hearing that on this day a bear was to be baited, appeared on the spot to put an end to the proceedings. The crowd that had gathered got incensed at the interference and mischievously hustled the Bedell, pushing him on to the bear. Eventually the ringleaders were arrested and sent to the Gatehouse at Westminster, where they remained for three weeks, when their humble submission obtained their discharge.¹

One prohibition of the time has given rise to much surprise. It was decreed in 1571, Dr. Whitgift being Vice-Chancellor, that if any scholar should go into any river or pool to wash or swim, by day or night, he should, if under the degree of bachelor, be sharply and severely whipped in the College Hall, before the assembled members; and the day following, whipped openly by the Proctor, in the school which he attended. A second offence was followed by expulsion. There may have been some slight excuse for caution owing to one or two cases of drowning which had occurred; but the regulation as it stands, fairly deserves Dr. Peacock's stricture, that 'it was a decree of savage and indecent severity.'²

(d) *Theatrical Entertainments*.—The visits of strolling-players caused some embarrassment to the authorities both of the town and the University, especially when the visitors were under the patronage of some distinguished nobleman. It was their custom when touring the country to give their performances sometimes in churches, when one of their more serious dramas was staged, let us hope, or in an inn-yard, or, if it were raining, in a barn.³ The local authorities contributed to the players' expenses. The audience also paid for their

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 383.

² *Ibid.* 277.

³ The old Peterhouse Stat. prohibit wasting time listening to 'jogeleurs and actors,' or being present at theatrical spectacles or games in churches, theatres, etc., 'unless perhaps it should be for a short time for the sake of recreation.' Heywood, *Early Camb. Stat.* (41), p. 34.

places ; there were penny benches, but the tendency of the prices was to rise, and by the next reign they had risen to twopence, threepence or even sixpence. For various reasons, however, the town authorities would often prefer not to have any performance by the players. The Mayor of Leicester, in 1586, gave the players, eleven in number, a dinner to induce them to travel on without playing in the town.¹ The very week after Penry's settlement at Peterhouse a company of players came to Cambridge wearing Lord Oxford's badge, and carrying letters of commendation from Burghley and others. But the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of the colleges were averse from the proposal, so the actors were fobbed off with a present of twenty shillings towards their expenses, although they protested they had several plays 'already practised by them before the Queen.' Writing apologetically to Burghley, the Vice-Chancellor urged the fact of the hot weather and that the pestilence had not yet vanished from among them ; that it was Midsummer Fair time with its crowds of visitors, 'a confluence out of all countries,' some from countries affected by the plague ; moreover, and here we have the real reason of the refusal, 'the Commencement time [is] at hand, which requireth rather diligence in study than dissoluteness in plays.'²

6. *The great Sturbridge Fair.*—The Midsummer Fair was held at Barnwell on the east side of the town. But the great fair of the year, a fair of European reputation, was held in the same parish but further afield at the suburban village of Sturbridge, two miles from the market-place at Cambridge. It occupied a two-acre cornfield, and on the advent of St. Bartholomew's day the builders of the wooden booths entitled by custom began their work, and rapidly erected a small temporary market-town. On the 7th September the Mayor of Cambridge accompanied by the municipal dignitaries and notables rode out to Sturbridge, followed by a noisy troop of youths on horseback, to open the Fair by public proclamation. On the same day the high representatives of the University proclaimed the Fair by a public 'cry': such was the rivalry

¹ G. Roberts, *Social Hist.* pp. 36-39.

² Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 379.

between the Town and the University in regard to jurisdiction over its conduct and administration. The University, in the name of the King and of its Chancellor, forbade all scholars and scholars' servants visiting the Fair, to carry arms, all visitors were also commanded to leave their weapons at the inns where they lodged. Regulations were issued touching weights and measures and the manner of selling a large number of wares. Three weeks later, on Michaelmas Day, the ploughmen were authorised to begin their work and to prepare the field once more for cultivation.

The booths were erected after a regular town-plan, with named streets. In the centre, the square, was the Duddery, where cloth merchants and tailors did their business, by wholesale and retail; and in various parts of the wooden town 'most trades that can be found in London' were represented. Students would note Booksellers' Row, where books were sold, free from the ordinary trading restrictions. A very considerable amount of trade was done. It is said that in woollen goods alone a week's sales amounted to one hundred thousand pounds. The Fair was regularly policed, and had a pye-powder (pied poudre=dusty foot) court of summary jurisdiction. On Sundays a service was held in the central square by the rector of Barnwell, and was liberally supported by the offerings of the stall-holders. The last of the three weeks of the Fair was given up to entertainments and pleasure. It is certain that besides strangers from all parts of England, and from abroad, few inhabitants of Cambridge, and few members of the University failed to visit the Fair. It is noted that in the year 1580 the Puritans held at Sturbridge, a private synod, secure from observation amongst the great and variegated crowd. But it is too early to assume that John Penry was interested in the doings of the synod. If he and his classmate Brewster attended the Fair, and on that point we harbour no doubt, for absence not attendance would be a singularity, they would find greater attractions in the pleasure-week entertainments, when 'the country gentry and their sons and daughters for ten or twelve miles round' came to buy fairings, and to see the puppet-shows, the rope-dancers,

the drolls, and the living creatures, marvellous to behold, brought from outlandish parts.¹

The Fair was over on September 29, and it is to be noted that on that day, mindful of the injunction not to delay the duty, Penry matriculated, entering his name in the Registry of the University, and taking the oath of obedience.² He is now formally launched on his career of study and looks forward after some four years of preparatory work to be allowed to 'determine' as Bachelor of Arts.

7. *Some of Penry's College Contemporaries.*—Quite a number of interesting men were to be found at this time at Peterhouse. There are illustrious periods in the history of schools and houses of learning, when scholars of exceptional promise, distinguished personalities, in unusual numbers are found on their rolls. It was John Penry's fortune to arrive at Peterhouse at such a time in its history. Apart from the Master, there was among the Fellows, the distinguished classic Charles Horne; also Stephen Egerton, a divine of strong Puritan inclinations, and highly reputed as a scholar. Egerton was one of the clergy appointed officially to visit Barrowe and Greenwood in prison, and was later himself a prisoner for refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles. Another noteworthy Fellow was the son of Archbishop Sandys, later to be known as Sir Miles Sandys; first a knight, then a baronet. He completed his secular greatness by representing his university in Parliament. After the manner of Elizabeth's bishops, his eminent father considered him qualified to hold a prebend in York cathedral. All sorts gathered at Peterhouse under the tolerant rule of Dr. Perne. Sitting at the upper table in Penry's time were young men bearing well-known names: Sir John Heydon, presumably the younger brother of Sir Christopher, the astrologer, and if so, a very stout young gentleman, who gained his knighthood with Essex's forces in Ireland, and lost a hand in duel, a gruesome

¹ For Sturbridge Fair, see E. Carter, *Hist. of Cambridgeshire*, 1753, pp. 20 ff.; J. Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, 1781, ii. 11; Cooper, *Ann. of Camb.* (*vid. Index*); J. E. B. Mayor, *Camb. under Q. Anne*, 1911, pp. 239-251.

² J. and J. A. Venn, *Univ. of Camb. Matriculations and Degrees*, 1913.

relic preserved in Canterbury Museum¹; Sir Edward Clere, notorious as a spendthrift; Yelverton, Hutton and Conyers, members of well-known families. More interesting is the fact that within a few weeks of Penry's arrival William Brewster entered Peterhouse. He seems to have left Cambridge without taking a degree. He entered the service of Davidson, one of Elizabeth's secretaries. Later he filled the valuable office of Postmaster at the village of Scrooby, a station on the great north road. At his residence the Manor House a Separatist Church was gathered of which he became an elder. He migrated to Holland with his community, and at the close of their stay in that country, he negotiated through Sir Miles Sandys, a former colleague in Davidson's service, a grant of land in Virginia, then a region of vague and uncertain extent. Elder Brewster was a leader among the company that crossed in the *Mayflower* and founded the Pilgrim Colony of New Plymouth.

Preceding Penry by a month was Fynes Moryson, whose name has already appeared in these pages, also his cousin Thomas Moyre.² Moryson became a Fellow in 1586, and was one of those lucky men who got from his college every benefit it could bestow. He left for Oxford as a beneficiary of the house, and at its expense indulged his tastes for foreign travel for several years. Then on the strength of his fellowship he travelled about in Great Britain and Ireland, and when he resigned accepted a solatium of £40, representing two years' allowance.

All shades of opinion were found at Peterhouse, ranging 'from Roman Catholic martyrs like Henry Walpole to the furthest extreme of Puritanism.' Robert Sayer, whose notorious papistical opinions prevented his being allowed to graduate from Caius College, which was then itself under suspicion as a source of Romish influence, found a refuge at Peterhouse. Another migrant from Caius, who graduated from Peterhouse in the year of Penry's entrance, a Londoner who held a Paulian

¹ *D.N.B. sub nom.*

² Walker, *Peterhouse*, 94. See *D.N.B.* under Moryson for reference to Moyre.

fellowship and was a protégé of Don Nowell's, may be set down confidently as an evangelical. This was Thomas Mudd, the composer of church music. Like other clever undergraduates he first courted fame by writing comedies spiced with contemporary allusions. There was a fine stir in the House one morning in February 1582, when, under a warrant from the Vice-Chancellor, Tom Mudd was marched off to the Tolbooth. In a comedy written by him he had reflected too freely upon the Mayor of Cambridge. After three days in limbo he asked his worship's pardon and was freely forgiven. A poet, and no less a physician and a musician, Thomas Campion, whose scholastic course has hitherto been unknown, was one of Penry's fellow-students at Peterhouse. There were also in the House two future lawyers. Sir Henry Fanshawe, who succeeded his father as Remembrancer of the Exchequer, was one. In the College discussions he was probably a stout anti-Romanist; so we should gather from his last will and testament, in which some space is occupied by a statement of his undeviating Protestant faith. The fact that the son was Penry's contemporary gives a special interest to the inquiry at which the father presided, when Penry was a prisoner in the Poultry Compter. It may have affected the course of the examination. The other lawyer was Sir Charles Clibborn who in due course became a serjeant-at-law. And others of the Peterhouse society became notable figures in the stirring mid-Elizabethan period. Altogether they were a thoroughly interesting company, exhibiting the greatest variety of intellectual tastes and social types, and the widest divergence of religious opinions. And presiding over all, keeping good rule and order, and good humour, was the 'Old Turner,' Dr. Andrew Perne, a shrewd manager of men, quick to appreciate all learning, and all good books, but who regarded ecclesiastical differences as more or less vain things, of no more than secondary consequence. His own career cast ridicule upon such distinctions. Certainly in 1580 Peterhouse was a lively home for a studious youth, full of stimulus for his mind, a whetstone on which to sharpen his wit.

CHAPTER III

THE ACADEMIC CURRICULUM

It is now our duty to inquire into the course of study prescribed at the University. What subjects did it embrace? How were these subjects taught? At what stage in its development was English scholarship in the year 1580?

1. *The Intellectual Situation.*—Our inquiry will soon reveal to us that Penry arrived at the university at a very interesting juncture in the history of European culture.

(a) *The New Birth of the European Mind.*—During these years the old world, the world of the Schoolmen, was passing, and the Modern World was, in comparative quietness, taking its place. The energies of the Renaissance were at work throughout Western Europe.

That was a marvellous epoch which dates from the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth. Its full impact was not indeed felt until the dawn of the seventeenth. In its earliest stages it was mightily furthered by the disaster which befel Constantinople. In 1453 Mohammed II. stormed the city, and as he victoriously entered from the east, the scholars and artists, the inheritors of the art and literature and philosophy of classical Greece and Rome, who had so long found a home in Byzantium, escaped to the west, dispersing their culture far and wide over Europe. The seeds of the New Learning found a fruitful soil in Italy. But it soon spread northwards and westwards; in fifty years Grocyn was teaching Greek at Oxford. The Renaissance, however, was but one of a series of great events extending in bewildering succession across the next century, making up in their sum a contribution to the forces of progress, so momentous, so rich, so varied, so far-reaching, that its parallel is not to be found in all the centuries since the appearance of Christ on earth. Three years later than the sack of Constantinople, the complete Latin Bible was

printed by Guthenberg from movable types. The great century had betimes secured to itself the means for the ample and universal distribution of cheap literature. The sibylline leaves of wisdom and knowledge were blown broadcast over Europe. In 1477 William Caxton had set up his press at Westminster. Fifteen years later Columbus startled the world by the discovery of America, and gave a marvellous stimulus to human enterprise. The revival of the study of classics soon affected the public schools. Early in the sixteenth century John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, a man of broad evangelical spirit, founded his new school at St. Paul's in London. It was a new school in many respects; new in spirit, a classical school for the education of the sons of citizens of London, with William Lilly, a layman and married, for its high master. Five years later Martin Luther published his Theses at Wittenberg. In 1529 the Second Diet of Speier published its Protest; a protest it is sometimes forgotten, against the revocation of the modicum of religious liberty agreed upon at the First Diet. The forces of the Reformation were set free. The presentation of the systematised theology of Protestantism, which was chiefly to influence northern Europe and Britain, did not long tarry. In 1536 a young lawyer-theologian of genius, John Calvin, at the age of twenty-seven, published in Latin his *Institutes of Christian Theology*, which rapidly became the standard of reference for the Protestant communities of Switzerland, France, and Great Britain, and profoundly affected the theological thought of all the Reformed Churches. Before the close of this wonderful century of progress, Nicolas Copernicus, in 1543 published his astronomical theories concerning the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. When the theory implicit in his working hypothesis was fully demonstrated and accepted through the subsequent labours of other men, it radically influenced the outlook of the theologians. It unveiled a new universe of unthinkable grandeur and majesty. Christian doctrine demanded a new orientation. The conception of God flowed out into new dimensions and was touched by a new awe.

(b) *The Correlation of Knowledge.*—The new astronomy illustrates an aspect of European progress in the age of Permy which should be made clear. It was only slowly that the new discoveries and the new principles touched and tempered the whole round of human thought, and that each of the sciences was brought into correspondence with the general advance of knowledge. The new astronomy serves to illustrate this point. It was left by Copernicus in the hypothetical stage. If the theory of the revolution of the earth around the sun were true, he found it would solve many of the mathematical problems presented by astronomical observation. Copernicus had not himself the knowledge requisite to establish his theory. He created a new set of physical problems, the solution of which lay beyond his understanding. It needed the later discoveries of Galileo and Kepler, and the crowning discoveries of Newton to establish the modern theory of the heavens.¹ Other sciences made discoveries, without co-ordinating at once the new truth with the old corpus of knowledge. In the Reformed Church, as must be pointed out more particularly later on, the age-long conceptions of the economy of the Christian society, its ministry, the ceremonies attending ministerial appointment and ordination, its sacraments also, only slowly were leavened by the newer and simpler and more Biblical ideas, which the Church formally accepted. Three centuries and a half have passed since Elizabeth established her Reformed Protestant Church in England, and we are still in the turmoil of the endeavour to make consistent its theology and its polity with the fundamental principles of Christianity as disclosed in the New Testament. They were all, theology, sacrament, and economy, implicit in Luther's Justification by Faith, that is, Salvation without a priest. So great is the hold of the past upon us; never greater than when it includes an appeal to the common weaknesses of our nature, the love of power, the ostentation of office, and the eagerness to find ceremonial refuges from spiritual deficiencies and difficulties.

In scholarship it was nothing short of marvellous, how,

¹ Bacon's *Nov. Org.* by T. Fowler, 1889, Intro. § 6.

despite all renaissances and reformations, despite all the intellectual labour of all the universities, the old courses of study, and the old text-books, and manuals, survived to Penry's day, and indeed, long afterwards. In philosophy—metaphysics, logic, and ethics—Aristotle held full sway. For over a thousand years the Latin Grammar of Donatus was the authoritative manual, and was the subject of university lectures in 1580. Strabo and Pliny, who lived in the first century, were still the teachers of Geography, and, the writings of Copernicus notwithstanding, students still read the works of Ptolemy, and found in the speculations of Plato, their physical theories.

2. *The Subjects of Study*.—From what has been said, though Penry lived in a time of great change, a reader fresh to these inquiries would expect to find a strong mediaeval cast in the programme of studies set before Penry at Cambridge. The curriculum in 1580 did in fact retain most of the primitive features of academic training.

(a) *The Seven Liberal Arts*.—Under this heading the Schoolmen summarised urbane learning. In the university plan of tuition the seven were divided between the Trivium, which comprised Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic (Logic), and the Quadrivium, comprising Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. These two courses answered respectively to the subjects allotted to the bachelor's and master's degrees in arts, the Trivium being by far the more important of the two.¹ Dr. Andrew Clark has explained clearly the ruling idea in the progression of studies. 'The student in Grammar learned to use language, the common instrument of thought; in Logic he learned to think correctly; and in Rhetoric he learned to convey his thoughts persuasively to others. After this formal instruction he passed on to Mathematics, in which he exercised his capacity for abstract reasoning; Natural Philosophy in which he studied the laws of nature; Moral Philosophy in which he studied the laws of human nature and society, and Metaphysics in which he studied the laws of being.'²

¹ Rait, *Life in the Med. Univ.* 137.

² *Reg. Univ. of Oxford*, vol. ii. Part II. p. 225.

Penry during his undergraduate course studied rhetoric and logic. Arithmetic also, as distinct from the more extensive and advanced science of Mathematics, which was omitted from the bachelor's course by the Elizabethan statutes of 1570. Rhetoric took its place. Mathematics, Dr. Mullinger tells us, was relegated to the more practical callings in life, not being regarded as quite in its proper place as a branch of the higher learning. It was admittedly useful to merchants, seamen, carpenters, also to almanac makers, and to others requiring to find when Easter fell in a particular year. It is to be observed that the sciences involving number still retained traces of superstition. Astronomy was not wholly free from astrology; even Bacon, while disavowing much of the claim of astrology, thinks that the study of the stars may enable us to predict not only natural calamities, but even wars, seditions, and revolutions. Jerome Cardan's *Arithmetic*, a manual of repute at this time, includes a chapter on Mystic Numbers, alleged to be useful in foretelling.¹ Greek we know to be one of Penry's studies. He quotes in that language, and refers to Greek authors in his later writings. His competence in Latin would grow continually, as he practised Latin conversation, wrote theses and disputed them in the Latin tongue, and constantly attended Latin lectures on university subjects.

(b) *Lectures, Ordinary and Cursory*.—Tuition was given by Lectures, and it was an ancient dispute whether they should be Ordinary or Cursory, to meet with official recognition. The authorities demanded the 'ordinary' lecture, whenever they could. This was delivered generally with sufficient deliberation to enable the student to take notes, which his tutor could overlook. It was also accompanied by a rigorous interrogation on the subject-matter of the discourse, to test the students' knowledge. When a Latin author was read, questions were asked in grammar; a student would be called upon to construe and parse. The second form of lecture was the 'cursory,' much loved by the students. Cursory lectures were usually given by bachelors, and were

¹ Mull. *Camb. Univ.* ii. 402 n.²; Bacon, *Nov. Org.* (Fowler), 1889, p. 26.

an extra-collegiate assistance, a species of coaching. Most of the tutorial work, in the arts course at least, was done by the younger men; masters of arts on graduating were required to remain at the University for some years, and as Regents to attend to the routine business of the session and to lecture in the schools.

(c) *Disputations*.—But beyond all else, the chief studies to which Penry devoted himself were Logic, Rhetoric, and Philosophy; and his chief intellectual exercise consisted in taking part in disputation. Every study seemed subordinated to the one aim of becoming competent and dexterous in defending or opposing a given thesis. How deeply saturated Penry was by his experiences in disputation, can be seen in his writings. The *impugno* and *propugno* of the intellectual gymnastic furnish us with verbal tests to help us to assign to him certain anonymous writings. The greater part of his intellectual output at Cambridge was controversial, nor did he live long enough to disengage himself from the technicality of the schools. Up to the last his arguments are continually presented to us in syllogistic form; he is persistently ‘oppugning’ or ‘impugning’ the assertions of his ecclesiastical opponents; so persistently is this seen in his attested writings that the very frequent use in a document of the word *impugn* or *oppugn* leads us to suspect that Penry perhaps wrote it.

On great display occasions, as when the Queen visited Cambridge, the University included in its programme examples of these tourneys of ready wit and learning, in which some of the most renowned members of the university took part. We have a record of the theses disputed before Elizabeth at Oxford in 1566. In Natural Philosophy they debated the question, ‘Whether the lower bodies are ruled by the higher influences’; also, ‘Whether the moon causes the ebb and flow of the sea.’ Then in Moral Philosophy the theses were, first, ‘That a sovereign should be designated by succession and not by vote’; secondly, ‘That Government by the best Law is better than government by the best King [Constitutionalism *v.* Autocracy]; both theses not lacking piquancy,

the first as discussed before the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and the second before the daughter of Henry VIII.

3. *Penry's Academical Progress at Cambridge.*—We have now to trace the progress of Penry in the studies appointed by the University to qualify for degrees in the faculty of Arts; first the bachelor's, which occupied him for the first four years; and next that of master, which was conferred upon him at the end of his nominal seven years' course. These years were almost wholly spent at Cambridge. A few weeks before the completion of his terms he transferred himself to Oxford and received his full degree from that university.

(a) *Graduating as Bachelor.*—Without any recorded interruption he pursued the studies indicated above until the spring of 1584. He began as a freshman, and then became successively junior and senior sophister, and now after four academical years he is a general sophister with the immediate task before him of 'determining' as bachelor in arts. Determination was the last of the academical tests which proved his fitness for the degree. During the previous three years and more Penry had diligently studied Logic, Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Greek. He had attended the incepting bachelors,¹ in the years in which he was himself a sophister, when they 'stood in quadragesima.' During the forty days of Lent, undergraduates taking their primary degree, 'stood' in the schools (lecture halls), prepared to dispute on the given theses with any regent master who chose to test them; and the young sophisters attended these displays, much as law students might attend the courts to gain knowledge in advocacy. Penry had himself, as a sophister, read two theses in public, and had given proof of his skill in disputation by 'keeping two responsions and two opponencies':—twice he had published a topic of debate and had defended it; twice he had set up his thesis and argued as an opponent.

Early in February, 1584, his College examined him, and being satisfied with his performance, they allowed him the status of Questionist. Thus qualified he was, before Ash Wednesday (February 12), examined by Masters Henry

¹ Those proceeding to the degree of Master.

Hickman and Henry Hawkins, the two proctors for the year, and they being satisfied, Peterhouse presented on behalf of Penry a *supplicat* to the University praying that he might proceed to his degree. This was granted on February 21. The Vice-Chancellor, Richard Howland, master of St. John's, and an old Fellow of Peterhouse admitted him as Bachelor on condition that he 'answers to his questions'; a purely formal matter. He would answer a question propounded from Aristotle's *Analytics*. But disputation there was none for an excellent reason. The Bedells were present ready to 'knock out' any one attempting to argue—by hammering so lustily at the door that no one could hear what was said.¹

Penry is now a Bachelor Designate, and on the day following, Saturday, February 22, his name duly appears in the Peterhouse books, with the title 'D^s' [Dominus].² He has now himself to 'stand in quadragesima' until March 21, the Thursday before Palm Sunday. This indeed is his Determination. Hitherto his part in disputation has been that of a defendant upholding a stated thesis, or of an opponent seeking to destroy it. He has now the more responsible task, as between the pleaders, of judicially determining the question at issue. There was then nothing left, but to receive from the Proctors the insignia of the completed degree.³

(b) *Preparing for the Master's Degree.*—The next period of Penry's career is one of special interest. His future, his place in history, his position as the Evangelist and Apostle of Wales, his social connections and his marriage, all result directly from events which must have happened during the next three years. His immediate academical work is to pursue his studies preparatory to his inception as M.A. The subjects were not necessarily dealt with other than formally; enough to enable the student to state that he had read them. No tests were applied. Logic, metaphysics, and theology offered the student a more profitable field of labour. Competence in these subjects led the way to office. And the

¹ *Hist. Reg. Univ. of Camb.*, 1910, p. 349.

² Dr. T. A. Walker's researches.

³ *Hist. Reg.*, *ut supra*.

writings of Penry show that he had prudently occupied the remainder of his university career with these studies.

(c) *A Year's Absence from Cambridge*.—The historian of Peterhouse, Dr. T. A. Walker, has discovered, what was previously unsuspected by us, that for a full academical year Penry was absent from his college. His name vanishes from the house books in August 1584 and does not reappear until October 2 the following year. What was the occasion of his absence we do not know, but the circumstance supplies us with abundant room for speculation. Hitherto in reviewing Penry's life we have had difficulty in finding a place in his brief but crowded career, for certain developments of his character, for the growth of his Puritanism, and for the growth of his friendships. No sooner was his university course completed than he was hard at work in Wales with the *Aequity*, his first pamphlet, a considerable treatise of which only about a third was printed and presented to Parliament. By this time he had already passed through his religious change, had embraced the general views of the Puritans. He had found an opportunity to make himself painfully acquainted with the religious condition of his native land, and was passionately inspired by the desire to enlighten her darkness, to bring the Gospel to his ignorant and neglected countrymen, to heal their souls and amend their evil lives.

Penry has been persistently credited with initiating the preaching of the Gospel in one or two places near his home, where now for generations Congregational Churches have been established. He had formed during his stay at Cambridge close friendships with a number of important and interesting people. Edmund Snape, the curate of St. Peter's, Northampton, in the earlier years was an important figure in Penry's circle. He took his university course somewhat late in life. Reversing Penry's order, he graduated from Oxford,—he proceeded to his M.A. degree in 1584, from Merton College—and afterwards, in 1586, the year in which Penry went to Oxford, he was incorporated as a member of the University of Cambridge. Both Oxford and Cambridge were seething with Puritan propaganda, and the scenes of heated contro-

versy. Outside London, the chief centre of the movement was Northampton and its neighbourhood. Penry had formed the acquaintance of the chief figure in the county, Sir Richard Knightley, the great squire of Fawsley; and the still more intimate friendship of that interesting man, bearer of an important name, Job Throkmorton of Haseley. Throkmorton was one of the sponsors for Penry's appeal to Parliament on behalf of Wales in 1587. Very early in his career Penry became acquainted with Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, an old Peterhouse man, and President of the Welsh Council in 1586. To him he dedicated his second and most important pamphlet. The fortunate discovery by Dr. Walker of this year's break in Penry's residence at Peterhouse, supplies us at once with the opportunity afforded him to extend his circle of close acquaintances at Northampton, and to develop his religious connection with Llangammarch and to make important new acquaintances in Wales.

It is doubtful if Penry spent his long vacations generally in Wales. It was a very long journey and we know of his growing attraction to Northampton. But he saw something of his native land during his year's absence from his college as we discover from the *Aequity*. That year and the year preceding were years of drought and dearth throughout the land; the neighbouring continental lands shared in the suffering. There was likewise a good deal of serious sickness in the country, which in those unsanitary days easily developed into a raging epidemic. The drought was calamitous in its severity. John Udall published a sermon in the year 1585 and notifies on the title-page that it was 'the Year of Drought.' The failure of the harvest caused great suffering among the poor. Then the greed of the trader found its opportunity, and the Queen had to issue a stern proclamation of warning to the vendors of corn. The great scarcity, it is pointed out, had led to enhanced prices, but the want was made more acute, because corn and provisions were being held back from the markets 'by means of engrossers.' 'Profiteering' and exploiting, for gain, the calamities of the people, are ancient devices. The engrosser was the man who bought up

the whole of a commodity in order to 'regrate' it—to sell it retail at a monopoly price.¹

It is clear that Penry spent part of his year of absence from Cambridge in Wales. His references to the dire straits to which his countrymen were reduced by reason of the drought are definite and particular, the report of an eye-witness. Sickness was rife when he left Peterhouse in 1584. As Northampton lay on his way to Wales we picture him staying there and forming valuable friendships and acquaintances among the reforming party, and taking part, as we know he did in the meetings of the Northampton *classis*.² And in any case there was the home of Eleanor Godley, the daughter of 'the third borough for the Sowth ward' of the ancient town, where the bright and enthusiastic young graduate, all the more because of his Puritan zeal, would find hospitality. If sickness were the reason for his long year's absence from Cambridge, the home of the Godleys would be an attractive refuge during the early stage of his convalescence. He returned to his College with established relations between him and numbers of persons of consequence interested in various degrees in the reforming movement in the midland country; with personal knowledge of results of 'the unseasonable harvest, 1585,' which 'yielded very little corn' to the Welsh farmer, the dire after-consequences he saw in 1586, when he completed his university course; and he also made some Welsh friendships, of which that with Mr. Edward Dunn Lee, M.P. for Carmarthen borough, may be taken as an example.

(d) *Penry a Fellow-Commoner*.—One circumstance there is connected with his return to his college, in October 1585, whose precise significance we should be glad to know. It has been shown already, that Penry was under no necessity when he first came to Cambridge to practise close economy. He entered Peterhouse as one able to pay his pension, indeed, as one willing to pay an additional fee for a preferential place in the room he occupied, which was one of the higher-priced rooms. On his return from his year's absence we are

¹ Strype, *Ann.* iii. Part I. pp. 639-641.

² See note p. 160.

surprised to find he is entered as a Fellow-commoner : socially he has moved up one stage, and now sits with the Fellows, above the salt. But his place of privilege at the upper-table means an additional cost. If his father derived his income from farming his land at Cefnbrith, Michaelmas 1585 was not a time when John should run up his college bills. In later years, Job Throkmorton financed Penry, collecting money for the debts he left behind when he fled to Scotland from Whitgift's pursuivants. But at that time Penry might be thought to have a special claim upon him. For Penry occupied the perilous post of manager of the Marprelate press, in whose operations Job Throkmorton was certainly very deeply implicated. It is also certain, notwithstanding his later disavowals, that Sir Richard Knightley too had a very responsible part in launching the famous Tracts upon the world, and like Throkmorton was a thoroughgoing supporter of the reform and anti-episcopal movement. They may even in his undergraduate days have had a prescient realisation of the value of Penry's eloquent speech and pen ; and, rich men, both of them, on the failure of the Welsh harvest may have sent him back to Peterhouse, as became the protégé of rich men. If he were in delicate health, the little extra generous diet, and the right to foregather around the coal fire in the fellows' room on winter nights, might justify the outlay. One of the puzzles of Penry's career is to explain why he ever had any connection with the Marprelate Tracts. For they by no means accurately represent his views ; even less, the temper of his mind. Was he under any obligation to these rich and influential men, and found it difficult to refuse a request to help them ?

Be that as it may, Penry resumed his studies at Michaelmas term, 1585, in preparation for his master's degree. He returned to Peterhouse on the same day as another Fellow-commoner, who appears on the books as 'Mr. Jordan,' but later was not unknown to fame as Dr. Jordan, a doctor in medicine of the University of Padua, a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. The two young men left together for Oxford, both their names disappearing from the Peterhouse

books after the weekly settlement 28 May, 1586. The transference of Peterhouse men to Oxford to take *ad eundem* degrees, is noted as a common practice at this time. They sometimes migrated in small batches.¹

4. *St. Alban Hall, Oxford.* (a) *Ecclesiastical Outlook at Oxford and Cambridge.*—We have no need, as we see, to cast about for special reasons to account for Penry's migration to Oxford. Men we know sometimes lost favour with their tutor, or with their college president, in consequence of their theological convictions, let us suppose, and prudently concluded that they were more likely to receive unprejudiced treatment from the authorities of the sister university.² If notwithstanding Perne's tolerant rule, Penry suspected a bias to exist against himself, he would be encouraged to go to Oxford by the growing favour it was showing to Puritanism. Leicester's influence as Chancellor was entirely favourable to serious-minded and scholarly reformers. Like Knollys, he thought the assumptions of the Bishops inconsistent with the Queen's prerogative. Rainolds' influence was also becoming paramount at Oxford. The next year, the Queen's astute secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, 'an extreme hater of the Popes and Church of Rome, and no less a favourer to those of the Puritan party,' instituted his new lecture, to fit young Protestant scholars to confute in public controversy the errors of Rome. He desired that Dr. John Rainolds should be the first lecturer on his foundation. The Puritanism of Rainolds specially qualified him to be the antagonist of Romanism. It is not surprising to find Anthony à Wood recording in his *Oxford Annals*, under the year 1585, 'a Puritan movement' in the University. A number of Fellows and other graduates were agitating for a further reform of the Church, and in the Presbyterian direction. They were encouraged by the visit of a number of Scots ministers.

¹ The information concerning Penry in this sub-section is chiefly new, and has been supplied by Dr. T. A. Walker of Peterhouse.

² The 'Old Peterhouse Statutes' favour the transference of students to another University, to enlarge their experience, for special periods, at the expense of the College, or at their own request and expense, under a college licence. Heywood, *Early Camb. Stat.* (27), p. 24.

These brethren arrived in Oxford 'at the last Act,' that is, in Trinity term. The question of the autonomy of the particular church was being eagerly discussed, and young men looking forward to the Christian ministry were urged not to accept 'a vague and uncertain ministry'; but, first, and as the foundation of their procedure, to receive a definite call to the ministry of a particular church. This they would report to their nearest Presbyterian *classis*, and having obtained their approval, the bishop might then be approached for ordination. Master Edward Gellibrand of Magdalen College, 'an admirer of Dr. Humfrey and his doctrine' was very active among the young men in the colleges, and reported favourably of his propaganda, to John Field, the Puritan leader.¹

The ecclesiastical outlook was such as to encourage Penry to take his master's degree at Oxford, and to the sister university he set out. The journey of eighty miles lay through Northampton where an agreeable, but very brief, halt could be made. His few possessions, chiefly books, could be sent by the University carrier, who made a stage at Northampton. There was not much time to be lost, as the Oxford Trinity Term began that year on 1 June. He attached himself at Oxford, to St. Alban Hall, adjoining Merton College, and closely associated with it. The larger foundation eventually absorbed the Hall, in 1882. Bishop Hooper, the martyr, was at one time its principal, an office held in Penry's day by Richard Radclyffe, M.A., M.D. It was Edmund Snape's college, though he graduated from Merton. The more usual course was for members of the larger colleges to 'incept' from the Halls, for the sake of the lower scale of fees. Snape took his M.A. degree in 1584 and may have returned to Northampton when Penry left Peterhouse on his year of absence. At St. Alban Hall there were a number of Welshmen at this time. Francis Vaughan had just completed his course as Penry arrived. Henry Salusbury 'com. Denbigh, generosus,' was slightly Penry's junior in university standing. Among the undergraduates, David Hughes and Morgan Owens came

¹ Anth. à Wood, *Hist. of the Univ. of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 224.

from Carnarvonshire, and Robert Lloyd and Edward Owens from Denbighshire.

(b) *Counting Terms of Residence.*—The University of Oxford gave no official recognition of the arrival of Penry within its domain, until he made his first supplication, 20 June, 1586, to be allowed to count his residence at Cambridge for the purpose of his Oxford degree. In his prayer he states that he is a Bachelor in the faculty of Arts at Cambridge, and has spent three years there in the study of philosophy. If he had kept his terms regularly at Cambridge he could in a general way speak of the period as extending to three years.¹ But what, we may ask, of his year's absence from Peterhouse? In his second supplication he speaks definitely of eleven terms spent in the study of philosophy at Cambridge; eleven terms, that is, according to the Oxford year of four terms, the year at Cambridge being divided into three terms. The only seeming explanation to be offered is that he continued, or was regarded as having continued, his reading and study during his absence, and as in the case of students compelled to leave Cambridge because of the visitation of the plague, that the absent time was part of the necessary terms. Dr. Rashdall observes that 'a student's time is often made up in a very curious way, by counting a specified number of long vacations, "and many short ones," . . . terms passed in the country "causa pestilencie" are counted.'²

The brief time allowed by Penry, under the most accommodating method of counting, to complete the requirements of the University in granting his degree, made his stay at Oxford a very busy time indeed. If he permitted himself to spend the Sunday, May 29, at Northampton, even the sweet society of the Puritan maiden, Eleanor Godley, could not delay his setting forth on the morrow. Arriving at Oxford he at once enrolled himself at St. Alban Hall, and under Dr. Radclyffe's direction made preparations for his inception.

¹ This is pointed out in a courteous personal communication from the Keeper of the Archives at Oxford, Dr. Reginald Lane Poole.

² *Univ. of Europe*, ii. 448 n.⁴.

(c) *Qualifying for the Degree.* (i.) *Doing 'Austins.'*—On Wednesday, 8 May, Penry had affixed to the door of St. Mary's Church his notice, that he will begin his 'Austin' disputations on the following Saturday. At an earlier period these disputations were held in the old Augustinian Monastery. And although they were now conducted at St. Mary's, the student still spoke of 'doing Austins.' On Saturday, between one and two o'clock Penry maintained his advertised thesis—a thesis drawn from the Aristotelian philosophy. This he repeated on the two following Saturdays. Within the same period he had to conduct another series of disputations known as Quodlibetics, the principal feature of which was the extended liberty allowed the disputant in choosing his topics for discussion. He might, if so minded, select a humorous or satirical proposition, to provide himself with a favourable opportunity of showing his ready wit and his dialectical alertness.

(ii.) *Lecturing.*—The grace granted Penry in response to his *supplicat* of 20 May, gave him authority to lecture. Incepting M.A.'s were required to deliver six cursory lectures, on six several days. They were generally delivered in the schools, and between the hours of one and two. The lecturer read a book, translating portions, and selecting passages for his special commentary. In this case also, three days' notice had to be given. The ordinance of December 1579 specifies the subjects of the lectures to be, first, on logic; then, secondly, on one of a series of works by Aristotle on natural science: the four books on Heaven and Earth, the four books on Meteors, which included the Milky Way, storms, dew, snow, hail, etc.; two books on Generation and Corruption; the books on the senses and sensation, memory and remembrance, sleep and awaking, a book on the movements of animals, and two books on the lesser topics of science.

(iii.) *A Week of Routine Procedure.*—In his second *supplicat*, presented on Friday, 1 July, Penry states that he has determined in Austins and has disputed solemnly six lectures in Quodlibetics. The University having granted the necessary grace, he has to proceed, through a considerable routine

occupying the whole of the following week. First, he must perform the Circuit. Together with a regent master of his Hall and one or more bedells, he went round the Schools, concluding by calling upon the Vice-Chancellor, and upon the Proctors, senior and junior. In the Elizabethan period this had become a mere formal duty, for which a dispensation was easily procurable; the more so, as the bedells were engaged upon other and indispensable duties. So also in regard to the next item in his programme, which was to find M.A.s of from three to seven years' standing, to challenge at a disputation his fitness for the degree of master, the Masters expedited the inceptor's course, by taking care not to be at home. He must however find nine Masters of the above rank to make a Deposition on his behalf at the Congregation House. He is now presented to the Vice-Chancellor and takes an oath that he will incept within a year. Dr. Edmund Lilley gives him his licence to incept, and Penry dutifully kisses him and also his presentor and the proctors. As soon as this is completed he is registered in the list of licentiates and by courtesy is called Master of Arts.¹

On Saturday, 9 July, between eight and nine in the morning Penry and the rest of those about to incept, marched to the Schools preceded by the Bedells, and requested the praelectors to attend their disputations, first, at Vesperies and then at the Act (or Comitia). That afternoon, between the hours of one and five, in the nave of St. Mary's, wearing now and until the close of the ceremonies the prescribed sandals [*soccubi*], Penry stood up to dispute his three theses or 'quaestiones' in Vesperies. First, with the Senior Proctor as respondent he disputed the thesis, Whether a military career should be preferred to a civilian. Then he disputed with the pro-proctor as his respondent, Whether there may be any power in incantations. Finally, with the junior Proctor as opponent, he disputed the question, Whether all

¹ In Wood's list Dr. Daniel Bernard is named as Vice-Chancellor for 1586. But he did not enter upon his duties till Michaelmas. His letter of appointment is not dated till 8 July. See Clark's *Register*, vol. ii. Pt. I. p. 243.

things exist only as in our imaginations. This stage concluded, the names of the parties concerned being duly registered, there is a pause over Sunday.

On Monday, 11 July, in the same place, he performed the last act in the graduating proceedings. He disputed in 'Comitia.' The three prescribed questions are, first, Whether he can be a good citizen who is not a good man; next, Which is the more difficult to withstand, anger or desire? Then, finally, Whether gold can be manufactured from the inferior metals. It would gratify our curiosity to know what Penry had to say on these subjects; but it had no more necessary relation to his real convictions, than the actor's character has to the dramatic rôle he sustains. They were tests, not of opinions, but of intellectual smartness and ability and of general knowledge. At the 'Act' there was often a farcical element introduced into the theses; as in 1600, when the subjects were, What is the right way to tame a shrew? and, Ought Aristotle to have included a wife among the goods of a philosopher? These were selected no doubt, to give an opportunity for the display of the disputant's lively wit.

(iv.) *Receiving the Degree.*—The final act of the excessive ceremonial of inception has now been reached. Penry is formally presented to Dr. Lilley, the Vice-Chancellor, who places a book in his hand, the Master's hood round his neck, puts the cap on his head, and kisses him on the cheek, with the words, 'Behold I give thee the insignia of thy honour, lo, the book, the hood, the cap, and finally a kiss, the pledge of my love.' On the morrow he will get the easy dispensation to cast aside his 'sandalia,' but to-day he will march proudly back to St. Alban Hall, in full academical attire, complete and presentable to the last point and button, a fully qualified Master of Arts of this ancient and renowned University.¹

Following the normal order, he would remain some years at Oxford fulfilling the duties of a regent master, lecturing,

¹ The details of the procedure in graduating at Oxford are to be found in the *Historic Register*, vol. ii. Part I., edited by the Rev. Andrew Clark, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College.

moderating at disputations, and attending to the ordinary administrative duties of his college and university. This course was less observed by those who only entered the university at the close of their academic career, a short time before incepting. At any rate Penry did not retain outward connection with Oxford. Young as he is, twenty-three years old, his head is full of great plans. He already apprehends his apostolic duty to his native country. Within a month or two we shall find him at Cefnbrith, busy writing his first book on the urgent and clamant need of the preaching of the Gospel in Wales.

DIVISION III

ELIZABETHAN WALES

CHAPTER I

THE LOVER OF HIS COUNTRY

IN each stage of Penry's brief, strenuous, public life, the key-fact is his patriotism. The mystic tie which binds a man to his birth-land eludes us under analysis. It is a primary spiritual fact. Land and people and speech lay hold of him with strong hands. The language of childhood, which so largely embodies the character both of the land and the people, speaks to the heart with a magic and a meaning all its own. Welshmen who acquire a competent knowledge of the English language are often remarkable for their quick sense of the beauties and felicities of the 'tongue that Shakespeare spake,' and of its incomparable range. Yet no work of genius in another tongue can speak to a Welshman with the compelling charm of William Morgan's Bible. The land itself also appeals to his deepest emotions. The Brythonic tribes were scattered all over Southern Britain, and as far north as Strathclyde. Now, confined in their mountainous territory, west of the Severn, they speak and sing of this land as a *terra sancta*. And so Penry's love for Wales, at each juncture of his life, is the determining consideration. At the close of his university career, and even before its termination, his conversion laid a new and terrible burden of care upon his heart. What joy and peace could John Penry find in the great Christian redemption, if Wales lay

still in a half-heathen darkness? Who lives, indeed, if Cymru dies? He had no sooner received his master's cap and gown, than he published to the world the lamentable state of his country, its fatal ignorance of the Gospel, its gross religious superstitions, its moral defections; yea, its peculiarly hopeless state, in having the revelation of God's mercy shut up in a language not understood of the people, and being bereft of the great instrument of religious reformation, the free preaching of the Word of Life in the vernacular. So, consulting not with flesh and blood, he forthwith began his patriotic mission; and his last free act was to refuse office in an English Christian community, his unchanged determination being to devote his life to the evangelisation of his native land. In all the years lying between the writing of the *Aequity* and his arrest at Stepney, every other labour was accepted by him as an interim duty, the casual obligation of the hour.

Before tracing his footsteps and examining his writings, it will be necessary to know something of the condition of Wales at this period, of the moral and social forces then at work in the land. It will afford us the best understanding, and the most satisfying justification, of Penry's self-denying and consecrated life. It will be found in regard to the moral state of the country, that there is little difference between the official testimony and the witness of Penry. It is one of the sad ironies of the situation, when we think of the sorrows that befell Penry, that he and his persecutors agreed so materially as to the facts, were inspired by the same faith, and had the same ends in view.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PRINCIPALITY

1. *General Character and Aspect of the Country.*—Elizabethan Wales was largely a wild forest-land. The rugged mount-

tainous regions were much then what to-day they remain ; save that their lower slopes were thickly covered with trees ; not the bare crags we now see throughout the major part of Snowdonia and the great hills of Merioneth. The clearings effected in the valleys, the grassy riverside meadows and the occasional stretches of open champaign free from trees bore a far smaller proportion to the entire area, than the tilled land bears at this day. Wales was a great expanse of mountain and forest, with here and there clearings, and tracts of more or less open country. The large towns—the largest but a small town in to-day's estimation—stood at the natural junction of the travel routes, or where there was a convenient maritime harbour. The population of the whole country was perhaps about half-a-million.

Sir John Wynn describes for us the aspect of Wales in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ He observes that the desolation caused by the wars of Owen Glyndwr was largely unrepaired. Grass grew in the market-place, and wild deer grazed in the churchyard at Llanrwst in the Vale of Conway. 'All Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Denbighshires seemed to be but one forest haveing few inhabitants.' Nantconway appears to have been specially wasted and depopulated in the wars. Stags roamed at large throughout Snowdonia in the time of Leland, and in such numbers, that they destroyed the little corn the farmers tried to grow. A warrant of Elizabeth relating to the Forest of Snowdon, according to Pennant, shows that it comprised the three shires of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth. And an interesting case is given in which the Earl of Leicester, being Chief Ranger of the Forest, endeavoured to prove that his jurisdiction was of equal extent. For it happened that a stag which gave chase in Carnarvonshire, had fled northwards, and boldly swimming the Menai, was not killed till it reached Malldraeth, in the region of the great marsh in West-central Anglesey ; and all, says the Earl, 'infra forestam nostram de Snowdon.'

¹ *History of the Gwedir Family*, edited by Miss Angharad Llwyd, Ruthin, 1827, p. 86. See also an interesting discussion of Sir John Wynn's account by the Rev. Elias Owen, M.A., in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix., 1888, p. 122.

The southern half of the Principality was of much the same character. The great Radnor Forest occupied most of Mid-Wales, reaching westward to the Plinlimmon range, and reaching southwards across the Brecknock Beacons, to the wild tumult of hills and the narrow valleys of Glamorgan ; now the busy scene of the coal industry. The Usk valley from Brecon to Newport was a cultivated region. George Owen of Henllys's account of Pembrokeshire, which regards things favourably in his corner of Wales, says, that 'most of the countrie is Champion [champaign, open] and without enclosures, so that they till in the open fields in many and severall peeces and keepe their Cattell in Sommer by Heardes among the peeces and fields of corne.'¹ It is not surprising that the result of this method of pasturing cattle in fields without hedges, was a plentiful crop of actions for trespass in the minor courts.

2. *Trade and Handicrafts*.—The chief industry of all lands, except in those regions given up to modern industrialism, is agriculture. So it was in Elizabethan Wales. Along with the cultivation of the land, the raising of cattle was pursued, and was one of the few callings, which, in a poor country like Wales, admitted an export trade with England.

From Sir John Prys's instructions to farmers which foots each month of the calendar, in *Yn y lhyvyr hwenn*,—the pioneer Welsh printed book, briefly described on a later page—we learn the general scope of agriculture in 1546. The cereal crop included wheat, rye, barley, and oats ; beans and peas were also grown. In the orchard were apple, pear, and plum, trees ; and in the garden onions, leeks, and parsley. The thrifty housewife kept bees ; and hemp and flax were cultivated, and we assume were dressed for spinning. A single extract from Sir John's instructions will sufficiently indicate their character. It will be observed, that the success of the farmer's operations depends upon his observing the correct age of the moon, as prescribed. The notes for January run—

'This month cut wood for use, and it will not split. Root up the brush and rubbish from the meadow, and it will not again

¹ Cymmrodorion Soc., ed. by Henry Owen, D.C.L., Part III. p. 85.

grow. And do this especially within four days of the end of the moon. Hoe thy garden and manure it. Shift thy bees. Uncover the roots of thy fruit-trees, particularly if they be old and not bearing. Prepare materials for the plough, fallow thy ground for wheat and for thy rye ; break up thy pastures that they be soft.'

Not many of the primitive crafts were carried on in the villages. But the blacksmith was everywhere required, and wherever there was a rural population, we find a house known as the smithy (*yr Efail*), sometimes where no 'gefail' exists to-day. For many of the daily needs of a farm, the farm-worker had to shift for himself, where to-day he can call to his aid the special craftsman required. But a village would supply employment for a cobbler ; and the small village carpenter could make the wooden furnishings of a plough, and hay-rakes, and yokes, and, if a good craftsman, churns.

The weekly journey to the nearest town on market-day was an invariable duty. There was butter, and in their season, cheeses, and in the autumn orchard fruits and honey, to be sold. And with the proceeds many things to be bought. If the village, as was common in Wales, lay on the banks of a running stream, there was sure to be found a mill to grind the corn, and often near by a kiln (*yr odyn*), where the oats were roasted before they could be milled. Most of the utensils required in the dairy and in the home and for brewing were made of wood by the cooper at the market-town. In the towns the necessary skilled trades were at work. In Carmarthen, which was one of the most important towns in Elizabethan Wales, we find, between the years 1569 and 1583, that the tanners, shoemakers, hammermen, tailors, saddlers, weavers, hatters, and glovers, incorporated themselves into companies.¹

¹ 'The Welsh Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' by Caroline A. J. Skeel, D.Lit., published in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (December 1922), p. 236. In this admirable monograph, after abundant and successful research, in all quarters, Dr. Skeel has added a most interesting chapter to our knowledge of the social and economic life of Wales, in the centuries she has surveyed. She has furnished me, as I desire to acknowledge, with a fresh understanding of the extent of the trade of Wales in woollen fabrics. Coming into my hands on the eve of sending my manuscript to the printer, I am thankful to have found it possible to modify and to extend one or two of my statements, in the light of the information which Dr. Skeel has so liberally supplied.

But beyond the markets, where the local manufactures and the produce of the neighbouring farms were vended, the fair was the great emporium for a score of articles required by the civilisation of the time, especially for goods of a finer quality than could be produced locally. If we turn to the commonplace book of George Owen of Henllys, which he entitles the *Taylor's Cussion*—a thing of shreds and patches of many varieties—we shall find lists of 'Fairs and Marketts' for all the Welsh counties, with here and there little illuminating scraps of information. In the chief towns which he names, practically all of them are market-towns, the larger of them holding two weekly markets, fairs were held at different seasons of the year. Their times were known by the saints' days and church festivals, on which they were generally held; one is given as falling on 'palme Sundaye'; and this Sunday fair is not quite alone in the lists. But the fair-days take us back to the times when the saints' days and festivals were universal holidays and men and women could attend the fairs. Besides the farmer, who sold his cattle and corn and his cheeses, and, where weaving was not carried on, his wool also, there were traders in all kinds of manufactured articles, who regularly followed the chief fairs, having no permanent shop in any town, but setting up their stall in the market-square, where the fair was held, and using the interval between fair and fair to journey back to their home-centres, which would include manufacturing districts in all parts of England, to replenish their stock. Buyers came not only from England, but from continental countries, attracted by the corn and wool, and the friezes and other cloths, offered for sale.¹

The one manufactured commodity of real importance

¹ "The Welsh Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," by Caroline A. J. Skeel, D.Lit., published in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (December 1922). Dr. Skeel has used the *Taylor's Cussion*, so far as it supplies information upon the woollen industries of Wales. But it contains much else which might employ her learned leisure in study and research, and further increase our knowledge of bygone Wales. A facsimile edition of *The Taylor's Cussion* with a biographical introduction has been published by Mrs. Emily M. Pritchard, fol., London, 1906.

exported from Wales, was woollen cloth. The sheep of the country supplied the wool, which was carded and spun by the women on the farm, then woven by weavers scattered all over the country, these weavers being often also farmers ; so that, with the exception of the treatment of the cloth at the fulling-mill, the whole manufacture was carried on by the weaver and his family. Welsh friezes, flannels, cottons (rough woollen stuff), white cloth, and other varieties of woollen fabric were on sale at all the chief English markets and fairs, and were exported in quantities to France, Spain, Portugal, and the Low Countries. The Welsh material was not so fine, as that produced at the English weaving centres, nor was the same enterprise shown in developing the trade. The cloth, however, probably commended itself, both in England and abroad, by reason of its hard-wearing qualities. The fulling-mills were at work throughout Wales wherever there was a running stream of clear water. Pandy (fulling-mill) is a common name for an old house, in all parts of Wales, though the trade of the fuller may have long ago ceased in most of the houses bearing the name.

3. *Social Economy*.—If we take Penry's home as a type of the well-to-do yeoman of the country, and picture their common daily life, we should find, no doubt, that their food was almost exclusively produced on the farm. Wheat was not to be grown on a mountain farm such as Cefnbrith. Their bread was dark rye bread ; or the equally dark barley bread, which was the common fare on the small and remote farms in many parts of Wales, till recent years. These and the oat-cake, were the staple food. Porridge, flummery, and 'cawl,' a broth or brewis made from the liquor in which the dried meat, or the salted bacon had been long boiling, with the addition of onions and leeks, almost their only vegetables, were judged to be nourishing and sustaining food. Fresh meat they had when a beast or a hog was killed ; the bulk of the meat was in the one case dried and smoked, or in the case of the hog's flesh, salted. There were also fowls to supply the larder. And if, by chance, a deer came their way, driven from mountain and forest by hard weather,

then, if Meredith Penry or one of the boys were a practised archer, let us hope, forest-laws to the contrary, notwithstanding, there would be venison for a change. The rivers afforded them fresh trout, and in many of the districts, salmon were in great abundance. The common drink was beer or cider. On rich men's tables, French wines were to be seen; and, as the Penrys were substantial people, wine from the Rhone or from Portugal, may have graced their table on occasion.

On the great open hearth they burnt wooden logs and turf from the neighbouring turbarry. But at Carmarthen they were within reach of sea coal; for at Kidwelly, a place of some consequence, and at the small village of Llanelly, in the same lordship, 'the inhabitants digge coles.' At either side of Vendreth Vawr there were 'pittes where men digge se[a] cole.'¹ The export of coal and grain raised Kidwelly to an importance, which almost rivalled Carmarthen, then regarded as the largest town in all Wales; though that is the judgment of George Owen of Henllys, who, when he praises, which is not infrequent, does not stick at a phrase.² The pottery used in the Penry household, probably came from Staffordshire, and was purchased at Builth or Brecon markets, or more likely at the fairs held at one of the towns within reach. Men came from the Potteries laden with this heavy ware; only the common earthenware was made locally, where clay was to be had. Hawkers of sorts perambulated the whole country, supplying the farms and villages with needles and pins, and the famous wares of Sheffield. If Penry Senior served at musters, he would buy armour and military boots at the regular stall at the fair, where he would also buy his best hat, and Mrs. Penry her ribbons and little fineries, and also foreign spices, and perhaps a little 'white sugar,' then

¹ A tenant in Lysevane [Llysfæen], Pembrokeshire, covenants to lend two horses for one day to fetch coals in summer-time. *Coleman Deeds* (Nat. Lib. of Wales, 1921), p. 93, A.D. 1597.

² Much of the information in these paragraphs is found in a valuable article by Mr. T. H. Lewis, M.A., of Bangor, to which I have been directed by Dr. Skeel. It occurs in the *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of West Wales* (Carmarthen), vol. viii., at the beginning of the volume.

esteemed as a dainty sweetmeat. A piece of sugar was a lover's gift.

The question is often and naturally raised, what did the sixteenth century do in sickness; especially in country villages and hamlets, and remote farmhouses. In the principal towns, no doubt, doctors, skilled in the medical science of the time, in many cases, graduates of a university, famous for its medical teaching, such as that of Salerno in South Italy, were in practice. But the treatment of the sick by those who were, by special training and profession, physicians, was in many respects, barbarous, and the medicines prescribed, revolting. Fortunately, nature is herself the great healer, or few young patients or those of weakly constitution, would have survived to middle-life. Young Edward VI. must have had more vitality than he is generally credited with, to have survived the remedies prescribed in the early stages of his illness. In every corporate town in Wales, there would surely be an apothecary; a vendor of simples, and a professional bestower of advice. The barber still followed the ancient traditions of the barber-surgeon, a regular and consequential figure in the retinue of princes; he was the professional extractor of teeth, and was in regular demand for 'cupping'; for blood-letting was in great repute. In every neighbourhood some one had a reputation for strange skill in healing both men and animals; and the old and oracular midwife, found a wide range of activity. Beyond everything, high reliance was placed on the curative properties of common herbs, either grown in the garden, or gathered in the wild. The use of them was a common tradition, and was often based on sound lessons of long experience, mingled, however, too often, with superstitions handed down from dark and barbaric times.

4. *Tudor Rule and the People.*—The rule of the Tudors did much to destroy the isolation of Wales, and to bring it within the range of progressive forces, which were operating in England, and on the Continent. When the descendants of Owen Tudor ascended the throne, it was not surprising that Welshmen came into some prominence, in the public

services of the country ; and also, that more attention was gradually paid to the needs of the neglected common people of Wales. Strong racial instincts, and the pride of an ancient people, and still more their Celtic tongue, tended to keep them aloof, and added to the difficulty of the English government, even with a Tudor on the throne, in bringing about some measure of reform in legal administration, public education, and religious teaching.

The first duty of the government was to suppress the lawlessness which so widely prevailed. Neither priest nor squire set the people a good example. The priest, in the pre-reform times, was commonly an ignorant person, knowing little of the theological significance of the dogmas and devotional forms of his religion, the words of which he recited in Latin, parrot-wise ; and caring even less for their moral sanctions. Very generally, he paid his fine, and indulged in pensionary concubinage ; and this practice was persisted in when the Church was reformed, and clerical marriage was legalised. Such was the report of Archbishop Parker to Burghley in 1566.¹ Religion of this type is both itself a superstition and a begetter and nourisher of superstition. Public law had little recognition in Wales. The country was cut up into domains, smaller or larger, each ruled by its landed overlord, some of these petty lords boldly claiming palatine prerogatives, and all of them surrounded by as large a force of armed retainers, as they could afford to keep. The more powerful of these magnates, descendants of the old alien oppressors of the people, behind their castle walls, could defy the king's writ, and were ready to combine with the king's enemies, sooner than yield their territorial absolutism. Much of the crime of the period is to be ascribed to the ruffianly conflicts between these territorial lords and their respective liveries.

A very authoritative judgement has assigned the chief benefits of the Tudor occupancy of the English throne, so far as concerned Wales, to the landowning class in the community.²

¹ Parker, *Corresp.* 259.

² Rhys and Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 460.

This general judgement must however be modified in some important particulars. The Council of Wales and the Marches was certainly not specially intended to favour the landowners. On the contrary, like the Star Chamber, it was a tribunal sufficiently strong to bring the most powerful offenders to judgement. It was from time to time admonished to see that justice was done to the poorer people, when wronged by these lawless oppressors; and on occasion was itself taken to task, when its delays, and methods of administration, were adding to the sorrows of the poor in claiming justice.

5. *Two strong Lord Presidents of Wales and the Marches.*

(1) *Bishop ROWLAND LEE.*—The power of the Welsh Council was quickly felt when Rowland Lee, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was appointed its Lord President in 1534. He was no respecter of persons, and had no hesitation in passing the death sentence upon lordly criminals. But he had a great task to face. Before he could establish legal justice, could secure a true verdict, based upon the evidence produced at the trial, he had to counter the propensity of Welsh juries to award their verdict according to their feelings, and sometimes in defiance of the facts deposed by the sworn witnesses. The Lord President removed the trial of offenders to a neighbouring English county, where a popular criminal, or a pathetic rogue, had less chance to escape justice. Next he realised that much of the success of thieves and others, lay in the fact that they had confederates and sympathisers among the people. The gangs of highway robbers infesting the country, were however relentlessly pursued and punished. Then the Bishop took in hand the crimes of ‘resetting’ (harbouring criminals), and of ‘bearing’ (supporting and encouraging law-breakers). The law-breakers and their sympathisers very soon entertained a wholesome dread of the resolute Lord President and his colleagues. He is said to have hanged five thousand robbers and law-breakers within the space of six years.¹ It is strange that in his frequent

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report of MSS. in Welsh*, vol. i., ed. by J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Introd. p. x.

journeyings through the country, some of the violent criminals he was pursuing did not find means of revenging themselves upon him. But he carried a stout heart. 'The thieves,' he says, 'have hanged me in imagination; but I trust to be even with them shortly.'¹ And he certainly succeeded in bringing in a measure of law and order in sections of Wales, where violence, lawlessness, and the oppression of petty lords, had hitherto prevailed to a lamentable degree. In 1538, four years after his appointment, he could write, 'In the Marches and in Wales, in the wild parts where I have been, is order and quiet such as is now in England.'²

(2) *Sir HENRY SIDNEY*.—The year after the accession of Elizabeth, Sir Henry Sidney was appointed Lord President. He had one important qualification for the high office, which is denied to most Englishmen. He had an understanding of the Celtic character and temperament. Otherwise he never could have said of Wales, 'a better country to govern Europe holdeth not.'³ Though, when necessity called for it, he too, could be severe in his administration of the law. Yet he was essentially a man of a generous and affectionate disposition, with a quick sympathy for the common folk in their wrongs and sufferings. He had been brought up at the court of Henry VIII., as an intimate companion of the youthful Edward, and was retained by the young King as one of the gentlemen of the chamber, and speedily became a very influential person. Northumberland, seeing his growing power, and noting his gifts, thought it prudent to bestow upon him the hand of his daughter, Mary Dudley. It was a dangerous alliance. Sidney's signature witnessed Edward's will, one of the provisions of which, diverted the succession from Mary Tudor to Lady Jane Grey. He was one of the first when Edward died—he died in Sidney's arms—to disavow his father-in-law's party, and thus, narrowly, to escape his fate. He further managed prudently to regain Mary's favour; so

¹ Caroline A. J. Skeel, D.Lit., *The Council in the Marches and Wales*, pp. 63, 69. Dr. Skeel's book will be referred to hereafter by her name alone.

² *Ibid.* p. 67.

³ *Ibid.* p. 88.

firmly indeed, that her Spanish husband became godfather to his little son, naming him Philip. He retained the royal favour under Elizabeth, who confirmed him in his offices. He had served in Ireland under his brother-in-law, the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Deputy. Later Elizabeth appointed him Lord Deputy ; but he failed to satisfy the Queen, and resigned the office. After some delay, he was given the post of Lord President of the Council of Wales and the Marches, and settled at Ludlow in Salop, the headquarters of the Council.

Sidney took a genuine interest in the welfare of the people. And here we may note the general tenour of the instructions sent from time to time, to the Lord President by the Privy Council, which acted as the superior authority to the Welsh Council. The Council in London is constantly concerned with the good government and protection of the common people, and urges Sidney and his administration to restrain the overbearing arrogance and tyranny of the great and rich. The Welsh Council is itself to act as a legal tribunal, and is exhorted to give just and unprejudiced judgement in all cases appearing before it, and to be specially mindful of the needs of poor men unable to sue or defend themselves at common law.

6. *Law and Crime.* (a) *Lawless and Violent Habits of the People.*—The completion of the shiring of the Principality introduced the English system of legal administration, which embodied some measure of self-government, and the appointment of Justices of the Peace.¹ But a strong tribunal was needed to correct any dereliction of duty, on the part of these magistrates, many of them persons of great influence. The Lord President and his Council were authorised to hear charges of extortion, maintenance [keeping idle retainers to fight in the quarrels of their masters], imbracery [corruptly and illegally influencing juries] etc., alleged against justices, mayors, bailiffs and men holding positions of governing authority.

Riots leading to bloodshed were not uncommon. The chiefs of rival houses at feud with each other, settled their

¹ See Prof. Tout's article on the Welsh Shires in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix. Part 2.

differences by recourse to arms. In the Cardiff Calendar Rolls [1576] we read that the Coroner's Inquest found Rice Jones of Cardiff, gentleman, to have been killed by Rice Herbert of St. Andrew's, gentleman, in such a family feud. His name may perhaps explain why Herbert later received a general pardon.¹ In attacking these irregularities, when the charge amounted to treason, murder, and felony, the Council were empowered to examine under torture.² In England also, at this time, prisoners were taken to the Tower to be submitted to torture; though sound constitutional lawyers have always held torture to be illegal in English law.³ It is significant that members of the Council were themselves prohibited from 'retaining' any of her Majesty's servants or tenants by any wages, liveries, badges, or recognisances. And a flood of light is thrown on the social condition of the country when, in order to enforce the settlement of all differences by an appeal to legal and orderly methods, it was found necessary to prohibit armour, 'harness and privy coats,' to be worn in churches and courthouses, or at fairs; except under special licence.

(b) *Rigour of the Law.*—It was not because the law was wanting in severity, that crime was not suppressed. Legal penalties were generally harsh; in particular cases they were brutal. Reformatory punishment and discipline finds no place in these draconic codes; the only hope was, that they might prove a terror to evil-doers. Unfaithful wives were guilty of 'petty treason,' for which they could be put to death by being burnt, or being boiled. Felony, as the *Cardiff Records* point out, included stealing anything beyond the value of five shillings; and the penalty for felony was, in the case of men, hanging; in the case of women, drowning. In 1564 two women, described as spinsters, Gwenllian Morgan of Cowbridge and Jane Thomas of Eglwysbraes were sentenced to be burnt for murder and treason. Vagrants were perpetually before the Courts. Jane Powell (1575) not having any

¹ *Cardiff Records*, ii. 156.

² *Skeel*, p. 92.

³ M. Foster, *Report on Crown Cases and Discourses on Crown Law*, Oxford 1762, p. 244, and footnotes.

visible means of support, was flogged and branded. Joan Roffe, with five other women and two men, being vagrants, were flogged and burnt in the hand. For this offence two men from Plymouth were cast into gaol.¹ Among the miscellaneous counts, Jane vergh [ferch = daughter of] Thomas, for petty larceny, sat in the stocks in Cardiff Market for two hours; Thomas Herbert was convicted of selling beer without a licence; Felicia Telephant of being a 'common barretor' [brawler]. The Bailiffs were fined for permitting sorcerers. Richard Longmeade (1591) was hanged for stealing a horse. John Gybon of Cardiff was fined for 'not providing butts in Cardiff for shootynge, iuxta officium suum.' A common charge against householders is that of engaging in unlawful games in their houses. The condition of the prisons may be gathered from the fact that twelve persons died in gaol in Cardiff in the year 1597. The verdict in each case was 'by visitation of God.'

(c) *Agrarian Oppression*.—Even in Wales, with ample room for all its inhabitants, the peasants and smallholders were suffering from the enclosure of commons; from decayed tillage, also, the land being turned into pasturage for sheep, for the sake of the greater gain to be drawn from wool.² In consequence of this policy, farm houses were allowed to fall into disrepair. Certain of the larger landowners appear to have endeavoured to establish a feudal rule in their domains. Lord Stafford took up very high ground. He had forcibly entered and taken possession of Cawes Castle,³ and refused to appear before the Welsh Council to justify his act. But the Council was instituted to meet this class of haughty offenders. His lordship (1578) was ordered peremptorily to appear and to produce his witnesses, also to offer an apology for his contempt of the Court. He was also ordered to answer a charge brought against him by the tenants of his manor of Thornbury. They complain of his hard and extreme usage, and of his claim that they were his villeins. He was reminded that if they were freeborn he is acting illegally; and in any

¹ *Cardiff Records*, ii. 155-157.

² *Skeel*, 93.

³ Near Westbury, Salop. See note on name in Owen's *Descrip. of Pemb.* ed. by Dr. Hy. Owen, vol. i. p. 231. Note D.

case, he is requested to abstain from extreme usage and threats. He must prosecute any claim which he thinks himself to possess, without such violent proceedings.¹

(d) *Corruption of the Law Courts.*—In Wales, as agrarian oppression and the tyranny of the overlords was gradually put down, legal oppression increased, and proved a greater difficulty to cope with. The Council in the Marches fought against the imposition of excessive fees, legal and official, by prescribing the amounts to be charged; they even arranged for a poor man's lawyer with fees fixed on a very low scale. The Privy Council in London, were however, dissatisfied with the results and again drew attention to the number of long-delayed suits; also, to the new fees exacted. The very court erected for the relief of the common people, had become an instrument of their oppression. The administration of the law was corrupt. By bribery, men were able to evade their public obligations. Assessment for the payment of subsidies, by the judicious bestowal of a 'vail,' could be fixed at a nominal sum; and, in the same way, men could escape musters and their annual drill; also, the cost of providing the sovereign with armour and weapons. The penalties for these offences were two-fold restitution, with additional fines and imprisonment, at the discretion of the Council.² The pressure upon the Council to take in hand the rich and powerful breakers of the law, and especially derelict officials, was carried on into the next century. High Sheriffs were penalised for neglecting to levy fines and executing processes. At Carmarthen, one Francis Smaleman had to go to law to get restitution of his lands, and was fortunate to win his case. But he was still without possession of his lands, and so a salutary fine was imposed on the High Sheriff for not seeing that justice was actually done. The Under-Sheriff of Carmarthen was in another instance fined £20 for bribery and extortion. The bailiffs of a number of Marcher towns—Bridgnorth, Bishops-castle, Welshpool—were fined for licensing an excessive number of public houses.³

¹ *Skeel*, 103.

² *Ibid.*, 93-95.

³ "Social and Economic Conditions in Wales and the Marches, Early Seventeenth Century," Dr. C. A. J. Skeel in the *Trans. of the Soc. of Cym-*

(e) *Piracy*.—We find piracy frequently brought before the courts. The sinister aspect of this crime was the widespread sympathy exhibited towards the pirates. They could not follow their nefarious calling on the sea, without the co-operation of confederates on shore, and these were not wanting in any of the ports or coastal towns. Phipson, an English pirate, seized some Haverfordwest trading ships on the high seas in 1576. The goods taken by him were disposed of in certain towns in Wales and in Cornwall. Subsequent efforts for their recovery were fruitless, because of the sympathy of the inhabitants with the pirates. The following year a vessel laden with wine was seized at sea, and boldly brought into Haverfordwest. As the circumstances became notorious, a pretence of administering justice was made by the imprisonment of some minor offenders; but John Callice and his servant, the responsible parties, escaped the law.¹ The law was a little more effective at Cardiff in 1581, when six persons from different parts of the country, were tried for piracy, and one of them met with his deserts on the gallows.²

At the request of the Privy Council, Bishop Richard Davies took the matter in hand, and in the year 1578 made his report. He says that Milford was a centre, for the operations of these pests of the sea. Here they had an emporium. They landed much merchandise, salt, corn, rye, wine, fish, and so forth. Evidence was produced against 'Herbert, the pirate,' and against a still more infamous criminal, Hickes. The Bishop succeeded in getting the names of those who revictualled Hickes's ship.³ Dr. Lewis of the Admiralty at the same time sent a report of his inquiry. He, too, has a full charge against 'Hickes the pirate,' who had lightened a 'Denmarke ship' of her cargo. He had succeeded in tracing some of the victuallers, and also some buyers of small quantities of the pirate's plunder.⁴

mrodorion, 1916-1917. Miss Skeel notes that the names of knights and gentlemen, and sheriffs and lower officials occur very often among the lists of offenders brought before the court of the Council.

¹ *Skeel*, 100.

² *Cardiff Records*, ii. 157.

³ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* (1578), 126. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* 126. 52.

(f) *Evils of the Prison System.*—One of the bad practices of the time was to make the prisoner contribute to the payment of his gaoler, an arrangement which easily led to oppression. Accused persons awaiting trial and all prisoners for debt—and a totally impossible fine, was an oppressive device for making men in fair circumstances to be imprisoned debtors—had to make a hard bargain for their keep. The government accepted no responsibility for their maintenance; and unless they had competent friends near at hand, or, if these failed to satisfy the gaoler, the prisoners pined and died in their cells, of starvation. The Welsh Council tried to limit the injustice prevailing by fixing the various dues to be exacted. In the porter's lodge at Ludlow, prisoners guilty of a single contempt paid two shillings and sixpence. If the prisoner were condemned to wear irons, he paid for putting them on, and we need not say, he had to pay before he could get them removed, unless he were sent to the gallows. The porter provided two tables for the inmates; for the better table the charge was eightpence, at the poorer sixpence. At the equivalent price, one to-day could get, at the higher figure, a very well-served meal at a superior London restaurant. Naturally, there was a difficulty in many cases, in providing the money; but the porter was empowered to take bonds for payment, if the commitment fee were not paid the next day, or the food bill at the week-end. This meant that any property the prisoners might have, or their friends might have, who should be their sureties in their sore need, would soon be confiscated to meet the ruinous charges, which these legal and official cormorants contrived to exact, at every turn. Debtors who were unable to pay fines and legal charges, were treated as debtors to the Queen; which by no means mitigated the process of un-pityingly squeezing the uttermost farthing out of them. If there was no prospect of their satisfying their royal creditor, they were sent out of the way to Wigmore Castle, or some such prison; and when the bailiff reported that no more could be extorted under the bonds, Heaven alone knew what became of the miserable debtors.¹

¹ See *Skeel*, 96.

7. *The Reports of Lewis and Gerard on the State of the Country.*—A summary of the general condition of the country in 1575 is supplied us in a combined report addressed to Walsingham by David Lewis and William Gerard.¹ Lewis was a fellow of All Souls, and became Principal of New Inn Hall in 1545. In 1548 he entered the law, filling several offices, including a mastership in Chancery. He returned to Oxford in 1571, as first principal of Jesus College, a post which he resigned within a year. From 1558 to 1575, he was a judge in the High Court of Admiralty; at the expiration of that period he became a commissioner under the same authority. Gerard was an Englishman hailing from Lancashire, and had been for twenty years, a member of the Council of the Marches. Dr. Lewis though writing of his own countrymen, has considerable faith in severe measures to meet the state of the country, as it appeared from his inquiries. Gerard, after long acquaintance with the people, and knowing them through the law courts, where the seamy side of national life is too often disclosed, speaks of them sympathetically. As a whole, he says, they 'are pore and their estate to be lamented of everie pitifull and carefull Magistrate.'

(a) *Gerard on Welsh Litigiousness.*—He deploues, however, the extent to which they waste their time and substance in litigation, and he remarks that this tendency was encouraged by the crowd of hungry lawyers that now attended the Welsh courts. These parasites could only find a living, by fostering the litigious spirit. The causes which occupied the courts were often so trivial, as to be more fit for adjudication by a steward at a village tribunal. To promote these cases, as pleaders and defenders on behalf of these 'pore Walshe creatures,' there were at Ludlow twenty attorneys, each with two clerks; half that number of barristers, who attended every term; twelve bill clerks, five or six attending the Signet; and all of them employed, and costing, as Gerard estimates from three to four thousand pounds a year, a sum to be estimated by the value of the pound sterling in those days. The rulers he thinks, are more to blame than the

¹ *Skeel*, 106; *Y Cymmrodor*, xii. 50-63, MS. ed. by Judge Lewis.

people; the legal institution was being engineered to rob the latter of their possessions, since they were too witless to know how to keep them.

(b) *Gerard on the Language Difficulty*.—We are again impressed by the sympathetic and broad-minded attitude of this Englishman towards the language difficulty. It was being exploited to the disadvantage of the poor Welsh litigant. King Henry, in his efforts to unify the legal system of England and Wales, had ordained that the whole procedure of the Welsh courts should be conducted in the English tongue, and that no Welshman unable to speak the English tongue, should hold any public office [27 Hen. VIII. c. 26]. But, as Gerard wrote to Walsingham in 1575, this last provision made the English judge dependent on the interpreter, who sometimes with corrupt intention, translated falsely, so that a charge was unwittingly given by a judge, against the facts. This was so notorious in the shires of Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Cardigan, that Gerard says, ‘it were verie conveniente that one of the Justices of Assize did vnderstande the Welche tongue.’ He supplies three names of competent persons; one of whom might be associated with the judge, in the Commission of Assize for the above counties. One is Edward Davies, who ‘hathe byn the Queenes Attorney in the Marches, and is well learned and can speake the wealche tonge.’ He adds, that he is ‘no welche man’; which must be taken to mean, that he would not be tempted by his ‘affinities’ or sympathies, to thwart the cause of justice.¹

(c) *A Favourable Estimate of the People*.—The result of these efforts to cheapen and make more effective the working of the legal machine, was on the whole satisfactory. Gerard’s testimony to Walsingham is very definite. ‘At this daie,’ he writes, ‘it is to be affirmed, that in Wales universallie, [there] are as civile people and obedient to lawe, as are in England. Throughowte Wales in every respect, Justice embraced, and wth as indifferent [impartial] trialles executed as in England; during the tyme of her ma^{ties} Reigne, excepte 3^e or 4^{or} petty Coyners, Noe treason hard of, very seldome

¹ *Skeel*, p. 50.

murder. In vj^e yeares togeather, vnneth [scarcely] one Robbery (comitted by the highe waye) harde of. Stealinge of Cattell is the cheif evill that generally moste annoyeth the Countrey.’¹

(d) *Lewis on Retaining and Cymorthas*.—Dr. Lewis in his report, deals chiefly with South Wales. What crime and tumult there is he ascribes to the still existing custom of the gentry, of keeping large numbers of retainers. Around their halls gathered a motley crowd, foster-brothers, idle kinsmen, hangers-on, ‘too proud to work, spending their time in sport, playing at cards and dice, and ready at a word from their patron, to rob, wound, or even kill, any man against whom he had a grudge.’² The retainer guilty of these crimes escaped the pursuit of justice, by being smuggled out of the way, and passed secretly from house to house, until the hue and cry grew cold. Then he relieved himself of all further fear of prosecution, by compounding for his guilt with the injured party, when that party was hopeless of any other justice.

But frequently enough, if the offender should have no money of his own, wherewith to compensate for the wrong committed, a *cymortha* is organised to provide him with the necessary funds. Many writers refer to the misuse of the *cymortha*. Originally as its name suggests, it was a compassionate collection to meet some special need, some unforeseen misfortune having befallen a poor man; the loss of a horse or a cow, bringing ruin upon the small cotter who owned it. Just as to-day, in such contingencies, a ‘brief’ is written, and the subscription list headed by one or two well-known and generous subscribers. Then, this paper is hawked about the countryside until the yield fails, or the desired sum is accumulated. Its weakness, as a means of helping the poor in a calamity, is that it too easily becomes the resource of the shiftless. But worse by far, a *cymortha*, as a means of raising a fund to enable a worthless criminal to evade the penalty due to his crime, is an outrage on the name of philanthropy. When it was backed by the name of

¹ *Skeel*, pp. 52, 53.

² *Ibid.* p. 60.

a great landowner, it became an odious exaction upon his poor tenants.¹

(e) *Corruption on the Bench*.—Dr. Lewis complains of the type of men appointed as sheriffs and justices of the peace; men of no substance, nor yet of credit, who must needs live by ‘pollynge and pylynge,’ that is, by fleecing those unfortunates who came within their jurisdiction. He points also to the diminished authority of the Council. It had ceased to fulfil its original intention. No longer was it a terror to evil-doers of the higher social orders. In towns, those responsible for carrying out the law, would not arrest an accused person, if he had friends of any importance; but, as Lewis quaintly says, ‘will playe bo pype, seest me and seest me not.’ The remedies he would prescribe for this condition of things are thorough-going; punish the lord for the retainers’ crime, the father for the son’s, the master for the man’s, if in any case, the offender be not forthcoming. In like fashion he would deal with contumacious sheriffs, justices, mayors, bailiffs, or other officers, when charged by the Council to apprehend an accused or defaulting person. If there were good reason to believe, that they wilfully failed in their duty,

¹ The misuse of the cymortha, and its condemnation by the authorities dates back to an earlier century. The following Petition of the Commons, which I owe to Dr. Skeel, taken from the Parliament Rolls for 1402, when Glendower was stirring up the national feelings of the country, is an interesting indication of the attitude of Parliament towards this debateable subject.

‘90. Item que null Westours and Rymours, Mynstrales ou Vacabundes ne soient sustenez en Gales, pur faire Kymorthas ou Quyllages sur le commun poeple, les queux par lour divinations, messonges & excitations, sount concause de la Insurrection & Rebellion q’or est en Gales.’

The sixteenth century record given above in the text, of the misuse of the cymortha, is followed in the next century, when the complaint is still, that it is used as a cover for raising funds to help the escape of murders and felons, whereas honest and simple folk were never relieved. Action was taken in one bad case of extortion and oppression and a fine of £30 exacted. A growing custom, which came under condemnation and fine, was to invite guests to a wedding and then virtually to compel to subscribe to a cymortha, or *comortha* as it spelt in these documents (*vide* ‘Social and Economic Conditions, Early Seventeenth Century, in Wales and the Marches, Dr. C. A. J. Skeel, *Trans. of the Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1916-17, pub. 1918). The term cymortha has a legal usage. In ancient land tenure it means a quit-rent paid for a holding, a money equivalent for the cymorth (= help) due from a freeholder, or a copyholder, to the lord of the manor.

Lewis would keep them in prison until the indicted persons were brought into custody. For dereliction of duty in connection with the administration of the law, he would in every case punish with imprisonment, and not by a fine. His canon would be, the higher the offender, the heavier the penalty. The imposition of a fine merely led to the launching of a *cymortha*, whereby the country at large paid the fine. But *cymorthas* he would abolish outright, except in the cases specifically allowed by the laws then in force; cases of mischance by fire or other accident. He greatly deprecates the time of the Council being occupied by trifling matters, which could well be left to the ordinary courts of law. Its efforts should be bent to the general good government of the country.

A typical example of the fit exercise of the energy and authority of the Council, was the prosecution at Shrewsbury of the murderers of Edward Rice, in 1574. Also, in the following year, their favourable action on the petition of one Rees, claiming justice against a member of her Majesty's guard, for murdering his son. His military uniform was not to protect this criminal. The course was not to be obstructed. Nor was a rich man's servant, charged with crime, to escape with the connivance of his master. William Vaughan's lackey was charged with the murder of a young man, and, as he did not appear in answer to the charge, Vaughan had to appear [February 1577/8]. He was tried in London and sent to prison. He was released the next year on his bond for £200, and a promise to do his best to find the lackey. The father of the murdered young man declared, however, that Vaughan had kept the lackey in hiding, and was supporting him.¹

CHAPTER III

RELIGION IN MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY WALES

1. *Wales waiting for the Impact of the Reformation.*—The most important aspect of the condition of the people, the

¹ *Skeel*, p. 97.

extent to which the Welsh nation was influenced by Christian teaching, must now be examined. To-day, religion is a marked feature in the national life of Wales, and is most marked, where the influence of England is least felt. But, in the sixteenth century, the opposite was true. The forces of the Reformation, and the intellectual renaissance lying behind the religious awakening, were far less felt than in England; the great tides were much later in reaching the shores of Wales. In general culture the Principality was not behind the Northern and Western English shires; but it had had little direct communication with continental religious and intellectual life. William Caxton was printing at Westminster in 1476, and even earlier had issued English printed books from his press on the Continent. Not till the later years of Edward VI. was a book printed in the Welsh language; and no printing-press was set up in Wales during the sixteenth century. Wales was isolated, partly by its strong and distinct nationality, which is a conservative sentiment; and partly by the barrier erected by its native language. Protestantism was not naturally commended to the Welsh people when it reached them from English sources, and was a part of English officialism. The literature and propaganda of the new faith had to take on a Welsh garb, before it could make any effective appeal to the masses of the people.

The great and clamant need of the people was to have the Bible translated into Welsh. Every native reformer, lay and cleric, from the days of Henry VIII. onward, echoed the cry; it was the utterance alike of their faith and their patriotism, and became a very poignant plea in Penry's supplications to the authorities in England. And when at last, the great boon was given to the race, that fine patriot Morus Kyffin gave voice to the national satisfaction and joy, as he declared, that 'since the book of God's word had been turned into Cymraeg and printed, it was not permitted to any of the children of the devil henceforth to darken the light of the Welsh, do what they might.'¹

2. *The Earliest Welsh Printed Books.*—The pioneers in

¹ *Deffynedd y Ffydd* [Jewel's *Apology*]. 'To the Reader.'

utilising the power of the printing-press to banish the darkness, which rested so heavily upon Wales, were laymen. The spirit of the Reformation and the yearning for more light and knowledge were simmering in the minds of those who came into contact with the stirrings of the larger life of London, and of the continent; the movement was strengthened by young Welshmen who had been bred in the English universities, by those whose minds had been awakened by foreign travel; and by many of good birth who, in the ancient way, found honourable service in the great English houses. Wales was turning in her sleep, dimly conscious of the breaking of a new day.

Yn y lhyvyr hwnn, by Sir John Prys of Brecon (1546), led the way; the first printed Welsh book. Sir John was one of the new men. He was an Oxford graduate, and was early drawn into the service of Thomas Cromwell, taking a responsible part in the dissolution of the Welsh monasteries. The Priory at Brecon belonged to him; he had also considerable landed property in Herefordshire. His little book was a kind of household primer for religious and secular uses. It is known by its opening words, *Yn y lhyvyr hwnn* ('In this book'). It has no proper title-page, its first page being occupied by a displayed list of its chief contents, which includes the alphabet, a rubricated calendar, an almanac good for twenty years, the numerals, the creed, the paternoster, the ten commandments, the Ave Maria; also tables of the seven deadly sins and the corresponding virtues, each item expanded into its several branches. At the foot of the calendar for each month, as already stated, a few sentences of guidance are offered to the farmer.

Sir John's simple pages, when dealing with religion, are noticeably free from all traces of Romanism. He presents the duties approved by Christ: to love God and our neighbour; to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, assured that all else, that is for our good, shall be added unto us. The priest has vanished. The Ave Maria is quite free from the symbols of Roman altar-piety. 'Hail Mary! full of grace. God is with thee. Blessed art

thou amongst women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb. Amen.'¹

Shortly, a more definite step towards the organisation of the reformed religious worship in Wales was taken. In 1551 William Salesbury published the second printed book in Welsh, *Kynniver llyth a ban*, which, as its title indicates, is a Welsh rendering of the Gospels and Epistles as in the English lectionary, for the Sundays and Holy Days of the year.² The Latin dedication to the Bishop of Hereford expresses the fervent hope, that the King might be moved to abolish the old Roman tyranny, which still immured the word of God in a foreign tongue.

3. *The persistent Cry for the Bible in Welsh.*—The demand for the vernacular Bible was incessant. There was indeed a contrary voice, but it came from an anti-national quarter; from the 'practical' people, who lacking it themselves, ascribe to national sentiment so little value; and, no doubt, the still remaining Romish sentiment within the borders of Wales, regarded with tepid interest any effort to put the Bible into the hands of the people. The policy of the 'practical' people who desired to clothe the Welsh people with a ready-made suit of English civilisation, opposed this proposal to translate the Bible, for the reason that it would give fresh vigour to the old language. They would have hastened its decease, by making the Scriptures available only to those who understood English. We gather so much from the petition found in an imperfect form in the Gwynsaney MSS.,³ which draws a distinction between those, though they

¹ Archdeacon D. R. Thomas, in his short diocesan history of St. Asaph (S.P.C.K., 1888), was evidently writing without having had an opportunity of seeing this extremely rare book; which has since been reprinted and competently edited (for Welsh readers) by J. H. Davies, M.A., for the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales (Bangor, 1902). The 'national games' ['*campau arveradwy*'] are the items of virtuous conduct, which Prys sets over against the Seven Deadly Sins. The little volume does not contain any reference to the Bardic metrical forms. See *St. Asaph*, p. 65.

² A good account of *Kynniver llyth a ban* is given by Archdeacon D. R. Thomas in *Davies and Salesbury*, 4to, Oswestry, 1902.

³ See article by Archdn. D. R. Thomas in *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 5th ser., vol. ix. p. 197.

'be a few,' who would 'wth their hart to the uttermost of their power, teache and declare Goddes Holy Worde unto the people in the vulgar Welsh tong,' and those who shirk that duty, or actively oppose. It appeals, on lines very similar to Penry's petition in his *Aequity*, to 'his lordship' and 'your good lordships'—probably the Lord President and the members of his council—to command the services of learned men, to 'traduct the boke of the Lordes Testament into the vulgar Welsh tong.' Serious minds felt that this anti-national policy of withholding the Scriptures in Welsh from the people, was delaying their moral and religious advancement. Bishop Nicholas Robinson ascribes the gross superstition prevalent in the diocese of Bangor [1567] to, among other things, 'the closing of Gods worde from them in an unknown tongue.'¹

4. *The Need of the Bible in Welsh publicly Recognised.*—The government were roused by the deep feeling so commonly expressed, to take steps to provide the nation with the Bible in their mother-tongue. Not otherwise, as they were brought to see, could the Welsh nation fully share in the blessings of the Reformation. In 1563 an Act of Parliament (5 Eliz. c. 28) was passed, ordaining that the work of translation should be undertaken forthwith.

The preamble states that the Queen in the first year of her reign, issued a Book of Common Prayer, and an Order for the Administration of the Sacraments, in the vulgar English tongue. She desired that her subjects throughout England and Wales and the Marches should have understanding of—'the pleasant and infallible promises made to the elect and chosen flock.' But it is now recognised that the English tongue—

ys not understood of the most and greatest number of all her Mat^{ties} most louyng and obedient subjectes inhabiting within her Highnes Dominion and contrey of Wales, being no small part of this Realm, who therefore are utterly destituted of Goddes Holy Woorde, and doo remayne in the like or reyster more Darcknes & Ignorance than they were in the tyme of Papistrye.

¹ W. Hughes, *Bangor* (Dioces. Hist.), 1911, p. 82. See summary of Robinson's diocesan report, below p. 127.

This frank recognition of the miserable condition of the people, religiously, agrees with the testimony of bishops and others, which presently we shall cite. The Act adds, that the work of translation was to be under the direction of the four Welsh bishops, and the bishop of the bordering diocese of Hereford; they were to complete their work within four years, by St. David's Day, 1566, under a penalty of forty pounds each.¹ Meanwhile on Sundays and feast-days the epistle, gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and one or two other prayers were generally read in Welsh, wherever the language was commonly understood.²

The Act, it is regrettable to say, remained a dead letter. The excuse is generally made on behalf of the bishops that no funds were supplied for carrying out the great work, and that the time assigned for its completion was too short. To which it may be replied that, apart from the evidence on the point, derived from the history of other versions, when, a quarter of a century later, the complete Bible was published, it was the voluntary work of a plain beneficed clergyman, unassisted by public funds. It was well perhaps, that the Bishops did not attempt the task, for it is very certain they would not have produced so noble a piece of literature, as that which came from the pen of William Morgan.

5. *Salesbury's Welsh New Testament*.—As time passed, and it was understood that the appointed bishops were doing nothing to fulfil the requirement of the statute of 1563, William Salesbury, who had already translated the English lectionary, began to move in the matter. He succeeded in enlisting the help of the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Richard Davies, and of Dr. Thomas Huet, the precentor of that cathedral. In 1567, he published the New Testament in

¹ In fixing the time allowance, the governing authorities were probably guided by the time occupied on other translations. The extended and complex critical apparatus employed to-day which makes Biblical translation so slow a process, did not then exist. On the other hand the pioneer was beset by his own difficulty. He had in a measure to create a new language.

² Such was the resolution taken by the Diocesan Council at St. Asaph in 1561. *Vide* Archd. D. R. Thomas, *St. Asaph*, p. 70.

Welsh. The colophon states, in English, that it was 'Imprinted in London by Henry Denham, at the costes of Humfrey Toy, dwelling in Paules church yeerde, at the signe of the Helmet Cum priuilegio ad impremendum solum. Anno. 1567, Octob. 7.' It was an event of national importance, and calls at our hands for special treatment.

(a) *Contents of the 'Testament Newydd.'*—The volume is a quarto in black letter¹—the title-page and an 'Almanack for 25 years' are in black and red. Following the Almanack is a Calendar, each month taking a page. Salesbury then fills four pages with an address to the 'most vertuous and noble prince, Elizabeth.' He seizes the opportunity of glorying in the coming of the Protestant Reformation. He recalls the time, when in the Metropolis, St. Paul's Churchyard was occupied by makers of alabaster church images; Pater-noster Row by makers of paternoster beads; Ave [Maria] Lane by makers of Ave beads; Crede Lane by makers of 'Crede bedes.' He tells the Queen mournfully of the vain rites which have 'crept into our country of Wales,' the worshipping of lifeless images, and 'belles and bones and uncertain reliques.'

Then follows Bishop Davies's celebrated national manifesto to his countrymen, 'Epistol E[scob] M[enew] at y Cembru.'² Reference has already been made to this stirring appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the Welsh nation. Dr. Davies recites the past glories of their princes and great men, and deplores that the intellectual awakening of Europe has so slightly affected Wales. The European peoples had greatly profited by the Revival of Learning; their eyes had been opened to see whither they were being led, and how, by the old way, they might return home to the true religion of Christ; that Catholic faith, which has its roots in the Word of God. Moreover, Wales, he deplores, had not profited by the great invention of the printing-press, by issuing works in her

¹ Beginning with the text, the leaves are numbered, 1-397 (794 pp.).

² Reprinted in Morus Kyffin's translation of Jewel's *Apology*, and in editions of that work published by Chas. Edwards (Oxford, 1671) and by Dr. Thos. Charles (Bala, 1808). See also above, p. 9, § 2.

own tongue, until recently 'William Salesburi' put into print *Cyniver llith a ban*, and 'Syr Jhon Prys' *Yn y lhyfyr hwnn*.¹

The volume contains also a list of N.T. books, a prayer of St. Chrysostom, in Latin and Welsh, a series of alphabets, and rules for numeration; before each book we have a summary, entitled 'Ye Argument,' and at the close of the volume, a table of lessons.

(b) *The Translators: William Salesbury, Richard Davies, and Thomas Huet*.—Salesbury and Bishop Davies as young men came under the influence of the Revival of Learning. They were both deeply affected by the reformation movement in Oxford, in which Jewel was a leading and influential figure. Both men hailed from the Conway Valley in North Wales. Richard Davies, born in 1501, was the son of a married priest, who was vicar of Y Gyffin, a riverside parish just outside Conway town. His mother Jonet, was the daughter of a Denbighshire gentleman. The Welsh priesthood so strongly resisted the Roman rule of celibacy, that a compromise was effected. Under licence, a priest was allowed a house-wife.² Davies entered New Inn at Oxford, and graduated M.A. in 1530, and B.D. in 1536. Before his contemporary at Oxford, Hugh Price, founded Jesus College, Welshmen chiefly flocked to New Inn. Here, and at Broadgate Hall, at this time, there was a cluster of Welshmen, who in later years gained distinction. At New Inn we find Rowland Meyrick of Bodorgan in Anglesey, who later became Principal of the house, and, under Elizabeth, was appointed to the see of Bangor. Sir John Prys of Brecon belonged to the same house. At Broadgate Hall in the same period, there were Thomas Young, later its Principal, whose name appears further on in these pages; William Salesbury; Hugh Price, treasurer of St. David's Cathedral under Bishop Davies. These young men all accepted the reformed doctrines, which were causing a great ferment in the life of the University at the time. Richard Davies was among the most thorough-going of the converts to Protestantism.

¹ *Yn y lhyfyr hwnn* is anonymous; this reference fixes its authorship.

² On this subject see below, the last section on 'Romanism in Wales.'

Salesbury was a member of a family, which had long held a place of mark in the story of Wales. He was brought up at Llanrwst on the Conway. Quite early he began to appear in print, his pioneer work probably, being a collection of proverbs gathered, as he alleged, by Gruffydd Hiraethog—*Oll synwyr pen Kembero* (A Welshman's Wisdom). In 1547 he published *A Dictionarie of Englyshe and Welshe*, which aims at giving a Welshman a phonetic method of pronouncing English. The preface to this work was expanded by him in 1550, into a separate publication, under the title of *A Playne and a Familiar Introduction to Welsh Pronunciation*. Then came *Llith a ban* as already stated.

All this busy literary activity, as well as a contemporaneous revival of interest in education, and the founding of schools in Wales, came to a standstill when Mary mounted the throne. Richard Davies's name was too prominent as a reformer, to permit his remaining in the country. He therefore fled with his wife to Geneva, where they lived in much poverty. Salesbury retired to Wales; not to Plas Isa, in the Vale of Conway, but to his house near Llansannan, in the recesses of Mynydd Hiraethog, in West Denbighshire. The translation of the New Testament into his native language, no doubt occupied him during this period of hiding at Cae Du. And such is the local tradition; which also supplies us with picturesque details of a secret chamber, entered from a great chimney, where the dangerous work was carried on, Salesbury turning the Scriptures into Welsh, while Mary and the Roman Inquisition were burning the martyrs at Smithfield, and elsewhere, the indictment against some of the victims being that they read the Scriptures in English.

With the accession of Elizabeth the work was resumed in earnest. Salesbury secured the sympathy and practical help of his learned countryman, Richard Davies, who was presently to go to St. David's. Dr. Davies was also to take part in the new translation of the Bible into English,¹ the Bishops' Bible, 1568. He was the only Welsh bishop really competent

¹ When Parker requests Rd. Davies 'to despatch his lot in the Bible,' he is referring to the English translation. Strype, *Parker* (Oxf. ed.), 418.

to carry out the injunctions of the Welsh Act of 1563. Salesbury also had a second task on hand. While engaged on the New Testament he was likewise translating the Book of Common Prayer into Welsh, also with the aid of Bishop Davies. Both books were published in 1567, but the Prayer Book came first from the press.¹

(c) *The Translators at Work*.—In the year 1565, Salesbury was quartered at the house of the bishop. The greater part of the New Testament version came from him. Dr. Davies translated the 1st Epistle to Timothy, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, and the two Epistles of Peter. The Book of Revelation is from the pen of the third translator Thomas Huet, precentor of St. David's. Huet was a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and was appointed precentor in 1562. Bishop Davies recommended him three years later to the vacant see of Bangor. He failed to get appointed, but was consoled by a couple of rectories. He was a strong Protestant.

Under the title of 'The First Welsh Testament,' the late Professor Hugh Williams of Bala has subjected the work to a close critical examination, linguistic and bibliographical, and has set in a clear light many of its salient features.² The translators apparently worked independently, and were unacquainted with each other's work whilst it was in progress. Richard Davies in his Epistle, desirous of quoting from William Salesbury's section, supplies his own translation. There was no common review of the whole work, no consultation as to the fitting of Welsh words for the new ideas contained in the New Testament. No effort was made to render the translation consistent throughout. Salesbury used one word

¹ So Bp. Davies says in his 'Epistol,'—'mae'r Psalmau genyt eusus yn Gymraeg yn Llyfr y Gwasanaeth' (Thou hast already the Psalms in Welsh in the Service Book). The Prayer Book in the original edition is an exceedingly rare book; three copies are known to exist, not one of them having a title-page. The Psalter has a separate title. It is a handsome folio in B.L. The edition of 1586 is a reprint of the original. The date of the original, 1567, is given in the colophon, which is identical in its phrasing to that appended to the Testament Newydd.

² In the Welsh journal *Y Drysorfa*, for 1888, two articles under the heading 'Testament Cymraeg Cyntaf y Cymry.'

for *law*, Davies another, and their selection can still be seen in the Welsh Testament now in use. *Deddf* in 'Romans' and 'Galatians,' and *cyfraith* in 'Hebrews' and 'James,' tell their own tale, when we recall that Salesbury translated the first-named epistles and Davies the second.

The Welsh translation is based primarily upon Beza's Latin version, and especially upon the English rendering of it in the Genevan New Testament. Dr. Hugh Williams concludes from his critical examination of the text that Bishop Davies was the only one of the three translators who could with advantage go behind Beza's Latin to the Greek text. When at work Davies had before him a Greek edition by Stephanus, and occasionally the Greek original is given in the margin. Salesbury who acted as general editor, supplied the summary prefixed to each book and the contents at the head of each chapter. These are taken as they stand from the Genevan English. The verse-division is not adopted throughout. It would seem that the division into verses introduced by Stephanus in his edition of 1551, and made popular in this country by its adoption in the Genevan New Testament (Whittingham's) in 1557, and especially in the Genevan Bible of 1560, did not at first commend itself to Salesbury. The current in favour of the arrangement however, proved too strong to be resisted, and we have verse-divisions in a small section of the Acts and from 2nd Timothy onwards.

(d) *Dialectic Peculiarities of the Version*.—A noteworthy characteristic of the Welsh Testament is its number of southern idioms, whereas the principal translators were men from Gwynedd. A partial explanation of this has been found in the residence of Salesbury and Davies for some years before the appearance of the Testament Newydd in South Wales. A more important fact is the earlier existence of prose writings produced in South Wales, in which the dialectic expressions noted in the Testament are to be found. The chief feature in the translation, and that which made it impossible that it should ever become popular with the masses, was Salesbury's wilful insistence on his pedantic

theory of orthography. He had a craze for altering the words, as popularly spoken, so as to indicate more clearly their derivation. So many words were maltreated in this fashion, that we learn on the authority of Morus Kyffin and Penry that the Welsh people could not understand the lesson read from the new translation. In this respect it compares badly with a couple of Welsh Catholic books which appeared about this time, to which we call attention in a later section. Probably, says our authority, all three writers, Salesbury, Davies, and Huet, could have made a more flowing and idiomatic translation from English or Welsh into Latin.

6. *WILLIAM MORGAN'S WELSH BIBLE*.—The linguistic deficiencies of Salesbury's New Testament was remedied by the appearance in 1588 of the great translation into Welsh of the whole Bible by William Morgan. This noble work was accomplished by a parish clergyman, vicar of Llanrhaidr yn Mochnant, single-handed, where the five bishops appointed by an Act of Parliament failed. Bishop Richard Davies alone in the manner just described made some attempt to fulfil his share in the work. Morgan received much encouragement from various quarters, as he is at pains to acknowledge in his Preface. Most important to him was the favour and encouragement shown him by Archbishop Whitgift. Morgan had to appear at Lambeth to answer a complaint lodged against him by his parishioners, that he was neglecting his duties. The complainants may have been Romanists entertaining a special antipathy to his efforts to give the people a Bible in their own tongue.¹ When Whitgift found out that he was so deeply engaged in the work of translation, he gave him his protection and every furtherance in his work. There was an old tie between the men. Morgan had been a pupil of Whitgift's at Cambridge. The work was put to the press early in 1588. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, a countryman of the translator, and very favourable to his project, afforded him a home while he was correcting his proofs.

(a) *The Character of Morgan's Bible*.—Dr. Morgan was a competent scholar, well versed in Hebrew and Greek. Some

¹ See F. O. White, *Eliz. Bishops*, p. 344.

of his renderings which Bishop Parry, in his revision of 1620, influenced by the English Authorised Version of 1611, corrected, are shown by the English Revised Version to have been the better renderings. More than scholarship is required by a great Biblical translator; more than an intimate knowledge of the structure of the two languages involved in his task. He must possess the rare gift of being able so to clothe the new version with the idiom of the language into which he is translating the Scripture, that the translation becomes a classic in that language. It was a gift possessed by William Tyndale, and in equally liberal measure by William Morgan. The Bible possessed by the Welsh to-day, Morgan's translation revised by Parry in 1620, is the finest criterion of the ancient tongue. Morgan transformed Salesbury's awkward pedantic Welsh, into Welsh of the highest literary excellence, pliant and musical and abounding in felicities of phrase. The change from Salesbury, who was not ignorant of the resources of the Welsh tongue, was as great as from Holinshed and his Chronicles to the plays of Shakespeare. Morus Kyffin, himself a fine writer of Welsh, in the Preface to *Deffyniad y Ffydd* (Jewel's *Apology*) published in 1594, roundly chastises some Welsh clerics and others, for their unnatural disparagement of their mother-tongue; he repudiates the gnarled and eccentric Cymraeg of Salesbury; but of Morgan's monumental work, he says:

'Dr. William Morgan translated the Bible from end to end, at long last; a necessary work, triumphant, godly, learned, for which Wales is not able ever to pay and thank him as he deserves.'

(b) *Dr. Morgan's Preferment*.—Naturally so distinguished a clergyman was marked out for preferment. In 1595 he was appointed to the bishopric of Llandaff. The see being poor owing to the plundering of its revenues, the new bishop was allowed to retain some of his livings *in commendam*. In 1601 he was translated to St. Asaph.¹ It is said that Sir

¹ Mr. F. O. White has found in the Cecil MSS. at Hatfield a letter from Dr. Morgan to Sir Robert Cecil, dated 27 December 1600, enclosing a 'smalle newe yeares guifte,' and gently reminding him of the vacancy at St. Asaph (*Eliz. Bishops*, p. 345).

John Wynn of Gwydir, Morgan's early patron, exerted his great influence to secure this appointment, and then complained loudly that the bishop would not corruptly plunder the see in his interests. The refusal was entirely creditable to Dr. Morgan, who on entering on the see, a poor enough man, rejected the valuable sinecures which his archpluralist predecessor had enjoyed. He died in 1604 leaving no property behind him.

7. *Some Early Welsh Episcopal Appointments under Elizabeth.*—Let us now turn to the Church in Wales as reformed by Elizabeth, and as Penry knew it. In one respect, at least, the Elizabethan appointments were worthy of commendation. Her bishops were all Welshmen. Only one of them was taken over from the old Popish hierarchy, and he a notorious person. Anthony Kitchen remained in his see of Llandaff. In the days of King Henry he was Abbot of Eynsham. He renounced the Pope's supremacy in 1534, and became bishop of Llandaff in 1545. His Protestant professions developed under Edward. Under Mary, finding the wind blowing strongly from another quarter, he deftly trimmed his sails and became a zealous Romanist, and became much occupied with the business of persecution. He took part in the condemnation of Bishop Hooper, and he sentenced the Cardiff fisherman, Rawlings White, to be burnt. When Elizabeth came to the throne, after some show of hesitation, the hoary old sinner took the oath of allegiance and clung to his episcopal office.

(1) *Rowland Meyrick, Bishop of Bangor.*—The first of the new appointees was Rowland Meyrick, who was given the see of Bangor. He was an Anglesey man, and had been principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford. In Catholic times he was a secular priest.

(a) *His Antecedents.*—Meyrick entered upon his duties as bishop with a shadowed reputation. He and Thomas Young¹ were appointed overseers of St. David's, when the bishopric was vacant in the reign of Edward. They shamefully robbed

¹ Appointed by Elizabeth to St. David's, but within a year transferred to the Archbishopric of York.

the cathedral of its jewels and plate, and corruptly disposed of its manors. But worse followed. When Bishop Ferrar came on the scene he summarily dismissed them for their robberies and for their unclerical conduct. They retaliated by drawing up a vindictive series of accusations against the bishop, some of the charges frivolous, some malicious gossip. The result was that Ferrar was summoned to London, and by ill-fortune was in custody when the young King died. Under Mary he was sent to Carmarthen, and tried there on the more serious count of being a Protestant. He was burnt at the stake in the square at Carmarthen. Young visited Ferrar before his martyrdom and expressed his contrition for his part in bringing him to the stake. Meyrick who drew up the accusatory articles, he was a lawyer before entering the Church, made no sign.¹

(b) *Meyrick's Report upon the See.*—Very soon after his appointment to Bangor, the bishop sent to Archbishop Parker an account of his diocese (May, 1561). He complains that most of the cathedral dignitaries are absentees, as also are many of the parochial clergy. The scandal of laymen holding Church livings is rife, 'to the utter decay of learned men to be Ministers.' There are only two preachers in his see; others there are possessed of sufficient learning and ability, but they are the old Romanists who have conformed. And since they restrict their conformity to what is outwardly and legally necessary, the Bishop cannot license them to preach. However, he says he is labouring with them, presumably to bring their theology up to the Reformation standard.² We judge that Meyrick's success in bringing his diocese into order was small. Four years later, in 1565, Parker writes to Burghley that he hears it is 'much out of order, both having no preaching there, and pensionary concubinary openly continued, notwithstanding liberty of marriage granted.'³

¹ MS. Lives, Dr. Williams's Library, vol. i. p. 125 (2); F. O. White, *Eliz. Bishops*, p. 96; Strype, *Memorials* iij. 1. p. 424.

² Dr. A. Peel, *Cal. of Second Parte of a Register*, vol. i. p. 47.

³ *Parker's Corresp.* (Park. Soc.), 259.

(2) *Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor.*—When Meyrick died in September 1565, Parker reports to Burghley, that information had reached him that the people at Bangor ‘wish no Welshman’ in the vacant see. Who they were who so wished, ‘some wise men partly of the same country,’ we do not know. Parker’s own choice was Huet (Hewet, he writes it) who had a hand in Salesbury’s translation of the New Testament.¹ However, Elizabeth appointed Nicholas Robinson, a native of Conway and a graduate of Cambridge. When the Queen visited Oxford this year he was of her entourage, a circumstance not unfavourable to his promotion. Cecil also favoured his appointment, and Parker’s later information was that the Welsh people preferred him ‘to Ellis or Hewett.’² On entering upon his episcopate in 1567, he sent Burghley an account of the condition of things as he found them, a document already referred to. He tells us that the ‘careful diligence’ of Chief Justice Bromley had secured to the people of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, peace and quietness; but with that his satisfaction ends. In the matter of religion the people, though outwardly conforming, are ignorant, even ‘in the dregges of superstition.’ Everywhere the old Romish paraphernalia abounded. In the churches, images and altars remained undefaced. ‘Lewde and indecent’ vigils and watches were kept, pilgrimages were in vogue, candles were still lit before the images of the saints; the poor besotted people carried about relics; and beads and ‘knotts’ were everywhere common. Coming to the reasons for this spiritual backwardness, Bishop Robinson ascribes it to the lack of a vernacular Bible, and the inefficiency of the clergy. There were ‘not six y^t can preache in y^{ese} three shierres.’ The condition of the clergy he thought beyond redress. ‘The most part of y^e priestes are to olde, they say, now to be put to schole.’³

(3) *Bishop Thomas Davies of St. Asaph.*—The first appoint-

¹ *Parker’s Corresp.* (Park. Soc.), 257, 259 (February 7 and 12, 1565/6).

² *Ibid.* 261.

³ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 44. 27, quoted by W. Hughes; *St. Asaph* (Dioc. Hist.), 81 f.; F. O. White, *Eliz. Bishops*, 179.

ment to the adjoining North Wales see of St. Asaph was Dr. Richard Davies; but within a year he was translated to St. David's. But before leaving St. Asaph he reported to Burghley the scandalous distribution of its prebendaries, and that in the whole of the diocese there were only five competent and duly licensed preachers.¹ He was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Davies, a native of Caerhŷn in Carnarvonshire, and a graduate of Cambridge, who at the close of the reign of Henry was appointed chancellor of Bangor. Under Mary the chancellor was deprived of his office, but was given the rectory of Trefriw, in the Vale of Conway, and later became archdeacon of St. Asaph. He was appointed bishop by Elizabeth in 1561, and forthwith sent to the Privy Council a report upon the condition of his diocese. Chiefly, it consists of a miserable account of the misappropriation of benefices, poorly paid curates doing duty in some fashion for absentee parsons. We hear the note of resentment in the entry, 'An Archdeacon namyd Rychard Rogers who ys also Vycar of Dunmow in essex and ys resident upon hys vycarage. The seyd archdeacon hath no jurisdiction.' We also learn that the rectory of Dyserth is 'appropriat to the Archdeaconry.' We are not surprised to note the entry in the list of absentees the future Bishop of Bangor. 'Nicholas Robinson parson of Northop, chapelyn attendant on my L. arch-busshop of Canterburyes grace.'² By the year 1570 Bishop Davies can report that he had reduced his diocese to somewhat better discipline, though some disorderly persons remain.³

(4) *Bishop Richard Davies of St. David's*.—Dr. Richard Davies has already appeared in our pages as an important collaborator of William Salesbury in the production of the first Welsh New Testament, in which was inserted his rousing patriotic appeal to the Welsh nation; we have also seen his report on the piracy rife in the South Wales waters. Let us now go back to his settlement in his new diocese in 1561. He began forthwith to make a careful survey of his sphere of

¹ D. R. Thomas, *St. Asaph*, 70 f.

² *Harl. MSS.* 594 (2).

³ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 74. 37.

oversight, noting the many deficiencies existing and determining how they might be remedied.

(a) *His Report to the Privy Council, 1569-70.*—Towards the close of the year 1568 the Privy Council in London were pressing the Welsh Council to procure from all sheriffs and justices of the peace throughout Wales their subscription to the Act of Uniformity. By the beginning of the new year from nearly all the counties returns were received duly signed.¹ About the same time Bishop R. Davies sent to the Privy Council an elaborate report on his own diocese.² He states that it contained no recusant of any social degree. All received the sacrament in their parish churches at Easter, though there was great coldness and carelessness in 'the true service of God,' and some, while conforming, 'wysse the romyshe relygyon agayne.' We have the same dreary tale of the impoverishment of the religious machinery of the diocese, through absenteeism, pluralism, lay-impropriation, and the holding of livings by men incapable of preaching. The chancellor, David Powell, was 'no preacher'; he was rector of Whytten, and had a living in the diocese of St. Asaph. The cathedral treasurer, Dr. Hugh Price, was a non-resident, to the obvious detriment of the business of the Church; and this scandal, the Bishop further and justly complains, was allowed by a dispensation under the great seal. William Blethyn, appointed Bishop of Llandaff five years later, now archdeacon of Brecknock, and canon and commissary of St. David's, was non-resident. Where he resided is not clear, but he had before him a fine choice; he held prebends at York and Llandaff, and was rector of Sunningwell in Berkshire and of Rogiett in Monmouthshire.³ The archdeacon of Carmarthen, who in addition held a canonry at St. David's, was also a canon of Hereford and there resided. Dr. Thomas Powell, prebendary and canon of St. David's, resided at Gloucester, being the chancellor of its cathedral. Thomas Barlow—an inevitable name, when the church is being plundered—and Griffith Toye, university students, held

¹ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 66. 19.

² *Ibid.* 66. 26.

³ F. O. White, *Eliz. Bishops*, 199.

respectively the prebends of Merthyr and Llangan. Another Barlow held one of the richest of the prebends and was a student at Oxford. Twelve 'cursal' prebends were distributed as personal favours; one supported a boy at a grammar school, another a student at Oxford. Four other prebends were held by Oxford students, and twenty-one were assigned to the support of Christ's College at Brecon.

(b) *Pluralism and Lay-impropriation.*—Pluralism meant non-residency, and a meanly-paid curate who indifferently supplied the needs of the people. Lay-impropriation reached a great height of scandal. Things were much worse than in the days when the old religious houses held large numbers of livings and furnished them with curates; for if they paid the curates an annual stipend of no more than six pounds, they boarded and lodged them. These livings now sequestered were held by the Queen, who paid only a bare pension, without meat and drink and lodgement. Starving curates could not be induced to serve these parishes. Many of the cures had the disadvantage of being indebted to the Queen, and the next incumbent made himself responsible for the unpaid tenths. Who can wonder that men were not to be found to accept parochial duties on such terms? The perplexed Bishop's remedy was that the Privy Council should request her Majesty to reserve one-fourth of the fruits of the parish, and to appeal to the parishioners to supply the remainder necessary to enable the clergyman to live. One could have but a slender hope of a liberal response from the parishioners, but the appeal to Elizabeth would certainly fall on deaf ears. In such matters she had neither conscience nor compassion.

The Bishop awakens our sympathy by his piteous disclosure of the spiritual poverty of his see, and compels us to feel all through his report, that only the greed of these sacrilegious robbers stands in the way of a substantial measure of religious revival throughout the diocese. There was ample provision for the spiritual needs of every parish, whose ecclesiastical income was presumably raised to secure to the parishioners Christian instruction and pastoral oversight; but for ages this tax had been diverted to all manner of alien

purposes. Sometimes to objects alleged to be religious, when it became robbery in the name of religion; under the old church it went, to foreigners, who knew nothing of the land or the people. Often enough, there was not even the pretence of religion in the appropriation of the parish funds. In the eyes of the governing authorities, the last person to be considered was the ignorant unawakened parishioner, whose labours were the source of all the funds of the church. He in return for his tithes, great and small, in numbers of cases, did not get a whole service in his parish church, once in the course of the year. On Sundays and holy days, the Epistle or Gospel for the day, or the suffrages might be read. Bishop Davies says the tithe-farmers would not give a living wage to support a resident clergyman, 'but shyft wth a priest that shall come thyther galloping from another parishe'; who 'for such paines' got forty shillings; 'iiij marks or iiij li (pounds) the best.' If the Ordinary attempted to take proper means to remedy the scandal, he was faced with various legal writs. He could not compel the lay impropiators to show their leases, to see how far they were compelled to maintain the cure. They refused to acknowledge the rectorial obligation to repair the chancel of the church. A list is given of impropriate churches whose chancels were 'in great decay, some in utter ruins.' There were disorders in the diocese, and here also the Ordinary was helpless. The 'vicious lyvers' remained unchecked. A proportion of these were priests; but they went on their way, gay and unheeding, although their offences were of a very scandalous nature. The pluralists, with the same defiance of the bishop and his law, continued to serve three, four, sometimes five cures, 'but none aright.' The reason was that they were supported by the gentlemen farmers [of the church endowments] of the same churches. It was in vain that the writ *De excommunicato capiendo* was issued against incorrigible moral offenders. The sheriffs in all the shires comprised in the diocese, received a sufficient bribe to induce them to fail to serve the writ. The Bishop's remedy would be, to grant him and his Chancellor legal power to arrest and imprison.

Justices of the peace likewise are corrupt in their administration of the law, showing respect of persons and perverting judgment to please great men.¹

(5) *Bishop Middleton of St. David's*.—Bishop Richard Davies died in the autumn of 1581 and in the following year was succeeded by Marmaduke Middleton. He was of Westmoreland stock; but his father had settled in Cardiganshire. His appointment is hard to understand, for his unfitness for the office would seem to have been notorious. He was naturally an easy butt for the satire and raillery of Marprelate, who not only accused him of ignorance, but says he was a bigamist, and gives the names of his two wives.² He was driven from Cambridge because of his incontinence, which may account for his want of learning; in Ireland, he succeeded first in getting a benefice and afterwards in being promoted to the bishopric of Waterford. But he found the Irish Romanists intractable, and they were abundant in their allegations against him of evil living and various irregularities. However, he did not find his Welsh diocese up to his standard, and reports³—the date is probably 1583—its shortcomings. He is replete with fine reforming sentiments, and regards with pious grief the improverished funds of the churches. So disconsolate is he at the impossibility of laying his hands on any church funds, that he does not spare his predecessor in his condemnation of the evil practices that have prevailed before he appeared upon the scene. His is a 'wofull and miserable estate.' Of forty-two prebends there are not twelve furnished with 'sufficient⁴ incumbents.' If he refuse to instal the unworthy, he is at once faced with the writ *quare impedit*. He cannot place a worthy person in a vacant living, the prebendal estates are so leased out, and the livings advowsoned. The best of the livings which, in any rightly ordered diocese, should be in his, the Bishop's, gift, are leased and advowsoned to the late

¹ *Vid. A Funeral Sermon at the Burial of the Earl of Essex*, by Richard Davies, bp. of St. David's, 1577. Sig. D ij. rect. et vers.

² See my edition of the *Marprelate Tracts*, pp. 90, 95 (§ 4), 186 (§ 2).

³ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 165.

⁴ Competent.

bishop's friends. Not for fifty years will the chief part of the revenue return to the disposal of the holder of the see. The Queen has appropriated the best of these sequestered livings, the duties being vicariously performed in these cures at a beggarly rate. Simony is so common that men are neither ashamed nor afraid to go about it openly. Middleton in another place alleges, on the evidence of Bishop Davies's brother-in-law, that a living was never bestowed by Davies except for a consideration, his defence being that he could not otherwise live.¹

He reports a great traffic in rectories and vicarages in the hands of lay patrons ; only inferior and unworthy men take up these impecunious cures. The new Bishop takes very high ground in regard to these nefarious transactions. Religion, he gravely says, is 'contemned through the basenes [low social rank] of the cleargie, god dyshonoured in preferringe of unworthye members of the mynistrie : the Gospell hindered through soche ignorant pastors, the people perish for want of foode.' He reports that there are within the see, fifty-four beneficed graduates ; of these fourteen are preachers ; these are the only preachers in the diocese. This lack of Gospel-preachers greatly exercised his mind, and prompted him to draw up a plan, whereby his little band of preachers should, in a small measure, make up for this widespread lack of the ministry of the Word. He required two B.D.'s to preach outside their own cure, each thirty sermons annually ; each of nineteen M.A.'s, twenty ; of twenty-two B.A.'s, twenty ; and the same proportion for his two 'professors of Artes.' Himself, '52 at the least (god granting me health).' Her Majesty's Injunctions prescribed four sermons annually in each parish church ; she had little regard for sermons. But Middleton acknowledges that his arrangement would not even provide for one sermon a year in each of the preacherless churches. He gives a sad account of the moral condition of his diocese, reporting over two thousand incontinent lives, and seventy-four cases of incest ; these all presumably in the classes above the social level of the labouring people.

¹ F. O. White, *Eliz. Bishops*, 126.

From the remarks we made at the beginning of our notice of Bishop Middleton, it will be concluded that he is a curious witness on the morals of his people. And the same must be said of his allegations against Dr. Richard Davies ; though some support for these latter is said to be derived from other sources.

8. *George Owen of Henllys on Pembrokeshire.*—The only serious witness opposing the general judgment of the Bishops and of John Penry, on the condition of the churches and the ministry, is George Owen of Henllys, in his account of Pembrokeshire.¹ He is a great lover of his country, and of that south-west corner of it in which he counted it his great happiness to dwell. An urbane, educated, country-gentleman, a stout upholder of the established order in church and state, he gives a genial account of his friends and neighbours in the county. Among the leading gentlemen of Pembrokeshire, he tells us, there was quietness and good-fellowship. ‘It is a rare and seldome thing to here of an affray or quarrell amonge the Gentlemen of the cheefest sorte.’² He is greatly disturbed by Penry’s account of the religious condition of Wales, as given in his first pamphlet, the *Aequity*. Penry is that ‘shameles mann, that of late yeares, to the Sclaunder of all *Wales*, hath not stickt to put furth in Prynte that all *Wales* had not soe many Preachers of Goddes woorde, as I have reckoned to bee founde in this Poore and little Contrie of Pembrokesheere.’ But while rebutting Penry’s statistics, he is easily satisfied in the matter of preachers. He would appear to be writing of the preaching plan of Bishop Middleton, who, as we have seen, laments that it would not supply the needy churches with one sermon a year ; only Owen claims all the preachers of the diocese for his county, and then with a beau geste lets you judge the rest of Wales by his county. ‘There is within this Sheere,’ he says, ‘Eight or Tenn Godly and Lerned ministers and Preachers of the *Gospell*.’ The Bishop reported that he had nine in his diocese, so that the numbers agree. Owen proceeds to say that they ‘Travell and labour

¹ Excellently edited for the Cymmrodorion Soc. by Dr. Henry Owen.

² *Op. cit.* Part III. 98.

in the Lordes *vinearde*; especiallie some aboute the rest that take their contynuall paynes.' He reluctantly admits that there are others who 'begin to be more Slowthfull'; yet let us note, 'not altogeather Idell.' In the 'Eight or Tenn' he includes only those 'that contynually reside in the Contrye vpon their Lyvinges and Travell among their Neighboures.' He has even a good word for the non-residents. These 'lerned men,' he claims, 'at tymes visite their chardge.' And there are 'diverse good Schollers and Graduattes . . . yett not Publick Preachers.'¹ Well, it is not a lavish supply to meet the spiritual hunger of a county, much less of a diocese. George Owen's defence, amiable and easy-going, shows a lack of understanding. We learn however from the informative introduction of his modern editor, that the customs of George Owen and his father 'seem to have been patriarchal'; the illegitimate issue of their *cariad wragedd* (love-wives) were 'thought worthy of mention in the heraldic visitation.'² A man of these easy morals is not likely to regard the spiritual needs of a people from the same point of view as a bishop burdened by his diocesan responsibility, as Dr. Richard Davies, or an enthusiastic young evangelist such as Penry. The sacrilege, simony, and church-robbery generally, with its certain reaction upon the religion and morals of the people, make no impression upon George Owen. He takes credit for the spiritual emergency-ration, which, as Middleton acknowledges, did not provide a sermon a year in the great number of neglected churches within his diocese. He even thinks it creditable on the part of the unprincipled non-residents, that they 'at times visite their chardge.' Yet such men as Owen are often great upholders of the Church and treat its ministry with marked outward deference. A cleric visiting Henllys would be certain to be entertained right hospitably. The genial and witty host would make no mention of his shortcomings, and he, on his part, would exercise discretion, and not allude to bastards.

9. *Disturbances in Churchyards*.—The churchyard in Wales, as in England, was continually the scene of disturbance and

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 98, 99.

² *Ibid.* p. xi n.⁶

disorder. A natural source of trouble was the dispensation of 'church ales' within the enclosure; the parishioners got drunk and intractable, in their zeal to support the funds of the church. May-games also invaded the sacred precincts, with their noisy and unbefitting gaiety, and the broad humour of their performance. A special and significant cause of trouble is given in the Cardiff Records. There were still many Catholics left in the country, practising in secret such rites of their banished church as they were able. The episcopal reports where available, would lead us to suppose that their numbers were fewer than in fact they were. The bishops report that in any case they attended the established order of reformed worship. The private information of the imperial Privy Council did not support this view. After years of complaint, the Council in their communications to the Welsh Council on this subject become more peremptory. Because of his slackness in prosecuting recusants the Lord President was in disfavour. Justices, sheriffs, and jurors are all included in the same accusation. In 1580 the Council is told that the Queen is offended, that, though a year has elapsed since her complaint was communicated to them, nothing has been done.¹ In Cardiff, in the year 1585, nine Catholics are before the court, two of them of the status of 'gentleman,' for absence from church. Next year nineteen recusants are indicted. But whether they outwardly conformed or remained rebellious, when they died they had to be buried in the parochial churchyards; and these being now under Protestant control, and Roman rites banned, the dead Papist had to be buried according to the Protestant form and ceremonial; a peculiar indignity to the Catholic mind. That there should be violent and unseemly altercation is but what we should expect.² A sign of the reformed faith is also seen in the continual prosecutions for breaking the Sabbath; and perhaps the common offence of playing tennis in service-time.

Beyond the region of indictable offences there was a great amount of superstition in the country, remaining over from the old Catholic times, when it flourished unheeded; though

¹ Skeel, pp. 101, 102.

² *Cardiff Records*, ii. 158.

much of it could be traced back to the days of primitive paganism. Bishop Robinson's report to Burghley in 1567 is typical of all the Welsh dioceses in this respect. In the churches, as we have seen, images and altars remain undefaced; and among the people many superstitious rites were practised.¹

10. *Romanism and the Welsh Church under Elizabeth.* (a) *An Unsupported Claim.*—The case of the Romanists in Wales under the Elizabethan dispensation has been reserved for separate treatment in the present brief section. It has been dealt with by a Welsh legal authority in the *Magazine* of the learned and patriotic Cymmrodorion Society for the year 1902.² With his, Mr. Williams's, conclusions, so far as concerns the reign of Elizabeth, we find ourselves in little agreement. The Romanist Wales displayed in his pages never existed; it is a creation of the poetic imagination. Even worse, his brilliant gifts as a pleader can produce for us a picture of events, the attractiveness of which is due to the careful omission of all the qualifying facts and circumstances. There is not a hint in his essay of the grave and poignant moral and spiritual problems affecting Cymru, and involved in his enquiry. His dexterity, as an advocate, enables him to use facts, such as they are, in support of his position, whereas their true significance is altogether against his assumption. For example he can scrape together, the result of enquiries in all quarters, two—or is it, three?—contemptible vestiges of the old Popish superstitions, which scantily and dubiously survive in odd corners of the Principality. Then, parading this forlorn and beggarly muster before us, with an amazing gesture, he bids us wonder and reflect upon the permanent place which the Popish religion held in the life of the Welsh people! He sifts the social history of popery in Wales, and out of the mass he retrieves one or two worm-eaten damaged grains. *Voilà tout!* When Madame Curie takes her tons of raw material and reduces it

¹ See above, p. 121.

² Mr. W. Ll. Williams, K.C., B.C.L., Recorder of Cardiff, *Y Cymmrodor* (1902). The papers have been reprinted in *The Making of Mod. Wales*, chap. v., 'The Reformation.' (The above section was written before the lamented death of this patriotic Welshman.)

to a few grammes, the residuum is potent radium. But all that Mr. Williams has to show in defence of the former glories of Welsh papistry is, that in a few places in Wales, as it is alleged, children still are to be found who sometimes play a game which they call Mari Lwyd, which Mr. Williams derives from an old mystery-play on the Virgin Mary; though the children in their play are ignorant of such knowledge; and though they play in Welsh, it may be confidently added, that they are ignorant of the archaic meaning of the word 'llwyd.' Gwynnos [= watch-night, vigil] is hardly pressed into service as an unconscious memory, in its puritan setting, of masses for the dead. But Mr. Williams knows perfectly well that watches (or masses) for the dead are of far older date than Romanism, or even Christianity, in Wales. He is here touching a lower stratum, that of old primitive paganism. Even the very partial observance of Sûl y blodau (Flower Sunday), a beautiful custom which the awakening of the Episcopal Church in Wales, with the churchyards in its control, has tended to revive, is a poor support for Mr. Williams's amplitude of claim. If these be the facts, on which our judgement is to be framed, then we can only marvel that Romanism, which for long generations had the lives of the Welsh people under its exclusive control, had yet so little permanent hold upon the real life of the nation.¹ It vanished so completely, because it never touched the moral depths of a people, who, naturally, are very responsive to religion.

(b) *Some Sources of Reliable Knowledge.*—We have a body of reliable testimony to the character of Roman Catholicism in Wales, as a moral discipline, in the records of the social life of the people. What life was like in Wales may be seen at large in the official volumes *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, or better still in the pages of Dr. Skeel, who

¹ This habit of quietly taking a verdict against the weight of evidence is seen, wherever he touches this controversial aspect of popery. On p. 111 in a footnote Mr. Williams breaks forth with the exclamation 'How hard Catholicism died in Carmarthenshire. . . .' Any one but Mr. Williams would have said 'How easy.' To those who regard them, the rites of Catholicism are vital to their eternal welfare, and can only be administered by a priest. In 1700 there was only one priest in the county. Catholicism in Carmarthenshire must have passed away peacefully in its sleep.

deals with them in an expert manner. Later evidence showing the condition of things when the Reformed Church came into power has been adduced in our own earlier pages. The ordinary parish priest under the Roman dominion, who in most cases transferred his services to Protestantism under Elizabeth, was evidently an ignorant person, knowing little of the significance of the ceremonies he performed. He was a superstitious teacher, trading upon the superstitions of the people. The ethical value of his teaching and preaching, and of his performance of the rites of his Church, we must conclude to have been very small. It did little to restrain the criminal impulses of the people to whom he ministered. The extracts we have given earlier from the various sources of historical knowledge now available, and the testimonies of the first reformed bishops under Elizabeth, give a melancholy picture of the country.

(c) *The Desire for Spiritual Light and Knowledge.*—Yet it would be strange if there were not amidst the crime and disorder which prevailed some devout souls who longed for better things, ill-content with the ignorant and unintelligible worship rendered in a strange tongue; men and women who had caught some glimpse of the fair face of the Gospel of the love of God, and of a divine power which could cleanse the burdened soul and give peace and hope in the article of death. The testimony of Romanist authorities is contradictory. Griffith Roberts, a Roman Catholic dignitary to whom we shall refer further presently, writing of the early section of Elizabeth's reign says, that in a large part of Wales there are no Christians at all: and few, and they obscure, in any part. By Christians Griffith Roberts means of course, Roman Catholics. But the brief of the agents of the 'counter Reformation' instructed them to claim the whole nation as still faithful to the Pope, except the few whom fear had driven into the ranks of Protestantism. Mr. Llewelyn Williams says he adopts the 'commonplace of history, that the Reformation was not welcomed in Wales.' But a profounder appreciation of the situation would explain this by the dark and backward state of the people. Penry is a good

witness to the state of affairs—disinterested, patriotic and highly intelligent. Is a people, such as is described by him, likely to welcome any religion, which rigorously demands a high moral standard of life, and a worship, pure and spiritual? Were these confederates of robbers and pirates, the multitudes who profited in one way or another by legal corruption, the murderous gangs of retainers supported by the great houses, likely to welcome righteous and impartially-delivered civil laws? Are they, ignorant priests and ignorant people, likely to welcome better education, imparted to all classes and demanding some corresponding sacrifice?

(d) *Lack of Welsh Catholic Manuals for Popular Religious Instruction.*—Welsh Roman Catholic books for the instruction of the people were an emergency literature. They represent no popular demand, but rather the anxiety of the hierarchy, faced with the establishment of a Reformed Church. The old Church has no popular religious literature in the vernacular, no Bible. That is not the *métier* of Romanism, and in the old days it mattered but little. The present disaster, however, is serious enough to justify the use of the machinery of Satan, and to commandeer the uncanonised common tongue, in the effort to rescue the faith, and to maintain obedience to the Pope.

The native cry now heard, for vernacular books on religion, is the voice of the evangelical movement, which first affected the educated and the travelled section of the population, this latter class including the relatively large numbers of traders, and all whose business affairs took them into England. These knew more or less the story of the reformed religion and its struggles among the English from the reign of Henry VIII. and young Edward, through the forbidding reign of Mary and her Spanish husband, to the awakening and recovery under Elizabeth. And as under the Marian persecution the 'sacrifice of the altar' was the test for the martyrs, so here, under the Protestant awakening, the test of the true progressive was a demand for the Bible and for prayers and thanksgivings to God in the mother-tongue. This cry now came from the benighted people. A faint cry and far between

at first, but it grew apace. Its results are seen in the Act authorising the translation of the sacred Scriptures, and the complete Welsh Bible of William Morgan.

(e) *Progress under the Tudors.*—Amidst the ignorant and irreligious masses, the hope of Wales lay in this ‘remnant’ thinly scattered over the country. They longed for secular enlightenment, and for the comfort and strength of the Christian religion; for both, since a Bible is useless unless you can read it. They wanted not a religious ritual, but, as Penry repeats incessantly, a ‘preached word’ which made its appeal to the conscience and understanding, and gave them direct access to the source of Mercy. Thomas Cromwell moved in the right direction, rough and tactless as were his methods. Both he and his master Henry VIII. lacked an understanding of the patriotic love of the people for their ancient language, their national history, and for customs long antedating the cult of Rome. Nevertheless, on the balance, the Reformation brought with it an enormous preponderance of good. Indeed the condition of Wales began to improve with the coming of the Tudors. They caused many windows to be opened, and fresh air to flow in to revive the stagnant and isolated people.

Dyw dodes *fortun*, do ; doded hiroedl
 I'r King Harri seithved,
 Da y gŵyr wedi gwared
 Dynu'r groes a'i dwyn i'r Grêd.¹

So sang Lewis y Glyn.

(f) *The Witness of the Poets.*—The poets of the period, even when untouched by the new faith, not uncommonly made the monk the butt of their satire. Some of the religious houses silenced their sarcasm by their free and sometimes profuse hospitality, especially extended to guests so interesting and entertaining as the bards. Mr. Williams even makes a point of the hospitality shown by the parish priest which could not be shown by the reformed minister burdened by

¹ In plain prose—‘Yes, God gave fortune, may He give long life, to the King, Harry the seventh. Well he knows after the deliverance how to draw in the cross and place it in the Creed.’

a wife and family. I do not know where he gets his facts from.¹ I have met with nothing in the Welsh literature of *this period* to justify his statement. There are one or two obvious criticisms upon it which every informed reader will make without delay. First, the parish priest under Elizabeth is the same priest who held the living under Mary, in nine cases out of ten. If we are to believe what is said of the system of pensionary concubinage, the popish priest also, though not married, had a wife and family; and it is a complaint against him that when the law was changed, he still continued the old system, rather than have a legal wife. This system of cohabitation was accepted without remark by the community.²

The men who laboured in the beginning of the cultural movement represented the more enlightened elements of the nation. Sir John Prys, William Salesbury, Morus Kyffin, Bishops Richard Davies and William Morgan, were examples of the higher type of Christian patriotism. From them came, naturally, the first-fruits of the Welsh press. And the poets were among those that rejoiced when the new day broke upon the mountains of Wales. Siôn Tudur was of an older generation than Penry, whom he nevertheless survived. He emerges out of the old Catholic darkness to greet the new light. His praise is unstinted for the Welsh Bible, and for deliverance from the Roman sacerdotal salvation, which the new light has discredited. Who is the Pope that he should divert the divine judgement laid upon the guilty? He wants the pardon which comes from a diviner source.

Byr i enaid brow annoeth,
 Pardwn Pab rhag purdan poeth
 Pan farnai Dduw poen fwrn ddu
 Pwy yw'r dyn all bardynu?
 Gorau pardwn gwn a gaid,
 Gwaed yr Oen i gadw'r enaid,³

¹ *The Making of Mod. Wales*, p. 200.

² Gerald the Welshman states that this quasi-marriage was almost universal in Wales. Bp. Bera (St. David's) defends the issue of licenses for concubines to priests because it brought him in 400 marks per annum. H. G. Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, i. 358; art. 'Celibacy' in *Encycl. Brit.*

³ Welsh readers should mark well this happy epigrammatic couplet.

Llawenydd yn nydd a nos,
 Llawenychon llawn achos ;
 Dwyn gras i bob dyn a gred,
 Dwyn geirieu Duw'n agored.¹

For like reasons Morus Kyffin, poet and prose writer, a warm patriotic soul, rejoices in Morgan's great Bible. He is as keen as the Roman dignitary Dr. Gruffydd Roberts in his desire to perpetuate and enrich the ancient Welsh tongue, and can lavish praise on the old Doctor, nothing deterred by his Catholic faith. He does not know that he has ever seen anything better in Welsh than the Grammar, *Dosbarth byrr*, which Gruffydd Roberts issued from Milan. Great praise has he also for the Epistle to the Welsh by Bishop Richard Davies, inserted in the preface to Salesbury's New Testament. But Kyffin's praise of Dr. William Morgan's Bible is significant. The old and foolish policy of the advisers of Henry VIII., to endeavour to remedy the deep needs of Wales by suppressing her ancient tongue, was cancelled when Elizabeth passed the Act for the translation of the Scriptures into Welsh. And of the accomplishment of that work by the vicar of Llanrhaiadr, he says, that it gives a fresh dignity and status to the language, which was growing feeble, producing only an occasional unclean song, or some other kind of loose writing. If by chance a bard should essay to rough-hew a poem touching upon religion, in many points, for lack of learning, his muse became famished, and then he must needs turn to the *Golden Legend*, with its fables.² And, we repeat, the vernacular Bible was the fruit of the Reformation.

(g) *Romanism viewed as an Alien Intrusion*.—When aroused out of their sleep, by the liberated forces of an evangelical faith, the Welsh people did not look back upon the cashiered

¹ A plain translation of the quotation is: 'Brief (of small account) for the fearful and foolish soul is the Pope's pardon from hot purgatory. When God condemns to the pains of the black furnace, who is the *man* that can pardon? The best of pardons, I know, has been gained, the blood of the Lamb to save the soul. Let us rejoice, for there is sufficient cause; our happiness endures through the night and day: grace is given to every man that believes, and the words of God are published openly.'

² Introd. to Kyffin's *Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*, a Welsh translation of Jewel's *Apology*.

Roman Church, as a severed part of their nationhood. The Romish cult, with its strange tongue, its foreign dignitaries, its foreign Pope, was an alien domination. There was an ancient Welsh Church, whose name and fame were still unforgotten; whose saints have given names to half the parishes of Wales, a Church whose heroic missionaries had penetrated all parts of the land, carrying with them a faith which was no foe to freedom, a Church which the autocracy of Rome had suppressed by its characteristic methods. It was to this old British Church that Bishop Richard Davies, in the above-named Epistle, and John Penry in his first book, the *Aequity*, looked back with admiration and regret. Penry, who had a scholar's acquaintance with the old histories, points out that for centuries the people had the Gospel. Even the common people, much given, he laments, to swearing, swear not 'by the mass,' which in Wales, is an affair of yesterday. And her holy days, as their names show, antedate the mass. And this interloping foreign Church had left the illiterate people with a faith, which, at the coming of the Reformation, differed little from the aboriginal paganism of the times of Stonehenge.

(h) *An Illusive Picture of Social Life*.—If, knowing nothing otherwise, we should reconstruct the social life of Wales under the rule of Rome, from the amiable suggestions scattered liberally over the pages of Mr. Llewelyn Williams, we should have an idyllic picture; the host, generous and hearty, piling the logs on the hearth, the telynwr touching the harp to an old-time melody, and the company around the fire, taking up in turn the accompanying song, 'pawb a'i bennill yn ei gwrs'; near by, is abundant good cheer for stranger and friend; in a quiet corner the little ones are all too noisily playing Mari Lwyd; and of the company is the saintly priest, to pronounce his fatherly benediction on all the innocent jollity. The picture envisaged, we need hardly say, is moonshine. Nor can we follow our enthusiastic countryman when he points to the fine and delicate art, clearly seen even in the ruins of Tintern Abbey, and more or less in the ruins of other fine monastic foundations in Wales, as memorials

of the 'art and piety' of the inhabitants, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. When the Cistercians gathered strength, under the energy and enthusiasm of Bernard, and began to expand, planting their houses far and wide over the neighbouring countries, invading even Britain, they chose remote and sequestered sites for their settlements; Strata Florida is a typical situation. Their institutional ideals, their reformed Benedictine rule, their organisation, their art and their mason-architects, they brought with them. They did not at any rate find them in Wales. Among the little band of austere grey-gowned pioneers, who settled by the banks of the beautiful Wye, there was not a single Welshman, and their only intercourse with the inhabitants would be through a priest who knew Latin. The Cistercians became skilled farmers, and famous as breeders of horses and cattle. And the monks showed much hospitality to travellers, not even the beggar at the gate was turned ruthlessly away. But by the time the Reformation was stirring in Wales, and even earlier, the monastic foundations had outlived their usefulness, and were generally held in evil repute. Rich men, desiring to acquire piety and virtue, by deeds of charity, had long ceased to endow religious houses. By preference, they were endowing universities and houses of learning, as a surer way of conferring Christian benefits upon the people.

(i) *Gruffydd Roberts and the Counter Reformation*.—There remains to be considered one further point. Mr. Llewelyn Williams makes much of the efforts of the Roman Catholics to recover their lost ground in Wales, by training young Welsh priests on the Continent to be introduced secretly into Wales, there to preach submission to Rome, and to perform for the faithful, the ritual acts whereby salvation was to be attained. In his pages we have much that is very interesting about the English colleges instituted at Douay¹ (and Reims) and especially at Rome. Fearing that the fires at Smithfield would be kept burning, with poor papists for victims, a large

¹ Mr. Williams repeats in his volume the slight error appearing in his original paper, by locating Douay in Belgium.

company of Roman Catholics fled across the Channel on the accession of Elizabeth. Morus Clynnog and Gruffydd Roberts made their way to Italy. Morus was the designated Bishop of Bangor and had nominated Gruffydd as his archdeacon ; but neither had entered upon his dignified office. Reference has been made to these men in the preceding chapter. Morus is a character which Welsh folk will recognise easily. We have in fact met him not infrequently : a great lover of his country, fortified by a corresponding antipathy to all foreigners, especially and by tradition to the foreigners he knew most about, the Saeson [Anglo-Saxons]. The adjacent notes in music are the most discordant. Morus, without being a tippler, loved his glass, and a leisurely-told droll story ; an easy-going, good-natured soul ; but in the management of affairs highly incapable. Accompting is a beggarly business, in any wise, in England or in Italy ; and one knows without cyphering when one's purse is empty. Religiously, as we see from his Catechism, he was simple and orthodox. Gruffydd was a stronger type of patriot. His scholarship, while conventional, was weightier. *Dosbarth byrr*, his Welsh Grammar, is a considerable performance. His position in the Italian Church indicates the esteem in which he was held abroad. But he is not intellectually great enough to harbour doubts. His *Drych Cristianogawl* (*Christian Mirror*) as Penry says, has a colourable likeness to Parson's *Resolutions*. The Roman Church will have no difficulty with Gruffydd's *credo* ; he has none himself. The Renaissance has left him utterly untouched. With all his academical training he remains intellectually, an unawakened, unsophisticated, credulous son of his Church. His Church believes, and in the *Drych* we find that he believes, that they should love God, because He has chosen *them*, the elect Catholics, to receive baptism,

‘ among the thousands that have gone and yet will go to hell for want of baptism. . . . Know, that there are thousands of thousands of little children in hell, without hope of mercy, who never have thought any evil, and yet are lost, because they never received baptism to cleanse them from the sin they received from Adam.’¹

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 42.

His credulity is amusing. It helps us to understand what must have been the quality of the religious teaching which the ordinary ignorant and feebly religious parish priest gave to his equally ignorant flock. Gruffydd was a competent Latinist. He had long and diligently thumbed his Donatus. He was acquainted with the theology which his Church commanded him to believe. And he believed it all. With a zest untainted by any questioning scepticism, he can recount as undoubted and trustworthy history, the famous yarn about the spell of the bird-angel's song. It was a monk in Gruffydd's story, who besought God to give him just one taste of the joys of Paradise, while he yet lived on earth. One fair morning he went into the neighbouring grove, and hearing a bird on the bough singing with entrancing sweetness, he drew nearer until he stood beneath the very tree. There he stayed with great enjoyment for two or three hours, as he judged. Returning to his monastery he was bewildered to find it occupied by strangers, and to be told that his Abbot was dead these long, long, years. No wonder, says Gruffydd, for the monk had been listening to the song for three hundred and forty years; the exact figures, no doubt, proving the veracity of the story. And Gruffydd draws the devout moral: if the song of one angel was of such hypnotic charm, what must be the sweetness of the unceasing million-fold song of the angels of heaven!¹ Well, it was time that some breath of God should sweep across Wales, and dispel its darkness.

As a fact, at this time, both Catholic and Reformer agreed that Wales was in desperate need of religious enlightenment. But Penry stops short of Gruffydd Roberts's wholesale committal of Wales to the power of Satan. He vigorously contends against the Catholic's statement that there were whole shires in Wales which did not contain a single Christian, or that, in those places where some of the inhabitants still professed the faith, it was only a matter of a handful of the common poor who followed Christ.² What Penry thought should be done and what he attempted to do, has been detailed

¹ *Op. cit.* sig. Q. j. rect. et vers.

² *Ibid.* sig. A. iv.; Penry, *Exhortation*, p. 26.

in the foregoing pages. Mr. Llewelyn Williams, the preface to his book informs us, sets out to tell us what the Catholics on their part did in Wales, particularly to tell that phase of the story, which earlier historians had neglected. The trouble is that he does *not* tell us, if we limit our outlook, as I do, to the reign of Elizabeth. And the reason is plain: there is nothing to tell. Abroad, as we familiarly know, Gruffydd Roberts and Morus Clynnog published their Welsh books as part of the apparatus in the enterprise of winning back the people of Wales to the Catholic faith. There was, at the time, no Welsh literature existing for the instruction of the people in the faith of Rome. These books, the *Athravaeth* printed at Milan by Gruffydd Roberts and his *Drych* printed at Rouen by Rossier Smith,¹ were with difficulty circulated in Wales; the *Drych* at first passed on in a manuscript copy. At first sight, scanning Mr. Williams's entertaining narrative, we might suppose that much was done. But the activity is all in continental cities. We have the interesting cackle, drawn from the *English Romayne Life* of that amusing vagabond, Anthony Munday; all about the racial tumults and conflicts between Welsh and English at the English College at Rome, while it was under the government of Morus Clynnog. In Wales practically nothing is done. In Catholic countries individual Welshmen are greatly distinguished in various directions. But in the Principality itself we can discover only two or three Welsh priests, who secretly found their way into the country, to exercise a precarious and secret ministry among the few Welsh families, willing to run the risk of harbouring them.

11. *The Welsh Episcopate at the Opening of Penry's Campaign.*—When Penry in 1587 bade farewell to Oxford and set himself to better the religious condition of his country, the four Welsh sees were occupied by commonplace men, none of them worthy of the high and responsible office, and a couple of them not worthy of any office in a Christian church.

¹ Roger Smith, the head of the Bridgetine Convent at Rouen, who took charge of Dr. Gruffydd Roberts's MS., becomes Rosser or Rossier, as there is no soft *g* in Welsh.

At St. David's Marmduke Middleton was in office. The particulars already given show how little suitable he was for such a post, notwithstanding his highly religious survey of his diocese shortly after he had entered upon its occupancy.

Llandaff received as its bishop in 1575 William Blethin, a Welshman by descent. He was of Pembroke College, Oxford. He was appointed archdeacon of Brecknock and held a number of other benefices. Which is about all that is known of him. While Penry was in Scotland a Devonian, Gervas Babington, was appointed to the see. He was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and had a fortunate faculty of securing the patronage of important persons in the State, among them Burghley and Leicester. He was chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke in 1586, and his connection helped him to get preferment. But he was an improvement on the colourless pluralist Blethin. He was the writer of several books on theology, and Babington *On the Commandments* had for a while a respectable vogue. It was he, according to Harington (*A briefe Viewe*), who subscribed himself the Bishop of Aff; the Land he said was gone. His position was improved when he returned to his native county, in 1595, as Bishop of Exeter.

To Bangor in North Wales Hugh Bellot was appointed as bishop, in 1586, and remained in possession until his translation to Chester in 1595. He was a native of Cheshire, and was educated at Cambridge, and was a fellow of Jesus College. Nothing much is known of him, except that he was a member of the Welsh Council, and was a vigorous persecutor of the Roman Catholics. But it is said to his credit that he helped William Morgan in his great work of translating the Bible.

The bishopric of St. Asaph was held by William Hughes from 1573 until his death in 1600. He was a Welshman, of Cambridge University, a fellow of Christ's College, and had the distinction of being Lady Margaret's preacher. He also is noted as kindly disposed to Morgan in his immortal work; but it is the only good thing we have to say of him. He is known to fame as the Church plunderer, *par excellence*.

Before he was consecrated bishop he was an outrageous pluralist. This should have put the authorities on their guard. Indeed Archbishop Parker gave Burghley fair warning, but in vain.¹ He brought with him to St. Asaph, an arch-deaconry and ten other benefices. These and his bishopric however failed to satisfy his greed. Nothing could satisfy it. He acquired later six other livings. Of the total number nine were sinecures. Everything else is in keeping in the record of his ecclesiastical avarice. That he starved the incumbents of his dishonestly-held cures, goes without saying. Livings in his own gift he sold. The episcopal manors he leased for long terms to the members of his own family; to achieve these robberies he browbeat the dean and chapter. His episcopal 'visitations' were like plagues of locusts. After paying his fees and entertaining him and his retinue, there was a local famine. He himself shewed hospitality neither to rich nor poor. When the saintly William Morgan came to the see, he found the chancel, which it is the bishop's legal obligation to keep in repair, roofless. Hughes died very rich.²

¹ Parker's *Corresp.* 446.

² The beggarly condition of the episcopal palace at Llanelwy, when Dr. William Morgan came into occupation, is shown in a memorandum (App. B) in *Landmarks in the Hist. of the Welsh Church*, by Dr. A. G. Edwards, the present archbishop. Dr. Edwards seems to think it indicates Bishop Hughes' poverty. He clearly does not know the source of the wealth of the old Mostyn family.

BOOK II

PENRY'S PUBLIC CAREER

DIV. I. THE FUGITIVE APOSTLE OF WALES, 1586-1589

DIV. II. AN ASYLUM IN SCOTLAND, 1589-1592

*DIV. III. THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF LIBERTY —
PENRY JOINS THE SEPARATISTS, 1592-1593*

DIVISION I

THE FUGITIVE APOSTLE OF WALES

1586-9

CHAPTER I

CHOOSING A VOCATION

PENRY lost no time in determining his career in life. The course of events, indeed, decided for him that grave matter. Happy, as are all young men to be released from training and preparatory work, and to enter upon life's definite calling, he found himself in choosing his next step driven irresistibly in one direction. Birth, breeding, academic culture, spiritual conversion, the religious condition of Wales, all conspired to mark him as an Evangelist to his fellow-countrymen.

Clearly he had many qualifications for the high calling of the Evangelical Apostle of Wales. Let us rapidly cast an eye over his equipment. He was a graduate of both Universities. Indifferent judges pronounced him a good scholar. He remarks in reference to the fitness of those called of God to the ministry of the Gospel, that in his day, the calling came most commonly to those who were graduates in arts. He makes no mention of an intimate knowledge of the Latin tongue in his short list of prerequisites. That is taken as a matter of course. But ministerial candidates must have some knowledge of the two Bible-languages, Hebrew and Greek, and also be skilled in logic and rhetoric. We gather that Penry was himself qualified in these respects. There is evidence in his writings that he had some acquaintance with Hebrew. His

Greek Testament he handled familiarly, and could amend a Genevan rendering to his own scholarly liking. His training in formal logic was perhaps more than sufficient ; his argument at times loses point and momentum by its over-subtle divisions and distinctions. It was his adroitness and competency at disputations which probably gave him his university reputation for scholarship ; for these learned bouts took place chiefly in public. His rhetoric was not wanting ; occasionally his style savours of Latinity, as though he were modelling himself on classical exemplars. He had, however, the resources of the English tongue easily at his command, an ample vocabulary ; and a native gift of poetry and imagination went to the formation of his style.

Here and there we get, by the way, glimpses of the extent and variety of his reading. The Greek and Latin classics are his ready resort for illustrations ; both poets and historians are alike at his service. By chance we find he has been reading a volume of general interest on the Spanish exploitation of America, the *Decades* of Peter Martyr (Anglerius). The writings of the continental Reformers are known to him. He is not only well read in the theology of Calvin, he is also familiar with his less-known volume of letters.¹ He had a minute acquaintance with the Scriptures from cover to cover ; it is his chief argumentative weapon, in all his controversy with the Established Church and its scribes. He had passed through a great religious experience : not conversion from the theology of Rome to that of Geneva, a wanton invention of the enemy ; but from being a nominal Protestant to being an entirely consecrated and regenerated Christian man. And withal, he was a great patriot. A passionate love of their native land is characteristic of Welshmen. And of all her devoted children, Wales has borne no more high-minded and self-sacrificing son and servant than this godly young scholar, John Penry.

He harboured no doubt that it was the will of God that he should dedicate his life to the evangelisation of Wales, and should find in that service the right use of his long literary

¹ See below, p. 203.

training. To this calling God had separated him from his birth.¹ His parents had done their part handsomely in sending him to Cambridge with its long and illustrious reforming tradition. They had dealt with him liberally, stinting him in nothing. And his spiritual conversion filled him with a fiery zeal for the evangelisation of his nation. To that urgent task he wholly dedicated the remaining years of his arduous and brief life.

CHAPTER II

THE MIDLAND PURITAN AND REFORM MOVEMENT

A VERY strong reforming movement developed in the Midlands in the earlier years of Elizabeth. Its centre was at the ancient town of Northampton. Edmund Snape, the curate of St. Peter's, was, and had been for many years, a leader of the party. As early as 1576 he accompanied Thomas Cartwright to the Channel Islands, where together they organised the Presbyterian churches both of Jersey and Guernsey. The church at St. Peter's, Northampton, to satisfy Snape's scruples, in addition to his official appointment, gave him a unanimous congregational vote to the pastorate. This he regarded as his necessary call. The reform movement was strong in the country. The ministers of Hardingstone and Great Billing, in the vicinity of the county town, and of several other parishes had been deprived for their Nonconformity.²

In the same circle were two distinguished members of the landed gentry. The great squire of Fawsley, the high sheriff of the county, and member of Parliament for the borough,³ was a favourer of the Puritan movement. So also was Job Throkmorton of Haseley, near Warwick. The Throkmortons—some branches wrote their name Throck-

¹ *Aequity* 5 (Grieve's ed. 4).

² Peel, *Second Pte. of a Register*, I. 121.

³ M.P. for the Borough, 1584, 1586; for the County, 1588.

morton, some Throgmorton—were a large clan, and most of them notable persons in one way or another. The full extent to which these men were responsible for the publication of the famous Marprelate Tracts, we do not know; Penry was somehow drawn into the affair. Job Throkmorton, the master of a racy satirical style of writing, was more deeply involved than any one else whose name has come to light. The friendship of these important personages no doubt explains why Penry became Marprelate's publisher and agent. He met them at the gatherings of the prescribed Puritan community at Northampton. Young graduates who adopted their views were made particularly welcome at the Presbyterian *classes*.¹ Cambridge, always a strong centre for the movement, was a favourite recruiting ground. The great fairs held in or near the town, Midsummer Fair, and especially the celebrated Sturbridge Fair, when great numbers of people were assembled from all parts of the country, and when concerted movements of a particular group of strangers occasioned no special remark, were seized as favourable opportunities for the conferences of the propagandists. They could take counsel with their Cambridge sympathisers, and come into touch with the younger life of the University. There is consequently little difficulty in accounting for Penry's Presbyterian associations and friendships.

CHAPTER III

THE THEOLOGICAL APPARATUS OF THE REFORMERS

THE appeal of all the Protestant parties was to the Bible; the writers of the Established Church compared with the Puritans gave a greater weight of authority to patristic theology; but all alike professed to regard the canonical Scriptures as their final court of appeal. And it has to be

¹ Penry, Bancroft reports, was a member of the Northampton classis in 1587.—*Dangerous Positions*, Bk. III. ch. 5, p. 77 (1593).

remembered that to Penry and his opponents the very letter was sacred. There is no grading of the contents of the Bible, according to their respective degrees of authority. Whether a quotation be taken from the Chronicles of the Old Testament or from the Christian Gospels, it is commonly introduced by the words, 'the Holy Ghost saith.' Moreover it was an uncritical text of the Scriptures which Penry and all the theologians of the age employed. To maintain the consistency and integrity of the evangelical faith in the face of one or two discordant texts was a continual embarrassment. We can readily appreciate the position, if we observe the character of the principal interpolations which modern critical scholarship, with the common consent of the reformed Christian church, has expunged from its pages. They are chiefly concerned with the ritual of religion. How much clearer and how much more effective against the ceremonialists, would Penry's teaching on baptism have been, if he had had a purified Biblical text to deal with ; if he had known the worthlessness of the appendix to Mark's Gospel, and that the sacramental confession at Baptism, in the story of Philip and the Ethiopian, was an unwarranted insertion.

The theological standard recognised by the leaders of the Elizabethan Church and by the Puritans and Separatists was Calvin's *Institutes*. The opposition to its predestinarian theory had not yet appeared in either of the Protestant camps. Bancroft had not yet blossomed into a theologian ; that was a late development of his gifts, and his forsaking of the doctrine of determinism was unlikely to take place during the lifetime of his ultra-Calvinistic patron, Archbishop Whitgift. The more liberal views of Zwingli do not appear to have been largely adopted, even by the refugees who found shelter and hospitality at Zurich. And it is somewhat of a mystery how Lutheranism as an intellectual force had vanished from the reforming movements outside Germany and Scandinavia. Luther's Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith remained a pivotal truth for all the reformed. His theory of consubstantiation, a halting compromise, served only to puzzle those who, forsaking the theory of transubstantiation and its expression

in the service of the mass, were seeking to formulate a reformed scriptural theology. The earlier English reformers and martyrs were greatly influenced by Luther; but in their controversies with the papists on the test question of the 'sacrifice of the altar,' though definite enough in their disavowal of the claims of the sacrificing priest, they were obscure in the positive enunciation of their own sacramental theory. The Romanist was clear and definite enough; that was partly his strength. *Hoc est corpus meum*. The reformers should have been equally clear and definite in their statement; but the abstruse and incomprehensible¹ theory of Luther clouded their contention. Apart from his purely theological views, Luther's ecclesiastical system never gained any foothold in this country. To this day Englishmen generally have but the vaguest idea what Luther's theory of the Church was.

The name of Calvin, on the contrary, was held by all the Protestant parties in great reverence. The leaders of the Elizabethan Church were not prepared to follow him in his presbyterian polity, being resolved to retain the episcopal order, with Elizabeth as chief governor, instead of the Pope. But they recognised Calvin's pre-eminence as the teacher of the reformed theology in that age. When a conference between Protestants and Catholics was proposed to be held in France, Archbishop Parker wrote to Cecil expressing his wish that Peter Martyr or Calvin, or both, should attend it, as they were as well able to stand in defence of the truth, with God's help in His cause, as the 'adversaries' striving against God. As primate of the English episcopal church, Parker thought that to further the well-being of the French reformed church was in itself a good thing; he also thought it would tend to the peace of the Church of England.²

¹ *et incomprehensibilis*; Schaff, *Hist. of the Christ. Ch.* (N. York, 1889), VI. 670, n¹.

² Parker's *Correspondence* (Park. Soc.), 127. Mr. H. M. Kennedy in his *Life of Parker* states that the references to this proposal are unreliable, but he gives no ground for believing that this letter is not authentic, beyond his own apparent dislike to the respect shown to the name of Calvin. 'It

The commanding position of Calvin in Penry's time, is shown by the necessity which Protestant writers felt to defend their views if they differed with the teaching of the *Institutes*. Henry Barrowe, a lawyer, a man of great force of character and of profound evangelical convictions, but not trained as a theologian, not infrequently breaks away from the Genevan standard. But even he, in that case, must specifically defend his doctrinal variation. In his *Brief Discovery* we have therefore 'A refutation of Calvin's Opinion concerning the Establishment of the Church'; a rejection of Calvin's 'promiscuous use of the Sacraments'; a criticism in several chapters of his views on Discipline. He also particularly opposes Calvin's teaching on Baptism, linking Penry's views in his condemnation. And Penry in his turn, writing on Baptism in his *Defence*, says, 'M. Calvin hath written otherwise in this point, therefore againe I appeale to the word.'¹ Dr. Mullinger, in describing the changes which under Elizabeth were made in the Cambridge curriculum, points out that when in conformity with the principles of the Reformation, Aquinas and the Sentences of Peter Lombard were dispensed with, their places were given to Calvin's *Institutes*, the *Commonplaces* [Sermons] of Musculus,² with the 'decisions of a Beza or a Bullinger.' These latter all conform to Calvin's doctrine of Predestinarianism; and though, as Dr. Mullinger notes, there were individuals in the English Church that had begun to discard Calvin, the movement was not very appreciable until after the close of the sixteenth century.³

is well,' he says, 'to redeem Parker's name as well as that of the Marian bishops from two such unworthy connexions.' His solicitude lest the reputation of Bonner should suffer by associating his name with that of the austere reformer, seems a little unnecessary. See p. 106.

¹ *Defence*, 27. Penry refers to 'L. Zo. Epist. 104'; Calvin's letter to Laelio Socini, No. 104 in the collected ed. of his *Letters*, Lausanne, 1576.

² *Loci communes theologiae sacrae*, 1560.

³ Mullinger, *Camb. Univ.*, vol. ii 415.

CHAPTER IV

THE *AEQUITY*, 1587

1. *The Inspiration of his Book.*—We shall learn from Penry's first literary effort how deeply he had brooded over the religious condition of his country. During his absence from Peterhouse in the year of the great drought, this youth of twenty-three had enlarged his knowledge of the state of things, and had found an opportunity, both then, and since he left Oxford, to confer upon these high matters with some of the leaders of the Cymry. His fervid love for Wales conspired with his austere theology to give a poignant urgency to his *Aequity of an Humble Supplication*. It must be remembered, if we are to have any understanding of his bold advocacy of the religious claims of his nation, and the passionate eloquence of his supplications to those in authority, that in his view merely to be ignorant of the redemptive mercy of God as presented in Christ, was to be eternally damned. Theoretically that was the view of all parties alike; it was the singularity of Penry that he realised so vividly the significance of this tremendous doctrine. He is beside himself with anxiety as to the eternal destiny of his dear countrymen. Fired by this spirit the young cadet emerges from his academical semi-obscurity, and finds courage to speak to the great Queen and her Parliament, as the Apostle to his native land. The book he wrote, all things considered, is a very noteworthy production; noteworthy in its boldness, its maturity of address, its vivid realisations, its deftness of argument, its passionate and eloquent appeal.

2. *The Preparation and Writing.*—After the manner of contemporary scribes Penry had his 'Collections' and 'Commonplaces'; diligently gathered facts, extracts from books, and religious memoranda and references; first drafts, numbers of them, to judge by our later knowledge of his literary methods, of his various methods of appeal. The book was

written at Cefnbrith, as he lets us know in his later book, *A View of that which hath bin written* (commonly known and hereafter referred to as *A Supplication*). Here, in an 'obscure corner of South Wales,' surrounded by his books and papers, with his Geneva Bible before him for continual quotation and textual references, he spent the remainder of the year in composing his work. All the family were interested and caught some of the glow of the young scholar's pious enthusiasm; especially his mother, proud of his learning, would enter into his deep religious thoughts and aspirations. The final copy for the press, we have reason to believe, was written in the early days of 1587,¹ or at any rate, it was brought up to date, and its phrases fitted for presentation to Parliament in its session, 15 Feb. to 23 Mar. of that year. On the latter date Parliament was dissolved.

But besides the writing of the *Aequity*, other matters had to be considered. A publisher had to be found, for though it was to be presented to Parliament, for practical reasons Penry decided to print his work. So convinced he was of the reasonableness of his plea, so assured of the sympathies of the members of the High Court of Parliament if they could but hear his earnest and pathetic entreaty, that his fellow-countrymen should be saved from the dark doom of ignorance and unbelief, that he resolved to secure their favourable acceptance of his *Supplication* by giving them an opportunity of knowing the *aequity* of it, by reading it for themselves, and this end could only be accomplished by printing it. He went about the business openly. A printer had recently set up business in Oxford under the patronage of the University, which helped him with a loan of a hundred pounds in 1585. This was Joseph Barnes, who, by a Star Chamber ordinance in 1586, was allowed to have one press and one apprentice.² But though it was printed at Oxford, the market for books was London; arrangements were therefore made for its sale 'in Pauls Church-yard.'

Not too late in the year, for the sake of travel, Penry, now

¹ See art. by the Rev. Alex. Gordon, M.A., *Trans. Congl. Hist. Soc.* II. 115.

² F. Maden, *A Chart of Oxford Printing*, 1904, p. 15.

not inexperienced on the road, left his quiet refuge at Cefnbrith, carrying with him the rough draft of his book. Early in the year 1587 he must have been busy at Oxford, rewriting and giving final form to his manuscript and correcting the printer's proofs. But while Barnes was busy with his press, news came to Penry that Parliament was likely to be speedily dissolved; so the remaining pages, after four sheets had passed through the press, had to be mercilessly cut down.¹ The title-page runs :

A Treatise containing the Aeqvity of an Hvmbble Svypplication which is to be exhibited vnto Hir Graciovvs Maiesty and this high Court of Parliament in the behalfe of the Countrey of Wales, that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospell among the people. Wherein also is set downe as much of the estate of our people as without offence could be made known, to the end that our case (if it please God) may be pitied by them who are not of this assembly, and so they also may be driuen to labour on our behalfe. At Oxford. Printed by Ioseph Barnes, and are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Tygershead. 1587.

It is a small octavo of sixty-two pages. The title-page indicates that it was printed before being offered to Parliament. In his *Defence* Penry refers to the quibble that he thereby cast some affront upon the honourable House.

3. *Its General Purport and Method.*—The purport of Penry's *Aequity* is concisely set forth in his title-page. He calls it the *Aequity of an humble Supplication*. His aim is to exhibit the rightness of the plea of the Welsh reformers. The petition is to be presented to Parliament. The one thing desired, it is the divine remedy for the ills of Wales, is 'the preaching of the Gospell.' The pitiful condition of the people is set down as fully 'as without offence could be made known.' And the fervent hope is expressed that by making known the lamentable condition of the Welsh people to 'hir gracious Majesty and the high Court of Parliament,' those who are not of the Assembly 'also may be driuen to labour on [their] behalfe.' So runs the title-page.

¹ See below, at the close of the abstract, p. 172.

Penry addresses Parliament not only in its political capacity. The members are his 'Fathers and Brethren of the Church of England.' It is a constant feature of his appeals for the evangelisation of Wales, that he addresses himself not to the Bishops directly, but to those who appointed them, to the Queen, the chief Governor of the Church who could dismiss them, and to the laws of the realm enacted by Parliament which the hierarchy like every other body of citizens, had to obey. Later, in the Introductory Epistle he directly addresses Parliament as 'you beloved of the church of England.'¹

4. *The Introductory Epistle. Penry's Apologia.*—The 'Epistle,' a necessary preface in every Elizabethan book or pamphlet, here occupies eight pages. It is more or less personal.

Penry says it is the common lot of the Gospel that only the poor and contemptible should value it. Of the learned sort there are none willing to carry the message. All are Jonahs, reluctant to obey the mandate. Energetic in other great affairs, in this they are cold.

He takes up his pen diffidently and with hesitation, lest he should perform his task unworthily. Two thoughts comfort him. First, God thrust him into it; 'almost against my wil hereunto.' If God so moved him, and by his birth and home separated him for this task, then He will prosper his efforts. Next, Penry seeks not his own good, but that of his miserable and unevangelised countrymen.²

He is compelled to speak on behalf of his own family, his 'parents and brethren according to the flesh.' The parish of Llangammarch was evidently suffering for the want of a minister who could preach the Gospel to the people. Their case is pitiful, there must be 'present remedy or undoubted perdition.' The great Queen has reigned for twenty-eight years and their desperate need remains unredressed. He disdains his enemies; they are of the seed of idolatrous Rome. But the authorities, 'beloved of the church of England,' must

¹ *Aequity* 5 [5]. The reference figures in brackets refer to Dr. Grieve's edition.

² *Ibid.* 4 [4, 5]

not hinder the salvation of these perishing souls, perishing for lack of preaching.¹

Throughout Penry quietly assumes that the Queen will greatly approve his plea. And with reason, he thinks. The evangelisation of Wales will be a blessing to the Commonwealth. The interests of Sovereign and State alike should arouse the legislators. He quotes in Greek from the *Iliad*, and translates in the margin, 'a Counsellor must not sleepe all night.' It will be a profitable business; they will thus win God's favour, and the Queen's. He supplies them here and throughout his book with an abundance of Biblical examples.

The redeemed will sorrow over these unforgiven ones. And truly it is a time to be steadfast. The Foreign churches 'in France, Belgia, and a great part of high Duch . . . go to wrack.' Even Scotland shows signs of weakness. God can, however, quicken the dead branches. Let them be courageous. Reformed Europe will sympathise. Is Wales full of dross, is she stony-hearted? God's word is a fire to purify and a hammer to break.² The nation's affairs should be determined by the word of God. It has no peer. The misfortune of Wales is that the people fail to understand the value of preaching. A sermon once in a lifetime, they take to be sufficient. But the real value of preaching is shown by diligence of the clergy in England.

Then with much feeling he concludes the 'epistle.' Whatever his defects, his contention must be right.

'Be I the sonne of Adam ten thousand times, compassed with neuer so manie infirmitie, neuer so base, vile, polluted, and defiled, yet the preaching of the word in Wals is Gods glorie, and therefore must stand. . . . To make an end, pray for us breethren and now pray, and pray againe, that our God would encline mercie vnto vs in the sight of the Queene hir Counsell and all the Queenes mighty princes, and that builders may be raised among vs. So let it be our God, Amen.'³

5. *The Supplication.*—The Supplication proper begins with some general considerations addressed to Parliament, gospel-

¹ *Aequity* 4-6 [5, 6].

² *Ibid.* 5-7 [6-8].

³ *Ibid.* 8-10 [8, 9].

enlightened as they of that assembly are. They know that contempt of the duty they owe to God merits His judgement. Many Biblical examples are given.¹ Let them think that the condemnation of death and torment is awaiting the ignorant. 'Of which sort al they must needs be which neuer heard of that which is the power of God to saluation to as many as beleue.' The contrast of the happy prosperity of the people whose God is Jehovah is shown by many instances taken from the Scriptures.² Who would not pity a people like the Welsh bereft of God's blessings, even in this life a prey to the anger of God? The plagues of God threaten Penry and his countrymen. So he is driven to write for many reasons, God's honour, his longing for the salvation of his nation, loyalty to Elizabeth, and to discharge his conscience.³

He proceeds to lay the matter open to her 'excellent Majesty,' his 'dread soueraigne Queene Elizabeth,' and to the 'high court of Parliament,' beseeching them, as upon his knees, to weigh his petition as necessity requires.⁴ 'The summe whereof is' that Wales should be freed from destroying ignorance by being given 'teaching ministers.' Through conversion they would escape everlasting death and God's present anger. One remedy alone there is, Pastors, true shepherds, to feed the people with the bread of life; and 'bring vs home,' he cries, 'to the only Lord of pastors.' He had prayed God to use a worthier instrument; his own efforts may stir up a worthier. God may also make Penry's service to be more acceptable. The poorer the instrument the greater shall God's glory be in the achievement. Teach us the laws of God, is the cry of the Welsh people; deliver us from Satan! 'We are wearie of the heauię bondage of the one, and desire the easie yoke of the other.'⁵

The remainder of the Supplication may be gathered under separate heads for the clearer understanding of Penry's point of view at this time and the more fully to feel the weight of his argument.

(1) *The Duty of the Magistrates.* (a) *Their Responsibility.*—

¹ *Aequity*, 11, 12 [11, 12].

² *Ibid.* 13 [13].

³ *Ibid.* 14 [14, 15].

⁴ *Ibid.* 15 [15].

⁵ *Ibid.* 16-18 [16-19].

Penry's position is unambiguous. His whole plea rests upon the responsibility of the civil power to obey the will of God in supplying the people with the Gospel. 'Unlesse the Magistrate,' so it has been ordained of God, 'doe vphold his honour against Sathan, it will fall to the ground, for ought men can see.' The godliness of the people is in proportion to the magistrate's love to God.¹ Let them remember that God honours those that honour Him. If, he says to Parliament, differing from most nations, who have 'giuen their crowns vnto the beast,' they obey God in this great matter, 'then,' he cries,

'then, happy be your names and memories and the memories of your posterities for euer. And happy be the daies that euer we were borne to be gouerned by such a godly Prince and godly counsellors.'²

(b) *A classical example* is now given; remember Penry is only just out of the University, and a hint of his learning is not out of place. What, he asks, can they expect, if they act even worse than Glaucus? The Lacedaemonian had received property in trust, and had resolved fraudulently to appropriate it to his own use. Yet, before he actually violated his trust, he repented; he acknowledged possession and yielded up the entrustment to its rightful owner. Yet according to the morality of the heathen, the gods punished him for his intended malversation. Members of Parliament are stewards of power and opportunity; do they propose to rob Christ of service? Even Gamaliel warned the high priests lest they should be found fighting against God. Penry quotes in Greek not the word occurring in the *Acts*, but the verbal form *θεομαχεῖν*, which he may have seen in the Apocrypha, or in Josephus (*Contr. Apion*, i. 26), with whose writings he was familiar.

Jesus, Prince and Saviour, Peter says, is ready to give to all repentance and forgiveness. But it can only be imparted through preaching. Let Parliament labour to establish that in Wales. A petition for Gospel preaching is not lightly to be withstood.³

¹ *Aequity*, 19 [19].

² *Ibid.* 20 [20].

³ *Ibid.* 21 [22].

(c) *High Treason against God, and its Excuses.*—Of those allied with Satan in invading Christ's kingdom, Penry is concerned most with such as withstand the spread of the Gospel 'vnder the name of conformity and obedience.' And here he no doubt realised the need to walk circumspectly. The 'unity' they plead for, he esteems a wresting of the sceptre from Christ's hand. [They are alleging a human against a divine law.] They treat the matter lightly because they hold 'the preaching of the woorde' to be 'no better than folly of worldly wisemen.' Guilty of 'high treason against the Lord,' they even claim to be anxious for the honour of God.¹

They cannot, say they, see that their fault is so odious, 'seeing they in every point favour the proceedings of their Prince.' Penry holds them responsible for their erroneous judgement. Would a traitor offending against the laws of God and the Sovereign—'as in transferring the prærogative dye vnto his Prince vnto a forraine Idolatrous shauen priest'—be acquitted on the plea of ignorance? He will not allow 'Pellagians, Papists, Arians, &c.,' the plea of personal conviction, that they are 'persuaded,' being under the strong delusion of Satan, to excuse them from 'the names and punishments of hereticks.'²

(d) *The Contention of the Official Hierarchy.*—The reply is given: The Queen and Parliament deny true religion to none, and false religions are prohibited. To this Penry offers a very carefully considered reply. It is dangerous ground. He thanks Elizabeth for her favour to the House of God. If in any particular instance any be deprived of the privileges intended by the Queen for the benefit of her people, they ought, clearly, to acquaint Parliament with the fact. That is a tribunal before which they have a right to be heard. The present petition follows that legal and orderly rule. 'Hitherto [to this end] therefore tendeth my speach. If we the people of Wales making our estate known shall not haue it redressed by this assembly,' then the subversion of Christ's kingdom is intended.

Penry then, feeling probably that he is touching a perilous

¹ *Aequity*, 22 [21].

² *Ibid.* 23 [22].

point in his argument, adds a graver and more emotional note.

‘ Good my Lords, whose honour in the feare of God I desire, thinke with your selues that the Lord of heauen, being now reiected of most nations of the earth, is thrust into this poore Iland of England, as into the furthest westerne partes (sauadge America, and that continent excepted); but surely his entertainment here, if one handmaid had not better cherished him, had been very cold.’

With this politic reference to the introduction of the reformed religion by Elizabeth, he gravely reminds them that God had threatened to take away the Queen ‘ from such vngrateful subiectes as wee are.’ Individuals, high and low, have been solicited to this service. ‘ Al for the most part refused.’ Now God is trying whether the plea of a whole nation will be considered. He is hammering at the doors of Parliament by Penry’s plea. He would know if Wales is to be given Him as his heritage.¹ Let them beware. England may suffer in the downfall of Wales. ‘ Alas the day, what hinderance wil it be vnto any one of you to haue us poore Welshmen celebraters of the honour of our God ? ’

Earnestness is demanded. Salvation is not for the indifferent. Seeking is not enough, earnest seeking, *ζητήσουσι*. Strive! Nay, agonise, *ἀγωνίζεσθε*! The strenuous words are given in Greek in the margin.²

(2) *Wales must share in the Guilt.*—Her silence is blame-worthy, and exonerates Queen and Parliament. The Word is neither read nor preached, and for twenty-eight years of the favourable reign of Elizabeth, no effective appeal has been made by Welshmen. Though it must be understood that more than mere permission to profess the truth is demanded from Parliament. They must see that their subordinates do their duty in planting religion, that the laws are executed, and if not, why not? Let them consider if any method of evangelising Wales more effectively can be devised, and any better way of governing the Church.

¹ *Aequity*, 24 [23].

² *Ib.* 26 [24].

The whole of Wales had reached the stage when they were too ignorant to strive for the blessing—‘if they speak not according to this word it is because there is no light in them’ (Isaiah viii. 20). The Lord cannot ask less of the magistrate than of a father or master. Not only is evil to be forbidden, but the children must be brought up in the knowledge of God. David brought back the ark for the good of the people. His death-bed exhortation to Solomon is given by Penry at considerable length.¹

(3) *The Examples of the Good Kings Jehoshaphat and Josiah.*—Penry finds in the Old Testament theocratic rule his models. It is the rule of force in the name of God. The magistrate if ignorant of his duties must seek to know them, and be willing to amend his deficiencies at the instance of an inferior person. Jehoshaphat in the beginning of his reign established religion throughout the land; after fourteen or fifteen years he again went through the land to make good any lapses. Josiah was in great distress to find the Lord dishonoured. The parallel between his time and Penry’s is clearly thought to be striking. The people had long been familiar with idolatry; the worship of Jehovah was a novelty; they could claim liberty of conscience; ‘perhaps they who should haue been most forward as the high priest and others, were found very great enimies vnto all good proceedings.’ Like the Pope, it may be, they claimed exclusive right to deal in these matters. Penry ironically asks, ‘What had a ciuil

¹ 1 Chron. xxviii. 8 f.—The extract is interesting as an example of Penry’s method of citing the Scriptures. He does not follow closely any of the contemporary versions. Naturally we should expect him to follow the Genevan, or, failing that, the Bishops’ Bible. He follows neither verbatim, yet has so much of what is common to both, that he must have had one or the other before him. His aim apparently is to get nearer the original Hebrew (or the Greek of the LXX). He writes ‘Jehovah’ instead of ‘the Lord.’ Where the versions have ‘keepe & seeke’ Penry has as above ‘keepe & make diligent enquiry’; but later on a few lines, he cites (‘keepe & seeke all the commandments’)—in brackets as a quotation. He writes Salomon, the early transliteration of the Greek and Hebrew form of the name. I have concluded that Penry corrected (as he supposed) his own copy of the Genevan version, as he read and compared it with the Hebrew or the Greek version, which will account for the general similarity, as well as the particular dissimilarities of his citations with the printed English versions.

magistrate to doe in setting in order things belonging vnto religion ?' ¹ Josiah's zeal overcame all difficulties. He compelled all alike to hear and to obey God's commandments. He did not bear with idolaters who could not 'for consciences sake forsooth' worship Jehovah. The godly king stoned the recalcitrant and abominable idolaters.

A regard for God's glory will compel Parliament to follow these pious examples; to scrutinise the condition of the Church in Wales; to compel the Welsh to know God's salvation. God's majesty will be seen in His forgiveness—He alone forgives, sanctifies and can open 'the book sealed with seauen seals.' Only the redeemed can praise God, they who hear the word of God as it is preached to them. They only see His glory by the spirit of revelation which comes through hearing the word. Those who have not felt this have a poor conception of God.² Nature affords but a glimpse of His might.³

(4) *Only Two Classes in the Judgement.*—Nature is only a shadow of God's power; that is fully seen in the victory of Christ and the regeneration of man. Redemption is an immeasurably greater work than the creation of a thousand worlds. The value God sets upon salvation is seen in the humiliation of Christ. It will also be seen in the day when He will be glorified in all His saints, when Christ also shall be glorified in all that believe. In the judgement there will be only two classes: those in whom Christ is glorified and those who obey not the Gospel; and among these latter Penry includes the papists.⁴

It is not enough to be a good subject, and to speak favourably of the Church and the Gospel—the devil is too wise to employ only the notoriously wicked—and yet to disobey God's truth. God's children may stumble, yet rarely so as to compromise His honour; but He makes a reckoning of the fruit He reapeth from the minister's labour. The disobedient

¹ The magistrate is bound according to Penry to see that the Gospel is preached; but the ministers (or the Church) alone can determine the true doctrine and order.

² A few words in Greek from Ephes. i. 18, 19, are given in the margin.

³ *Aequity*, 30-33 [28-31].

⁴ *Ibid.* 34-35 [32, 33].

will share the punishment of the devil. And the threatenings of God are measured out every day. It was God's mercy that shielded them from the designs of Babington—[he was executed a few months earlier]—when there was a danger that the Queen—‘the Lord's annointed the very breath of our nostrils, she vnder whose shadow we haue beene thus long preserued from heathen popish tortors [torturers]’ (see Lam. iv. 20) would fall into their hands. Corruption in the Church favours these designs by keeping out godly ministers. God may justly give their possessions to strangers if they allow the enemy to usurp the right of Christ. Pluralities are no defence against the rage of Rome. Now is the time to evangelise Wales, while Elizabeth reigns; for her days have a limit [and there was a chance a papist might succeed her!]. The favourable opportunity might not be repeated. Let the prayers of the converted Welsh nation be added to those offered on behalf of her Highness.¹ How ardently a true Christian loves his Prince, especially a Prince who has been the means of his salvation.

(5) *A Direct Appeal to Elizabeth*.—Penry must be credited with more courage than most were willing to show in his personal address to Elizabeth.

‘Moreouer you may be assured, dread soueraign, both that we and our children for euer wil blesse our God that he hath enclined mercy vnto us in your eies. And also our calling wil be a testimony of your burning zeale vnto the truth among all the ages to come, euen to the enemies of your good name. Whereas on the other side the continuance of our blind ignorance wil be I fear me a blemish vnto your credit (in obedience I speak it) among our wofull posterities, & the enemies of God for euer.’

These loyal subjects will say, that Elizabeth had no wish to make known the religion she herself professed; those enemies, that she considered only her self-interest. Penry thinks he may venture on a national note. He never forgets that Elizabeth has Welsh blood in her veins. May not the land of her forefathers think it strange, that in twenty-eight years, one single petition, and that for the benefit of all, was

¹ *Æquity*, 37, 38 [34, 35].

not granted? If the Welsh have rendered faithful services to her grandfather—and did not Harry Tudor land at Milford among his acclaiming countrymen and march with them to victory, founding the Tudor dynasty on the field at Bosworth?—and also to her father, her sister, and herself, let the reward be that they should enjoy the word of God.¹

(6) *The Welsh Situation.*—(a) *The Present Ignorance and Superstition in Wales is a Degeneracy.*—The Welsh people were for centuries in possession of the Gospel, till the proud friar Augustine brought his trash. They resisted him even to losing their lives. The execrable mass is a thing of yesterday, as may be seen in the character of the popular superstitions and the vocabulary of profanity. There are current in Wales ‘cartloades of oather,’ but the Welsh do not swear by the mass. The names of holy days antedate the mass; not as in England where you have Christmas, Candlemass, etc. The ‘equitie’ of their petition is evident; they ask only for the restoration of their ancient inheritance.

(b) *The Grave Responsibility of Elizabeth.*—Welshmen should be forward in this business, as in other matters they are. Do they not see their danger? Let them be persuaded that Elizabeth will hear them. One of two things is true; either she will not have God honoured in Wales and flouts His rewards, or seeking His honour and her own immortal recompense she will be careful, at any cost, to plant the Gospel in their land. The last is true; she will not delay till thousands go to eternal death through their ignorance of the Gospel. God’s purpose ‘must not staie man’s leasure.’

Penry very gravely and very boldly warns the Queen, ‘If one wil not do it [God] can finde another whom he wil honour with the deed.’ She must not correct God’s plan; His wisdom is best, ‘though hir kingdome be endaungered.’ He will sufficiently recompense any loss sustained, as she found in the course she pursued at her coronation, and which she will surely take during the present Parliament.²

(c) *The Spiritual Famine in Wales.*—In the face of their

¹ *Aequity*, 39-41 [36-37].

² *Ibid.* 42-44 [38, 39].

pitiful destitution will they, 'good gentlemen' of Parliament be mute? 'I speake,' Penry interposes, 'vnto you my fathers, my brethren, my kindred, & what name of loue else can be inuented, my deare countrimen.' There is no question, he thinks, but that they will be heard. Wales is in a hard case, so many souls perishing, so many are to follow them; 'hel is enlarged to receaue us.'

There are a score of parishes in which not one soul can be found having 'a sauing knowledge.' Thousands have barely heard of Christ. If any 'by the great goodness of God be called' it is not owing to the diligence of their pastors, all save a few of whom are 'dumbe or greedy dogs.' It is by 'extraordinary' means—by reading, or by chance residence in England where the Gospel is preached. And long may it be preached there! Through the kindness of its nobility and people, which God will not forget, 'some of vs, a people not regarded' have found remission of sins; but these only a few, and of the better class. The rest are either plainly atheists, or blindly superstitious. These latter are of two sorts—(i.) *Romanists*: obstinate idolaters, whose activities are uncontrolled by either magistrate or bishop; some of them perchance in Parliament. Hence there are 'swarmes of southsaiers and enchanterers,' the familiars of fairies, with whom they profess to 'walke on Tuesdaies and Thursdaies at nights.' The silly people misled by the sons of Belial, pay great reverence to the fairies, calling down upon them a mother's blessing—Penry quotes the Welsh phrase, *Bendith û mamme û dhun* [modern: *Bendith eu mammaru iddynt*]. In such soil belief in purgatory and the real presence grow easily. Besides the Romanists there are (ii.) *The Ignorant*: they would gladly learn the way of salvation; they are intensely loyal, and claim a greater interest in Elizabeth than any other section of the subjects. They have a vague intuition that there is a God to be worshipped and to whom prayer is to be offered. No help comes to them from their 'idol pastors.' They complacently believe that all men must be saved, or will be at Mary's intercession. They make a mock at sin. They care nothing for the future of the body, the soul only

going to heaven. Great cruelty is ascribed to God the Father, who has, in Christ, so severely punished sin. Again in Welsh Penry gives the saying of the ignorant, *Nû waeth genûf dhim am y tad y gwr creûlon hinnû onûd cydymaith da ûwr mab* (modern : *Ni waeth gennyf ddim am y Tad, y gwr creulon hwnw, ond cydymaith da yw'r Mab*). 'I care nothing for the Father, that cruel person, but the Son is a good friend.'¹ In the common judgement things were better under Rome. It was a good world when a man could get pardon for fourpence ; for they think comfort from an erroneous faith is better than ignorance of all religion.

In this dearth of religious knowledge, they teach one another 'blasphemous prayers' ; men teach their families these together with ungodly songs. It is common for an educated man to be asked for a good prayer against disease in man or beast. Welsh books circulate full of 'Idolatries.'² All that stands between the people and atheism are Latin prayers, prayers to saints, superstitious observances, and these ungodly songs and books.³

Some sins are specially rife among the Welsh : profanity is very common ; some counties in South Wales are notorious in this respect. Illegitimacy is scandalously common, princes and levites being the chief sinners. The sentences of the Bishops' courts, a small fine or a race through the church in a white sheet, are turned to derision. The administration and law is corrupt ; justice is delayed ; litigants are unjustly excommunicated to disqualify them from pursuing their cause in a court of law. The farmer sees his stolen sheep in a neighbour's field and has no remedy. And much else is in disorder. Penry has no desire to disgrace his countrymen. Legislation he knows cannot accomplish or work a moral reformation. What is needed is the Word of God conveyed by preaching. Only one parish in twenty has a quarterly sermon ; the small number of men who are able to preach efficiently confirms that statement. They say 'reading wil

¹ *Aequity*, 44-47 [40-42].

² See above, the writings of G. Roberts and Morus Clynog, p. 139, § (i.) *passim*.

³ *Aequity*, 48, 49 [42, 43].

serue the turne,' but God's decree is 'by the foolishnes of preaching to saue them that beleue.' Penry crowds his page with references to Scripture texts enforcing continual preaching.¹

(7) *The Difficulties and how they are to be met.*—(a) *The Two Languages.*—He now examines carefully the difficulties real or alleged, which are said to prevent the adoption of his plea. First, there is the difficulty of the two languages. Welsh is proscribed for the sake of uniformity. It is 'not hir Maiesties will' he is assured. Must the people be accursed because they are ignorant of English? Welsh preaching would hasten uniformity [? unity]. Welsh is a suitable vehicle; if needful, Latin could supply any deficiency in the vocabulary, and the borrowed words would soon become familiar. The opponents are the anti-patriotic. Meanwhile let English preaching be supplied where it is understood; in all market-towns, along the coasts, in the marches of Radnor and Monmouth and the most of Pembrokeshire. But Anglesey, ignorant of English, need not be condemned to religious ignorance.

(b) *The Provision of Ministers.*—Next, there is raised the difficulty of providing ministers. But 'the harvest is the Lord's'; He can 'supply labourers,' if human opposition were removed. The two Universities could supply three hundred men fit for the ministry with a little practice, and among them there would probably be twelve Welshmen. Due provision made for these would encourage many others. The Universities would be revived; their numbers are now decaying. If the Queen and Parliament could assure to learned and godly ministers a decent living during their life-time, men would be encouraged to send their sons to the Universities. The 'idol priesthood' have made the office contemptible so that it is evaded, even when a fellowship is attached to it. The very drones would be quickened by examples of earnest preaching scattered through Wales. Penry would employ non-collegiate laymen with a knowledge of divinity; they would probably be an improvement morally upon many of

¹ *Aequity*, 50, 51 [44, 45].

the learned. Welshmen in English pulpits, also, should be transferred to Wales. He estimates that one of the Universities has turned out three thousand four hundred men during the Queen's reign, enough to supply the ministry, four hundred being allotted to Wales, with an overplus of two thousand to other callings. 'To-day we haue not 12 in all our country that doe discharge their duety in any good sort.'¹

(c) *The Problem of Ministerial Support.*—The alleged difficulties of maintenance are a subterfuge. The prophets did not plead the poverty of the Jews returned from their captivity. God moved the heart of Cyrus; if they sought Him whole-heartedly He would move the heart of Elizabeth. Men whose hearts were touched would thresh for a living rather than leave the people in ignorance. The gentry and people would contribute, did they but know the good influence of the Gospel. Salvation is cheap at the price of manual labour. Now the service of God is banned upon any pretext. It is intolerable that lay gentlemen should hold six inappropriate livings. All such livings should give a tenth to support a preaching minister, who should be the farmer of every living held by the Queen; and a similar course should be taken with all inappropriate livings. Men unable to preach, in some cases hold three livings; and other livings are held by students who only visit them to fleece them. The remedy is single livings and compulsory residence.²

(d) *The Demand for a Welsh Bible.*—There is great need for a Welsh Bible. The practice is to read one lesson in English and one in Welsh [from Salesbury's New Testament]. The People understand neither. The Welsh they think to be the old mass in Latin—*û maû yr offeiriad ar y fferen* (the priest is at the mass) they say. Until the whole Bible is done into Welsh the Minor Prophets could be supplied without delay.³ Penry estimates that the whole Bible put into competent hands could be translated in two years, and judged by the

¹ *Aequity*, 52-54 [46-48].

² *Ibid.* 55, 56 [48, 49].

³ Dr. Thos. Rees, *Hist. of Nonconf. in Wales* (1883), p. 14, following Arber, *Marp. Sketch*, 66 [1879], is probably wrong in crediting Penry with having translated the *Minor Prophets*.

English translations the estimate was not unreasonable.¹ When he published his *Exhortation* the following year he is able to rejoice that William Morgan's great Welsh version was about to be issued. The people are clamouring for it. The difficulty of the dialects is not insuperable; constant reading would render it familiar, and unscholarly ministers could refer to the English to solve an unintelligible word or phrase. The trouble is that these latter will take no pains to become fluent readers of Welsh, though they have had the Prayer Book and the New Testament for twenty years. Hence the Bible has fallen into contempt. We have done so long without it, say the people, what good would a Welsh translation do. If Peter or Paul is quoted they ask how can they know that he speaks the truth. Such ignorance is the fruit of non-residency. But God's punishment upon this neglect cannot be warded off by 'faculties & dispensations.'²

(e) *Divine Punishments to be feared.*—Recent events show that God's hand is against them. In Wales the chastisement of the Lord was already felt. The custom was for farmers to sow corn enough for their families, or to raise cattle and sheep sufficient to buy corn. But the harvest of 1585 was a failure, and in 1586 not corn enough could be spared for sowing, although the people were without bread. The intervening winter had destroyed almost all their cattle. In the poignant distress ensuing they had seen 'many that liued well and thriftily . . . faine to giue over both house and home, and to go a begging.' Men were driven to all shifts, even to rubbing 'the standing corn . . . not half ripe' to make bread. This is God's judgement. 'As long as the Lords house lieth wast in our land, we shall sow but meere salt.'

Political laws are no remedy. Worship must be restored; preachers commissioned; the people must humble themselves. For there are worse punishments threatening. What if, as in the days of Hosea, God should take their Prince from them? Josiah was gathered to his fathers as a judgement

¹ The Geneva N.T. was issued 10 June 1557, the O.T. in 1560. The Bishops' Bible was projected in 1566. Parker presented a copy to Cecil in 1568.

² *Aequity*, 57, 58 [50, 51].

on a less wicked people. And two arch-plagues threaten the refusal of Penry's petition. The little light now in Wales will die out. And the Welsh will cease to be a people; their names will be blotted out. Let them hearken to the Lord's expostulation. 'O you inhabitants of Wales, why wil you dy saith the Lord?' Their calamities will compel them 'to vnfold [their] grief vnto hir Maiesty' and to 'this assembly.' Ignorance will bring upon them the Lord's judgement, 'I know you not.' Let Persuasion and Necessity—the margin quotes 'Herod[otus] in Vran[us] *πειθῶ καὶ ἀναγκῇ*¹—stimulate them. 'Throw downe your selues before hir maiesty, and this honourable assembly, and plead for your liues and your peoples: rise not thence, vntill your suite be yielded vnto.'²

Then, with a prayer that if Wales sink under God's judgement, Elizabeth and her council and 'the whole communalty of England' may not be involved in the calamity, the young patriot and prophet closes his passionate and quite noteworthy first printed appeal on behalf of the evangelisation of Wales.

The reader has already been informed of Penry's haste in closing his work. Rumours were abroad that Parliament was about to be dissolved. Four sheets, 32 pages, were already printed; the remainder had to be reduced to one-third the size of the original writing. He submissively and quite happily quotes Horace (*A.P.* 21):

amphora coepit
institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?

'He set out designing a wine-jar: why on the spinning wheel should it have dwindled into a pitcher?' Authors will understand how uncongenial the procedure was.

¹ *Hist.* viii. § III. Themistocles to the Andrians, enforcing payment by the great Greek gods, Persuasion and Necessity.

² *Aequity*, 58-62 [51-54].

CHAPTER V

THE *AEQUITY* PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT AND
THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF

1. *Edward Dunn Lee and Job Throkmorton*.—Having received the tract from the hands of Barnes, and edition of 500 copies it would appear, Penry hurried off to London. There is no time to be lost. He had received an intimation, from Throkmorton probably, while he was busy writing, that Parliament was likely to be speedily dissolved. In due course the member for Carmarthen town presented to the Speaker and the House the supplication of John Penry on behalf of his country. Edward Dunn Lee¹ was able to show ‘the equitie of the petition.’ Knowing well the condition of the country he was able to supply the members with valuable confirmation of the facts adduced by his young countryman and the reasonableness of his plea. ‘In effect,’ says Penry, he ‘auouched the truth of that which in the treatise was set downe.’ Parliament showed a somewhat Gallo-like spirit in receiving the treatise. No positive dislike to it was shown, but the zealous soul of Penry recognised that they were not earnest about the matter.² Job Throkmorton, the member for Warwickshire, however, took up the plea, and evidently was carried away with youthful indignation at the scandal of impropriate livings and ignorant incumbents, while the people were buried in ignorance and superstition. Throkmorton had a very biting sarcastic tongue and must have touched upon the share of the Queen and some of her most distinguished counsellors in this corruption and avarice.³

But though the House showed ‘no dislyking thereof,’ and though Penry had not really proposed to change the episcopal form of Church government, ‘Archbishop Whitgift and his

¹ See *Aequity*, Dr. Grieve’s ed. Intr. v. n. 5. ² Penry, *Appellation*, 4.

³ See his petition to Burghley, *Lansd. MS.* 53, 71; Pierce, *Hist. Introd. Marp. Tracts*, 216.

associates,' when they learned the contents of the treatise, thought it intolerable. Before Parliament rose warrants were issued for the seizure of the book and of its author. It was publicly stated that the *Aequity* was on sale 'in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Tygershead.' This was the business house of Toby Cooke, whose special line was the publication of religious books. It lay within the jurisdiction of the Stationers' Company, whose wardens Bishop and Denham¹ were speedily despatched along with Cole, the pursuivant, to seize author and books, which they promptly did. Penry was lodged in the Gatehouse at Westminster, and possession was taken of practically the whole edition of the *Aequity*.² That the authorities regarded the matter gravely may be gathered from Job Throkmorton's extremely humble petition to Burghley, to turn away the anger of the Queen, pleading his youth, and consequent 'rashnesse,' and that it was the first time he had so offended. His petition is endorsed '3 Aprill 1587.'³

2. *Penry before Whitgift and the High Commission*.—Penry was taken at once before the High Commission and thereupon charged by Whitgift 'to be a factious slanderer of her Majesties gouernment' and 'to have published flat treason and heresie.' From Penry's statements in the *Appellation*, and the details of the trial given in Marprelate's *Epistle*,⁴ taken from 'notes of their conference' which Martin said he had seen, we can learn sufficiently what happened on the occasion. Whitgift had with him sitting on the Commission, Aylmer, Bishop of London, Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, W. Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Lewin, Dr. Cosins, and others. The Archbishop was evidently struck by the youthfulness of this new pleader on behalf of Wales. His youth magnified his offence. What can such callow inexperience know of these weighty matters of Church and State? And so we hear the choleric

¹ Their term of office expired on 12 July 1587. Arber's *Transcripts*, 1875, ii. 3.

² *Appellation*, 4-6, 42, 43. (Arber's *Marp. Sketch*, 68-73.)

³ A full account of the petition is given in my *Hist. Introd. to the Marp. Tracts*, 216.

⁴ *Epistle*, 29, 30; *Marp. Tracts, the Appellation*, 40, 41 (Pierce, 65).

prelate, *more suo*, rating him soundly as ‘boy, knave, varlet, slanderer, libeller, lewde boy, lewd slanderer.’ But a debatable point was at last raised. Aylmer wanted to know more of Penry’s views upon non-residents, as presented in the *Aequity*, where he denounces it as a wrong not to be endured. Why did Penry so severely condemn them? Penry very boldly answered that they were odious in the sight of God and man, because, as much as in them lay, they deprived the people of their chance of the ordinary means of salvation, which was the word preached. Then Aylmer lured him on with a further question, Was preaching then the only means of salvation? Penry replied that it was the only ‘ordinary means.’ That no doubt was his experience, so far as it went; but he confirmed it by scriptural references. ‘How shal they beleue on him of whom they have not heard? How shal they heare without a preacher?’ Moreover, how fitting to the occasion was the text which declared that when human speculations had failed, ‘it pleased God by folish preaching to saue them that beleue.’ In the beginning men trusted after having heard. ‘In whome also ye haue trusted after that ye heard the worde of trueth.’ This point was apparently hotly disputed and at great length, and as the young evangelist threatened to establish his point, Bishop Cooper could not restrain his anger. ‘I assure you, my Lords,’ he cried out, ‘it is an execrable heresie.’ Penry replied that it was a heresy that he would hold as dearly as his life. Then the Archbishop added his thunder, and repeated that it was a heresy, and ‘thou shalt recant it as a heresie.’ Penry had courage to reply, ‘Naye, neuer so long as I live godwilling.’¹ It was probably more their obliquity of vision than their deliberate misrepresentation which made them demand of Penry an oath of loyalty in view of what appeared on page 40 of his *Aequity*. Penry having in mind the constant defamation of Elizabeth’s character by the Romanists, had written:

‘Will not the enemies of Gods truth with vncleane mouthes auouch that shee had little regarde vnto true or false religion

¹ The foregoing account is taken from Marprelate’s *Epistle* 29, 30 [Pierce, *The Marp. Tracts*, 65].

anie further than it belonged vnto hir profite? I would some of them did not slaunderously cast abroade amongst our people, that she careth not whether the gospel be preached or not preached.'

3. *Penry's Review of the Lambeth Tribunal.*—Penry, when later reviewing his trial, had a couple of strong and cogent criticisms to make upon the proceedings. (1) Penry had addressed his petition to the whole of Parliament. Here was a little junta of men, 'at that instant . . . all parliament men,' inferior members by comparison with many in that honourable Assembly, overriding their ancient prerogatives by meeting in private to censure the action of the whole body. (2) Even worse was the oppressive and illegal character of their procedure; it purported to be a judicial enquiry; but there were no warrant, no indictment, no accusers, no witnesses. All they had was their oath *ex officio*, which permitted them without being limited by the indictment before the court, to institute a general inquisition into all the privacies of the prisoner's life, and into all he might know of the affairs of his relatives and intimate friends, in the hope of finding matter upon which to frame an indictment; an odious tyranny and denial of natural human rights which seems to have been the special invention of the ecclesiastical mind. It is 'all the justice,' said Penry, 'that poore Christians haue at Lambeth.' He represents Whitgift and his colleagues exulting over them and saying, 'It shall come to passe that you shall escape us narrowly [with difficulty] but ere you depart the court we shall find sufficient matter to imprison you, and if you refuse the oath, to prison you shall goe.' It was, declared Penry, with hot indignation, contrary to English law that a man should be forced to be his own accuser. No doubt he knew his man. Whitgift had been Bishop of Worcester and a member of the Welsh Council; in his rigorous administration he had claimed the prerogatives of the Almighty to unlock the secrets of a man's conscience; to compel him, under the agony of torture, to 'bolt out' facts concerning himself, which were necessary to frame his indictment.¹

¹ Penry, *Appellation*, 41-43.

4. *Imprisonment.*—However, for calling the attention of Parliament to the religious destitution of Wales Penry was committed to ‘close prison . . . 12 daies, at the keepers vttermost perill.’ He indeed, asked the particular cause of his harsh treatment, and nothing could better illustrate how, through these extraneous and intrusive ecclesiastical tribunals, the ancient liberties of the land were being crushed, than the answer given : He would come again before the court and he should then be told. As a matter of fact he was left a month in prison ; clear evidence of Whitgift’s perplexities. The *Aequity* had been legally ‘allowed’ by an authorised person, printed openly by a licensed printer ; it had been presented to Parliament and received without censure. The Archbishop had got the grey wolf by the ears. The keeper of the Gatehouse had at last ignominiously to open the door of Penry’s cell and to request him to solve the primate’s legal and constitutional difficulty, by voluntarily leaving.

CHAPTER VI

PENRY AND WALDEGRAVE

1. *Penry resolves to continue Writing.*—We are not surprised to find that the proceedings before the High Commission and the month’s imprisonment failed to damp the ardour of our young Evangelist. And this he deliberately places on record. ‘Since the time of my release, I sawe my selfe bounde in conscience not to giue ouer my former purpose, in seeking the good of my countrymen, by the rooting out of ignorance and blindnes from among them.’¹ And he was not long before he was busy preparing another grave and earnest appeal to the governing powers in Wales, to take in hand the moral and religious needs of the country. This is not the only object which would take him to Northampton, where there would be a natural anxiety as to his welfare. The old town is the centre

¹ *Appell.* 5.

of his chief friendships. His intimacy with the Godleys must have steadily grown, and by this time he must have been accepted by them as betrothed to their daughter Eleanor.

2. *Nonconformist Activity in Northampton and elsewhere.*—Facile as he was with his pen, the writing of his new book, the *Exhortation*, must have kept him fully occupied for the rest of the year. It was ready for the printer with the opening of 1588. Meanwhile his reputation as a writer and controversialist was spread abroad. There is no inherent improbability in the statement, that he received encouragement from the Earl of Leicester, who would be quick to recognise so keen a disputant against the position assumed by the bishops. For he, no doubt, is the 'Noble man deceased' referred to in the official summary of the Martinist evidence (21 Sept. 1589), of whom Penry is alleged to have said, that if he were discovered, the Nobleman promised that he should be kept out of the clutches of the High Commission, and should only appear formally ('after a fashion') before another tribunal and be speedily set free.¹ The Northampton Puritan circle would also recognise the mettle of the young Welshman, and how promising an addition he would be to their fighting power. The Nonconformist elements were moving both in London and the provinces. In London the Separatists were very active. Whitgift's emissaries had in October raided the house of one Henry Martin in the Wardrobe and taken prisoners John Greenwood and old Mr. Crane, formerly the minister of Roehampton in Surrey, but now residing at Aldermanbury. He died at Newgate of prison disease shortly afterwards.²

The Puritans, Cartwright, Udall, Snape, Feild, Wilcox, Dudley Fenner, and many others were at this time active, writing and preaching, forming presbyteries, and methodically conducting what must be regarded as a formidable propaganda.

3. *The Puritan Printer, Robert Waldegrave.*—But beside Penry's labour of writing his second book there are other and difficult matters to be arranged. A fresh printer has to be found. Barnes, the Oxford printer, was no doubt sufficiently

¹ *Lansd. MSS.* 61, fol. 69; Arber's *Marp. Sketch*, 117.

² *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 7; Arber's *Marp. Sketch*, 39.

warned not to have any further share in Penry's dangerous adventures. The printing will have to be done secretly. The whole undertaking was surrounded by difficulties. With every printing-press in the country registered, the number in the possession of each printer limited, and having to work in secret hidden from every tell-tale gossip, under these conditions where was he to find a man willing to undertake the work, and thereby to risk if not his neck, at least his professional position? All this contributed to make the establishment of a secret press a very difficult undertaking. Even the prospect of larger earnings was scarcely enough inducement. The printer of this contraband literature must be enamoured of the enterprise. He must have a religious interest in the publication of such works as came from the pens of Penry and his friends. There was probably but one man practising the 'art and mysterie' who would undertake for them. But there was one. Robert Waldegrave—'Walgrave' in current speech—who became printer to Udall and Penry, and for half of his campaign, to Martin Marprelate, had from the day of his becoming 'free of the stationers' ten years earlier, been known as a printer of Puritan works. His religious zeal was strong enough to induce him to run serious business risks in the interests of his faith. He had a printing-house in the Strand, 'near Somerset House,' or as sometimes given, 'without Temple Bar'; later at the sign of 'The Crane in Pauls Churchyard.' In 1586 he owned two licensed presses. He was in continual trouble with the authorities. A warrant in 1584 from the House of Commons to the Wardens of the Stationers' Company authorised the seizure of himself, his assistants and his presses for printing unauthorised Puritan tracts. In the year 1585 for a like offence he spent twenty weeks in prison. He was now in negotiation with John Udall, the Puritan preacher at Kingston-on-Thames, for the printing of his anti-episcopal dialogue, *The state of the Church of England laide open*, commonly known as *Diotrephes*, the name given to the bishop in the dramatis personæ. Penry and Udall were old acquaintances. They were contemporaries at Cambridge, Udall being the senior; he entered Corpus Christi

in 1578. They were drawn into closer friendship by their participation in the literary campaign against the rule of bishops and their common employment of Waldegrave and the secret press. Their religious views at this time were much in accord, and both were serious-minded resolute men, who chose to suffer rather than deny their faith. They had sincere regard for each other. Udall, when asked why he was so often in Penry's company, replied, 'He being a Scholler and Student in Divinity, and one whom I alwaies thought to be an honest man, your Lordships may easily conceive the cause.'¹

4. *The "Exhortation" printed and the Printing-house raided.*—Penry evidently pressed forward his work, and when the *Exhortation* was out of Waldegrave's hands, had the whole edition removed to a place of safety. The lesson of the seizure of the stock of the *Aequity* at Toby Cooke's in the Churchyard was not lost upon him. None too soon was the removal effected, as events proved. On 16 April Waldegrave's house was raided and the undelivered stock of Udall's *Diotrephes* seized, together with the presses and type found on the premises.² But in the confusion of this midnight attack, Waldegrave managed to seize and hide under his cloak a useful fount of pica type, with which he escaped in the dark.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXHORTATION (APRIL 1588)

1. *Its General Character and Purport.*—The present book is one of the most important of all Penry's writings. Its title is

An exhortation vnto the governours and people of hir Maiesties countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly to haue the preaching of the Gospell planted among them.

¹ Udall's Exam. at Lord Cobham's house, 13 Jan. 1590; *A new Discovery*, 1643, p. 93; Arber's *Marp. Sketch*, 172.

² The contemporary *Dialogue wherin is plainly layd open* (ed. 1640, sig. B3, v.) says it was his 'shoppe at the signe of the Crane in Paules Churchyard.'

It has no date nor any indication of the name of the printer or place of printing. It is addressed to 'The Right Honorable the Earle of Pembroke [Wm. Herbert],' to the governors of the Welsh Council, and to the people of Wales of all classes. Penry's faith is still with the civil authorities as the superior source of power. They, if they choose, can compel the obedience of the hierarchy. [See Bibliographical Note at the close of this abstract.]

The bulk of the copies of the *Aequity* was seized by the authorities. But its plea is here passionately taken up, that preachers of the Gospel and not mere readers be appointed to Welsh livings. All Elizabethan Protestants and Puritans agreed in seeing no spiritual hope for the people of Wales while they remained in their ignorance. To Penry's imagination this dark doom made the outlook appalling, and explains the energy and outspokenness of his plea. The only practical remedy is to 'preach the word'; to expound it, to make it clear, to show the consequence of neglecting it, and the happy state of those receiving it and living according to its principles and precepts; to use all the arts, all the passion, of public speech in order to win his fellow-countrymen to accept the salvation proffered to men in the Gospel. From every conceivable point of view he presents the problem and its one remedy; by over-subtle distinctions he increases his array of reasons to show that 'mere readers' cannot satisfy the clamant needs of the people, until we grow to-day a little weary of the multiplication of arguments, where one argument differs from the next by such minute features. Penry tells us, himself, that he takes no pride in their number. We should doubtless be more tolerant of his variations and repetitions, if we shared his shuddering belief in the future of the ignorant.

The reader, then, will already be familiar with the main purport of the *Exhortation*: the Redemption of a condemned nation by the divinely-appointed method of preaching the Gospel; the need of being instant in season and out of season; and the demand for the proof of a converted life, in the devotion of that life to good works, and in all consistent conduct.

2. *The Bitterness of the Reproach of the Papist.*—Penry's pathetic lamentations on the godless condition of his countrymen, break out continually. He addresses them in terms of endearment. In classic fashion he describes his 'deare countrey' as 'the land of the sepulchres of my fathers.'¹ He resents its hard fate, that for the long period of twenty-nine years, under a great Sovereign professing the reformed faith, it should be deprived of the blessings of the Gospel, and be almost in a sadder state than when it was fed with the superstitions of Rome. It is as gall to him that even the Papists taunt Wales with her irreligious condition. Let them not, he cries, 'have any more cause to upbraid the ignorance of our people as they have done in that pamphlet which they threwe abroad the last year, to seduce our simple people.'²

He affirms that most congregations have been without preaching during the reign of Elizabeth,³ and has to admit sorrowfully that if 'an Idolatrous dog of Rome should affirme the most congregations in Wales, since the time of the Roman synagogues' to be without the three essential marks of the Church, 'the word preached, the sacraments rightly administered and the Scriptural outwarde forme of gouernement,' the Romanist could prove his case.⁴ He also states that if 'all the registeries in Wales be taken' there is no shire-town or parish, where for six months together during these twenty-nine years, there has been a godly and learned minister faithfully doing his duty in any reasonable sense.⁵ Nevertheless he will not follow Gruffydd Roberts, the Romanist Canon of Milan and ex-archdeacon of Bangor, in his *Drych Christianogawl* (Christian Mirror) in saying that there are no Christians in Wales.

'Let no man (he says) doe me the iniurie to report that I denie any members of Christ to be in Wales. I protest I have no such meaning, and would die vpon the persuasion, that the lorde hath his chosen in my deare countrie, and I trust the number of them will be dailie increased.'⁶

3. *The General Character of the Church Services.*—But he

¹ *Exhort.* p. 6.

² *Ibid.* p. 20.

³ *Ibid.* p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 24, 25.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 26.

continually protests against the type of service held in the parish churches. It is not preaching, and therefore it is not the divinely prescribed and reasonable way to convert an ignorant unbelieving people. And even of what it professes to be, it is a barren and inefficient performance. The men appointed as ministers are unqualified, some are scandalously unfit, for their office. The shire-towns and the towns along the Marches and the chief ports may understand English. The county parishes are monoglot Welsh. Yet only a meagre portion of the service is in the vernacular. Salesbury's New Testament, owing to his pedantic theory of translation, had only a partial likeness to Welsh as currently spoken, and sounded to the people, as Penry says in the *Aequity*, like a foreign tongue ; like, indeed, the old Latin service.

' A few psalmes a few praiers with one chapter from the New Testament in Welch (for the olde never spake Welch in our daies, though, to my comfort, I understande it is all readie to be printed) ¹ most pitifully euill read of the reader, and not vnderstoode of one among tenne of the hearers, is that meanes belike whereby the Lorde hath decreed to make cleare vnto all men in Wales what the fellowship is of the mysterie which from the beginning of the world hath bin hid ² in God ' (p. 11).

It must be pointed out that in his contention against mere service-readers as qualified ministers, Penry does not exclude Bible-reading from the routine of public worship.

' I doe not denie, nay, I know it is warranted, that the worde should be read in the congregations of God's children, but that hee should be taken as a publike minister, that hath no other gift, that I detest ' (p. 10).

4. *Penry's Estimate of the Bishops*.—His attitude towards the bishops is to be carefully noted. Either by their positive opposition, or else by their refusal to act, they stand in the way of the proclamation of the Gospel, and Penry is overwhelmed by the consequent eternal condemnation of so many of his

¹ William Morgan was in London at this time seeing his great work through the press. It was issued at the close of the year.

² ' had ' by misprint in the original.

countrymen. In his desperate seriousness they are 'soul-murderers.' Their office he holds is unwarranted; inconsistent with the spirit and example of the New Testament. They are the chief examples of corrupt pluralism. For reasons known to themselves, they are ordaining men, as Elizabeth told a number of them, 'of such lewd life and corrupt behaviour, whereof we know, she said, of some such, that be not worthy to come into any honest company.'¹ The scandal was probably greater in Wales than in England. How many parishes were religiously starved by reason of the innumerable livings and manorial estates which Bishop Hughes of St. Asaph bestowed upon himself and his family! In the fierceness of his Welsh indignation, like a prophet of the ancient order, the young Evangelist cries—

'Wo be to the shepherds of Wales, saith Jehovah; they feed themselves and eat of the fat, and clothe themselves with the wool, but let the flock go hungry.' God will send a just judgment vpon their offices—men will fear 'to enter into the seas of Davids, Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff. And I trust in the Lord Jesus to see his church flourish in wales, when the memorie[s] of Lord Bishops are buried in hell whence they came' (p. 22).

5. *He deprecates Bishop-baiting by the Ungodly.*—All the same Penry would only justify the severity of his animadversions against the bishops on grave religious grounds. He protests that he is moved to write on these questions by a sense of obligation, as the servant of his great Master; by the urging of his conscience, and by an anguish of compassion for his countrymen. With wanton attacks or irresponsible gibes by men little concerned with high religious aims he disavows all sympathy. He says it is—

'a jangling and prattling age, wherein faith and the power of religion is thought by the most part to consist onely in the detestation of Byshops and withstanders of reformation; I confess from my heart that I have bin hardly [unwillingly] drawne to deale with this wicked generation. Not because I would have these cormorants vntouched, but lest I should seeme to feede the humours of busibodies, who, increasing themselues

¹ Strype, *Ann.* II. i. 287.

An exhortation vnto the gouernours, and people of hir Maiesties
countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly,
to haue the preaching of
the Gospell planted a-
mong them.

There is in the ende something
that was not in the former
impression.

PSAL. 137. 5,6.

If I shall forget thee, O Ierusalem, let my right hande forget her selfe, if I do not remember, thee, let my tongue cleaue vnto the roofof my mouth: yea, if I prefer not Ierusalem vnto my cheefe ioye.

2. COR. 1. 13.

For wee write no other thing vnto you, than that you reade, or that you acknowledge, and I trust you shal acknowledge vnto the ende.

1 COR. 5. 13,14.

For, whether we be out of our wit, we are it vnto God, or whether wee be in our right mind, wee are it vnto you. For, that loue of Christ doth constraîne vs.

1588.

full vnto more ungodliness, thinke nothing so well spoken or^lwritten as that which is satyricall and bitingly done against L[ord] Bysh[ops] and the rest of that stamp. As I would not nourishe this frantike conceit in any, so far be it I should allowe with my silence the butchers and stranglers of the soules of my deare countrimen. Who, if they be not driuen by this warning to looke better to their charges, I will hereafter so decypher their corrupt dealing, that the very ayre it selfe shal be poysoned with the contagion of their filthinesse' (pp. 17, 18).

6. *Penry and the Lord President.*—He is equally outspoken in addressing the eminent Lord President, to whom he has dedicated his book. He strongly thinks it the duty of civil authorities to see that the religious needs of the people are satisfied. They have the necessary power, and though they are civil, not ecclesiastical officers, yet are they divinely authorised. To Lord Pembroke he therefore says—

'Hath the Lord called you to be lorde president of Wales vnder hir Maiestie, to the end you should be still, when you see your people runne vnto hell, and the Lorde so notably dishonoured vnder your governement ?' (p. 15).

If he and his Council remedy not this neglect, the Lord will require the blood of the damned at their hands. It belongs essentially to their calling 'to see all within Wales taught by the worde preached.' The Lord President cannot be said to rule over those who do not subject themselves at least outwardly unto true religion.¹ Let him stop the profanation of the ministry 'by a worde of his mouth,' remembering the godly example of ancient Hebrew rulers. Provide preaching, he says to the Council, 'for yourselues, and obey the same,' if they would not be like the 'common professours of these daies . . . who will not diminish one iot of their horrible couetousnesse and oppressing of their tenauntes, lo[o]se one gry of their whorish pompe, and more than curtisanlike brauerie'; and so forth. He is definite as to the authority of the magistrate in religious matters. Emergencies may justify the action of the magistrate; it may be lawful according to the Word, though lacking precedent. For illustration he points to

¹ *Exhort.* p. 15.

Roman history, to the dictatorship of Cincinnatus, and the bestowal of exceptional powers upon L. Tarquinius and L. Opimus when, in their several periods the government of the Republic was in peril.¹

7. *Functions of Minister and Magistrate.*—This leads Penry to combat the argument that there is a complete parity between the offices of magistrate and minister. Peter distinguishes them when he says, ‘Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, whether it be to the king,’ or to any other authorised ruler. The minister’s office is prescribed in the Word, and is conditioned by his having gifts, independently of his ordination (‘outward calling’); but in the case of the magistrate, appointment is everything. Penry likens the possession of the layman’s office to the legal conveyance of an inheritance. The inheritor may be a fool, nevertheless the possession is his. He prudently takes his illustrations from classical history. But he ventures to apply the principle to kings, some of whom, undeniably, have been fools, but kings all the same. ‘Tib. Gracchus abuseth his magistracie,’ and the people sinfully continue him in office. No private person, however, could disobey his rule; the sword he held was still the sword of the Lord. Penry closes this perilous argument tactfully. Elizabeth’s part in ‘calling’ a magistrate is parallel to the calling of a minister by the Lord. If Parliament elected, as do the French, a Lord High Constable, and her Majesty disliked him, his appointment would be null and void.²

Neither President nor magistrate can belong to Christ, if they neglect their Christian duties.

‘Wey them, good my Lord, and let not another yere of your Presidentshipp passe ouer your head, before Wales of a daughter of wrath, bee made an heire of mercie and fauor, which the Lord graunt’ (pp. 16, 17).

All classes are responsible, magistrates, bishops, ministers and laymen. The common people also, inasmuch as they have been content with this incomplete and inefficient service. They deliberately choose to be ‘lims of the devil.’

¹ *Exhort.* pp. 57-59.

² *Ibid.* pp. 48-51.

8. *Doctrinal Positions.* (a) *The Ministry.*—The doctrinal position now laid before his readers, is that of his earlier book. Here it is elaborated and treated somewhat as Penry would have treated it, when he was a disputant ‘in Austins’ at the University. The prime matters are the Ministry and the Sacraments. Concerning the Ministry he observes that all men are not equally qualified for the office. The qualified are those only who are called by God, and if they are not so called it is in vain that churches ordain them. ‘Therefore the bare reading ministers are no ministers.’ The two things required of a minister are first, an *inward calling*, which may be recognised by the ‘sufficiencie of [his] gifts’; and next, an *outward calling*, which is the authorisation of the Church, and this, it is to be observed, being from the Lord, though by the hands of men, being once given, can only be taken away by the Lord, by the withdrawal of the necessary gifts, or, by deprivation in the case of notorious transgressors. This is the position which Penry defends in the *Exhortation* in all the variations of his argument. He turns every detail of the minister’s duty into a separate proposition. Thus a minister is charged to call upon men to repent. Now, the dumb minister, the bare reader, cannot do this; therefore he is no minister.¹

(b) *The Sacraments.*—The matter becomes a little more complicated when he comes to treat the Sacraments. He chiefly deals with baptism. Seeing that the dumb minister is no minister, can Christians receive without sin, the sacraments at their hands? Penry has already said that they cannot, if these men lack the outward calling; much more, if they lack the inward, which neither ‘man nor angell can giue.’² The questions to be settled are, however, not yet all dealt with. Though it be a sin to resort to those who are not true ministers for these ‘seales of saluation,’ yet if they are administered by these men, they are nevertheless true sacraments—true ‘as to their substance.’ Does the ignorance, then, of those receiving or of those administering them affect their nature and value? He pauses here to point out that to deny, in the case of baptism, the rite to be a true sacrament,

¹ *Exhort.* pp. 30, 31.

² *Ibid.* pp. 27, 28.

implies that 'the most nowe living in this age are either not baptised, or [at least] must be rebaptised.' It has to be remembered that the Queen would be involved in this consequence. We need not follow all the ramifications of Penry's dialectic as it postures itself around these nice points. It will suffice to give his own summary of his position. He does not deny the baptism administered by the imperfectly qualified minister to be a sacrament; elsewhere he denies that he has positively affirmed that it is. But whether it be or not, he would have none re-baptized. His views are interesting.

1°. Baptism is only called in question by, or on behalf of, those who are truly converted, men and women united to Christ by faith. Baptism is only of value as one of the means whereby men attain to that consummation. But having attained it, Penry asks, 'To what ende then should baptism serue vs againe?'

2°. Rebaptism would imply, what he denies, 'the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation.'

3°. He deprecates being thought to agree with 'the hereticall Katabaptists.' [The Katabaptists were originally, of course, antagonists to baptism. In Penry's day the term was specially applied to those who denied any value to baptism by idolaters (Papists) or by unqualified ministers, and, therefore, demanded rebaptism.]

4°. The question at issue is a moot point. 'Other churches have not publikelie decided the cause.'

5°. The general demand for rebaptism would inevitably involve many 'which haue been alreadie baptised by such as had commission from the Lord to deale with those mysteries.'

Ult°. Adults baptised by 'idoll ministers' are either called or not called to salvation. If they are [see 1°] why should they be rebaptized? If they are not, they could not be baptized until they proved by their conduct that they were God's children, and then it ceased to be necessary.¹

To understand Penry's position we must keep in mind that he refused to regard the Romish priests or the 'bare

¹ *Exhort.* p. 31.

readers' as 'ministers indeed'; and he who knowingly receives a sacrament from a 'no minister,' sins. Better carry a child 'a 1000 miles' to a true minister.¹ But though readers 'be no ministers' and 'can deliver no sacrament . . . yet that which hath bene done by them may be a sacrament.'² Calvin's position was that baptism was not determined by the worth of the minister and therefore rebaptism, as against the Donatists, was to be rejected.³ Henry Barrowe also opposed rebaptism, but for another reason.

9. *On Separation.*—Penry, at this stage, expressly disagrees with the Separatists, whenever the minister from whom they separate, is truly called and fulfils his office as a preacher of the word, and a pastor of the flock, and be not spiritually an unqualified man, owing his position solely to 'the ordinance of the church,' such as are most of those holding office in Wales. But their course is wicked and schismatical who separate themselves from the assemblies where the word of God is truly preached, that is, 'from those who serue the true God after a false maner.'⁴

10. *Some Personal Notes and Closing Words.*—Much concerning the nature of the ministry, written with a little display of his familiarity with the Greek text of the New Testament, must be passed over.⁵ But there are one or two personal notes in the *Exhortation* which are of sufficient interest to be given here at the close of our abstract.

(a) *His Disinterestedness in Writing.*—He declares very forcibly his unselfish motives in his efforts on behalf of his countrymen. Addressing them he says—

'Although it woulde be the ioie of my soule to see you in the way to heauen, wherein now you are not, yet it wil not be the loss of a button vnto me, though you shoulde all of you go to hell : and therefore, whatsoeuer I write, it is doone in good will towards you, of loue and compassion towards your miserie.'⁶

(b) *His Danger from the deceitful Tactics of the Bishops in accusing him of Sedition.*—He takes up his protest, continued

¹ *Exhort.* p. 34.

³ *Instit.* (Clarke's ed.) II. 521.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 52, 53.

² *Ibid.* p. 32, marg.

⁴ *Exhort.* pp. 63, 64.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 13.

throughout his active career, against the tactics of the Bishops in turning his attack upon the scandalous holders of church livings, men ordained and appointed by them, into 'an attack upon the State.' The large share of the Bishops in this desperate state of affairs cannot safely be referred to. They unjustly construe it to be factious and mutinous. There is genuine pathos in the reflection of this young writer on the destiny which threatens him.¹

'I haue other things to do then to be a contentious man, one with whome the whole world should be at debate.' He is accusing others, but he humbly recognises his own faults. 'I am guiltie vnto my selfe of sins which giue me iust cause to look vpon the ground: I haue also a life, whereof there is no cause, I thanke God, I should be weary'; but he would sacrifice bodily life and spiritual hope on the challenge that the positions of non-residents and lord bishops of Wales are 'unwarranted by God's word.'²

He proposes to his countrymen the heroic remedy of paying themselves for their religion, since the State provision is being misapplied. He shrewdly remarks that the tithe is a lien upon the land they occupy, like rent, a legal impost which affects the price of the purchase of land. 'You neuer made account of your tithes as of your owne.' To accomplish his great end Penry would forgo strictly legal justice in regard to these misappropriated church revenues. He has no love of contention for its own sake.³

Again, as he closes his 'tractate' proper, he says—

'I know not my daunger in writing these things. I see you my dere and natiue cuntrymen perish. It pitieth me; I come with the rope around my necke to save you'—like Hegetorides at the siege of Thasus proposing the unpopular policy of making peace with the enemy—'howsoever it goes with me, I labour that you may haue the Gospel preached among you; though it cost me my life, I thinke it well bestowed. And seeing I seeke nothing hereby, but the glorie of God and your saluation, what deuils will be so shameles as to molest me for this worke, and hinder the word preached.'⁴

He acknowledges his dislike of 'the ecclesiasticall gouerne-

¹ *Exhort.* p. 19.

² *Ibid.* p. 22.

³ *Ibid.* p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 38.

ment nowe established amongst [them].’ It is foreign and antichristian for the most part. But it is a slander to say that he mislikes the civil government. If needful he would defend her Majesty’s life ten thousand times. Should he not do so much for the Lord ?

And so he reaches his conclusion and subscribes himself, ‘Your poore country-man, who in all dutiful good will hath wholly dedicated himselfe to do you good in the Lorde, Iohn Penrie.’

* * * *The Addendum.*—As will be seen in the note which follows, the third edition of the *Exhortation*, which we have used for the above abstract, consists of the first edition and a large addendum. We have treated tract and addendum as a continuous work. Its chief object as an addition to the original tract is to gather the various arguments ‘against the dumb ministers’ which are scattered through the treatise and to set them forth in a syllogistic form. But they need not detain us further. This section is simply signed ‘JOHN PENRI.’

Reference Numbers occurring in the Text and Margin

The reader is at first perplexed with reference numbers in the text and margin. In the third edition the object is evident, the numbers in the main text refer to the same numbers in the Addendum, where the argument is put into syllogistic form. Their existence in the first edition indicates that it also was intended to be furnished with an addendum. But the numbers are not consistent and cannot be harmonised. There are one or two short series (pp. 27-33, ser. 1-13 ; pp. 34f., ser. 1-3) the use of which escapes us. On p. 52 (bottom) Penry explains that the addition of * to the numbers indicates ‘some of the reasons whereby I am necessarily induced vtterly to condemne that course of those (I hope fearing God) who have made a separation from those ministers in this lande (& their congregations) who truely preache the worde.’ But these numbers seem to have got astray. It is evident that the printer has starred the wrong paragraphs.

NOTE ON THE EDITIONS OF THE *EXHORTATION*

1st ed.—Title: An exhortation vnto the | Gouvernours and people of her Maie | sties countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly to | haue the preaching of the Gospell planted a- | mong them.

Three Biblical quotations:—Ps. 137. 5, 6. 2 Cor. 1. 13. 1 Cor. [should be 2 Cor.] 5. 13, 14. These follow the Geneva version generally, with variations not found in any of the printed editions of the Bible.

No place, printer or date. 66 pp. 12mo. 11.2 cm. × 6 cm. 16 ll. = 6.7 cm. 27 ll. to a page. Pica rom.

Dr. R. Some's *A Godly Treatise on the Ministry* is dated May 6, 1588. It refers (close of p. 31) to Penry's *Exhortation*, 1st ed.

2nd ed.—Title as above. 8vo. in fours. Longprimer. Similar to the 1st ed. in all particulars, but without the signature. Then follows an addition, 'To the LL. of the Covnsell,' pp. 65-110. This is signed 'John Penri,' and appears later as the separate tract known as the *Supplication*. See below, p. 247. It then ends with

'TO THE READER

'Master D. SOMES booke was published this day, | I haue read it. The man I reuerence from my heart | as a godly and learned man. The reasons he vseth | against me, in the questions of the reading ministrie | and communicating with them, I had aunswered | as you may see in this booke before he had writ | ten. They are faultie, either because they desire that | for graunted which is the question, or make those | things of like nature, wherein there is a great dissi- | militude, as the arguments drawn from the ma | gistracie and the Leviticall Priesthood. I have an | swered them. The cause & the reuerence I owe vnto | the man, though the reasons he vseth deserue not | to be twise read ouer, will enforce me to answere | him at large, there be certaine faults escaped in the | print, beare with them.'

A unique copy of this edition is included in Sir John Williams's gift to the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

3rd ed.—Title as above, with the addition 'There is in the ende something | that was not in the former | impression.' It is also dated 1588; no place, no printer. 8vo. in fours. Longprimer. Pp. 1-40 contain the whole of the 1st ed. Then follows the addition pp. 41-65, signed 'John Penri.' The page is completed by a note—

'TO THE READER.

'I haue read Master D. Somes booke, the reasons | he vseth in the questions of the dumbe ministerie, | and communicating with them, I had answered (as | you may see in this booke) before he had written.

gouernment; That is a slander, and I dare write it in my forehead for a slander. But why should I deale in this cause more then others? The worthies of the Lord before me in preaching and writing for a learned ministerie, ye haue dealt herein. If they hadde not, this is my reason. Though all hir Maiesties subiects, yea hir faithfulllest countellers should conspire against her highnes, I my selfe against them al wold defend hir, and her cause to the losse of my life ten thousand times. And shall not I do the like seruice vnto the Lord?

To ende, commending you all both honourable, worshipfull, ministers, and people, vnto the Lord and the worde of his grace, I take my leaue of you in that exhortation which wee read in Iob.^a Acquaint your selues I pray you with the almightie, and make peace with him, thereby it shall go well with you, receiue I pray you, the law of his mouth, and lay vppe his wordes in your hearts. If you returne vnto him, you shalbe built vppe, if you put iniquitie farre from your tabernacle, the almightie shalbe your defence, you shall make your praier vnto him, and hee shall heare you. Christ Iesus giue them an heart to returne vnto thee, and be thou founde of them for thy mercie's sake. Amen, Amen,
Amen. yea, come quickly Lord Iesus.

Your poore countrey-man, who in all dutifull good will, hath wholly dedicated him selfe to doe you good in the Lorde.

JOHN PENRI.

The man I reuerence, as a godly & learned man. The weaknes of his reasons, shalbe shewed at large Godwilling. Page 42, line 24, read made and full, page 52 line 22 read axiom. Beare with the rest of the faultes.'

This is the edition in the British Museum and used in the preparation of these pages.

Robert Some's *Godly Treatise* was reissued with an additional section, dated Sept. 19, 1588. It contains many references to Penry. On p. 67, 'When I had finished my treatise your book was brought before me: before I knew not that you were the father of them.' On p. 68, 'All this time your booke was as great a stranger to me as it is nowe to the Duke of *Medina*.' Besides his references to the *Exhortation*, Dr. Some also criticises the *Defence*, the small book issued by Penry against the *Godly Treatise*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRAVELLING PRESS

1. *A New Printing-house*.—We have no certain knowledge of Waldegrave's movements after the raiding of his house, and the seizure of his printing apparatus. He had already been prosecuted for the unauthorised sale of a printing press, and the resolution now formed by those concerned in the Puritan campaign, and by Penry with his special propaganda on behalf of Wales, was to establish a secret press. In the darkness of the night of the raid Waldegrave managed to escape from his house in St. Paul's Churchyard with a box containing the type (pica) which he had used in printing the *Exhortation* and *Diotrephes*. The next day he and his wife brought the type to the house of Mrs. Crane in Aldermanbury. Nicholas Tomkins her servant in his examinations tells the simple story how he took the type from the table where it had been deposited and hid it away. Penry contributed to the new establishment a press; the printers who worked at it always refer to it as his.¹ How he obtained it we can only conjecture;

¹ Such also was the statement of Sharpe the bookbinder, who turned informer.—Baker's *Trans. Harl. MSS.* 7042, 23; Arber's *Sketch*, 95, 104.

probably from the Continent. Waldegrave obtained a new fount of type which was much used in the contraband printing of the next two years.¹ If we may judge by the suspicions and searches and the general statement of the authorities, the secret press must have been established in the neighbourhood of Kingston on Thames ; but the matter is by no means certain.²

2. *New Editions of the 'Exhortation.'*—It was soon at work, wherever located, and strangely enough it was occupied in publishing two further editions of the *Exhortation*, which are not only to be distinguished from the first edition by difference in type, but from each other, in spelling, capitals, italics and other orthographical peculiarities. The second and third editions are enlarged, each by an appendix special to itself, and each has its own note to the Reader. The difficulty of producing any edition was so great, and one would suppose the difficulty of vending copies to be equally great, even if there were a public demand for this kind of contraband religious controversy ; which could hardly be the case with a tractate on the evangelisation of Wales, with divagations on the complexities of Penry's and Some's theories of baptism, and of the status of ministers ; that the appearance of these two later editions under the circumstances stated, raises several questions which cannot at present be answered. The

¹ A longprimer letter.

² The *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers* (Arber, 1875) reveal the activity of the Archbishop in connection with the work of the printers at this time. There are payments for incessant visits to Lambeth ; for the wardens' expenses in searching for 'extraordinarye presses' ; for a visit to Kingston on the same quest, in which both Wardens, Watson the pursuivant and Thomas Draper, took part. This was a great affair to judge by the expenses incurred for boat hire and for supper at Kingston. The boatman's charge was about five pounds of our money and the bumper supper about four pounds. It is clear that, as usual, gossip directed them to the wrong house. The tenant could not hinder them from turning her house topsy-turvy, but she no doubt exercised her British liberty of speech and had to receive a solatium. 'Item to the poore woman whose house was serched'—about fifteen shillings of our money. It was dark when they returned down stream and they had to hire links. A pleasant journey after having supped well at the Company's expense. See *Transcripts*, I. 526-529. The general statement of the authorities that the press was located 'neere Kingston vpon Thames' (*Lansd. MSS.* 61-68) probably alludes to the press when at East Molesey.

printing-house was run by Penry and Waldegrave, and Davy, 'Penries man.' The variations in the setting of the three editions would suggest that Waldegrave had an assistant printer.

The sequence of the editions is determined, as indicated above, by the closing notes 'to the Reader.'¹ In the second edition Penry says 'Master D[octor] Somes booke was published this day. I haue read it.' In the third edition he writes 'I haue read Master D. Somes booke.' Other variations will be given in a note. The title-pages have the addition 'There is in the ende something that was not in the former impression.' Dr. Robert Some, it may be observed here, was Rector of Girton, and on the death of Andrew Perne in 1589 was elected Master of Peterhouse, Penry's old college.

3. *The Penry-Waldegrave Press at East Molesey.*—Whether the location of the press—in some unknown spot about Kingston as we suppose—was unsuitable, or the hue-and-cry was getting too hot, or because of Penry's settled policy to bewilder the Archbishop and Bancroft and his agents, by keeping the press on the move, as often as he could find any one risky enough to harbour it, at any rate, we find it in a new home, soon after the appearance of the second and third editions of the *Exhortation*.

The conjectured determining motive in the present migration of the printing establishment was the greater need than ever that had arisen for secrecy and caution. New influences were probably brought to bear in securing the new sanctuary, for the selection of the place is a matter of great moment. The press is about to undertake a task which in the year 1587 was as dangerous as any that can be conceived. We have arrived at a period of mystery. We have convinced ourselves that important persons in the state are concerned in this new undertaking. Behind the press, superior in authority to Penry, though he chafes against the interference with his Welsh propaganda; commanding the obedience and secrecy of Waldegrave, until he rebelled and retired from his post;

¹ See the Bibliographical note on the editions, above, p. 192.

ever in the background, but never once actually visible so as to be identified, is the great Unknown. What happened and is known is a simple story. In Aldermanbury the widow of 'old Mr. Crane' was still living. Her house had become the meeting-place for the leaders of Nonconformity. Thither, on the morrow of the raid upon Waldegrave's printing-house, Mrs. Waldegrave brought the box of type rescued by her husband, as already narrated. Mrs. Crane, who formerly resided at Roehampton in Surrey, had a house at East Molesey, on the Thames, some miles beyond Kingston. Here about midsummer¹ the presses were set up, and for some weeks were busy. Mrs. Waldegrave had been despatched for the box of pica types which were at once put to use in printing the introductory matter to Udall's *Demonstration of Discipline*, the remaining portion of that work being set up in the long-primer letter employed at Kingston (?). The secret was well kept and nothing was known by the authorities of East Molesey until long after the printers and their gear had departed. They had need to be circumspect for the great Unknown was Martin Marprelate and throughout the summer and early autumn, at intervals, the printers were engaged in setting up his first tract, *The Epistle*. The publishing of Penry's Welsh pleas, and Udall's denunciations of the prelates in their 'damnable and most deuilish course' created but a faint ripple on the surface of the social life of the country, compared with the tumult occasioned by the appearance of Marprelate's tracts.

The search for the press never relaxed in its intensity, and the efforts of the pursuivants were not lost upon the little company gathered at East Molesey. Before July was out, 'about St. Jamestide,' Penry was negotiating with Sir Richard Knightley for the transference of the press to Fawsley House, for the alleged purpose of reprinting the *Aequity*, 'which to his knowledge was never called in,' said Sir Richard at his trial.² In one of the later tracts Marprelate, who never lacks information of the doings at Court and the gossip in London

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 7042, 13; Arber's *Marp. Sketch*, 85.

² Chas. Hargreave, *State Trials*, vii. 29.

society, mocks at the impotence of the Archbishop. In a speech put into his mouth he is made to say—

‘Why truly it grieues me, at the heart, that I, by her Maiesties fauor, hauing more authoritie in mine hande to repress these Puritanes, then any bishop else hath had in England these thirtie yeeres, yet shoulde be more troubled and molested by them these sixe yeeres, then all my predecessors haue benee these six and twentie yeeres.’¹

As a matter of fact the press remained at Molesey till the following October.

4. *Marprelate Tracts*.—It was part of Elizabeth’s political method to make the Church one of the strong buttresses of her throne, and to that end to have the control of the bishops in her own hands, and to compel the people to be obedient and peaceable under their rule; that is, under her own authority transmitted through them. She decreed religious uniformity throughout her realm, and set up a quasi-legal ecclesiastical tribunal, of almost unlimited powers, to compel its observance. To enhance the authority of her bishops she clothed them with almost all the outward pomp assumed by their Catholic predecessors. It was a deadly piece of tactics on the part of Marprelate to cover these vested dignitaries with ridicule; to reduce them to the common standard by treating them with jocular familiarity; to prick the bubble of their official sanctity by recording their foibles and weaknesses; and to show them to be altogether of the same timber as their imperfect lay contemporaries. Such was the design of the new ironical humorist and satirist, Martin Marprelate, who now comes on the scene, in defence of the further reform of the Church and to protest against the oppressive rule of the bishops.²

The printing of the first of the writings of this anonymous

¹ *The Just Censure*, A iii. rect.; Pierce, *The Marp. Tracts*, 354.

² It will be unnecessary for me to enter upon any description of the Marprelate Tracts. Readers may be referred to my *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (1908) and my edition of the Tracts (1911). The present work is concerned only with Penry’s share in their production as manager of the secret press, and Marprelate’s press-reader, and with the eventual fatal consequences of this connection.

satirist was long drawn out. The 'copy' was always dilatory in reaching the printers. We conjecture a genius of a type not unfamiliar to our literature, of much potential ability, but fettered by a procrastinating spirit. And so the 'copy' reached the printers in portions, with weary delays adding to the difficulties of those managing the press, and adding also to the mystery of the authorship. The broadside which appears as one of the series of Marprelate writings was really a stop-gap, to occupy the waiting public until the author could be induced to complete his forthcoming tract. The two later Marprelate tracts published at Wigston were completed with difficulty for the same reason—one indeed remains incomplete in a small particular—and were at last, when published, only interim productions, awaiting the tardy completion of the larger and more important and long-promised tract, the tract which was seized as being printed near Manchester. The small final defiant tract is the only one of the series which was written and printed with celerity. The artist-mind is a thing of moods, and it needed the great catastrophe at Manchester to quicken the executive mood of the writer.

But Penry had his own particular interest in the activities of the secret press. He had a reply to Dr. Some, written somewhat hastily, but sufficient to assure the religious public, that he would not allow their judgement to go against him by default. This work he wished to see through the press, before Waldegrave began to set up the first pages of the Marprelate tract in his newly acquired black-letter type. But behind the scenes was a superior power which controlled the printer. Therefore, after Udall's *Demonstration* was out of hand, Waldegrave began to set up the earlier sheets of Marprelate's *Epistle*. The 'proofs' of these Penry took with him on a visit to Northampton. Work at East Molesey was only carried on at intervals. Waldegrave, with a wife and six children depending upon him, had his own domestic interests to look after. For the most vital reasons the activities of the press had to be conducted with extreme caution and secrecy. The only person whom we read of visiting them was Udall, whose presence would be convenient

when they were correcting the sheets of his own pamphlet. Penry had with him Davy—perhaps the Mr. David alluded to in his last prison writings, but of whom we know nothing more. Davy probably was the messenger who brought the parcels of ink and paper from London. During one of these intervals in the work of the press we hear of Waldegrave and ‘Davy Penryes man’ being at Mrs. Crane’s in London, gossiping delightfully with Tomkins her confidential servant about the work at East Molesey.¹

Penry had many reasons which took him, whenever opportunity served, to Northampton. He was looking forward to being married in the autumn to Eleanor Godley. He would also, while staying at the home of his betrothed, be nearer the secret source from which the Marprelate writings emanated. And whatever doubt we may still entertain about the authorship of the tracts, it is fairly certain that Penry received the manuscript through Job Throkmorton, of Haseley. Penry was a member of the Northampton classis² and would at its assembly, at the Bear Inn, meet with the leading Puritan ministers of the district; though they were no doubt innocent enough of what was going on at East Molesey. That was a secret which even friends were not permitted to know. Most of them, when Marprelate’s onslaught on the bishops was a matter of universal conversation, hastened to disavow any liking for his jocularities and scandalous stories. Henry Sharpe the Northampton bookbinder, a highly inquisitive person, saw Penry at the Godleys’, and found he had proof sheets of the Marprelate *Epistle*, which he was correcting.

Before August was out, the press was again going, and Penry had the satisfaction of seeing his own pamphlet, *A Defence*, completed; although the difficulties of the work and of getting the mysterious author’s copy deferred the appearance of the first ‘Martin’ till the late autumn. Arising out of Penry’s statement of the religious condition of Wales, he has become involved in a sectional controversy on the ministry, with Dr. Some.

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 7042 (7), p. 32; Arber’s *Sketch*, 87.

² Bancroft’s *Dangerous Positions* (1593), p. 77.

CHAPTER IX

A DEFENCE (AUGUST 1588)

1. *A Controversy with Dr. Robert Some.*—The copies which we possess of the pamphlet bearing the above title are all of them incomplete. They begin with the second sheet, or rather half-sheet, bearing the printer's signature B. At the head of the first page we have the half-title, in lower-case (not capital) letters, *A defence of that which hath bin written in the questions of the ignorant ministry and the communicating with them.* By JOHN PENRY. This would be in due form as following a supposed half-sheet A, containing the title-page and introductory matter.

The intention of Penry is at once stated. He is replying to Dr. Robert Some's *Godly Treatise*. The opening sentence begins, 'There bee two things (M[aster] D[octo]r] Some) wherein you . . . have been wanting.' At the close of each of the later editions of *An Exhortation*, Penry had promised that he would issue a special reply to Some's contentions concerning the ministry and the sacraments. For Some had specially referred to him in the course of his argument. The present tractate is not however the reply 'at large' in which Penry proposes to show 'the weaknes of his reasons,' but an *ad interim* statement, which, as things happened, was even briefer than at first intended. At its close he says that he has 'run through the pointes [that concerned him] in (Some's) book,' but he adds, that difficulties had overtaken him: 'I haue been inforced to end'; the promises made in the earlier book cannot, for the time, be fulfilled. The trouble was no doubt in Waldegrave's department, and most likely the requisition of the services of the printer by the arrival of a batch of Marprelate 'copy.' This would account also for the missing four leaves reserved for the title-page and the 'epistle.' 'I haue not the like libertie for printing that you M. Some doe injoy,' he tells his opponent.

2. *A Brief Account of the 'Defence.'* (a) *Penry's Conciliatory Attitude towards Some.*—Penry complains that the bulk of his arguments have been left untouched by Some. Two only have been dealt with; 'therefore the cause as yet remaineth whol.'¹ Some begs the question, takes for granted the very matter which needs proof.² He compares and institutes analogies between things essentially different; as, for example, the Levitical priesthood and the civil magistracy.³

Penry recognises much to admire in Some and regrets he has to oppose him. There is much in common between the two men. For Some is not the thick-and-thin defender of the established system and of the administration of the bishops that Whitgift is. He knows and deplores that there are so many incapable and unworthy men in the ministry of the Church, and casts the responsibility upon the bishops who ordained and appointed them. 'I would be loth,' Penry says, 'to let that syllable escape me, that might giue you, or any else, the least occasion in the world to thinke, that I carrye any other heart towards you than I ought to beare, towards a reuerend learned man fearing God.' He is compelled to disagree for the sake of the truth; but he adds, and his words are a good example of Penry's attitude towards an antagonist who is sincere and is bent on being consistent,⁴ 'this disagreement shalbe so farre from making a breach of that bonde of love, wherewith in the Lord, I am tyed vnto you, that I doubt not, but we shalbe at one in that day, when al of vs shall be at vnitie in him that remayneth one and the selfe-same for euer.'⁵

(b) *The Question of Popish Baptisms.*—Penry has never denied, and therefore it is superfluous to argue, that Popish baptism is true baptism as 'touching the substance,' or that Baptism and the Lord's Supper as received in the Church of England are sacraments. But Popish priests and ignorant guides are not ministers; whether the element administered

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 1.

² *Ibid.* 4, 5.

³ *Ibid.* 5.

⁴ Marprelate is much more severe with Some; see *The Protestatyon*, 28. So also is the author of *M. Some in his coulcers*, who also may be Martin.

⁵ *Defence*, 6.

by them is a sacrament he leaves to others to discover. The question is not, Can Popish priests (and unpreaching ministers) deliver a sacrament as 'in respect of the action' ? but, Ought we to receive it from them ? Some says, yes ; Penry, no. The minister must be a member of the true Church, which the Popish priest is not. If no member, then he can hold no office, and cannot therefore be a minister.¹

Like Calvin,² whom Penry is partly following in his argument, he regards those who submit to true religion by outward profession as members. They are 'members in the iudgement of the Church.' Judas was such 'though not belonging to election.' 'To be a member of the true Church is one thing, and to bee a true member of the Church is another thing.'³ Even in Romanism there may be found some of the elect, yea even among Mohammedans. It may be allowed that in Romanism there exists the damaged remains of true religion. But there is not in Popery a true Church, and out of the Church there is no salvation 'for anything that is made known to man.' The forefathers of the Romish Church may have been in the covenant ; the idolatrous sons are not. Long ago they may have professed the truth, but Popery was never the truth. An Edomite circumcised might be as satisfied with the rite, as we with Popish baptism.⁴

To illustrate his argument he refers, as we noted in the beginning of this chapter, to the early account of the Spaniards in America written by Peter Martyr (Anglerius or Anghiera) ; his *Decades*,⁵ a volume of popular reading with the learned throughout Europe. 'The Spanyard invading [the land of 'the west Indians'] brought upon them the most miserable slauery of bodie and soule that are vpon any people vnder heauen.' Originally they were totally ignorant of Christianity ' & senceles Idolators, as may appeare by the popishe hystorographers them-selues who wrote the stories of those times.' These at least were not under the covenant. And as for their priests, though Master Some believes 'that other popish

¹ *Defence*, 6-12.

³ *Defence*, p. 13, and marginal note.

⁵ *De rebus oceanicis*, Dec. 4, 5.

² *Calv. Institut.* Bk. iv. ch. i. § 7 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* 14-18.

shauelings can deliuer a sacrament,' it is hoped he does not believe the same of 'the heathen massemongers remaining in Cuba, hispaniola, Mexico or any other Eastern (*sic*) partes.'¹

Some must not exploit great names to turn the scale against Penry, as though he were ignorant of their writings. The special reference is to Calvin, whose letters had been issued in a small closely-printed volume.² The Roman priesthood cannot be true, since it overthrows the priesthood of Christ, who offered Himself once for all for the sins of the world. Besides they, being chosen by idolaters, cannot therefore be true ministers. Penry resents equally the disloyalty and the anti-Scriptural views of the Romanists. 'The obstinate crue of recusants in this land, who offer their children to be profaned by trayterous & runnagate Jesuits, [or] any els within the body of Romish Babylon' can never be sure they receive the 'substance of baptism.' Then follow the logical variations of the propositions that the Roman priests are no true ministers and that their baptism is of no value.³

(c) *If the Roman be a True Church it is Schism to leave it.*—One of his contentions is that if Popery as Some argues were a true Church, then to separate from it is schism, the magistrates are schismatics, and even Elizabeth herself is such. But 13 Eliz. cap. I. sec. 1, declares this to be High Treason. It is dangerous ground to argue upon even hypothetically as Penry knows, he therefore protects himself with the marginal note, 'My meaning is onely to shew the danger, & not to presse the same.' He hopes Some will yield the point rather than be accused of these consequences.⁴

We should no more have fellowship with Papists than with Pagan idolaters. Penry acknowledges that Calvin is of the opposite opinion. He again refers to the volume of the Reformer's letters,⁵ but against the views there expressed, he appeals 'to the worde.' Some upholds the validity of

¹ *Defence*, 19.

² *Ibid.* 20; *Joan. Calv. . . . Epist. et Respon.*, Lausanne, 1576, 8vo.

³ *Defence*, 20-23.

⁴ *Ibid.* 25-26.

⁵ *Calvini Epist. et Resp.* No. 104. This is addressed to Laelio Frans. Maria Sozini, uncle of the Socinus who has given his name to the theological doctrine.

Popish baptism because it is given in the name of the Trinity, and Penry suggests that if the virtue depends upon the utterance of certain words, then baptism could be administered by incapable persons—a woman, a child, ‘a Turke or Iewe,’ and they would be Katabaptists who denied its value.¹ Once more he seeks to allay any unchristian feeling which the controversy may arouse. ‘I deale as reverently as I may with you, retaining the maiestie of the cause I defend.’

(d) *Unpreaching Ministers*.—Unpreaching ministers are no ministers; in the New Testament unpreaching ministers are never mentioned. This statement is run into numerous refinements, each of which becomes a separate proposition. Then the argument proceeds, These unpreaching ministers, being no ministers, sin when they meddle with pastoral duties and the sacraments. God does not commit the souls of men to those who cannot teach them and feed them.² And the definition of the unpreaching minister is, Every one, learned or unlearned, who by trial of his gifts, cannot show his fitness to teach. In the days in which he was living, Penry says, God did not ordinarily bestow the gift upon any ‘without knowledge of the artes, especially the two hand-maydes of all learninge, Rhethoricke and Logic, and the two tongues wherein the worde was written.’³

Penry can agree with Some in regard to empty and incompetent, but voluble preachers, ‘which speake hand ouerhead, they care not what.’ Nor will he defend absurd *doctors*, unapt to teach, bringing into the pulpit other men’s writings, and as fit for edification as that ‘the reason from the corner to the staffe is soundly concluded.’⁴

For the rest of Some’s book. Penry does not gainsay his conclusion that the baptism of unpreaching ministers is true, touching its substance (though his reasons are weak). Popish baptism is true baptism. Those who have received it do not sin in receiving the Lord’s Supper. But the rightly administered sacrament with the repetition of the words along with the act is not enough to justify the ministry. Matthew

¹ *Defence*, 27-29.

³ *Ibid.* 39-44.

² *Ibid.* 31-38.

⁴ *Ibid.* 44-45.

xxviii. commands those who baptize to teach. To lay stress upon the mere recital of words is to maintain charming[magic]. The Popish priest utters Christ's word in Latin; 'is that an edifying worde?' 'No learned man will denie the Lordes prayer rightly sayd to be an edifying worde'; but 'pronounced by an ignorant man, in a strange tongue, or profaned by a witch,' it is not.¹

The godly, however, sin who communicate with unpreaching ministers, that is, with those who are no ministers. They can have no assurance that they receive a sacrament. Many reasons are given to sustain this position, one of which is interesting enough to cite. They elevate either *the element per se* or else *the recital of words* to be a sacrament; 'wheras a minister is a most principall part of the ordinance.' 'The corrupt allowance of the Church cannot make our Readers to be substantiall ministers.'²

(e) *Magistrate and Minister*.—Finally Penry considers the analogy which Dr. Some sought to institute between the office of the magistrate and that of a minister. Some asks Penry's judgement on the proposition: (1) They whose magistracy is a nullity before God, (2) though having an outward calling [appointed by the Sovereign], (3) ought not to be accounted magistrates. Penry replies, 'It is altogether without sence.' It is like saying (1) He whose faith is a nullity before God (2) though assured of salvation (3) is not to be accounted a faithful man. The second and third members cannot stand together. The core of the matter is that the Sovereign's appointment is sufficient to qualify a man as a magistrate, whose ruling must be obeyed. It is not enough to qualify him to be a minister. Penry, as he reminds Some, has handled this point in his 'former booke from page 47 to 51.'

Penry marvels that Some should think to answer his point by begging the question. As he before said to him, 'You adopt as principles, what you should prove.'

¹ *Defence*, 46-51.

² *Ibid.* 52-59. Extensive references to the Levitical priesthood are omitted in the above summary.

He explains that by 'extraordinary sacraments' he means sacraments administered privately by a minister, or 'any way by on(e) that is no minister.' He never affirmed that elements 'delivered by readers' are sacraments. What he said was that he had not denied them to be so.

Thus he has 'run through' M. Some's book.¹

CHAPTER X

THE PRESS AGAIN ON ITS TRAVELS

1. *Penry's Marriage*.—Having towards the end of August seen the *Defence* out of the press and secretly set into circulation through the various circles of the Puritans, Penry returned to Northampton. He has to tell his exciting story to Eleanor Godley, why his new pamphlet is incomplete, and of the difficulties which beset them; how they had to work with extreme secrecy, so near to Kingston, the sphere of Udall, a town under the strongest suspicion as the home of the secret press; how Waldegrave had found difficulties in getting paper, ink, and what not; and to whisper in her ear the great secret of the forthcoming work of 'the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate Gentleman.' For the young people it was a happy time, full of romantic adventure. The nation was renewing its youth. The Spanish peril was over, and what was left of the proud Armada had vanished behind the northern mists and was finding destruction in the swirling tides of the rocky Hebrides. Nowhere was the rejoicing more whole-hearted than in the homes of the reforming community. None of the civil population had in the anxious days given a greater 'assurance of their affection and loyaltie to the Queenes Maiestie.' They anticipated the bishops; officialdom moves slowly and fears great outbursts of enthusiasm. The bishops interdicted, but the reforming preachers went heedlessly on, praying, fasting, preaching

¹ *Defence*, 60-63.

three and four times a day, 'as London can witness'; 'encouraging the people to fight for the Gospell and for their Soueraigne.'¹ Amidst such national thanksgiving and with a great conviction that their little books, like Drake's little ships, were also engaged in combating the rule of Antichrist and a Spanish inquisition at home, Penry and Eleanor Godley prepared for their approaching marriage. Henry Godley and his family no doubt made a festival occasion of the happy union of a daughter of their house with this brilliant young Welshman, with his excellent university reputation, and greatest of all, his deeply religious spirit. He had many friends in the old town and its neighbourhood. Henry Godley, holding a minor official position, would very likely induce the Mayor, a man of the same religious conviction, to grace the occasion by his presence. Squire Job Throkmorton of Haseley claimed young Penry as a friend, and perhaps a fellow-conspirator, so we should look to him to ride over, on Thursday, the 5th September.² The religious ceremony took place at All Saints, the central church of the town; but Edmund Snape of St. Peter's, and the brethren of the Northampton classis, would show their goodwill by their presence. It was a happy union. We do not know much, not so much as we could wish, of this noble woman. But we know enough to give her a high place in the annals of Nonconformity. For the whole of her married life, her husband was a fugitive, hunted relentlessly by the agents and pursuivants of the bishops. When he died a martyr for his principles, less than five years later, she was left with the care of four young children. She had passed through more adventures and suffered more hardships than fall to the lot of most women in a long lifetime. She played her part nobly and well and her husband's fine tribute to her, written from prison while awaiting death, is one of the great things in English literature. So far as they had a fixed home, Northampton became the home-town of John and Eleanor Penry.

¹ *A Petition directed to Her Maiestie*, 20-21.

² R. M. Sergeantson, M.A., *Hist. of St. Peter's Northampton*, 1904, p. 35.

2. *Final Stay at East Molesey.*—Penry's honeymoon was but a brief respite from the pressing duties with which he was now saddled. It was necessary to see Job Throkmorton in order to get the final portions of the Marprelate 'copy'; and to get into communication with Waldegrave, and to secure supplies of ink and paper. At any rate we find the fraternity hard at work at East Molesey at Michaelmas, finishing Marprelate's *Epistle*. Penry may have seen, before leaving for the Thames Valley, the second and enlarged edition of Dr. Some's *Godly Treatise*, in which special notice is taken of his views on the ministry and the sacraments as expressed in his *Exhortation* and in his recent work *A Defence*. Some's book is dated 19 September, so that he barely had a month in which to examine and frame his reply.

Dr. Some's views have been indicated in our examination of Penry's books. He recognises two classes of Recusants. First, the Popish, whose disease is pride; secondly, the anabaptistical, whose disease is 'grosse ignorance.' There is also, regarded apparently as subordinate, but intended to include Penry, another class: those doubting or denying that unpreaching ministers 'doe deliuer a sacrament'; or if they do, charge those that receive such a sacrament, with gross sin. The authorities on whom he relies are Augustine and Calvin. As already indicated, in many respects Some agreed with the evangelical assailers of the bishops. He and they agreed, that the Queen should use force to make the people attend public worship; 'compel them to come in.' They agreed that the business of the minister was to preach the Gospel. But he has a curious mental colour-blindness. He thinks there is some valid reasoning in the following, for example. The Israelites were not allowed to sacrifice to God or to sing His songs in polluted lands (Egypt and Babylon). *Therefore*, it is not lawful to suffer any 'idolatrous' service in England which is a holy land. So he justifies intolerance. The Queen cares for the bodily welfare of her people; therefore she must also care for their souls. But he agrees especially with Penry that the only remedy for the fatal ignorance of the people is a teaching ministry. He is altogether

against the bishops ordaining unworthy and incompetent men.

The special points on which he differed from Penry have been sufficiently explained.

Once they were returned to East Molesey, Penry and Waldegrave continued their work on the Marprelate tract. For some reason or other the work was greatly protracted, perhaps apart from the writer's habitual procrastination, because Job Throkmorton with his characteristic caution, remained in retirement in Warwickshire. It was not issued until the middle of October, a presentable example of Waldegrave's craft, set in a 'dutch letter,' a black letter of handsome appearance. It was a little slow in getting into circulation, but once it got into the hands of the people, lay and cleric, its author might rest satisfied with the 'stirr' he had made. The *Epistle*, as it is briefly called, roused the Bishops out of their security, and set them on their defence; it called forth a special injunction from the Queen; and redoubled the activities of the agents of the bishops and of the Stationers' Company.

3. *The Press at Fawsley House, near Daventry*.—Mrs. Crane, not the most timid of women, realising that Marprelacy was a deadly business, though old Wigginton who resorted to her house, may have told her how highly he thought of Martin, got apprehensive about this 'loade of stuff' deposited at her house, and Penry had to calm her fears by promising to carry it all away to Northamptonshire. It was his own conviction, that to retire from a hiding-place before the gathering hints and evidences pointed too clearly to its whereabouts, was the safer plan. Sir Richard Knightley must therefore be again approached. An unsuspecting opportunity offered itself at the annual muster of the militia at Northampton. Penry was getting too well known at Northampton, and his late activity too compromising, to make it desirable that he should appear on the Northampton Common in the presence of the chief men of the county, holding private conversation with Sir Richard. But Waldegrave was a Towcester man, born within a few miles of Fawsley; but he had been away from

the county for twenty years, ever since he left home to be apprenticed to William Griffith, the London printer, so that while unknown himself, he was familiar enough by sight with the distinguished baronet. He was a shrewd and cautious soul—a printer of Puritan books for twelve years had need to be—and accomplished his task. Sir Richard sent a ring to Penry, a singularly constructed ‘gimmal ring,’ which would pass him and his dangerous ‘load of stuffe’ into the Fawsley premises; for no names were to be mentioned at Fawsley gate.¹

No time had been lost, for the interview took place immediately the *Epistle* was out of Waldegrave’s hands. On his return he called at the village of Upton, a couple of miles on the western road out of Northampton. Here dwelt one ‘Jeffs, a husbandman,’ a tenant of Valentine Knightley, Sir Richard’s eldest son. He was persuaded to go to East Molesey and convey a load—it was not particularly described, and Jeffs on a later occasion protested, that he did not know what it was—to the big house at Fawsley. Its destination would inspire him with confidence, and the fifty-shillings payment, a very substantial sum in our money, completed the bargain satisfactorily. In due time Farmer Jeffs found his way south across Kingston bridge to Molesey, with his heavy two-wheeled and broad-tired springless cart, and a couple of stout horses, suitable for the rough and difficult tracks—roads they could scarcely be called—to Northamptonshire. When Mrs. Crane visited her house at the beginning of November all traces of the temporary printing-house had vanished, the stuff clean gone, no one knew whither.²

The anxieties of this difficult task rested upon Penry’s shoulders. It needed his familiarity with the route—he had walked the weary miles a good many times while the press was established at East Molesey—and his ready resource and practical good sense, to convey the dangerous freight safely. Only a few miles each day could be covered by the laden cart; quiet unfrequented paths had, as far as possible, to be chosen, and suitable lodgings had to be found each night. If they

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 7042, 23 (f.).

² *Ibid.* 7042, 33.

ventured along Watling Street, where the going would be easier, and the little villages lie to the right and left off the main track, it would facilitate their purpose. As they drew in sight of Fawsley House, Penry went on ahead and presented his ring, which Lawrence Jackson, the keeper, at once recognised as his master's. In an hour or two Jeffs arrived, and the press and type and all the paraphernalia were safely lodged in the House. There are many local legends about the location of the press; one that it was lodged in a nursery ascended by a spiral staircase; a part of the house not now in existence, or we should be able to judge if a printing-press could ascend the stairway. Sir Richard in his examination said he had not seen it,—probably that was ‘according to plan’—it was at the town end.¹ Penry was also stated, though the statement is not quite unambiguous, to have sauntered about the grounds, when the press was in operation, disguised in gallant attire, ‘a long skye coloured Cloak . . . and had the Coller of the said Cloak edged with goulde and Silver and Silke Lace, and a light coloured Hatt, with an arming Sworde by his side.’² This swaggering costume adopted for the sake of disguise, indicates the sober-suited style of Penry the student and preacher in ordinary circumstances.

Complete secrecy was not possible, notwithstanding Penry's Babylonish outfit, and the pretence that Waldegrave was putting Sir Richard's ‘evidences’ [title-deeds] in order. Sharpe, the betrayer, who was never wholly trusted, was kept resolutely outside the grounds. Waldegrave had probably weighed accurately his trustworthiness; but his residence at Northampton and his handiness in stitching, ‘binding,’ the witnesses loosely call it, the coverless tracts and pamphlets, made Penry take the risk of employing him, notwithstanding his undisguised inquisitiveness, and his frequent grumble that he was not allowed a sufficient share in the profits of selling

¹ Town in this connection is the extension of various buildings and servants' quarters attached to a large house, *vid. Jespersen, The Eng. Lang.* 37 n. 2.

² Peter Greve, a Fawsley servant's, evidence, *Harl. MSS.* 7042, 7; Arber's *Sketch*, 128.

the Marprelate publications. There were maids who gossiped, servants who became imprudent over a tankard of ale, and necessary but suspicious traffic of despatching the printed sheets to Northampton to 'bind,' which let loose the tongues of Henry Sharpe and his wife. Every one was eager to see these audacious booklets, and men came to Fawsley House to get copies. Protected as he was by his distinguished position, which eventually did not secure him against several months' imprisonment and an enormous fine, Sir Richard Knightley clearly saw the necessity of getting rid of the press and of the examiner of his 'evidences' with all despatch. The second Marprelate tract, the *Epitome*, was completed about the end of November. We have the impression that there was some difficulty in finding a fresh anchorage for the press. In the early days of January it was judged advisable to clear out all the compromising material and lodge it temporarily at an empty farmhouse on Sir Richard's estate, at Norton-by-Daventry.

4. *Writers and Raiders*.—Meanwhile, when not engaged in Marprelate's business at Fawsley or elsewhere, Penry's industrious pen was busy with various literary projects. First there was Master Doctor Some still to be disposed of; for since Penry had formally replied to him, though more briefly than he wished, in *A Defence of that which hath bin written*, Some had revised the second edition of his *Godly Treatise*, in which he refers much more fully to Penry than in the original issue. Penry is no tide-waiter upon moods, but by steady application he managed to complete his reply during the final weeks of 1588. And one cannot write of him under that date without speculating whether his patriotic heart were gladdened that Christmastide with the news that the book, which has meant so much for his race, and is so great a monument of piety and genius, William Morgan's Welsh translation of the Bible, was published.¹

Early in the month of January evidences are not wanting of the increased activities of the press censorship. Already it has been pointed out that the appearance of the Marprelate

¹ Date in the Westm. Abbey copy, Nov. 1588.

Epistle greatly stimulated the search for unlicensed presses and the printers of unlicensed books. A copy of the book must early have reached the Court. The Queen ordered letters to be written to Whitgift—the Lord Chancellor and Burghley were so commanded—urging him to set the High Commission in motion with the view of discovering the authors and abettors of ‘a seditious book lately dispensed abroad,’ against episcopal government and ‘expressyng in a maliciouse manner’ many slanderous reports of his Grace, and other bishops. Burghley’s letter¹ to Whitgift says that the book tends to subvert all other kinds of government under Her Majesty’s charge, both in the Church and Commonweal. Their apprehensions were instantly roused by the democratic suggestions of this reforming school and the serious proposals they advanced in favour of the people having a share in the management of their churches. What if the contagion were to spread to the Commonweal! No evidence of the authority exercised by Burghley is greater than that he saved the propounder of the purely democratic polity of the New Testament Church, his kinsman Robert Browne, from being hanged, and indeed, drawn and quartered. Inquiries were being busily pursued at Kingston and Richmond and witnesses officially examined.²

The seriousness of the attack upon the office and rule of the bishops was not underrated. Without delay, the most plausible writer among those holding the episcopal office, Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, was commissioned by Whitgift to write a general reply; and Whitgift himself and Aylmer and the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester also took a hand in this official manifesto and defence. Cooper entitled it *An Admonition to the People of England*, by T. C.³ ‘Admonitions’ had already been published by Cartwright signed T. C., but the public soon found that this was a book of another

¹ Nov. 14, 1588; Strype, *Whitg.* i. 552; Lansd. 103, 102; Arber’s *Sketch*, 107.

² Arber’s *Sketch*, 81 ff.; *Harl. MSS.* 6849, 157, 159, 120.

³ A full account of the Admonition is given in *An Hist. Introd. to the Marp. Tracts*, 165-172. The work has been reprinted by Petheram, 1845, and Arber, 1882. It is dated 10 Jan. [1589].

quality. Though still unaware of the present location of the press, and having only wild and improbable guesses as to the writer hidden under the pen-name Martin Marprelate, the authorities had discovered that the young Welshman, whom Whitgift had to unceremoniously discharge from the Gatehouse for having published a book with the imprimatur of his University, and accepted without condemnation by Parliament, was implicated in some unascertained degree in this new and dangerous attack. At the close of this same month of January, the pursuivants appeared at the house of Henry Godley at Northampton. They did not find Penry, that is the chief fact to be noted. But Penry's own account of this raid is too interesting not to be quoted. It took place, he says, 'on the 29 of Ianuary last.'

'At which time one Richard Walton hauing a commission from the Archb. and others, wherein all her maiesties officers were charged and commaunded in her name, to assist the sayd Walton to make entry into all houses, shops &c.: to apprehend all those whome he should any waies suspect, and to commit them at his discretion, vnto the next [nearest] Gaol or prison, vntil farther order should be taken with them, came into the place of mine aboad at Northampton, ransacked my study, and took away with him all such printed books and written papers as he himself thought good, what they were as yet I cannot justly tell.'

Not content, Penry continues, with the immoderate extent of his commission, which was larger than the law warrants, he 'offered violence vnto diuers persons . . . threatened to breake open doors,' without commission, and 'to vntile houses.' Finally as departing, this inflated jack-in-office turned to the Mayor of this ancient and important municipality, and charged him and the town notabilities to arrest Penry as a traitor; pretending, says Penry, he had found traitorous books in Penry's study. Walton had, no doubt, a greater knowledge of breaking down doors and untiling roofs, than of the contents of learned and religious books; as a matter of fact, as Penry reports, the worst books, even in his Master's [the Archbishop's] eyes, which he found, were John

Udall's *Demonstration* and Penry's *Answere vnto Master D. Some* in manuscript.¹

The loss of Penry's reply to Some may be deplored, not for the sake of further school disputations on baptism 'as touching the substance'; or upon the 'no ministers,' who are not competent to deliver a sacrament which can bring any assurance to the recipient; but which, if he should deliver it, is to be regarded as sufficient; though they that seek a sacrament at such a man's hands, commit a sin. All that can be cheerfully dispensed with. But no writer so personal and sensitive to his time as Penry, could fail in such a writing, to give sidelights on his own story and on the current affairs of his generation, all of which would have helped his biographer. The explanation of Walton's ruffianly conduct is that the second Marprelate tract had reached Lambeth and Whitgift's resentment was no doubt at fever-heat. We see further evidence of it in the Queen's Proclamation of 13 February against such secretly-printed books. They are there described as 'schismatical,' 'seditious,' 'diffamatorie,' and classed with them are other 'fantasticall writings.' Their doctrine is 'very erroneous,' their allegations 'vntrue and slaunderous to the State' and to the established order of religion. Also their indictment of 'the persons of the Bishoppes' and others is 'in rayling sorte and beyond the boundes of all good humanitie.' They advocate 'a monstrous and apparaunt Innouation' and even seek 'the overthrowe of her Highnesse lawfull Prerogative.' All copies of such books are to be given up and henceforth no one will be 'so hardie' as to write, or print, or to assist the authors or printers of, such books; if they would escape her Majesty's 'high displeasure,' and legal penalties. Informers will be pardoned any 'former concealement.'²

5. *A Retreat to Coventry*. — Sir Richard Knightley was shrewdly advised when he resolved to despatch the migratory press a further stage on its travels. But there was a difficulty in finding a safe and suitable refuge. For the moment the printers' gear is at the empty farm at Norton-by-Daventry.

¹ Penry's *Appellation*, 6-7; Arber's *Sketch*, 173.

² Arber's *Sketch*, 109.

Then, after a few weeks, Stephen Giffard, the confidential servant of Sir Richard, was instructed to remove it to Coventry. He afterwards foolishly gave Sharpe a confidential account of the difficulties of his journey. He was in mortal fear that his laden cart would stick in the gutter as they crossed Dunsmore Heath. In Coventry there dwelt a kinsman of the knight of Fawsley, named John Hales, who had on his hands an empty house in a secluded quarter. Penry contrived to see him 'at a sermon,' in order to make the necessary arrangements and to explain, as far as was necessary, the nature of the business. With some misgiving, but influenced partly by his connection with the Fawsley family and partly by his reforming sympathies, he handed over the keys of his house, the White Friars, to Waldegrave, 'for a tyme,' until Waldegrave 'could otherwise provide.'¹

There was again some delay in receiving the copy of the next Marprelate tract. A small affair was therefore determined upon, to which the title *Certaine Minerall and Metaphisicall Schoolpoints* was given. It was issued as a broadside, printed in black-letter type. As the title indicates, the various points in Marprelate's contention with the hierarchy are advertised as theses for a university disputation, with the name of the defendant who was invited to take up each particular 'school point.' The only copy known of this perishable tract is in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth. It was issued about March 20, 1589.

CHAPTER XI

PENRY'S SUPPLICATION (1589)

1. *Title-page, Description, and Origin, of the Work.*—As soon as the press was free Penry found his opportunity to get a piece of his own printed. He had two manuscripts completed. The publication of one, a protest against the persecution of

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 7042, 2.

the Bishops, dated March 7, was deferred. The work which he chose for printing, is entitled *A viewe of some part of such publike wants & disorders as are in the service of God, within her Maiesties countrie of Wales, together with an humble Petition, vnto this high Court of Parliament for their speedy redresse.* ¶ *Wherein is shewed not only the necessitie of reforming the state of religion among that people, but also the onely way, in regarde of substance, to bring that reformation to passe.*¹ This is the writing which was known as Penry's *Supplication*. Its appearance as a separate book is interesting, for it is no other than the lengthy appendix to the second edition of the *Exhortation*, with slight alterations and amplifications.² For the most part both documents agree word for word, the Appendix being addressed to 'your H.H. my Lordes of her maiesties privy Counsel,' and the *Supplication*, to the 'High Covrt of Parliament.'

2. *Wales first, and a Reply to Some later.*—Penry recognises the difficulties of his task, his own deficiencies, which he humbly and after the Puritan manner acknowledges, and admits the scant sympathy shown to his pleading both in Parliament and in other high quarters. Moreover, it might be thought that his first duty was to reply to Doctor Some, who, amongst other things, had charged him with being an 'vnderminer of the ciuill State.' Discarding his first thoughts he gives the public his present work, and that for several reasons. As a matter of fact, Some, though he forgets the circumstances, has admitted Penry's contention about unpreaching ministers

¹ A small 8vo, xii + 83 pp. rom., no place, no printer, no date. The Epistle to the Reader begins: 'To all those that faythfully loue the lord Jesus, and vnfaignedly desire the flowrishing estate of Sion, together with the vtter razing of whatsoeuer obscureth the perfect beutie therof: & namely, to such of my brethren and countrimen, as the Lord hath enlightened with a true knowledge, the joy of an upright and comfortable profession, with the encrease of all other the Lords good graces, be multiplied in Jesus Christe our Lord.' The work ends: 'By him that hath bound him selfe continually to pray for your Hh. and worships, JOHN PENRY.' Its running headline is 'A Supplication vnto the High Covrt of Parliament.'

² See *ante*, fol. 192, the note on the editions of the *Exhortation*. This identification adds to the interesting features of the copy associated with the name of Sir John Williams.

and 'communicating' with them.¹ Besides he judges his present writing to be the more immediately important, and its timeliness to be imperilled, if he lose the present chance of printing it, by giving precedence to his answer to Dr. Some. Writing before Walton had raided his study and seized the manuscript of that answer (29 Jan. 1589), he promises 'by the grace of God he shalbe answered, and that very shortly.'²

An alteration in the constitution of the Church was a common demand in the last Parliament.³ His plea cannot be unseasonable, and it is urgent; for

'behold the mountaynes of Wales do now in the 31. yeare of the raigne of Queen ELIZABETH call heauen and earth to witnes, that they are weary of the dumb ministers, non-residents, Lord Bishops, &c. and they desire to be watered by the dewe of Christs holy Gospell, and to be compassed about with that beautifull wall of his holy gouernment.'

Though those living be accounted unworthy to assist in the reform of the Church, their protest will make it easier for their children to build the Church. It is the duty of some to get the site ready.⁴

He charges all interested in the matter to be of good courage. He shows by many Scriptural examples God's power over kings. He appeals to the Welsh members of Parliament for their support in banishing the 'reliques of cursed Babylon,' though it 'will not go away without a noise.'

3. *An Appeal to Parliament.*—Passing from his introductory epistle he makes an undisguised appeal to the political rights of the people of which Parliament is the depository and guardian. 'The means of redresse is in the hands of this assembly, who are met together to the end, that al the subiects of this kingdome may, with fredome and liberty, acquaint them with their suits and Petitions for the promotinge of Gods glory, and the good of their country. And therefore, in

¹ He refers to '185 page, line[s] 2 & 30.'

² Sig. A²-A³ rect.

³ When Penry took up the cause of Wales, there were innumerable petitions being presented to the authorities against unpreaching ministers and non-residents in England. See Peele, *Second Parte of a Register*, vol. ii. *passim*.

⁴ A³ vers.-A⁴.

that I make known vnto this high court, the greefes of my country, and desire the redresse thereof, therein I neither intreat anything which lieth not in your power to grant, nor craue that wherin, the case being neglected by others, I may not lawfully be a suter.'

Since he was born into the Church by the word preached, by means of his 'abode in England,' he has wholly dedicated himself to its well-being, 'plucking up by the rootes these filthy Italian weedes' and planting in God's orchard all things comely. His native land claims this service from him, the land in which he first saw light, where his parents now live.¹ To the same end he was brought up in both universities. How better can he serve his 'native countrymen.' The evils which afflict them are the ignorance of the people and the corruption of the Church. He will attempt to remedy these as long as he lives.²

Touching the same patriotic string, he appeals to Parliament to provide the Gospel universally for 'the inhabitantes of Wales, her maiesties free borne subjects and people.' The House of Commons, he is encouraged to think, professes to favour it, and should not receive his overtures coldly; unless it be an irreligious assembly, or unless Penry is found not to have behaved himself, as it became 'the basest vassel vnder heaven' called to deal with such matters, before the princes of his people. But he will deal plainly with them, 'without minishing or clipping'; more plainly than in this cause any one has hitherto dealt; though he desires not the reputation of being 'a rebuker of States or of great personages.'³

4. *A Further Reformation of the Church overdue.*—Penry's style in these pages is complicated, his sentences rather disjointed, as though in a conflict of mind. But he spurs his hesitating steed to take the risky plunge. It is, he says, 'the generall voyce of all men, that reformation cannot be taken in hand, without the high and heauie displeasure of her Maiestie.' She is misled by ungodly ecclesiastics to believe

¹ Penry's father must have been living at this time.

² *Supplication*, 1-4; *Exhortation* (2), 66.

³ *Supplication*, 4-8; *Exhortation* (2), 67.

that the Church could not be 'at a better stay than it is'; and that the 'endeavour of reforming religion is nothing else but a new fangled and seditious attempt, proceeding from the factious and discontented braines' of men, slanderously accused of being enemies to the constitution, and the Queen's crown and person, and ruinous to the whole State.

All this is 'plain' enough, certainly. But Penry vindicates the action of the petitioner in assuming the style of the austere prophet, by saying that it was needful that his petition should take on a 'maiesticall and terrifying countenance,' in order to compel the members by fear to attend to it, and to discover that it was innocent of the evils attributed to it, and that its plea was not to the 'disliking of her Maiestie.'¹

Opponents are left to the alternatives: That the State is so 'out of square' that Church Reform would ruin it. And worse still, That to do God's will is to thwart the will of the Queen.

The fundamental deficiencies of the Church administration are two:

1st. *The Gospel is not Preached.*—Penry states unweariedly again his case and adduces his serried rank of texts showing the vital necessity and urgency of preaching.

Under 'the flourishingest government' on earth, a whole nation is perishing for want of knowledge. Penry is in misery. He loves his countrymen and for anything he can see they are doomed by the denial of the Gospel 'to dwell in hell for ever more.'²

What reason has Parliament, in the Gospel days of Elizabeth, for its existence, if it disregard the honour of God and the felicity of the people? Such a Parliament sooner or later will be destroyed.³

How can training men in godliness be hurtful to the State or dangerous to the crown?

They must not believe those that say, that 'all is well within Wales,' nor judge those who, like Penry, deny it, to be merely discontented persons. And what is the business of

¹ *Supplication*, 9-10.

² *Ibid.* 11.

³ *Ibid.* 14.

Parliament? Is it simply to maintain outward peace, as though men were but 'droues of brute beastes, only to be foddered and kept from external invasion'? Then follows the warning of God's judgement upon unfaithful governors with abundant scriptural references.¹

2nd. But not only is truth denied, but *the organisation of the Church is corrupt*. Its ministering servants are lord bishops, are dumb, are non-residents, or fill popish offices.² Penry directs his criticism to Dean Bridge's large volume, *A Defence of the Church order established*, officially put forth when the *Learned Discourse* was making such a stir among thoughtful religious people. For the Protestant argument against the Papal Church was arrested at a point, by the caprice of Elizabeth, and to the increasing contentment of the bishops. Dean Bridges' book, it will be remembered, was the immediate occasion for the appearance of the Marprelate Tracts. Penry says of it that it claims on behalf of the bishop all that Bellarmine claimed on behalf of the pope.

5. *The Primacy of Christ in His Church*.—Then presently, after some pages on the Christian duty of Parliament, we get back to stock Puritan argument, that Jesus is made inferior to Moses, by not having authority in His House, to determine its constitution; as though He left the 'externall forme of the gouernment of his Church' to be changed about at the magistrate's pleasure. And those who defend 'the interest of the Sonn of God' are vituperated as discontented and disloyal. Parliament should raze to the ground these unlawful offices. Penry scorns the idea, that it can offend the Queen to have the Church true to Christ's ordinances.

As for the Pope, even if he professed the truth of religion, he would still need to give up his universal sovereignty, which he arrogates to himself on human authority. And this is all the authority the bishops can claim. If they preferred any other, Elizabeth would speedily discharge them.³ If the Church be a human institution there is no reason why a church ruler should not be king. Whereas, the Church officers

¹ *Supplication*, 15-17.

² *Exhortation* (2), 70, 71, 82.

³ *Supplication*, 33.

are to be subject to every ordinance of man—to the king as supreme.

Penry indulges in a little Greek learning in discussing the titles of civil and ecclesiastical officers. But a 'lord' and a 'lords grace' ¹ is forbidden by Luke xxii. 25. As for 'prelate' [Greek, 'hyperpheron'] to Penry's remembrance it does not occur in the Scriptures.² Then once again, we have pages occupied with the contention that Christ gave permanent form to His Church. His was 'a kingdom which cannot be moved.'

Very moving is the human note of passion, when we reach it.

'And let me, crauing vpon my knees, with all submission and earnestnes, and more earnest if it were possible to obtane, that my countrymen by your meanes may haue the word preached, euen the meanes whereby they may liue for euer with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob in the kingdome of heauen. Graunt them this my Lordes, though I dye for it. And this the Lord knoweth is the only scope of my writing, and not the discrediting or galling of Lorde B[ishops].'³

The last sentence is very significant. That Penry was not Marprelate is obvious enough to those who are familiar with their respective writings. Their styles are as distinct as the poetic styles of Tennyson and Browning. But here is an accidental proof, sufficient of itself to settle the question. The *Supplication* was printed on the Marprelate press from which the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* were recently issued. It is very clear that Penry is only an executive instrument in the hands of Marprelate. He takes no further responsibility for Marprelate's scarification of Elizabeth's bishops.

6. *Convocation Incapable and fears the Issue*.—Penry strongly rejects the suggestion that these matters should be referred to Convocation. He has no faith in a house of priests. He looks for the conservation of his liberties to the civil institutions of the country. 'What assembly is there in the

¹ 'Gracious lords' (Geneva); 'Benefactors' (A.V. and R.V.).

² *Supplication*, 36.

³ *Ibid.* 43, 44; *Exhortation* (2), 90.

land, that dare challenge vnto it selfe the ordering of religion, if the Parliament may not ?' A sincere convocation of godly men might direct Parliament, which could then direct ministers and people. But a reference to Convocation such as is proposed, abridges the liberties of Parliament. It condemns unheard the cause of Christ, and prevents His laws from controlling the Church. It is composed of men who usurp authority, and of bishops' nominees. It is useless to refer the sorrows of the Church for remedy, to those who are their chief cause.¹

He rehearses again his indictment, and declares that his opponents betray their impiety, by their taunt, that it is a contention about 'small matters.' His contention is of a graver sort ; not a 'matter of capp, surplice, tippet, and other beggerlie and popish ceremonies.' The reformers have not taken in hand themselves to alter anything. But superstitious ceremonies are the least part of the Bishops' sins. They have suppressed true religion.²

He again touches the dangerous topic of the relation of the Queen to Church reform. The common talk is, that she will never be induced to alter what has been established. He professes not to credit this gossip ; if it could be shown 'out of the word' that what they reprobate is against Christ, and favours the pope's rule, and for that reason threatens the State, the crown itself, with God's judgements. The plea that these salutary changes are difficult to bring about, is no reason against attempting them. It becomes easier as you proceed. The law should not hinder. The chief hindrance is the interested opposition of the bishops. All that is wanted is fasting and prayer, with general co-operation and the encouragement of Parliament.³

7. *A Reformed Church a Bulwark against External Enemies.*—The hard treatment meted out to their brethren is discouraging. They are prone to cry out, 'Would God we had died in Egypt.' The Queen has brought them out of the land of bondage, and they had resolved upon journeying to the free country ; but they find their poverty, imprisonment, episcopal

¹ *Supplication*, 45-48.

² *Ibid.* 49-56.

³ *Ibid.* 57-60.

opposition, and the branding of them with the slanderous names of 'Puritan, precisian, traitors, seditious libellers, &c.' to be unendurable. Once more,—let the work be begun by discharging the unfit, the unpreaching and *lord* bishops. The latter make the impossibility of doing all that is needed, a plea for doing nothing. Want of support is a specious excuse. Livings can always be found for bishops' commendams, for non-residents, and for incompetents. At the same time he urges that the magistrates should make provision for those who are deprived by reason of their unfitness, and for their families; yet not so that they should live in idleness. He advises the people to go where they can get good preaching. Failing all else let them meet in their parish church, and get some discreet man, with the advice of the godly learned, to read the word and use some suitable form of prayer. Children should be taken for baptism to some preaching minister. Marriage and burial are not duties specially pertaining to ministers. It is now or never for the planting of the Gospel in Wales, for he dreads what may happen after the death of the Queen. The fate of nations, amidst the warring interests within and without their borders, is never secure; and with the fate of the English nation is bound up the fate of the Reformation. The Romish Church will never accept as a final decision, the withdrawal of this ancient island-kingdom from allegiance to the Pope. The envious continental powers will be urged to gratify their instincts of plunder, undeterred by the tragic failure of the Armada, under the sanction of religion, by invading these shores. Daring and unprincipled men will be encouraged to attempt the assassination of Elizabeth, an assurance being given them of the absolution of their Church; disloyalty had papal sanction. What if Elizabeth were to die, and if, by consequence, there were no longer a Parliament of Protestants at Westminster?—is the question which Penry now asks. They are the staff of his life, and his hope of doing good.¹

The Romanists are busy. Simultaneous with the publication of the *Aequity*, a Welsh Catholic book was issued, from

¹ *Supplication*, 67.

some 'obscure cave in North Wales,' Penry mistakenly states. The book was Dr. Gruffydd Roberts's *Drych Cristianogawl* (Christian Mirror), published at Rouen, and will be separately described later on. This was first of all circulated in manuscript, and Penry can only have seen extracts of the work, or he is writing from a second person's report. So far as it treats on Church government, he says the Catholic book was dealt with more leniently than his.¹

Wonderful as was their 'late deliverance out of the hand of the Spaniarde,' they must not take it to mean that God condones their 'wicked ecclesiasticall constitutions.' He patriotically considers the Spaniard an 'abject and contemptible enemy . . . in al respectes, in comparison of the value and strength of our men and munition (and the Lord increase them a thousand fold more)'; yet he is not too weak to do harm to England, if the Lord chooses in judgement to use him. What the nation has to fear is not 'Spanish furniture and preparations,' but its own sins.²

8. *He speaks to their Honours as Christians.*—He knows no truth of God which ought to be uttered 'misingly,' or be kept silent, because it is unacceptable to States. He has too high an opinion of Parliament, to confine his speech in the cause of God, to their supposed good liking. Two things he desires of them; the abolition from the Church all that is contrary to God's 'ordinance,' and the encouragement of preaching, not to be stopped to please any one.³

Since the polity of the Church is fashioned after that by which the Man of Sin tyrannises the surrounding nations, it is not surprising that a change is demanded. Christ's Gospel came into the world with the purpose of overthrowing States so far as they are contrary to His will. If Penry has asked wrongly for any change, he asks pardon, but he will substantiate the statements contained in his present treatise, 'though it were vppon [his] vttermost peril,' before the 'honorable assembly.' But his liberty must be assured. He remembers what befel him when he presented his *Aequity*. The ancient liberties of the House were prejudiced; for these guaranteed

¹ *Supplication*, 69.

² *Ibid.* 75.

³ *Ibid.* 77.

to suitors, during the sitting of Parliament, to present their suits without fear of arrest; yet Penry, 'contrary vnto all religion, law, equity, and conscience, to the great derogation of the liberties of this noble court, was committed close prisoner by some who abused the high commission.' Their action was the worse in that they made no pretence to justify his imprisonment. The reason for it remains unknown to him.¹

Knowing his infirmities as an advocate are used to disparage his cause, he has been most careful both as regards 'the matter, and the manner of delivery.' He treats as irrelevant the objection that he printed his plea before presenting it to Parliament. He made it a matter of conscience how he should deal with his superiors, lest he should leave behind him the least trace 'of a minde in any sort tending to defame them or their gouernement.' Representing his cause, he comes 'Mandatorie wise'; but in himself, 'in feare and trembling.'²

So he concludes. He has done his endeavour, and leaves in the Lord's hands the cause and the salvation of the poor people of Wales. It is usual to threaten those dealing with this subject, but the threateners 'are to know, that it is no so easie a matter to spil their blood, whose daies are numbered with the Lord.' Penry knows no fear; when the secrets of all hearts are disclosed, his sincerity shall appear. If he has life his purpose is 'to liue hereafter not vnto [him] selfe, but unto [Christ] and his Church, otherwise than hitherto I haue don.' His final appeal to Parliament is to have 'poore Wales in remembrance,' that the blessing of saved souls may be upon Parliament and Queen; 'overtake you, light vppon you, and stick vnto you, for ever.' His subscription is, 'By him that hath bound him selfe continually to pray for your Hh. and worships, JOHN PENRY.'

¹ *Supplication*, 77-79.

² *Ibid.* 80-81.

CHAPTER XII

THE LAST WORK OF THE WANDERING PRESS

1. *A New Marprelate Tract.*—How the *Supplication* was received by the members, in the Parliament then sitting, we do not know. It was no doubt presented to the House by the distribution of the printed book among their Honours and Worships. The member for Carmarthen borough, Edward Dunn Lee, who sat in Parliament, 15 October 1586 to 23 March following,¹ and presented to the House, and pressed home the facts contained in, the *Aequity*, was no longer among the elect. Penry himself was busy with Marprelate's writings. Matters in that quarter were pressing. John Hales of Coventry, who was never cordial about harbouring Waldegrave and the secret press, was suffering from a bad attack of nerves. He was more than eager to get rid of his embarrassing tenant. The new 'Martin,' *Hay any Worke for the Cooper*, a black-letter tract of the same form as Marprelate's *Epistle* and *Epitome*, appeared on March 22, about twelve days after Penry's *Supplication*.² Its title was a London street-cry, with a play upon the name of Bishop Cooper, who had published the episcopal rejoinder early in January.³ An edition of a thousand copies was printed, Waldegrave himself stitching the first two hundred. No wonder the poor harassed printer looked pale when the work was done. He had been hard driven by the timidity of Hales, whose caution would not permit a fire, with its tell-tale smoke, to be lit at White Friars. Waldegrave had to complain not only of the cold, but also of the lack of warm food.

2. *Waldegrave forsakes Marprelacy.*—This terminated Waldegrave's connection with the Marprelate press. A witty American in announcing the final issue of his newspaper stated

¹ See *Returns of Members of Parliament* (Crown publication), Pt. I. Parliaments of Eng., 1213-1702.

² *Harl. MSS.* 7042, 13.

³ See above, p. 211.

that it had been started for want of funds, and was now ceasing to exist for the same reason. Religion brought Waldegrave into Marprelate's service; and religion now led him out of it. Less and less, as the campaign proceeded, did the grave leaders of the Puritan and Presbyterian movement appreciate their anonymous champion. His religious aim, his intervals of grave religious statement, were not enough to justify the sustained vigour of his slashing attack upon the bishops, his mockery and laughter. As soon as the work at Coventry was completed, Penry and Waldegrave met at Haseley, near Warwick, the residence of Job Throkmorton.¹ The chief known person in connection with the Marprelate tracts has hitherto kept carefully out of view. But the refusal of Waldegrave to proceed with the work caused a crisis in the adventure, and Throkmorton has to be consulted as to the disposal of the tracts and the future operations of the press. Waldegrave was firm in his resolve, but sold Throkmorton his fount of longprimer type. His 'Dutch letters,' the famous black-letter fount used in printing the first four Marprelate Tracts, he took away with him. We get a further glimpse of him in the Easter week² at Wolston, at the house of the father-in-law of the old gossip, Henry Sharpe, the bookbinder of Northampton. Under the persistent fire of his questions, Waldegrave informed Sharpe that 'the mill' was no longer working. Questioned as to his reasons Waldegrave replied, 'all the Preachers I have conferred with all do dislike' the Marprelate attack. Questioned further, as to his future movements, Waldegrave, who seems instinctively to have mistrusted Sharpe and to have anticipated his betrayal, vaguely stated that he was going to Devonshire, where he hoped to print Cartwright's 'New Testament against the Jesuits'—the long-promised examination of the Rheims' English version.³ He took with him the manuscript of Penry's *Appellation*.

3. *The Press removed to Wolston*.—Meanwhile Throkmorton plans with Penry the future of the secret press. At Wolston

¹ Sutcliffe, *Answer to Job Throk.* 70 vers.

² April 1-6.

³ *Harl. MSS.* 7042, 23.

there resided a member of the circle of well-to-do county folk, who were earnest supporters of the reforming movement. This was Roger Wigston, of Wolston Priory, lying midway between Coventry and Rugby. His wife, indeed, was the chief actor in all the arrangements for the accommodation of the press, which she invited to the Priory. She showed herself, both in housing the press and in her subsequent demeanour at the trial of Sir Richard Knightley and her husband and herself, to be a woman full of the courage of her faith. It was Mrs. Wigston we are told that sent her wagon to Coventry to convey the press to Wolston. A fresh printer was required, so Throkmorton despatched Newman to London to negotiate with John Hodgkins, described a 'Saltpeter man,' a printer whose name does not appear in the Register of the Stationers' Company, though a person of the same name, possibly his father, was a freeman of the Company. Later, Penry went to London to ratify the agreement between Hodgkins and his two assistants Thomlyn and Simms.

At Wolston Hodgkins printed Marprelate's tracts, *Theses Martinianae* and *A Just Censure and Reproofe*, commonly known respectively as *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior*,¹ the first published on 22 July and the second seven days later. Both Throkmorton and Penry appear presently on the scene. It was from Throkmorton at Haseley that Hodgkins received the 'copy' of *Martin Junior*. The copy of the second tract reached the printers' hands on Throkmorton's visit to the Priory, during the printing of the first. Penry reached the house earlier, and was known under the alias Harrison (= Ap Henry). The convention assumed in the composition of the Wolston tracts was, that they were given to the public through the assistance of Marprelate's two sons. The younger takes the *Theses* and prepares, as best he can, the imperfect manuscript which he has with difficulty obtained from his father. The second tract is the *Censure and Reproofe* of the younger son by his elder brother. It was thought that the

¹ For the full story of the printing at Wolston and the removal of the press to Manchester and its seizure there, see my *Hist. Intro. to the M.P. Tracts*.

'Epilogue' of the *Theses*, ascribed to 'Jacke,' might have been written by Penry; but a greater familiarity with Penry's writings enables us to say, with as much certainty as the point permits, that Penry was not the writer of the Epilogue.

Just at this period Sharpe found it necessary to absent himself from Northampton. His refuge was at Wolston, where Waldegrave, whose type had been sent from Coventry to the care of the Wigstons, as we have said, met him. Sharpe was all curiosity to know what was being done, although he had refused Hodgkins' invitation to help to work the press. Questioning Penry during the same period about Waldegrave, all he learnt was that he was in some corner of the land printing Cartwright's Testament. Penry volunteered the information that he was expecting from him his new book—*Th' Appellation*. Later on, at Whitsuntide, Penry informed Sharpe that Waldegrave was printing at Rochelle.¹

4. *Arrest of Printer: Marprelate's Defiance*.—Hodgkins insisted on leaving Wolston as soon as he had completed the printing of *Martin Senior*. Mrs. Wigston characteristically invited him to stay on, and print the next Marprelate writing—a large tract bearing the title *More Work for the Cooper*, the 'copy' for which was in his possession. He made various excuses, and was evidently bent upon changing the location of the press. The hospitable family dismissed him and his assistants with a generous token of their goodwill. The story of his journey to Manchester and his arrest and the seizure of his press, when the first half-sheet had gone through the press, has been fully told elsewhere.²

Penry was staying at Wolston when the news reached him of the arrest of Hodgkins.³ It was necessary to consult without delay, Job Throkmorton; always the master personality in the Marprelate crises. The resolution was quickly made to issue another short and defiant tract. Paper was obtained, and Meadows, who was employed by the fraternity

¹ For this section see evidence of Henry Sharpe, *Harl. MSS.* 7042, 23; Arber's *Sketch*, 99 ff.

² Pierce, *An Hist. Introd. to the Marprelate Tracts*, p. 189 *et seq.*

³ Towards the end of August 1589.

as a messenger, is reported to have brought ink to Haseley. There was a press at Wolston Priory; all that was needed was a printer. From the appearance of the last of the Marprelate Tracts, the *Protestatyon*, it has been concluded that the first few pages were set up by Throkmorton and Penry. The workmanship is defective enough to justify the assumption. But evidently a competent compositor was obtained to set up the remainder. A few copies were put into circulation and the bulk of the edition forwarded to Henry Godley's house at Northampton.

5. *Waldegrave at Rochelle, and his Return.*—We are almost startled by the news which Sharpe obtained from Penry that Waldegrave was printing at Rochelle. But we have already one item in the Puritan controversy, which states in the imprint, that it was printed at Rochelle; though that of itself cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of the location of the press. A fictitious imprint was not at all uncommon. The difficulties of the secret transport of his press and letters by sea to La Rochelle, the difficulties of setting up his printing-house in a foreign city, even under Protestant rule, ignorant, as we assume Waldegrave was, of the French tongue, are obvious enough. He would require no doubt the licence of the authorities, or of any guild of printers that was established for the protection of the members of the craft. The references to Waldegrave's sojourn in the city are, however, very explicit. When he relinquished his post as Marprelate's printer, we know his vague replies to Sharpe's impertinent questions as to his future movements, and how Penry answered Sharpe's further inquiries, that he was 'in some corner' where, among other works, he was printing his own *Th'Appellation*. A little later Penry apparently had definite news that Waldegrave was at La Rochelle. Moreover, Matthew Sutcliffe in his indictment of Job Throkmorton, charging him with being the author of *M. Some in his Coulers*, says, 'That is proued first by the deposition of *Waldegrave*, that upon his oath testified so much, and at *Rochel* where he printed it, spoke it openly.'¹ Sutcliffe had access to all the evidence in the possession of the

¹ *Answer to Job Throk.* 72.

Government, and makes his statement with such matter of fact particularity, that it is difficult to set it aside. The trouble is to find out when Waldegrave made his statement 'upon his oath.' It must have been in Scotland, for he was never arrested by the English authorities after becoming Marprelate's printer. But when he was made the King's Printer for Scotland, against the wishes of Burghley, who desired James to expel him, he may have made this deposition. He made, as we know, a covenant with the king as to the character of the books he would print in Scotland.¹

6. *A last Conference at Haseley.*—We are again indebted to Matthew Sutcliffe for our knowledge of Penry's next movements. Waldegrave did not remain long at La Rochelle. When Penry about the middle of September, and soon after the completion of Marprelate's *Protestatyon*, went to the headquarters of the movement at Haseley, to consult with Job Throkmorton as to his further movements, he found that Waldegrave had arrived there, along with the two books which he had printed at La Rochelle, Penry's *Appellation* and Throkmorton's *M. Some in his Coulers*.² The printer wanted to be relieved of the books and to be paid for his work. From our knowledge of Throkmorton we could safely conclude that this compromising literature would not be allowed to remain long at Haseley. They were as a matter of fact despatched to Northampton; and Penry and Waldegrave also, each by his own route, forthwith left Haseley, and turned their faces to the north.

CHAPTER XIII

THE APPELLATION OF JOHN PENRY (1588)

1. *Description of the Work.*—The pamphlet which Waldegrave printed, as it is alleged, at Rochelle, was one more appeal to Parliament. This time Penry is suing for protection against

¹ [J. Lee, D.D.] *Memorial of the Bible Soc. in Scotland*, 1824, App. VIII.; *S.P. Scot.-Eliz.*, 1590, vol. 45, No. 44.

² *An Answer to Job Throk.* 73.

Whitgift. The title of the little book indicates its contents and in a small way reflects its spirit. It runs: Th'Appellation of Iohn Penri vnto the Highe Court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb. & other his colleagues of the high commission: wherin the complainant, humbly submitting himselfe and his cause vnto the determination of this honorable assembly: craveth nothing els, but either release from trouble and persecution, or just tryall.¹

This is one of the most valuable of Penry's writings, because of its interesting biographical details. Much of the information has been used in the preceding pages and need not be further noted. Penry opens his case by justifying his being in hiding. The dangerous attempts of those that seek his utter undoing, compel him to take steps to secure his safety. Even brute beasts avoid self-destruction. And he does not despise the providential means offered him, of eluding his malicious enemies. The Archbishop of Canterbury and his High Commission are depriving him of the benefits of public peace and tranquillity attending the gracious rule of the Queen. And all because he cannot keep silence as he beholds the misery of the inhabitants of Wales.² He fails to understand, since the State is professedly at enmity with the Romish religion, why he should be persecuted for speaking against its corruptions in the church in Wales, by which his countrymen were kept in bondage. For nothing worse than this, and pointing out the remedy, he is 'tossed from post to pillar.' He was unknown to the Archbishop until his *Aequity* was presented to Parliament. [His statement of the results which followed has already been

¹ Scriptural quotations are given from Psalm xxxv. 19, etc., and Jerem. xx. 11 (wrongly printed 21). No printer or place. The date 'Anno Dom. 1589' is printed at foot. The superscription, p. 1, is dated 'March 7,' which Mr. J. Dover Wilson has shown to be Mar. 7, 1589. An important and undesigned piece of evidence, if further evidence were required, that Penry and Martin Marprelate are two different persons, is to be found in the quotations contained, both in this volume and also in the Marprelate Tracts, from Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*. Penry and Marprelate were writing at the same time, but Marprelate quotes invariably from the first edition of the *Admonition*; Penry in his *Appellation* from the second revised edition. The *Appellation* is an 8vo, printed in half-sheets, of 51 pp.

² *Appell.* 2.

quoted.] But the continuance of his effort has increased the rage of his enemies. [The story of raiding his study at Northampton which follows has been given.] The *Appellation* to their Honours is the lawful means he employs to seek protection against the injustice of Whitgift and the High Commission. This proceeding does them no injury. They will get justice from Parliament, though he gets none from the Commission.¹ All courts in the land are subject to Parliament, from which the High Commission derives all the prerogative it has.

From this point, the interesting course of Penry may be conveniently given in a classified summary.

2. *The Appeal from the Bishops to the Civil Authority.*—Penry finds the justification for his action in the examples of Jeremiah and Paul.

In the 26th chapter of Jeremiah the whole matter of his contention is set down. And he adds as a marginal note that ‘it is no new thing to find the supposed pillars of the Church to be the most pestilent enemies thereof.’ His enemies judged Jeremiah worthy of death and wished to ‘dispatch’ him. The princes tried the case and cleared him. So it is with Penry. Archbishop Whitgift and the Commission judge him ‘to be a man unworthy to live in any State.’

Paul in like circumstances, when before Festus, appealed unto Caesar. These examples compel him to appeal to Parliament. They should compel Parliament to protect him. He appeals to Caesar. If he were a thousand times inferior to his enemies, he has ‘the vpper hand of them in the goodnesse and equitie of his suite.’² They would listen to an appeal from the Archbishop, why not to his ?

3. *The Unchangeable Order of the Ministry.*—He is bound to lay open the ignorance of the ministry and the oppression of Lord Bishops. The very offices held by the Church governors are of necessity a tyranny. And he is molested because he thinks it unlawful for any man to lord it over God’s heritage ; because he believes that Jesus left behind Him an express form of Church government ; and also, that

¹ *Appell.* 2-8.

² *Ibid.* 9-14.

this government is committed to 'Teaching Pastors & Doctors, governing Elders & ministering Deacons.'

Then he deals with their curious defence of episcopacy, which was put forward in the official reply to the 'Learned Discourse,' written by Dean Bridges. The Dean first quotes Jerome, who most manifestly proves that 'a Bishop and a priest are the same.' But afterwards, says the Dean, 'one was chosen who should be before the residue' as a remedie for schism. Then he asks, if so soon after the Apostles, in the time when 'the name Bishop was yet indifferent to every Priest or Pastorall Elder,' all being 'equal in dignity,' factions arose; what factions would have arisen by this time, 'if this equality had continued longer'? Bishop Cooper also in his official defence, *The Admonition*, written against Marprelate, dealing with the assertion that a non-Episcopal government was practised in the time of the Apostles, first of all said, 'I will not deny it'; but, afterwards in haste, pasted over that admission the cancel slip—'That is not yet proved.' The Bishop contends that it is not said, that it should be so always, which would be too great a restriction on Christian liberty. He admits that such a form of government might have been the best in days of persecution, but with Christian princes as rulers, another order may be more convenient.¹

4. *The Trumped-up Charge of Sedition.*—Penry gives his whole strength to the discussion of this characteristically ecclesiastic method of controversy. He was inspired by a fine patriotic spirit, in his unrelenting opposition to the government of priests. His knowledge of history had taught him that the natural tendency of ecclesiastical rule is unfriendly to popular liberty. And one of the favourite devices of the prelates was to identify subservience to them with loyalty to the civil power. The old Catholic Church had handed over its heretics to the civil courts, recommending them to be treated compassionately and mercifully. The civil power had no alternative but to burn them at the stake. The spirit of

¹ Bridges' *Defence*, 281-4; Cooper's *Admon.* (third ed.), 140 (Arber's ed. 105).

the old tactics was still prevalent. Recusants and heretics were arraigned before the secular courts as seditious persons and traitors. The gentle religion of Jesus was not favourable to putting to death heretics and dissenters. Therefore by a civil process they accomplished the death of their victim. And the descendants of the persecutors to-day label Penry as the 'so-called martyr.' But let us try to give the full force of Penry's criticism of the method.

(a) If Whitgift were asked why he imprisoned Penry, raided his writings and now set bloodhounds of the law upon his track, his answer would be that Penry was the enemy of the religious order '*established by her Majesty's prerogative and the consent of the State.*' He is a seditious person by reason of this clause. That, he says, has been the device of the devil in all ages.

(b) So it was in the case of Christ. He was a seditious man. The priests represented to Pilate that he could not save Him and be loyal to the Emperor. 'If thou release this Man, thou art not Caesar's friend.'

(c) In the same spirit the 'brief' which the advocate Tertullus received in persecuting Paul, was contrived. 'Certainly wee haue found this man a pestilent fellowe, and a mouer of sedition among the Jews throughout the world.'

(d) The same again was the charge brought against Jason for aiding and abetting Paul and Silas, men who gainsaid 'the decrees of Caesar, saying there is an other king on(e) Jesus, &c.'

(e) Penry ought not to wonder at this deceptive method being employed against him. The Bishops themselves acknowledge that thus it has ever been. For in their own Bible, 'Authorised and appointed to be read in Churches,' the marginal gloss against Acts xvii. 7 runs, '. . . these be the weapons whereby the world continually fighteth against the members of Christ, treason and sedition.'¹ Certainly the truth of the statement is fully illustrated by the Bishops' slanders against 'al that seeke the reformation of our church, and particularly against [him].' If to maintain Christ's prerogative of 'appointing th' officers & gouernors of his church, be sedition and treason,' then, says Penry, 'I doe confesse in deed, that after the way which they call sedition and a treason, so serue I the God of my fathers.' Remembering this, Parliament ought not to be moved by the slanders of the Bishops.

(f) A more ancient instance is seen in the story of Amos.

¹ The Bishops' Bible, ed. 1588.

As a good subject, Amaziah, the priest, discovered that the words of Amos were dangerous. He reported the matter to the King Jeroboam, saying, 'Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel.' And the like treachery was practised in the case of Jeremiah.

(g) A further apt parallel occurs in the case of Nehemiah, the rebuildler of Jerusalem. His enemies early communicated with Artaxerxes, but they were careful to clothe their report with an assumed concern about the loyalty of Jerusalem to the Assyrian monarch, and fears about the continuation of the tribute. Sanballat and Tobiah strove to delay the good work of the patriot Nehemiah by asking him, Will you rebel against the King? Jer. ii. 6; Ezra ii. 19.

So Penry concludes his remarkable catena of Biblical examples, by pointing out to Parliament, that the High Commission have forged against him 'no newe found slaunder,' but 'an auncient quarrell of the Diuell in all ages and times against Gods trueth.'¹ Ought he not to warn their Honours of the danger of God's judgement as did Jeremiah of old?

5. *Penry demands to know the Evidence against him.*—Will not Parliament require the High Commission to produce their evidence that Penry is a seditious person? It appears to him that to hold 'Popish callings' to be unlawful, and, against Archbishops and Lord Bishops, to accept the scriptural order of Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons is regarded by the Commission as sedition. He fears not death and is able to laugh at destruction since the cause is Christ's; but the evidence should be produced.

6. *The Bishops' Defence of the Hierarchy.*—Lately there had been published an official and authoritative defence by Bishop Cooper. His first argument is that the order is right, because it has been established by the Queen and Parliament. But Penry thinks there is a connection between the state of the Church and the judgements of God which have threatened the land. The attempt of the Spanish navy 'of late'; 'extreme famine in all our quarters,' 'deare yeares,' many bad harvests; villainous conspiracies and attempts at the Queen's life, 'whom, good Lord spare in thy mercies and

¹ *Appell.* 19-23.

crowne with eternal blessednes for thy sonnes sake' (Cooper's *Admon.*, Epist. 2).

Next, they assert that the Church discipline exercised through Pastors has been invented they know not by whom, and its primitive character remains to be proved. Penry replies that they have admitted at the beginning of the Queen's reign the reformers' contention, in their own Prayer Book, 'before the Commination on Ashwednesdaye.'¹

Next the Bishops require to be convinced that there is to be only one form of Church government in all ages, and desire an instance of a particular church ruled by Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons.² This is a Popish device. They speak evil of 'that upright way,' yet profess to be ignorant of it. There is a direct command as to the first point. Moses had such authority in ordering the permanent form of the Jewish Church, and the Lord Jesus is superior to Moses. And as to the second point the true order was observed at Rome, Philippi, Epheses, Derbe, Lystra, etc. The churches which profess the Gospel and lack this government are imperfect churches. Asa was a godly king, but not perfect, for he left undestroyed the high places. We must not copy imperfections.³

7. *The Alleged Inconvenience of Church Reform.*—The reforming proposals, say the Bishops, would cause grave inconveniences.⁴ The answer is, that if such be the case it is the State that is at fault. In any case the Truth waits on no man's convenience. Jesus taught that it was no light matter to enter the Kingdom. But the inconvenience is nothing like so great as that of expelling Popery. The complaint now is that it would require an entire alteration of the law of the realm, civil law and common law, and would overthrow the study of civil law. As if a single Act of Parlia-

¹ 'Brethren in y^e primitive Church there was a godly discipline, that at the beginning of Lent such persons as were notorious sinners were put to open penance, &c. In the stead whereof vntill the sayde discipline may be restored againe (which thing is much to be wished) it is thought good at this time in your presence, should be read the general sentences of Gods cursing against impenitent sinners.'—*Bible and Prayer Book*, 1583.

² Cooper's *Admon.* 8.

³ *Appell.* 24-29.

⁴ *Ibid.* 86 [*Arber's Sketch*, 77].

ment could not remedy it all. Popery in the reign of Henry VIII. had much more cause to use this argument. No wonder that 'Papists and Mahometists' keep out the Gospel when a Christian land does the same. If clerics gave up civil offices, there would be more work for civilians. What is supremely to be desired is that the Church should not lack the laws of Christ. And there is no fear that reform would introduce Jewish judicial laws into the Church. Christ requires no part of the Jewish law but that which is moral. Nor is the Queen's supremacy and her prerogative in ecclesiastical causes in the least peril.¹

8. *Bishops are not an Estate of the Realm.*—There seems to be 'a reason that all States should be maintained, saving the estate of Christs kingdome.' The establishment of Christ's kingdom, as the reformers interpret the New Testament, would cause great inconvenience, because it would abrogate the authority of the Three Estates on which the laws rest. The Bishops are one of these Three Estates.

This claim Penry contests. The Gospel was brought into the realm by two estates, the temporal lords of the Upper House and the commons of the Lower.² That is matter of fact and history. The introduction of the spiritual Lords later, is an attempt to make the State stand upon three legs, and has hindered the happy settlement of Christ's disciples. The Lord Bishops have as little claim as Lord Abbots to uphold our laws. The State can continue 'with as small inconvenience' without the one, as it has without the other.³ The function of the Popish hierarchy in the Church is to persecute.

Moreover, his adversary can bring forward no evidence that he has broken any penal law of the land. He has certainly broken no law of God; and a law which would make him guilty, who before the Lord is innocent, is of no force; such he believes is the spirit of the laws established by the Queen and Parliament. As it is, he can have neither equity nor protection from persecution, because that would prejudice

¹ *Appell.* 29-32.

² That is, the bishops had no part in the Elizabethan settlement at the beginning of the reign.

³ *Ibid.* 32-34.

the cause of the bishops. They are strong, and it may be asked, why should he to his hurt and with small hope of success oppose them? It is the devil's suggestion. The stones of the street have a commission to speak against evil when the Lord's servants are tongue-tied. Other men being silent, silent he cannot be, the state of the Church in Wales being what it is.¹

9. *The Irregularity of the Archbishop's Proceedings.*—(a) Whitgift and the High Commission deal with cases without warrant. They charge Penry with treason, but are not authorised to try men charged with treason. What is worse, they found in this particular case, their charge upon what he wrote in the '40-page of [his] booke . . . written vnto the Parliament.' If the dignity of Parliament is not secure from their interference, what 'parloure or chamber' can retain its privacy? ²

(b) They presume to try cases which are reserved for the higher courts. They infringed the prerogatives of Parliament in his case, and they violated the ancient liberties of the land, by imprisoning a suitor to Parliament while it was still in session. It was a further scandal that all his judges were members of Parliament; ³ a small and unrenowned section arrogating the prerogatives of the whole distinguished assembly. Lovers of the liberties of Parliament should consider the matter.⁴

(c) In any case he ought not to be tried in a court where he cannot meet his accuser. Even a pagan judge could recognise that element of justice. 'I will hear thee,' said Felix to Paul, 'when thine accusers also are come.' Festus in like manner said to the Jews concerning Paul, 'It is not the maner of the Romanes for favour to deliuer any man to death, before that hee which is accused have the accusers before him, and haue place to defende himselfe, concerning the crime.' Penry then describes 'the maner of administering justice at Lambeth,' where the prosecution has no evidence, nor any witnesses, but by cross-examination obliges the accused to furnish evidence

¹ *Appell.* 34-38.

² *Ibid.* 39-40.

³ Penry mentions Whitgift, Aylmer, Cooper, Wickham and the lawyers Lewin and Cosin.

⁴ *Ibid.* 41.

against himself, under the iniquitous oath *ex officio*, which compels him to answer any question put to him on any subject, or to go to prison. The defence that no one would be charged except on suspicion was worthy of the Spanish Inquisitors.¹

The execution of their tyrannical procedure they commit to evil men. He gives the case of Walton (whose conduct at Northampton has already been cited), a man notorious for his unbridled evil character; sometime beadle of a London company, 'of the blacke Smithes I think'; a mean office, from which he was ejected by reason of his wicked and loose behaviour. Yet this rascal has the Archbishop's authority to go about 'molesting and imprisoning' any one he chooses to suspect. Such a man would not be above taking a bribe to arrest an innocent man. If any suffer in this way, Walton's commission covers his acts. The High Commission are really responsible, and delude the world that they have a prerogative which is above the law of the realm.²

10. *The Persecution of Henry Sharpe*.—Penry takes up the defence of Sharpe, the Northampton bookbinder, who seven months later betrayed the confederates.³ Sharpe, we have seen, was at this time in hiding at his wife's relations at Wigston, having had intimation of what was likely to happen to him. So that when Walton arrived in the town and summarily ordered the Mayor to arrest him, the pursuivant was asking an impossibility. As Penry puts it, they required the Mayor to 'surcease the execution of his office in government of that towne, vnder hir majestie, and either become their pursuivant in apprehending one of his neighbours, or else personally to appeare before them in London'; nor was he to leave London till they gave permission, caring nothing for the neglect of the Mayor's duties, nor considering the distance between Northampton and London.

Moreover, Penry testifies that Sharpe was well known to be a dutiful subject. Already because of his love of God's

¹ *Appell.* 41-44.

² *Ibid.* 45.

³ Arber, mistaking the dates, supposes Penry's defence was written after Sharpe's betrayal, and draws a wrong conclusion from Penry's testimony to Sharpe. *Marprel. Sketch*, 173.

truth he had at the hands of some of them, suffered long imprisonment, and was 'so evill dealt with,' that at last the lords of the Privy Council took up his case, and judging the action of the bishops 'to be against lawe and conscience,' they set him free. Fearing now a repetition of their attentions, he was 'compelled, with the hinderance of his family, to absent himself from his calling.'¹

11. *Baptism once more.*—For similar reasons, or want of reasons, they have slandered Penry as an anabaptist, an opposer of the civil authority, and 'a pestilent and dangerous subject many waies.' Else they would not have allowed the books against Penry to be published. 'With many thousandes of hir best subjects' he holds her Majesty not to be baptized. The question between Dr. Some and him is definitely whether the baptisms of Popish and dumb ministers were sacraments. And once more we have the futile discussion of unpreaching ministers, Popish and Protestant (whom Some regards as 'no ministers'), and their baptisms, which nevertheless are sacraments, but whose baptisms cannot be received without sin, according to Penry.

It is also part of the charge of anabaptism that it is a rejection of the civil authority, the legal rule of the magistrate. Penry separates Church and State, and holds the constitution of the Commonwealth to be a human institution. But why should human institutions be not also divine? 'As though nothing ordained could be Gods ordinance also.' There is more anabaptism in the opinion of the bishops, that the organisation of the Church is a human device. He will go into these slanderous statements in his 'answere to Master Doctor Some, which ere it be long' he hopes to publish, although they have his manuscript in their hands.²

12. *Conclusion.*—Penry finally appeals to Parliament for protection. Let the Commission prove their case or cease to trouble him. His cause is God's and would bring, not tumult and sedition, as do the humanly invented Church governments, but escape from impending judgements. And he significantly adds, the cause he advocates must not be held responsible for

¹ *Appell.* 46-47.

² *Ibid.* 47-48.

evil books sent forth on its behalf—and one wonders to what books, upholding Penry's cause, yet esteemed evil books in the manner of their conducting the controversy, he is alluding. Is he wavering in his view of Marprelate's campaign?

He thinks their Honours are bound to consider his *Appellation*. 'My only hope is in you; be not vnmerciful and pitillesse towards me.' He is persecuted, he says, for the cause of God, by those who cannot be just towards him without destroying their own positions. He makes the 'Christian request' that they be not both his judges and accusers.

He briefly enumerates the points in his indictment of the bishops, and as a final thrust, states that the Order of Morning Prayer prefixed to the Psalms declares preaching to be ordinarily necessary to man's salvation, which Whitgift and the bishops contradict.¹ Penry finally dismisses himself by desiring that their Honours, for their reward, may have, like Job, 'the blessing of him that was ready to perish,' and he quotes from Job xxix. half a dozen apt verses, and subscribes himself 'Your most humble suppliant, JOHN PENRY.'

¹ This retort, which is an example of the vigilance of Penry, shows the divided mind of the hierarchy. Left to themselves and freed from the exigencies of controversy, in which they were *ex officio* defenders of Elizabeth's policy, their views agree with those of Penry. The passage referred to is found in most of the Bibles of the period. These contain Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical version of the Psalms, which also appears as a separate publication in many editions. The Psalms are followed by a form of morning and evening prayer 'to be vsed in priuate houses.' From a Bible (Genevan version) printed 'cum privilegio' by Christopher Barkar (*sic*) in 1577, I extract the sentence in question. Prayer is offered for those peoples who have been called to a true understanding of God's heavenly will, and likewise for all other nations, that 'they may be instructed by [His] holy spirite to belieue in . . . their onely Sauour and redemer. But forasmuch as they can not beleue except they hear, nor can not heare but by preaching, and none can preach except they be sent,' the petition proceeds, 'Therefore (O Lord) rayse vp faythfull distributers of thy mysteries.'

CHAPTER XIV

MASTER SOME LAID OPEN IN HIS COULERS

ONLY a very brief general account can be given of the contents of this notable book.

After his introductory matter, the writer assures Dr. Some that Master Penri is regarded by his friends 'to be very honest and godly of life,' though Some makes him out to be 'worse than a drudge and a turne spit in al maner of knowledg.' Penri is one that 'haunteth the holy exercises of religion.' He is even credited with having reclaimed some on the brink of lapsing into Brownism. His writings should serve Dr. Some as an index to his character.

He may have erred on a point, as some suppose. But even so, it is a pity he had not 'M. Reinolds' for an opponent 'in lieu of M. Some.' He would have learned more, and been disgraced less.¹ If Some is not more enlightening next time, 'we Oxforde men shal thinke, that *M. Penri* hath a great deal more cause to feare th' Archbishop his [Archbishop's] pursevant, than your D[octo]r's penne.'² The *Godly Treatise* of Dr. Some is generalised in the following form :

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 'The 4 principall heads
or common places in
M. Somes book. | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bitter and spightful speaches to bring the adversarie into danger. 2. Bare and naked assertions, as if it were sufficient that him selfe said so. 3. Needlesse positions that few or none euer doubted of. 4. The bare authoritie and judgment of men without ground.' |
|--|---|--|

On this plan the author, and it can scarcely be doubted that Job Throkmorton is the author, conducts his attack with great intellectual energy and with a vivacity that never wearies. His irony and sarcasm and his wit are conspicuous; in the religious controversies of the day there is nothing comparable to his style except the tracts of Martin Marprelate. In many of its phrases and exceptional words *M. Some in his Coulers* strongly reminds us of that great stylist. He tells us a story of what happened

¹ *Op. cit.* 11-13.

² *Ibid.* 14.

when he went to a church near the Exchange, '10 November last.' He wishes M. Some had been there to hear the preacher babbling, 'handeling a text with a curricombe'; saying that the Papists were not much to be feared; but that the Magistrate had better have an eye on 'the phantasticall crue such as troubled the peace of the Church,' and he was reminded how of old they dealt with the Donatists. And here the preacher quoted one of the Fathers in Greek and English, to let them know he was a Grecian. Then in the margin the writer tells us that he has since heard that Some himself was the preacher. The anecdote might have been lifted bodily out of Marprelate's *Epistle* or *Epitome*. We also recognise the expression—used of one who refuses to recognise that he is the person that is being referred to—'wee doubt not but he may wipe his mouth and washe hands and wonder to whome they speak.' Marprelate said the same thing about Whitgift. He also used against Bridges the uncommon epithet 'patch'; and in the volume before us we read, 'I doe not meane Tarleton' but 'that patch of S. Maries pulpit.' These reminiscences of Marprelate's style occur throughout the book.

Dr. Some comes off very badly from the handling he gets from this ruthless, but amusing critic. His pedagogical pomp of statement and his sober-faced egotisms are excellent material for this dexterous disputant. Some's phrases, 'Content yourself, I have made no fault'; 'The fault is in your eie and not in your penne'; 'If [my reasons] were like your sencelesse answers they were strange stuffe'; 'For prooffe of this point I haue set downe weightie reasons'; 'I mislike the Popish Priesthood and sacrifice asmuch as [Penry], and if occasion require wil set downe sure reasons to shake them both in peces,' are all very magisterial, but become a little absurd when this writer parades them before us. So also are Some's frequent references to 'his writings, his words, his reasons, his answers, his sermons &c.,' which, our author says, Dr. Some wants to fasten upon posterity as laws and statutes.

Now and then Some's logic is taken up seriously, and dealt with quite effectively. As when the worthy Doctor says that a non-preaching minister may by his reading edify the people; which our author will not dispute. He simply points out that he might also by his singing edify, and by many other actions besides. The question is what is a minister's function. The commandment does not say, Go into all the world and—read! Very concisely he deals with Some's definition of the 'dumb

ministers,' as being ministers, but unworthy. It is true, he admits, that a man of suitable gifts, but of questionable life, might be termed an unworthy minister. But no one would call a man born dumb an unworthy orator. He is not an orator at all.

But when Dr. Some states at large, and with noisy emphasis, some fact which no one has questioned, then our writer prefers to fool with him after the Marprelate manner. A single brief example will suffice. 'In another [place, Some] boldly says, "He that disliketh, saith he, the reading of holy Scriptures is a Swinkfeldian heretike: He that misliketh the administration of the Sacraments is a Massalian heretike: He that misliketh th' invocation of our gracious god is a filthie Atheist." Cocksure! Your D[octor] may lay his life on it, and twentie to one that th' ignorant Welshman, with all the fanaticall crue, will subscribe to this without racking or imprisonment.'¹

He wanders away from his text to deal with Dean Bridges and his *Defence* of the Church as established, the book which was the primary target of Marprelate. He treats the rambling old Dean and his *Defence* with the utmost derision. Then he brings Some once more into the controversy. Bridges blames the Puritans for going astray through their too great reliance upon Calvin, Beza, Danaeus, etc. Some, on the contrary, 'resteth wholly in the judgement of these excellent men.' He blames Penry for departing from Calvin, and says that he 'more esteemeth of one Calvin than a thousand Penries.' It adds to the confusion, as our author shows, that Whitgift, the ultra-predestinarian, when he was trying Thomas Settle, and as fellow-judges, had on the bench with him Goodman, Perne, and Cosins, discussing with his prisoner the *Descensus ad infera*, broke forth, 'What tellst thou vs of Caluin? I tell thee there are here that can teach Caluin.' Then another gird at Bridges. The Dean should be considerably privileged not to rest in the opinions of eminent men, seeing that he does not rest even in his own; but what he writes in one book he withdraws in the next.

He deals with the complexities of the doctrine of Baptism, defending Penry in his own way, which was not Penry's way, we may add. But he brightens up the dull subject by his agile wit; though in that matter we need not follow him. As he forges his track through the labyrinth of controversial verbiage, he brings in again Dr. Bridges for comic relief, or Dr. Whitgift as the butt of his irony. Part of his book is occupied with a very shrewd discussion of the constitution of the Church, and

¹ *M. Some, etc.*, p. 19.

particularly of the Church of Rome. But enough for our present purpose has been said of this clever book, which deserves a much fuller critical description.

NOTE ON THE LA ROCHELLE PRINTING-PRESS

There was nothing incredible in the statement of Penry that Waldegrave, still bent on printing anti-episcopal and Puritan books, was at Rochelle. Walter Travers's *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae . . . explicatio* has in the imprint 'Rvpellae Excvdebat Adamvs de Monte, M.D.LXIII.' (Rvpellae = La Rochelle). This was the little book, translated into English by Thomas Cartwright and published by him, which led to the extended controversy between him and Whitgift. Scotch books were at this time printed—the evidence is fairly clear—at Rochelle; see *The History of Scotland*, by Malcolm Laing (1804, 4 vols. 8vo), vol. i. pp. 254 ff. The earliest printers at La Rochelle were of the reforming party. M. Louis Audiat in his *Essai sur l'imprimerie en Saintonge et en Aunis* (Pons, 1879) gives Barthélemy Berton as the first printer in the province (La Rochelle is in the ancient province of Aunis) and said to have been at work in 1557. He printed books for Bernard Palissy 1563 and later, and in 1564 some works by Calvin. He died before 1573, for in that year a work came from the press bearing the imprint, 'par la veuve B. Berton.' The press was then transferred to Pierre Davantès, who also appears to have been a Protestant. Davantès was a learned man, and left Lyons for Geneva, that he might with safety print an edition of the Psalms; and the same considerations of safety no doubt directed him to La Rochelle. Other printers settled in the city at this period were the Haultins, 1571–1616. Many members of this family are definitely known to have adopted the reformed faith. Jean Haultin 'qui embrassa le protestantisme le 17 juillet 1575.' René Haultin, who died 8 Jan. 1594, was 'un ancien' in the Reformed Church. Denys Haultin, who was at work printing in the city in 1572, was married *au temple*, that is, 'in chapel.' All this explains why Protestant and Puritan books should be sent from England and Scotland to La Rochelle to be printed, and why it should be a refuge for an English Puritan printer. But an examination of such works of reference as are available at the British Museum shows no trace of English works, or of works by English authors, during the period to 1590. I have specially examined *Bibliographie rochelaise; Œuvre posthume de Léopold Delayant, bibliothécaire de la ville de la Rochelle* (La Rochelle, 1882), which appears to be a minute record, and contains several volumes printed by Berton omitted by M. Audiat. Also, *Tables des noms propres, des matières et des ouvrages anonymes figurant aux catalogues imprimés de la bibliothèque, publiée par ordre du Conseil Municipal. Par Georges Musset, bibliothécaire, avec la collaboration*

d'Auguste Fuchs, etc. Aide-bibliothécaire (La Rochelle, 1902). The valuable supplements to the *Revue des Bibliothèques*, issued under the title *Gallia Typographica*, six of which have appeared, announced in 1913 that No. VII. was in the press, and would cover Angoumois, Aunis, Saintonge, and Poitou. Its appearance was probably delayed by the Great War. Publication does not appear to be resumed at this date (Sept. 1920).¹ The completeness of these typographical records gave me good hope that the issue of No. VII. would supply the information for which I have been seeking. One or two volumes printed by Berthon and Davantès had clear differences in their style of letter from the types of the same size and class used in the books assigned to Waldegrave's press.

The references given to the Scottish books of this period, said to have been printed at La Rochelle, do not help us to trace Waldegrave's activities in the city.

¹ June 1923.—No. VII. (*Série Départementale*) does not appear to have reached this country, which may be owing, not only to the difficulties of publishing elaborate technical works, but still more to the death of the learned editor, M. Leproux, in Jan. 1918.

TYPOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON BOOKS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN PRINTED BY R. WALDEGRAVE

Printed in Longprimer

Penry's *Exhortation* (2nd and 3rd editions); *Supplication (A Viewe)*; *Th' Appellation*; [Throkmorton's] *M. Some in his Couters*; Marprelate's *Theses Martinianae* and *Just Censure*; and Udall's *Demonstration* (main text).

Jacobi's scale of type-measurements gives 6.85 cm. for 20 lines. The above vary from 6.7 to 6.8 cm. for 20 lines. A careful examination of the style of the type employed, made with the assistance of an expert at the British Museum, conclusively shows that they were all printed from one and the same fount of types. It was known to the printers of the time as Waldegrave's 'letter.'

Printed in Pica

Udall's *Diotrephes* and *Demonstration* (introd. matter); Penry's *Defence* and *Exhortation* (1st edition); and the Martinist *A Dialogue wherein*.

Jacobi's scale for 14 lines is 6 cm. The measure for the above, 5.8 cm., and an examination of the letters, shows that they were all printed from the same type.

DIVISION II

AN ASYLUM IN SCOTLAND, 1589-1592

CHAPTER I

THE SITUATION IN SCOTLAND

1. *The Escape of Penry and Waldegrave into Scotland.*—The conference held at the house of Job Throkmorton at Haseley House in Warwickshire had to face a desperate situation. The activity of the bishops in following the trace of the secret travelling press and in tracking down all concerned in its operations was incessant. A fortunate accident, for them, had led to the discovery of the Marprelate printers; and stout a man as Hodgkins might be, there was no telling how far Valentine Simms and Arthur Tamlyn, his assistants, might divulge such secret particulars concerning the production of the Tracts as were in their possession. It was at once determined that Penry and Waldegrave should escape north and find a refuge among the Presbyterians. Whitgift, with the actual Marprelate printers and the copy of a fresh Tract being put to press, in his hands, had at last some solid ground to work upon. He would seek at all costs to extract from the prisoners all they knew. ‘Bolt it out’ they must; so the poor men were sent to the Tower to be examined under torture. Torture to compel prisoners to confess their guilt is not a legal process; Englishmen have always felt it had a reek of barbarity about it. But so desperate was the need to probe this mystery to its end, and to identify the great secret satiric enemy, that Whitgift was not disposed to be too nice in his methods. He had had experience, as vice-president

of the Welsh Council, of the efficacy of the rack in unlocking the tongues as well as the knee-joints of his prisoners.

Never was the search for the culprits more widespread and more energetic and persistent. Bancroft was rapidly qualifying for the episcopal office by his zeal; all his agents and pursuivants were in the field. The house of Pigot, a devout Puritan living in Coventry, was raided. London was under most vigilant observation. Kingston and Northampton were searched continually. So hot was the chase that Sharpe the Northampton bookbinder, at this time lying perdu at Wolston, wrote to Throkmorton that he proposed to turn king's evidence in the hope of getting his discharge.

Godley's house was again searched, evidently in the hope of finding the hidden store of prohibited literature, and perhaps on the chance of finding Penry there, visiting his wife and little child. Godley sent his townsman Garnet post haste to Haseley with the news. Throkmorton lost no time in ridding himself of his stock of incriminating literature. The fiery little tract, Marprelate's last venture, the *Protestatyon*, had been taken from Wolston to Haseley. Waldegrave had also brought thither his Rochelle books. These were now packed up, five hundred each of the *Protestatyon* and Penry's *Th'Appellation*, and six hundred of Throkmorton's *M. Some in his Coulers*, and despatched by Garnet and Humfrey Newman, Throkmorton's secret agent, to Banbury, no doubt on their way to London.¹

For a while, Penry, to quote Sutcliffe's phrase, 'lurked here and there like a foxe.' His kinsman Jenkin Jones, upon Throkmorton's information, according to the same authority, found him 'in a certaine odd alehouse eighteen miles from Fawseley.' But this resource could not continue. The conclusion arrived at by the confederates at Haseley was that without delay Penry and Waldegrave should find safety in Scotland. At the close of September Penry set out on his journey. Throkmorton, says Sutcliffe, 'set him in his way and furnished him with money.'²

¹ Sutcliffe's *Answer to Job Throk.* fol. 73, recto.

² *Ibid.* f. 73, rect., bottom of page.

2. *Edinburgh via Newcastle-on-Tyne.*—We shall see presently that the flight to Scotland was well-timed. Penry's friend John Udall, sometime preacher at Kingston, had found a new sphere of labour at Newcastle-on-Tyne. A man of some distinction among the Puritans as a preacher and theologian, a specialist in Hebrew, he found a warm welcome among the Scots Presbyterians across the border. Earlier in the year he had the honour of preaching in the Great Kirk, before the General Assembly, and in the presence of James.¹ Through Udall the news would come of the king's immediate departure across the sea to seek a bride; and to be favourably introduced by Udall was to secure the help and goodwill of the 'lords of the Congregation.' It was therefore natural that Penry on his way to Edinburgh should call on him. It was early in October that the traveller reached Udall's door;² but he did not enter the house, nor receive hospitality or drink with him. He received, no doubt, what was more pressingly needed, final advice and information to guide his movements when he entered the northern capital.

3. *The young King and his English Policy.*—Penry reached Scotland at an interesting juncture in its history, alike religious and political. For him, as we have said, it was propitious. James, who was twenty-three years of age in 1589, when Penry crossed the border, had been legally king all his life. When his mother Mary Stuart was compelled to abdicate, he was an infant a year old. Ambitious nobles and designing clerics find their opportunity when the throne is in the cradle. The kingdom rocks as well as the cradle. The situation in Scotland was eminently unstable. Thrice in succession the Scottish throne had been occupied by a babe. When James IV. was killed at Flodden, his son and heir was a child of eighteen months. When James V. died in 1542, a week or two after the disaster at Solway Moss, his only surviving child, Mary, was six days old. The turbulent history of the country during the sixteenth century springs from this series of misfortunes.

¹ Calderwood's *Hist.* (Woodrow ed.), v. 58.

² *A New Discovery*, 1643; Arber's *Sketch*, 172.

With baby James as king, the two vital questions were, first, the regency ; and secondly, who should be the guardian of the precious child. Involved in these appointments was the determination of an alliance with either England or France ; an alliance with one of these powers was necessary, in order that the other should not rob the country of its liberties.

Scotland was a vital factor in English policy when Elizabeth came to her throne. She had powerful enemies. Her legitimacy was denied ; her enemies protested that Mary Stuart was the legal successor to Mary Tudor. In Scotland the Catholic party had succeeded in marrying their girl queen to the heir-presumptive of France ; for a brief period Mary was Queen of France and Scotland. Until the defeat of the Armada, England was in continual fear of an invasion by France or Spain, through Scotland. England's obvious policy, therefore, was to attach Scotland to her interests by an alliance ; then to play France and Spain one against the other ; which Elizabeth and Burghley succeeded in doing with great astuteness, and sometimes with no little courage. James became Elizabeth's pensioner in 1585.

4. *The Reformation in Scotland.*—The political situation in Scotland was powerfully affected by the religious question. The forces of the Reformation had laid a strong hand upon the people. And every awakening, moral and intellectual, influenced by the Christian Gospel tends naturally to the extension of popular liberty. A carpenter Messiah, and His twelve holy apostles, one-time fishermen and the like, preaching a doctrine of salvation which ignores all social distinctions, and setting up little republican institutions called churches, managing their own affairs, were not, in proportion as the churches adhered to the primitive types and teaching, the natural friends of autocracies and tyrannies. In Scotland the Reformation established the Presbyterian form of Church government, and the Church thus constituted became the centre of the reforming movement, political as well as religious.

James's preference among the contending churches was governed by his political ambitions. His upbringing was marked by great vicissitudes of fortune ; one of the few

satisfactory features in the story was the excellent tuition he received from the scholarly poet, George Buchanan. Once or twice in his later youth he was kidnapped by one or other of the contending factions ; but he resented this sort of tutelage, and even in those days he aspired to be an autocrat. He would by no means consent, once he found his feet, to be a puppet king, to be moved at the will, either of a territorial oligarchy or of a popular party, acting through a Church organised on a representative system. He early realised that a Presbyterian Church would never further his absolutist ambitions. Driven to a choice, he would have preferred a sympathetic Romanism. He crystallised his views when he crossed the Border and ascended the English throne, and became surrounded by a servile clergy, in his well-known apophthegm, No bishop, no king. His earlier rule in the north was an intermittent effort to establish episcopacy as the national religion of Scotland.

5. *Factors in the Reformation Movement.*—The politico-religious situation was complicated. So long as the choice between an English and a French alliance was a living issue, the English alliance made for Protestant reform, the French for Romanism. But there was a class which supported the Reformation for reasons which were not religious. The old nobility of Scotland, like the landed gentry in England, had no scruple in enriching themselves by the disruption of the monasteries ; but they had no liking for the extension of popular liberties.

Many circumstances favoured the advance of the Reformation in Scotland. What was perhaps the earliest military press campaign on record was the device of Somerset, in the reign of Edward VI., in his campaign against Scotland. He introduced into the country ‘ cart loads ’ of English Bibles. A barbarous and devastating military campaign is not a circumstance commending the Bible of the devastators. Nevertheless, in the course of time, we are told, the English scriptures did their work. Other reforming influences of ancient date were still active. Lollardy had found its way into Scotland, and at the close of the 15th century was prevalent

in Ayrshire.¹ An Act dated 1525 prohibiting the importation of Luther's writings is sufficient proof of the existence of a considerable traffic in Reformation literature. Moreover, the new faith was held with such strength of conviction, that men were willing to die for it. Patrick Hamilton was burnt by the Romanists in 1528 at St. Andrews, as a Lutheran. But it is significant that the next martyr, whose death profoundly affected the minds of the Scots people, the saintly George Wishart, who was burnt at St. Andrews in 1546, was a Zwinglian. For this is the natural inference we draw from the fact that, on his return from Switzerland to Scotland, he translated from the Latin the earlier Helvetic Confession.² The doctrinal inspiration of the Scots Reformation, which began with Luther, travelled by way of Zürich to Geneva. The Presbyterian standards bore eventually the impress of Calvin. This last exhibition of Papal frightfulness, in the martyrdom of Wishart, turned the people to revolt against its barbarity. They seized and murdered Cardinal Beaton as a reprisal.

When Wishart was taken into custody at Haddington, foreseeing his end, he said to a young cleric, one who had rejected the Romish vocation and taken to tutoring, and had been in constant attendance upon his final ministry in Lothian, 'Go back to your bairns. One is sufficient for one sacrifice.' This young man was John Knox, who soon became the chief figure in the annals of the Scots Reformation. His faith, his fiery eloquence, his courage, and perhaps not least, his uncompromising consistency of belief and policy, largely moulded the Scotland which James VI. and his mother had to deal with. Mary fascinated most of the men she met. Her face was her chief asset in her diplomacy and intrigue. She was fair to look upon ; fair as Jezebel. But her blandishments, and even her politic tears, were lost upon the great Scots apostle. The one consistent feature in her character was her steadfast adherence to the religion of Rome.

6. *James's Religion and the English Succession.*—James

¹ Rait, *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 170.

² Woodrow Soc., *Miscell.* i.

her son was loosely fixed in his religious faith. It was a commodity to be chaffered in the political market in the interests of his throne, and prospectively, of the greater and wealthier throne of England, now permanently a Protestant realm. He had all the perfidy which marked his successors in the English Stuart dynasty ; he intrigued with all parties, even with the Pope. But self-interest was a curb-chain on his Romanist intrigue ; he was shrewd enough to realise that a profession of popery would wipe out his name as a prospective claimant to the crown of England. For the sake of that prize, he was even complacent about the execution of his mother, and was content with Elizabeth's assurance that she was beheaded by mistake.

But, he reflected, there was Protestantism and Protestantism. Elizabeth was a Protestant, yet her robed and titled bishops were a marvel of subservience to her royal will. But the Scots variety of Protestantism warranted the presbyters of the Reformed Church in calling James bad names, and in denouncing the laxity and worldliness of his court. If, for the sake of his crown, Protestant he must be, he will at the same time deal as tenderly as possible with the Romanists ; they had always favoured his autocratic claims. And he will do his utmost to establish throughout his realm the episcopal system, as that, among the reformed churches, most sympathetic with his ambitions.

7. *Early Conflicts of the King with the Presbyterian Leaders.*—James had a measure of success in his unremitting fight with the democratic church polity, which had been introduced into Scotland from Geneva. Under Andrew Melville, the successor to Knox in leadership, the Presbyterian Church was tending more and more to become a theocratic order, embracing the whole State, inspiring its policy and exercising discipline over its public conduct. The monarchy, as head of the secular organisation, must be subject to the Church, as the higher spiritual institution. James convened and presided over the sessions of the General Assembly of the Kirk ; but the Bible was superior to statute law, and the ministers were the interpreters of the Bible, and the dispensers of its moral teaching.

James was subject to Church censure. Knox had denounced the conduct of his mother. Melville, Bruce, Davidson, Pont and the other Church leaders had less reserve in pointing out to James the moral deficiencies of his government and his lack of zeal in dealing with the Roman Catholics. James on his side regarded it as part of his kingcraft to out-manceuvre these ambitious presbyters. An example of his tactical method was his appointment of Robert Pont, one of the chief Presbyterian leaders, to be 'Bishop of Catnes.' The reply of the General Assembly was prompt: 'The Assembly writtis to the King that they were glad the King had such an estimation of so good a man, but that Mr. Robert Pont wes a Bishop alreadie in the style of Paull the Apostle; and they could no way yeeld to that corruption to come in againe, whilk now was cast out of the Kirk.'¹

CHAPTER II

PENRY SETTLED AND AT WORK IN SCOTLAND

1. *Penry's Relation to the Scots Presbyterians.* — Penry's residence in Scotland is of great importance in the development of his church ideas. He settled among the brethren at Edinburgh as a Puritan, though the Presbyterianism he had imbibed in the South was not so strictly of the Genevan brand as that which obtained in Scotland. And he had certain views on church order and the sacraments, which were largely peculiar to himself; these we should expect to find in a mind so strong and individual. When he returned to England, however, he cast his lot openly with the Separatist Church in London, and no doubt embraced their views generally; though he refused office amongst them, being dedicated to the cause of Wales. Up to 1590 his views are abundantly illustrated by his writings, especially by the books written when

¹ Row, *Hist. of the Kirk*, 133.

his plea for Wales led him into controversy. They remained unchanged when he presently wrote in defence of the Church of Scotland against Bancroft. But it is significant that after 1590 he ceased to publish books on the ecclesiastical question. His stay in Scotland afforded him leisure and access to literature. In view of his readiness as a writer, prudential reasons do not seem sufficient to account for his idle pen, especially when we remember his declared intention of preparing other books in the campaign in favour of a purer and more evangelical Christian faith. As the advocate of Wales, his appeal, as the Scots leaders knew, was to the Civil Powers. It was they, Queen and Council, Parliament and Magistrate, that were to right the wrongs of his country. His Presbyterian friends well remembered that when that intractable genius, Robert Browne, landed on their coasts six years earlier, and made his way to Edinburgh, he not only told them that their whole theory 'was amisse,' but stiffly refused to acknowledge them as a governing body in any sort whatever. He declared that 'he would appeale from the Kirk to the magistrat.'¹ Penry's appeal also is uniformly to the civil authorities. They are the superior body, of which the Sovereign is the head, and the magistrate the legal executive officer.

Penry has an interesting disquisition on the Civil Power as a protection against the ecclesiastical authorities. Nothing could be worse, to his mind, than that a country should be ruled by bishops and priests. He will not allow that bishops are constitutionally an estate of the realm, and entitled to share in the work of legislation. Had not Elizabeth established her reformed Church in the teeth of the old bishops, and without the advice and concurrence of the new? The Sovereign was admittedly subject to Christ, as all were; and the Church was the spiritual organ of Christ, the special exponent of His will; but this must always be interpreted according to the ascertained principles of His Gospel, and to the inspired teaching of the canonical scriptures generally. His own difference with the English Church was concerned with its offices and ceremonies, and also its neglect of its proper duty, indeed, its

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk* (Wodrow), iv. 2.

supreme duty, of preaching the Gospel. His 'Supplications' to have its idle machinery set in motion were addressed to the Civil Authority. It could compel unworthy and neglectful clerics to do their duty. Penry shared the profound English mistrust of the rule of ecclesiastics.

Having arrived in Scotland, he was confronted with an entirely different situation. James had steadily striven for absolute power; his Parliament was ever ready to support his ambitious schemes. The Church, on the other hand, was organised on republican lines, strenuously advancing the cause for which the deprived and persecuted English Puritans were fighting. It was strong enough, and sufficiently assured of its position, to beard the king to his face. Its leaders roundly repudiated his dictatorship in the administration of the affairs of the Kirk; on the contrary they freely criticised his home and foreign policy, so far as it threatened the safety of their democratic and Protestant principles; they even claimed an authoritative voice in all that concerned public morals. It was a new world to Penry. It seems to have influenced him temporarily. He drafted some pages of an appeal to Elizabeth on church reform, somewhat in this 'Ercles vein,' pages which though kept by him in privacy, were later seized by enemies as they lay forgotten in his Edinburgh lodgings, and became, for want of a better, a ground for his accusation, as we shall see when we come to his trial.

2. *The Protection and Hospitality shown to Penry by the Ministers.*—The Presbyterian brethren had been prepared to receive Penry with kindness and sympathy. He and they had much in common in their religious views. They were at one in their strong dislike of episcopacy. The office was, as instituted in the Roman and English churches, an infringement of the liberties of Christ's people. They had a common aversion from the vestments, and certain characteristic features of church ceremonial left as a legacy from the old Romish communion. There was a tradition of friendliness between the northern Presbyterians and the Puritans of the south. John Knox had appealed to the English hierarchy

to be tolerant to their reforming countrymen, and especially to those who were not able to adopt the vestments. The General Assembly in 1583, when inviting Elizabeth to join a league against the Papists, entreated her to relieve her people of their burden of ceremonies, 'imposed contrare to Christian libertie.'¹ They, quite naturally, gave Penry a sympathetic reception. His literary efforts on behalf of the faith were not unknown to them, and as a fugitive from the persecution of the bishops, they were readily disposed to entertain and shield him.

Helen Penry was still at her father's house at Northampton, with her little daughter Deliverance. But she early followed her husband, as soon as spring lessened the hardships of travel. So far as we know she made the journey alone. The little child was left behind, and in later records is referred to as 'Deliverance Penry of North Hampton,'² that being the place of her birth and upbringing. Waldegrave also quickly followed Penry to Edinburgh. It had been necessary for him in the meantime, having delivered his stock of printed books to Penry and Throkmorton, to return to Rochelle, and then to find sea-transit for his press and types to Scotland. He was at work at Edinburgh in the spring of 1590.

3. *The Bancroft Libels*.—Richard Bancroft, the chief agent of Archbishop Whitgift in tracking down Nonconformists and their secret presses, was the cause of considerable resentment and unrest in the Scotch Church at this time. In his notorious sermon at Paul's Cross in February 1588, on 'trying the spirits,' he had been indiscreet in his references to the Kirk and to its great apostle, John Knox. When placed in charge of the detective agency, Bancroft, like a good general surveying the field of campaign, kept his eye shrewdly upon Scotland, as an exposed frontier. It was a possible source of sinister influence; in any case, it set forth a dangerous example of the democratic and anti-episcopal principles of Geneva, at work on a national scale. The Scots Church was on friendly terms with the Elizabethan Church; but was

¹ Row, *Hist. of the Kirk*, 103.

² Thus in the Amsterdam marriage register.

independent enough, as we have stated above, to make common cause with the persecuted English Puritans.

Some of the bitterest phases of the controversy between the respective adherents of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy in Scotland centred around Patrick Adamson, the bishop of St. Andrews. Bancroft quoted from a book purported to have been written by James, but which was really a forgery by Adamson. He also quoted his 'inconstant country-man' Robert Browne, on the principle, no doubt, that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with.

4. *Bancroft's Agents in Scotland.*—Bancroft had singled out Adamson, at once, as one naturally fitted to be a medium for his inquiries in Scotland. He must, however, be first primed to fill his part. His mentor points out to him that he wasted a golden opportunity when dedicating his commentary on Job to Elizabeth. It was a judicious idea, but his meagre expressions of praise fall flat on the ears of a queen accustomed to the effusive and full-flavoured Bancroftian style. He must learn that, to produce an impression upon a sovereign prince, he must 'lay it on with trowel.' Again, merely modestly polite things spoken of the Elizabethan Church count for little. He is instructed to 'praise the Church of England above anie other.' If Adamson came to England he might be assured of Whitgift's favour and patronage. These rosy prospects were never realised. At the April General Assembly of the following year Adamson recanted, and admitted having forged the published *King's Declaration*, in which the whole order of the Kirk was traduced.¹

A humbler and more useful tool of Bancroft's was John Norton, a stationer in Edinburgh, who acted as his spy. But the Presbyterian ministers, familiar with Bancroft's methods, took a leaf out of his book; they intercepted Norton's letter to his principal, and had him brought before them for examination. Robert Bruce and other ministers who took part in the inquiry, wished to know some particulars about Bancroft's 'bountifulnesse,' for which Norton was sending his abundant thanks. When arrested the spy was just setting out on a

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk* (Wodrow ed.), v. 121.

journey south. He confessed with tears that he had been 'sett on worke by his uncle, old Norton, at the request of Doctor Bancroft, upon promise of some comoditie in his trade.' Bancroft, it seems, had furnished them with a questionnaire, enumerating the points on which he desired 'resolution and informatioun.'¹ These included minute inquiries into the organisation of the Presbyterian Church, particularly, its jurisdiction, apart from the civil power; the competence of the Assembly to censure the King, to compel attendance by its summons and to examine on oath, to exact tithes; especially what amount of prerogative was reserved to the King in the proceedings of the Assembly. These formed the battleground in the conflict between the King and the Church.

5. *Various Fortunes in the Ecclesiastical Contest.*—Both sides had victories and defeats to record. Two dates stand out prominently in the swaying struggle. In 1581 episcopacy was declared unlawful, and the parity of ministers asserted. The complete organisation of the Presbyterian Church was straightway effected, and an appeal established from all the lesser courts upwards to the General Assembly, the final ecclesiastical tribunal. James at this time was only fourteen years of age; but he no sooner got himself free from the control of his guardians, than he began to plan the establishment of the episcopal system, and in 1584 he succeeded in a measure. First, the men implicated in the Ruthven raid, when he was kidnapped, were crushed, and the great northern earl, Gowrie, executed. Then were passed the Black Acts, which gave the King complete control over the Church, and added parliamentary sanction to the establishment of episcopacy.² But the leaders of the Presbyterian party did not accept defeat. The struggle went on, and events were at hand, which brought them for a season into favour with the King.

6. *James entrusts the Ministers with Authority during his Absence Abroad.*—There was a little excitement in Edinburgh when Penry reached the city early in October 1589. The

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk* (Wodrow ed.), v. 77.

² Rait, *Hist. of Scotland*, 179.

King had settled the question of his marriage, which for some time had equally interested politicians and social circles. Several persons had at intervals, moved by political or other interests, offered to provide him with a wife. James chose for himself, and at nine o'clock on the night of the 12th of October, he sailed from Leith to Norway to marry Anne of Denmark. His kingdom was not in a condition to free him from all anxieties ; but he wisely committed the chief care of affairs during his absence to the Church leader, Robert Bruce, and to the ministers. And never was the country more peaceful. Bruce, so James wrote on receiving in Norway an excellent account of affairs at home, was ' worthy the quarter of his petite kingdom.'¹

Throughout the months of this year the ministers had been much preoccupied in considering their reply to the wanton attack upon them made by Bancroft. The Edinburgh Presbytery had been specially convened early in the year, and had delegated to Davidson and one or two others the duty of drawing up a report, which a few months later they presented. A strong letter was penned by Davidson addressed to Elizabeth, which, however, was never despatched. He eventually succeeded in publishing his protest, as we shall see. But reviewing the entire situation we cannot fail to see that it was highly favourable to the quiet, unopposed settlement of Penry and his wife and of Waldegrave in Scotland. The Bancroft affair made these fugitives from the persecution of the English bishops the more welcome. They were glad to have the help of Penry's special knowledge of things in the south, and of his literary skill ; and they knew the value of a capable printer, a thorough master of his craft as Robert Waldegrave was, and a Puritan to boot. Meanwhile, under the shrewd guidance of Bruce and his associates the land was at peace.

When James returned he was overflowing with good will. If reliance could be placed upon his professions, he was about to initiate a new policy of harmonious co-operation with the Kirk and its leaders. Now that he was married, he confessed to a desire to enter soberly upon the duties of his high office.

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk* (Wodrow ed.), v. 70.

The general results of Bruce's temporary regency were so commendable, that he had little disposition to criticise particular items in the vicarious administration during the six months he was abroad. So he passed by without remark the settlement of Penry and his wife as guests of the ministers; he was probably glad that a skilled English printer was established in the city. Waldegrave was, indeed, already at work. He had published on 13 March *A Confession*, bearing on the back of the title-page the significant authorisation of the Lords of the Council.

7. *Penry at Work: Two more Books*.—No length of time can have elapsed after Penry's arrival in Scotland before his pen was busy once more. He had a further instalment to publish in his own controversy with the English prelates; and he was, moreover, glad to enter the lists on behalf of kind hosts, against Bancroft's tirade. He was not unfamiliar with the merits of the case against Bancroft. On each subject he wrote a book, and both books were printed and published by Waldegrave before the King's return. We must briefly examine these volumes, taking first Penry's vindication of his friends in Scotland.

CHAPTER III

(I.) A BRIEF DISCOVERY (1590)

THE full title runs, *A Briefe Discovery of the Untruethes and Slanders (against the true Gouvernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a Sermon preached the 8. [should be 9] of Februarie 1588[9] by D. Bancroft, and since that time set forth in Print, with additions by the said Authour. This short Answer may serve for the clearing of the truth until a larger confutation of the Sermon is published.*¹

(a) *The Author and the Printer*.—The volume appeared

¹ The volume is a small 4to set in pica, sig. A1-4 + 56 pp.

early in 1590, as we can gather from indications in the text, and the date fits all the circumstances of the case. It appeared without printer or author's name. That Waldegrave was the printer we conclude from the signatures at the foot of the pages, which are in his quite peculiar style; the typography also is closely similar to that of two other books which were printed by him a little later.¹ The book has always been assigned to Penry. It refers to events as happening 'in England' in a way not quite natural to a permanent resident in Scotland. When the writer, speaking of the persecution carried on by the English bishops,² says 'we dare not show ourselves for feare of their teeth,' the remark suits the condition of the fugitive in Scotland, and his point of view in 1590. The evidence of the style, we think, is conclusive.

Penry must have written the work rapidly. He had a facile pen, and the English scene and all the facts were familiar to him. Besides, he was not hampered by any consultative committee. He was the *franc-tireur* moving swiftly and easily. The Presbyterian Church did not at this time lack able controversialists; but in actions which are to represent the mind of the community, it can only advance with the slow and measured movement of the regular army. The committee which should undertake the responsible task of refuting Bancroft and the English hierarchy must be carefully selected; they have to agree as to the passages selected for criticism and upon the nature of the reply, all before the selected scribe can give final form to their views; and this has to be discussed and agreed upon by the supreme court of the Church, the General Assembly. It is a marvel that any highly controversial writing, involving the prudence of the State and the principle of the Church, should survive the criticisms of such a body of acute and pertinacious Scots theologians. Therefore Penry's quasi-official 'Short Answer' might very well 'serve for the clearing of the truth, until a larger confutation of the Sermon be published.'

(b) *The Preliminary Epistle to 'The Godlie and Indifferent*

¹ *Reformation no Enemy, and An Humble Motion.*

² See 'Epist. to the Reader,' A3.

Reader.'—Penry first explains that the disorders of the English Church are due to the bishops' neglect of their duty, although they possess a great and an increasing administrative power. Then, in his usual manner, Penry absolves the Queen from all responsibility. Her Majesty is ignorant of the 'murdering conclusions' which the Tyrants have set up.

The reformers heartily despised Bancroft as a servile person, not too nice in his methods of winning favour and preferment. He had a considerable reputation, in his earlier collegiate days, as a cock-fighter and a wrestler.¹ As to his sermon, Penry says that he borrowed most of his stuff from Whitgift, and from Cosin's answer to the *Abstract*.² In his literary campaign he enlisted the aid of the literary free-lances of the day. One of their contributions, the tract *An Almond for a Parrat*, had appeared a few months earlier, containing a series of slanderous inventions about Penry. But Penry gives it only passing notice. He refers to it as 'that vile scurrilous Palmphlet,' which was 'lately' published by the bishops' allowance and connivance. He would be glad to see one such published every other day.

(c) *The Main Arguments.*—The 'Briefe Discovery' itself, dignified with a half-title, then formally begins. The first section deals with the sermon generally, in the familiar method of quotation and reply; but we can only touch upon the chief points.

(i.) *Persecution.*—Penry notes the assumption of the text, and remarks that it is Satan's device to justify persecution by the Word of God. Bancroft is only imitating the Roman tyrant, which in such pious fashion sent the martyrs to their fiery doom; their processes all begin with the Name of God and are tricked out with scriptural quotations.

(ii.) *Sophisticated Controversy.*—Bancroft disposes of the relative merits of the parties to the controversy by virtuously denouncing heretics and schismatics generally, and all enemies

¹ See Dr. Plume's *Note Book*, edited by Dr. Andrew Clark, *Essex Rev.*, Jan. 1906.

² A full analysis of the sermon is given by Pierce in *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, p. 172 *et seq.*

of her Majesty. Penry at once adds his Amen. Penry further complains of a shifty ruse employed by Bancroft. He uses the phrase 'there are many now a daies who affirme,' to expatiate upon views which none of his opponents ever held.

(iii.) '*Tell it to the Church.*'—It was inevitable that the classic *Dic Ecclesiae* should appear. It is interesting to note that Penry gives it the interpretation adopted by his Presbyterian friends, 'Tell it to the elders,' the representative officers appointed by Christ; not literally, as by Robert Browne, tell it to the whole society.

(iv.) *The Ministry.*—Much of the section is taken up with the English reforming party's familiar defence of their three-fold ministry of pastors, doctors, and elders. And again, to allay any suspicion of personal opposition to Elizabeth, a little incense is seasonably burnt before her shrine. Her peaceable reign and its religious provisions call forth a prayer on her behalf—'from the bottome of our hearts.'

(v.) *Patristic Authority.*—Incidentally in this section Penry gives a sound common-sense view of the practice of quoting patristic writings, as though they carried some necessary authority; the fact being, that all contending theologians who have recourse to the Fathers have arbitrarily to determine what of each Father's writings is of authority, and what erroneous or entirely incredible. Jerome, who is appealed to, is adduced as a case in point. He accounted Vigilantius to be a heretic because he held it unlawful to pray for the dead, to worship bones and relics of the saints, and esteemed marriage to be preferable to virginity. Jerome can be no authority to Bancroft unless he discriminate between one section of the Father and another. Like all the Fathers, Jerome is orthodox and heretical by turns.¹

(vi.) *Church Property.*—Strong ground is taken on the misuse of property devoted to the Church, and monies raised for the evangelisation and spiritual care of the people. To divert such funds to the enrichment of courtiers is indeed sacrilege. But it is equally wrong, Penry holds, to divert

¹ *A Briefe Discovery*, 26.

them to the benefit of bishops and chaplains. The bishop's commendam means the religious impoverishment of some unfortunate parish.¹

(vii.) *A New Order of English Fathers, with Divine Prerogatives.*—Bancroft not only rests on the supposed authoritative teaching of the early Fathers, he introduces into the realm of English religious thought a new order of contemporary fathers, whose oracular utterances are to be regarded with the same unquestioning veneration as those of the first three centuries. And they are no other, says this aspiring chaplain, than the then present occupants of the bench of bishops. Episcopacy, which had hitherto been defended against the rigid theories of the reforming party as a high expediency, within the liberties of the Church, now takes on a mystic and divine quality. It is an institution of God's founding, says Bancroft, designed for the resolution of the doubts of the dutiful and submissive children of the Church. He cannot see why, now that the Reformed Church has replaced popery, 'we should not attribute as much to the decrees of our learned fathers,' that is, to Whitgift, Aylmer, Cooper and the rest, 'in their lawfull assemblies,' that is, speaking *ex cathedra*; 'as other men in time past, of as great judgement as wee, haue done.' That, without question, is the doctrine of the bishops' divine right. It is the first time the note has been sounded since the old Catholic hierarchy took their departure.

Penry was quick to give the short answer to this immense claim. Having this for their function, how, then, did the bishops ever allow error to exist within the Church? Nor should there be any difficulty about subscription, if the Lord have sent the 'learned fathers' to tell the dutiful flock what are the vital elements of faith. But again it is to be noted that Penry's position is still that credal subscription is necessary, and he submits to Bancroft's citations, as strictly relevant to the argument, from the books of Chronicles, Kings, and Nehemiah; though he interposes, that it does not follow that he must subscribe to the Augustinian or the Whitgiftian articles.² Also in his familiar arguments on the Prayer Book

¹ *A Briefe Discovery*, 31.

² *Ibid.* 34-6.

which here follow, he consents to his opponent's principle of intolerance.

(viii.) '*Touching Scotland.*'—Under this heading Penry turns his attention particularly to Scotland. So far as the English Puritans are concerned, Bancroft's charges are beside the mark; they have not adopted the eldership, because it is enjoyed in Scotland, or in Geneva. The slander, that James is deadly opposed to the order established in his kingdom, and that the Scots ministers are traitors, he leaves the ministers to answer. Both accusations are most false. He sides entirely with his Scots friends against Robert Browne, 'that noted schismatic,' who was worthy, he tells Bancroft, 'to be one of your witnesses against the eldership.' Browne's very outspoken attack, when passing through Scotland on his way home from Holland, on the Presbyterian system, which, though representative, destroyed the liberties of that local Church, composed only of those who were subject to Christ, and in Him complete and autonomous, led to his imprisonment. It was a gratuitous intrusion on the part of a stranger enjoying hospitality within their gates. Penry thinks that his treatment in Scotland was such as 'a proud, ungodly man deserved to have.'¹

(ix.) *Concerning Ministers and Magistrates.*—Bancroft is unfortunate in citing volumes whose teachings are repudiated. It was not true that Andrew Melville and all agreeing with him taught, that church-officers could not engage in civil duties. But they by no means presumed to depose princes. Magistrates, as well heathen as Christian, are appointed of God and are to be obeyed. In cases of difficulty, Penry's suggestion is to call in clerical assessors to advise the magistrates. The bishops, he contends, usurp the magisterial function in dealing with persons and property. He thinks the magistrate should punish heresy.²

Penry closes his book with a final section '*Concerning M. Cartwright.*' It is a restatement of patristic evidence on the identity of bishop and elder, and of the ordaining of bishops by priests, though Penry objects to the name priest being

¹ *A Briefe Discovery*, 43-44.

² *Ibid.* 45-50.

given to the minister. If bishops and elders were present at the Council of Nice, the elders could only have been present as rulers of the Church.

CHAPTER IV

(II.) *REFORMATION NO ENEMIE* (1590)

RAPIDLY on the heels of the volume just described, came Penry's further contribution to his controversy with the English bishops, on their adoption of the ancient device of foreclosing all argument, by branding their ecclesiastical opponents as traitors to the State. Though bearing no printer's name, the volume was clearly printed by Waldegrave; in the absence of the King, the ministers in authority raised no objection to the activities of Puritan writer and printer. Penry had the book in hand since his first arrival in Scotland. He was writing, he says, in a year of abundance following upon a year of famine, and at a point of time when England had had the advantages of the Gospel for '31 yeares.'¹ It appeared probably during the month of April 1590. Its full title runs :

A Treatise | Wherein is Ma = | nifestlie Proved, That Reformation
and Those | that sincerely fauor the same, | are vnjustly charged
to be enemies | vnto hir Maiestie, and | the State. | Written Both
For The | clearing of those that stande in that | cause : and the
stopping of the sclaunde = | rous mouthes of all ene = | mies
thereof.²

On the following page is the superscription :

¹ It is a small 8vo of 36 leaves; no pagination. Its running title, which supplies its popular name, is 'Reformation No Enemie To | Hir Maiestie and the State.' It bears no printer's name, but Waldegrave expressed regret for having printed it. The evidences of his craftsmanship are too obvious to be denied. The signatures run (A)1-4 + ¶1-2v + B-12v.

² The quotation which then follows from Zephaniah iii. 18, 19 [should be 18, 19 and 20] was perhaps taken from the Genevan version published by Alex. Arbuthnot, the Edinboro' printer, in 1576.

To all those that sincerelie love the | Lorde Iesus, and seeke
the flourishing estate of his | Kingdome: and namelie to the
brethren throughout Englande | Wales, and Ireland, JOHN PENRY
wisheth know = | ledge, zeal, and patience, with al other necessa =
| rie graces in Christ Iesus to bee | multiplied.

The book is written and produced with more care than his later books, published in the Midlands on the hunted press of John Hodgkins. Penry can indulge in marginal references, and supply brief indications of the course of his argument. His powerful Presbyterian environment no doubt accounts for a somewhat more outspoken style.

A. THE PREFACE

(i.) *Ingratitude for Deliverance from the Spaniard.*—Penry begins by stating that ‘the gods of Englande,’ Peace and Prosperity, have bewitched them. Little more than thirty years have elapsed since they were delivered from the tyranny of the Spaniard,¹ who is again threatening them, and from idolatrous worship. The country had watered the popish plants with the blood of the saints. England is showing a strange want of gratitude. The hierarchy make no effective effort to remedy the ignorance of the people by sending forth preachers who by loving appeal could have saved them from divine condemnation.

‘Ye shal finde among this crue nothing els but a troupe of bloody souls, murtherers, sacrilegious church robbers and such as haue made them selues fatte with the bloude of mens soules and the utter ruine of the Church.’²

The magistrates are guilty of consenting to be led by the clerics. And their Honours share the blame by making reformation to be an enemy to the State.

(ii.) *Penry’s Personal Call to Write.*—A personal note of interest is here given. He is compelled to write, though he would have been glad to leave the task in other hands. His name has been coupled with the cause of true religion.

¹ Philip of Spain (and Mary).

² Pref 3.

‘Within these few moneths,’ that is, immediately after the seizure of Marprelate printers in August of 1590,

‘a warrant vnder six counsellors hath been given out from their Honors, and sent by publick messengers vnto al such places of the Land, as ther was any lykelihood of mine abode. The effect whereof was this. That if men haue not hitherto knowne so much, their Honors, whose names were herunto adioined, doe assure them of their own knowledge, that one Iohn Penry is an enemy to the State, and if they haue not taken him for such heretofore, they should now take knowledge and information thereof from them, and so henceforth account of him. In which regarde they should be so farre from aiding, consorting or releuing of him, that if they can by enye meanes apprehend or lay hould of him, they shal therein do her Maiesties good service.’¹

Out of reverence to the Government he refrains from giving the names of the signatories ‘saue only Iohn Cant. (as he writeth himself).’ Archbishop Whitgift, because of his ‘Antichristian Prelacye’ and his constant enmity to the Lord’s truth, he thinks to be ‘one of the dishonourablest creatures vnder heauen.’ May the Lord convert him and all other ‘enemies of Sion, that their soules may be saued.’ But if God has predestined them to damnation, may He ‘speedelye . . . disburden the earth of suche reprobate cast-aways.’

He would not have referred to the warrant had it only concerned him personally. He has been, however, ‘accounted an enemye vnto our State,’ because he has maintained Christ’s order of Church government and his efforts to overthrow ‘the wicked hierarchie of lorde Bishops.’ This can be the only ground of their charge, seeing that he has been ‘all the dayes of [his] life at [his] studies,’ and has never meddled with civil politics. ‘The diuel himself dares not to be so shameles,’ he says, as to accuse him of ‘attempting anything against hir maiesties person.’²

(iii.) *Danger of Divine Retribution.*—His persecutors are the enemies of the State, in seeking to induce the Queen to lay aside her peaceable sceptre and to take up the persecuting sword. He fears, ‘though far be it from her Maiestie,’ God’s

¹ Pref. 4.

² Pref. 4 vers.

judgement on her and the nation, if she is deceived as to the loyalty of those misrepresented as her most dangerous subjects. He disavows physical force, 'so much as lift vp a hand, much lesse vse any violence against these caterpillers.' Their weapon is prayer. This he would make clear, for he remembers the misrepresentation of the enemy.

(iv.) *Political Danger and Loyalty to the Queen.*—The misrepresentations of their persecutors may have political results adverse to the State. The Spaniards are 'at the doors.' They have their confederates in the Popish faction of the population; what if they should hear and believe and be therefore encouraged, that the Queen's 'beste and most trusty subiects,' the 'forwardest professors of the Gospel in Englande,' are only 'her Maiesties half frendes.' Then he continues eloquently:

'But least the enemy should deceaue himself, with a golden dreame: I am to make it knowen vnto al Spaniards and Spanish practisers, that we are such enemies vnto Queen Elizabeth, as we not onely pray day and night for the State of hir Kingdome and hir person: but also wee are readye to stande in the defence of hir royal person and right, to the losse not onely of our goods and blood, but euen of our lyues, and that against men and Angels, euen al creatures without exception. I can say this of you all, because I know the spirit by which you are guided.'

He closes the Preface with a note 'To the Reader.' He appeals for a copy of a book on Church discipline, presented to Parliament 'Anno 12 or 13 Eliz.,' by M[aster] D[octo]r Haddon,—the *Reformatio Legum*, 1571.

B. THE TREATISE

1. *Grounds of the Treatise.*—A statement is now given of the question at issue.

If the reformation in the Church which 'we' desire be authorised by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, then it is most unjustly accounted inimical to the State.

There have been many seditious attempts against the Queen, and against the State; but no Reformer has ever had

any part in them. So true is it, that Bancroft, their 'most shamelesse and most impudent slanderer,' had 'to suffer the venime of his lying and slanderous tongue' to light upon their brethren in Scotland.¹

2. *Misrepresentations of Ignorant Men.*—Their antagonists are ignorant of their desires which is to plant preaching pastors, doctors, governing elders, and ministering deacons, in every congregation. This would disturb no State not ruled by Satan. The incapable incumbents are the blind leading the blind; what misery follows Jesus has shown, He spoke with compassion of sheep without a shepherd, and enjoined prayer for meet guides.

Moved by these facts, they sought, by prayer, by petitioning magistrates, and by all Christian ways, to remove these 'soul murderers' and the appointment of men who could, with the Apostle, say, 'Now then are we ambassadors of Christ, as though God did beseech you through us.' Instantly the cry is raised of Sedition! The charge is really against the Master who enjoins the service. Compare the state of Wales and Ireland, yes and of England also, with the demands of the Word of God. Even their Honours are responsible for countenancing this condition of affairs.²

3. *The Nature and Value of Public Worship.*—The worship of God is both inward and outward. Inward, as we are moved by God's Spirit, and usually through the ministry of the outward. The outward is of two parts; the first begets faith and edifies; the second edifies only, by advancing the work of salvation, and its instruments are public prayers, singing of psalms, reading the Scriptures, receiving the sacraments, administration of church censures, etc. Faith is begotten ordinarily by preaching.

¹ This is the view taken in *A Petition Directed*. Dr. Bancroft 'not finding pregnant matter at home for his purpose goes to Scotland and accuses the ministers of seeking to establish for themselves an unrestricted jurisdiction, and on the word of book proved to be counterfeit makes out James to be a hypocrite. But James reading Bancroft's book made a note at the place (p. 75) denying the statement.' Page 49.—*Ref. no Enemie*, B1 vers. B2 rect.

² *Ibid.* B2 v.-Ci. vers.

4. *The One Thing wanting.*—Their Honours may say that for thirty-one years they have had this outward worship, but it is no substitute for preaching. The elements of worship are good, though for the most part abominably performed. Their Honours, believing it is all that the law requires, count those who differ as ‘enemies of their state.’ They can only defend their position by agreeing with the Archbishop, that salvation can be wrought by reading, or that ‘reading is preaching.’¹ For twenty years [since his controversy with Cartwright] he has proclaimed this ‘damnable error,’ and has silenced so many faithful preachers, replacing them with readers. The apostle’s words concerning the ‘foolishness of preaching’ are quoted, and the question again asked ‘How shall they hear without a preacher?’ God could, no doubt, save by a reading ministry, but He has willed otherwise, though the Archbishop denies this.² He would have seen, ‘if God had not blinded his right eye,’ that Peter attributes regeneration to the word preached,—‘being borne againe . . . by the worde of God . . . which is preached among you’ (1 Pet. i. 23, 25).³

5. *Non-residency.*—For this the Lord Bishops are responsible. The dumb minister has the poor excuse that he pretends to feed his flock. ‘The bloudie non-resident has no cloak to hyde his vilanie,’ of which even the Papists long ago were ashamed. Necessity was laid upon the Apostle to preach the Word; but they evade the necessity, by asserting their ‘degrees,’ the claims of their chaplaincies, the virtue of their faculties. They are not ashamed to plead that they ‘sometimes’ fulfil their duties, and when absent ‘do not prouide so euill for their people.’ They would encourage students with pluralities. Paul needed no such encouragement.⁴

6. *The Spiritual Kingdom of Christ.*—The unending sovereignty of Christ must be upheld. He must be allowed, as the Puritans persistently said, authority in His house.

¹ It is perhaps, scarcely necessary to point out, that the reading referred to is that of the church service, to the exclusion of sermons, whether *read* or delivered (more or less) *extempore*.

² See note at the close of this abstract.

³ Sig. C1 vers.-D3.

⁴ Sig. E2-F1.

He must appoint the officers of His Church ; invented offices are not to be tolerated. The clergy moreover, act as civil magistrates, though Christ's kingdom is not of this world ; forsaking the duty of redeeming men, for the lower, but more lucrative, task of governing them. They usurp the sword of the civil magistrate, gaining their ends by 'imprisonment &c.,' though the weapons of the Church of Christ are not 'the arme of flesh.'¹

7. *Lordship is excluded from the Church.*—By combining the sword and the spiritual word, and by their tyrannous 'superioritie,' the Bishops contradict the emphatic teaching of Christ, who said to the ambitious and quarrelling disciples, 'The kinges of the nations ['Gentiles,' *Genevan Ver.*] raigne ouer them . . . but ye shal not be so.' Penry discusses the point at some length with references to the Greek and Hebrew words in his citations. Whitgift fences by saying, that only a tyrannous lordship was forbidden. Against 'the intollerable boldnes of this man,' Penry states, that there was no question of tyrannous rule ; they were forbidden pre-eminence, though it be lawful to a civil dignitary. Jesus said, 'I am among you as he that serveth.'²

8. *Responsibility of the governing Authorities.*—Their Lordships share the responsibility of maintaining this hierarchy. Satan waited long to establish his kingdom with the aid of prelacy. Rome had no lordship till the papacy of Silvester 'about the yeare 320.' Cardinals, Penry notes in the margin, were not introduced until the Roman Church 'fell cleane away from Christ.' The first holders of the episcopal offices, which Satan invented, were God's dear children. But after Pope Gregory, 'anno 604,' they became the supports of Antichrist, and though excluded from England, Antichrist is able to hinder the Gospel through prelacy ; using not public idolatry but oppression and ignorance.³

9. *The Danger of the Return of Popery.*—What will happen when the Queen—and Penry prays that God may long continue her on the throne—passes away ? The reigns of

¹ Sig. F1-F4 vers.

² Sig. F4 vers.-G3.

³ Sig. G3 vers.-H1.

Edward and Mary are a warning. If Popery has made such advances in thirty-one years, as they see, its restoration to power is not incredible. Let those who know their numbers consider particularly how they have increased 'within these 16 yeares.'¹ The Bishops are not Latimers; happily, indeed, for their offices would be the more difficult to abolish. It grieves the heart of any Christian to compare the 'ancient sincere fathers' with 'these upstart corrupt tyrantes, that nowe raigne ouer our church.' 'They have stopped the mouths of so many faithfull teachers within these 6 yeares, that the prooue of this point is needlesse.'

The extent to which they have corrupted the Church, 'within these 20 yeares especially,' Penry intends to show in a special treatise 'ere it be long.' He now proceeds, with the help of Bale's *Pageant of the Popes*,² to trace the rise of episcopacy, and the resistance offered to it through the first centuries, beginning with the ancient Britons or Welshmen, who utterly rejected the inventions introduced by Augustine the monk. The advocates of reform hold no views, not held by the Church of Christ for the first four hundred years.³

We have now reached Penry's last page. Its second half is set in smaller type. He is 'compelled to be short.' He can only name a few of those who in the following ages 'oppugned the corruptions of our B[ishops].' Then concluding, he writes, 'The second part of this book remaineth behind, which shalbe published as soone as the Lord wil graunt me opportunitye. I haue beene enforced for some causes [? rumours of James's return] to end this more abruptly than I would haue wished.' Friends of the cause will excuse the fault; opponents will think that too much already has been written.

NOTE ON WHITGIFT'S VIEW THAT READING IS PREACHING

This constant allegation against Whitgift is contained, says Penry, in a marginal note, in pages 570 and 574. The volume, which he

¹ In 1573 a severer policy against Nonconformists was adopted. In Norwich diocese 300 ministers were suspended.—Neal's *Hist.* i. 249.

² Eng. edition in 1574.

³ H1-12 vers.

does not name, is Whitgift's *Defence of the Aunswere* (1574), against Cartwright. 'Reading doth not only nourish fayth, but ingendreth also.' The power to persuade is not in the preacher but in the word. 'Searche the Scriptures for in them,' &c. 'The whole Scripture . . . is profitable to teach,' (marg. p. 570). 'God useth reading as a meanes as well as preaching. . . . Reading sometimes preuayleth more than preaching' (marg. 574). The heading of the following section is 'That Reading is Preaching.'

CHAPTER V

ATTACKS DIRECTED FROM ENGLAND

1. *James's Conciliatory Domestic Policy*.—All Edinburgh and Leith made holiday when James brought his bride ashore, on the first day of May. From the Castle and the shipping in the Forth, the guns volleyed the welcome of the people. A new period of conciliation and good will seemed to be dawning on the land. James, with an excellent understanding of his part, proceeded forthwith to a service of thanksgiving; he met on the way, the leading Presbyterian minister, Robert Bruce and warmly embraced him. On the 5th day a Danish coach drawn by eight horses, 'richlie apparelled with cloth of gold and purple velvet,' conveyed the Queen, accompanied by a gorgeous royal cavalcade, from Leith to Holyrood. A little difficulty over the coronation of the Queen was satisfactorily adjusted. The 17th, the day fixed by their Majesties, was a Sabbath; but the scruples of the ministers were satisfied by including a sermon in the programme; indeed to meet the needs of the mixed congregation, three sermons were delivered, one in Latin, a second in French, and a third in English. Melville also declaimed a hastily-written Latin poem, 'Stephaniskion,' upon which James highly complimented him, ordering it to be printed and widely distributed.¹ More significant than the stately ceremonials in themselves, was the fact that no bishop took part in them. Bruce anointed the

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. of the K.* (Wod. ed.), iv. 94; M'Crie, *Melville*, 301-3.

Queen, and with the Chancellor and Lindsay, placed the crown upon her head. All things boded well for Kirk and Kingdom.

2. *Robert Bowes, the English Ambassador's Complaint.*—The day before the Coronation, when Bowes, representing Elizabeth, paid an official visit to James, was not a time he would have chosen to make a complaint. His visit was justified by the business of conveying the English congratulations; but the pressure from home was too insistent, to permit the interview to close without mentioning certain events, which had occurred during his Majesty's absence. First, the fugitive Puritan pamphleteer, Penry had escaped the Bishops' hue and cry in England, and had found his way to Edinburgh, and was secretly harboured by the ministers. Later, the Puritan printer, Waldegrave, had arrived with his printing gear, and was now practising his art in the city. It was a most sinister occurrence, as both men were involved in the production of certain bold and outrageous Tracts. They were now publishing anti-episcopal books, which Bowes, with a Catholic's hatred for new-fangled religions, particularly described to be written 'for th'alteracons of the Government in England,' and made Penry, at least, liable to a charge of treason, if he returned to his own country. Such a dangerous man, the English Government thought, ought to be banished from his Majesty's dominions.

James was in a dilemma. It was high policy to keep on friendly terms with England. At the same time, every consideration pointed to the expediency of maintaining the then existing excellent relations with the Presbyterian leaders. However, he promised to 'satisfie her Ma^{tie} herein.' He would 'inquire further of Penries being [in Edinburgh], and his doeings,' and promised 'thereon to give order.'¹

3. *James and the Kirk.*—Meantime James sedulously cultivated the good feeling of the ministers. Entering the city, on the Tuesday following the Coronation, with much regal pomp and circumstance, he showed his warm appreciation of the hearty manner, in which the grave religious leaders

¹ *S.P. Scot. Eliz.*, 1590, vol. 45, No. 44.

entered into the festivities of the occasion. The Queen was most gracious, when accepting the characteristic gift of Bible and Psalm book. On Sunday James attended service at the Great Kirk—St. Giles's—and, at the close, harangued the people. He made a notable admission. The disorders, he said, which had formerly marked the government of his kingdom, he excused; partly they arose from the disorderliness of the times, and partly from his youth. He had seen much since, and moreover now 'being married he would be more stayed.'¹

He went so far, no doubt instigated by the Church leaders, as to interest himself in the fate of John Udall, who had been summoned by Whitgift from Newcastle the previous January, and was a prisoner in the Gatehouse, London. Udall had preached before the Assembly in June, 1589. He was of some note as a Hebraist, and James had devoted some time to Old Testament exposition. When James finally migrated to England, he inquired after Udall, and learning that he was dead (he died in prison) he declared, by his soul, that the greatest scholar in Europe was dead. At this time he was moved to write to his 'dearest Sister and Cousine,' Elizabeth, to set the good man at liberty, although in certain matters of conscience he differed with the Bishops. The Kirk, he assured her, thought highly of his 'good eruditioun and fruitfull travells [labours].'²

4. *The Literary Attack on Penry.*—James's letter could have hardly been despatched, before Bowes presented Elizabeth's wedding gifts to the Scots Queen. But despite these courtesies, there was still some resentment brewing on both sides the border. The Scots were still angry about Bancroft's sermon at Paul's, on *The Trying of the Spirits*, and were saying very discourteous things about the preacher. The Presbyterian ministers were meditating a formal answer of their own to that discourse, in addition to Penry's *Brief Discoverie*, which was written from the English standpoint, although composed in Scotland.³ Bancroft's divagations offered to

¹ Calderwood, *Hist.* iv. 98.

² *Ibid.* iv. 131.

³ See on *An Humble Motion*, note at close of chapter.

English and Scots reformers common ground of attack. At the same time, Penry's work contained much that lay outside the special grievance of Scotland against the sermon on *The Trying of the Spirits*, and suggested, rather than obviated, a specific reply to Bancroft by the Scots Church itself.

Meanwhile Bancroft pushed forward his attack on the reforming party in England, with the aid of his literary free-lances. In the beginning of July *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie* appeared,¹ in which, as the title-page advertises, the writer 'gallops the field with the Treatise of Reformation lately written by a fugitive, John Penrie.'

PASQUILS APOLOGIE

Pasquil addresses himself sturdily to the points which have regularly arisen, in the controversy between the Bishops and the Reformers, inserting a little literary mountebank display, here and there, to relieve the reader's attention.

(a) *The Loyalty of the Reformers*.—He begins with an expression of wonder that Penry should presume to attack 'the ornaments of the Crowne,' the Privy Council, and yet account himself 'faithfull and dutifull to her Maiestie' [B2]. He proposes to 'set the axe of the word to the roote of the withered tree.' Penry corrects others; but let him be dealt with 'by interrogatories.'

Who had the ouersight of the [Marprelate] Libell at Fawslie? *John of Wales*: Who was corrector of the [Marprelate] Presse at Ceouentrie? *John of Wales*: Who wrote the last treatise of Reformation so full of slaunders, but *John of Wales*. [B2 v.].

But Penry, holding that 'Reformation was no enemy to the State,' made the point, that in all the treasonable attempts against Elizabeth, organised during the thirty-one years of her reign, not one Puritan was involved. Pasquil, feebly enough replies, that no one could say that Puritans were not potential traitors; besides was not Walpole, the Jesuit, once a Puritan? [B3].

Pasquil later returns to this theme. He takes Penry (and Cartwright) to task, for a want of reverend regard for the 'Bishops of Jesus Christ.' Especially, he challenges Penry and his con-

¹ A small 4to without name of author or printer 30 pp. sig. A3-E1; not paginated.

federates for their 'malepart murderous and bloodie rayling against the Archb. of Canterburie, one of her Maiesties right honourable priuie Counsell.' But he is the greater by their reuilings. The 'reuerende Bishops of our soules' know, that theirs is the path the Apostles are appointed to tread [C2].

(b) '*Reading is Preaching.*'—The accusation (see above, Note, p. 276), alleged against Whitgift, and by none more persistently than by Penry, that he stated that *reading* was *preaching* is vigorously taken up by Pasquil, and in a serious vein. The Archbishop had shown that preaching could be taken in two ways. In Acts xv. 21 we read, 'For Moses of old time hath in eury citie them that preach him, seing he is read in the Synagogues eury Sabbath day.' 'It is not the reader that preacheth, but Gods spyrite, which watereth the word, and makes it fruitfull to conuersion in vs when it is read.' Proofs of this are to be found in Cyprian; and Augustine was converted by reading 'the latter end of the 12. chap. of the Romains.' Foxe gives examples of many brought out of darkness, 'by reading and hearing the newe Testament in the English tongue' [B4].

Penry, attacking the Archbishop, evades this point; he fails to charge Christ with heresy, because He 'stoode vp in the Synagogue on the Sabbath day to read'; or the Apostle, when he 'chargeth *Timothie* to giue attendance to reading, till he come.' God attributes to reading the effect of preaching (Jeremiah xxxvi. 2), when He commands the words which He spake through the prophet to be written down, that the people may hear and repent. 'Preaching is taken in holy Scriptures for eury kinde of instruction by the word.' Therefore we may accept, in the same sense, the Archbishop's statement in the *Answer to the Admonition*, that reading is preaching.

(c) *The Insufficient Supply of Learned and Competent Preachers.*—Pasquil has no defence for those who sleep or sport in their charges, unable to intervene between the wrath of God and the people. But if you exclude the non-preachers, who is to take their place? The Universities could not supply one in twenty of the number required, as Cartwright realised, when he proposed to turn to the Inns of Court [C1]. Penry would restore the silenced ministers, but they would not be enough; and they also need to be tried by the standard of the Apostles, to see if they can rightly divide the word of truth. By this test they would be found wanting. Penry himself only ventures to petition for capable men, in every parish, 'as farre as possibly they might be prouided.'

(d) *Non-residents*.—The complaint against non-residents might well be levelled against the Warwickshire ‘brethren’ [Puritans], travelling about from house to house, and only returning to their charge after wasting the week in pleasuring. The Scripture quotations of Penry are not to the point. It is granted that you cannot ‘call vpon God without a preacher.’ The preacher must teach the people how to worship God when they have been first taught his own presence is not indispensable. So when Paul says he must preach the Gospel, and woe is him if he do it not, and that the minister must be found faithful, it proves nothing, ‘but a necessitie of teaching before learning’ [C2 v.].

Pasquil here thinks his chariot labours rather heavily, and his argument is very thin; we are therefore offered a little clowning by way of diversion.

‘Hoe Ball hoe [as they cry at bowls] I perceiue the fellowe is bird eyed, he startles and snuffles at euery shadow. Is his braine so bitten with the frost, that no better prooffe will bud out of it? Yes, I warrant you, either we goe to the wall nowe or never’ [C3].

As to Paul’s statement, that at Ephesus he had been among them at all seasons, and taught at every house, *all* and *every* are, in the Scriptures, used in various senses. In Luke xi. 42, ‘all manner of hearbes’ means ‘all sorts’; in Rom. v. 8, ‘by the benefit of one, all are saued, that is, Manie’; for so it is expounded in the next verse, where it is written, that ‘by Christ there be many saued.’ Paul must have been absent many times from Ephesus, preaching in Macedonia and elsewhere. The Apostle also ‘taught through euerie house . . . when any were sicke or weeke, or occasion required to give them priuate exhortation’ [C3 v.]. ‘Heere,’ says Pasquil, ‘the Reformer [Penry] beeing falne into the nette, curseth all those that goe about to aunswere him.’ He refrains from answering him in a lofty manner, and is willing to ‘come downe to his capacite.’ Penry must now hide behind Cartwright, master of Leicester’s Hospital at Warwick, and explain Paul’s absences from Ephesus, by his duties as an Apostle, ‘who had the whole feilde of the world to tyl’; but that that office has now ceased, and ‘euerie Minister is tied to a particular plow-lande.’ Pasquil denies that the office has ceased; and quotes from Ephesians iv. 11, that Christ gave to the Church ‘some to be Apostles,’ and from v. 13, ‘vnto the measure of the age of the fulnes of Christ.’¹ The Archbishop, in whose footsteps he is honoured to follow, has shown in his

¹ To the end of time. This is the Genevan version.

Answers to the Admonition, how a minister's absence from his own plow-land may be to its benefit, or, to the greater benefit of the Church generally [C4 v.].

(e) *Concerning Bishops*.—Pasquil thinks that Penry's proposal to abolish bishops, because there is no mention in the New Testament of a Lord Archbishop, or a Lord Bishop, is a contemptible attempt at a negative proof. Nor will he allow the validity of Penry's double accusation against them, that they unite in themselves a civil with an ecclesiastical office, also, that they claim a superiority over their brethren. As to the superiority, Penry would dispute it by Matt. x. 24, 25, which states that the disciple is not above his master; which has no reference to the matter. Penry had sought to defend his other point by quoting the words of Christ, 'My kingdome is not of this world: if my kyngdome were of this worlde, then would my seruants suerly fyght, that I shulde not be deliuered to the Iewes; but now is my kyngdome not from hence' [John xviii. 36]. But in these words, says Pasquil, He is disavowing any revolutionary intention. Calvin says, He alludes to the transitoriness of this world. More justified than Penry, are they who hold it to mean, that Christ's kingdom though attacked by the sword, must not be defended by it. Penry is arguing like an ironmonger, whom Pasquil heard preaching on the refusal of Moses to become the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and drew the lesson, that 'a Minister may not meddle in ciuill causes' [D2 v.].

Next comes for relief, a little more literary capering. 'Bounse, thers a gunne gone off, do not the Bishops quake at thys? ô that I could drawe him out of his hole, to print me the poynts which he hath preached.' But he ends on a serious note. 'The pearle of the word must not be weighed in those scales, that men commonly vse to weigh their yron, it is nicer work.' As for holding a double office, Melchizedek, Aaron, Eli, and Samuel, each of them was priest and judge. Christ drove out the money-changers and traders, and Paul charges Timothy not to receive, as a judge, an accusation against an elder, 'but vnder two or three witnesses' [D2 v.].

Authority is derived from the Prince (such was the Erastian position held by Elizabeth's bishops), and, if exercised by the Church, becomes ecclesiastical, says the Bishop of Salisbury. If ministers were all equal, Paul could not have commanded the obedience of Timothy and Titus. Their being 'fellow labourers,' does not affect the position. General and soldier are equal, in that both fight in the battle, but not so in ordering and disposing

the fight. The equality proclaimed by Aerijs, as Dr. Bancroft proves out of Epiphanius and Augustine was condemned as a heresy [D3]. And the next argument, based upon the Fathers, is no doubt part of Bancroft's brief. The section closes with the statement that, 'The devil having failed with the sword of Spain, he cal's out his Pianers [pioneers], and sets Martin and Penry a-worke to undermine (the Church).' And, inspired by a Jewish example, he hopes Elizabeth's 'sacred heart' will be kindled to utterly destroy this faction [D4].

Equality implies, that free from the Bishop's superior control, each man teaches what he likes in his own charge, and in religion, as in common concerns, a man is often his own worst counsellor. The self-confident man needs no devil to tempt him; 'he is a tempter and a deuill vnto himselfe.' Wise in their own conceit, such men are as easily deceived as the Disciples in the storm, who took the Saviour walking upon the sea 'for a spirit, and imagining theyr Maister to be a bugge [ghost].'¹ Such are the Bishops in the eyes of 'our Reformers.' Jesus offers Himself, (to the Reformers) in the excellent government of the Church, 'by graue and learned Lorde Bishoppes, but they mistake it to be Satanicall' [D4 v.].

(f) *An Eirenicon*.—Then comes a serious word, which has no parallel in Bancroft's writings, and strongly suggests Nashe himself. For though Nashe was paid for badinage and mockery, and for wit which need not be over-refined, yet this wayward and clever son of a clergyman, was always capable of better things, better even than extravagant eulogy of bishops.

'But to come to anker, if they be of one fayth, and one hope with vs, let them helpe to twine vppe a three-fold corde, and become one heart with vs. Let witte, which is windie, obtaine the lesse, that Charitie which edifieth, gaine the more. No doubt, but our Sauour had an especiall care of the vnite of his Church, both when he made his request vnto his father, that we might be one, as the father and he are one, and when he tooke his leaue of his Church, with so kinde a farewell, My peace I giue, my peace I leaue vnto you' [D4 v.].

Before he closes Pasquil chivalrously repeats Penry's request for a copy of *Reformatio Legum*, 'if ther be such,' (his studies had evidently not led him in that direction). He sensibly remarks that his pamphlet may come into the hands of those who have not read Penry's.

So he concludes. As aged Barzillai the Gileadite transferred

¹ Welsh *bwg*, *bwgan* = ghost. Cf. boggy.

the conflict to his sons, so may the 'Bishoppes, Doctors, and auncient men, vpon whose siluer heads the Almond-tree hath blossomde,' leave the battle to him. By the Lord's help he will 'pricke it and prounce it,' and so forth. 'From my Castell and Collours at London stone the 2 of July, Anno. 1590.'

NOTE: ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF *PASQUILS APOLOGIE*

The title-page of *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie*, has the same printer's design as appears on the title-pages of the anti-Martinist tracts, *The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England*, and *A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior*. The Pasquil tracts were formerly, very generally attributed to Thomas Nashe. Dr. R. B. M'Kerrow, the editor of the latest and most authoritative edition of Nashe's works, says there is not sufficient evidence to credit Nashe with the authorship of these works. On the question of its style, Dr. M'Kerrow reserves his judgement; though he notes the absence in the *Apologie*, of citations from certain authors habitually quoted by Nashe. (*Vid. Works*, ed. by R. B. M'Kerrow, 5 vols., 1904-10, vol. v. 56-58.) I formerly stated, that Nashe was generally recognised by his contemporaries to be the writer who adopted the pseudonym Pasquil; but, as Dr. M'Kerrow states, I adduced no evidence on the point. I believe I borrowed the opinion from Dr. Grosart, and that I was encouraged to do so by a statement in Nashe's *Strange Newes*. I no doubt assumed it to be a commonplace literary judgement. I now think that Dr. M'Kerrow has scarcely allowed sufficient weight to Nashe's words. Girding against Richard Harvey and his mediating tract, *Plaine Perceval*, Nashe says that Harvey 'tooke vpon him . . . to play the Iacke of both sides twixt *Martin* and vs, and snarld priuily at *Pap Hatchet Pasquill*, & others.' *Pap with a Hatchet* is elsewhere regarded sympathetically by Nashe, who would know it was written by John Lyly. What more natural than, after the very significant 'vs' in the above quotation, that he should name a work by a confederate writer, and one by himself (Pasquil) to justify the 'vs.' A fresh reading of the *Apologie* greatly inclines me to the belief, that Bancroft supplied the 'brief' of scriptural and theological arguments, and that Nashe constructed and wrote the *Apologie*. My hesitation is simply due to the feeling, that Dr. M'Kerrow after his long and critical examination of Nashe's writings, is entitled to give a preponderating judgement upon a debatable point of Nashean authorship.

NOTE: ON AN HUMBLED MOTION

This tract, which is sometimes attributed to Penry (see Dickson and Edmond's *Annals of Scottish Printing*, p. 143), and was almost

certainly printed by Waldegrave at Edinburgh, is an English contribution to the English controversy between the Bishops and the Puritans, dated 1590. It is written from Penry's general standpoint, and here and there follows very closely his line of argument. It is formally addressed 'To the LL. of Hir Maiesties Counsell.' [Hir is a regular spelling of Penry's.] The theme is stated in the title-page to be, 'That Ecclesiasticall discipline' shall be 'reformed after the worde of God: and how easily there might be provision for a learned Ministry.' It is a 4to of 116 pp., without author's or printer's name. The type (pica rom.) is that used in *A Briefe Discoverie* and in *Reformation no Enemie*; but a slight difference in the form of the page suggested to Mr. Robert Steele, whom I was permitted to consult on this technical point, that it was set up at a different time, which would sufficiently account for the variation. The Papacy, the author describes, as 'the forrain and vsurped power of the Romish Antichrist,' and 'whoso calleth to minde the wofull estate of this land,' before the reign of Elizabeth, 'he shall see great cause that we Englishmen haue, both to admire the wonderful prouidence of our mercifull God,' etc. [p. 6]. Penry had said the same thing precisely, but with a difference. I agree with Dr. Dexter, that 'the internal evidence seems conclusive against Penry's authorship' (*Eng. and Holl. of the Pilgrims*, 160, n.). In one or two places (see p. 10, 'They which oppugne this doctrine,' etc.), there seems, for a line or two, an echo of Penry's speech. It is possible (and not unlikely) that the MS. was sent to Penry, to be printed in Scotland by Waldegrave, and that Penry, at the author's request amended the text in the places referred to. The book bearing the same title which appeared in 1641 is a London reprint of pp. 95-111.

5. *Bowes' Renewed Complaints*.—Hard upon the reception in the North of *Pasquils Apologie*, the English ambassador was stirred to make further appeals to James, to rid his kingdom of the two fugitives from bishops' justice, Penry and Waldegrave. This he did in the closing days of July, and on Saturday, the first day of August, he was able to report to Burghley that James had consented to outlaw Penry. The Scottish Chancellor was away at Dunfermline, but would return the beginning of the week, and then would put in train the process of issuing the writ. But the ministers were effectively sheltering Penry. They were moved by a profound sympathy with the cause of their friends from over the border. They had petitioned, as we know, more than once, the English government to stay the harsh treatment to which the reforming party were subjected. They were never less disposed, than

at this time, to hand over the refugees to the ecclesiastical tribunal at Lambeth.

6. *The Political Situation favourable to the Fugitives.*—James was still in his honeymoon mood, and full of high satisfaction with the tranquil state of the kingdom, to which he proudly introduced his Danish Queen; nor did he forget, it was largely due to the wise management of affairs by the ministers, during his absence. His gratitude was still warm, and though the gratitude of kings is frequently as evanescent as the early mists of the morning, we think James at this juncture of his affairs, must have asked himself seriously, if the genius of the Kirk for order and discipline, its stern disapproval of all tumult and violence, even though it showed no tolerance to his dreams of absolute rule, was not the best bulwark for the security of his throne, and the peaceful submission of his people. His father and his mother had both come to violent ends. The great northern Catholic lords were perpetual storm-centres; men of violent policies. A formal peace with the English government was a positive necessity; but the Catholic lords were the determined advocates of an alliance with the continental enemies of Elizabeth. So he said pleasant things about the Kirk, and was yet to deliver a stronger and yet more flattering pronouncement upon it. It was eminently a church of theologians, and by doctrinal preaching, and by assiduous and universal catechising, was training a nation of theologians. The king himself was vain of his theological learning, and of his slim dialectical gifts as a controversialist. To be a royal propugnator, or oppugner, of a dogmatic thesis, involving all the metaphysics of the reformed theology, a theology elaborated to meet the attacks of the subtle dogmatist of Rome, was almost as gratifying to James, as to be autocratic ruler of the stubborn and independent Caledonian race. He was at the time, by no means prepared to break with the Kirk. He would therefore pacify the troublesome Bowes, by having Penry ‘put to the horn’; proclaimed with the blast of a horn, an outlaw, at all the ‘Merkat crosses.’

But the impolitic outburst of Bancroft at Paul’s Cross,

against the Kirk, and against its great apostle John Knox, strengthened the determination of the ministers, not to cast their guest to the tender mercies of Whitgift and his High Commission. Even James had to repudiate Bancroft, who, on the strength of Adamson's forged royal document, had represented him as a dissembler in his dealings with the Kirk. As a matter of fact, Penry remained with his Scots friends for three years, and, at his examination, declared his belief that he might have remained in Scotland, sheltered by them, for the rest of his days. There was also to be determined the case of Waldegrave, whose residence in Scotland was part of the complaint of Bowes. But although Waldegrave had printed Penry's books, while James was beyond the sea, the King was shrewd enough to see the advantage of having in his capital, a skilled English printer, one who might occupy the position formerly occupied by Vautrollier. He had no intention of driving Waldegrave out of his dominions. As a matter of fact, he kept him in Edinburgh, and later, with due explanations and submissions, appointed him to the office of King's printer. Meanwhile the issue of the writ against Penry awaited the return of the Chancellor.

7. *James eulogises the Kirk before the General Assembly.*— But the Sabbath intervened and on Tuesday the General Assembly met. James Melville was Moderator and preached at the opening session. He seized the opportunity to press home the necessity of discipline; that the members should hold 'in singular love,' those who were 'over them in the Lord' (1 Thess. v. 12, 13). Especially he exhorted his ministerial brethren to fidelity at this time, and that for three reasons. The reasons are significant.

- '(1) Because of the estat of zealous brethrein in our neighbour kirk, standing for the truth and suffering for the same.
- '(2) Because these Amaziahs, the bellie-god bishops in England, by all moyen and money were seeking conformitie of our kirk with theirs. . . .
- '(3) Because we had lurking within our own bowells a poysonfull and venomous Psyllus. . . .'

This (the record adds) is Mr. Patrik Adamsone, who at this

time was making a booke against our discipline, which he intituled 'Psyllus . . . of whom Herodot in his Melpomene writteth.'

Melville, in the course of his sermon, makes a strong claim for the unrestricted authority of the Kirk, in its own domain of religion and morals, and assures the King, that the devout members of the Kirk are the best type of citizens.¹

But the outstanding feature of the Session was the laudation of the Kirk by James. The Assembly had petitioned him to have the acts of the Kirk ratified; to purge the land of Jesuits and seminarists; and to provide adequate maintenance for the ministry. His replies on these points were not altogether satisfactory; but his exaltation of the Kirk generally, lacked nothing in generosity and warmth, and would have satisfied the most exacting of his audience, if they could have entirely believed in his Majesty's candour. 'In the end,' says the historian, 'to please the Assembly, he fell furth in praising God, that he was borne in such a tyme of the light of the Gospell, to such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world.' He proceeded,

'The kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yuile [Easter and Christmas]; what [authority] have they for them? they have no institution. As for our nighbour kirk in England, it is an euill said masse in English, wanting not but the liftings [elevation of the host]. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, barons, to stand to your puritie, and to exhort the people to doe the same; and I, forsuith, so long as I bruik my life and crowne, sall maintaine the same against all deidlie, &c.'

The Assembly, says Calderwood, 'so rejoiced, that there was nothing but loud praising of God, and praying for the king, for quarter of an hour.'²

8. *A Writ issued against Penry.*—The Chancellor having returned from Dunfermline, and the memorable sessions of the Assembly closed, James met the 'Lordis of his Secret Counsall' and forthwith issued a writ of banishment against Penry. Letters were directed to be sent to all sheriffs to have

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk* (Wodrow), iv. 100 ff.

² *Ibid.* pp. 105, 106.

‘ John Pennerie, Inglisman ’ proclaimed at ‘ the mercat croces of the head barrowis of this realme.’ He is to depart ‘ within ten dayis nixt eftir he be chargit thairto,’ and forbidden to return without the King’s special licence ; failing to comply, he is to be apprehended and punished, ‘ to the deid with all regour and extremetie.’ The King’s lieges, of whatsoever degree or quality, are threatened with the like penalty, if they ventured ‘ to resset [receive] supple [comfort] or intercommoun with the said Johnne Pennerie, or furneis him meit, drink, hous, or herbery [fodder for his horse].’¹ The operation of the writ ended with its proclamation. Penry and his wife remained in Edinburgh shielded by the ministers.

9. *The Kirk’s Protest against Bancroft.*—There was still in Scotland a ferment of resentment at the Bancroft libels. Davidson, we remember, early in the year, had drafted a vigorous protest addressed to Elizabeth which for politic reasons was held back. A short and vigorous retaliation from his pen, however, was issued towards the close of September. It is entitled *D. Bancrofts Rashnes in Rayling.*² He begins with a sympathetic reference to the ‘ godlie brethren of Englande ; who vrge Reformation of that Churche, and chiefly, the remoouing of that heauie bondage of Antichristian gouernment by loftie Lordes, wrongfully called Bishops (an hurtfull relicke of Romish confusion)’ [A2 r. and v.]. As to Bancroft, he speedily forsakes the question of discipline advocated by the English brethren, and ‘ setteth himself against theyr persons, and trauaileth with tooth and naile (as they say) to bring them into extreame hatred with the supreme Magistrate,’ as traitors and rebels, who would overthrow her Majesty’s authority in Ecclesiastical causes, and

¹ *Reg. of the P.C. of Scot.* vol. iv. 517-518.

² The full title runs ‘ D[r] Bancrofts Rashnes | in Rayling | Against The Church | Of Scotland, Noted In | An Answere To A Letter | of a worthy person of England, and | some reasons rendred, why the | answere thereunto hath | not hitherto come | foorth. | By I. D. a brother of the sayd | Church of Scotland. | Ex Mvltis Pavca. | At Edinburgh | Printed by Robert Wal- | degrove. Anno 1590.’ It is a small 8vo, sig. A-B8 v. The date is given at the close, ‘ Farewell, from Edin. the 18. of September, 1590.’ It is printed in pica rom. 20 ll. = 8.5 cm., but not from the fount used by Waldegrave in setting up the books he printed in Scotland for Penry.

in the end endanger her person [A2 v.]. But what proof does he bring forward, to sustain his grave charges? None whatever. He says, that men of the same faith in other lands, to gain their ends, use traitorous means. The English reformers will some day follow their example. Being at desperate straits to justify his statements, and having no present proof of their treason, he thinks it will suffice if he turns to another Commonwealth. He proves the guilt of the English brethren by slandering the Scots, even the King himself [A3 r. and v.].

This policy imperils the good relations of the two countries, and plays into the hands of foreign enemies. Bancroft, so eager to establish his cause, is not particular about his agents. He uses Adamson, and his forged libels against the King. Davidson, in an astute paragraph, bids for James's favour,—now in 'yeeres of discretion,' and 'christianlie moued' to recognise the scriptural authority of discipline, which he may not have seen in his youthful days. But kings should not look to men like Adamson, to sacrifice their profits out of concern for the honour of their thrones [A5 rect.]. This man's forged Declaration, reprinted in several editions in London, has got into Holinshed's *Chronicles of England*, and will now have perpetual currency. Bancroft is pilloried as 'that poore Demas, if he be no woorse,' ever hungry for preferment. He should have known his 'heape of horrible accusations,' against such a Church as that of Scotland, to be incredible [A7 v.-A8].

Bancroft's next agent, denounced by Davidson, is a more interesting figure. He is described as 'his inconstant Countreyman,' Robert Browne. This contemptuous introduction already depreciates Browne as Bancroft's witness. Bancroft himself felt that a stigma attached to Browne's name. 'This mans opinion (he says) . . . I knowe will be greatly contemned, because I thinke hee hath bin of an other judgement, &c.' They can think of him as they choose. Bancroft would not have cited him, had he been his only witness. Davidson scoffs at Browne's assertion, that James was 'in greate danger and feare of his life by their lordly Discipline.' Besides,

Bancroft is now at loggerheads with Browne, who positively refuses to help him further in his literary onslaughts. The resident English Ambassador is able to testify against these misrepresentations [A8 v.-B1].

The 'Q.M. and her honorable Councill' should demand better proof of danger to the State, than what Bancroft calls, the 'treasonable outlandish [foreign] practises' of the reformers. Those opposing the rebuilding of Jerusalem at least claimed to have the authority of the 'authentik bokes of the chronicles'; Bancroft proceeds upon a forgery. On such evidence, 'the good brethren of England,' when they seek to introduce discipline, are accused of treason. The Church of Scotland is falsely accused of treason, and for that reason, they too must be treasonable [B1 v.-B3 v.].

The reason for the delay in answering Bancroft was not because of any lack of competent men, whatever the sneers of some English D.D.'s. A man who opposed the Bishops would need to be a prodigy of learning to gain their approval. First, no reply was needed in Scotland, where the facts were so well known. A reply moreover might lead to strife between the two countries. Secondly, it was confidently expected, that the Queen would herself see that redress was offered to Scotland, as she had, not long before, testified, that the Scots ministers were her most loyal friends. And thirdly, the leaders of the Church of Scotland recognised, that for some secret reason known to God, their hand was stayed [B4-B6 v.].

If only some friend, Davidson concludes, having friendly access to her Majesty, would make known to her the truth, the lordly Bishops would soon cease to countenance Bancroft's 'rashnes in rayling' against the King, the Church, and the whole Scots people. To avoid rancour he suggests a friendly discussion based on the word of God.

10. *Diplomatic Representations following Davidson's Pamphlet.*—The above brochure, it covered only two small octavo sheets, was a compromise between the views of those, on the one hand, who desired a full and detailed statement of the Scots grievance, with ample contradictions of Bancroft's allegations; and of those, on the other, who strongly believed

in the policy of ignoring them. We know from Davidson's unpublished letter, the kind of gossip which the English Puritans were sending north. The English courts were twitting Scots witnesses with their nationality, and this had already been the subject of a formal complaint. Now, they heard, that the London stage-players had turned into mockery and laughter the staid Presbyterian Discipline; they had 'most ridiculaislie flouted' that and the 'whole ministerie.'¹

Rashnes in Rayling was published with some degree of secrecy. It was addressed to an English correspondent and intended for circulation in England. Waldegrave had turned into southern English Davidson's original 'braid Scots.' It is dated, it will be remembered, 18 September, and was probably out of the press, before Waldegrave was appointed King's Printer in Scotland, the royal warrant for the office being dated 9 Oct. 1590.² Bowes soon learnt that the reply to Bancroft was issued and reported the fact to London; but he failed to get a copy, until the King came to his assistance. He was able on 20 October to send the tract to Burghley. Notwithstanding its unstinted praise of the King, his Majesty looked with disfavour upon its publication. He was too late to suppress the issue, though he 'earnestlie travailed' to that end; 'some fewe' copies, Bowes reports, 'escaped the hands of the printer.'³ More escaped, no doubt, than was reported, though to-day it is an extremely rare book. But Bowes is able to assure Burghley that the King has bound Waldegrave, 'with sufficient suerties in this towne, to print nothing hereafter without the K[ing's] allowance and warrant.' He would also be sure to explain to the sagacious Lord Treasurer, that Bancroft's wanton and gratuitous defamation of the Scots Church, and of its chief apostle, Knox, was vastly increasing his own difficulties in managing her Majesty's affairs in the northern capital. James was highly incensed against Bancroft. So strong was the feeling in Scotland, that Burghley had to take Whitgift's heavy-footed propagandist

¹ Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. 493.

² Dr. John Lee, *Memorials to the Bible Societies in Scot.*, 1824, App. VIII.

³ Wodrow, *Miscell.* i. 472.

to task. He laid before him the charges and complaints of the King of Scotland. Assurances were in due course sent of Bancroft's regrets, and in return, Bowes was able to announce that James was gratified with Bancroft's 'humble wordes and submission,' and by his promise to set it down in writing. The King would treat it as a confidential document, only to be seen by his Lord Chancellor.¹

11. *Further Ambassadorial Reports about Penry and Waldegrave.* — Bowes found it convenient to counterpoise the 'griefes' of James at Bancroft's coarse attack, by emphasising once more, the astonishment felt at the English court, at the continued residence of Penry in Scotland, notwithstanding the sentence of banishment proclaimed against him. It was also much more 'merveiled in England' that Waldegrave was printing freely and openly, 'seditiouse bookes against his native countrie.' Bowes prayed his Majesty to have Penry sought out, and to punish those who had harboured him; and that Waldegrave should be forbidden 'to exercise his science' in Scotland, 'so apparantlie against the state of England.' James, in reply, gave full assurances on behalf of his printer. Waldegrave had 'acknowledged, with submission, his fault in printing at Edinburgh a booke sett furth by Penry';² but he promises under a great bond, to print nothing further without the special 'allowance and warrant of the K.' The realm needs a printer, but all care will be taken 'to staie and barre all bookes and workes offensive to her Ma^{tie} or England.' If the printer offends, he and his sureties will be known to fame, by reason of the punishment they shall receive.

As for Penry, Bowes had to report, that neither James nor the Chancellor believed him to be still in Scotland; but if he should be found, he and 'his receittors' [resetters] would be punished. But Bowes was of the King's judgement; 'some of good credit' had so informed him; and such was the opinion of 'sondry godlie ministers' in the town. He protests his own honesty in the matter. Several ministers marvelled at his zeal in pushing his inquiries, and had forsaken him on

¹ *S.P. Scot. Eliz.*, 1590, vol. 46, No. 64.

² *Reform. no Enemie.*

that account. He therefore thought it unwise to alienate the rest. It would barr all intercourse with the chief laymen, the nobility and burgesses, who had warned him to keep on friendly terms with the ministers. It would be impolitic, if, by excess of zeal, he severed himself from all sources of information, and of all opportunities of exercising influence. On the margin of his letter, Burghley, perhaps not fully appreciating the poor man's dilemma, notes that he 'wrote somewhat roundly to Mr. Bowes not be ledd away with the unruly ministers.'¹

The matter was not allowed at once to drop. From private information received in London, Elizabeth believed that Penry was still in hiding in Edinburgh. Bowes duly presented the complaint of the English government. James's officials, however, professed themselves unable to trace the fugitive, and he could only report (18 Dec.) the negative results of the further search. 'Very honest persons' had assured the King that Penry had departed. But the inquiries elicited one interesting and significant piece of information. Mrs. Penry had been settled for some time in Edinburgh, and although her husband could not be found, Bowes reports that 'she contineweth in this Towne, supported by the benevolence of his friends here.' The information supplied by some of these friends was, that 'Penry had left a good while past, and hath no repaire to her, neither is it knowne where he is.' At this interview the King officially informed Bowes, that Waldegrave had been appointed King's Printer, with sufficient warrant that he shall not again 'offend her Ma^{tie} or State.' James was 'desierous to retain him with her Ma^{ties} fauor, and to make triall of him.' Honest Bowes displays his own impeccability by complaining that Waldegrave had come to live in the near neighbourhood of the house in which he himself partly lodged. But he resolves, unless he receives instructions otherwise, to have no dealings with him.²

¹ *S.P. Scot. Eliz.*, 1590, 46. 64.

² *Ibid.* No. 73.

CHAPTER VI

BRINGING THE SCOTTISH RESIDENCE TO A CLOSE

1. *Sutcliffe's Accusations*.—We have exhausted the official information concerning Penry's stay in Edinburgh. We know that, with possible brief temporary absences, he remained in the north until the autumn of 1592. For one or two details of his life at this period, we are indebted to Matthew Sutcliffe's *Answers to Job Throkmorton*, which was not written till 1595. It greatly roused the ire of the defenders of the Bishops, and of the Established Church, that, although the chief advocates of reform were crushed by fines and imprisonment, and the leaders of the Separatist section put to death, yet one so deeply implicated in these movements as Job Throkmorton, the squire of Haseley, and firmly believed by some, by Sutcliffe most convincingly, to be the chief writer and producer and distributor of the Marprelate Tracts, should seem to bear a charmed life, and in spite of all the evidence which Sutcliffe piles up against him, to escape almost scot free. The value of Sutcliffe's indictment for our present inquiry lies in the use he was able to make of the depositions of a number of implicated persons under legal examination, and the collections of notes, made by the prosecution for the use of their counsel; all of which was apparently placed at his disposal. It is only from his pages that several of these persons are known to have made depositions, as the documents used by Sutcliffe are not, for the most part, known to exist to-day. Among them is the deposition of Jenkin Jones, whom Penry in his prison valedictory refers to, as his 'poore kinsman.' It is possible, it is highly probable in some cases, that these scraps of evidence concerning Penry, were given after his execution, when they could do him no harm.

2. *Correspondence with Throkmorton*.—The chief source of Penry's information, during these years, concerning events in the south was Job Throkmorton. He recognised his obligation

to the brilliant young Welshman, who had run such great risks, and had suffered so much, though still free, for his share in Throkmorton's enterprises against the bishops, as well as for his own propaganda in furtherance of the evangelisation of Wales. Throkmorton supplied the funds, to enable him to escape to Scotland, and further raised among the friends of the cause in London, a sum of money to pay his debts. He wrote to let Penry know, that the printers seized at Manchester had stated under examination, that 'Martin was made by Penrie, and one of the Throkmortons.' The correspondence was intercepted by Bancroft's agents. They found that Throkmorton was sending Penry further literary contributions, presumably, written by himself, to the anti-episcopal controversy. His letters are all in the vivacious Throkmorton style. In a vein of ironical banter, he writes, according to Sutcliffe,

'O Sir hath not her Maiestie raigned prosperously, and is it a time, thinke you, to alter all these, and so many blessings bestowed vpon vs: to raise turmoiles, and innouations, and to pull the crowne off her head? well, your worship (saieth he, meaning Penrie) will not meddle with any of these kind of seditious people.'

Later in the letter, he writes, that her Majesty had been in danger of poisoning, and that other shrewd plots had been laid against her, and all by Penry.¹

3. *Furtive Visits to London and Northampton*.—From Cosin, and later from Bancroft, we learn that Penry secretly visited London. The particulars are given with such assured confidence, on an alleged deposition of Jenkin Jones, that we accept the fact, though we reject the incredible deduction, that Penry's visit to the metropolis had any connection with mad Hacket's declaration of the Millennium.² Hacket, a voluble illiterate, succeeded in interesting feather-headed visionaries, even men of education, such as Arthington and Copinger. So long as he advocated the cause of reformation, more or less in the familiar phrases, the general body of the Puritans, who were not all visionaries, listened passively during this phase of the agitation; but they disavowed him

¹ Sutcliffe's *Answers*, 73.

² R. Cosin, *A Conspiracie*, 35; Bancroft, *Dang Positions*, 165.

openly on the instant, when the wind veered to the north-north-west, and the crazy millennialists broached the imminent reign of God on earth, with mad Hacket as His prophet.¹

It was in the interest of the Church defenders—Bancroft and his literary hacks, Matthew Sutcliffe, and the Bishops engaged in controversy with Reformers,—to identify their opponents with this discreditable and contemptible attempt to set up in England, the City of God, on a foundation of lunacy. Penry may for prudential reasons, knowing that the Hacket affair would be exploited against the reformers,² and lead to a fresh outburst of persecution, have left for the north immediately on the execution of Hacket, on 28 July 1591; ‘the same day,’ says Bancroft, with the satisfaction of a prosecuting attorney. Arthington, one of Hacket’s demented crew, stated in his examination, that he had received a letter from Penry, written in Scotland, in which he stated his belief that ‘reformation must shortly be enacted in England.’³ It is what we should have expected him to say. For Arthington, though he had ‘a bee in his bonnet,’ when he doffed his bonnet could write quite reasonably and in the orthodox accent of Puritan piety, about the need of evangelical reform; as we know from his correspondence with Job Throkmorton. That wary person was at first taken in by Arthington; but only at first. And that so sane a man as Penry could share in Hacket’s Bedlamite pranks is incredible.

NOTE ON HACKET’S ‘INSURRECTION’

Richard Cosin, a civil lawyer, a former pupil of Whitgift’s at Trinity Coll., and promoted by him to be Dean of Arches, also a member of his Eccles. Commission, gave an extended account of Hacket’s proposed politico-religious rebellion, closely associating it with the reforming party. It was written in 1591, published in 1592, reprinted in 1593, under the title *A Conspiracie for pretended Reformation*. He refers (p. 25) to the fact that Arthington wrote to numbers of public men and ministers, supposed to sympathise with the agitation to

¹ The matter is illustrated in an interview between Throkmorton and Copinger. See Pierce, *Hist. Intr. Marp. Tracts*, 252.

² See the testimony of Phelippes in Note below.

³ Bancroft, *Dang. Pos.* 165.

reform the Church, Penry among the number. Arthington got guarded replies from some of them, until he disclosed the Hacket business. Cosin refers to Penry's letter to Arthington (p. 35) and states that Penry was 'lurking about London,' at the time of the scatter-brained escapade in Cheapside. Bancroft repeats the story, and adds the deposition of Jenkin Jones as stated above.

Thomas Phelippes, who was useful to the Government as a purveyor of secret information, and received, as a reward, the post of Customer [Receiver of Customs] of the port of London, writing at this time to one of his agents abroad, gives him news of the preposterous escapade of these 'three knaves' [Hacket, Copinger and Arthington]. When taken from Cheapside, where he was opening his millennial campaign, before the Mayor, Hacket, who 'states himself Jesus Christ, King of the earth and of Christendom,' would only reply, 'I am that I am,' 'That I have said I have said,' 'Men shall bear witness of me.' Phelippes reports, that among different opinions held about these men, some 'take them to be mere fanatics,' which, in his own opinion, 'is very likely.' Then he adds, that 'the enemies of the Puritans take great advantage against them, as these prophets have been great followers of that sort of preachers, and have solicited all those they affected, to their sect, with their books, letters, &c. ; viz., the Lord Treas^r, Earl of Essex, Countess of Warwick, Mr. Davison, . . . who pitied their folly.' The Queen, he says, 'is more troubled with it than it is worth.'—*Calendar, S.P. Dom. Eliz.*, 1591–1594. Ed. by M. A. Everett-Green. No. 93, July 19.

4. *Personal Reasons for Penry's Journeys South.*—There were not wanting far different and sufficient reasons, to induce Penry to make a toilsome and dangerous journey to London. Beyond Throkmorton's friendly services as a correspondent, there were many matters upon which he would desire to obtain further information, and could only obtain by personal interviews ; apart from the fact, that all his letters had to run the blockade established by Bancroft, and few addressed to him, despatched by the regular post, would reach his hands.

Two children, his daughters Comfort and Safety were born to him in Scotland,—'where I, your mother, and a couple of you, lived as strangers and yet were welcome.'¹ A fourth daughter, Good Hope, was born at London in the beginning of January 1593. He would steal to Northampton on his way to London to see his eldest child little Deliverance, and to

¹ Letter to his Daughters, *Yelv.* 70, 24 ; Wadd. *Penry*, 143.

confer with the Godleys, to whom he would have much news to communicate concerning Eleanor and himself, and their peculiar position in Scotland. The maintenance of himself and his family, deprived as he was of all ordinary means of earning an income, must have given him and his friends grave anxiety. A journey south would also furnish him with first-hand news of the welfare of men, in whose lives he was keenly interested. It was desirable, moreover, that he should be informed of the condition of the ecclesiastical world, and the prospect it offered of his being allowed to return, and to resume his efforts on behalf of Wales.

Penry was deeply interested in the fate of John Udall, and we see his influence with the Scotch leaders, in the letter which James, pressed by the ministers, wrote on behalf of that unfortunate man, on June 12. The same letter also contained a plea on behalf of Thomas Cartwright. But, as Fuller remarks in recording the event, 'it prevailed little with the Queen.'¹ The second Marprelate printer, John Hodgkins, and the faithful old agent and messenger, Humfrey Newman, were still in prison, with the unexecuted capital sentence hanging over them. As far back as May 16, the Privy Council, wishing to spare them, had written to Whitgift directing that Udall, Hodgkins and Newman should be urged to satisfy Chief Justice Anderson, as 'the time of execution draweth very near.'² From prison, there had issued an important work by Henry Barrowe, *A Brief Discoverie of the False Church*, some copies of which were in circulation, despite the seizure of the bulk of the edition, at the ports of debarkation in the Low Countries. It was of great personal interest to Penry, both as a fresh exposition of the Separatist principles of Church polity, which were now occupying his thoughts, and also, as in its pages Barrowe discusses his theory of baptism. It was necessary he should lay hands on a copy. And there were in London interesting people to be seen, and church policies and practical questions to be discussed, matters which had grown in vital urgency, since his residence in Scotland.

¹ *Church Hist.*, ed. Nichols, iii. 124.

² *Acts of the P.C.*, May 16, 1591.

5. *The Genevan Theses*.—During the remainder of his stay in the north, we have not much evidence of Penry's literary activity. Waldegrave was under too weighty obligations not to print any further attacks on the English bishops; and Penry, we are compelled to conclude, from his action on his return to London, had reached a critical juncture in his own ecclesiastical views. But a more or less neutral work of Penry's, came from Waldegrave's press in 1591. It was a translation from the Latin, of a collection of propositions, which had served as subjects of academic disputation at the University of Geneva, before the professors of theology, Beza and Fayo. The Latin original appeared in 1586. The English translation, after the general title, *Propositions and Principles of Diuinitie*, is warily stated to be issued, 'to the end that the causes both of the present dangers of that Church, and also, of the troubles of those that are hardlie dealt with els-where, may appeare in the English tongue.' This volume, although bearing no translator's name, has been rightly ascribed to Penry. The Preface contains all his little stylistic mannerisms. These sentences, for example, cry aloud that they are from his pen. 'Therefore I thought it my dutie unto his majestie and his Church, to publish this booke in the Englishe tongue, that men and Angels may beare testimonie against the moderation and discrete wisdom of this age, in defending the trueth.' 'Thou art bound to maintaine according vnto thy calling, whatsoeuer thou seest to be oppugned.'¹ Poor zealot, he cannot endure the slack defence of the tremendous and vital truths of the Christian faith, and hopes, that these full-blooded Genevan propositions, might prove a stimulus to weak professors 'els-where'; in England for example.²

6. *Penry's Intercourse with the Presbyterian Ministers*.—We

¹ *Op. cit.* sigg. B2 and B2 v.

² The Latin title runs, 'Theses Theologicae In Schola Genevensi ab aliquot Sacrarum literarum studiosis sub D.D. Theod. Beza & Antonio Fayo S.S. Theologiae professoribus propositae & disputatae. In Quibus Methodica locorum communium S.S. Theologiae continentur. Geneva apud Evstathivm Vignon MDLXXXVI.' 4to rom. typ. pp. xii+218. For particulars of Penry's translation, see Bibliography at the close of this volume.

have every reason to believe, that Penry's residence in Scotland was made pleasant to him, by the kindness of the Scots brethren to him, and to his wife and little children. On the main issues of the faith, and the chief features of church polity and organisation, he and they were at one. He preached from their pulpits, and his scholarship and literary aptitudes were put to their service. That they had long discussions on matters of faith needs no assurance. The Church, based upon reformed principles, was too recently established in Britain, north and south, to have explored all the purlieus of evangelical theology, and to have satisfied itself on every detail of order and administration. At that period, theology, dogmatic and practical, was a living science ; and living theology never speaks its last word. The casual reference by James, at the General Assembly of December 1597, to Penry's influence, throws a strong light on the nature of the topics discussed by him and his Presbyterian brethren, and on the trend of his own mind. It chanced at this Assembly, as James was making one of his periodical efforts to curb the Presbyterian establishment, and to bring in episcopacy as the national religion, that he came into conflict with John Davidson, an able and pertinacious opponent, and full of courage. James countered him on a technical point, questioning his qualification to take part in the discussion. 'Have ye commissioun ?' asked the King. 'Yes,' said Davidson, 'from my Maister.' 'That is witche-like spokin,' observed James ; 'are you a commissioner or messenger from Christ ?' Davidson answered very boldly, 'Yes, and that ye sall finde, by the grace of God.' James 'shrunke' at the reply. Davidson then went on to complain of the restrictions on their freedom ; because of this denial of liberty, he protested against their proceedings. James associated this passionate cry for freedom for the Church of Christ, with the teaching of Penry, when he lived amongst them, and he very significantly declared that Davidson spake 'anabaptisticall-like, and had too much acquaintance with Mr. Penrie.' But Davidson denied that he was an Anabaptist, and denied also that he agreed with Mr. Penry, appealing to his friends as witnesses ;

they would remember the occasions on which they had engaged in high dispute on the nature and extent of the liberty possessed by the individual member in the assemblies of the Church.¹ What for us is significant, is James's acquaintance with the outstanding feature of Penry's views on Church polity, and his belief, that it had affected the attitude of the ministers towards his episcopalian proposals. He had heard that Penry claimed this free fellowship in Christ to be superior to, and therefore free from interference from, all secular organisations; and this his Majesty called *anabaptism*, the common, loosely-used epithet for extreme reforming views. The young Welshman's championship of liberty left a long memory behind it. The incident here narrated, helps us to understand his Church preferences when he returned to London.

CHAPTER VII

THE JOURNEY TO LONDON

1. *Penry's Reasons for leaving Scotland.*—It had never been Penry's intention to stay longer in Scotland, than was needful for the rage of persecution to die down sufficiently, to permit his return to London, and, with the aid of his well-to-do English friends, to resume his efforts for the evangelisation of Wales. At his examination before Fanshawe he declared,

'it hath bin my purpose allwayes to imploye my smale talent in my poore cuntrye of Wales, where I knowe that the poore people perishe for want of knoledge, and that was the only cause of my cominge forth of that cuntrye where I was, and might have stayed privly all my life'² [10 April 1593].

The Scottish ministers had treated him generously. They recognised his worth, and he, on his part, earnestly championed

¹ Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk* (Wodrow), v. 682-698.

² *Yelv. MSS.* 70; Wadd. *Penry*, 156.

their cause. They did not, as Edwards, his travelling companion on his journey south, stated, under examination, stay the declaration of outlawry, but they stayed its execution, and practically nullified it; and would have so continued to the end, had Penry consented to remain amongst them.

2. *Penry forsakes the Presbyterian Position.*—The community of thought between him and his loyal Presbyterian comrades was great; at the same time it was not complete. They were democratic in their polity, but he was more so. The Presbyterianism of the south, which, at his conversion, he had accepted, the Presbyterianism of Cartwright, Snape, Field, Udall and Job Throkmorton, was not the unadulterated Genevan article; it was less formally logical, but a little more democratic; it was Independent-Presbyterianism. It did not presume a completely federated national Church, with a graduated system of church courts, culminating in the General Assembly. The test of the liberty of the local Church community, housed in its own church-building, lies in the appointment of its minister. In the Scottish Church, in theory at least, the appointment does not lie in the unrestricted choice of the local fellowship [the Church Meeting]. But in that excellently-written statement of the English Presbyterianism of the period, the first concise, scholarly, yet popular, manual for the instruction of the people at large, *The Briefe and Plaine Declaration*, commonly known as the *Learned Discourse*, written by Dr. William Fulke, Master of Pembroke, the principle is laid down, that, as regards the election of officers—

‘it is agreeable to reason that he that should doe any service in the name of all, should be chosen and approved by the consent of all’ (p. 107).

Nor, according to the same authority, should any decision of the elders, or presbytery, have force, until ‘they propounded it to the whole multitude, that it may be confirmed by their consent’ (p. 86). The popular democratic leaven of this old English Presbyterianism was stronger than that

found in the system which prevailed in Scotland.¹ A Puritan from the south, quartered among the Scots Presbyterians, supplied at once a theme for friendly discussion; especially when both sides dearly loved an argument. Moreover, the young Welshman's mind was moving, slowly and deliberately, to a still more, and not to a less, free conception of the Church. He found time quietly to consider the writings of Browne, whose disciples he was once instrumental in rescuing from the error of their ways, according to Job Throkmorton. Barrowe's *Brief Discoverie of the False Church* was also now in circulation, and would be discussed endlessly; and all the more as it dealt with Penry's writings. Penry's mind, during his residence in Scotland, turned definitely to the principles of Separatism. And all the while, Wales was calling, ever more clamorously, for the light of the Gospel. Before Midsummer 1592 Penry had practically resolved upon the removal of his family and himself to London.

3. *Eleanor Penry's Sea-voyage with her Children.*—The problem before Penry was one of no small difficulty. How was he to transport his wife, in delicate health, with two small children, as well as himself, four hundred miles away to London; and to do so without advertising Whitgift and his pursuivants of the fact. Our scanty records show that Mrs. Penry and the children were the first to leave Edinburgh, and that Penry remained for a time. The wife's movements aroused less suspicion, particularly as she was not accompanied by her husband. But how did she travel? The roads were bad—bad at best. Some sections were execrable. Her method by road could only be, to hire a couple of horse-litters, which were then in use for the conveyance of ladies. Eleanor Penry was a woman of great courage, and shared fully her husband's consecration; but, taking all the facts into account, it would have been physically impossible for her to travel alone, with her two infants, by road, from Edinburgh to London.

A casual remark of Penry's gives us the clue to the solution of this most anxious and difficult problem. In his Prison

¹ The English Presbyterian Church of to-day is Scottish in origin and polity.

Letter he tells his children that their mother 'for their comfort and his, had taken bitter journeys by sea and land.' Here was the sea-journey to which he referred, from Leith to the Thames. We know of no other event in the lives of Penry and his wife, in which she was called upon to make a sea-voyage. It was, for a singularly brave woman, a possible means of transport; but no doubt it was a 'bitter' journey, to sail in such ships as, in Elizabeth's day, plied between the Forth and the Thames. Yet for John's sake and the Gospel's, she achieved this formidable task. Having arrived in the port of London, some charitable Christian soul may have been deputed to help her, one of the shipwrights at Deptford or Greenwich or Limehouse, who figure in the story of the Separatist Church in London, to tranship herself and her infants, and what little belongings she had with her, and to row her up the creek, and to see her safely in rooms found for her accommodation, in the Cross Keys at Stratford-by-Bow.

4. *Penry's Journey to Northampton and London.*—Towards the end of August Penry left Edinburgh. It may be convenient here to fix the date of his departure and to say a word about his travel-companion, one John Edwards. This good man, who had relatives in London, associated himself with the Separatist Church on reaching the metropolis. He was present, a little before Christmas, when Penry preached at Dukes Place (now King Street) near Aldgate. He was also at the celebrated gathering at Islington Woods, early the following year, and was one of the number arrested there. In his examination he stated that he left Scotland with Penry in November. Penry's own statement is that they left 'about September.' We have however the means of independently checking the accuracy of these statements. George Kniveton, the apothecary of Newgate Market, states in his examination, in April, 1593, that six months earlier he was elected an elder of the Separatist Church, but that, before accepting the office, he consulted several of the leaders, among them Penry. This implies, with due allowance for his establishment among his new associates, that Penry reached London about the middle of September.

Penry had been living a furtive life among his Scottish friends ; screened from official observation, by their watchful and sympathetic care. He would now leave their hospitable borders, as quietly and as unobservedly as he could. The best and most frequented route south, skirted the coast, by Dunbar and Berwick. We are therefore sure that it was not his way. We picture him leaving, in the early dawn of the August morning, his wallet furnished with a few bannocks and a cheese, so that, during the first stages, he might avoid all public inns, and facing the Lammermuirs, taking the Coldstream path, which joins the post-road at Morpeth. Direct south lies Newcastle, where Udall had lived and laboured, and where Penry would find strong friends. Then straight onward through Durham and Darlington, but leaving the York road at Northallerton, he must veer westwards to Leeds, and strike the post-road to Chesterfield. A bridle-path now led to Derby ; six miles from the town, they reached the first stage mentioned in the evidence of John Edwards, where one Master Yreton entertained the travellers. The circuitous route was not only chosen for safety, but was necessary ; because a visit to the Godleys at Northampton was an essential part of Penry's plan. A conference with his wife's people was an urgent need. Let us consider the pressing inquiries he would have to make. Had Eleanor and the little ones reached their destination without mishap ? Where were they lodging ? What was the latest information of the reformers and their persecutors ? What news of Whitgift and his pursuivants ? What of old friends, among them, Udall in the Marshalsea ; Job Throkmorton, whose letters to Scotland Bancroft professed to have intercepted ; the great 'squire at Fawsley ; and Edmund Snape of St. Peter's ? Had Henry Sharpe, the bookbinder, made any more candid confessions ? And then, what of ways and means ? A man and his wife and three children, need large help from friends ; when the man is saddled with an evangelical conscience, which hinders him from getting a benefice, and the zeal of them that hated him, forbade him to fill any other office, to which a scholar might be appointed. Had the old benefactors again remembered him ? Were there

funds from the old folk at Cefnbrith, who had so liberally supported him, during his seven years of university life? With what a tumult of thought and wistful questions he drew near to Northampton. From Derby it is a long two days' journey to the ancient town; and unfrequented and retired by-paths do not mean accelerated progress. The broad Trent could be crossed by the bridge at Milne; and the route over Charnwood Forest, avoiding Coventry on the one hand, and Leicester on the other, would bring the travellers by Lutterworth and Market Harborough, and give them the most unobtrusive entrance into Northampton, through the village of Kingsthorpe. Penry left Edwards at the Bull, a favourite rendezvous of the Puritans; the Northampton classis met there on occasion. Then he could steal through the Drapery in the gathering gloom, by Allhallows Church, and at once he was in that pleasant south-ward in which his father-in-law dwelt.

But there can be no tarrying. At the break of day, before the gossips went to the conduit to fill their pails, Edwards was at the rendezvous by Queen Eleanor's Cross. Horses had been provided for the remainder of the journey. Mounting, sufficiently distant from the town to escape attention, they could now travel rapidly, with a judicious regard to their steeds. It was a lengthy day's journey, through Stony Stratford, Brickhill and Dunstable to St. Albans, between forty and fifty miles, and could not be completed much before sunset. At St. Albans they 'lay at the sign of the Christopher.' Next day they could travel more leisurely, and discreetly; for London lay only twenty-two miles away, by the post-road through Mimms and Chipping Barnet. They 'lighted,' says Penry, indicating that they had ridden into the city, at the Cock Tavern, at Long Lane End; the thoroughfare running from the Barbican to Smithfield. The journey was then continued to Stratford-by-Bow, where Penry found his wife and children safely quartered at the sign of the Cross Keys.

DIVISION III

THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF LIBERTY : PENRY JOINS THE SEPARATISTS, 1592-3

CHAPTER I

LONDON SEPARATISM

1. *The Newly Organised Congregational Church.*—When Penry reached London, in the autumn of 1592, he found that the Separatist community was all astir, full of ardour and enterprise. The order and ministrations of their Church had been regularised, under the leadership of Francis Johnson, a Cambridge graduate, who arrived at that position by an adventurous route, as will briefly be narrated presently. Something like a religious revival was quickening the scattered members of the persecuted Church. They came from all the parts of the City, threading their way under most difficult conditions, to their secret meetings, for worship and church fellowship, undeterred by the danger of imprisonment, ruinous fines, and the gallows. Only a people animated by the fire of the Spirit, would accept membership of the Church, under such perilous circumstances.

Henry Barrowe was in prison, and had been for many years. His memorable conversion had been the talk of the town. That happened about the time that Penry went to Cambridge; before he left Oxford in 1587, Barrowe was already in the Fleet—John Greenwood was cast into prison before him, but apparently, was released *en parole*, at different times. They were both executed while Penry was himself in

prison awaiting his fate. The authorities distinguished clearly enough between the two classes of Protestant Non-conformists with which they had to deal. They persecuted both; but the dissenting brethren who were prepared to return dutifully, to their parish churches, if only a little relief were granted them in the matter of Romanist vestments, the use of the sign of the cross at baptism, and the choice of their minister by each several congregation, were recognised to belong to a different category, from the new Nonconformist, professing a Church theory utterly destructive of Elizabeth's political arrangement. The Church of these new Separatists, as now they were being called, was a self-governing democracy; and the prelates were not slow in pointing out to Elizabeth, that their ecclesiastical polity would have a repercussion upon the political ideas of her subjects. It meant 'popularity,' for so they called the democratic principle, and, at the very name of popularity, the dignitaries lifted up their loyal hands in abhorrence. In the eyes of a Tudor princess it was an unforgivable crime, it was rank disloyalty. The members of this new community were pursued everywhere, with the vague, but odious, charge of sedition. No men of British blood, professing a Protestant and evangelical theology, the theology of Elizabeth's bishops, were put to death for their faith, who were not members of this community. William Dennis, John Copping, Elias Thacker, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, and John Penry, these all professed the Congregational, or democratic, faith and order.

But William Bradford, the Pilgrim Father of 1620, in his *Dialogue*, maintains, that there were in London Churches of this type, before the days of Robert Browne, and Henry Barrowe. He mentions, particularly, the Secret Church in the days of Mary, and the Church formed in the early years of Elizabeth, under the ministry of Richard Fitz. Penry who now thoroughly identified himself with the London Separatists, had come to know a great deal more about them, and their scriptural principles, and of their daring activity in London, than when he sat down to write the *Aequity*, with which to open his campaign on behalf of Wales. To realise the

situation, it will be interesting to trace rapidly the growth of London Separatism to the year 1592.

2. *The Secret Church under Mary.*—Later generations always spoke with pathetic reverence of ‘the Secret Church,’ formed and sustained in the City, in the days of Bonner and Mary; when the smoke of the torment of the saints rose from Smithfield, like a dark pall, to cast a shadow of terror upon the hearts of those, who still rejected Popery. ‘I will not speak now,’ says Augustin Bernher, ‘of that wonderful work of God, who caused His word to be preached and His sacraments ministered, even in the midst of the enemies, in spite of the devil and all his ministers.’¹ Bernher was Hugh Latimer’s faithful friend and servant, a learned Swiss; he accepted the heroic position of minister to the Secret Church. Bentham, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was another of its courageous ministers. But the most notable of them was John Rough, the martyr, a Scotsman of advanced evangelical views.² The Elizabethans of all the Protestant sections never questioned the authority of this Church, or the validity of its ministry.

Let it be clearly recognised that it was a fully organized Church, furnished with minister and church officers exercising church discipline, administering the Christian sacraments, and caring for its poor. Under John Rough, one of the two deacons was Cuthbert Sympson, who kept the register of its members, and of their payments for the relief of the poor and distressed. The families of those in prison and of the martyrs were a special care of the Church.

They met in no consecrated buildings. In the stress of great emergencies, the unessential is sacrificed without remark. They thankfully assembled in private houses; at the house of one Brooke, a salter of Queenhithe; at a fishmonger’s wife’s house, Mistress Barber’s, in Fish Street; at the King’s Head, Ratcliffe; at a dyer’s house at Battle

¹ Latimer’s *Sermons on the Lord’s Prayer*. ‘Dedication,’ (Latim. *Serm. Park. Soc.* i. 313).

² Scambler and Thomas Foule were two others of their ministers (Foxye, *A. and M.* viii. 559).

Bridge; at Sir John Carden's at Blackfriars. They found an asylum in an inn in Aldgate, in a cloth worker's loft, in a cooper's house in Pudding Lane; also on board ship at Billingsgate Wharf; and, on several occasions, on board the ship *Jesus*, lying between Ratcliffe and Rotherhithe, where they had prayer, sermon, and the holy communion. They met in great peril, and let us not forget those who risked their lives by showing them hospitality. In a riverside house in Thames Street, at a service held at night, they had a great deliverance. The house was surrounded by their enemies. In their emergency a mariner of their company 'plucked off his slops and swam to the next [nearest] boat, and rowed the company over, using his shoes for oars.'¹ The worshippers assembling on these occasions numbered 'Sometimes forty, sometimes a hundred, sometimes two hundred.' When John Rough and his fellow-members were arrested, the Church had assembled at the Saracen's Head at Islington, 'under the colour of coming to see a play,' whereas, say their accusers to Bonner, they had made preparation to celebrate and receive the communion.

Here then was a Church formed in every particular after the Congregational model. It did not tarry for the magistrate; it owed nothing to any bishop; it admitted those it esteemed worthy of membership; it elected its own minister and church officers, and received from them the Christian sacraments; it preached and practised an evangelical faith. William Bradford was strictly accurate; it was a Congregational Church.

3. *The Free Church under Elizabeth.*—To the common people, to the citizens of London especially, the accession of Elizabeth had chiefly a religious significance. One Tudor princess had replaced another; the political significance of the change was simply a consequence of the religious. The reign of Mary was practically the reign of the foreigner. Her husband Philip was, to the English, one of the most hateful types of an alien, oppressive, ruler. When Philip receded into the background, there was still the foreign pope, with Mary

¹ Foxe, *A. and M.* viii. 445, 458, 459, 558, 559.

as his devotee and agent. The people had very little comprehension of the furious theological debates on transubstantiation; the distinctions of substance and accident, to them meant nothing. But they understood Smithfield very well. The coming of Elizabeth to the throne with a reformed creed gratified their English pride of race in many ways and all at once. Along with Mary went the priest and his Latin 'hocus pocus'; the cold, sinister, Spanish pensioner who elbowed the Englishman from the sidewalk; the stake and the torture-chamber; and the shaven foreign tyrant at Rome, behind them all.

Elizabeth had great difficulties before her, partly in the condition of things, partly of her own making. Public opinion was fiercely antagonistic to Bonner and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Bonner was not safe to walk the streets of the City. Public opinion had taken a definite trend towards Protestantism, which increased in strength and momentum as the reign advanced. The only obstacle in the way of a completely and consistently reformed Church, was Elizabeth herself. The old Roman Catholic Church was discarded, in the teeth of the fierce opposition of the Bishops, and the Lower House of Convocation, then in office. A woman and her lay advisers alone effected the change. The same wilful woman denied their way to the Protestant leaders, that gathered at her court to establish the new Church. She insisted upon the gorgeous and decorative vestments of the Romish Church, everything that could give outward magnificence and rich stateliness to the public offices of the Church, which she now established, through the machinery of the State. The new men, the destined leaders of the new Church, hated these spotted garments of the Amorites. No one had a good word to say for them. Then the work of compromise and diplomacy was set merrily in motion, and that poor phrase of Paul's was driven to death: 'Let everything be done decently and in order,' which in every case meant some continuation of the old Popish ritual. Every effort was made to dissociate the vestments with any attempt to re-establish Romanism; for the restoration of Romanism would probably have aroused a

revolution in the country. So in the second year of her reign, we have her Majesty's *Injunctions*, full of loud protestations and disavowals. True, the Queen wants her clergy clothed in these radiant and golden vestments, but

'not thereby meanyng to attribute any holinesse or special worthinesse to the said Garmentes, but as Saint Paul writeth, Omnia decenter & Secundum ordinem fiant, 1 Cor. 14 cap.' (*Injunctions*, 1559, § 30).

The populace of London was entirely opposed to the vestments—the very vestments worn by the shaven priests, who pranced up and down Smithfield, when the martyrs were burnt alive. And many of the best men, men who by their learning, their varied gifts, and their noble character, would have adorned the ministry of any church, were kept out in the cold, because they 'scrupled the vestments.' We may be sure that the surviving stout-hearted Protestants, of the Secret Church in the days of Mary, regarded with peculiar distaste this resuscitation of the trappings of the Roman priests. These formed the nucleus of the nonconforming body, which clung to their liberties and their purer faith, and met for separate worship from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

4. *John Foxe and Miles Coverdale*.—Among those left to pine in poverty and neglect were John Foxe, the martyrologist, and Miles Coverdale, translator of the Bible, and one time Bishop of Exeter. They were of the number of those who scrupled the vestments, and boggled at the form of subscription offered for their signature. But they were the idols of the people. No two men in England could pretend to share the affection and reverence, which the common people lavished upon them.

John Foxe occupied a position of acknowledged eminence. He was held in high personal esteem even by Elizabeth. His great and immortal work, *Actes and Monuments*—the 'Book of Martyrs' of the common people—was chained along with the Bible in the parish churches; proof enough of the attitude of the Elizabethan Church to the Church of Rome. But though Foxe is the historian of the enormities of the

Roman Church, he was a man of singularly gracious and tolerant spirit. He did not hesitate to tell the Queen his judgement, on the proposal to burn the poor Dutch Anabaptists, and to implore her to spare her reign from such a stain. All he had to live upon was a beggarly cathedral benefice. With a gentle irony, reminding us of Hugh Latimer, he writes to Humphreys, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, that he still wears the same clothes with which he came out of Germany, on the death of Mary. 'Nor do I,' says he, 'change my degree or order, which is that of Mendicants.'¹ But the crowds minded little his worn threadbare gown, as they gathered to hear him, whenever and wherever he conducted a preaching service.

'Father' Coverdale, so the Londoners affectionately called him, as a former Bishop of Exeter, was one esteemed indispensable at the consecration of Matthew Parker, and the establishment of the new order of Protestant bishops. Now, old and poor, he had been granted by Grindal the small living of St. Magnus 'at the Bridge-foot.' For a couple of years he was allowed to occupy his cure in peace, and the people gathered in delighted multitudes to listen to his earnest and savoury expositions of the Scriptures. But old and honoured as he was, his enemies, because he could not fully conform, got the better of him, and he was deprived of his cure. Then the people would send round to his house on the Saturday, to learn where he would preach the day following. His popularity was his undoing. The strictly conformable, with large livings and small congregations, could not endure it; and the venerable saint had to refuse the information, it gave so much offence to the government and his ecclesiastical superiors. Death mercifully ended his troubles in 1567. The day of his burial was made memorable in the annals of London, by the grief of the common people.

There was a spiritual famine in the city. Many of the churches were closed. A certain temporary scarcity was to be looked for, in the transition from Popery to Protestantism. But of the large numbers of capable men who returned from

¹ Neal, *H. P.* i. 145.

exile, a solid proportion, including the best preachers, were unable to conform. Elizabeth was discovering, practically, how incompetent a secular state is to establish a spiritual institution, and how fruitful of discontent is the arrangement, whereby one set of persons chooses the creed which another set is to profess. But the heart of Parker was hardened. He preferred the churches closed to seeing Father Coverdale or John Foxe, or any of the returned exiles, preaching in a plain black gown. And so, though the cry of the hungry people was loud, there was no bread. On a Palm Sunday, a crowd of six hundred, assembled in a city church, to hear a sermon, and to receive the communion, had to disperse for lack of a clergyman. As an emergency measure, Parker appointed his chaplains to administer the Lord's Supper, in some of the larger churches. But they failed in their mission; the churchwardens were infected by the evangelical spirit, and neglected to provide surplices and wafer bread. In some instances they opposed the visiting clergy, because they came to the church attired in the Romish vestments, and had provided themselves with wafer bread. In one case, where the churchwardens offered no opposition, a parishioner took away the cup and the wafers and the people openly derided the chaplain; so that the service had to be closed.¹

5. *Richard Fitz and Organised Nonconformity.*—In this distress it was impossible that the people should have forgotten, how they had assembled, even under Mary and Bonner, and had worshipped God and enjoyed church fellowship, without any of the hateful accompaniments of Romanism. Many of the members of that honoured community were still living. And this is what we next discover: the Evangelical and nonconforming elements of the population of London, forming themselves into companies for worship. At the back of them we find a regularly-organised Congregational Church, having Richard Fitz for its minister, and Thomas Bowland for deacon. Of the organisation of this Church we shall speak presently. Meanwhile, the strength of the general movement can be seen in the celebrated meeting held at

¹ Neal, *H. P.* i. 182 f.

Plumbers' Hall, on 19 June, 1567. The Hall stood in Chequer Yard, which runs from Dowgate to Bush Lane, between Thames Street and Cannon Street. Here a large assembly gathered, ostensibly to celebrate a wedding; a little deceit which they practised, as they protested, only to shield the woman who had charge of the Hall. They were betrayed, and taken prisoners by the sheriff's officers. Eight of them were tried before Grindal the next day, and from the course of the examination, we learn a little more about them. Since the silencing of the Puritan ministers they had, said the Bishop, 'gathered togyther and made assemblies, vsing prayers and preachings, yea, and ministring the Sacramentes.' This they had done 'many times,' and 'no longer agoe then yesterday, you were togyther to the number of an hundred.' That they met in some sort as a Church, may be gathered from Grindal deciding to hear first their elder, John Smith. More significant, perhaps, is the presence among them of Thomas Bowland, Richard Fitz's deacon. The Bishop of London was familiar with Fitz's Church and its organisation, and inquired if Bowland the deacon were among the prisoners; and on learning that he was, he asked him if he had hired the hall; that is, if he had done so officially on behalf of the Church. Smith, the elder, linked the Plumbers' Hall Assembly with the Secret Church under Mary. It was the same people who were again asserting their Christian liberties. 'We remembered,' said Smith, 'that there was a congregation [church] of us in this citie in Queene Maries dayes' ('and a Congregation at *Geneua*,' he added, with a fling at the exile Grindal).¹

We trace the same people among seventy-seven persons arrested the next year, on March 4, at the house of James Tynne, a goldsmith in St. Martin's-in-the-Field. In the new list we have six of the eight who appeared personally before Grindal after the Plumbers' Hall Meeting, and among them is Thomas Bowland, the deacon, whom we take to be the organiser of these functions. How many of the others were present on both occasions we do not know. But we

¹ *A parte of a register*, 23-25.

have a list of prisoners discharged by Grindal on April 22, 1569. It includes seven of the eight prisoners examined by him in June 1567. There are in this list eleven new names; and seven women are mentioned, but their names not given.

Happily, we know something of the character of the Church of Richard Fitz, from the fortunate discovery of the late Dr. John Waddington. He unearthed at the Record Office a small black-letter printed statement of the 'trewe markes of Christes Church,' with the name of 'Richard Fitz, Minister' at its close. Also in black-letter type, on one side of a small folio sheet, 'the order of the priuye church in London,' and, in the same collection, a Petition from the members of the Church to Elizabeth, written in 1571, after the death of their leaders in prison. Fitz reduces the essential nature of the Church to three particulars. 'Fyrste and foremost' the free and pure preaching of the Gospel, having precedence of all else. Next, the Sacraments 'mynistered purely.' Lastly, 'Dissiplyne,' and that agreeable to the word of Christ, 'not the fylthye Canon lawe.' Next, it is required that the candidate for the perilous honour of membership in this heroic little body, being enlightened by God's Spirit, and 'throughly perswaded' in his conscience, that 'the reliques of Antichrist' are abominable before God, and by the same grace, having escaped 'the filthynes and pollution of these detestable traditions,' and 'having joined in prayer and hearyng Gods word, with those that have not yelded to this idolatrouse trash, notwythstandyng the danger for not commyng to [his] parysh church,' promises, that he will 'come not backe agayne to the preachynges, &c., of them that haue receaued these markes of the Romysh beast.' Then follow the scriptural grounds of this document, and a prayer that God may give them 'strength to stryue in suffryng vndre the crosse,' obedient to God's word alone.

The petition addressed to Elizabeth is a grave, and withal a courageous document. It is easy to discriminate between the two classes of petitions, which we find in some numbers during this period. The Separatist petitioners base themselves on their rights as Englishmen, and according to the

terms of the Gospel. Their words are respectful, but not obsequious. They do not cringe before the great ones in asking for liberties, which they believed to be theirs by a proud inheritance. The present petition is an excellent example. They resent any authority being given to Canon Law, under cover of which so much Romanism was retained in the Church. The petitioners rest upon Matt. xviii. 20, 'when ij or iij are gathered in My name ther am I.' They describe themselves as, 'a poore congregation [*i.e.* church] whom god hath seperated from the churches of englande.' They were, indeed, a humble people, socially; the signatories comprised ten men and seventeen women, of whom eighteen could only attest by making their mark. But they heard the Saviour saying, Come ye out from among them, and they had obeyed. As God gave them strength they served Him 'every Saboth day in houses, and on the fourth day in the weeke,' they met for prayer, and to 'exerceyse disciplyne on them which do deserve it.' The Gospel had fallen into such contempt, 'that men do thinke, for the most part, that the papists do vse and hold a better religion than those which call themselves christians, and ar not but do lye.' Like one of the Apocalyptic beasts, the authority of the Canon Law had, by 'lone imprisonment, pyned and killed the lordes servantes—as our minister Rycherd Fitz, Thomas Bowlande, deacon, one Partridge, Giles Foulter,' and many others. If they ceased to cry unto God 'to redresse such wronges and cruell handelynges,' the very walls of the Gatehouse, Bride-well, the Counters, Kings Bench, Marshalsea, and the White Lion prisons—they know the names only too well—would testify to God's anger against the land, for such injustice and persecution. It is an admirable outburst of moral indignation on the part of these humble professors of the Gospel.

The signatures to this petition help us a little, in tracing the Congregational character of the Nonconformist movement in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign; especially if we remember how stiff and uncompromising the convinced Separatist was. Cartwright would have persecuted him as readily as Whitgift; and he, on his part, would have nothing

to do with the compromises of Puritanism. Four of the signatories of the petition from Fitz's Church, were among those who assembled at James Tynne's house: Eddie Burre, John King, John Leonard, Elizabeth Slacke; and the sturdy deacon Thomas Bowland was also of that company. Henry Sparrow another of them was evidently a member of the family so closely associated with London Separatism. Robert Sparrow was discharged by Grindal in April 1569, presumably one of the unnamed company at Plumbers' Hall in 1567. John Sparrow appears in Aylmer's list of Feb. 1590 of prisoners to be visited, and also in the list of prisoners who petitioned Burghley for speedy trial, in March 1590.

CHAPTER II

THE ADVENT OF ROBERT BROWNE

1. *Browne's Original Contribution to Church Principles.*—It is clear that in the year 1570 a considerable proportion of the people of London were deeply dissatisfied with the services of their parish churches. The effort of a section to remedy the defects of which they complained, by the surreptitious organisation of separate groups, had resulted in the formation of Churches, Congregational in all essential features. But there still remained a certain accidental quality in their organisation. They did not build around a principle; but, without reasoning overmuch upon their action, accepted the liberties of the Gospel, and proceeded to a minimum of organisation. A Church formed under such free conditions is, naturally, a congregational church. Browne's great contribution to our conception of the New Testament Church was to demonstrate that the form of the Church, its democracy, its liberty, its unofficial ministry, that all this is rooted in the substance of the Gospel itself. The Church polity of the New Testament is what it is, because the Gospel of Redemption

is what it is. The one and the other are directly related to the person of Jesus Christ. Such is Browne's discovery.

2. *The Vindication of his Good Character.*—This great man has suffered from undeserved obloquy and defamation of character, as no other that we easily recall in the pages of history. It was nobody's business to shield his memory from his unprincipled traducers. His democratic tenets, equally applicable to the State as to the Church, led him to be regarded with a fierce unreasoning enmity, by orthodox Churchmen and orthodox politicians. Then began the accumulation of the unclean legends around his name. His outward association with the Established Church resulted in his being disowned by those who owed him their principles. Patient research, especially the laborious researches of Mr. Ives Cater, have freed Robert Browne's name from one after another of these vile calumnies; we have reason to believe that the very last of them has been finally discredited. His name now suffers from another affliction. Men write of him, and acknowledge, necessarily, the vindication of his good name; but the man they pourtray is a dwarf, whereas Robert Browne, morally and intellectually, was a man of heroic proportions. Without understanding his position, they speak of his inconsistency. I doubt if there is, from his own standpoint, any inconsistency to explain, or that Browne ever disavowed his belief in the principles of the Congregational Church. His positive contribution to the understanding of the Church of Christ is so great and original, as only to have been conceived by a man cast in a large mould. He was a genius. And like many men of abnormal mental gifts, in all walks in life, he was probably irritable; he did not suffer fools gladly.

3. *His Movements after graduating at Cambridge.*—In the year 1572 Robert Browne having graduated B.A. at Benet's [Corpus Christi] College, Cambridge, left the University, and probably came to London. Corpus at the time was the home of a number of men of reforming proclivities, including Henry Barrowe,¹ John Greenwood and Robert Harrison. When we read of Barrowe suddenly converting from a man about

¹ Says the College historian, *Hist. of C.C.C.C.*, by H. P. Stokes, p. 71 n.

town to a Christian zealot, we must remember these early influences. In this movement Browne is the man that counts; the daring original thinker who thoroughly explored the ecclesiastical problem. The Church, as the social organism of Christianity, had only been half emancipated from its sacerdotal thralldom at the Reformation. Browne brought to the fresh consideration of the Church problem a mind singularly free from all distorting prejudices, and of detachment from current controversies. He made no tarrying with the subsidiary questions arising out of the new order of public worship. It was the basis of the Church itself which came under his criticism and review. His conceptions, as they slowly came to be understood, caused no little alarm.

His first office probably from 1574 to 1577 was that of a schoolmaster in an East-Anglian town.¹ He was, need it be said? an unconventional schoolmaster. He reflected that since 'even little children are off (of) the church and kingdom o God,' he must labour in his school, so 'that the kingdom off (of) God might appeare.' He also carried on his teaching 'in those of the towne with whom he kept companie.'² He saw much to deplore in the religious condition of the people, and the conclusion he reached was, that 'the cause of all' was 'the wofull and lamentable state of the Church.' He determined to go to the root of things. He 'wholy bent him selfe to search and find out the matters of the church, how [the Church] was to be guided and ordered.' 'He had long before debated in him selfe, & with others, and suffered some trouble about them at Cambridge'—in his undergraduate days. His teaching in the town where he was acting as schoolmaster, made some converts; for in the year 1576, John Copping and Elias Thacker were imprisoned at Bury St. Edmund's, for maintaining Browne's views. They remained in prison for the next six years, when being

¹ Probably Bury St. Edmund's. Bancroft had to be sent to Bury, about 1585, to counteract the 'pretended reformation' begun there 'without staying for the magistrate as the term then was.' Whitgift to the Queen, commending Bancroft for the see of London. Strype, *Whitg.* ii. 386. See the remarks which follow on Copping and Thacker.

² R. Browne, *A True and Short Declar.* (Reprint), p. 1.

wholly impenitent they were hanged at Bury in the month of June 1582.

4. *Browne's Propaganda at Cambridge.*—He relinquished his school and returned to his father's house. With a little natural pride he tells us, that his father 'was a man of some countenance'; he might have remained at home with him and wanted for nothing. But the burden of the Church of God was upon him. After a short stay at the house of Richard Greenham, the clergyman of Dry Drayton, one of the 'forwardest' in religion, 'certain in Cambridge' urged him, and 'also called him' (gave him a collective invitation), with 'consent of the Maior & Vice chancelar . . . to preach among them.'

(a) *Vital Questions.*—It is deeply interesting to watch the movement of the mind of this great pioneer, at this crucial point in his career. He takes nothing for granted. 'He considered the state of Cambridge; how the Church of God was planted therein.' The Church, and the Church alone, could call him. Next, who in the Church was chiefest 'to look to such matters. The chiefest is Christ,'—He that rendered the Church the highest service. Moreover, of Christ's 'fullnes haue all we receaued'; God hath appointed Him to be 'over all things, to be head of the Church which is his bodie.'

But who 'next is under Christ'? His judgement is very positive, that it is not 'the bishop of the dioces by whome so many mischiefs are wrought,' nor is it any individual. First, after Christ, must be the collective authority of the members. Such is the import of Christ's words, 'Tell it to the Church,' in Matt. xviii. 17. Hence the Church is called 'the pillar and ground of trueth,' 1 Tim. iii. 15; 'and the voice of the whole people, guided bie the elders and forwardest, is saied to be the voice of God.'

(b) *The Individual Church and the Churches Collectively.*—It is important, in view of the continual misstatement of Browne's views, to note his recognition of the authority of the collective body of individual Churches. To him, of course, is the honour of discovering the inalienable rights of the single

Church, gathered in the name of Christ. It was natural, perhaps, that an Englishman should have made that discovery; for there is a peculiarly English quality about Browne's Congregationalism, as compared with the various church systems, imported into this country from abroad. The pressure of the times led to the practical formation of self-governing, non-priestly churches, Congregational in their life and government, during the Marian persecution, and, under Richard Fitz, in the reign of Elizabeth. Browne went much further, contending that this democratic community, under the immediate rule of Christ, was not one more added to the expedient devices of men, for the governance of Christ's Church, but was implicit in the Gospel itself. Whitgift, who acknowledged the Apostolic model of Congregationalism, defended diocesan episcopacy as a high expediency demanded by the development of the Church. The Church was rich in numbers and wealth, and recognised and honoured by secular princes. Ecclesiastical statesmanship required this episcopal territorial system. The nation, they said, was now Christian, and required religious machinery of national proportions. And they looked with some scorn upon Browne's exiguous companies, the twos and threes gathered in the name of Christ, each claiming all the prerogatives of the Church. Browne replied, that it was Christ's conception, that His Church should grow out of small beginnings. 'He judged that the Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather off (of) the worthiest, were they neuer so fewe. For it is a graine of mustard seed, saith Christ, at the first, Matt. xiii. & as a little leaven hidd in three peckes of meale.'¹

(c) *Independency and Congregationalism*.—But the independency of these churches, which quite commonly is regarded as their one characteristic, was to him of no value in itself. The Congregational character of the community life of each of these churches was fundamental; the independency was of value, only so far as it protected the vital congregationalism. 'The meetinges together of manie

¹ R. Browne, *A True and Short Declar.* (Reprint), p. 6.

churches, also of everie whole church, & of the elders therein, is aboute the Apostle, aboute the Prophet, the Euangelist, the Pastor, the Teacher, and euerie particular elder.' This is what the Apostle meant in 1 Cor. iii. 22. 'Wee are yours & you are Christes & Christ is Godes.' 'The ioining and partaking of manie churches together & of the authoritie which manie haue, must needes be greater and more waightie then the authoritie of anie single person. . . . Soe that the Apostle is inferiour to the church, and the church is inferior to Christ, and Christ concerning his manhood & office in the church, is inferior to God.'¹

(d) *Responsibility of Bishops to the Church.*—He complains that the Bishops, instead of being subject to Church discipline, override the Church, on the authority of popish canon laws, and reign in their dioceses 'as Lordes and Dukes.' He institutes an interesting comparison between the Bishops and the Apostles of Christ, who continually gave the Church an account of their proceedings, and asked for their commendation. Peter, assailed by the Judaisers, appeared before the Church, and gave a full and particular account of his intercourse with Cornelius, and his vision of things clean and unclean. Paul and Barnabas defend themselves before the assembled Church at Antioch. Paul, again, after telling the Romans of his purposes at Jerusalem, hoped his services might be 'accepted of the saints' [*i.e.* the Church]. The Bishops transcend the Apostles. They sit on the throne of Christ, and are therefore not subject to it. They go beyond Christ. For even Christ did not thrust an apostle upon an unwilling people. 'Into whatsoeuer citie ye shall enter, if they will not receyue you, go your wayes.' The Bishops do worse. They thrust upon the people unfit ministers, 'blind busserdes, wicked fellowes & idol shepherdes.'²

Browne resents the presumptuous titles assumed by the Bishops: 'Rabbis, Doctors, & reuerend fathers, though we haue but one doctor & Father, as saith that high doctor, Christ, Matt. xxiii.' They enter the Church in the old popish

¹ R. Browne, *A True and Short Declar.* (Reprint), p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

way; 'ever watching for a vacant living or bishopric,' paying well and suing to obtain it. His own judgement is, that those not called by consent and agreement of the people, are 'ether Antichrists in the church, or Tyrantes in the commonwelth, because they vsurp in the name of the church or commonwelth,'—a daring extension of his democratic views to the civil government.

(e) *Is a Compromise possible?*—Many urge upon him a compromise. He rejects their proposals. Their contention is that the Bishops do preach and do administer the sacraments. The situation is not everything that is desired, but is 'tolerable,' they say. Having the word of God preached and the sacraments delivered, they had the Church. Why not accept it as a practical compromise? All that could be alleged against the Bishops was that they were 'faultie in some parte.' Browne examines the contention in the light of the Scriptures. What is implied by preaching the word and administering the sacraments? What manner of men must they be who fulfil these offices? From Jeremiah (xxiii. 22) he learns that they must be men who have 'turned them from their euill waie and from the wickedness of their inuentions.' They must deliver a message first delivered to them, and it must be such a message as shall reclaim men from their sins.

(f) *The Necessity of Preaching.*—On the subject of preaching his remarks are original and interesting. 'To make a sermon is not to preach the word of God; no, nor yet to make a true sermon.' The servant must 'tell' his Master's message. The force of a living personality must be behind the word. He refuses to restrict preaching to any officially authorised class. 'Preaching is not tyed to the pulpit, nor to degrees of persons [parsons, clerics]; to the tippet, or surplisse, or cornered capp, to the priests sleued cloake, or to the skarlet gowne, the attire of bishops, the beadle and the tipstaffe & other disguisings.' He cites Aquila and Priscilla, and the Woman of Samaria. 'Yet,' he says, 'there is a difference of preaching. Because, some are called and receaued to that office and charge, in publique manner; but others are bound only as all other Christians, to edifie and instruct one

another: And this also is preaching, but not with publique charge.' ¹

(g) *The Lord's People are of the Willing Sort.*—Liberty was a necessary element of Browne's polity. He regards it as inherent in the Gospel. Its denial can only breed hypocrisy. 'The Lords people are of the willing sorte.' The episcopal programme is to build up religion by compulsion. 'Meeke building' they call it; Browne says it is 'proud forcing.' The Bishops esteem 'devotion compelled' as righteous religion. He advises all whom it is sought to compel to attend a prescribed worship, conducted by popish prelates, 'utterlye to forsake them and auoid such wickednes.' ² When, a few years later, he presented the principles of his Church order and life to the world, in a more formal manner, he is still the advocate of freedom. The principles are laid bare for the consideration of his fellow-countrymen. 'We leaue it free (I saye) to them to followe or not to followe our wayes and doctrine, except they see it good and meete for them.' ³

(h) *How to deal with the Official Regulations.*—Naturally, he rejects all compromise in regard to the essential character of the Church. The men whose acquaintance he had made through Robert Harrison, were of strong evangelical leanings, but willing to make a comfortable arrangement with the ruling powers. 'Thei haue their tolerations mitigations and other trim distinctions, as of things partlie lawefull & partlie unlawefull, necessarie and lesse needfull, matters of faith and matters beside faith, ordinarie and extraordinarie, with a number such like.' So they would please Bishop and people. ⁴ Browne has no disposition to make unnecessary difficulties. He will not make a matter of conscience of things in themselves indifferent. To the Bishops' regulations, so far as he judges them to be of this character, he will conform, even though he judged them to be unlawful. ⁵ 'He sought meanes

¹ R. Browne, *A True and Short Declar.* (Reprint), p. 11.

² *Ibid.* pp. 5, 8.

³ *A Book which sheweth*, the Preface.

⁴ *A True and Short Declar.* (Reprint), p. 9.

⁵ It is here we must find the explanation of Browne's acceptance of a parochial cure.

of quietnes so much as was lawfull.' But he will not accept the Bishop's authorisation; 'to be sworn, to subscribe, to be ordained & receave their licensing he utterly misliked & kept him self clear in these matters.' Even when his brother obtained the bishop's 'seales' for him, he refused them, and his brother's outlay was wasted. And lest others might be led to take a false example from him, he preached openly against the authorisation. At Cambridge he testified that he taught, not as caring for or leaning upon the bishop's authority, but to discharge his duty and to satisfy his conscience.¹

5. *Why he refused a 'Call' from Cambridge.*—It will surprise no one that his ministry at Cambridge was soon concluded. He tried them, he says, 'about halfe a yeare,' by public preaching and daily exhortation in their homes. But he refused their 'call,' and would not undertake their pastoral charge. He returned them the stipend they raised for him. But he not only taught his theory of the Church and its ministry, but set before them a high ideal of practical righteousness. He was an austere teacher of morals. His definition of faith is worthy of consideration: 'Faith is a conscience [consciousness] of our redemption and happines in Christ, wherebie we Wholie yield vp our selues vnto him in all newnes of life.' He adds with emphasis, 'Faith can not be Except We be so renewed, that no open grosse Wickednes be in vs: as James teacheth vs that faith Without Works is dead. Iam. ii. 17, 20.'²

6. *Browne's Reconciliation and Parish Cure: What it signified.*—It is not necessary here to follow further the career of this remarkable and original teacher, or to trace the expansion of his principles in his two classical works, *Reformation without tarrying for any*, and *A Book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians*, both issued together in 1582. It is sufficient to keep in mind that these doctrines were preached openly in a celebrated Cambridge pulpit, as well as taught privately in the homes of the people, the year before Penry entered the University. And though in his earlier

¹ *A True and Short Declar.* (Reprint), p. 6.

² *Ibid.* p. 10.

books he is at pains to disavow Brownism, Penry moved continually towards Browne's ideals and towards liberty. He knew the later history of Browne, and more than likely, through the Godleys, knew something of the way in which he was performing his duties as parson of the Northamptonshire parish of Achurch. Browne, through the strong intervention of Burghley, was in 1585 outwardly reconciled to Whitgift, and promised the Archbishop 'further contentment.' He signed the articles of agreement, when, in 1586, he was appointed master of St. Olave's School, Southwark. None of these was likely to give him trouble, except that which bound him to communicate at the parish church. In any case we have reason to believe that he put his own construction upon the articles.¹ When he was ordained in 1591, and became the incumbent of Little Casterton in Rutlandshire, and later in the same year, of Achurch-cum-Thorpe Waterville, Northamptonshire, he seemed to regard the official element in his settlements as a disagreeable necessity, to be accepted as the only way in which to exercise a Christian ministry. He appears to have fulfilled the legal obligations of his cure at Achurch, supplying the parish with a qualified clergyman, who could conduct the public services, and preach; but he allowed the Achurch rectory to fall into ruins, and lived at Thorpe; and there is some ground for believing, that he there formed a church of professed believers, according to his earlier declared principles. It is doubtful, while submitting to forms of ordination and institution, which were legally necessary, whether, from his own point of view, he believed himself to have forsaken the principles proclaimed in the books he published in 1582.²

¹ This is much insisted on by Stephen Bredwell, writing at the time. See *Rising of the Foundations of Brownism*, 1580, p. 237; Dexter, *Congregationalism as seen in its Lit.* 123, 124.

² The complete reconstruction of the life of Robert Browne is due to the researches of the Rev. F. Ives Cater, which are to be found in his articles in the *Transactions* of the Congregational Hist. Soc. vols. ii. and iii.

CHAPTER III

THE TENETS OF THE PERSECUTING HIERARCHY

1. *Persecutors and Persecuted profess the same Theology.*— Nothing could show more clearly and forcibly how revolutionary in the eyes of the Elizabethan hierarchy, the Separatist doctrine of church government was judged to be, than the consideration, that they and their victims were almost entirely at one in their religious tenets. They all alike accepted the main positions laid down in Calvin's *Institutes*; the state-clergy adhering more closely to the doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments, as there expounded, and the nonconformists, especially the Separatists, diverging slightly upon particular points. They were all agreed in holding the predestinarian doctrine, associated with the name of Calvin; some holding the dogma more absolutely than others. There are no signs of any serious questioning of that doctrine, till after the death of Penry. As it stands in the XVIIth of the Thirty-nine Articles, it was accepted, practically, universally, without question, and that by all sections of Protestantism. Thomas Rogers, who became a chaplain to Bancroft, and wrote an analysis and scriptural defence of the Articles,¹ notes that, 'All churches consent with his doctrine.' He also adds, what is significant, as coming from the pen of Archbishop Bancroft's chaplain, in an edition of his work dated 1605, 'Err therefore do they which stand in opinion that Some are appointed to be saved, but none to be damned.' But this dogma was not set forth with authority for the first time in the Seventeenth of the Thirty-nine Articles of Elizabeth, or in the same article as it appeared originally as the Seventeenth in the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI. We find it explicitly taught in the 'Bishops' Book' (*The Institution of a Christian Man*) which appeared in 1537, as part of the apparatus

¹ First ed. in two parts, 1579 and 1585; second ed. 1605. Reprinted by the Parker Society, 1854, as *The Cath. Doct. of the Ch. of Eng.*

designed to meet the confusion and uncertainty of thought among the people, when Henry VIII. repudiated the authority of the infallible pope at Rome. There, also, is taught the doctrine of the 'one certain number . . . the elect and faithful people of God,' which constitute the 'church or congregation,' and, though they may temporarily relapse from virtue, are destined, finally, to persevere, and to inherit the eternal benefits of Christ.¹

But the community of religious thought went far beyond the purely theological doctrines relating to the redemption of man in Christ; even in regard to the Church and its ministry, the extent to which the authoritative teachers of the Elizabethan Church agreed with the Separatists, who became martyrs for their distinctive doctrine of the Church, is remarkable. This can be seen, by an exhibition of typical and authoritative views of representative members of the Establishment.

2. NOWELL'S CATECHISM

(i.) *Its Unquestioned Authority.*—No more trustworthy document could be desired, as decisive evidence of the views of Elizabeth's Church, than the famous Catechism, written by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's. Its authority was not open to question. It was definitely approved by the entire clergy of both houses of Convocation; and by other persons of authority in the State. It obtained a monopoly of sale; for so completely did it express the mind of the responsible leaders of the Church, that clergymen and schoolmasters were forbidden to use any catechism save Nowell's, or one of its abridgements.²

Nowell's *Catechismus Puerorum* was presented to Convocation in 1562. With a few slight amendments it received the approval of both houses the same year. When sending a copy in MS. to Burghley, embodying the corrections and amendments of Convocation, Nowell says, that he sent it not in his own name, 'as afore, but in the name of the clergy of the

¹ See *Formularies of Faith*, ed. by Charles Lloyd (Oxf., 1825), p. 52.

² *Op. cit.* (Parker Soc.), pp. v-vii.

Convocation, as their book.' The copy in his own possession, Nowell says, was subscribed by the whole of the clergy of the Lower House. Burghley, representing the State, desired that it should be printed and circulated. It was actually printed in 1570 at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the full consent of his brother of York. No book ever went forth from the press more fully qualified to express with unquestioned authority the views of the Church as established.

(ii.) *Concerning the Church.*—The Catechism follows the form of a free dialogue, the Master questioning and briefly commenting, and the Scholar giving the desired answer. This literary machinery will be omitted in the few extracts to be given. And first we shall give the teaching of the Catechism on the nature of the Church.

' Before the Lord God made heauen and earth, he determined to have to himself a certain most beautiful kingdom and most holy commonweal. This the Apostles who wrote in Greek called *Ecclesia*, which by interpreting the word may fitly be called a Congregation (Matt. xvi. 18).'¹ ' The visible Church is nothing else but a certain multitude of men which, in what place so ever they be (Matt. x. 14, xxviii. 19, Rom. x. 8, 9, &c.) do profess doctrine of Christ, pure and sincere, . . . and moreover do use his (Matt. xxviii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 28) mysteries, commonly called Sacraments, with the same pureness and simplicity (as touching their substance) which the Apostles of Christ used and have put in writing.'²

Fully to appreciate the Elizabethan position, and to be conscious of how widely it differs from the theory put forward to-day on behalf of the Church, we must note, that in the Scripture references given by Dean Nowell, a selection of which are given above, the sending forth of the Twelve by Christ is cited. Where the Gospel messenger was favourably received and entertained, that house became a Church.

(iii.) *On Discipline.*—The Catechism closely associates itself with the insistent demand of the Puritan for discipline. In a ' well ordered ' Church there will be a prescribed method of government, and a moral rule, whereby, those who publicly

¹ *Op. cit.* (Parker Soc.), 171.

² *Ibid.* 174, 175.

and heinously transgress, cannot remain among the Christian flock, 'without punishment.' In recalcitrant cases, the direction must be followed to 'tell it to the Church,' which is interpreted to mean 'tell it to the elders.' Regret is expressed at the decay of discipline, and that men, 'specially . . . the rich, and men of power,' sin and do wickedly with impunity. There is no salvation outside the Church; but the Church has a very liberal definition.¹ He minutely and meticulously insists on the great Reformation doctrine of 'Justification by faith alone.' There is no trace of sacramental conditions.²

3. *Archbishop Whitgift.* (i.) *Erastianism.*—The views of the most famous of Elizabeth's archbishops, are not unknown; but they are consistently disregarded by High Church writers; which, perhaps, we should not too greatly wonder at, seeing how fatal they are to the claims of that school. In a communication to Sir Francis Knollys, Dr. Whitgift very freely expresses his views. He clearly recognises that *elder* and *bishop* are interchangeable terms; there can be no inherent pre-eminence in the episcopal office. 'He that was a Pastor, or Elder, was also a Bishop: and the Bishop, in like sort, called Elder. And therefore the name of *Episcopus*, being no name of distinction in office from the Elder, could not import superiority, &c.'³

Discussing the relation of the Sovereign Prince to the government of the Church, the Archbishop is convinced that the Prince has authority to appoint under-officers, and the obedience of the subject requires that the Archbishop should accept such appointments. But the nature of the authority possessed by these Church officers is determined by the source of the appointment. They 'may not be intitled to any greater authority, nor otherwise said to be *Gods ordinance*, than al *officers of civil magistrates* be.'⁴

(ii.) *Bishops not indispensable.*—The futility of seeking any support, for any divine right appertaining to the episcopal office, from the organisation of the reformed Church of Elizabeth, may be seen in his further very definite statement.

¹ *Op. cit.* (Parker Soc.), 175, 176.

² *Ibid.* 180.

³ Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.* 222.

‘The Bishops of this realm do not (so far as I ever yet heard) nor must not, claim to themselves any greater authority, than is given them by the statute of the 25. of K. Henry VIII. revived in the first year of her Majesties reign; or by other statutes in this land. Neither is it reasonable that they should make other claims. For if it had pleased her Majesty, with the wisdom of the realm,¹ to have used no Bishops at al, we could not have complained justly, of any defect in our Church.’²

And yet further, in the same document, Dr. Whitgift says, that if the Fathers of the Elizabethan Church were asked by what authority they ordained, or, in association with an archdeacon and a few others, executed, Church censures, they would answer, that ‘they had for it the laws and policy of this realm.’

‘For if it had pleased her Majesty to have assigned the imposition of hands to the Deans of every cathedral church, or some other number of Ministers, which in no sort were Bishops, but as they be pastors; ³ there had been no wrong don to their persons, that I can conceive.’⁴

In the above precise and unqualified statements of the doctrine of the Church, as established, two things, *inter alia*, are to be noted. First, Episcopacy rises no higher than a high expediency. Secondly, the matter was determined by the good pleasure of her Majesty.

4. *John Hammond, LL.D.*—The official position of Dr. Hammond gives importance to his formally stated judgement on the acknowledged principles of the Church, established by Elizabeth. He was Chancellor of the diocese of London, and an active member of the High Commission. He says he has never even heard, that the bishops of the realm ever claimed any authority, beyond that conferred upon them, by the revived statute of 25 Hen. VIII. Any such claim, he thinks, would be unreasonable. If the Queen had been pleased to do without bishops, he says, ‘we could not have complained justly of any defect in our Church.’ But since it

¹ That is, with the consent of Parliament.

² Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 222.

³ Pastors exercising an episcopal function in overseeing their flock.

⁴ Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 223.

pleased the Queen to use bishops, that is to be regarded by him as 'a subject, as Gods ordinance, and therefore to be obeyed according to St. Pauls rule.'¹

The Elizabethan Episcopate, and all the chief Church dignitaries, judged by their own words; as well also as the various reforming bodies, Puritans and Separatists, were all Evangelicals, of a very definite, and somewhat narrow, type. We have on a former occasion indicated that their general theological position can be conclusively determined by their common attitude to the Roman Church. In their ordinary and habitual writing and conversation, it was the Antichristian Church; the Pope was verily, Antichrist. We take, almost at random, a volume of the period. It is a collection of Sermons by Dr. Edwin Sandys, bishop successively of Worcester and London, and then archbishop of York. Preaching at Paul's Cross he refers to those who seek remission and justification elsewhere 'than onely in this Jesus.' He proceeds:

'And of this treason the Romish Antichristian Church, which they term Catholike is found guiltie. For the children of this harlot, labour by all means to obscure the Sonne of God, to robbe him of the glory of his deserts in our saluation. . . . Surely the Romish strumpet hath rubbed her forehead, her children are becom altogether shameless.'²

Dr. Sandys' attitude to the Papacy is not in the least singular, among the clergy of the period.

CHAPTER IV

HENRY BARROWE

HENRY BARROWE, to whose conversion and imprisonment passing allusion has been made, was the great personality in

¹ Dr. Hammond to Burghley. *Hatfield Calendar*, Pt. III. No. 754. Quoted in *Church and State under the Tudors*, by G. W. Child, p. 304. Prof. Child discusses, with great clearness and force, the whole question, including the practice of the Church in beneficencing men having Presbyterian or other ordination.

² *Sermons*, London, 1616, pp. 159 vers., 160. Sandys died in 1588.

London Separatism, when Penry arrived in the city from Scotland. The Separatist Church was just organised under Francis Johnson, as pastor. But the strong man of the movement was the solitary figure in the Fleet, rock-like and unflinching, who, but a few years earlier, was brought to a pause on his careless worldly way ; and, becoming a converted Christian man, bent all his energies to explore the faith he had embraced, so that in life and conduct, careless of all consequences, he might be its true witness.

1. *His Birth, Education and Conversion.*—Socially, this remarkable man must be ranked among the well-born. Lord Bacon, his kinsman by marriage, says, he was ‘ a gentleman of a good house,’¹ but that he had spent ‘ a vain and libertine youth.’ On leaving school he went to Cambridge, entering Clare Hall as a fellow-commoner. He graduated B.A. in 1569–70. He was ‘ of Gray’s Inn some yeares,’ he tells Whitgift, in his examination.² The story of his chance attendance at a preaching service in London, which led to his conversion, is told by Governor Bradford, the Pilgrim Father.³ His absence from Court was soon remarked, and caused some sensation, when it was bruited about, that he had turned Puritan. We learn that, in his determination to gain peace, he hastened to confer with godly men of repute, and gave diligent attendance at preaching services. His convictions were confirmed and deepened.

2. *In the Wilderness.*—Barrowe now ‘ went away into Arabia.’ With characteristic thoroughness, he gave himself to reading and study. Endowed with a mind of great vigour and penetration, and of marked independence, he made great progress during the four or five years, which he entirely devoted to his task.⁴ He obtained, as we see in his writings, a good knowledge of Reformation theology, and a wide and familiar knowledge of the Bible, from cover to cover.

As he advanced in his religious studies, his original mind

¹ Strype, *Aylmer*, 174.

² *The Exam. of H. Barrowe, J. Greenwood and J. Penrie* (B.L.), Sig. Aii.

³ Bradford’s *Dialogue* ; in Young’s *N.E. Chronicles*, p. 434.

⁴ He became a member of Gray’s Inn in 1576, and began his prison life in 1586.

could not accept, without a close and patient examination of its foundations, and without minutely testing its agreement with the letter of Scripture, any formal system of Puritan doctrine presented to him. The Elizabethan system, though it repudiated Rome, was, as regards its outward organisation, a compromise with the old order. In the view of the Queen's bishops and doctors of divinity, the take-over from Popery into the system she imposed upon the nation, was only an expediency ; nothing to conflict with the sincere profession of 'justification by faith only.' Needless disturbance of the minds of the people was avoided ; a more or less familiar order was retained, conducted by a clergy, more or less familiarly vested ; such novelties as were introduced, were of the popular sort ; the repudiation of the foreign Pope, which the fires of Smithfield had made imperative as public policy ; the publication of the Scriptures, and the conduct of public worship, in the mother-tongue ; and the abolition of the mass and its sacerdotal magic. Barrowe, starting with his own tumultuous and revolutionising experiences of remorse, repentance and of forgiveness through the free grace of Christ, and without the mediation of any priest, or ecclesiastical foster-mother, could not tarry at any such half-way house.

Already the very arguments applied by the Elizabethan Church against Rome, were in turn applied to the Elizabethan Church by the Puritans. Barrowe completed the logical process by directing the self-same arguments against the Puritans. One course alone was open to him ; to follow the teaching of Scriptures, as he understood them, scorning all politic accommodation to the predilections of the Queen, the interests of the clergy, or the prejudices of the people. This temper of mind was only possible, because he was entirely willing to endure any suffering which it brought upon him.

3. *Barrowe discovers Robert Browne's Church.*—The Church, which his close and prolonged study of the New Testament discovered, was a regal society, under no tutelage to any secular government. It could acknowledge no head, but Christ. English Christians had not been delivered out of the Roman bondage, to become serfs, under Elizabeth's bishops.

The Puritan compromise, Barrowe considered to be the child of cowardice. Political citizenship did not carry with it citizenship in the City of God. By the fanfare of her herald's trumpets, Elizabeth might sound the knell of the Roman domination, but could not thereby create a nation of Protestant Christians. The advancement of the dominion of Christ lay not at all in the region of expediency. The true expediency, profitable as well for State as for Church, was to get rid of all the old papistical baggage; the sullied vestments of the Marian oppressors, and the ostentatious and worldly titles of the reverend, right reverend, and very reverend clergy; who were indeed prohibited by their Master from assuming even the title of Rabbi. The parish was a citizen-community, defined and controlled by political authority. Membership in the Church of Christ, however, had to be obtained by all alike, from the Prince downwards, by passing through the narrow gate of repentance and faith and dedication. These were divinely instituted principles, not to be chaffered in any market, or to be bases of any compromise, or the material of the give and take of a public arrangement.

Both Barrowe and his prison companion, John Greenwood, who was by training a cleric, and had received orders, professed to owe nothing to Robert Browne. This perhaps implied that they had no personal communications with him, and had never professed to be his followers. Nevertheless, their obligation to Browne may well have been more than they realised. That strong current of advanced evangelical and anti-episcopal thought, which affected Cambridge during Greenwood's residence, and led him first, to his general acceptance of the Puritan position, and ultimately, to his embracing the Separatist faith, was partly due to Browne,—and also to Cartwright. The fact that Greenwood became a Separatist, was probably less than he imagined due to any original discovery of his own, as he studied the New Testament. Certain truths there are, of a fundamental and formative character, long hidden under the conventions of traditional opinion, which, once spoken, become thereafter the postulates of common thought. They constitute the intellectual atmo-

sphere which subsequent thinkers and seekers after truth, all unconsciously breathe. And such a vital truth, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was the essential democracy of the society which Jesus Christ founded in the earth ; far removed from the anarchy and lawlessness, which is truly the dark shadow, which follows autocracy and oppression. When Henry Barrowe in the Fleet, painfully penned the chapters of his great book, *A Brief Discoverie of the False Church*, though he supposed he owed nothing to Robert Browne, his work was half written, before he took his quill and inkhorn out of their secret hiding. Nor is this the least disparagement of his intellectual vigour and originality ; the reputation of the leading biologist to-day, suffers no prejudice because, later in time than Charles Darwin, he has to accept evolution and the origin of species, as part of the nature of things. We can see clearly enough that Barrowe did not begin to describe the ' household of the faith ' with a *tabula rasa* before him.

4. *Barrowe disseminating the New Doctrine.*—When his views became at last clarified and co-ordinated, when his ideas on the polity of the Church of Christ became consistent and assured, they had to find an expression. Barrowe became a propagandist. In temper and disposition, he was a chastened and benevolent soul ; but his views claimed attention, because of their uncompromising and revolutionising character. He consulted not with flesh and blood, in declaring them. The timid and accommodating, in the Puritan and the Protestant camps, were startled by their daring character ; and inevitably, they soon became the subject of rumour and gossip in court and market. Bancroft, as head of the episcopal intelligence department, and the director of the Lambeth staff of pursuivants, was not long before he had definite information to submit to Whitgift, that a strong recruit had joined the nonconforming ranks, and had identified himself with the unaccommodating Separatist section. The reports indicated that the new centre of disturbance was a man who truculently absented himself from the services of the parish church, a man of good breeding and education, with some legal training, and a controversialist of great power ; one who

contemptuously disregarded the Elizabethan acts of uniformity. Barrowe's actual words, his criticisms of the established church order, reached Lambeth, no doubt, in a distorted form: they surely indicated a distempered mind, cherishing sinister views; a dangerous innovator, perhaps even an Anabaptist, dangerous alike to Church and State; just what might be feared from a man, who startled respectable society by suddenly forsaking his easy-going and indulgent court companions, to become a devotee of the extreme faction of the reformers!

5. *The Spider and the Fly* (1586).—Barrowe's name now found a place in Whitgift's special list of persons 'wanted.' Pursuivants were given due warning to be on the *qui vive*. Gaolers were instructed to scrutinise the companies, captured while holding illegal conventicles, and brought into ward. Meanwhile Barrowe, being in London, and in close association with the Separatist brethren, walked openly into the Archbishop's clutches. It happened on a Sunday, the 19th of November, 1586. Having no disposition to attend the services at any of the parish churches, it seemed to Barrowe in harmony with the day, to make it a day of good works. And what better work could there be than to visit the prisoners of the Lord in the filthy gaols of London? So he and 'Mr. Hul' set out to visit the brethren immured in the Clink in Southwark.

The most notable of them was John Greenwood, destined to be for many years Barrowe's prison-companion, and to die along with him at Tyburn, for their common faith. The visitors reached the Clink between nine and ten in the morning, and greeted their imprisoned friends. Scarcely quarter of an hour elapsed before Shepherd, the keeper, appeared, and began to reprimand Greenwood for some supposed infraction of the prison rules. Then, noting carefully the principal visitor, he arrested him. 'He had commandement from his Lords grace,' he said, 'soe to doe.' Barrowe naturally requested 'a sight of his warrant.' Shepherd unblushingly told him that he would seize him first, and get the warrant afterwards. Knowing how Whitgift regarded such quiddities as the rights

of the subject, he silenced the further controversy by announcing that he would arrest Barrowe, warrant or no warrant; if Barrowe felt wronged, he might afterward, if he liked, bring his action.

6. *Barrowe before Whitgift.*—At one o'clock two pursuivants arrived at the Clink with a warrant. Barrowe was forthwith taken by boat to Lambeth. During the short water-journey, one of the pursuivants, the notorious Watson, told Barrowe that he had long been on the look-out for him, and wished, there and then, to serve him with a writ; which Barrowe utterly refused to receive, as he was now under arrest. On landing, Watson immediately slipped away, to acquaint the Archbishop with the situation. A hastily summoned court under the High Commission had been constituted, and presently Barrowe was haled before their honours. The question of illegal arrest was one of the first matters to be discussed. Whitgift tried to take high ground.

Archbp.—‘It is told me, that you refuse to receive or obey our letter, know you what you doe? It is from the High Commissioners, and this man a pursuivant.’

Barrowe.—‘I refused to receive or obey that letter at that time.’

Abp.—‘Why so?’

Bar.—‘Because I was under arrest, and imprisoned without warrant, and against law: and therefore it was too late to bring the letter.’

Abp.—‘Why, may not a Counsellor commit to prison by his bare commandment?’ (alleging how the Aldermen of London doe dayly).

Bar.—‘That is not the question, what a Counsellor may doe: but whether this man may doe it, without warrant, by the law of the land: (pointing to the keeper of the Clinke).’¹

Barrowe soon found that the insolent illegality of his arrest was continued in the conduct of his examination. His indictment was disorderly; it consisted of certain common reports, or rumours alleging, that he refused to go to church; that he denied any true Church to exist in England, and so on. There was no accuser, no witness, no evidence. In their

¹ *Examination of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry*, A ij. rect. The reports are by the prisoners themselves.

absence he was invited to take an oath, *ex officio*, and, by answering a series of questions, not restricted to any specific charge, to accuse himself; which he promptly declined to do. He was unable to get release on bail, because the surety for his good behaviour was to be responsible for his attendance at church. He roundly declared he would enter into no such bond.

Eight days later Barrowe was examined before a far more numerous court. A second time he refused to take their oath. He was then confronted with an extended bill of indictment. His lawyer's mind was scandalised by its disorderly character; an unprofessional medley of rumours, suggestions, arguments and what not. He was charged with denying the Church as established to be a true Church, and that for several reasons,—its 'idoltrous worship and ministrie,' its antichristian bishops, including Whitgift, 'the reuerend father in God, my lords grace'; and the like. It was even alleged against him, as a piece of gossip which found its way to Lambeth Palace, that so extreme was he, that he condemned such Puritans as Wigginton and Cartwright, and such esteemed writers as Calvin and Beza; and even held all catechisms to be idoltrous. This last charge was jocularly transferred by Aylmer to Dean Nowell, for, said he, 'Mr. Dean of Pauls has written a catechisme.' The examination was abruptly ended by one of Whitgift's irascible outbreaks of temper. 'Away with him: clap him vp, close, close'; and Barrowe was hurried off to the Gatehouse.¹ Barrowe spent the rest of his life as Whitgift's close prisoner. He suffered martyrdom at Tyburn in April, 1593.

7. *The Second Founder of English Democratic Christianity*.—Barrowe's contribution to the foundation literature of English Separatism—or Congregationalism—ranks in importance next after that of Browne. Nothing can supplant *Reformation without taryng for anie* and *A Booke which Sheweth* from their proud priority in the literature of ecclesiastical liberty. But Barrowe's great work, *A Brief Discoverie of the False Church*, takes the next place. Both writers set forth, with

¹ *Examination of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry*, A iij. rect. et vers.

very slight differences, the same interpretation of doctrine and polity of the New Testament; that polity, they contend, was first evangelical, and then democratic; the evangelical doctrine, for its own integrity, demanded the democratic polity. Congregationalism and sacerdotalism are natural antitheses.

CHAPTER V

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF BARROWE'S DOCTRINE

1. *A Brief Discoverie*.¹—Barrowe gave to the world his conception of a Christian Church according to the teaching of the New Testament in *A Brief Discoverie of the False Church*. His concern was with the Church established and its administration. His differences with the theology, as distinct from the polity, of the Church established by Elizabeth, were insignificant. Parker and Grindal and Whitgift, Jewel, Cooper, Guest, Aylmer, Cox, Sandys, were as unequivocally evangelical as Cartwright and Udall, Travers and Wigginton, Browne, Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry. They were all at one in regarding Rome as Antichrist. They spoke with the same horror and indignation of the atrocities committed in the name of God by Mary and Bonner. The conflict between Elizabeth's bishops and the evangelical reformers was entirely concerned with the external polity of the Church.

A Brief Discoverie is a remarkable piece of writing to

¹ It is a presentable large quarto printed in Holland, containing no printer's name or place; dated 1590. The title-page and the Epistle to the Reader occupy signatures Ai. iv.; the treatise is paged 1-264. Page 263 ends—'By the Lords most vnworthy seruant and witnes in bandes, HENRY BARROWE.' Page 264 (not numbered) contains, 'The Printer to the Reader,' his apology for 'faults escaped.' The reprint of 1707 is an abridgement, not always in Barrowe's words, and cannot be regarded, without comparison with the original, as authoritative. Barrowe indicates typographically the beginning of the main sections of his treatise. In the reprint the text is divided up into numbered chapters, supplied with descriptive titles. An original copy of this rare and important work, in excellent condition, is among the recent additions to the Brit. Museum library; press mark, c. 37, f. 18. Copies are also to be found at Lambeth, and in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

have been produced furtively, in the dark and filthy quarters which Barrowe occupied in the Fleet prison, and under the rigorous discipline to which Whitgift and his High Commission condemned him. In one of his tracts, written about this time, he pathetically alludes to his condition as a 'close prisoner,' deprived of fresh air, of exercise, and of all intercourse with his friends. Worst of all he was deprived of 'all meanes so much as to write, yncke and paper beeing taken and kept from vs, and a diligent watch both by our keepers held ouer vs, & also continuall searches vpon one pretence or other made, where wee were rifled from tyme to tyme, of all ovr papers and writinges they could find.'¹

Barrowe is a sincere lover of his country, and since he can entertain no hope of the future happiness of a single English man or woman, apart from a knowledge of the true Gospel, he writes heart-brokenly of the future of his nation, and particularly of those individually dear to him. His words remind us in a striking fashion of the poignant lamentations of Penry over the spiritual doom of the Welsh people, with which we are so familiar. 'Yea'—says Barrowe,—

'what heart could endure to behold so manie of his naturall councitmen, deare friendes, and neere kinsfolke in the flesh, to perish before his eies for want of warning or help.' Beyond his zeal for God's glory, he says, 'the tender loue and care of the safetie of this my cuntrye constrained me to breake silence.'²

The chief points in his Separatist doctrine are stated with vigour. As a controversialist he has few equals. Compared with Penry, he is less subtle, less of an artist, less academic, less reminiscent of the refinements of impugning a thesis at 'Austins'; yet he delivers his blow, with a directness and a brainy masterliness, which neither Penry, nor any contemporary engaged in the discussions between the hierarchy and the Reformers, could quite equal. His style is redolent of his strong personality, and has a grim humour all its own. The taunt is flung at him that he is a layman, destitute of professional training in divinity. He retorts that he claims

¹ *A Plaine Refutation.* The Epist. Dedicatorie, pp. i, ij.

² *A Brief Discoverie,* Ep. to the Reader, pp. i, ij.

no warrant beyond the Word of God ; and that the divine truth is not tied ' to the Phariseis lippes & to the Rabbins chaire.' It is sometimes hidden from the wise and prudent. And so he launches out on his great theme.

2. *The Gathered Church and the Parish Muster.*—Without delay, he puts forth his strength against the indiscriminate inclusion of the whole population as members of the Church.

On this point he attacks Calvin, whose doctrines, as set forth in the *Institutes*, are conveyed in bulk into the pages of Barrowe's opponents. Calvin's example at Geneva, he regarded as the head and front of the offending. The faith of the Prince, even though the people offer no opposition, cannot be regarded as the necessary belief of the people. He is amazed at the empty and irresponsible conception of membership of the Church of Christ, which is implied ; no demand for personal faith, no covenanted loyalty, no forswearing of worldliness, no spiritual fellowship ; nothing, but residence within the bounds and metes of the parish, to qualify for membership of the Church, embracing that ecclesiastical unit ; as though a ratepayers' association should be regarded as a Church. Membership of the Church was essentially, to him, a personal profession, and a consecrated life.

3. *The Perfect Church not to be Found.*—Not that he expected, any more than did Calvin, to find a perfect Church.

As long as men are mortal, they will be imperfect ; within the Church, even as they are without it. Those who leave the Church, because it is not free from all sin, must go seek ' the societie of Angels.'¹ In the parable of the Tares, in which are represented wheat and tares growing side by side till the judgement, we are explicitly told, that the field in which they are found together is not the Church, but the world. If the drag-net (in the Parable) with its draught of clean and unclean fishes represent, indeed, the Church, then, it must be admitted, the Church, in spite of all care, will contain hypocrites. But the Church cannot be figured in the ' Barneflore,' in which the grains of wheat are hidden amongst the chaff, until it be purified by the fan and sieve. It is rather the Sheepfold, sedulously guarded ; a planted Vineyard walled around ; an Orchard of mellow fruit-trees and fragrant plants. (*Vid. Calv. Instit. Bk. IV. ch. i. § 13.*)

¹ *A Brief Discoverie*, p. 17.

4. *False Parallels.*—It is of no avail to quote the instances of the Churches at Corinth, Galatia, and in Asia, which contained much sin, and yet were not forsaken by the faithful in Christ. (Calv. *Instit.* Bk. IV. ch. i. § 14.)

There is no true comparison to be instituted. The Church at Corinth was a Church gathered out of heathendom. The only likeness between it and the Church of England lay in the sins of both Churches. But the Church at Corinth was severely admonished to redress the evil forthwith.

5. *Calvin's Contradictory Policies.*—Very outspoken is his antagonism to Calvin's doctrine that while evil men are to be shunned socially, they are to be tolerated in the Church and at the Lord's Supper. (Calv. *Instit.* Bk. IV. ch. i. § 9.)

As though the honour of our own houses was to be more jealously and fastidiously guarded, than the honour of the House of God. Far different was Paul's admonition to the Corinthian Church; particularising evil men of various sorts, the Apostle condemns social intercourse with them; but he does not judge those without, those within the Church they must judge, and 'put away' from among them 'that wicked man' (2 Cor. v. 11-13).¹

The teaching of the Word soundly does not, of necessity, constitute a Church. It may lead to the foundation of a Church, which is a fellowship of those who, being instructed, live in the obedience of God. Neither ministry nor sacraments are of the essence of the Church, though they are of its excellence; and that Church is blameworthy, which exists without the one or the other, if, by any means, they are to be obtained.²

6. *The Officers of the New Testament Church.*—He proceeds in due course to the Ministry—what officers Christ has appointed, how they should enter upon their office, and how they should minister.

With abundant references to the New Testament, he shows that the permanent ministry consists of Elders and Deacons. The Elders are pastors and teachers; the Deacons look after the goods of the Church, and especially supervise the distribution of its alms. Ministers are to be chosen according to the qualifications

¹ *A Brief Discoverie*, pp. 24-27.

² *Ibid.* p. 34.

laid down in the New Testament. Each flock they are severally chosen to serve, must obtain testimony as to their Christian spirit, and their manner of life ; and it is by its choice and consent that its minister is ordained. He, being chosen by all, is to serve all alike, uprightly and without partiality. Nor must he prejudice the liberty of any, by assuming an inordinate authority. He, like any other member, is subject to the censure of the Church.¹

7. *The Personnel of the Established Church and their Training.*—He classifies the personnel of the existing Church under the categories of

(1) Ministers governing (beginning with archbishops and on to 'pursuivants and sumners'); (2) Ministers serving (from parsons [*i.e.* rectors] to 'quest-men and parish clerkes'); and (3) Collegiate ministers (ranging from archbishops to 'vergiers and sextines'). He cannot arrange them according to their honours, nor trace their use in the first four or five centuries; his recourse is of necessity to the 'Old Booke of Gods word,' in which he finds none of them.²

He is especially severe on the curriculum of the Universities.

They supply a training in profane, and sometimes unclean, Latin and Greek authors, as a preparation for a spiritual office. When they advance to traditional Divinity, if they are skilful enough, they will on some 'moneths warning . . . dare to undertake to speake an howre upon some text'; or, fix their thesis on the school-doors, to dispute for a degree. On the solemn day of Commencement, a chaplain will confirm their faith, by defending the sacred tenets of non-residency and pluralities.³ Their hood and their tippet is guarantee enough of their learning, to excuse their being posed by such searching questions as, how many sons Noah had, or being tested as to their ability to 'reade distinctly the homilies.'⁴ They must next gain the favour of the Lord Patrons, who can sell their advowsons like any other property. They now go forth to perform all the churchly duties; to preach, if they can, a sermon 'an howre long,' but as seldom as they choose, unless their living be in the Queen's book, when four sermons a year are required.⁵ The incumbent is not compelled to be a resident; [but he will be careful to collect the

¹ *A Brief Discoverie*, p. 46.

² *Ibid.* pp. 46-48.

³ *Ibid.* p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 54.

tithes without respect of persons (p. 58)]. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have the same popish foundation as the monasteries had ; therefore Elizabeth ought to abolish them, 'as her progenitor did the Abbaies.'¹ Later (p. 175) he denounces the celibate fellowships at the Universities.

8. *The Sophisticated Sacraments.*—When he treats of the Sacraments,² the substance of his criticism of the practice of the Church is, that the simple ordinances—simple in form, simple in their significance—have been regimented, officialised ; their administration has become a stilted, technical, performance, in which their natural and social appeal is lost. They become church machinery, outward and material conveyors of spiritual grace.

In this section of his treatise he comes into collision with Penry's views on Baptism, not as they are expressed in Penry's books, but as they are asserted by his 'friend of Oxenford' in the volume *M. Some laid open in his coulers*. Barrowe summarises the New Testament requirements in the administration of the sacraments, to be '1. a lawful minister of the Gospel to deliuer them ; 2. a faithful people or their seed to receaue them ; 3. the outward elementes & forme of wordes which our Sauour *Christ* hath ordeined therevnto.' When the religion of the country was changed by Elizabeth, the Romish baptism must have been counted valid, for there was no re-baptizing. But a true baptism must come from a true Church. Therefore the Roman Catholic Church is a true Church, and they are all in schism.

9. *Dr. Some's Quandary.*—That, says Barrowe, is the difficulty which confronts Dr. Some, who holds that the Roman Church administers true sacraments.

That is, according to him, that a true sacrament is delivered by an unlawful ministry ; or, if the ministry were lawful, can be received by an idolatrous people ; or, again, he must grant that the Papists are a true and faithful Christian people. In which case there are several true Churches, and the Lord has many spouses.

And he points out, that there are further absurdities : a Church exists with one true, and one false, sacrament ; for

¹ *A Brief Discoverie*, p. 55.

² *Ibid.* pp. 99 ff.

Barrowe is sure that the Church of England is not so shameless as 'to hold that the breaden God is a true sacrament.' But if Mr. Some insists that the Roman Church is no true Church, then its baptism is not a true sacrament.¹ And much follows. Elizabeth and all her peers are unbaptized. For that matter, Barrowe and all his friends are in the like condition. The whole nation should seek true baptism. But, alas, it cannot be had! For all the Churches are derived from Rome; they have only such a ministry as they received from a false Church, a ministry that has not been reordained.

10. *Penry and his Advocate are heading for Brownism.*—The Clerk of Oxenford, writing on behalf of Penry, is in no better case.

His position is that, 'Where there is no [true] Church there is no calling.' So the ministry of the Church of England, derived from Rome, is no true ministry, and its sacraments are null. At the change of religion from Romanism, the whole people were unbaptized. It then follows that they cannot choose a ministry. You are left, therefore, with neither Church nor sacrament, nor power to create them, unless there come some divine intervention. If 'Mr. Penrie do not [supply] for his own defence, some better stuff than his friend offers, he and his friends will have to come over to those who agree with Barrowe,—Brownistes, as they, to the dishonour of Christ, term us.'

11. *How their Argument affects the Queen's Position.*—The logical consequences of their views upon the position of the Queen, as seen above, has not been lost sight of.

Elizabeth was too potent a personality, as well in Church as in State, to be overlooked. But Barrowe protests against their odious flattery of her Majesty, in a slim endeavour, under cover of a shower of obsequious avowals of loyalty, to remove her from the operation of the laws of religion. This fence is no reply to his arguments. That the Queen is persuaded in her own mind, that she *is* baptized, is not enough; that the bishop or priest administering to her the communion, knows nothing to the contrary, carries even less weight; nor again will it meet the case that she has assurance of salvation, and therefore needs no initiatory rite, if she is wilfully neglecting an ordinance of God, who makes no exception in favour of princes. There is

¹ *A Brief Discoverie*, pp. 102-104.

one common salvation for all, prince and people. None but the baptized can be members of the Church. 'This was the practise of *Christ & His Apostles*, they that were baptized were added and numbered to the Church, &, not until then, receaved into the fellowship.' This Scholler of Oxenford has proved syllogistically, the nullity of the Roman baptism and ministry. How then can the Queen, or any of the unbaptized receive the Lord's Supper? The uncircumcised receiving the Passover were accursed. 'Baptisme, he saith, is not the cause, but the seale of Saluation; & they may be saued which were neuer baptised. I graunt all this,' says Barrowe, 'where yt can by no meanes (be) had: but I hope they wil not so say, that yt can not be had with them, and that the matter is not come to that passe—for "the most flourishing estate of a Church in *Europe*." . . . Then haue Mr. *Penrie* and D[r] S[ome] spunne a faire thread: let them take heed, for a few (of) these Argumentes wil make as many as haue sight, grace or conscience, *Brownistes*, as this scholer blasphemeth them.' The mischief is without remedy for them: all unbaptized, and no ministry or sacrament without baptism! Vain is it to say, we can be saved without it, and claim they are neither neglecting nor despising it. 'For one ynch can we not stirre in this building and busines of the Church, vntil we be baptised.' Harking back to the summary solution proposed, that the Queen, whatever doubts some may have concerning her baptism, has the comfort of knowing she has received salvation, 'Dangerous doctrine,' exclaims Barrowe. What if she finds comfort in unrighteousness? How many Roman Catholics claim to have found comfort in their 'shrines and roodes'?¹

12. *The Crucial Question for 'the Scholer.'*—The Scholar will say, as touching the Queen, that he means sound inward comfort in Christ, built upon His promises.

Let it be granted, and that it be lawful to take part in the Lord's Supper, though administrator and receiver are unbaptized. Barrowe, therefore, puts to him the crucial question, Are the Archbishop and Bishops true ministers or not? If he be Penry's friend, he will say, No; 'and,' says Barrowe, 'surely I wil say Amen to it.' Then, shall the Queen receive the eucharist from the Archbishop? If she 'finds comfort' in it, must he, then, be a true minister? For, if not, he is encouraging, not only a sacrilegious service, but also, the Queen to remain unbaptized.

¹ *A Brief Discoverie*, pp. 105-106.

He is bound to choose one of two possible positions. Either, you can gather a Church, and make a fresh start, and can erect anew a ministry qualified to administer the sacraments. Or, the Queen and the Church of England have special immunities from the obligation to proceed from baptism. In which case, what could Dr. Thomas Bridges¹ or Dr. Robert Some do to justify their open Popery?² With some humour, Barrowe sums up the Scholar's position, by saying to the Queen,—

'y^t he is able to make so manie syllogismes for y^r Majesties salvation, as you need not to be bound to the straight keeping of Christs Testament, neither fear any danger that may issue.'

They tell her that her proclamation of the Gospel, suppression of the Roman mass, and eviction of the Pope, will yield her comfort enough. But what of the English mass and English Popes which survive? She graciously extends her protection to foreigners holding the reformed faith; but her 'own natural and true-hearted subiectes' are thrust into the Bishops' deadly prisons. That these charges are true, he appeals to their 'Supplications to Parliamentes' [*A Viewe of . . . Public Wants* by Penry] their 'Protestations [Marprelate] & new devised scoffing libells.' He would like their *Theses* [*Martinianae*] applied to themselves. It would be worth the labour to gather their maxims and so apply them.³

13. *Barrowe and Marprelacy*.—This, and other unfriendly references to the Marprelate controversy, entirely disposes of the Dexter-hypothesis that Barrowe was the writer of the Tracts.

His association however of *M. Some laid open in his coulers* with the *Protestation* and the *Theses* of Marprelate, and to couple these again with the *Supplication* of Penry, shows that Barrowe, in the Fleet prison, was not uninformed of the parts played by Job Throkmorton and Penry in the publication of the 'new devised scoffing libells.' He himself doubts, grave humorist though he is, the expediency of the reckless fun and the satirical laughter of Martin. 'I neuer heard of such scoffing diuines to help vp Christs kingdom.'⁴ It is an attempt to bring in Christ 'by the arme of flesh.' And besides they are limiting the truth

¹ 'D. Thō Bridges.' The Dean's name was John.

² It would mean that the popish baptism was effective.

³ *A Brief Discoverie*, pp. 105-109.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 113.

to the teaching of Calvin, Beza, and Fulke. For this reason, he tells these conspirators, and thus finally determines his attitude towards Marprelacy, 'God hath taken you in your own pollicies and subtelties, deliuered you into the hands of your enemies, whom you so skoffed and skorned.' And worse will happen to them if they repent not. But Barrowe and his friends, 'poore persecuted Christians' though they be,—'whome you so despise, and blaspheme, baptising vs into the name of *Browne*, as though we had either deriued or hold our faith of him,' or of any mortal man, or were guilty of notorious heresies, 'thus adding afflictions to our bandes'; yes, they who themselves fear fully to confess the faith, 'if any persecution should arise therefore,'—do not reioice because the Marprelate Puritans have been 'ensnared and foiled.' They blush for shame that so glorious a cause should have been so evilly handled by them.¹

14. *Barrowe's Theory of Baptism*.—The question of baptism has occupied so much space, in the writings of the various parties sharing the discussions which centre around Penry, for he becomes the chief figure as the contention develops, that it becomes necessary to extract from Barrowe's *Brief Discoverie*, before we leave it, his theory of the sacrament.

No two of the disputants are agreed upon the matter; indeed from Penry's day to our own, among those who, in one form or other, observe the rite, no agreement is found as to its precise value and meaning; there are not only different schools, divided from each other on the 'subjects' of baptism, and its method of administration; but on its essential significance, in relation to salvation, there are among the members of the schools themselves, endless shades of difference.

Dr. Robert Some, who had constituted himself an independent defender of the ecclesiastical order, as established, published in 1588, a *Godly Treatise*. In the original edition he touches briefly, but personally, in the second enlarged edition, more minutely and fully, on Penry's theory of baptism. We have already dealt with the controversy as between Some and Penry. A special reply to Some by Penry never saw the light. It was seized at Northampton by Whitgift's pursuivants. Then the 'Scholler of Oxenford,' with gay inconsequence, enters upon the fray; not only to career about the course generally, as a free lance, but to defend his friend Penry, and in particular, what he represents

¹ *A Brief Discoverie*, p. 113.

to be Penry's teaching on baptism. Dr. Some adventures another *Godly Treatise* in 1589; this time against Barrowe and Greenwood 'and other of the Anabaptisticall order.' Lastly, Barrowe joins the conflict, 'discovering,' laying bare, the False Church; and while answering Robert Some, he also separates himself from Penry (as represented by his Friend) and from the two authorities chiefly relied upon by the English Puritans, John Calvin and his renowned *Institutes*, and William Fulke, the great Cambridge scholar and controversialist, a conforming Puritan.

It is characteristic of Barrowe's views of the infallible inspiration of the Scriptures, old and new equally, and of the authority of the ancient religion of the Jews and the ceremonial practice of the Jewish Church, that for him the nature of Christian baptism is largely determined by the utterly remote action of Hezekiah, in the days when Israel apostatised. Barrowe, we know, held that none but a baptized person could be a member of a Christian Church. Salvation was possible to the unbaptized, but only where the sacrament could by no means be obtained.¹ The Roman Church, to Barrowe, was no Church; it was an apostate Church; therefore its ministry and sacraments counted for nothing. To seek the benefits of Christian sacraments in the Church of Antichrist was a sin. Nevertheless, like Calvin and Penry, but for reasons of his own, he would not have the returning apostate, or the person baptized in infancy in the Church of Rome, re-baptized. Barrowe discovers that the apostate Jews, circumcised during the time of the apostacy, who returned to the Temple of God, were received by Hezekiah and admitted to the Passover without any fresh initiatory rite. He repudiates Some's position, that baptism in the False Church is a 'true seal of the covenant'; nor will he agree with Penry, or rather with 'Mr. Penries Proctor,' that they who have received the rite in the False Church are not baptized 'as touching the outward action.' Barrowe will not re-baptize, because to him Hezekiah's treatment of the returning apostates is the practice of the Holy Ghost, and is authoritative in regard to baptism, as an initiatory rite. But he has the candour to admit that this teaching is to be received, though neither Penry nor Some, nor Barrowe himself, 'be able to arrive at the wisdom thereof.'² It is, indeed, an elusive wisdom; the wisdom that relates Tenterden Steeple to Goodwin Sands.

¹ *Vid.* Calvin, *Instit.* IV. v. 22.

² *A Brief Discoverie*, pp. 116-117.

15. *The Charge of Intolerance.*—In his reply to George Gifford of Malden, who charged him with intolerance, Barrowe strikes a personal note, which it is necessary to take into account in any attempt to understand his character and to fix justly his point of view.

Gifford was a militant Protestant controversialist, with sufficiently pronounced Puritan convictions to qualify him for imprisonment. Whitgift and Aylmer sternly resisted a highly influential appeal, pleading for his restoration to his living at Malden; they regarded him as a 'ringleader of Nonconformists.' Yet he mitigated the offence of his nonconformity by his severe attack on the Separatists, 'the Donatists of England, whom we call Brownists,' which developed into a controversy with Barrowe and Greenwood, then in prison.

But who are the intolerant ones? Barrowe reminds Gifford that Greenwood and himself have been buried alive in prison; they 'have been 4 yeares & 3 moneths without tryal or relaxation, kept by the Prelats in most streight imprisonment,' with 'scant meanes' to answer him in their defence. If Gifford be bent on 'discouering the wolfe, pointing out seducers,' he might have found them in more stately and inviting places than in 'loathsome prisons.' Gifford is himself a Separatist, for that matter. Whatever his relation to the Church of Elizabeth, he has left the Church of Rome.

But it is a more serious charge, says Barrowe, to allege, that they 'condemne all the persons, both men and women of England, who are not of our minde.' Their writings, he holds, witness to the contrary. They have gladly acknowledged and revered their superiors; their conduct has been gentle, their hearts open, to all. They have not withheld, for politic reasons, any part of the truth; without respect of persons, they have revealed what they believed to be the corruptions of the times, and those responsible for them. But they have often expressed their 'good hope of manie thousands, and their intire loue vnto al'; moreover, they have reproved all rash judgements of persons, or limitations of God's mercy. They commend the faith of the English martyrs. True, they had not discarded all the corruptions of Rome; but God's mercy 'extended and superabounded above all their sinnes.' The majority of the people are not members of a rightly constituted Church; but Barrowe and his friends do not on that account, as Gifford suggests, condemn them, as 'tares for the fire.'

Nor do they, as the same writer insinuates, 'condemne al the Churches in the world.' They confined their criticism to the Church of England; they did not turn it against Churches unknown to them. Barrowe, no doubt, disagrees with some of the tenets of the foreign Reformed Churches; but so does Gifford. When, however, his adversaries attacked him 'with the writings and practise of Mr. Calvine at Geneva,' Barrowe was compelled to condemn the Reformer's views in those particulars. But these views only concerned the first phase of the Church at Geneva, when it forsook Popery. Neither Geneva nor Scotland would have persecuted those differing with them on a question of organisation and management, as the English prelates do. As for them, it would be folly to approach them with the hope of discussing these matters. A man might 'as wel goe into a Leopardes den or take a Beare by the tooth.' 'Further, of M. Caluine, we have published our reuerend estimation & judgment, commending & propounding his rare faith, knowledg, labour, constancie, meeknes, as an example to all men.' Only, Barrowe claims the right to depart from any man who departs from the word of God.¹

CHAPTER VI

PENRY'S LIFE IN LONDON UP TO HIS ARREST

1. *Penry joins the Separatists.*—The arrival of Penry was a notable and interesting event in the history of London Separation. From Stratford-by-Bow, where Mrs. Penry had lodged, awaiting his coming from Scotland, he moved near the city. He and his wife had, at first, the care of three little children; the two Scots-born girls, and Deliverance the eldest child, who had been staying with her grandparents at Northampton. That she was now with her father and mother we gather from the reference to her in Penry's prison-letter to his wife. A fourth little daughter was born at Christmas.

¹ *A Plaine Refvtation of M. Giffards Booke*, pp. 237-243. This section by H. Barrowe is added to the edition of 1605. The original appeared in 1591.

Penry—perhaps under the name Harrison, which is, indeed, but the English of Ap Henry or Penry—found some quiet residence in the east of London, where he could wait upon events. When would the door of opportunity open for him to organise, with the aid of a government persuaded by the reasonableness and the urgency of his arguments, or at least with its consent, the evangelisation of Wales? Meanwhile, he, for whom his friend, the Scholer of Oxenford, had virtuously claimed that he had been the means of rescuing many from the errors of Brownism,¹ himself enters the proscribed community. Bancroft reports definitely that he had joined the Separatist Church, indicating a formal reception into its enrolled membership.

The brethren recognised the advent amongst them of a man of mark, a scholar of some repute, an eloquent preacher, and a redoubtable pamphleteer. And there was a touch of romance in the past career of this young Welshman. His adventurous connection with the Marprelate press was notorious. His flight to Scotland, his secure tarrying there, and now, his secret return to London, were known to all the members of the Separatist circle. Many of them had read, or had heard read, his various books, and had discussed the merits of his theological contention with Dr. Robert Some. Moreover, the great austere chief in the Fleet, Henry Barrowe, had recognised him as a man whose views had to be reckoned with, and had hinted that the logic of his position pointed to 'Brownism.' He was, for all these reasons, accorded forthwith a place of esteem and importance amongst them, by the members of the Church.

2. *Francis Johnson, M.A., Minister of the London Church.*—The Separatist community, as already stated, was busy at this time, organising itself afresh, and on more definite lines than it had adopted since the days of Richard Fitz. Before Penry left Scotland, there had appeared amongst them a new and striking personality. He had come from the Low

¹ Penry 'hath bin a meanes to reclaime and cal back some that for want of a preaching ministry were even at the brinke to decline to *Brownisme*.'—*M. Some in his Coulers*, p. 11.

Countries in the first instance, under rather dramatic circumstances, to visit Henry Barrowe in prison.

Francis Johnson was a Cambridge contemporary of Penry. He graduated from Christ's College, B.A. in 1581, M.A. in 1585, and had been elected to a Fellowship of his college. He became a Puritan of the school of Cartwright. Early in 1589 he delivered at ^{St.} Mary's a rather militant reforming sermon, for which he was shortly called to account. He failed to satisfy the authorities by the explanations he offered, and would not retract the offending passages in his discourse, and was therefore sent to gaol. Eventually he was expelled from Cambridge, and, after further trouble arising from his delay in departing, made his way to Middelburg in Zeeland, where he became minister to the English Merchants of the Staple, a well-paid position, formerly held by Cartwright and by Dudley Fenner. But the strength of his opposition to the episcopal constitution of the Elizabethan Church, and to the remnants of Roman usage retained in its ceremonials, did not qualify his antipathy to those who carried reform to a further stage than he had reached. Popish elements in the polity of the Established Church could be met, as he confidently believed, by scriptural arguments, which would appeal to all serious-minded anti-Roman reformers. But this newer movement was threatening to destroy Puritans with their own weapons. There was hope of being reconciled with the undoubtedly evangelical hierarchy of the English Church; but Separatism transferred all authority to the lay body of the Church, and led directly to the midsummer madness of Anabaptism—to Donatism, to social confusion, and to heaven knows what.

Now it happened that the English minister to the Merchants of the Staple at Middelburg got wind of an English pamphlet being secretly printed in the town, and discovering further that it was a Separatist writing, by the prisoner in the Fleet prison in London, he saw his duty very clearly. He consulted the English ambassador, and then, with the authority of a magistrate, he seized the entire issue. It was Henry Barrowe's (and Greenwood's) *A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffards Booke*

intituled *A short treatise against the Donatists of England*.¹ He made a bonfire of the whole edition. As a matter of fact a few copies escaped destruction, and are among the rarities of our chief libraries. Francis Johnson reserved two copies, one for a friend and one for himself. It was a bodeful reservation. He read it carefully, and was converted by its arguments. It was characteristic of him, for he cared little for consequences where his conscience was concerned, that he shortly left Holland to secure a personal interview with Barrowe. His new views were confirmed, and he remained in London, sacrificing his well-paid post at Middelburg. He cast in his lot with the Separatists.²

3. *The Organisation of the London Separatists*.—Early in September 1592 the chief body of London Separatists met in Fox's schoolhouse in St. Nicholas Lane, a narrow thoroughfare extending from Lombard Street to Cannon Street, to organise themselves as a Congregational Church.³ They chose men who had given some proof of their steadfastness in maintaining the truth. For their pastor they chose, as one specially directed to them, Francis Johnson. He was a learned man, had been in prison for the sake of conscience, and had recently relinquished an important pastorate to unite with them. For Doctor or Teacher, they elected Barrowe's prison companion, John Greenwood. He also was variously qualified for his office. He was a cleric who had

¹ Published in 1591.

² The story is told by Wm. Bradford in his *Dialogue*, printed in Young's *Chron. of N. England*, 424-5.

³ Bancroft in his *Survey* tells us that there was a general movement towards organisation amongst the Separatists about this time. In his elegant manner, he says, 'these neue vpstartes beginne to erecte in diuerse places, theyr Barrowish Synagogues, and I knowe not what cages of franticke schismatickes. One *Collins* a man amongst them, not vnlearned (as it seemeth) doth write in this sorte hereof. "*Ecclesia potenti eius dextra adiuta*, &c. The Church assisted with the mightie right hande of God, hath chosen ministers: Maister Johnson for her pastor: Maister Greenwood for her Doctor: Maister Studley and Maister George Knife[ton] for her elders: Nicolas Lee and Christopher Browne [Bowman] for her deacons. The other assembly also (wherevnto are added, Iohn Nicholas: Thomas Michell: John Barnes and some others with mee) with Gods assistance, will begin out of hand, to create vnto it selfe ministers.'"—Pp. 428, 429.

studied for his calling at Cambridge, a graduate of Corpus Christi College. He had also graduated in the prisons of London. In October 1587 he was arrested while holding a private religious meeting at the house of Henry Martin, at St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, on the south side of Ludgate Hill. Along with him were Nicholas Crane, Edward Boyes the Fleet Street haberdasher, Robert Lacey, a member of an interesting family associated with nonconformity, Katherine Unwin (or Onion), once inscribed as 'a spinster,' but, no doubt, a widow of Aldgate, and regarded as a 'chief conventickler,' Anne Jackson, Margaret Maynard, Alice Roe, widow, all familiar names and included in the lists of indicted Separatists; and many others, men and women. Greenwood's name appears in the various lists of prisoners—that of May or June 1589, of 'faithful Christians' imprisoned by Whitgift and Aylmer; in Aylmer's schedule, February 1590, of prisoners to be visited; in the list of names attached to the petition addressed the following month to Burghley. Since 1587 he had Barrowe for a prison companion. He was on more than one occasion allowed his liberty on bail.¹ Proceeding with their organising, the Church chose as elder, Daniel Studley, who was a prisoner in the Fleet in 1590, but of whose social standing we have no information. He migrated to Amsterdam and took part along with Francis Johnson in the unhappy controversies of his Church. The second elder was George Kniveton, an apothecary in Newgate Market. He appears to have been first a disciple of Robert Browne, and later to have sought the guidance of Barrowe and Greenwood. He was a man of a thoughtful, inquiring spirit, and became a very convinced Congregationalist. He 'mislikes Cartwrights plan of church government.'² In connection with his election

¹ Ephraim Pagit in his *Heresiography*, § 67, a doubtful authority, states that both Barrowe and Greenwood soon after their arrest and following a 'conference with some Divines' made a show of conformity, were 'enlarged upon bonds,' but that they 'burst forth into further Extremities' and were again committed to the Fleet. He has a show of accuracy by giving the date of the re-arrest, July 20, 1588. We believe, however, that Barrowe was not released on bail. He was too important a prisoner. Bancroft regards Greenwood as an unimportant person; he says 'Barrow is the man.'

² *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 76.

to the responsible and dangerous office of elder of the persecuted Church he also sought guidance from Penry, soon after the young leader returned from Scotland. He became a close friend of Penry's, and was arrested along with him at Stepney, the following spring. The Deacons elected by the Church were Bowman and Lee. Christopher Bowman was a goldsmith in West Smithfield. He was a Separatist prisoner in Wood Street Compter in 1590. He had been imprisoned in 1588 for 'putting up a petition.'¹ He was released at the time of his election to the diaconate; but was again in prison the following March, for his share in the affair of Roger Rippon's coffin.² In his examination (April 1593) he states that he has not been to his parish church these five years; but for four of those years he was in prison. Nicholas Lee was a neighbour of Bowman's, and lived at Cow Lane, a leading member of a family of marked reforming sympathies. All those elected to office by the Church were staunch, competent men, inspired by strong convictions.

4. *The Assemblies of the Church.*—Both before and after the organisation of the Church under Francis Johnson, the members met for worship and religious intercourse, where and when they could; in private houses, at inns, and where the numbers were large, in some of the company halls, obtained for some feigned and innocent purpose. But the many meeting-places—the 'many congregations' of John Stowe—do not imply many churches.³ The picturesque account of a church finding accommodation in Bridewell prison, where the Puritan and reforming prisoners were allowed to assemble together, and, it would appear, with friends from outside joining their company, and all uniting in holding a religious service, must not be taken too literally, as though it were a distinct autonomous *ecclesia*.⁴ We have evidence of the newly organised Church under Francis Johnson meeting in

¹ Name not in the Wood Street Counter list for May or June, 1588. Arber, *Marp. Sketch*, 38. See *Collection of Scland. Art.*, 1590.

² Strype, *Annals*, iv. 186.

³ Bancroft's quotation from Collins, implying the regular formation of a second Church, is given *ante*, p. 358, n. 3.

⁴ Dr. Albert Peel's chapter on *The First Congregational Churches* (Camb.

various parts of London and Southwark, and in the country, outside the city boundaries. Of the rendezvous at Fox's schoolhouse in St. Nicholas Lane, we have spoken. George Johnson's lodging in the same street was an occasional harbour.¹ Meetings were held at Bilson's house in Creechurch, near Aldgate, at Daniel Buck's in the same quarter, at the deacon Nicholas Lee's house in Cow Lane, and at the house of his near neighbour, Barnes, 'next St Bartlemy's'; and, before his imprisonment, at Roger Rippon's in Southwark. And several other houses have already been mentioned as meeting-places for the Church, either on Sundays, or for the regular Wednesday evening service.

For the Sunday services they assembled at a very early hour, four or five in the morning during the winter, when the streets of London were deserted, and the chances of detection were small. In the summer time, and the more genial days of spring and autumn, they often left the city with earliest dawn and spent the day in some quiet country place—in the woods at Deptford, and especially in the woods and fields near Islington, the latter being regarded as a sacred spot, for there the Secret Church in the days of Mary used to meet. On these occasions they left their homes before their neighbours were astir, and returned in the dusk, or the early dark of winter. To the field meetings they brought with them what food they could. At the gatherings in houses food was prepared for a common meal, and a collection was made to defray expenses, the deacons taking charge of any balance remaining over, and employing it for the maintenance of the ministry and the support of the poor, especially to help the suffering families of members in prison. They had in addition a weekly contribution for the maintenance of both pastor and teacher. They were undoubtedly, and had need to be, a liberal community. A shipwright under examination

Univ. Press, 1920), published after the above was written, discusses the question of the existence of 'general congregations.' His fresh assemblage of evidence merits attention.

¹ Cooper, *Athen. Cant.* ii. 435, says that Johnson, who was a school-master, had a school in Nicholas Lane, presumably in addition to Fox's schoolhouse in the same thoroughfare.

stated that when he had money, that is when in work, he contributed to the Church funds the equivalent in our money of three or four shillings, weekly.

Their worship was simple ; it consisted of much prayer, the reading and expounding of the Scriptures, and ' prophesying ' or preaching. Both prayers and sermons would be regarded by us as inordinately long, though they became yet longer in the next century. They observed the Lord's Supper on stated occasions, after a simple fashion. Under Francis Johnson, a number of small white loaves were provided, which he broke and gave to those standing by, and they to the deacons, who served the congregation, and in like manner they dealt with the cup ; the pastor read from Paul's letter to the Corinthians the words of institution. Baptism was also administered to children when it was requested. Lapses of membership and denial of the faith came under discipline, and the unrepenting were excommunicated. With the consent of the community, Francis Johnson solemnly excommunicated Robert Stokes and George Collier, and others.¹

Penry entered heartily into the life and fellowship of the Church. He refused office, for his mission was to his own countrymen, as soon as the door of opportunity should open. Nothing could obliterate from his heart the claims of Wales. But he served the brethren as he had opportunity. His gifts as a preacher were soon in requisition. John Edwards, who came from Scotland with Penry, was among his auditors a little before Christmas, at a garden house in Duke's Place, near Aldgate, when he preached along with Greenwood.² He also opened his house to accommodate the regular services of the Church. Christopher Bowman, the deacon, who had been a widower, was married the second time at Penry's house, when Greenwood was present and Settle prayed.³ Penry, whose pen had long been idle, was now engaged in writing a further treatise, and this time a Separatist work

¹ R. Abraham's evidence, *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 41.

² Duke's Place, which lay between Leadenhall Street (St. Katherine Cree Church) and Bevis Marks, has long since ceased to exist. King Street was its later name. *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 85.

³ *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 34.

representing his final convictions on the polity of the Church. He never fully completed it; it was published some years after his death.¹

5. *The Increase of the Church and the Tightening of Repression.*—There were many signs of the growing power of the Separatist Church, and we may be sure they were not unknown to so vigilant and so jealous a guardian of the established order as Elizabeth's 'little black husband' at Lambeth. The closing months of 1592 were marked by the revived activity of the Archbishop's pursuivants. Before Christmas the pastor and the teacher and a number of the leading members were in prison. London remained the headquarters of the reforming movement. The city had always supplied the chief forces in the past conflicts on behalf of progress, civil and religious. In the savageries of the Marian persecution, as a scene of martyrdoms, Smithfield had a great pre-eminence. From the scattered companies of reformers in the nearer counties, in the Eastern counties, the Midlands, and the West Country, men were continually drifting to London, seeking fellowship and support and further light.

(a) *The Membership of the Church under Johnson.*—The composition of the London Separatist Church under Johnson is interesting. Besides those already noted, Henry Barrowe and the officers of the Church, the membership included William Smith of Bradford-on-Avon. He had carried on an evangelical ministry at various places in Wilts and Somerset. When he and others were conducting a preaching campaign at Keynsham, a little town on the Avon, among the converts was John Delamore, a broadweaver of Bath. Both Smith and Delamore before long found their way to London, and in due course became members of the Separatist Church. Smith, who was desirous of further knowledge of the movement associated with the names of Robert Browne and Henry Barrowe, attended a meeting of the London church held at the house of Nicholas Lee, in Cow Lane, Smithfield, that he might ascertain more fully the principles and practices of

¹ See next chapter.

the community. Thomas Settle, another clergyman, compelled by his changed convictions to renounce his ministry in Suffolk, came to London in 1586, to answer Whitgift's charges. He was cast into prison; in 1592, he joined the London Separatists. An interesting figure in the Church was Arthur Bellot, a young man from Lanteglos, near Fowey, in Cornwall. He must have pronounced the name of his native place, Cymricé, Llanteglos; for the ignorant scribe, writing his deposition, gives a rude phonetic spelling, Flanteglos. Bellot was a scholar and a soldier. He was useful to Barrowe, in getting his books printed in Holland.¹ Edward Boyes was a prosperous haberdasher in Fleet Street. Daniel Buck of Aldgate was a scrivener. Abraham Pulberry, a pursemaker, living in the parish of Creechurch, and 'free of the Coupers,' being in Sussex early in 1592, must have been exercising his gift in those parts, for he was 'suspected to be a Brownist,' and along with a countryman, William Collin, was first committed to prison by the Bishop of Chichester, then transferred to Arundel. At the assizes 'he was Indicted and Burned in the eare, for a vagabounde, and prest for a souldier, which he saieth was agaynst all Lawe and Iustice.' Among a list of names John Clerke, the Norfolk husbandman, easily secures our attention. The report states that he was 'taken in an assembly with Barrowe(s),' which we are perhaps to understand to imply that he went to the Fleet with others to see the great leader, and was seized by the gaoler Shepherd, on the chance of his being 'wanted.' Anyway, it is three years this April 1593 since he was committed to prison by the Sheriffs; quite long enough for him to know what the fetid dungeons to which Whitgift sent religious opponents were like. Does he not long for the open breezy champaign of 'the parish of Walsoken,' for the lowing of kine, and the sight of green things growing in the black furrows of the fenland? Is it not worth some accommodation of conscience, to exchange the rancid stench of the Fleet, for a long breath of the tonic salt air, blowing clean and fresh from the sandy sea-wastes

¹ The vicar of Lanteglos, John Beale, was a notorious gamester and 'the best wrastler in Cornewall' (Peel, *Seconde Parte*, ii. 109).

of the Wash? He is asked if he will go to the parish church. There is not a tremor in John Clerke's voice as he answers, 'he will not.' The High Commissioners recognise their limitations when they are up against John Clerke. But they have power over his body, they can make a slave of him. It was 'thought good' by them, to send him 'to Bridewell, to grinde in the mill.' But here in London, Clerke is strengthened by the thought that he is in excellent company. Mr. Henry Barrowe is in the Fleet, and so are the officers of the Church, and its chief members, and many other faithful souls.

The persecuted Church under Francis Johnson was a live community. Though Barrowe was in prison his books were circulated and read, especially the brief accounts of his 'conferences' with various clergymen appointed to visit him. And Greenwood's and Penry's books were possessed by many. For a poor and persecuted Church it was exceptionally well furnished with men of light and leading. The two Johnsons, Greenwood, Settle, Smith, Bellot and Penry were university men; perhaps Denford the schoolmaster was also. Buck and Broadwater were both scribes; Kniveton an apothecary, Bowman a goldsmith, Boyes and Roger Waterer were haberdashers, and all these would be educated men. The rest seem to be skilled craftsmen: a joiner, a clothworker, broadweaver, feltmaker, trunkmaker, tailor, coppersmith, shoemaker, and a number of shipwrights, some of them from Deptford, mostly young men between the ages of twenty and thirty. They attended the meetings of the Church with admirable loyalty, in spite of the difficulties which lay in the way; walking in the dawn to Islington or Deptford; or hurrying along the dark wintry streets, between four and five o'clock in the morning, to the schoolhouse in St. Nicholas Lane, or to Nich. Lee's house in Smithfield. There were sometimes a hundred persons present, seldom less than sixty.

(b) *Efforts of the Government to find out the Secret Places of Meeting.*—As Bancroft's spies brought in continually scraps of information concerning the activities of the Separatists, the order was given for increased vigilance, and a more persistent following of every clue in the search for secret

conventicles. The brethren were very cautious. The next place of meeting was given at each gathering, or if by chance that could not be done, a brother, or likely enough a sister, hung around Moregate and gave the direction. But sixty to a hundred people directing their steps to the same goal, however wary and circumspect in their movements, were bound to attract some attention in their going and coming. The schoolhouse in St. Nicholas Lane, being the more convenient place at their disposal, was probably the most frequently selected. There the Church was organised; we hear of communion services held there, baptisms administered, and discipline determined. It seems to have been the first place to be discovered.

(c) *Arrest of Leaders: Johnson's Justification.*—Francis Johnson was arrested at 'an assemblie in Nicholas Lane,' which we assume to be the schoolhouse; not Fox's house in the same thoroughfare, where also the service was sometimes held. He was taken to the Wood Street Compter. He was presently set at liberty; but on the night of the 5-6 December, Bancroft's agents having failed to locate the Sunday gathering, acting on the information of their spies, between one and two o'clock, despatched a party of pursuivants who, armed with bills and staves, broke into the premises of Edward Boyes, the haberdasher in Fleet Street, and arrested both Francis Johnson and John Greenwood, then temporarily residing with Boyes. They were marched off to Wood Street. The house was ransacked, the contents of chests and cupboards scattered about, as part of the malicious punishment regularly inflicted at these episcopal visitations. Edward Boyes himself was placed under bond, to be a prisoner in his own house. In due course, the three men appeared before Whitgift and the Commission, and were sentenced to 'close imprisonment,' Greenwood to the Fleet, and Johnson and Boyes to the Clink, in Southwark. On the 17th December the Church again met at the St. Nicholas Lane Schoolhouse, and were again unfortunate. The pursuivants raided the place, and Settle, the minister, and the elder, Daniel Studley, were seized and brought before their harsh judge, Richard Young.

They were remanded on bail, by the sheriff, and on further trial, committed to close imprisonment in the Gatehouse, at Westminster. A persistent search for the other leading members of the Church was maintained, so that, as they pitifully say, 'there is no safety to any one of us in any one place.'

6. *Penry answers the 'XV Slandrous Articles.'*—Among other services which he was able to render to his new community, Penry issued a reply to a series of wild allegations against the Separatists, entitled, *An Abstract of the opinions which the Brownists do mainteyn.*

He first strongly protests against the name Brownists being applied to true Christians. They confess, with the Apostles in a like case, that they worship God after the manner which their enemies call a sect, and Brownism; believing the Scriptures, also the articles of faith published by the State, and held by the foreign Reformed Churches. They repudiate all doctrines not consonant with their loyalty to her Majesty, her Council, and the State.

The substance of his answers given severally to these allegations is as follows:

(1) The Separatists are accused of holding their own to be the only true Catholic Church, all others being synagogues of Satan.

To this he easily replies, that the Catholic Church is not any community or Church in particular, but all true believers collectively; the 'elect,' in all nations, all that to-day are living, all that ever have been. They, the Separatists, have a reverend estimation of the Eastern Church, and of all the Reformed Churches in the West. But what of their adversaries? It is they who deny validity to other churches. Men not chosen and ordained by them, they deny to be lawful ministers—the names of Whyting, Travers, and Wright are given in the margin—while they receive, without reordination, priests from Rome or Rheims, on their recanting some of their opinions.

(2) They are accused of excommunicating those not of their 'faction or, (as they term yt) of their Church'; who

are damned until 'they absolve them.' The very simple reply is, that no Church can excommunicate any, save their own members. They do not hold that, within their own communion, to obstinate persistence in known schisms and sins, this discipline may not be applied, and an offender be, for the time, to them 'as a heathen.' The Lord has given his Church power to bind and loose. But they must remember the word of the Apostle, and, on repentance, be ready to receive him with forgiveness and comfort.

(3) They have been accused particularly, of excommunicating the Churches of England and Ireland, including the Queen and Council, with all its consequences.

With this accusation he is hotly indignant. He appeals to God against such malicious misrepresentation. The Separatists are persuaded, that her Majesty, and many thousands of her subjects, differing among themselves, and from Penry and his associates, are the dear children of God. As is their duty, they daily pray for them, and give God thanks for the blessings which her Majesty's gracious government has brought to the country, both in regard to religion, and also in the peace and safety of the realm. They pray, if it be God's will, that her days may be as those of Methuselah.

(4) They are accused of holding that the ministers of the Church of England are not true and lawful ministers, but hirelings of Antichrist; and the bishops, his forerunners.

The reply is diplomatic. They have often desired scriptural proof of their ministry and office. The hierarchy have admitted that Christ in His word has appointed the offices of Pastor, Doctor, Elders and Deacons. They further admit, in the Second Treatise in the *Admonition* controversy, section 20, that their ministry is ordered after the Popish fashion. However, if the reference is to bishops as they existed in the primitive Church, they have mistaken the views of the reformers. For they were pastors, called by the Holy Spirit to be overseers of their own particular flock, not of whole provinces and shires. If by bishops they mean the prelates of their own age, they must be left to their own judgement.

(5) A further accusation is, that they oppose capital

punishment for stealing, on the ground that the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost. The answer is, that by the word of God the death penalty may be awarded in some cases ; as it might be for highway robbery, or burglary. But the laws of the land show, that for every case of stealing this is not necessary ; as for example when a hungry man steals a little food.

(6) That all included in the Church of England, not being rightly baptized, should be rebaptized. To this charge the answer is, that all baptized under Popery,—as the French Church holds, and has published ; it is Calvin's view,—need no rebaptism. How there can be true baptism, apart from the right kind of ministry ; or, when administered by a woman, or in private houses ; with a devised service, the sign of the cross, and godparents answering for the infant ; those adopting such a ceremony must show out of the Scriptures.

(7) Another charge is that they say that the Lord's Supper is not rightly received in the Church of England, and, therefore, is received to condemnation. Penry replies that if any do not receive the Supper of the Lord rightly, by the mercy of God it does not follow that they are condemned. He does not believe that the Lutherans with their Consubstantiation can receive it rightly ; but he does not doubt but many of them are the elect of God and saved. Though it is not received aright, God is merciful and forgives. How, with a ministry which is not that appointed by Christ, and by omitting the true words of institution, and with other defects, the assemblies of the State can receive it aright, they themselves must judge.

(8) They are foolishly charged with holding a community of goods. But the Separatists did not hold in any ' Anabaptical ' (that is, socialistic) community of goods, at all. As the New Testament teaches, if any had abundance, he must bestow some of it on a brother who is in need. But they believed that a man's property was his own ; only he must give, for the use of it, an account of his stewardship.

(9) The next charge was, that the Separatists exacted from each new member, a tenth part of his goods. The reply is,

that they do no such thing, for that is a Jewish, and not a Christian, principle. But he turns upon the enemy his own guns by observing, that it would be to the glory of God if her Majesty took to her own use, and for the benefit of all, the lordly revenues of prelates and priests.

(10) The charge that they only baptize with rain water, Penry dismisses curtly. It has been forged by the enemy through the father of lies. There is a threatened rain of fire from God to fall upon the wicked. Let them fear lest they should be baptized with that baptism.

(11) Penry answers at some length the accusation which follows, that they regard all set prayer as blasphemous, and therefore, the Lord's Prayer, included in the Church's printed liturgy. He begins by saying, that to charge with blasphemy any use of the Lord's Prayer is horribly wicked. It is not only part of the Canonical Scriptures; but, as a prayer, unique in its excellence, especially its comprehensiveness. We are not told to repeat it. It is our pattern: *After this manner pray ye.*

Christ Himself in His need used other words. The Apostle complains that we know how to pray as we ought. And in all the Epistles there is not a single instance of its use, nor of its use urged upon others. If it were what the accusers mistakenly judge it to be, to use any other prayer would be presumptuous.

(12) They are charged with the opinion that the book of Common Prayer is blasphemous. The reply begins by saying, that a prescribed liturgy was not used in the primitive Church. Then they must remember, that the earliest and perhaps the severest critics of the Prayer Book, were among the best preachers in the Church, and not Separatists; as may be seen in the first and second treatise in the Cartwright-Whitgift *Admonition* controversy. These held it to be an imperfect affair, gathered for the most part out of the Popish dunghill, the mass-book; the Popish portasse (Prayer Book) he calls it in another sentence; full of abominations; with a profane jumble of scriptural lessons. In the primitive Church men poured forth their hearts' desires, as moved by the Spirit.

They themselves must consider, in the light of this animadversion, if theirs is the acceptable method of offering spiritual sacrifices to God.

(13) A similar charge is that it is sacrilegious to read [in public worship] any but the Canonical Scriptures.

The Separatists ground their faith, Penry says, on the Canonical Scriptures; but in their houses, and privately, they read any other books which help to understand the Bible. But the Common Prayer, as the rubric on the reading of the Scripture candidly affirms, omits parts of the Canonical Scriptures, as being less edifying than the selections from the Apocrypha, which are included; although this is contrary to the Word itself. A book which contradicts the true Scriptures, and contains blasphemy, magic, errors and lies, cannot lawfully be read in the public assemblies of the Church. To this is added a large apparatus of Biblical references.

(14) To the charge that they deny the Queen to be the supreme head of the Churches of England and Ireland, we give the answer verbatim.

‘The Word of God teacheth, that God hath made all things subject under Christ’s feet, and hath appointed Him over all things to be the Head of the Church, which is His body, even the fulness of Him that filleth all in all things.’

(15) The last of the accusations against the Separatists is, in the light of their known opinions, the most outrageous. They are accused of denying Elizabeth’s legitimacy, and are therefore, enemies of God and traitors to the Queen. After such an unscrupulous allegation, the accuser feels he must sanctimoniously save his face. He therefore cloaks his lying with his piety, forsooth; by adding, with upturned eyes, ‘God either convert them or cut them off. Amen.’

We are prepared for Penry’s indignation. He hopes his readers will not be offended when he quotes the Scripture fitting the occasion. ‘Ye are of your father, the Devil, who was a liar and a murderer from the beginning.’ He then pours forth the unmeasured loyalty of the Separatists to the Queen, lawful and sovereign Prince by right royal descent, and acknowledged by God in the wonderful deliverances

granted her, against her enemies abroad and at home. She shall rejoice in His salvation, and her enemies shall be destroyed in the day of His anger.

He concludes by declaring that these false slanders could never have proceeded from a mind and heart loyal to her Majesty. He trusts the Queen and the Council will not fail to discriminate, between such dissembling hypocrites, and her truly loyal subjects.¹

7. *The Petition of the London Church to the Privy Council.*—The Church was in some straits, its ministers and some of its leading members being in close confinement, and the chief members at liberty, in continual flight. The most influential person still free was Penry, and it was his advice and help they sought. The decision was to make a strong appeal to the Privy Council. The members of the Council did not all regard with satisfaction the unrestricted rule of the priest; they resented, as English patriots, the manner in which the ecclesiastical courts and the canon law were allowed to override, in any case to disregard, the civil courts and the ancient laws of the land. Penry drew up a petition to the Privy Council, in which the grievances of the Separatist Church were set forth.²

The petitioners at once complain, that, obedient to God as they are, and loyal to the Queen and all superior authorities, they are not allowed to live, even under her Majesty's laws, 'and the Great Charter of the land,' free from illegal arrest and interference. The Queen has published the Scriptures, she has exhorted her subjects to read them diligently; which they have done. And they have found the whole ministry and machinery of the Church, as established, to be in conflict with Christ's testament; to be, indeed, the left luggage of the Pope. They cannot consent to these, and, in obedience to God, have united together to observe His holy ordinances; have chosen for themselves pastor, teacher, elders and deacons,

¹ The Fifteen Articles are given in full from the Bodleian MS. in Burrage's *Early English Dissenters*, vol. ii. p. 66 ff.

² The petition is in Penry's characteristic style and its authorship cannot be mistaken. It is from this petition (Styrye, *Ann.* iv. 131) that the details of the above arrests are taken.

as prescribed in the New Testament ; yet in all dutiful obedience to their magistrates and governors. In forming thus a Church of their own, they hope to approve themselves before the Council and the public ; and they appeal to the example of foreign churches. Their only natural adversaries are the remnants of the Romish prelacy left in the land. They tell the pitiful story of their ill-usage. With no specified crime alleged against them, they are illegally arrested and tried, by those who usurp and override the laws of the land. In this lawless way Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood have been in prison for five years ; four years in 'close prison.' Prisoners in Newgate are laden with as many irons as they can bear, as though they were dangerous criminals. In their foul prisons many have perished ; aged widows, aged men, and even 'young maidens.' The story is then told of the arrest of Johnson, Greenwood, Boyes, Settle and Studley, as given above. The Protestant inquisitors follow all manner of devices to get, by questioning and hypocritical conferences, evidence against the men they have arrested. Their charges are untrue ; the Separatists are not Donatists, Schismatics, seditious men, neither rebels nor defamers of the Queen. They plead for bail for their ministers, until they are convicted legally. Then, in the Penrician manner, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and His Angels, and all men, are taken to witness, that they have truly described their case to their Honours.

8. *Events leading up to Roger Rippon's Death.*—The intensity and persistence of the watch for the Sunday gatherings of the Separatists in the city, account for the very early morning meetings in the rural outskirts in the year 1593. The woods at Islington were the favourite resort, and thither at cock-crow, they began to assemble on frequent Sundays from about the middle of February and onwards. Penry at this time was continually changing his lodging. The authorities had probably ascertained his residence and watched it closely. Edwards stated in his examination, that Penry called upon him very early in the morning, during the last week in February. In the beginning of March, the Separatists were plunged into sorrow, through the death in Newgate, of

Roger Rippon of Southwark. He was an influential member of the society, and an effective advocate of its principles. His house was a favourite meeting-place for the Church. He had been in prison some years earlier. He appears in Aylmer's Visitation List of February 1590, being then in the Wood Street Compter; also in the list of prisoners who petitioned Burghley in March; at that date he had been removed to Bridewell. He was among the company who assembled at Islington Woods in February. He was arrested and sent by Justice Richard Young to Newgate, which was generally equivalent to a death sentence, so deeply infected was its foul cells with a deadly plague. The resentment against Justice Young was fierce among all sections of Nonconformists, Romanist, Puritan and Separatist. He appeared to take a cold delight in being the instrument of oppression and cruelty. Writing of a Catholic martyr who suffered at Young's hands, Dr. Augustus Jessopp refers to the Justice,—‘the notorious Richard Young, a creature whose life was spent in hunting up priests and torturing them and who disputed the palm of cruelty with Popcliffe.’ With just indignation he exclaims, ‘Mercy! As though such men as Popcliffe and Young and Drew understood what the word meant, or had one little spot in their natures where compassion could find a momentary resting-place.’¹ It was small mercy, that the yet more despised and unprotected Separatist would find at the hands of such a man. But the brethren arranged a demonstration against the legal tyrant and his chief, on the death of Roger Rippon; whose body they carried from Newgate to the door of the judge's house, and on the coffin lid they placed an inscription, which ran—

‘This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ and her majesty's faithful subject. Who is the last of sixteen or seventeen, which that great enemy of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, with his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord; and his blood cries for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the

¹ *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, pp. 278, 286.

saints, and against Mr. Richard Young. Who in this, and many the like points, hath abused his power, for the upholding of the Romish Antichrist, prelacy and priesthood.' ¹

We are not at all surprised to find that this affront to Whitgift and Young quickened the pursuit and persecution of the Separatists. Prisoners who appeared before the court during the next ten days, were very closely questioned if they were implicated in the affair. Deacon Bowman was sent to prison on suspicion.

9. *In the Woods at Islington, Sunday, 4 March, 1593.*—On Saturday, 3 March, Penry and his wife were walking along Cheapside with John Edwards. We naturally assume that they were coming from Rochford's, the brother-in-law, at whose house Edwards was then staying. They made their way through Newgate into Smithfield, to the house of the deacon, Nicholas Lee, in Cow Lane. When it grew dark, 'about viij of the clocke,' Edwards left. Penry was staying at the house of Settle, the minister, who was then in prison. There was much to talk about, especially in regard to the meeting of the Church the next day, in the Islington Woods. Edwards at his examination, professed to have known nothing of the arrangements for the day; though he found his way to Islington, and gives us one or two interesting particulars about the assembly. Penry was up before the dawn, making his way across the fields to the service. But ill-fortune dogged his steps. The Sunday arrangement leaked out, and the authorities had planned the arrest of all who assembled. Penry was taken into custody before he reached the place of meeting. One or two of the members fell in with him as he reached the vicinity of the woods; William Giles, a young tailor, was one of the little group and included in the arrest. Edwards gives us a small circumstantial detail. Penry and his companions met some countrymen, and while they were greeting each other, a justice of the peace with pursuivants appeared. The countrymen, who protested they were going to Waltham, and not to any conventicle, were set free.

¹ Strype, *Annals*, iv. 186.

It speaks of the strength of their convictions that so many members made the journey to Islington. For a brave number came together, undeterred by the danger of being arrested and sent to one of the loathsome gaols. They came from all parts of the city ; a considerable number from Smithfield and St. Martins-le-grand ; the Aldgate centre was well represented ; the friends from Ludgate, around St. Paul's, who were still out of prison, were present, challenging fortune ; a goodly number came from Southwark ; and the shipwrights from Wapping and Deptford, who were experiencing a marked religious revival, were a stalwart contingent. The preacher for the day was George Johnson, the schoolmaster, who undertook this duty 'sithence his brother the elder Johnson was in troble.' He had offered prayer, a formidable exercise, and had preached his sermon or part of it, when the constable and pursuivants appeared on the scene and marched the mortified worshippers to the constable's house, where they remained for the rest of the day. Some, whether few or many we cannot say, escaped. Arthur Bellott, who was an old campaigner, trained to meet such emergencies, was alert enough to elude the encircling net, and enjoyed his liberty for a little less than three weeks. The constable's house was much more than crowded by these earnest saints on that black Sunday ; but since such was God's providence, they thought it best to make the most of the sacred day, so they continued their service, and George Johnson continued his exhortation ; perhaps delivering a few of the heads of discourse, which remained undelivered when the constable appeared in the wood. Daniel Buck, the scrivener, estimated their numbers at about forty with a number of persons not of their society. We have the names of about thirty of them in the legal records, but Penry states that fifty-six were sent to prison. Besides himself and Penry, and George Johnson, the most interesting names in Buck's list are those of one or two members of the older London societies. William Denford, the schoolmaster, a middle-aged man having wife and children, was one of the list, drawn up in May or June 1589, of 'sundry faithful Christians imprisoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury

and the Bishop of London, for the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.' So also was Quintin Smith, the feltmaker of Southwark, a right steadfast soul. He and Denford, in 1589, had been seized, when hearing Greenwood expounding the Scriptures at a friend's house. Both were sent to Newgate. Quintin Smith was sent to a dungeon loaded with irons, and his Bible taken from him; a conjunction of facts which describes completely Whitgift's campaign of persecution. John Nicholas, a glover, of 'St. Pulcers' [St. Sepulchre's], Smithfield, and Roger Waterer, a haberdasher's assistant, were both in prison in 1590, and on Aylmer's list of persons to be visited by London clergy, ostensibly to recover them from error, but in truth to worm out of them, in unguarded and intimate talk, facts which could be tabled in their indictments. Whitgift's and Aylmer's clerical visitors, carrying the Word of God in their hands, were spies. The names of Nicholas and Waterer are also attached to the petition sent to Burghley by prisoners in the London gaols in 1590.

10. *The Escape of Penry.*—The most interesting fact to us, about this Sunday crowd of Separatists, concerns Penry. Daniel Buck mentions him as 'amongst others of their fraternitie' in the constable's house. His identity was evidently not known by his captors; he was simply John Harrison, which does not immediately suggest Ap Henry or Penry, or the need of a special guard. In the bustle 'John Harrison' escapes. No great time could have elapsed before the loss of their chief prisoner was discovered. Neighbouring justices would be summoned to make out warrants for the prisoners individually, before despatching them in parties to London. The loss would then be at once known. A swift despatch was sent to the Archbishop, and that same Sunday evening, the Privy Council met. Besides Whitgift, Lord Keeper Puckering, Burghley and eight others formed the quorum. A warrant was issued, 'at the Courte of St. James, the fourth of March, 1592[3]' addressed to all 'publique officers' commanding them to assist the bearer, 'by all possible meanes,' to arrest '—— Penry,' who gives himself 'diverse severall names, as sometymes Fermour [Farmer], and sometyme

Harrison,' and has been 'detected of sondrie misdemeanours,' and to bring him 'saufe . . . before their Lordships, and thereof not to fail.'¹ And here for the moment, we must leave him, wandering for nearly three weeks, on the outskirts of the city. One valuable service he was able, by his ready pen, to render the Church amidst the difficulties of the hour.

11. *The Cry of the Persecuted*.—There were many sorrowing homes that night in London, when the news came of the disaster at Islington. From Whitgift, with men in the seat of justice like Richard Young, only too ready to do his bidding, there was nothing to hope. Wives and dear ones knew what imprisonment meant, and they knew also that the High Commission under Whitgift had only one verdict for every prisoner convented before it. Evidence or no evidence, every prisoner was found guilty, and the verdict was arrived at without framing a specific legal indictment, without witnesses, and without any legal defence of the accused. Prisoners were bullied because they refused to supply the court with materials for their own condemnation. Whitgift was of the narrowest and most uncompromising type of religious tyrant. He had many personal virtues, and some official vices; and his virtues vitalised his vices. He never admitted a fault in the constitution of the Church, in its formulas, or in his own administration of its affairs. His defence of his associates was equally indiscriminating. His unbudging constancy won for him the gratitude of his friends; his implacable oppression the peculiar hatred of his victims. And it was his fate to be opposed by men of the sturdiest independence, who had a quakerish contempt for his ecclesiastical dignity, and were defiant of penalties borne for the sake of the Gospel; and as he was a choleric man, the stubbornness of his victims, the frank speech of some of them, roused his ire and he became very abusive. Hatton and Young were merely his creatures. None of Elizabeth's judges were independent. So that it was a dark outlook for the Separatists who now crowded the London prisons.

The little remnant of the Separatists still in freedom got

¹ *Acts of the P.C. of Eng.* new ser. xxiv., 1592-93.

quickly into touch with Penry. What were they to do? Almost every leading man amongst them, and a large proportion of their entire male membership were in gaol. Penry, consistent with his principles advised an instant appeal to Parliament. This great institution represented the sovereignty of a free people. Even Elizabeth offered it lip-service. Laws could neither be enacted nor revoked, but by its consent. Appeal to the High Court of Parliament, the supreme tribunal, was Penry's advice, and his experienced and facile pen was at their service to draw up their supplication. There is a petition, long ascribed to Henry Barrowe, after the original error of the writer of *Barrowe's Platform*, which we recognise as the composition of John Penry. In any case it could not have come from Barrowe's pen. Its writer is among those who are still free; he pleads, he says, 'for ourselves abroad and for our Brethren now in miserable captivitie.' It is quite unlike Barrowe's manner; but from the first sentence to the last the style of Penry is marked. And it is like him to appeal to Parliament against the ecclesiastics. Barrowe did not share Penry's view of the Christian function of secular institutions, though he would appeal to the law for justice, and protection; but he held that the Church of Christ must wage her spiritual battles spiritually. One sure way she had of conquering persecution, and that was by enduring it. He believed that most of the Puritans would be Separatists, but for their cowardice. They were unwilling to pay the high price. The occasion of the petition is clearly indicated. There is a slip in the date given, which may not be Penry's error; for it is given as 'the Lords day last, being the 3. of this 4. moneth, 1592[3].' The date of the meeting in the woods at Islington, is the 4th of the 3rd month. The locality is clearly indicated, as 'the very place where the persecuted Church and Martyrs were enforced to use the like exercises in Queene Maries dayes.'

12. *Penry's Petition on behalf of the Church in Prison.*¹—No time was lost. Penry wrote readily and rapidly. Under pressure he could achieve great things in a short time. Despite

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 150. *Strype, Whitg.* iii. 304-313.

the difficulties and delays in arranging a meeting to confer upon the situation, the petition was ready for presentation the middle of the week, and within its brief limits, he succeeds in giving a good general account of the sufferings of the Separatists, 'the proscribed and persecuted Church and Servants of Christ, falsely called Brownists.' It is 'the most High God' that brings before their 'Lordships and Wisdomes' the sufferings of His cause, unheard of in a time of peace. They are of the same faith as the Queen and their Honours. They hold the faith professed by all the Reformed Churches; that they go beyond them in their detestation of the religion of Antichrist is the only fault alleged against them by their savage enemies. In the prisons about London alone, seventy-six persons, men and women young and old, belonging to the company lie 'in cold, in hunger, in dungeons and in yrons.' Of these, fifty-six were seized the previous Sunday, when holding a purely religious service, 'praying God for his favors shewed . . . unto her Maiestie.' The whole number are unbaleably committed to these prisons—their inherited lot, as they recognise, from their forefathers, and 'the entayled *Acelandama* or bloody succession of the see of *London* and that whole lynage.' Though in such dire misery, 'these bloody men [of Whitgift's High Commission] will neyther allow them meat, drink, fyre, lodging,' nor suffer any compassionate person to come to their relief, probably intending for them the same fate as they meted out to '17. or 18. others in the same noisome Gaoles within these 6. yeares.' Husband and wife are taken, sent to different prisons; the children at home are in a desperate condition. Many of the prisoners had not a penny in their possession when arrested; their means lay in their handicrafts. They denounce hotly the visitations of Whitgift's pursuivants—who violently break open and rifle their houses, treating the women and children barbarously. They take them away from their homes, their families, their necessary trades, and most of all, from the society of God's people. They wonder sometimes whether, here in their 'deare and native countrey,' it is a 'foreign Enemie' or their own countrymen that is bearing rule over them.

Their treatment as Christians is worse than that ascribed to heathen and Popish tyrants and persecutors. The records of 'Nero, Trajan, Desius, Galienus, Maximian, &c.' scarce show the like. Under Bonner, Story and Weston, prisoners were allowed to be supplied with food, and shortly brought to Smithfield to end their misery, and begin their undying joy. Aylmer and Stanhope and Young, and 'the rest of that persecuting and blood thirstie faculty,' will do neither.

They say that, 'the manye of us by the mercies of God still out of their hands,' are not going to refrain from meeting for worship, for which they have as good a warrant as the saints in Queen Mary's days. They claim 'just and equall triall according to her Majesties Lawes'; to die openly or to live openly—this aequity—and if guiltless, 'to serve our God and our prince in the place of the "Sepulcres of our Fathers."'

Penry having written the petition, had to leave the scene without delay, to avoid arrest. There still remained the problem of getting it presented at the right quarter. Most of the leading men were in prison; some still 'abroad,' as Penry was, were like him much 'wanted' by the authorities; in any case a man bearing such a petition would be voluntarily advertising his membership of the persecuted Church. Eleanor Penry with some of the women of the community therefore took charge of it. They presented it to Egerton the Lord Keeper. What he thought of their assurance we learn from the result to one of the deputation. Mrs. Penry was naturally a stranger to him and to the officials attached to his office; and so also the rest of the women, with one exception. Widow Unwin was recognised. She had been taken prisoner at John Greenwood's 'Bible Reading' at Henry Martin's house in the Wardrobe, in October 1587. After her release she got into further trouble in the following summer, about the baptism of her child. She was one of the original members of the Church organised under Francis Johnson in September 1592, at Fox's house. We are therefore not surprised to find her labelled by the legal scribe in 1589, as 'one of there Chief Conventiclors.' She was therefore sent to gaol for this fresh offence of presenting the petition on

behalf of the Islington prisoners, and had not been further examined when a month later, 6 April, she appeared before Dean Goodman, Young and others.¹

13. *Examination of the Prisoners.*—On Wednesday the examination of the prisoners began. The numbers were so great, and the clamours of their distressed wives and relatives so pitiful and unceasing, that it was not good policy to delay their trial. Whitgift, no doubt, felt that the information which his detective agent, Richard Bancroft, not altogether unsuccessfully, had been seeking to obtain, was all in the prison cells, if only it could be elicited. Three things the prosecution was desirous especially to know. The details of the organisation of the Separatist Church, the whereabouts of Penry, and the names of those responsible for the procession of Roger Rippon's coffin to Justice Young's house and its angry inscription condemning Whitgift and the judge. Abram Pulbury, the first whose examination is recorded, was in Cheapside, he admits, when the coffin was carried to Young's house, and he heard the inscription read. John Nicholas, who appeared before Young and others on Thursday, knows nothing about the affair of the coffin. He says vaguely that he has heard of Penry, but does not know him. He has known for a short time one Jones; probably Jenkin Jones, Penry's kinsman, who was employed in the Marprelate business. We recognise him as the 'one Jones,' mentioned by John Edwards as arrested 'at the Wood' on Sunday; he was taken home to dinner by Capt. Gray, who brought him back to justice. William Clerke, 'a worker of Capps,' examined the same day, knows nothing about the coffin, and refuses to answer questions about Penry. Richard Hawton, a shoemaker, also before Young on Thursday, was a recent recruit. He knows nothing and is willing to go back to his

¹ See *Harl. MSS.* 6848, 83; 6849, 217; 6848, 80. This last interesting account of the presentation of the petition by Mrs. Penry and Widow Unwin is rejected from the collection of documents in *Early English Dissenters* by C. Burrage, author of *John Penry, the So-called Martyr*. Waddington supposed Widow Unwin's statement referred to Helen Penry's petition on behalf of her husband. But Penry was free for a fortnight after this petition was presented. See Waddington, *Cong. Hist.* i. 83.

parish church. John Barnes, a tailor, declared on the same occasion, that he was in Newgate on the morning when Rippon's dead body was brought out of the gaol, but that is all the information he has to give. Daniel Buck, the scrivener, who appeared before the same tribunal on Friday, was a more fruitful witness. A stranger showed him the inscription on the coffin 'at his owne shopp in Southwarke' (elsewhere his house is given as 'neere Algate' and he described a 'scrivenour by Aldgate'). He saw Penry, as already noted, at the constable's house at Islington. He refers to the Church covenant, as many others do in their examinations. He undertook to 'walk with the rest of that congregacion' as long as they walked in the way of the Lord, and as far as he was warranted by the word of God. He mentions the organisation of the Church six months earlier, and gives the names of the officers and many of the members, about sixty names in all. It will be recalled that he also describes the administration of the sacraments. John Edwards, who came out of Scotland with Penry, made his deposition about the end of this week. He gave one or two details of his intercourse with Penry which have been used in this narrative.

14. *Penry's Wanderings and Arrest.*—For the next eighteen days, following his escape from the constable's house at Islington on Sunday, 4 March, Penry managed to elude the pursuivants. We have already pointed out that he composed the petition to Parliament during the first week. It would be unlike him not to have some communication with Mrs. Penry. But the first item of information we have of him is, that he spent Sunday, 18th March at St. Alban's, at that time a hotbed of Puritanism and Separatism. He felt secure of a welcome with the worthy mayor of the town, John Clark, who was known to be a friend of the more advanced and thorough-going reformers of religion. Clark had every inducement, which a man of earnest religious convictions could have, to wish for a drastic improvement in the patronage of the Church. His own parson was returned in the schedule as 'no graduate and no preacher,' and spent his time in dicing and card-playing in public houses. John Clark was to be later charged with

introducing proscribed ministers, 'such as have ben especially disliked and dissallowed by authoritie,' into his own house, in order that he and his household might benefit by their ministry. He had the countenance of the powerful family of Sir Nicholas Bacon, whose great house was near by at Gorhambury; and especially the sympathy of the learned Lady Ann Bacon, at whose charge chiefly, the Puritan preacher, William Dyke, was maintained at St. Alban's. Lady Ann, she was then a widow, told her eldest son that Mr. Clark was an honest man, and so was esteemed as a townsman in his father, Sir Nicholas's days; though he was then being persecuted by the ecclesiastical authorities. The intimate story of his kindness to Penry, must have been betrayed by a servant of his house; it is particularised in the indictment preferred against him, a year after the martyr's death. It is clear that Penry received every comfort while under Clark's roof. They had 'much conference' together, and Clark declared how much he liked his guest's views; and before dismissing him, for Penry dare not prolong his pleasant stay, he promised to pray for him and was also heard to say that he wished both Penry and his cause should return with credit.¹

A member of the London Church, Edward Graves, next found means to get into contact with Penry, bringing him what news there was to be had of his family, and of the situation in the city. Penry's determination was to 'fetch a compass' for home. He and Graves lodged on Monday night at the 'Antelope' at Hoddesdon. This he freely admitted at his examination; not that he would betray Graves to his persecutors, but 'because they knew it already'; and for some other private reason which he forbears to mention.² But he refuses to answer when asked if he did not next move to John Millett's house 'in Hertfordshire.' Arrangements had been made in London for his return to the near neighbourhood of his family. He found a refuge with a friend named Lewes at Stepney, whither he secretly

¹ Bacon Letters, vol. vii., Lambeth MSS. vol. 650, No. 232. Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts*, p. 114.

² Letters to his Wife, *Yelv. MSS.* 70, 20; Waddington's *Penry*, p. 132.

made his way on Wednesday. It was a memorable day in the annals of the Separatist community. Whitgift was speeding up the forces of persecution against them; for the seizures at Islington Woods were a forcible disclosure of the numbers and the courage of this 'newe kind of sectaries.' Moreover, it was known that though Barrowe and Greenwood were prisoners, they managed to get their books secretly printed, not to mention the circulation of Penry's books. Barrowe's own written account of the Conferences with the clergymen, sent either to convert him, or to gain useful information for a further legal process, converted many to his faith; and thoughtful men were strongly confirmed in their Separatist principles by reading Barrowe's *Discoverie*. On this Wednesday, therefore, at the Sessions Hall near Newgate, Barrowe and Greenwood were charged with writing seditious books and pamphlets defaming the Queen and Government, and Scipio Bellott, Robert Bowle, and Daniel Studley, for printing and dispersing the same. So there was plenty to discuss when Penry reached his friends.

Next day, Thursday, 22 March 1593, misfortunes were to close around Penry himself. For however secretly he made his way into Stepney, an enemy got sight of him. His whereabouts was reported to the authorities by Anthony Anderson, vicar of Stepney. If the reader will turn to the Marprelate Tract, *The Just Censure and Reproof*, he will find a very grave and scandalous charge laid against 'Anderson, parson of Stepney.'¹ Uninformed contemporaries of Penry credited him with being Martin Marprelate. Anderson would remember, that in any case, he had a large hand in publishing the Tracts, and we readily understand why he was quick to discover and denounce him. George Knifeton the apothecary, and elder of the Church, Arthur Bellott, and some others, had come to see Penry, when the pursuivants arrived and arrested them all. This pathetic and tragic event ushers in the last and desperate chapter in the stormy life of the poor young apostle of Wales.

¹ Pierce, *Marprelate Tracts*, p. 369, margin. Orig. ed. sig. C. ij.

CHAPTER VII

PENRY'S SEPARATIST MANIFESTO. *CORAH, DATHAN
AND ABIRAM*

It is highly probable that Penry began this last of his controversial writings while yet in Scotland, for he had even then begun to readjust his views concerning the Church and its Ministry. It bears the title 'The Historie of Corah Dathan and Abiram, &c. Numb. 16. Chap. Applied to the Prelacy Ministrie and Church-assemblies.' The printer has added 'By Mr. Iohn Penry, a Martyr of Iesus Christ.' This brief work is of unusual interest in regard to the life of Penry. It was published in the year 1609, sixteen years after his death. Copies in manuscript had been in circulation, made from the original in Mrs. Penry's possession, which was one of the writings concerning which her husband, in his prison letter, gave her instructions. The publisher tells us that a written copy came into his hands, and he was constrained to put it into print, and bespeaks for it an unbiassed reading. After a brief reference to Penry's praiseworthy efforts to plant the Gospel in Wales, he gives us a few valuable particulars of the execution of the martyr, which appear in the narrative below. The little book never received Penry's final revision, and in the form in which we have it, indicates his method of writing. This is a first draft; we notice the redundant string of epithets, the choice of words, the not quite determined form; the best word and form to be retained on a final reading. But the greatest interest of the little book is its outspoken advocacy of the principles and practice of the Separatism. Even Brownism has ceased to be a scandalous word.

As its name indicates this new and final statement is based on the story of Corah, Dathan and Abiram and their rebellion against the divinely appointed rule of Moses. This is applied to the Ministry of the Church of England. In his present writing 'The point is' he says,

'That it is unlawfull for any, of what state, sex, degree & condition soever they be, to communicate in any action of religion, as in hearing truth taught, in receiving the sacraments, praying, &c., within any of the publick meetings of the Land, as now they stand by law' (p. 3).

This view is called by the supporters of the Church established by law, traitorous and seditious—even Brownism. But Penry asks what if it be true? It is a common thing for the truth to be falsely called sedition. And Satan is a cunning rhetorician, and for his purpose he calls the truth 'Zwinglianisme, Lutheranisme, Calvinisme, Brownisme, &c.' The Reformed Churches must obey the truth. Men in error hide behind Churches and great names. But Penry arraigns all the parish assemblies of the land in the name of Christ, since they are conspiring with Antichrist against Him.

The special lesson he seeks to draw from the story of Corah and his fellows, lies in the fact, that the rebels were believing Jews, and men of high social position. 'Two hundred and fifty capitaines of the assemblie famous in the Congregation, and men of renoune.' The controversy was not, he says, whether God should be worshipped or not; nothing concerning foreign idolatry; but was in regard to the officers by whom God should be served. They were inventing new offices, electing new officers. And they were condemned. Moses commanded the Congregation to depart from the tents of these wicked men. It was easy for Penry to institute a parallel between them and his opponents. For they, like Penry and all of that age, believed in the authority of the very letter of the Book which was their common authority, and the Book gave no countenance to prelacy; while Whitgift was, like Corah, no unbeliever, but rather an extreme evangelical, and a hyper-Calvinist in doctrine. So that when men in defence of the prelates advance as an argument, that they hold the truth in substance, Penry replies that precisely the same might be said of Corah (p. 15). The servile state of the lower orders of the clergy, under the autocratic rule of archbishop and bishop, is part of the survival of the rule of Antichrist in the land, along with the

rest of the antichristian offices. The people must not seek truth or sacrament in the 'tents of Corah.' As the outward man does not live by bread alone, neither does the Christian by word and sacrament alone, but by these made effectual by the promise of God (p. 19).

Penry puts the matter as usual in a syllogistic form, and then elaborates the middle term, the antichristian character of the worship of the parish assemblies, in the familiar way. Christ did not furnish His Church with these offices, they are unnecessary to its completeness and efficiency. Even heathenism has no use for them. Only Rome requires them,—so they are of Antichrist, which on the lips of the Elizabethans, was a synonym for Rome (p. 25).

He touches on the prickly subject of the relation of Elizabeth to this order of worship ordered by her, and for which she was chiefly responsible. 'I make an utter separation betweene her Majesties Civill Authoritie and the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of these *Corahs*, these *Dathans*, these *Abirams*.' Her Majesty's power is civil, he says, and is the ordinance of God. The character of antichristian ordinances is not changed by their being legally established. The breach of God's law is the same, whosoever commits it. To defend these infringements by saying that they are the law of the land is frivolous. When Romanism ruled in the land it was a legally enacted religion (p. 28).

He presents the difficult case of Elizabeth again, in a couple of pages. Her authority is from God and embraces all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, public and private. She may rule and correct them all, *according to the word of God and the rules of common justice and equity*. In the civil sphere she is restricted by the laws; in the ecclesiastical, by the word of God. She has no power to establish antichristian ordinances (p. 30). But notwithstanding it all, he is only a passive resister. He disavows all right to use force to gain religious justice. He and his associates must rather patiently suffer (p. 31). The trouble has all come from the fact, that when the Pope was ejected from the country, these belongings of his were not ejected along with him (p. 34).

Penry takes the strong Separatist position of protesting against the views of those who were saying that if the truth were preached, the office matters nothing. The office is a divine appointment. Even Christ took not the office to Himself. Thus also the Baptist. Also all the Apostles who derived their office and authority from Christ. Ministers to-day must derive their office from the same source. They must forsake the irregularities of the tents of Corah.

Moreover, officers in the Church of Christ must fulfil their office. If they are called to preach the Gospel, then preach they must, or they cease to be officers.

The work ends in the middle of a sentence. The publisher adds,

‘ Thus much of the Copie I had, more of it I know not where to have ; whether it was finished or not I know not, before his death I know not ; for he was apprehended, adjudged, and executed for witnessing of the truth of Christ : (howsoever any other thing was pretended against him) and (as I have heard) while he was about writing this treatise.’

It is quite probable that he employed the last days of his liberty in writing this last book. It has all the marks of an incomplete and unrevised work, and its abrupt close may indicate the point at which suddenly dropped his pen.

BOOK III

IMPRISONMENT, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION

MARCH 22-MAY 29, 1593

DIV. I. LABORIOUS DAYS IN THE POULTRY COMPTER

DIV. II. TRIAL AT KING'S BENCH

DIVISION I

LABORIOUS DAYS IN THE POULTRY COMPTER

CHAPTER I

THE PRISONER INTERVIEWED

1. *Under Lock and Key.*—With the imprisonment of Penry we come into nearer acquaintance with his personality. We have him under close observation in circumstances calculated to reveal the real make of the man. We see his character put to a supreme test ; the world is against him ; will he bear the strain put on him, or will he suffer prejudice in the great hour of his probation ? Hitherto, amidst a world of difficulties and perplexities, his career has continually surprised us. Transplanted from the remote and sequestered valleys of Mid-Wales to the English University, he showed himself equal to his opportunity. Looking back, from prison, on his ‘wearisome pilgrimage’ he says, ‘All good learning and knowledg of the arts and tongues, I laboured to attain vnto, and to promote to the uttermost of my power.’ Passing through a profound religious change during his undergraduate period at Cambridge, he at once turns aside from the many alluring avenues leading to wealth or fame, to tread the sorrowful way of an evangelist to his neglected countrymen. It is his humble boast that he is ‘the first, since the last springing of the Gospel in this latter age, that publicly laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those

barren mountains.' He was inveigled, as we know, in his earliest post-graduate days into the famous Marprelate adventure in part, at least drawn by the intense reforming faith of the Great Unknown; yet keeping his own position intact, never entirely accepting for himself the Martinist standpoint; too serious at heart to emulate Martin's witty invective, and never allowing his devotion to Wales to be overshadowed by any other undertaking. He won favour with the Scotch Presbyterians, ably serving them and receiving great kindness and efficient protection at their hands. Led by his deepest convictions and wonderful love for his motherland, he forsakes his safe refuge in the north and comes to London, where he is given a place of esteem in the Separatist fellowship with whom he now frankly identified himself. He has done hitherto right nobly, and 'at the age of xxx or ther aboutes,' with his pure and self-denying Gospel record, he is a remarkable figure. It needed only his martyr's death to make him the darling of the Welsh race.

Nor is it unpleasing to note his bright intelligence and resource in steering his little craft through the perilous waters of the Whitgiftian Persecution. He is so much more adroit, more deft to feather his oar, than his slow-witted and clumsy-handed persecutors. Those whom the Archbishop gathered around him on the odious High Commission, and their agents in the law courts and in Bancroft's information department, by a profound law of human nature, could only have been men of inferior gifts. And so you have Hatton and Puckering and Richard Young on the bench. At the other end of the pseudo-legal process you do not require much intelligence, indeed, the less the better, to break into Edward Boyes' house in Fleet Street at midnight, and in the name of legal search to smash his chests and presses and steal his property; and all, be it understood, in the interests of 'devine service in the p'ish church.'

The contrast afforded by the young religious enthusiast and the well-furnished and accommodating clerics and legal time-servers is very great; the one spending much of their time in hunting for promotion and commendams, or bitterly

quarrelling over manors and messuages, and the other sacrificing all earthly prospects to his dream of a redeemed Wales. Cooped up in the Poultry Compter, and a little before his death, in the Queen's Bench Prison, a 'close prisoner' like all Whitgift's ecclesiastical victims, and weighted with fetters, one might conclude that Penry's activities were now over. Yet these two months and some days of close imprisonment—he was put to death at the end of May—show us his intellectual and moral energy as does no other period in his adventurous career. He professed his willingness to die for the good cause, and it was no empty boast. But he had no wish to die before half his natural days were run out. Life for him was crowded with interest. He intensely realised that he was living in a world which Christ had died to redeem, and Wales, dear land of his birth, land of mountains and mystery, land of harp and song, once favoured of God, who specially commissioned Joseph of Arimathea to hasten from the sepulchral ceremonies, at the new rock-hewn tomb at Calvary, to tell the Cymry that His Son had paid the ransom price of human salvation. Wales lay in darkness and superstition a religious derelict.¹ If he lived Penry might be the modern evangelist of Wales, his feet beautiful on the mountains as one that brought good tidings. Then he had a wife, a true comrade, to whom he was passionately attached. He had four little children; to leave them fatherless and unprovided for, would add to the bitterness of death. He found means we know not how to make a great and final fight for life and liberty. He was alert to seize every opportunity to appeal against the injustice of his persecution. Even to the day before that on which he was abruptly hurried to the gallows, his pen was kept busy in these grave duties.

In the meantime he found opportunity to write without delay lengthy valedictions to his wife, to his children, and to the Church. This series of epistles, in composing which he gave least thought as to form, are of all his writings, yet

¹ Archbp. Parker traced the descent of Elizabeth's Reformed Church not from Rome, but from Joseph of Arimathea. The legend of his apostolic mission to Britain long survived.

the fine and fragrant blossoming of his literary achievements ; they should give him a place in the list of the master-writers in English, and be included in any anthology of prison literature.

2. *Preliminary Examinations.*—The Archbishop had his hands very full. The leaders of the Separatist Church, and more than half its entire membership were in prison, and at his mercy. His policy was to put the chiefs to death, to crush the others by fines and periods of imprisonment, releasing them as they yielded ; and perhaps eventually to send into exile the recalcitrants. It was necessary first to bring to a close the long years of Barrowe's imprisonment. His Separatist principles, as it was now discovered, were being ominously spread abroad. The surreptitious circulation of his writings was adding daily to the ranks of the irreconcilables. There was a difficulty, however, in sending a thoroughly loyal man like Henry Barrowe to the gallows, on the pretence that he was a seditious subject. The Attorney General reported on Friday, 23 March, that the legal sentence would be carried out the next day unless execution was stayed. As a matter of fact Barrowe and Greenwood were taken from their cells the following morning, freed from their chains, in preparation for their execution and then reprieved ; and a week later were taken actually to Tyburn, but a reprieve reached them at the foot of the gallows. What was proceeding behind the scenes is left to conjecture.

What was happening to Penry we learn from his letter to his wife. He went through a series of examinations during the next fortnight ; the prosecution were seeking in this way to get facts against their prisoner to justify his imprisonment. The real reasons we know were, first, that he was one of the dangerous Separatist sect ; and, secondly, that he was in some degree responsible for the printing and publishing of the Marprelate Tracts, though that offence does not appear in his indictment. After being two days in the Compter, he was brought before Justice Young and quickly sent back to 'close' imprisonment. Two days later he again appeared before Young, who had with him 'D. Vaughan and his brother,

preachers,' sent specially to Penry he said by the Lord Keeper and the Council for a private conference. It resulted in a heated altercation between Dr. Vaughan and Penry; for Penry would have nothing to do with any private conference. They had in their hands his appeal to Parliament and he demanded a public conference on equal terms. There is an official report of this date signed by Young giving the same testimony.¹ But in addition to the 'petition' to Parliament, written after the great seizure at Islington, which he acknowledges to be from his pen, he also states that 'a book' is being prepared for presentation to Parliament containing his 'Faith and opinions.' There exist some small notes from Vaughan declaring stoutly that 'they' hold that no magistrate 'supreme or inferiour' has any authority to inquire into religious matters; and there is a scrap from Penry declaring the contrary. He would not sign Vaughan's notes.² A further effort in the same direction was made the following Wednesday (28 March) when Young was accompanied by Dr. Balguy of the Temple. Penry again demanded an equal trial, and presented Young with 'four special heads and the conditions' as the grounds of the inquiry, a copy of which Young took 'and so departed.' The four special heads concern the calling, duties, maintenance and status of the ministry, and while Penry is prepared to support his position from the Scriptures and from the writings of the martyrs if necessary, he demands that the questions and answers be set down in writing; that 'such of vs as are scollers' may confer together and have access to books, and that their opponents in the conference be not also the judges. Penry desires that civilians be appointed to see that he had fair play.³

On the 2nd of April a clerical deputation came to confer with him consisting of 'Mr. D[octor] Croke and Mr. Greenham and Mr. Temple'; they came, they said, of Christian charity, and because they were authorised. Penry again refused all

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 6849, 204.

² Young in his report says that Vaughan and others were 'to have conference charitably with him.' They were evidently sent to get Penry to incriminate himself.

³ *Harl. MSS.* 6849, 209.

private meddling with his affairs and handed them the 'four heads and conditions' which he had offered to Young. After 'much needless speeches' they departed, and of Christian charity, Temple, in spite of Penry's strong protest took away with him the draught of the terms offered to Young; a few days later sending him a copy, but retaining the original; it might be useful at the trial.

Being firm upon the point Penry was brought to a public examination at the Sessions House in Old Bailey on Thursday 5 April. On the bench were George Barnes, Young, Dale, Dean Goodman and another cleric. First he refused the oath. The examination was directed to his movements after his escape from Islington. Then followed a conversation about Scotland, when Penry told them what he thought was prudent: that he came south with Edwards the previous September, that he had written *Reformation no enemie* and *Theses Genevenses*, but further question he refused. Then abruptly the inquiry was closed and he was sent away. His own remark on the procedure is, 'I was plain with them, especially with Mr. Yonge.'

CHAPTER II

PENRY'S DECLARATION OF FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE¹

MEANWHILE the 'book' to which he alluded when he was being harassed by the petty inquisition of Young and the Vaughan brothers, 'preachers,' and which should contain a clear statement of his attitude to the Established Church and to Elizabeth, was written, and the manuscript sent on its mission. It is a conciliatory and judicious statement, and was regarded by Penry himself with satisfaction as a frank advertisement of his mind upon the matters at issue between him and the authorities.

1. *His Loyalty to Elizabeth*.—There is nothing wanting in

¹ *Yelverton MSS.* 70, fol. 15 v. *et seq.*, and see Bibliography appended.

Penry's submissive loyalty to the Queen. She is his 'graycious and deare soueraigne.' To her 'only of all potentates in the world' he owes 'all duty, reuerence and submyssion in the Lord.' There is no foreign Pope to share that allegiance. He is not and never was 'either guilty or priuy vnto any purpose, consultacion, or intent of any sedition against, or disturbance of, her Ma^{ties} royall State and peaceable government.' If he were aware of any such 'godlesse wicked and undutyfull accions' he would forthwith have disclosed them, of whatever faith or country might be the persons implicated. In acknowledging her 'supremacy' he makes no exceptions. Civilian and ecclesiastic alike come under the censure of her laws and sword.¹ She has power from God to enact laws both civil and ecclesiastical. Her ecclesiastical laws are to be warranted by His written word. Her civil laws are to be 'grounded vpon the rules of Common Equyty and Justice,' which, far from weakening the authority of sovereign princes, are 'the only inexpugnable walles thereof.' That authority and prerogative of the Queen he would defend against all 'States persons and creatures' with the loss of his life a thousand times if the need were.

Since his conversion no day has passed but he has prayed that God's blessings, inward and outward, be 'poured with a full horn upon her right excellent Maiestie, her throne, regiment [rule] and dominions for euer,' and that all her enemies be discomfited. The Searcher of Hearts is his witness.

2. *His Faith*.—From the Elizabethan standpoint his theology is unimpeachable. He several times in his writings makes the dubious statement, which, however, he fully believed, that he was of the same faith as the Queen. We are on surer ground in saying that he held the same faith as Whitgift and the Bishops all, the faith of the Creeds and the Articles, the faith of the Council, and the members of Parliament. Here he particularises his orthodox belief in God, as a trinity of persons; in the two natures and the offices of Christ, and, in His redemption. His faith is strongly ethical. This faith belongs to the Elect, but the children of grace are

¹ 'Word' occurs in the MS. Waddington suggested the emendation.

pledged to an incessant warfare against all sin. Although their faith 'hath perseverance unto the end joined with it' yet they are never wholly free from sin until 'bodies and souls are separated—and not before.' The faith is contained in the Old and New Testaments, given by the Holy Spirit.

3. *The Church.*—The Church is the company of those called in the Scripture, Saints. They are all subject to God, and He has entered into covenant with them, 'of His mere favour.' The seals of the Covenant 'are only two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.' The Church on earth is not perfect, but despite their blemishes, all true members, at the day of judgement, shall by the grace of Christ share His glory. Penry entertains that glorious hope for himself. But though the Church here be not perfect, yet 'in regard of the order which the Lord hath appointed' it is 'most absolute.'

4. *Concerning Heresy.*—'I detest all heresies, sects, schisms, and errors, whether new or old, by whomsoever they are or have been invented, as Puritanism, Donatism, Anabaptism, Libertinism, Brownism, and all the dreams and dotages of the Family of Love: but especially all Popery, that most dreadful religion of Antichrist, the great enemy of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the most pestilent adversary of the thrones of kings and princes.' As he mentions Donatism, it is possible that in naming Puritanism, he is alluding to Montanism. Penry generally regards heretics as eccentrics; they have forsaken the sanity of the true faith. But the chief heretic is the Roman Church; that Church is 'the Son of Perdition' and the 'Man of Sin' and of it Penry expresses his detestation.

5. *Separatism.*—His reference to Romanism leads him to specify his detestation not only of the papal office but also of 'the rest of the limbs of that body' and these are cardinals, archbishops, lord bishops, suffragans, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, officials, monks, friars, canons, prebends, priests, deacons, etc. These officers and their functions are inventions, and the members of Christ must have no communion with them, nor can they or he join in the assemblies where they prevail. Having discarded the

ceremonies of Moses he cannot become subject to this bondage. But the religious doctrines mentioned earlier, and professed by the Queen and her Council, he accepts with all his heart, and acknowledges that he could not claim salvation if he denied them. For the reasons given, and he later adds, because they contain known disorderly persons, he cannot join 'with the public worship in these assemblies of this land.' He recognises willingly that in these parish assemblies, both among their teachers and hearers, there are true members of the body of Christ.

This is 'the sum of [his] faith and allegiance unto [his] God and [his] prince.' It shows the whole of his difference with the clergy of the land, that for which he and 'divers others of his poor brethren' are accounted schismatics, heretics, and felons. If his statement reaches the royal hands and comes before the view of their Honours, he trusts by God's mercy that he and his fellow-believers will not be judged worthy of death.

6. *Sundry Explanatory Observations.*—Having completed the substance of his statement, he appends one or two explanations to clear away some current misrepresentations of his views. His attitude to the Lord's Prayer is continually misunderstood. The Separatists regard it, and the like Scriptures, to be a holy form of prayer, and an exquisite pattern of doctrine, the standard example for all prayers, a form of prayer which may be used not only lawfully but 'with great comfort.' They think indeed, it was given rather for doctrine than as a vehicle of prayer, and they have no liking for vain repetitions of it. In this latter judgement they follow the view of the earlier leaders of the Church.

As regards the Jesuits and seminary priests with their persistent attacks, these are much attracted by the emoluments of the Church. 'If those offices and livings were, by public authority, once removed and converted into her Maiesties civil uses, the pope would have no occasion to send over those locusts.'

His opinion on these questions he holds as a matter of conscience towards God. Conscience compels him to detest

these human inventions, and to oppose them for the sake of the safety and the salvation of the Queen and the country. In this attitude he is supported by the great English witnesses and martyrs.¹

He would not wish to live if he were guilty of sedition, a defamer and disturber of her Majesty's peaceable Government. And he finally submits 'to their Honours and worships,' if these words reach their hands, that it is useless to invite men to devote learned thought and time to the study of the Scriptures, and the writings of scholars, if they may not hold and publicly profess the truths to which they are thus led, and are even punished for expressing their dissent from Rome. He personally appeals to their Honours to be a means with her Majesty to assure to him a fair trial.

'Imprisonments, indictments, arraignments, yea, death itself, are no weapons to convince the conscience grounded vpon the Word of the Lord, and accompanied with so many testimonies of His famous servants and churches.'

Then he closes with a prayer for his 'most gracious Sovereign' and for their Honours, for the country, and for the Christian people. 'Subscribed with heart and hand by me, John Penry—now in strait & hard bonds for the former testimony of Christ's Church.'

* * * *An Official Criticism.*—We may conclude that Penry's declaration was not without effect from the fact that the prosecution felt compelled to circulate a refutation of his claims and professions. It is a brief affair in two sections, one political, one religious.²

The first series of observations aims at showing that Penry is not the loyal subject he professes to be, but a seditious disturber of the Government. And this, says the official scribe, 'appeareth many wayes.' The instances are given in very general terms, but 'her Maiestie' is brought into the statement wherever it is possible, so that some remote taint

¹ A fuller extract of his views is given below in the account of the Fanshawe Examination, when Penry repeats his argument.

² *Harl. MSS.* 6849, 202.

of disloyalty may be assumed, and constructive treason argued from these premisses. For example, a drunken man often disturbs our peace. If we only call it the 'king's peace,' it wants but little to construe it legally into treason-felony and a hanging matter. It was with a purpose no more reputable, that the Government lawyers, into all the allegations against Penry, introduce 'her Majesty,' whenever they can.

(a) Penry denounces as wicked and antichristian the Church government 'established by her Maiestie.'

(b) For many years he has, in his 'libells and pamphletts,' 'most deuillishlie rayled' against the Established Church, although its orders rest on 'no ordinarie Lawfull authoritie' but are 'under and from her Maiestie.'

(c) He is a schismatic, having joined 'the hereticall and schismaticall conventicles of Barrowe and Greenwood.'

(d) The next piece of evidence to Penry's seditious character is sufficiently egregious to be quoted verbatim.—'By his justifying of Barrowe and Greenwoode when sufferinge worthily for their seditious writings and practices, are neuertheless by him reputed for holie martyrs.'

(e) By his seditious practices in Scotland. And here we have the first hint that the prosecution have in their possession 'certain his writings now lately taken [in Scotland] which doe displaye his seditious intentions,' papers whose character we shall learn at the King's Bench trial.

(f) In his *Declaration* of faith he acknowledges that Elizabeth has power to establish laws, both civil and ecclesiastical. The complaint is that he has not employed the conventional rigmarole—'the usuall termes of makinge, enactinge, decreinge, and ordayneinge Lawes, which import a more absolute authoritie.' The deduction gratuitously drawn is that the Queen is only assigned an authority to 'establish and ratifie such Lawes as are made to her handes by the omnipotent presbyterie.'

(g) Finally, a number of offending points are taken from 'his leude Martyns'—the only reference to the unhealed soreness about Marprelate's writings to be found in the final proceedings against Penry. 1. That the people in reforming the Church are not to wait for the Queen's authority, nor to be deterred by 'her Inhibition.' 2. That her Majesty 'envieth [begrudgeth] her subjects a saving knowledge of the true God.' 3. That the Sacraments are not 'true seales of godes covenant.' 4. That

the Queen is unbaptised ; that her subjects 'remayne in infidelitie,' and generally, are destined for hell. 5. 'That an honest man cannot possiblie lyve und^r her government in any vocation whatsoever.' 6. 'That her Majestie may as well make a new relligion as make lawes for relligion.' 7. 'That her Maiestie cannot alter the penalties of the Judiciall lawe of Moses, and many more, all flatlie impeachinge, diffaminge, or impugninge her Maiesties Lawfull authoritie.'

It will be seen that her Majesty is directly implicated in six of these seven last points. And now we come to the Observations on his 'Confession of Faith.' They are contained in four particulars.

1. The first is noted in the margin as 'Blasphemie.' It is the writer's deduction from Penry's statement of the absolute sovereignty of God ; 'makinge god the comāunder of all accions aswell badd as good,' and, he adds, 'an opinion most execrable' in the light of the Scripture, and abhorred by the whole Church.

2. That the Church consisteth only of good people, and not of any bad. This (in the margin) is 'Heresie'—indeed it is 'flat Donatisme and Anabaptisme.' Penry is also accused of holding that with the 'outward order' there can be no true Church.

3. That Separation is justified where the truth is preached but the 'outwarde order' is lacking.

4. That he shows great hatred to the Church by advising that the Queen should turn the temporalities of the Church to civil uses. The writer one would almost suppose must be a bishop, for he adds, 'w^{ch} is a most barbarous and beastlie impietie.'

The only reflection we are disposed to make upon these proofs of Penry's disloyal and seditious character is that, such as they are, they are almost, if not absolutely, all of them ecclesiastical offences. Penry's offence is his religion. Their triviality and inaccuracy are not points at this stage which need elaboration.

CHAPTER III

LETTERS TO HIS WIFE

1. *The Letter of 6 April.*—Back in his cell, Penry's first anxiety was his wife ; and to her he wrote a memorable letter ; a letter which to-day, after over three centuries, throbs with life and passion, with tenderest affection, and with the Cymric gift of pathos and tears.

‘ I see my blood laid for (my beloved), and so my days and testimony drawing to an end for aught I know, and therefore I think it my duty to leave behind me this testimony of my love to so dear a sister, and so loving a wife in the Lord, as you have been to me.’

His chief thought is for her spiritual welfare. ‘ Let nothing draw you to be subject to Antichrist, in any of his ordinances.’ Above all she is to abide faithfully with the Separatist Church.

‘ Again, my beloved, continue a member of that holy Society whereof you now are ; where the Lord in his ordinances, reigneth : for here, and in all such assemblies, the Lord dwelleth by the presence and power of His Spirit.’

He directs her, of course, to the wonderful Book, whose words and promises were to him so absolute a possession, and on the margin of the letter he directs her to abundance of texts ; at this place he notes, ‘ Look 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.’ She is to consecrate all things to God, ‘ husband, children and whatsoever you have.’ She must know it ‘ to be an unspeakable preferment ’ for her, or any that are hers, to suffer affliction with Christ and His Gospel.

She must not ‘ fear the want of outward things.’ ‘ Remember what is set down.’ He is confident that in this life she will see a blessed reward for ‘ those small and weak sufferings ’ which they both endure ‘ for the interest and right of Christ Jesus,’ and that the Lord will give ‘ a breathing time of comfortable rest unto His poor Church.’ In the meantime she must ‘ wait patiently the Lords leisure.’

Then he advises her as to the godly ordering of her household.

‘ Be much and often in prayer, day and night, in the reading and meditation of His word, and you shall find that He will grant you your hearts desire, according to His good pleasure and will. Pray with your poor family and children, morning and evening, as you do. Instruct them and your maid in the good ways of God, so that no day may pass over your head wherein you have not taught them—especially her—some one principle of the truth.’

He directs to special portions of the Scripture with which, for her strength and comfort, she should be familiar ; these words should especially ‘ restore beauty unto His church ’ and overthrow the Roman Antichrist. She must pray for him.

‘ Remember me also and my brethren in bonds, that the Lord would assist us with the strength and comfort of His Spirit, to keep a good conscience and to bear a glorious testimony to the end. Yea, be not void of hope, but I may be restored again unto you by your prayers ; and therefore be earnest with Him for my deliverance. If the Lord shall end my days in this testimony as blessed be His name I am ready and content with His good pleasure.’

Again he exhorts her to abide with the Church, the refuge for widows. Better to be in poverty with piety than to enjoy the riches of the world.

‘ And what shift soever you make keep our poor children with you, that you may bring them up yourself in the instruction and information of the Lord. I leave you and them, indeed, nothing in this life, but the blessing of my God, and His blessed promises.’

She must teach the children ; especially, the last lesson he taught them by word, that if they would reign with Christ, they must suffer with Him.

‘ Break their affections while they are yet green, by instructions out of the word, and corrections meet for them. Yet you know that parents must not be bitter unto their children ; especially snib not the elder wench, because you know the least word will restrain her.’

When they are able, he desires they should be set to work. He wishes they might be taught to read and also to write. And he solemnly charges them when they reach years of discretion to join the Church. If she cannot keep them all with her, let them be brought up with a member of the Church, even on bread and water ; better that than be clad in gold in households which observe antichristian ordinances.

‘ I know, my good Helen, that the burden I leave upon thee, of four infants, whereof the eldest is not four years old, will not seem burdensome unto thee. Yea, thou shalt find that our God will [be] a Father to the fatherless and a Stay unto the widow. But here again my most dear sister and Wife, I again advise you not to be a widow long after my days.’

The married state with its cares is better. But let her marry in the faith one suitable to govern her, a godly man rather than a man of wealth.

And now having disburdened himself of his duty towards her he turns to himself. First, he relates what has happened to him, his arrest and his successive examinations, as already told in these pages. Then he gives her instructions, in case he is put to death, how to deal with his ‘ dispersed papers ’ which he has written ‘ and are yet out of the enemies hands.’ These and such of his letters as ‘ are of any moment,’ though imperfect, are to be published after his death. They may serve to silence the enemy. Some are ‘ among our brother Mr. Smithe’s papers,’—William Smith, the minister of Bradford on Avon, who was himself in prison on the charge of being implicated in the affair of Roger Rippon’s coffin. ‘ The rest,’ he says, ‘ you know where they are,’ alluding, no doubt, to the unfinished manuscript, ‘ Corah, Dathan and Abiram.’ In these things Mrs. Penry is to take the direction of the Church.

He closes by committing to her his farewell salutations : To the Church ‘ especially those in bonds,’ bidding them not to be dismayed, though sufferings await them, for surely better times are in store.

To his mother, ‘ and yours,’ in Wales and his brethren, sisters and kindred there he sends his affectionate remem-

brances ; he has greatly desired to be the means of winning their souls. (His father is not mentioned.)

To her parents, 'and mine,' and to their kindred in Northamptonshire ; and his kinsman Jenkin Jones ; one of the Islington prisoners, whose name has occasionally appeared in this story. 'And Mr. Davidd also,' though it seems, to Penry's disappointment, he had bent his head before the blast of persecution.

Nor would he forget 'all ours in Scotland, upon the borders, and every way northward ; especially Mr. Juell, always dear unto me.'

After an imperative word of caution, and a few tender expressions, he signs this memorable letter, on the 6th of April, in great haste, in tears yet in comfort of soul, 'your husband for a season and your beloved brother for ever, JOHN PENRIE.'

2. *The Troubled Postscript.*—The earnest caution given at the close of the letter that she must not divulge its receipt 'save unto the party who shall read this unto you'—the friend to whom she took the letter to get it read—is earnestly reiterated in a brief and agitated postscript. 'In any case, let it not be known that I have written to you, be sure thereof.' Mrs. Penry evidently could not read script, though she could read the printed Bible ; as often is the case with semi-literates. Many men at this period were 'marks-men,' could not write their names ; Shakespeare's father is an instance ; and some men of higher rank were in the same case. But the education of girls was much more neglected.

We easily understand his disturbed spirit. Early that very morning Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood had been hanged at Tyburn, as all London knew. It showed the desperate resolve of Whitgift to spare none of the Separatist leaders, however eminent their character or distinguished their social connections. The 'poor young man from the mountains of Wales' stood a small chance of weathering the storm. Every effort must be put forth and at once, for he is now sure his 'life is sought for.' Therefore, on hearing from the messenger who is to convey his letter, the sad news, he manages to add the hurried postscript. It directs his wife

to go to the judges ; let her take the children with her, to intercede on their behalf. Yea, if possible, she is to approach the Queen, beseeching her 'to show her wonted clemency.' Let her 'ply my Lord Treasurer' and others of the Council, who may have any pity for her. Still more let her pray for him, and he desires the Church also to pray for him, 'much and earnestly.' He takes a further tender farewell of her and betrays his secret anxiety as he closes : 'I know not how thou doest for outward things ; but my God will provide. My love be with thee, now and ever, in Christ Jesus.'¹

3. *A Fragment: Last Anxieties about his Family.*—We have, in a fragment of a further letter to his wife, a repetition of his anxieties. The earlier part of this epistle is not given. In it 'he had sett down his debtes what was owinge by him unto others, and by others to him.' His trouble is still about the spiritual and material outlook for his dear ones. Further brooding upon their temporal welfare deepens his hope that help will come to them from Cefnbrith.

'I trust that my mother and brethren will lay up some things for a store for our poor children against they come to age, if they will give you nothing in the mean time. I will write unto them, if I can by any means, for this purpose. This is a cold and a poor stay I leave you and my poor fatherless messe ; but my God and yours, doubt you not, will provide abundantly for you and them, if you serve Him, as I doubt not but you will.'

It is a little difficult to understand his dread lest his wife and children should go back to the servitude of Egypt from which, he says, 'you and I have escaped.' But he knew how much easier it was to conform, and how alluring to a poor widow and her helpless orphans to escape from bleak winds of dissent and to pursue life's pilgrimage on the sunny side of the way. He adjures her with tears to have no 'communion with the Romish inventions.' He applies to her an irresistible argument.

'And will you or my children join with these corruptions that [are] dyed with your husband's and fathers blood ? Oh, you

¹ *Yelverton MSS.* 70. 19, 20.

shall therein justify the spilling of my blood for testifying against communicating with these unfruitful works of darkness, whereas you declare that there may be a lawful use of them, by joining and communicating with them.'

Eleanor Penry had known nothing but persecution since the day she married her young Welsh zealot. For these nearly five years he and she had been as the hunted partridges in the mountains. And when he leaves her she must still carry on the Lord's warfare, she must bravely bear this heavy cross of Separatism. 'I am not jealous of you my good Wife; but enarm you and my children against these corruptions.'¹

CHAPTER IV

CLEARING THE PRISONS FOR EASTER

1. *Examination of the Islington Woods Prisoners.*—Easter was now drawing near, and an effort was being made to clear away the accumulation of ecclesiastical cases before the celebration of the Resurrection and its divine peace would call a pause in the work of persecution. It was good lenten occupation to suppress Church rebellion. Next to the examination of one's own sins, virtue might be assigned to the public expression of abhorrence at the sins of others, especially those of heretics so absolute and intractable as these Separatists. Henry Barrowe, gentleman, and John Greenwood, clerk, could give no further trouble. Penry was still to be disposed of; the difficulty in his case was to formulate a capital charge against him, with sufficient colour of legal orderliness to justify, outwardly, Whitgift's determination to send Marprelate's factotum to the gallows. Meanwhile there was the great crowd of Separatists taken at Islington Woods who had now been in prison a month

¹ *Yelverton MSS.* 70, 22; *Waddington, Penry*, 135.

without proper trial. So the travesty of legal procedure began. A Commission was appointed to deal with this gaol-delivery. 'Mr. Deane of Westminster,' Gabriel Goodman, one of Whitgift's most trusted agents, presided at the examinations, and with him sat Richard Young and Barnes an ecclesiastical lawyer, and one or two others.

2. *The Chief Features of the Examinations.*—As before no legal indictment was filed against these poor men. A roving examination was carried on in the hope that they would be betrayed into supplying evidence against themselves or against others. Reviewing the depositions, we recognise that the prosecution gained little information beyond what was known to be already in their possession. The prisoners one and all refused the illegal oath *ex officio*. The chief points upon which the prosecution were anxious to gain information from the prisoners were, first, who was responsible for carrying the coffin containing the dead body of Roger Rippon from Newgate prison where he died along Cheapside to Justice Young's house; and who wrote the defamatory libel against Whitgift and Young which was fastened to the coffin lid? Then, where and when did the Secret Church of the Separatists meet, and what was its order of service, and how and when was the Lord's Supper administered? Who persuaded the prisoners, and whom did they persuade, to attend the Separatist gatherings? Persistent inquiries were made about the perusal and circulation of the books written by Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry. The bishops clearly greatly feared the influence of these writings. Not much concerning them was elicited from the examinations. One or two refused to answer. Francis Johnson, who had probably read them all, and was converted to Separatism by reading Barrowe's reply to Giffard, gave a non-committal reply. Many professed to know nothing of them. Edward Grave, the fishmonger, had seen the 'books of conference'; that is the reports by the chief prisoners themselves of the conferences they had with the clergy appointed to visit them; which were a great source of instruction in the principles of Congregationalism. Grave lent his copy to Pidden, the shoemaker, who was one

of those who refused to 'accuse himself.' Bowman the deacon had possessed a copy of Barrowe's *Discoverie*.¹

3. *Eleanor Penry's Petition*.—Mrs. Penry, we may be sure, lost no time in petitioning the authorities on behalf of her husband. With Easter at hand she may have thought that Christian charity would have found an opportunity to incline the balance of judgement towards mercy. We know nothing of the circumstances attending the presentation of the Petition, a copy of which has been preserved. It was addressed to Puckering, 'Lord Keep^r of her ma^{ts} greate seale of England.' His 'poore suppliant Hellen Penrie' is distressed because, her husband being 'a close prisoner in the Counter in the Poultrie in London,' no one is allowed to visit him and 'to bring him such thinges as are necessary for the p^{re}seruacon of his life and sustenance.' She states that he is constitutionally a 'very weake and sicklie man not hable longe to endure so hard and miserable imprisonment wthout hazard of his life, his allowance being nothing but bread & drinke.' She complains that the Keeper refuses 'to carry such necessaries as are sent vnto him for his sustenaunce.' Her wifely indignation breaks forth at this treatment, and she further presses her supplication :

'yf he were the veriest Traito^r that ever was, it is not her Ma^{ts} pleasure that he shold be thus hardlie vsed, but how soeuer greate matters are laide to his charge, yet I hope he will prove him selfe an honest and good subiect to her Ma^{tie}. Most humblie therefore she beseecheth yo^r honno^r for gods cause in consideracon of her poore husbands sicklie and weake estate that it wold please yow to graunte her yo^r honno^{rs} warrant that she maye have accesse vnto her poore husband, to administer such neces-

¹ The records of the examinations are found in the *Harl. MSS.* vol. 6848, 32-86 (Brit. Mus.). These have been summarised in Burrage's *Early Eng. Diss.* ii. 19 ff. But these reprints are of no value to the student, who cannot be sure that the more interesting facts are not omitted, as sometimes they are. Important examinations are omitted altogether. In two cases only, the important fact is recorded that inquiry was made about the books of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry. It would not be suspected that between forty and fifty of these examinations contain an inquiry about books. Even in the case of an examination of Penry, where the inquiry if he were acquainted with 'Barrowe his booke' is highly significant, Mr. Burrage omits this fact.

saryes vnto him as she may, for the p^{re}seruacon of his life. And yo^r poore Oratrice shall be bound daylie to praise god for so greate favo^r and mercy showed vnto her w^{ch} the Lord wold not see unrewarded in yow.’¹

4. *Penry and his Gaoler.*—That the Petition had some effect we know—whether Eleanor Penry was granted free access to her husband, that is, whether Penry ceased to be in this respect a ‘close’ prisoner and enjoyed some of ‘the privileges of the place’ we do not definitely know. An inquiry was sent to the Poultry to see if Gittens was keeping his prisoner on bread and water. While Penry within the prison was doing all he could to win the favour of his gaoler, it was not good policy to complain of the man’s conduct to the Lord Keeper. Especially as Gittens had on a former occasion been in trouble over his treatment of prisoners in his keeping. Parker, an informer, had accused him of extortion.² It was therefore politic on Penry’s part to give Gittens at once a certificate stating that an injury was done to him by those who accused him of not supplying his prisoner with ‘meat or drink competent.’ Penry was likelier, he says, to perish from cold. He excuses his wife’s statement in her petition. It was true that she had not been allowed to see him, and owing to that prohibition ‘she may,’ he says, ‘bee in feare that I ame in regard of meat and drink hardlyer vsed then I ame or have been.’³

Penry did well to exonerate Gittens from all blame. ‘M^r Gittens’ was not responsible for the aching cold of the Counter in the month of April, and the prohibition of Mrs. Penry from seeing her husband must be charged against Whitgift, who never failed to get his last pennyworth out of any prisoner who was believed to have had a finger in the Marprelate pie. The familiar mockery, the profane derision, of Marprelate, entered into the sensitive little man’s very bones. A harmless old innocent like the Rev. John Udall was so heavily weighted with chains, that he could not straighten himself, in spite of the intercessions of all classes

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 6849, 207.

² *Acts of the P. Council*, 1589.

³ *Harl. MSS.* 6849, 206, and note in the Bibliography.

and conditions of men on his behalf. Whitgift believed, though it was a mistake, that he was in some degree personally responsible for the first of the Tracts, and to every plea on behalf of his miserable prisoner his heart was harder than the nether millstone. Even the captured printers, who were only secondarily responsible, and could not be thought to know the chief secrets of Marprelacy, he did not hesitate to torture illegally, in the wild hope that the 'very great suffering' which they endured would yield him the satisfaction which he was destined never to get. Penry was sufficiently implicated in that sprightly adventure, to be doomed from the moment he became Whitgift's prisoner. There was poor hope for any alleviations of Penry's prison-hardships from headquarters. It needed a little of what old Fraunce called 'lawyers logicke,' to select the particular charge on which to send him to his long account. That was the only problem; his pitiful entertainment on the way to the gallows aroused no response.

Still the gaolers of those days, if they were so minded, could, short of letting him escape altogether, gratify most of a prisoner's desires. And Penry's championship of Gittens was not in vain. The gaoler may have pitied his weak and sickly body, and been not insensible to his personal charm; Eleanor Penry may have found the key that turns the rustiest of old locks; perhaps also the little girls, when they came with their mother, found favour in his sight. Take the children with you when presenting your petition, said Penry to his wife; and we at once guess that, through their father the little lasses inherited some of the alluring beauty, the dark hair, and bright eyes, and fair faces 'as red and white as roses be,' that mark the women of the hills of Wales. Whatever it was, it is certain that without the favour of Gittens he could not have accomplished the very considerable amount of literary work that stands to his credit during not quite ten weeks of imprisonment. His wife and friends must have contrived to convey to him from time to time pens and ink and a considerable stock of foolscap, though he speaks of his scarcity and there is evidence that towards

the close of his imprisonment he was at the end of his resources.

5. *A Precious Prison Relic.*—There exists among the Harley papers¹ a memento of his prison life, calculated to move the heart of any lover of Penry. We are not sure that it has been noticed by the diligent researchers who have carefully gleaned these fields. It consists of two leaves of common foolscap, with two patches of minute writing on one sheet. The paper has been folded into a small octavo size, so as to slip easily into a man's pocket. It must have lodged long in the pocket, and have been taken out and returned many times. The creases remain, and the worn edges, and the surfaces which were outside when folded are soiled, while the rest is clean. The writing betrays its origin. One patch of writing is the rough draft of the first part of Penry's declaration of his Faith and Allegiance, here and there corrected and altered; the writing very small to waste as little paper as possible. The second patch shows us how he occupied some of his prison hours, when not engaged in writing his friends or composing his petitions and defensive statements. He was reading the early chapters in Isaiah, and penning some brief reflections on certain verses as they occur to him. This is not the only autograph of Penry which we possess. His signature is subscribed to several of the documents. The Gittens certificate is an autograph. But we judge this poor little remnant to be the most intimate of all the literary remains of Penry that have survived. It has one or two special points of interest. Both the Gittens certificate and this scrap have the quite unusual spelling of 'ame' for 'am'; they were written by the same hand and about the same time. The thoughts of Penry were much occupied with the chances his various appeals and statements had of a favourable reception by the judges. He turns to Isaiah and reads (i. 23) in his Genevan version: 'The princes are rebellious and companions of theeues, euerie one loueth gifts & followeth after rewards: they iudge not the fatherles, neither doeth the widowes cause come before them.'

¹ *Harl. MSS.* 6849, 146.

Then he writes on his little memorandum 'Lett iudges tak heed that they refuse not the cause of the fatherless.'

CHAPTER V

PENRY'S LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTERS

1. *Deliverance, Comfort, Safety, and Sure Hope—the Tenderly Beloved.*—Amidst all his cares Penry was seizing every opportunity offered to him to write a letter to his children. On the Tuesday following Palm Sunday, 10 April 1593, he was to appear at the Sessions House before Fanshawe and Young. Parliament was dissolved that day. Not knowing what might happen to him as the result of this examination, he was greatly solicitous about the children's letter, and hurried on its writing, though his stock of writing materials was running low. The length of the letter indicates that it must have occupied his uncertain leisure on several days. He hastily completed the epistle on Tuesday. His removal to the Court probably afforded him the opportunity of handing it over to his friends, as he marched in chains along the Poultry and 'the Chepe' to Old Bailey. There was no closed and secretive 'Black Maria' in those days, for the conveyance of prisoners.

He addresses his four 'dear and tenderly beloved little daughters' by name, DELIVERANCE, COMFORT, SAFETY and SURE HOPE, and writes for their instruction and advice, not as they are now in the days of their infancy, but when they should 'come to years of discretion and understanding': their names, Comfort and Safety, the two born in Scotland, as we might guess, and Sure Hope, announcing the confidence of John and Eleanor Penry in their Lord, in the time of peril, have, with that of their mother apparently vanished from the page of history. Of Deliverance 'of North Hampton' we have one or two fitful gleams. How greatly we could wish to have some definite record of them all.

2. *Religious Admonitions.*—First, he gives them, as from the borders of another world, *grave religious admonitions*. They must not fail to know that there is in Christ full salvation 'whereof your poor mother and I are, by the mercies of God most undoubtedly assured'; with much plain evangelical exposition, after the manner with which he has made us familiar. The matters which have brought him into such trouble are represented by his enemies, with 'the subtilty of Sattan,' to be trifling; but they really concern the truth and sincerity of the Church of Christ. They are 'the polluted inventions and ceremonies of antichrist.' 'Have you nothing to do with those assemblies and meetings' where they are observed. He gives the lengthy list of non-scriptural offices retained in the establishment, and its 'book-worship and prayer'; they are 'Satanical inventions, 2 Thess. ii. 9, mingled with the truth.' God did not deliver his people from the bondage of Mosaic ceremonies to subject them to the servitude of Rome. Their father and mother are of the same faith with the Apostles and they too must be willing to suffer in the cause of Christ.

3. *The appeal of parental example* which he makes, touches a deep pathetic note, addressed to them from the gloom of his cold prison.

'Wherefore, again, my daughters, even my tenderly beloved daughters, regard not the world nor any thing that is therein. . . . I, your Father, you have as a witness before you, in the enduring of these six years past, of some part of these sufferings whereunto I now exhort you. Your mother hath been joyfully partaker with me of them, ever since the Lord joined her and me together by His holy ordinance. You have been all of you born in this time of your mother's testimony and mine; wherefore I am in good hope also, that the Lord will give you grace to follow us, your poor parents, in that which is acceptable in His sight. And I, your Father, now ready to give my life for the former testimony, do charge you, as you shall answer in the day of the Lord, to embrace this my counsel given unto you in His name, and to bring up your posterity after you (if the Lord vouchsafe you any) in this same true faith and way to the Kingdom of Heaven.'

4. *They must be Loyal to their Mother.*

‘In other things for the direction of your particular lives, I refer you to your Mother, who hath been a most faithful sister and comfortable yoke-fellow to me in all my trials and sufferings, and for your comfort and mine hath taken bitter journeys by sea and land. Repay her, then, by your dutifulness and obedience, some part of that kindness which (on my behalf) you owe unto her. Be obedient to her in word and in deed, and miss not to be the staff of her age, who is now the only stay and support that is left unto you in your youth and infancy.’

5. *Their Patrimony.*—He thus leaves the four of them, the eldest not yet four years old, and the baby not four months, and he knows not if a fifth child may not be added to the mother’s burden. He has ‘nothing to speak of’ to leave her and them, but the promises of God. They may when grown up enter the married state, in which matter, as in all matters, let them be ruled by their mother’s direction. She may place them in service and they must not be too proud to work and be content with wholesome diet and plain warm clothing. Owing to his persecution he has not been able, as he was willing, to make provision for them. But he believes that God will not allow them to want, because of his testimony against the Roman abominations. And when God’s providence does so provide for them, let them not fail to bear witness to His goodness.

6. *Fidelity to the Church.*—He further warns them earnestly against the ‘false Church,’ which he looks to see overthrown. However poor they may be, ‘keep yourselves’ he says, ‘in this poor Church where I leave you, or in some other holy society of the saints.’ He has confidence that the people of God will be kind to them and to their mother, ‘my faithful Sister and Wife,’ even for his sake.

Let them learn to read the word of God. If their mother be able to keep them together, by her means they no doubt shall learn to read and write. He has left them ‘four Bibles, each of you one, being the sole and only patrimony or dowry’ he has for them. Let them diligently and with prayer read

the sacred Book, and give faithful attendance to the meetings of the Church.

They are to consecrate themselves to the Church; even to be kind to its poor members. If they have but little, let them bestow something for the relief of the Church, even though they must 'diminish their diet and apparel' to have something to spare. If indeed they 'live in abundance' they must not allow true Christians to want.

7. *Duties to Kindred and Friends, and to the Queen.*—They must show kindness to their kindred on both their father's and their mother's side. He is especially anxious that they should keep alive the tie that binds them to Wales.

'If ever you are able, shew all forwardness in doing good unto my people and kindred in the flesh. . . . Repay the kindness . . . which I owe unto my nearest kindred there; as to my Mother, Brethren, Sisters, etc., who I am persuaded will be most kind towards you and your Mother, unto their ability, even for my sake. And be an especial comfort in my stead, unto the grey hairs of my poor Mother, whom the Lord used as the only means of my stay for me in my beginning up at my studies, whereby I have come unto the knowledge of that most precious Faith in Christ Jesus. . . .

'Pray much and often for the prosperous reign and the preservation, body and soul, [of] her right excellent Majesty, my dread sovereign, Queen ELIZABETH, under whose reign I have come unto this blessed knowledge and hope, wherein I stand. The Lord shew mercy unto her for it, both in this life and in that great day.'

8. *Gratitude to Scotland.*

'Shew yourselves helpful and kind unto all strangers; unto the people of Scotland, where I, your Mother, and a couple of you, lived as strangers, and yet were welcome, and found great kindness for the name of our God. Be tender-hearted towards the widow and the fatherless, both because the law of God and nature requireth this at your hands, and also because, for aught I know, I am likely to leave you fatherless, and your Mother a widow.'

9. *Difficulty of Writing.*—He finally tells them of the difficulties under which the letter has been written owing to

the 'scarcity of paper, ink, and time.' It was necessary to finish it before the public examination; for who could say what would be its immediate issue? It was his custom to compose a first rough draft of his more serious writings; which later would be carefully revised. But now, apart from the time which would thus be occupied, his little store of paper and ink was being exhausted. He had therefore to set down hurriedly each thought as it 'first came into [his] mind.' 'And therefore, it is neither so full nor so profitable a counsel as otherwise, upon better leisure,' God would have enabled him to give them.

Thus he takes his sad farewell of them. He repeats his vow; from the bottom of his soul he is willing to die for the great Name; not counting his present afflictions worthy to be compared with his future blessedness; he commits them and their dear mother into the merciful hands of God, and of his Redeemer.

'From close prison, with many tears, and yet in much joy of the Holy Ghost, this 10th of the 4th month of April, 1593.'

CHAPTER VI

EXAMINATION BEFORE FANSHAWE AND YOUNG,

10 APRIL

1. *Nature of the Inquiry.*—Having completed his letter to his daughters, his immediate business on this Tuesday, 10 April, is to prepare for his examination before Fanshawe and Young. It was not a trial in a legal sense; but an inquisitorial examination. Of the general character of legal proceedings instituted under Elizabeth it will be necessary to make a brief observation in the course of the present chapter. Here it will suffice to say that Fanshawe and Young did not sit as judges, but as prosecuting counsel; an opportunity was given to the prisoner to speak at some length in the hope that

he would be wheedled into making an incriminating statement which the prosecution could use to secure his condemnation.

The report of this inquisition presumably comes from Penry. It does not represent Fanshawe as harsh in his attitude towards his prisoner. The reader may remember that among the contemporaries of Penry at Peterhouse there was a Henry Fanshawe, who succeeded his father in the lucrative office of Remembrancer of the Exchequer. That young man, while not following Penry into Puritanism, still less into Separatism, which would have barred every avenue to a successful career, rivalled him in his deadly antipathy to Popery. The Henry Fanshawe on the bench with Richard Young, the London Justice, is the father of Penry's fellow-student. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the judge was fully informed by his ultra-Protestant son of the doings and opinions of the brilliant and scholarly young Welshman. And though at this time the treatment of prisoners in vogue during their preliminary detention and until they received judgement before a legal court was incurably wrong and oppressive, yet Judge Fanshawe in the report of the proceedings before us, seems as though he desired to deal not unkindly with his prisoner. Indeed, at one point, it needed the intervention of the sinister figure of Justice Young at his side to exacerbate the situation, which was getting somewhat too favourable for Penry.

2. *Penry's Agreement with the Reformers and Martyrs.*—Fanshawe expresses surprise at the singularity of Penry's views, not shared, he thinks, by any of the contemporary learned, nor by any of the former martyrs. This gives Penry his opportunity. The remainder of the examination consists of an eloquent exposition of his views, the flow of his statement being guided here and there by Fanshawe's brief interpolations. The views objected against Penry were indeed held by the martyrs, by the teacher of martyrs, 'Mr. Weicliffe,' by the brave Cardiff fisherman Rawlings White,¹ who was burnt in 1555, the year when Catholic Mary began her atrocious

¹ 'P. White' in the MS. is an obvious error. Penry was thinking of his countryman.

persecution. They were held by William Thorpe, the story of whose examination edited by Tyndale occupies so many painfully interesting pages in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*; and held no less by Tyndale, Lambert, Latimer and others whose names are so dear to English folk; held as well by the Reformed Churches of other lands. These all supported Penry.

3. *Is there a True Church in England?*—Fanshawe here posed his prisoner with the statement widely attributed to the Separatists, that no Church of Christ existed in England. This sent back Penry to the familiar University disputations. He had to cry out 'Distinguo.' If the Judge meant, as most did mean, said he, a profession of Christian doctrine, he was far from denying that it existed in England. None more gladly than he acknowledged that the Queen had commanded the acceptance of a truly evangelical theology. In his judgement it embraced all the essentials, the Trinity, the doctrine of Christ, and of true Justification, together with the two Sacraments. Fanshawe then engagingly asked, if her Majesty had established so many and essential points, why quarrel with the Church? 'Come and join us in these truths and sacraments.' The remainder of the inquiry is practically occupied by Penry's clever and eloquent explanation why, when such were the professed principles, he could not attend a Church whose organisation and whose liturgical offices he thought were marked by a different spirit and bespoke a different origin. The doctrines were those which the reformers, including the Separatists, recognised as those sanctioned by the New Testament, but the officialism of the Church was scarcely to be distinguished from the old Roman type.

4. *The Grounds of Penry's Nonconformity.*—Penry expressed strongly his belief in the antisciptural character of the many ostentatious offices, from that of the Lord Archbishop down; whereas in the New Testament the offices in the Church were few and simple, appointed in the spirit of brotherhood by the members of the Church. Here in England the manner of appointment was so glaringly different. As to ordination; if the term 'church' were accepted in any

tolerable sense, then no Church was concerned in this new order of priests ; no Church had called them into the ministry ; no Church had testified to their fitness ; no Church had consented to the ceremonial of laying on hands and the solemn setting apart for the sacred office ; no Church invited them to the pastoral care and oversight of its members. It was a purely official arrangement. The appointments in a large number of cases were tainted with simony, and, naturally enough, the men appointed were also very largely unfit for the office. Elizabeth told a number of her bishops that some of those they had ordained were not fit for honest company ; Burleigh on the same occasion added ‘ I am sure the greater part of them are not worthy to keep horses.’¹ The prescribed service and the manner of maintaining the ministry were added to Penry’s objections.

5. *The Relation between the Organisation of the Church and its Changing Environment.*—Fanshawe then took the position adopted by Bishop Cooper in his *Admonition*, and generally followed by the bishops and Church defenders of the day. Admitting, as they did admit, for that was the point of their argument, that the Apostolic Churches were organised on a simple congregational plan in which the Church elected the brethren who should serve it, and while the titles elder and overseer (episkopos) were still alternative terms, yet there was this difference. The Church was then in stormy waters ; it was now at peace, with leisure to elaborate its machinery. Penry would have none of this defence. The Church was complete ; these additions to its organisation were the invention of Popery. When ‘ her Majestie and our [late] sovereign her noble father ’ cut off the head of the Romish Church [the Pope] and some of its other members, these were left in the land. But when Christ delivered His people from the tyranny of the Mosaic laws it was not to subject them to Antichrist.

6. *The Status of ‘ M. Luther ’ in the Church.*—Fanshawe at this point raised the perplexing question of Luther’s office in the Reformed Church. Penry admitted that he was a

¹ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.*, 1585, No. 68.

monk long after the Lord had used him to overthrow the kingdom of Antichrist, which afterward utterly disgraced him and deprived him of all office ; since which ‘ he nameth himself Ecclesiasten, in a booke so intituled ; that is, a preacher of Christes blessed truthe and Gospell.’ He did not know whether he preached because he was lawfully appointed by the Church of Christ, or whether he taught ‘ by vertue of his gifts and the opportunitie w^{ch} he had to manifest the truthe,’ not giving time or not caring to consider his status. He was quite sure he was a glorious witness raised up by God for the destruction of the man of sin. He surmised that he had a pastoral office in the church at Wittenberg. In any case their duty was not to follow him or Tyndale, but Christ alone.

7. *Penry without Office in the Church.*—Fanshawe then asked, ‘ And what office had you in yo^r Church, which meet in woodes and I knowe not where ? ’ Penry replied that he had ‘ noe office in that poore congregation.’ Their meeting in woods was justified by the example of Christ and His apostles ; they were not ashamed of the Gospel. To meet in such places was part of the Cross of Christ which they were called upon to bear. In answer to a further question he said he had never been ordained by the Established Church. He might, he said, ‘ haue bin made eyther deacon or priest, but I thanke the Lorde I alwaies disliked the Popishe orders.’ Had he then received such orders, he would repudiate them. He preached in Scotland at the request of the Church ; but never had charge or office in any Church. He would not help to frame an indictment against himself by stating whether he had or not preached in their secret meetings ; but if this ‘ same poore congregation ’ should desire the use of his ‘ smale giftes ’ he would exercise his talent, ‘ being thereunto prepared,’ for their mutual edification. That was the right of the Church and his duty as one of its members.

8. *The Duty of Preaching independent of Church Orders.*—Any one, then, said Fanshawe, ‘ maie preach the worde in yo^r assemblies.’ This Penry denied ; it would tend ‘ to anabaptisticall subversion of all good order.’ A man must

have the necessary gifts of teaching and preaching, and be called by the Church. He needed, however, no 'office.' In any case he would be required to preach before entering upon the office of preacher and teacher, to make 'tryall of his giftes.' To preach at the request of the Church required no office beyond that possessed by every member, to be exercised by the working of the spirit of Christ in them; and when so employed they were termed in the New Testament, prophets; not foretellers, but interpreters. Fanshawe was reminded that students at the Universities at 'common places &c.' were called upon to exercise their gifts as preachers. Much more in the Church; for while the Lord commanded the rendering of such service in the Church, it was nowhere commanded to bring the 'exercises of His holy worde' into 'Homers scooles.' Let the arts and tongues be taught in the schools; but let preaching be provided by the Church.

9. *Why Penry refused Office in the Church.*—Fanshawe was curious to know how it came to pass that Penry, having such scholarship and abilities, escaped being made an officer in the Church. He replied that he had refused because it was his constant purpose to be employed to evangelise the people of Wales. That was why he returned from Scotland, where he might have stayed 'privily' the rest of his life. He did not dissuade men from obeying their prince, but from obeying Antichrist, which the Queen's laws warranted. She had promised on confirming the Great Charter by her coronation oath to regard the liberties of the Church inviolable for ever. Fanshawe interrupted—'Was it meet that subiects should charge their Prince to keep covenant with them?' Penry replied that it was indeed a lamentable situation if a prisoner might not declare his innocency by declaring his Sovereign's laws. To keep covenant with their people and to shield them from lawless violence was the glory of Princes. Even heathen princes had been bound to their people by covenant. English laws were full of these mutual compacts. Even when seeming to act contrary to the letter of the law, Judges are bound to administer equity and justice to poor subjects. Moreover, Princes must obey the law of God.

They are even forbidden to be lifted up in mind above their 'brethren'; that is the name given to their subjects. The kings of Judah 'types and figures of Christ Jesus' entered into covenant with their people. Jeremiah, whose danger was like that in which Penry now stood, required Zedekiah to covenant not to wrong him or suffer others to do so.

10. *Her Majesty's Coronation Oath.*—But it is wrong to suggest that Penry desired to 'scan hir Ma^{ties} oath.' He believes that if she knew the justice of their cause, they would not receive their present hard treatment. Their misfortune is that he and his brethren are never brought before her notice except under the odious charges of sedition, rebellion, schism, heresy, &c. It is true that her Majesty has established these laws for her Church, but 'of oversight'; since, however, they do not rightly pertain to the Church, then they fall back on her promise to respect its privileges. 'Why then go yow about to pull down bishops?' Penry assures Fanshawe it is far from their intention. They point out God's wrath against Romish inventions. They would avoid these, and warn others to avoid them, that they may save their souls. Beyond this, he says definitely they 'have no calling to go.'

11. *No Sedition broached in their Secret Meetings.*—Is not their meeting in woods and other secret and suspicious places proof of their insurgent intention to pull down bishops? No, Penry stoutly affirms; they meet for the pure worship of God; as for bishops, their name is never mentioned except it be to pray for them. They meet in secret, because they cannot meet in the open without disturbance. In reply to Fanshawe's direct question, he solemnly avows that he knows nothing of any secret sedition or rebellion. If he knew, then regardless of persons, he would at once disclose it.

12. *Young's Sinister Intervention.*—Matters seemed now to be taking on a less unfavourable aspect to Penry. He had given simple, and, from his own point of view, satisfactory, answers to his questioner. His disavowal of all part or lot in any seditious movement against the throne of Elizabeth, a suggestion in itself absurd, malice therein overreaching

itself, was so warm and sincere, as to carry conviction to any unprejudiced mind. It looked for the moment as though the hierarchy might be robbed of their prey. Richard Young, as he heard the dialogue between Fanshawe and Penry, felt the persuasive eloquence and the zeal of the young man, and was quick enough to note the trend things were taking. He therefore intervenes with a question: 'But what meant you Penry, when you told me at my house, that I would live to see that day, wherein there should not be a bishop left in England?'

It was an entirely vicious interruption on the part of Young, and we feel at once a rise in the temperature of the Sessions House as Penry resents the wilful misconstruction placed upon his 'prophetic' utterances at Young's house. 'You do me a great injury, Sir; but I am content to bear it.' He had explained to Young what, from his reading of the New Testament references to the Man of Sin, and the pages of Isaiah, and still more of Jeremiah, was the mind of God on the apostasy of the Jews. So real were these threatenings of judgement, so certain, so imminent, that though Penry might swiftly and untimely be cut off, yet Young, he thought, and he a man 'already of great years,' might live to see these flaunting remnants of the Romish Church swept away. How it was to be brought about he knew not, except that God would achieve it—by the breath of His mouth; by the brightness of His appearing. Penry is far from conspiring to bring about judgement upon these infidelities; he is repeating to Young, what he supposes are the determinations of God's judgements upon them. 'And so,' he says, 'it will be accomplished.' We have then this dialogue.

Penry.—'I am sure this was my speech unto you, Mr. Yonge, and I beseech you, yea, I charge you, as you shall answer in that great day, not to misreport my speeches, but to relate them, as they are uttered by me.'

Young.—'I conceived some great matter by your speech, I tell you.'

Penry.—'You did me the greater wrong therein. I pray you hereafter to conceive of my words according to my meaning, and their natural signification.'

13. *How Antichrist will be Overthrown.*—Fanshawe now resumed the direction of the inquiry and desired more particularly to know how the overthrow of Antichrist was to be accomplished. But all Penry can tell him is that it will be the ‘brightness of the Lord’s appearing’; by an enlightenment of the rulers of the nation. They had already seen how the Lord ‘after this sort’ did ‘consume the Popes primacy, office, and maintenance,’ and along with them ‘by the Gospell’ did He consume ‘the Cardinalles, pryors, Abbots, Munkes, frayers and nunnes out of this land.’ So the present purification will he believes be brought about by the Lord, though the manner and the time he knows not. He leaves it to the Lord.

14. *The Contrast between the Recusancy of Papists and the Separatists.*—Fanshawe twits Penry with the injurious example the Separatists are giving to the Papists, who profess to be encouraged thereby. Penry replies that he has already declared the blameless character of their assemblies, in the sight of God, and in relation to the Prince and to all men. ‘If the number of the idolatrous, ignorant, papists be increased, it is no mervaile, by reason of the smal teachinge the poor people of the land haue.’ These remaining elements of Popery are the baits which lure the seditious Jesuits and Seminaries to come over to persuade the people to betray their natural Prince to aliens and foreigners. Such baits are the hierarchical offices and livings. The Pope’s subjects are kept in a state of expectation of returning. English Jesuits are thus induced to become unnatural traitors. These are continually reminded of the ‘Romane Egipt’ to which they look to return. The purification of the Church would destroy all hope of the return of Popery to power. The corruptions that are retained threaten the peace and liberty ‘of this noble kingdom,’ yea the safety of her Majesty, ‘whom the Lord bless, body and soul from all dangers both at home and abroad’—the ‘Popish treacheries against her’ are well known.

The antipathy of the Romanists to the Separatists is not to be wondered at, nor their efforts to discredit them. The

Separatists 'of all men under heaven' are their most root-and-branch enemies. The difference between them in their attitude to the assemblies of the English Church is that the Separatists dare not join them because they have too little of the doctrine of Christ, the Romanists because they have too much. The Separatists are not the cause of the treason of the Romanists; they were traitors before Separatism arose.

15. *Penry's Readiness to Confer. His Closing Appeal.*—Penry again, in reply to Fanshawe, declares his readiness to take part in a conference. All he wants is some fair play in the manner of conducting it; that equal conditions be imposed upon both parties, and that he shall be reported in his own words. Indeed he would take part in any conference which would enable her Majesty and their Honours to know their true opinions. As it now stands, of what use is it for them to bestow time and learning on the careful reading of the Word, and of the works of the scholars and martyrs of an earlier age, if they may not without danger profess and hold the truths that they learned out of them. It would be less dangerous to profess the doctrines of the Romish Church.

The long inquiry closes with Penry's appeal to his judges. 'I beseech you to be a means unto her Majesty and their Honours, that my case may be weighed in even balances. Imprisonments, Judgment, yea, death itself, are no meet weapons to convince mens consciences, grounded on(e) the worde of God.'¹

CHAPTER VII

FAREWELL LETTER TO THE CHURCH, 24 APRIL

TUESDAY evening found Penry back at the Compter after his trying ordeal at the Sessions House, and for a week or two

¹ *Yelverton MSS.* 70. 10 ff. *The Examinations of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry.* Waddington's *Penry*, 148-166. I follow the Yelverton MS.; Waddington generally the printed Examinations.

he had relief from the personal attentions of his persecutors. He had much to do. His active mind was thronged with projects connected with his defence. There were also friends to whom, since it seemed all too likely he would presently be sent to the gallows, he greatly desired to send his Ave et Vale in Christ. And in these literary and legal occupations, with the connivance and the friendly blindness of 'Mr. Gittens' his gaoler, he spent his Eastertide. At the end of a fortnight he found an opportunity to forward his epistle to the Separatist community. 'To the distressed, faithful Congregation of Christ in London, and all the members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty.' He folded it and added the conventional direction, 'These be delivered.'

1. *Personal Greetings*.—His beloved Brethren and Sisters he greets, indicating them by their initials; which in the printed copy that has come down to us, look to have got somewhat mixed up; Penry has probably added interlineally initials of forgotten friends, and the printer, working under difficulties, has added to the confusion. His purpose is to include them all, in bonds or free; each as though specially named, in his prayer, that Christ may enable them, and him also, to bear and to overcome the great trials which are the price of their testimony to Him. That is their more than blessed lot; great is the reward to him that endureth.

2. *The Faith that is worth dying for*.—Never, he solemnly avows, has he seen any truth more clearly than that for which they stand as witnesses: the truth which is against the offices, callings, works and maintenance of the ministry left over by popery; against also, spiritual subservience to this power, or associating with the mixed multitude as though it were the Church of Christ, or with the public worship which is 'but scant in one of the three parts of the Commission given by our Saviour.' For himself, he is not only ready to be bound and banished [the penalties in the Act of Parliament just then passed], but to die for the cause, in His strength. Indeed for himself he longs 'to be dissolved' and to be with the blessed ones: he names a number of Old Testament saints, Adam

heading his list ; then come the saints of the New Covenant, Paul and all the glorious ones, with the martyrs, ' particularly with my two dear Brethren Master Henry Barrowe and Master John Greenwood which have ' last of all yielded their Blood for this precious Testimony.' He would not depart from this witness for any lengthening of his earthly life ; no, not if he were offered the days of ' Methusalack twice told ' and ' in as great comfort as had Peter, James and John in the Mount.'

Let them strive in prayer for him and for themselves, that they may end their course with joy. Also, if God will, that no more be taken from them, to the discouragement of the weak and the exultation of the enemy. He would choose to live, if that were God's will, and to help them to bear the heavy yoke, which is like to be their lot in their own or in a foreign land.

3. *Advice in Prospect of Banishment.*—Concerning their probable banishment and loss of goods he offers them grave advice. Their care must be not for themselves individually, but for the whole Church, that the little flock may be kept together. No blessing will attend a selfish policy. Those who have stocks and those who have available trades or handicrafts must not rest in their own relative good fortune, and forsake the poor and penniless, to let them perish of want in the land of the stranger. Let them take counsel as a whole Church, and keep the whole company intact, and so build up their house even in a foreign land. He puts in a pathetic plea for his ' poore desolate widow,' and his ' mess of fatherless and friendless orphans,' that they, though without means, may not be left behind. If they go into exile, may the Church take charge of them, lest, if they be left behind, grinding poverty and the hardships of life should lead them back into the Egypt from whose slavery they have escaped.

4. *To those in Great Peril and the Bereaved Members.*—Penry was aware of the perilous position in which some of the principal brethren stood, their lives not many degrees more secure than his own. He generously remembers them : Daniel Studley, the elder of the persecuted Church, and

Robert Bowle (or Bull), guilty of the deadly offence of getting Barrowe's book printed in Holland; ¹ men 'whom our God had strengthened to stand in the forefront of the Battle.' Let the Church faithfully pray for them; and for their pastor, 'our brother Mr. Fran. Johnson.' He also mentions two bereaved women members of the Church, of whom we would know more. Mrs. Greenwood, widow of the martyr, of whom we have a glimpse as an agent in conveying her husband's manuscripts out of the Fleet. And M[istress] Barrowe, sister of the martyr. These near relatives, '[his] beloved M. Barrowe and M. Greenwood' he does 'most heartily salute and desire much to be comforted in their God, who by his Blessings from above will countervail unto them the want of so notable a Brother and a Husband.'

5. *The Distant Communities of Separatists.*—His final remembrances indicate the leading part Penry would have taken in the proceedings of English Separatism, had his life been spared and his lot been cast with theirs. He has the statesman's outlook. There are members of their faith and order in the North and in the West, concerning whom, amidst the perils of the day, he is anxious. He urges that letters be sent to them to strengthen them. If it were judged to be to their comfort, let them be supplied with a copy of his *Declaration of Faith and Allegiance*. He also advises that these scattered groups, extending from London far northwards and westwards, and the community in London should confer together, in view of their probable expatriations; so that they should be one united and strong company. It would be wise, he thought, to despatch beforehand a representative overseas to seek a place of refuge and to make the necessary preparations for their arrival.

6. *Moriturus Saluto!*—And now having performed what might be (and was) his last duty to them—from his 'Heart and with tears'—he salutes them all, Men and Women, the Unnamed as heartily as those Named, for he knows not all their names. He commits them to the Divine Mercies, and charges them to be faithful. Dated, 'The Twenty-fourth of

¹ See Powicke, *Henry Barrow*, 37.

the fourth Month, April, 1593'; and subscribed, '[Their] Loving Brother in the Patience and Sufferings of the Gospel, John Penry.'¹

CHAPTER VIII

A LEGAL DEFENCE BY PENRY

1. *Penry's Situation.*—Penry's thoughts were now given to his legal defence. He was naturally under great disadvantages. He was a 'close prisoner,' and his literary activity and his communications with friends in the city were dependent on his gaoler's complaisance. *When* his trial would take place he did not know. If it were in the mind of Whitgift and the legal advisers of the Crown to leave him in prison, his guilt undetermined, as for long years was the fate of Barrowe and Greenwood, and many others of less note, he would not remain in the Poultry Compter. The 'Counters' were regarded as temporary houses of detention, under the special control of the Lord Mayor and the city sheriffs. He seems to have had a premonition that his trial would not be indefinitely postponed. Whitgift's hesitation was at an end, and the Queen was no longer opposed to applying to the Separatists the penal acts, which were intended primarily to suppress the dangerous intrigues of the Romanists. The Separatists' doctrine of the Church and its ministry made them irreconcilables; while their democratic principle was specially obnoxious to those in authority. So when after years of delay, and despite the efforts of men of a reforming mind, such as Burghley and Knollys, and with a strong House of Commons' opinion in their favour, Barrowe was sent to Tyburn, Penry drew his conclusions. It was time to compose his legal defence.

¹ John Penry's *Profession of Faith*; also in the *Examins. of H. Barrowe, John Greenwood and John Penry* (1616), pp. 46-48. Reprinted in Wadd., *John Penry*, 171-177.

2. *Uncertainty under which Statute he would be arraigned.*—But again he could not be sure under what statute the Crown would prosecute. There was an uncertainty as to the actual state of the law. The attack on the civil powers of the hierarchy had begun definitely under Henry VIII.; but his policy wavered. Under Edward there was a great advance. When Mary came to the throne, and especially after she married the Spaniard, there was wholesale repealing of anti-papal legislation. Heresy became once more a capital offence, and the martyr-fires were lit. With Elizabeth came a reversion. The Supremacy Act ruled out the Pope. A reformed liturgy in English, strongly Protestant in spirit, and an Act of Uniformity followed. But the spirit of compromise was abroad. All the Reformed Churches had dispensed with the Episcopal system; Elizabeth retained it, and much else in the externalities of worship that was after the Roman pattern.

3. *Elizabeth's Absolutism in Church Affairs.*—But the most reactionary feature of her Church policy was the claim she openly made, when firmly established on her throne, to decide by her own prerogative all questions of Church order and administration.¹ Members of Parliament who sought to introduce bills for the further reform of the Church and the redress of grievances against the bishops, met with sharp censure and were warned not to meddle with such high matters. Some of them suffered badly. Strickland was sent to prison. Morrice lost all his legal positions and was imprisoned in Tutbury Castle till he died. Beale, another lawyer, was deprived of his offices and forbidden to practise. What with the quasi-papal authority of Elizabeth, and the penal powers of the High Commission, both acting beyond the boundaries of statute law, and the uncertainty whether some of the old laws were still operative, it was difficult to foresee by what route Penry would be led to the gallows. Thomas Stubbe

¹ The authority is potentially included in the power she claimed and Parliament conceded, to appoint a High Commission, to determine ecclesiastical questions; it formed part of the Act of Uniformity of the first year of her reign.

had his hand cut off under an old moribund Act passed to protect Philip of Spain from the hatred of the English people ; and a judge who pronounced the mutilation illegal, was sent to prison.

4. *Henry Barrowe's Illegal Condemnation.*—The case of Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood was, however, fresh in the minds of Penry and his friends and advisers. No one could pretend when Barrowe was first imprisoned that he had committed any offence which the wildest imagination could have regarded as an act of felony under the existing laws. It is pretty clear that his imprisonment was from the beginning grossly illegal. He began writing in prison. But his books show that his one concern was religion ; religion and nothing else. To accuse him of sedition was preposterous, if there be no stronger word to characterise it. When Hugh Latimer the martyr was burnt, there was a law, a wicked and inhuman law no doubt, which made the deed constitutional. Barrowe's execution was judicial murder. But ostensibly, and as it would seem actually, he was condemned under the Act 23 Eliz. cap. 2. This, as Neal truly observes,¹ was Whitgift's artful contrivance to divert the odium of Barrowe's death from himself to the civil magistrate. Even he was ashamed to acknowledge that he sent a man to death for religion.

5. *Penry's Argument that he is Exempt under 23 Eliz. cap. 2.*—To this Act, therefore, Penry devoted his attention. He had the assistance and advice of competent lawyers who sympathised with the reformers, and who, we know, were jealous for the integrity of the administration of the law, and for the established liberties of the people. With their help he sent forth a paper, the purport of which is declared to be,

'That John Penrie for the Bookes that are published under his name is in no wise under the danger of the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2, made against the Queenes most excellent Ma^{tie}.'²

¹ *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 436 (ed. 1822).

² Burrage in his *So-called Martyr*, though professedly presenting the legal aspects of Penry's case, does not mention this Legal Defence. Indeed the reader would not suspect that an important legal defence of Penry

The statement is contained under fifteen particulars, of which some extend beyond the Act to other statutes, and some are general arguments based upon the facts of the case. The strictly legal arguments based on the 23 Eliz. cap. 2 we shall refer to when dealing with Penry's Trial at King's Bench. The general effect of the Legal Defence is to show very convincingly that Penry was not chargeable under this Act, which, as its Title precisely sets forth, is wholly concerned to protect the Queen from slanderous statements. The circumstances which led to the passing of the Act had no sort of relation to the reforming party. The offenders were the Roman Catholics, part of whose propaganda it was to persist in asserting the Queen's illegitimacy, and to spread abroad the vilest stories, first about her mother, and then about herself. The Puritans and the Separatists, to a man, were violently opposed to this secret campaign of vilification and disloyalty, whose object was to dethrone a Protestant princess and to crown in her stead a Catholic,—that paragon of all maidenly virtues, Mary Stuart.

Penry fails to see how under this Act he can be accused. His writings are exclusively concerned with religion, and against popery ; in maintaining the faith of the Lollards and the martyrs. Not only does the Act bear no relation to his activities ; but, if apart from the Act, he is accused of writing against the office of archbishop, he is in good company. So did ' Mr. Wicliffe,' and Thorpe, Swinderby, Lord Cobham, Tyndale, Firth and the rest of the Protestant martyrs. The Reformed Churches under ' the noble Kings of fraunce and Scotland ' are held in esteem, and the writings of Calvin and Beza are always referred to by the religious and political leaders with respect, though they all repudiate the episcopal

existed. It is even disguised in the single reference made to it,—' article 12 of another paper of his.' It is Article 15 as a matter of fact. The Defence does not occur among the Penry papers printed in *Early Eng. Dissenters*. The correctness of Penry's general interpretation of the statute is referred to, a year later, in Francis Johnson's prison letter to Burghley. Johnson also claims freedom under 23 Eliz. c. 2 as he does not doubt Burghley perceives he should be granted legally from the Reasons which ' that faithfull witnes of Jesus Christe, John Penry ' sent to him (*Lansd. MSS.* 75. 25).

office. Some of their books have been reprinted with her Majesty's sanction. The legend 'seene and allowed' adorns their title-pages. To put a man to death for writing that the office is unscriptural, would in the light of these facts be outrageous. No Act can in vague terms penalise a man's Christian religion; there is after all so much that is common to Papist, Protestant and Puritan. You must specify particulars, as in the Act 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. Penry, as matters stood, might have preached on the topics complained of, with but little fear. There is small justice in persecuting him for his books, and that under an Act directed against the offences of the Papists; when any Papist (Penry avers) not being a Jesuit or a seminary priest can publish books on Popery, if he only avoids the Royal Supremacy. If any are perverted by these books they are punished as Recusants, but not as felons—23 Eliz. cap. 1, and 35 Eliz. cap. 2.

By this latter Act, expressing the latest mind of the law, should a man advisedly in his books and speeches oppose the Queen's authority in ecclesiastical matters; nay, should he persuade others, 'advisedlie and maliciouslie' to abstain from the Church; the only penalty imposed upon him is abjuration—to exile himself. The passing of the Act 35 Eliz. cap. 1 indicates what misdemeanours they are that are not already provided for by the Act 23 Eliz. cap. 2, the title and drift of which show plainly its one purport to be to punish offences against the Queen's person; and not against any person inferior in degree;—and even Whitgift could only be accused by Marprelate of claiming to be the *second* person in the kingdom. Penry's books always refer reverently to the Queen; and a law to protect the sovereign is not available to defend an archbishop. 'He never writt anie thing of anie malicious intent to defame anie p'son, much lesse her most excellent Ma^{tie}.' Far from encouraging rebellion, his teaching is 'the clean contrary.'

He entirely disavows having had any participation in any scheme to change any law by force; or to raise up any persons who should presume to alter on their own authority that which was established by law. Nothing in his books supports 'such

godlesse and wicked practises.’ He closes his Defence by claiming immunity under the Limitations of Prosecution provided by the Act 23 Eliz. cap. 2. For this he seems to have good ground. ‘Rumours’ under this Act could only become the subject of a legal prosecution within a month of the time at which they were alleged to have been uttered—a sensible limitation when we know the difficulty of determining the precise words of a slander which is less than a week old. In this proviso the Act is following 1 Edw. VI. cap. 12, § 19, which also concerns treason, and has a thirty days’ limit. The limitation of a year is also in conformity with the usual enactments in regard to seditious or treasonable offences. The complete text of sec. 8 of the Act under consideration must be given.

‘ Provided also and be yt enacted by the auctoritie aforesaid, That no manner of *person* or *persons* shalbe molested or ympeached for any of the Offences concerning speaking or reporting as ys aforesaid, unles he or they be thereof accused within one moneth next after suche Wordes so spoken or reported, before some one Justice of the Peace, and the Witnesses therein to bee used named to the same Justice, and the same Accusacōn and Witness Names put in Writinge by the said Justice, and certified at the next Quarter Sessions or Gaol Delyverye ;

‘ And unles such Offendor also be indicted within one yeare next after his or their said Offence so supposed to be committed or done.’

The words are slightly ambiguous, but their meaning is made clearer by a comparison with a similar statute.

We are to understand that the case of offenders in speaking and reporting are first to be accused within a month, and the Justice who hears the accusation is required to set it down in writing with the names of the witnesses sustaining the charge. The next step is to bring the offenders to trial at the next Quarter Sessions or Gaol Delivery, when the same document has to be certified as the legal basis of the prosecution.

The word ‘ such Offendor ’ would then mean any offender charged under the Act, and we may conclude that there is a general limitation under the Act to indictments within one

year of the date of the offence. A later section (13) provides also that two witnesses shall prove on oath the charges made, and that the witnesses and the accused shall be brought face to face at the arraignment. In the earlier statute of the same regnal year (23 Eliz. cap. 1), which is primarily directed against Roman Catholics, and embraces, *inter alia*, offences which are to be deemed high treason, there is a limitation of a 'yeare and a day.'

DIVISION II
TRIAL AT KING'S BENCH

CHAPTER I

THE LAWS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION UNDER
ELIZABETH

1. *Growth of the Ideals of Law.*—The only perfection, so we have read, possessed by the English constitution, is its imperfection. It does not, despite its tenacious hold upon the past, claim finality. Slowly, sometimes tardily, it revises its past judgements, the authoritative interpretations of the unwritten common law, the *lex terrae*; it annuls bad statutes, it promulgates new statutes and better. Our legal history, like our political and military history, is a story of blundering through. And what is true of the body of our laws, statutory and common, is equally true of our methods of administering justice. Foreign critics may animadvert upon the want of a scientific and philosophic codification of English law, and of a more logical methodisation, and a simplification, of the practice of our tribunals. Yet we take a pride in them, laws and tribunals, such as they are; they represent the virtues, as they do also the defects, of the British race. They are second to none, if we are too modest to claim more, in securing to the common citizen protection in his rights and justice under his wrongs. And the integrity and probity of our judges and magistrates are beyond reproach; beyond the suspicion of it. Compared with the juristic systems of our continental neighbours, we owe less to the great and splendid system of Roman

jurisprudence; the Pandects and the Institutes had less influence during the early growing period of our judicial system. By which circumstance, Maitland tells us, we have been delivered from an absolute monarchy.¹

The difference between the laws and the procedure of the courts as they exist to-day, and those existing in the days of Elizabeth, is very great. Human thought has in these three centuries and more, made vast strides, and to an enormous extent human society has changed its complexion; liberty has greatly extended her bounds, and the rights of the common people have grown immensely. The legal system has had to grow with the moral and political growth of the nation. And what it is to-day, we owe in part, to the long line of our native jurists, from Glanvill and Bracton in the 12th and 13th centuries to Fortescue, Littleton, Coke, and Blackstone, and the great modern lawyers. Each, for his age, was inspired by a fine conception of that 'system of righteousness which we call Law.'

We need to have this perspective in our minds as we judge, from our more enlightened standpoint, some of the essential defects of the law in the year 1593, and the gross injustice of some of the methods, by which it was then administered. Some of its penalties were barbarous, and the condition of most of its prisons revolting. It is not an unfair generalisation to say, that in the days when Penry suffered his shameful persecution, it was not the State, as prosecutor, that proved the guilt of its prisoner. It was the poor prisoner, on a bare and often unattested charge, who had, under disastrous disadvantages, to prove that he was innocent. And this was not wholly due to the defects of the law, but to the corruption of its administration.

2. *Lack of Consideration for Accused but Unconvicted Persons.*—It is painful to see how little consideration was given to the prisoner, from the moment of his arrest to the finding of the verdict upon his case; that is, while as yet unconvicted, and when, perchance, he was presently to receive his discharge upon a verdict of not guilty. To-day, how careful are we to

¹ *Constit. History*, p. 22.

tell a prisoner, that he is not, on arrest, bound to make a statement, though should he do so, then he is warned, that his words may be used as evidence by the prosecution. He cannot, moreover, be sent to prison save by a judicial process. In Penry's day, the magistrate before whom an arrested man first appeared, was a prosecuting attorney, conducting an inquisitorial examination. The prisoner was again and again put through this inquisition, during which he was assailed by 'entrapping interrogations'; being meanwhile kept in prison, bail being refused. Whitgift showed no hesitation in sending an uncondemned man back to the misery of chains and 'close' imprisonment; inflicting, that is, a very harsh penalty before the prisoner's guilt was ascertained. If his victim was refractory in supplying information which could be used against himself, he had no scruple in applying torture to elicit the 'facts'; though 'entrapping interrogations' and the use of torture were as illegal in the reign of Elizabeth as they are to-day.¹

Even when the law was strictly followed, the procedure, as to-day we judge, was in many respects essentially unjust. In trials for crimes and misdemeanours prisoners were usually tried in their absence; in criminal cases the aid of counsel was forbidden.² When arrayed against the accused, were the ablest lawyers the Crown could command; and he all unaccustomed to such an ordeal, utterly unskilled in the methods of the law, often illiterate, bullied and brow-beaten by judge and prosecuting counsel; what chance to prove his innocence had the poor prisoner? Picture, if you can, an ordinary member of the London Separatist Church, one of those whose depositions have come before us, the capmaker, the broadweaver, the coppersmith, or the haberdasher, attempting a defensive statement, when suddenly called in to hear the jury's verdict, and asked if he had anything to say (that is, anything *legal* to say) before judgement was pronounced.³

¹ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14; *A Petition Directed*, 60; Coke, 3 *Instit.* 35.

² Blackstone, *Comm.* iv. 349, 368 (ed. 1769).

³ This defect was only remedied in 1836, after a powerful appeal by

3. *Illegal or Extra-legal Tribunals.*—The cause of justice suffered much wrong through the existence of illegal, or at least, extra-legal, tribunals. No constitutional lawyer, we imagine, would regard the court of High Commission as a rightly sanctioned legal tribunal. It is true, no doubt, that the Queen was given authority under the restoring Act passed in the first year of her reign, to call to her aid such a commission. But this tribunal, especially with the new powers assigned to it by the Queen at the request of Whitgift, when he became Archbishop, was extra-legal in its operations. It employed the odious and illegal oath *ex officio*.¹ It did not follow the principles and usages of the law, such as they were. It had clerics sitting as judges. It proceeded without indictment, without witnesses. It arrested on its own writ or without writ. It was illegal and indeed treasonable in causing the Canon Law, taken over from Rome, to override the laws of the realm.

It could not be rightly maintained that the constitutional and legal rights and privileges of the English people might at a stroke be nullified by an Act whose intention was to restore the general rights of an English Protestant sovereign reigning in succession to a Roman Catholic queen, and particularly to authorise the formation of a Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs. Such treachery was not contemplated by Elizabeth's first Parliament; large and liberal as was their welcome to the Protestant princess, they would have shrunk from such a betrayal of the liberties of the nation. Nor could the Queen have so soon forgotten her coronation oath.

Lord Lyndhurst. In two previous sessions of Parliament the House of Lords had rejected bills embodying this reform. See Blackstone's remarks, *Comm.* (1769), iv. 348-350.

¹ *A Petition Directed* says 'By Common Lawe a man shall not be examined upon his othe in matters that sounde to his reproche. For no man is bounde to accuse himselfe (p. 62). Reference is made to "Crompt. 182." (It should be 128.) This is Rich^d Crompton's "Justice of the Peace" [*Loffice et auctoritie de J. de P.* 8vo B.L., 1583] an enlargement of FitzHerbert's treatise. On the examination of the prisoner on oath he says 'Home ne serra examine sur son serement de chose que sound a son reproche come le quel il fist tiel felony, ou le que il fait periure, ou tiel semble, &c., car le ley intend que home ne voile luy mesme discrediter ou accuser in tiel case'

Yet such was this High Commission some years later as employed by her and Archbishop Whitgift.¹

In the chief ecclesiastical troubles of her reign, the deplorable fact is that Elizabeth herself was the chief law-breaker. She governed largely by Injunctions, which having no parliamentary sanction had yet all the force of law. Without any legal justification she arrogated to herself the entire direction of all ecclesiastical questions. The House of Commons, conscious of its rights, sullenly resenting, as the race has ever resented, being ground down under the heel of a priest, brought forward measures to reform the order of the Church and to restrain the tyranny of bishops. The Queen rated them soundly for their pains, and claimed that all such matters lay within her own proper prerogative. The Tudor virago sent members of the Commons' House to prison for asserting their right to discuss public questions.²

4. *Corrupt Tribunals*.—Worse than all, the tribunals of justice became corrupt. No verdict could be obtained which was not agreeable to the Court. Judges fully acquainted with the law, became the servile agents of the Crown in obtaining

¹ Concerning Whitgift's new High Commission (the constitution of which went beyond all precedent), Hume writes, 'They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule, but by their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control. . . . In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious Princess, and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute restoring supremacy to the crown, and empowering the Sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative' (*Hist. of Eng.* (1818), v. 263). See also Reeves, *Hist. of the Eng. Law*, v. 218.

² Hallam, *Hist.* i. 256.

corrupt judgements. Juries were intimidated; an adverse verdict meant for them an appearance before the Star Chamber, and might mean also fine or imprisonment, or both. Juries were packed through the connivance of the sheriffs; though a Yorkshire sheriff, even when told of the Queen's interest in the case, bluntly declared that he would elect any he thought best. It is very scandalous to read a despatch from the Lords of the Council to the Justices of the North Parts, asking them, in the interest of an accused person, 'to see that a favourable jury is impanelled'; and, in case of failure, to delay executing judgement till the Queen could intervene.¹ The scandal became so great, that a couple of years earlier than Penry's trial, a number of judges representing the three chief courts, complained, in a letter to Burghley and Hatton, of these irregular and illegal proceedings.²

5. *A Legal Historian's Summary of the Legal Procedure of the Time.*—The general character of legal proceedings instituted by Elizabeth's government is thus summarised by the legal historian.

'A prosecution never missed of its aim from any defect of evidence, or any thing else. Against the weight and ability of the Crown lawyers a prisoner had nothing to oppose: he was allowed no counsel; and if he prayed the Court in their humanity to see that the indictment was sufficient, they answered him, that they sat there not to give counsel, but to judge. Even the innocence of a prisoner could not be made out; for witnesses were not to be heard against the Crown, as the judge told Udall, who was tried for felony only.'³

Such being the condition of law and justice, it seems beside the mark to inquire too meticulously under what statute, or by what acknowledged rule of law, prisoners were condemned even to death, if they had the misfortune to be under the displeasure of the great ones of the land. It was a black outlook before Penry. The managers of the prosecution had succeeded by the production of documents, which indeed

¹ Hallam, *Hist.* ii. 233, with references to Lodge's *Illustrations*, ij. 412 *et al.* See esp. *Harl. MSS.* 703, *passim*.

² *Lansd. MSS.* 58. 87. Hallam quotes this document in full.

³ Reeves, *Hist. of the Eng. Law*, v. 238.

could not be legally employed to secure a conviction, yet were effective to rouse the Queen's anger against him. Only one degree less fatal to his cause was the bitter enmity of the implacable Archbishop. To find a cause for his death is an inquiry, primarily, not into law, but into human nature. The law was not sufficient to save him from an unlawful condemnation.

CHAPTER II

FIRST APPEARANCE AT KING'S BENCH, 21 MAY

1. *The Sheriffs of London take Action.*—The two good citizens and sheriffs of the city of London, John Garret and Robert Taylor, received timely notice, that the now notable prisoner, John Penry, lying in the Poultry Compter would come up for trial before the close of the term, which had a little more than a week to run. They hastened to comply with the necessary formalities. Certain writs had to be issued, a certiorari to transfer the cause to King's Bench, and a habeas corpus ad subjiciendum to transfer the prisoner to the custody of that court, sitting at Westminster.

Since Penry entered the Compter on Thursday, 22 March, he had to our knowledge, been out of the gaol on two occasions. Once when he was taken to Justice Young's house for examination. From the account of the notorious Separatist demonstration when the body of Roger Rippon was carried from Newgate prison, where he died, to Young's residence, we gather that the Justice lived somewhere adjacent to Cheapside. Penry again left his prison to be more formally examined at the Sessions House in Old Bailey before Fanshawe and Young. Both journeys were short. On Monday morning under their writ the Sheriffs take over Penry from Gittens' safe-custody and march him to Old Swan Wharf, where they find a waterman to row them to Westminster Stairs. It is certain that Penry's friends are not unacquainted with

the fixture at King's Bench, and that on the brief journey down 'Wall Broke' to Thames Street, and to the well-known jetty they will give him the good cheer of their company.

Penry, though not unmindful of the law's uncertainties, had some confidence that he could not be legally convicted as a felon. With the help of professional sympathisers he had circulated his Legal Defence, the arguments and some of the very phrases of which suggest that he has had the assistance of the unknown but learned author of *A Petition directed to Her Majesty*. He was primed with legal exceptions to any indictment framed upon the Act 23 Eliz. cap. 2, 'An Acte against sedicious Wordes and Rumors uttered [publicly circulated] againste the Queenes moste excellent Majestie.' Poor young man, he little suspects the course the prosecution will take when he appears at the bar at King's Bench before Chief Justice Popham and his colleagues of that Court.

2. *The Trial and its Official Record*.—It would be of the highest value to-day, if we had from Penry himself an account of the Trial, so far as he was acquainted with the proceedings. We have however the official record,¹ from which we may learn several things. It illustrates the current legal procedure. It tells us definitely under what statute proceedings are taken. It also reveals to us that while a presentment was made before the Court and in the prisoner's presence on Monday, 21 May, the legal process was commenced anew on the Friday following. A fresh grand jury was impanelled, a fresh presentment made, fortified by fresh evidence, though, as it explicitly states, under the same statute as before. The proceedings on Monday proved futile for reasons not difficult to discover.

Much of the record is taken up with the conventional phraseology employed in arraignments before the King's Bench. This declares that 'Johan^s Penry nuper de London clericus' had not the fear of God before his eyes, but was

¹ A transcript of the record of the Court has always been available in Lord Coke's well-known *Book of Entries*, and a fully-written lawyer's copy included in the Morrice MSS. (Dr. Williams's Library) has also been familiar to students.

seduced by a devilish impulse to devise and intend not only the overthrow of religion, and the destruction of the honour of the Queen, by whose care it had been established ; but also to move the people to rebellion and insurrection, with more to the like effect. All this must not be supposed to have any necessary relation to the facts as we know them and least of all are they in agreement with Penry's utter aversion from all insurrectionary movements. Whether it were the secret and treasonable conspiracies of the Papists, or the lawlessness which was supposed to belong to the Anabaptists, the reformers of this period execrated the one and the other with equal fervour.

3. *The Surprise in the Charge against Penry.*—Penry must have been stunned when he heard recited in court the presentment of the grand jury. He had been buoyed up by his confidence that in his English books and in the Edinburgh volume *Reformation no enemy*, all bearing his name, there was nothing felonious. The statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2, to which a death penalty was annexed could not possibly lay hold of him. What must have been his dismay to hear that certain private papers had been surreptitiously abstracted from his rooms in Scotland, papers whose existence he had forgotten, and that these now supplied the gravamen of the charge against him. In an earlier page we have pointed out the influences which surrounded him on his settlement in Scotland. His friends in the northern kingdom had no intention to foment a rebellion against the throne of James, though, impelled by their jealousy for the doctrine and the freedom of their Kirk, they employed some plainness of speech in addressing his Majesty on these vital subjects. Perhaps Penry admired their courage. In answer to any astonishment he may have expressed at their frankness, they let him know how *they* would speak on so grave a matter as the interests and well-being of the Church even in the awesome presence of the greater and the stronger-willed sovereign in the south. So these papers came into existence. But Penry on reflection judged them unfitting to be addressed to his sovereign Princess, and they were therefore left, rough detached memoranda, drafted as we have said, more or less

in the Caledonian manner.¹ Nevertheless, it was in the highest degree unfortunate for him that the degree of freedom exercised in criticising the Queen's ecclesiastical policy, trifling as it appears to us to-day, was enough to affront her Tudor pride. And when that happened the legality or otherwise of the prosecution mattered little. On ecclesiastical questions she claimed that Parliament had assigned to her sole and absolute control, and grew furious when this was called in question. For disregarding this outrageous claim she took the violent course of sending members of the Commons House to prison. And whatever the occasion, if her pride were touched, her vindictive rage would never spare its victim. The legality of the verdicts, where the accused were the objects of her princely displeasure, counted for nothing. The judge who should protest against the illegality of the action would quickly find himself in gaol.

The remarkable and not wholly explicable fact about the proceedings in Court on this Monday is that they never came to an issue. The grand jury was duly sworn and made in due form a presentment, the statute infringed being noted as that which enacts uniformity of religious worship and was passed in the Parliament in the first year of her Majesty's reign. John Penry, a cleric lately of London, is indicted in the prescribed and traditional form. His offence is stated; it involved contempt of the Queen, the overthrow of religion, as well as treason and rebellion. It consisted of devising and writing certain papers on the 31 April, 1592, in the kingdom of Scotland [the date is presumably that on which the scraps of notes were seized], and then follows a series of extracts from these memoranda. There, as far as the record goes, the matter ends on this particular day. It is easy to conjecture why the actual trial did not follow. The Chief

¹ Several copies, with individual variations, of these loose memoranda exist. The transcriber of one copy, ignorant of their origin, treats them as extracts from a *treatise* by Penry. Penry himself says he left them in the rough; hardly coherent notes. The impression they leave on our minds, partly confirmed by small linguistic points, is, that the original scraps have been dressed up in the copies we possess, for the purposes of the prosecution.

Justice may have seen the presentment, including the evidence on which it rested, and have judged that upon it a judgement against the prisoner could not be obtained without a great scandal being created. It may indeed never have reached Popham's hands, but have been intercepted by one of the subordinate legal officials of the Court, one whose duty it was to see that arraigns were duly and competently set forth, and who doubted if an action would lie, after having read the presentment and ascertaining the source whence the evidence was derived. All that is clear is that the proceedings were not on this day carried on to a further stage. The prisoner knew nothing of all this. He was left to suppose, although the trial did not take place that day, that these Edinburgh papers would be the ground of the charges which in due course would be tried before Chief Justice Popham. That was the only thought in Penry's mind as the Sheriffs marched him back to prison.

4. *Specimen Sentences from the Notes seized in Scotland, and from the Book, 'Reformation no Enemie.'*—The latest of Penry's accusers has selected for his purpose half-a-dozen of the more acrid sentences from both sections of the record. We give his selection that the reader may see the extent of Penry's treason, forsooth. The first three are from the loose notes, and the rest from the printed book.

1. 'The last days of your reigne ar turned rather against Christ Jesus & his Gospell then to the mayntenance of the same.' [*Lansd. MSS. 75. 56.*]

2. 'I come vnto you withe it, yf you will beare [heare] it, that our case may be eased. yf not that yet posterytee may knowe that you have bene delt wyth. . . .' [*Ibid.*]

3. 'we muste needes say That in all lykelyhode yf the days of your Syster Queene mary & persecucion had contynewed vnto this day, That the Churche of god in England had bene Farre more flourysshinge then at this day it ys.' [*Ibid.*]

4. 'What hath England answered, suerly with an impudent forehead she hath sayd. I will not come nere the holy one . . . I have receyvid a reading gospell & a reading Mynsterye A pompous gospell & a pompous Ministerye. . . . A gospell and a Ministry that wyll stoupe vnto me & be at my becke. . . .' [*Ref. no Enemie.*]

5. 'as for the generall state eyther of the Magistracye, of the Mynstery, or of the common people, beholde nothings els but a multytude of conspyrators agaynst god. . . .' [*Ibid.*]

6. 'you shall fynde amongst this Cruel nothinge els but a troupe of bludy sowle Murtherers, sacrylegious Church robbers. . . .' [*Ibid.*] (A footnote adds—'Penry is here referring to the Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy.')

5. *A Hasty Appeal to Burghley*.—Back at the Compter, bewildered by the sudden disclosure of the line of attack adopted by the prosecution, which put out of action his laborious defence against any charge which could be pressed against him on the ground of his printed and acknowledged writings, and under the statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2, Penry sat in his cell pondering the new and threatening posture of his affairs. Can he put up a further fight, or must he with bowed oriental resignation let the Juggernaut of bigotry pass over him? The insidious nature of the tactics of the enemy was obvious. He was scandalised in the eyes of the Queen. Whitgift, with the aid of his legal confederates, had succeeded in making the protection of the Queen's honour a justification for persecuting his most redoubtable opponent. The Queen *in coram Rege* becomes not only the conventional, but, through her attorneys, the virtual, prosecutor. The utter wickedness of attacking Elizabeth, the Sovereign Lady, Queen of England, Ireland and France, Defender of the Faith, by whose care religion had been established in righteousness and piety; the wickedness of overthrowing the worship of the said realm of England, to cut down, to disgrace, nay, to utterly destroy the honour of the said Sovereign Lady, and to move and to incite her subjects to sedition and to rebellion within the said realm, and this with malicious intent—all this filled the bill against poor Penry. The jury had been invited to gaze upon him as he stood at the bar, one of the most depraved criminals ever portrayed by the conventional rhetoric of the Court; and all this brought about and never a word, or half a word, said about the Archbishop or the Marprelate Tracts. Dr. Bancroft and his secret agents in Scotland have done their work well. It will presently be counted for righteousness,

when Whitgift is persuading Elizabeth that Bancroft's sanctified devotion in entrapping the chiefs of the Marprelate faction, is proof of his fitness to be the bishop of London.

Penry realised fully the gravity of the situation. One man alone there was who could, without fear, speak his mind to the choleric Archbishop. On great occasions, when there was need Burghley did speak freely to him; as when Whitgift became primate and began his relentless campaign of repression, Burghley then complained that his entrapping interrogatories were modelled too closely upon the methods of the Spanish Inquisition, and that he pitied the poor man who should fall within their toils. Careful and politic as Burghley was in speech, it was well enough known that his personal inclinations were towards the reforming party in Church questions, and that he specially disliked the meddling of overweening clerics in the secular affairs of the nation. To the Lord Treasurer therefore Penry not without private reasons determined to make a desperate appeal forthwith, trusting that means would be found to forward his petition to the great man.

With the aid of Gittens he obtained a few scraps of paper on which a letter and a petition were to be written, and handed to an outside scrivener to make a fair copy. The task before him is exacting. He must, with great rapidity, think out his defence; any value the appeal can have demands imperatively that it be completed in haste. Not one moment is to be lost if the great minister is to stretch forth a pitiful hand to save him, now travelling by swift stages to the gallows. He must face all risks and write continuously. The urgency is too great to be ever ready to sweep away his writing materials at the sound of approaching footsteps or distant jingle of keys. So we see the young scholar laying aside all thoughts of weariness, and by the favour of his gaoler bracing himself to make one last bid for his own life and liberty, and for the life and liberty of his faith. The sound of his labouring quill must have been heard through the night as by the light of his flickering candle he toiled through the still hours. His petition, allowing for the circumstances governing

its production, is a wonderful piece of writing. Many of the points he makes are quite convincing, and the conduct of his argument is marked by mental adroitness. There are passages in the document graced by a pathetic eloquence not surpassed in any of his writings.

6. *The Petition*.¹—He opens boldly. His deliberately written books he thinks, might in justice be set against these secret and undigested observations which have been made the substance of his indictment at the King's Bench. Yet he will not ask this equitable consideration so far as his loyalty is concerned. All he desires is that her Majesty and their Honours, into whose hands he prays his petition may come, shall judge conscientiously the truth of his case; he will abide the consequence of that judgement. His guilt or innocence he refers 'unto the Lord's determination, and hir gracious Majesty whom hee hath placed over mee.'

(a) These secret papers are private; they are secret, disconnected observations, void of order, penned in his own study. So far as they relate to her Majesty they represent the criticisms of others. If he thought of them at all it was with a view of utilising them to clear her Majesty, or to make them 'the grownds of a brief treatise,' which he might personally deliver into her hands. This might take the form of a 'private advertismēt' to Elizabeth, of things done by the Government without her knowledge to the hindrance of the Gospel, for which however she was thought responsible by foreign nations.

(b) 'No creature under heaven was privie unto them.' They were written and remained hidden in another country. The Government were responsible for bringing them into England and for giving them publicity. The act was theirs not his. Written as he declares them to have been, being such unconsidered scraps as they were, published manifestly against his will, he refuses to regard them as his. To do so would be to bear 'false witsse against [him]self.' Had he thought they would ever have seen the light he would have

¹ *Yelv.* 70. 182-186 v. See further references and remarks on the production of the Petition in the Bibliography.

destroyed them ; for in any case they were of ' so smal use as al men wil judge them to bee.' And here we may add to Penry's protest of irresponsibility the remark, that there is no authority for ' scribere est agere ' as a maxim of English law. To write is, in itself, not an overt act, which brings the matter written into judgement. Even if the Act 23 Eliz. cap. 2 were appealed to, that statute demands that words, rumours, etc. against the Queen shall be made public [' uttered '], so as to become the ground of a criminal charge.¹

(c) The malice of the prosecution is seen, in their suppression of certain writings by Penry, found along with the incriminating documents, which they have made public. These suppressed writings, especially such as were written just before he left Scotland, included his earnest prayers to God, that he might find favour in the Queen's sight, and be allowed ' to employ [his] smal talent among [his] poor countrymen in Wales,' to call them to a ' knowledg of Christ.'

One special evidence of his loyalty to Elizabeth was among the papers kept back by the authorities. There was a rumour abroad early in 1592, that Elizabeth was stricken with a fatal illness. It was current on the Continent, and caused no little excitement in the principal royal court circles. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, writing home to the Doge, reports that the rumour had reached the Escorial that the Queen would not recover.² A similar rumour was current in Edinburgh ; it went even further, and announced that the Queen was dead. Penry's papers would show his deep distress at the news, how he gave himself up to prayer and fasting, entreating the Lord with tears that it might prove untrue. This is later evidence than the incriminated papers ; it ' was don in January or February was twelve-months, 1592.' (Contarini's report is dated Feb. 29, 1592.) ' I humbly crave that these my papers also may be looked upon and brought to light as wel as the other.' They will easily find these things, in the private diary, ' a *mirir* [mirror] or

¹ See the title to the Statute.

² *Cal. S.P. Venet*, 1592-1603, No. 24.

daily observation,' in which he recorded prayers and penitence over his sins.

When the real facts of Penry's life are laid bare we must needs concede to him that his loyalty should not be called in question. In his letter from prison to his wife, a most intimate and private writing, he charges her, as part of the religious training of their children, to teach them daily to pray for the Queen.

(d) Penry touches upon Scots views of English religious affairs, current at the time of his stay in the north, and expressed in the very words seen in his private papers now being scrutinised. In that region it was the common opinion of those unacquainted with England, that it was a country in which the teaching of all truth was prohibited, a judgement based on fact that in England you had prelacy, and a toleration of 'dumb ministers,' while preachers were deprived and imprisoned.

In their discussions Penry contended that the Gospel was as much indebted to Elizabeth 'as vnto al the princes of Europe beside.' But his Scots opponents replied that princes must then dissemble, since those of them who maintained the Gospel did not imprison its preachers and professors. Penry remained true to the Queen; he 'sufficiently answered . . . on her Majesties behalf.' And these speeches are among his rifled papers. In further proof of his statement, there were Englishmen he could name who were present and could testify both to the Scots contention and Penry's defence of the Queen. And he gives a realistic touch to his story by telling of a certain 'godly gentleman of that country,' with whom he had often spoken concerning English affairs, who invited the Presbyterian ministers to his house, and told them how, being in 'a noblemans great chamber,' he re-arranged the royal portraits hanging upon the wall, placing Elizabeth's above the others. And they thought he was fully justified, if what Penry 'gave of her Highnes were true.' And the 'godly gentleman' sympathetically responded that 'the Evangel of Christ was as *mickel dead bound* unto the Queen of England, as unto al the princes on this side the

Alpes.' He dared the more boldly avouch it on the credit of Penry's report. These were his very words.

When allusion was made to the case of Penry and of others, who had suffered hard treatment from her Majesty's Government, he had answered, as his papers will show, in the words of Cicero that we must mitigate by patient endurance the severity of prince and country, as if it were that of our parents.¹ But his scraps of notes on these things are such that only the writer could reliably decipher them; he himself can only speak of them with some uncertainty, as he has not seen them 'these fourteen or fifteen months'—that is, not since the time when he recorded his prayers for the Queen's recovery.

(e) He cites his *Aequity*, his first printed treatise, 'published now near seven years since.' In that book he points to the allegation of the Papists, Bristow and Saunders, if he remembers rightly, that the Queen only supported the Gospel in order to strengthen her throne; in those pages he suggested that the evangelisation of Wales would rebut the accusation; anyhow, he refuted that undutiful and slanderous attack against his Prince 'as loud as ink and paper could do it.' His references to her Majesty in his public writings, he claims, have been uniformly loyal. He would not, no, though he feared neither God nor man, dishonour Wales by defaming a Prince who had been so good to that dear land. None shall ever be able to prove it, though they doom him to end his days as a felon; for he looks to his imminent execution. His enemies are gambling with words. He cites the well-known case given in the old law books, (and in the *Petition Directed*), tempo Richard III., where the owner of the Crown tavern in Cheapside said he would leave the Crown to his son. Which because of its verbal identity with a disloyal utterance, was accounted by some to be treason. The real loyalty of Penry cannot be called in question. The papers of his seized by the Government are his secret communings

¹ The apt quotation is, 'Ut parentum sic patriae et principis severitatem patiendo et ferendo leniendum esse.' Penry, quoting from memory, ascribes the sentence to a letter from Cicero to Lentulus; but this is apparently an error.

and confessions before God. And though possibly he has not interceded for the Queen as earnestly as he ought to have done, yet since his conversion the day has never passed when he has not commended her estate to God. He did not seek in his orisons to deceive the 'Reveler of Secrets.' 'Such dealing might wel,' he says, 'augment the intolerable burthen of my wried soul: but cure my wound it would not.'

(f) His pathetic appeal at this point, which would surely create in most minds by its moving and artless sincerity, a bias in Penry's favour, must be given verbatim. He says—

'I am a poor young man borne and bredd in the mountaynes of *Walles*. I am the first, since the last springing upp of the Gospel in this latter age, that publicly laboured to have the blessed seed therof sowed in those barrayne mountaynes. I have often reioyced before my God, as he knoweth, that I had the favor to bee borne and lyve under hir Majestie, for the promoting this worke. In the earnest desire I had to se the Gospel planted in my native country, and the contrary corruptions removed, I might wel, as I confess in my published wrytings, with Hegetorides the Thracian, forget mine own danger: but my loyalty to my Prince did I never forget. And now beeing to end my dayes before I am come to the one half of my yeeres, in the lykely course of nature, I leave the successe of these my labours unto such of my Countreymen as the Lord is to rayse up after mee, for the accomplishing of that worke, which, in the calling of my contrey unto the knowledge of *Christs* blessed Gospell, I began.'

(g) Penry strongly disavows any political intention in his controversy on behalf of Wales and the Gospel. 'He never took [him]self for a rebuker, much less for a reformer of states and kingdoms.' And this aspect of Separatism, the necessary result of its polity, as declared by its first founders has been misunderstood by their contemporaries, and by most writers to our time. The central witness of the Congregationalists was the distinction between the religious and the secular communities. And as a matter of history they have not produced political ecclesiastics; no Bonner, no Whitgift, no Laud; not even in the days when their national influence was paramount, when Cromwell ruled the kingdom

and Milton was his Latin secretary. Their democratic freedom and their Church discipline trained great politicians, then as now; but to forget that Christ's Kingdom is not of this world would have been denominational suicide. Penry was consistent in his disavowal.

Like a good Christian citizen, Penry protests that the welfare of the State was always dear to him. He did not see the beginning of Elizabeth's reign—he was born in 1563—and prays that none may see the end of her prosperity. 'All good learning and knowledg of the arts and tongues, [he] laboured to attain unto, and to promote to the uttermost of [his] power.' Whatever he has written has been wholly in the interests of religious truth. And he holds by none of it unless it be confirmed by the written Word.

Since his imprisonment he has written his brief Confession of Faith and Allegiance and handed it to Justice Young. Before the Lord he avows it contains nothing but the truth. The claim of that truth upon him is supreme.

'Therefore, if my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them al, by the help of the Lord, for the maintenance of the same my confession.'

From that confession he cannot be moved by the lure of saving an earthly life; and not even by his tender love for his friendless wife and for his four little children; 'whereof the eldest is not above four years old.' No outward thing shall seduce him. 'The Lord, I trust, wil never give me over to this sin.' Great things in this life he has never sought for and is content with his lowly estate.

He closes his wonderful appeal in the spirit of peace, breathing forgiveness upon his persecutors. 'That altho' upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity; where al controversies shalbe at an end.'

He is willing to die if that would promote Elizabeth's peaceful reign. His last desire is that she should be made acquainted with his testimony, if not before his death, then after.

'Subscribed with the heart and the hand, which never devised or wrot any thing to the discredit or defamation of my Sovereign Queen Elizabeth: (I take it on my death, as I hope to have a life after this). By me, JOHN PENRY.'

7. *The Covering Letter to Burghley*.¹—The petition is a relatively long document. Penry encloses it in a brief appealing note addressed to the Lord Treasurer, entreating him 'to weigh the wryting herein enclosed.' He sees his life coming to an untimely but an undeserved end unless Burghley or some other person will acquaint the Queen how guiltless he is of the charge laid against him, as the accompanying writing shows.

'The case is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student, being in a forreyne Land and wishing well to his Prince and Contrey, should bring his lyfe wth blood to a violent end, especially seeing they are most private and unperfect, as they have no coherence at all in them and in the most places carry not true English.'

His great desire is that the Queen should know of the affection and loyalty he has ever carried towards her Highness. Law, he knows, there is none that can take hold of him; but he is willing to abide by her Majesty's decision. Before a higher tribunal he will be justified. And He that 'releiveth the Wydowe and the ffatherlesse' will care for the 'desolate orphanes and freindlesse Wydowe' he leaves behind him.

He then makes an acknowledgement of Burghley's kindness to him, which is highly interesting. He had a solid ground for hoping that the charitable judgement of the great minister of state might, in this final and critical juncture in his fortunes, avail to help him. He had already circulated his Legal Defence. He had put all his skill into drafting his declaration of Faith and Allegiance, which, without at any point retreating from his fundamental religious convictions, without selling his loyalty to his Lord for the sake of prolonging his life, is yet a persuasive statement of his genuine loyalty to Elizabeth. Eleanor Penry had made a dignified, but very earnest appeal for the mitigation of the severities of his prison treatment,

¹ *Lansd. MSS. 75. 58.* This is the original.

which she had set down to the unfeeling attitude of Gittens the keeper of the Poultry Compter, with an immediate result to him, so that Penry himself had to write on the instant a diplomatic defence of 'Mr. Gittens,' in order to retain his goodwill, and the benefits of the better treatment which instructions from a higher source had secured to the poor prisoner. Judge Fanshawe's report of the examination at Old Bailey, despite the sinister presence of Richard Young on the bench, an examination which, we remember, was wholly concerned with Penry's religious views and their consistency with his loyalty to Elizabeth, was not a violent denunciation of the eloquent young reformer, the fellow-student of his son; and this document came before Burghley's eyes. The conclusion is clear. Burghley is Penry's compassionate friend, and we understand his grateful recognition of the fact in this personal letter.

'Being lykely to troble yo^r Lordship wth no more letters, I doo with thankfulnes acknowledg yo^r Hono^{rs} favor towarde mee, in that yo^r hand hath been always open. And in this my last letter I protest before the Lord God that I have wrytten nothing but truth unto yo^r Lordship in any of my letters that I know of.'

And he closes his letter with the assurance that he is less concerned now with the unjust verdict and 'an undeserved doome in this lyfe' than with his religious hopes. He commends his Lordship to God. 'In great haste from close prison this 22th of the 5th moneth Maij, 1593. Yo^r Lordsh^{ps} most humble in the Lorde, John Penry.'

8. *A Critical Interview.*—Having early forwarded letter and petition to the scribe, and some hours later received the fair copies and signed and despatched them to Cecil House, he is now left to his own thoughts and speculations. The sword above his head hangs by a very slender thread. In the multitude of communications addressed to him, relating to welfare of the State, foreign and domestic, letters from all sorts of men on all manner of subjects public and personal, will this humble and urgent missive claim a moment of the busy minister's time? If it comes before Burghley's personal

notice, the chances are he will read it. For Penry is an interesting personality ; a good scholar, a clever writer, and there is a natural pathos in his story and in his youthful consecration to the religious welfare of his country. Cecil himself derives his name from an ancient Welsh *Seissyllt*. He is suspected to have a reforming bias. And no doubt 'olde Willyam' secretly shared Penry's detestation of the arrogant meddling of priests in the affairs of the nation. So Tuesday wore itself away.

Wednesday broke upon the Compter, up the ancient passage off the Poultry, with its common stir. Church bells and the ordinary street cries filled the early morning air, for our forefathers began their day soon after sunrise. Prison accommodation in the days of Elizabeth also promoted early rising. Even the poor neglected prisoners welcomed the early summer sunlight and cherished a new hope of happy deliverance. The potman from the neighbouring tavern was an early visitor, for small beer was the common morning draught ; but the near-by fields pastured cattle, and a long 'Milk oh' was yodelled up the passage-way, for the custom of those of a more delicate stomach. And the baker brought his goods, hot from the oven ; white manchet bread for those who could pay, and brown for lighter purses. The great gates were flung open and those having the necessary permission came to visit their friends and bring them food. There was much passing to and fro ; Gittens is busy granting and vending favours, and keeping order in his mixed company. Amidst all this commotion of the new day, what thoughts are occupying the mind of Penry ? Though he was a close prisoner and not allowed to wander about the prison precincts, as some of the prisoners apparently were, the lamp of hope we know was still burning in his cell. Eleanor would arrive presently, with food for her sick and weakly husband, and with tidings of the children, and such scraps of news as were available concerning the brotherhood, and matters in general. But the all-absorbing topic was the fate of the petition to the Lord Treasurer.

The anxiety was soon settled by the arrival of a servitor

wearing the Cecil badge and livery. The notable prisoner is to be interviewed by Lord Burghley personally ; an important and dramatically interesting fact which emerges from Penry's final letter to him. What wild expectation of gaining freedom at once filled the prisoner's heart we may conjecture, as we watch him marching off to Cecil House in the Strand in the charge of Gittens, out of whose personal custody he could only be transferred by a special writ.

Burghley had read his appeal, and saw at once the position in which he was placed, and also saw the inadequacy of the presentment. The trouble was that whether he was legally indictable or not, the Queen was affronted, and unless her mind could be changed, the corrupt process of law would proceed ; Penry would be sent to his doom, under whatever statute ; future ages could be safely left to moralise on the scandalous illegality of the verdict. But the Queen had not yet been informed of the other papers found in Penry's secret dossier, which very adequately proved his profound loyalty. Moreover it was known in the Court circles that Whitgift's achievement in getting Barrowe and Greenwood hanged, was not regarded by her with much satisfaction.

What grave and severe reprimand Burghley administered to the enthusiastic and imprudent young Welsh scholar and evangelist is not on record ; but one vital piece of information we do know. In this ' last speech ' with Penry he urged him to write to the Queen. The charge in the presentment was clearly inadequate ; the publication of Penry's secret papers was the action of the Government, who also introduced them into the Kingdom. But beyond this the Queen should also be made acquainted with Penry's loyalty, so fully shown in his secret papers. Write to her Majesty—was Burghley's advice to Penry. Long years of inside knowledge of the methods of the Court and Government gave weight to his words. He knew that behind the legal tribunal the real prosecutors were assiduous in keeping before the Queen's notice Penry's ungallant tone in referring to herself in these wretched Scots scraps of paper.

CHAPTER III

THE TRIAL AT KING'S BENCH, 25 MAY, 1593

1. *The Futility of the First Presentment.*—The fact that the grand jury's presentment on the previous Monday hung fire, so to say, that it was not pressed forward as the legal indictment and made the basis of a trial before the Court, leads us to the conclusion, that apart from the arguments contained in Penry's petition, and obviously he has a strong case, some legal authority, when the documents relating to the case reached the Court, saw the weakness of the procedure adopted by the prosecution. Any representation by Burghley consequent on Penry's appeal, would only serve to strengthen the resolve of the officials at the King's Bench not to proceed with the prosecution as it stood. On this Friday, when Penry once more stood at the bar, we see the result of their further consideration. Monday's proceedings are apparently dismissed without remark. The Court routine begins *de novo*. The grand jury is again sworn, a fresh body of evidence against Penry is produced, and a fresh presentment is made. The statute under which the proceedings are ostensibly taken is again specifically noted as the Act of Uniformity, passed in the first year of her Majesty's reign [1 Eliz. cap. 2]. The evidence to support the charge now consists of extracts from a printed book, Penry's Scots book, *Reformation no Enemy*. The course at last seemed clear for the legal plotters. The book cited bore Penry's name and was acknowledged by him. It had undeniably been circulated in England; though the printing and publication of the work in Scotland offered a nice point for a legal argument had Penry been allowed the help of counsel.

2. *Under what Act was Penry tried and condemned?*—It will be advantageous at this point to delay the narrative of the actual trial, in order to consider separately the question of the statute under which the Court of King's Bench con-

ducted their proceedings against Penry. The ingenuous reader may perchance ask why it is necessary to raise this question further, since the authoritative answer to it has already been given. It is raised, however, by those who would give some colour of legality to Penry's execution. Quite recently a deliberate attempt has been made to justify the execution legally, and to exonerate all concerned in it. What could the poor embarrassed judges do, compelled as they were to administer the laws of the country, but hang a seditious law-breaker like Penry? Very regrettable, no doubt, but still unavoidable. This effort to evade the charge of illegality is much too easy and innocent, and assumes too great an ignorance on the part of the reader of the ecclesiastical history of the period.

The first point we offer for consideration is the measure of authority we have for stating that, legally or otherwise, the trial was based on the Act 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

(a) The chief witness is the Court Record—the testimony of the *Coram Rege* Roll, now lying in the Record Office, a familiar document as stated above through Lord Coke's transcript in his *Book of Entries*, and the full copy in the Morrice MSS. The Record gives the final word on the subject. On the completion of the trial the official scribe of the Court formally draws up for future reference, the Court's authoritative record of the proceedings. He states that the Act justifying the prosecution is 1 Eliz. cap. 2. And it is particularly to be noted, that not only is the *first* presentment, that based on the loose papers found in Scotland, framed on the Act of Uniformity; but, when these proceedings were abandoned and on the Friday following an indictment was finally drawn up upon a fresh body of evidence, the same Act, 1 Eliz. cap. 2, is cited as the statutory authority for the prosecution. 'Cumque per Statutum in Parlamento dicte domine Regine nunc Anno regni suo primo tento editum quidam uniformis ordo. . . .' That stands as part of the indictment, and on the question of fact would seem to be authoritative. It is a Court document drawn up as the final act of the proceedings.

(b) The next witness is Lord Justice Coke, and on the question before us his statement is hardly inferior to the official Record itself. He not only transcribes the Court roll, in his *Book of Entries*, but adds his own superscription—

Indictment pur Felonie en publishant Scandalous escripts encounter les ordres del Eglise, sur le statute de Anno 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

That is definite enough. The issue is 'Felonv.' The nature of the offence is 'Publishing scandalous writings against the Church.' The statute transgressed was '1 Eliz. cap. 2.' It was a religious prosecution. And it may be granted, that if it could be proved that Penry had introduced his book into England, he would have been guilty of some offence, though not a capital offence, under this Act.

In further consideration of this point let us ask whether Lord Coke was a competent authority to describe the action at King's Bench. Can we have full assurance that he knew the pretext upon which Penry was put to death? It requires some assurance to question his competence. Is there any single Elizabethan of equal authority on the subject of legal procedure, in the latter part of the Queen's reign? Macaulay had to remind Basil Montagu, who was in his own day, a considerable legal authority, that Lord Coke was much more than a very great English constitutional lawyer, one of the greatest; that he was for thirteen years Attorney-General, and had conducted a far greater number of important State prosecutions than any other lawyer named in English history; and that he passed with scarcely an interval from the Attorney-Generalship to the first seat in the first criminal court in the realm.¹ The actual dates are of interest to our inquiry: in 1593/4 Attorney-General; 1606 Chief Justice of Common Pleas; 1613 Chief Justice of King's Bench. In the year following, 1614, as a rich harvest of his unequalled experience he published for the instruction and guidance of lawyers, his *Book of Entries*. If he did not know the true nature of the proceedings against Penry at King's Bench,

¹ Essay on 'Bacon.'

then who did, or who to-day does? He tells us that Penry was put to death for his scandalous writings against the Bishops contrary to 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

(c) *The Gratuitous Substitution of 23 Eliz. cap. 2.*—A very nice problem lies before our modern vindicators of those who sent John Penry to the gallows. To make the proceedings legal, they quietly introduce a statute to which capital punishment is appended as a penalty, in spite of the above definite and authoritative statements. But would not a fresh indictment be necessary? Can you—could you even under the corrupt legal methods of the Elizabethan courts,—indict and condemn a prisoner under one statute, and inflict upon him the penalties attached to another, one not mentioned during the proceedings?

If this were a possible escape from the charge of illegally sentencing Penry to death, one naturally asks why the prosecution did not avowedly proceed under the Act 23 Eliz. cap. 2? They bring in a new body of evidence, why still proceed under an Act which does not embrace felony? Were they so unskilled in their business? What that evidence was, we have indicated in the brief extracts from a writer who in his small way is as vindictive in pursuing Penry as the old prosecutors in 1593. Let us take one of the sentences in the completer form in which it is given in the indictment at the trial.

‘What hath England answered, Surely with an impudent forehead she hath sayd. I wil not come nere the holy one, And as for the buyldinge of this howse, I will not so moche as lyfte vppe a fynyger towerdes that worke, nay I will contynewe the desolacons thereof. And yf eny man speaketh a worde in the behalfe of this howse or bewayleth the mysery of yt I wyll account hym an enemye to my state. As for the Gospell & the Ministerie that I mean to receyve. I haue receyved a reading gospell & a reading Mynistry, A pompous gospell & a pompous Ministrye, a gospell & a Mynistry that strengtheneth the handes of the wycked in his Inyquytie.’

This is a fair specimen of the sentences selected by the prosecution from Penry's book. But if we turn to the Act

itself we shall not need to seek further for the reason why the prosecution did not cite 23 Eliz. cap. 2 in their indictment. Its short title is 'An Acte against sedicious Wordes and Rumours uttered [circulated publicly] againste the Queenes moste excellente Majestie.' In the evidence adduced there is no reference to the Queen.¹ The Act clearly does not apply; so clearly, that the prosecution dare not cite it. Penry anticipated that in order to get him condemned for felony they would proceed under this Act, and felt secure in the defence he would be able to offer. He circulated his rebutting arguments beforehand as we have earlier seen, and the Government were no doubt in possession of the document. It was compiled in all probability with the professional aid of his sympathisers in the legal profession. He could well say, that there is 'no law against John Penry.' The contention that Penry himself in his final letter acknowledges that the Crown proceeded against him under this Act, is a mistake.²

There are some loud-sounding accusations of sedition, and incitements to rebellion and insurrection, and of words 'uttered' with malicious intent against the Queen, in the body of the Indictment; but they are not evidence. No one supposed that these more or less conventional phrases meant anything in particular. Nor has it ever been suggested by the most implacable of Penry's enemies that he positively aimed at killing and dethroning the Queen, or even at doing her the least bodily harm. Only by some wire-drawn logic could sedition or treason be even implied. A learned lawyer speaking in the House of Lords has said that, 'we have in our laws no such thing as a crime by implication, nor can a

¹ Penry has personified the State. 'What hath *England* answered. . . .' His present-day critic thinks this brings Penry within the Act, because England really means 'the Queen, Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, the Judges, the Privy Council and even the common people.' He also thinks Penry was justly hanged because his words were 'certainly not gracious,' and also because the authorities might be 'reasonably offended' with them. So minor an incident is the hanging of an odd heretic. Though perhaps I do this gentleman an injustice in taking his words too seriously.

² Penry in his final letter alludes to 23 Eliz. cap. 1, sec. 6, a separate Act of Parliament.

malicious intention be proved by witnesses.'¹ 'Constructive Treason,' however, is a statutory crime, though we have been unable to discover a case where, setting aside the particular charge of 'constructive treason,' there did not remain, as basis of the accusation, a violation of law; some misdemeanour which under given circumstances might conceivably lead to treason. Riots have, for example, been punished as, constructively, treason; though it is now unusual to present them before a legal tribunal in that light.² There remains one outstanding reason why 23 Eliz. cap. 2 was not applicable to Penry's case. *Reformation no Enemie* was published in 1590. The Court record says 1591.³ One of the limitations of the Act is that the accusation made under its clauses must be preferred within one year of the committal of the offence. The charge was too late by two years.

(d) *No Magnanimity for a Prisoner on a Capital Charge.*⁴—Penry's case illustrates painfully the gradual vanishing from the courts at this period, of a certain fine and delicate chivalry, which from old time inspired the law, and still more the high expounders of its tenets. This was seen pre-eminently where a capital charge was being adjudged. In such a case, for the protection and benefit of the prisoner, the statute applied was subject to strict grammatical interpretation. A man was indicted before the judges of Edward VI. for stealing a horse, which at that time was felony. He stole a horse undoubtedly, but the statute referred only to stealing horses. The old judges set the prisoner free; perhaps they recognised that the crime and the penalty were incommensurable, and were glad of the technical flaw in the statute. 'Penall lawes,' says the learned author of a *Petition Directed*, 'that touch mans life haue bene alwayes expounded in a most strict sense.'⁵ As a matter of fact, though this was no doubt due to Elizabeth's sympathy with Romanism, writers belonging

¹ Hallam, *Const. Hist. of Eng.* (ed. 1869) iii. 290.

² See Maitland, *Const. Hist. of Eng.* 228.

³ *Pasquils Apology*, a reply to Penry, is dated July 2, 1590.

⁴ *Vid. ante*, p. 52.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 29.

to that Church, whose only offence was that they branded the English Church and the Nation as heretic, and accused the bishops of intrusion and sacrilege, were never charged as traitors. The only thing that can be said of Penry's trial has been concisely said by a distinguished Welsh lawyer : Penry was ' subjected to a trial which disgraces the name of English justice.'¹

3. *The Shameful Judgement.*—Let us now return to the proceedings of the Court, that we may learn the end of the pitiful and tragic farce. The sheriffs, Garret and Taylor, under their writ of habeas corpus bring the prisoner from the Compter to the King's Bench Court at Westminster that he may appear ' at the bar.' The grand jury had been sworn, and the case against the prisoner duly set forth by the prosecution, with the evidence to sustain it, and the statute which has been infringed. The jury duly make their presentment, which becomes the indictment at the trial which immediately follows. Penry is now in the custody of the Marshall.² Penry at the bar hears the indictment and is asked what he has to say in answer to these charges. He replies that he has nothing to say save that he is in no way guilty in regard to them. Then comes the critical question. Is he willing for good and evil to cast himself upon the country ? That is, is he willing that his case go to a jury, which in this case is his country. In those old days, without his consent the case could proceed no further, though his refusal would not have released him from the grip of the law. Penry however has no interest in refusing to plead, and elects ' pro bono et malo, to put himself upon the country.' So the petty jury is duly sworn ' to speak the truth upon the aforesaid matters.' The indictment is duly read to them with the evidence from the prisoner's book ; the prosecuting counsel makes it all plain, how the misguided man they see before them was a fugitive from the law in Scotland, and

¹ Sir Thomas Phillips, Q.C., *Wales*, p. 99.

² The contraction for Marshall occurs three times in the record for Friday. It is a mistake to expand it into Marshalsea (the prison) in any of the instances.

from his safe hiding there issued this wicked and seditious volume hoping to stir up strife and create division in her gracious Majesty's peaceful kingdom. All would be finally driven home by the moral reflections of the Lord Chief Justice. Then came the formal question to the prisoner, whether he had any thing to say whereby he could free himself, *se acquietari*, from these charges.

We imagine the Court at this juncture to be quite alert, taking up each point with the readiness and ease of old and familiar custom. The prisoner should also be alert; he is not allowed the help of learned counsel to explain the precise significance and application of the Act of Parliament to which the prosecution has appealed, to examine the evidence, the witnesses, and to rebut the vague and unsustained charges of the prosecution. No, he must fight his battle at such unequal odds, and in the vast majority of cases he will not fight at all. But Penry had a natural gift of eloquence, as a writer and speaker; and put upon his mettle, could make a speech which would greatly disturb the complacency of the corrupt court, and go on echoing out of doors, fortifying the stubborn resolutions of the Separatists, both those in prison, and the lesser number still free. Has he anything to say? The weary and enfeebled prisoner tries to brace himself and to frame his protest against this congeries of illegalities. He begins feebly; he says that he is in no way guilty of the charges alleged against him. The word is snatched out of his mouth. The Chief Justice is already at the next stage: Gentlemen of the Jury, you have heard that the prisoner has nothing to say, except to deny his guilt. You will now retire to consider your verdict.

The jury, who knew well what was expected from them, had no great difficulty in arriving at their decision. The prisoner, who was withdrawn during their retirement, is speedily recalled, to hear their verdict. They state upon oath that 'John Penry is guilty of the several felonies and transgressions' charged against him. They also announce that he possesses neither goods nor chattels. He is now asked if he has anything to say in favour of himself, or why

the Court should not pronounce judgement upon him. But after the verdict is pronounced against him there is very little that can be said by way of delaying or mitigating the penalty of the Court. Penry had nothing further beyond what he had said before. In his last letter, to which reference will presently be made, he says to Burghley, 'I betrayed myne owne innocency at y^e barr, because I did not lay open the clearness of my case as in lawe it is well knowen to bee.' It was partly owing to the precipitancy with which the jury were dismissed to consider their verdict.

In brief conventional fashion the record now closes. The Court is agreed that the aforesaid John Penry 'shall be hanged until &c.' So the Marshal is charged on his peril that he shall be executed without delay, for that was the usage of those days. The case closed with mutual congratulations that the proceedings had been conducted so neatly and satisfactorily, and without one of Penry's affecting speeches.¹

¹ There are several interesting points in mediaeval law and custom illustrated in the record of Penry's trial, to one of which the reader's attention may be specially drawn. Reference has been made to the necessity of Penry's consent to allow his case to go to the jury in order that the trial should proceed normally to its close. English law inherited from Roman law its aversion from condemning a man upon mere evidence. If he confess his guilt then judgement is clear. If he will 'cast himself upon the country,' the accused is then a party to the procedure and accepts the verdict of the jury. If he refuse to plead he creates a legal non-possumus; even though his guilt were undoubted, there was no normal legal way of dealing with him. As an illustration from the Roman tribunals, the anxiety of Pilate to get Christ to make a confession has been quoted. In English law recourse was had to process of *peine forte et dure*. The capital sentence on felony could not be passed. The prisoner was placed in his cell, and increasingly heavy weights laid upon him. He was given bread and water; to-day a little water, to-morrow a little bread. Under this regimen, the end was not far off. Many prisoners, having no doubt but that they would be found guilty of felony if their case went for trial, refused to plead, so that the verdict of felony could not be registered against them. The reason was that the property of a felon was forfeit to the Crown. They saved their families from beggary, by submitting to *peine forte et dure* and refusing to plead. That is why in bringing a verdict of guilty of the 'several felonies and trespasses' against Penry, the jury added that he had no property—no goods or chattels, lands or tenements.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXODUS, 25-29 MAY, 1593

1. *In King's Bench Prison.*—News of the verdict would soon emerge from the Court House. Swift messengers would cross the river to Lambeth to set the Archbishop's mind at rest. No superfluous ceremony need be observed in the treatment of the condemned. He is hustled out of the way as soon as the scrivener can engross the necessary documents to commit him to King's Bench prison to await his speedy execution. The battle is over. He has made a magnificent fight; but it was a contest in which quick intelligence, clearness of principle, and disinterestedness of motive, were not sufficient to give the victory. Penry's case was hopeless; he had offended the two most vindictive and powerful personages in the realm, the Queen and her 'little black husband,' Archbishop Whitgift. 'Madam,' the high Sovereign Prince, was not to be addressed in the grave and slightly expostulatory manner which Penry had assumed—though only in his secret papers. But she might well have forgiven him, hard as she found it to forgive any allusion which touched the dignity of her proud heart; and perhaps would have done so if the actual facts had been more favourably placed before her. It was however a recognised part of Whitgift's policy, practised in the early days of his primacy, to let no matter which affected himself come before the Queen, except in a form favourable to himself. Against Whitgift, Penry's offence was unforgivable. And we cannot fail to recognise the astuteness of the Archbishop. His name does not appear in the prosecution until the day of Penry's execution; at the Court of King's Bench the somewhat truculent references to him in *Reformation no Enemy* are not cited; and except in a vague impersonal fashion, there is not a distant hint at the vagaries of his worship Marprelate, the Great. But here is the chief agent laid up by the heels; and, unless there be an untimely

delay during which Burghley and others may work in his favour, the high prelatical victim of the Great Unknown's satire will speedily be avenged.

As the watermen rowed Penry and his escort from Westminster Stairs down the Thames to St. Mary Overy Stairs, near the Southwark end of London Bridge, this early summer evening, with all the movement and stir which then marked the great river-highway, he saw the pomp and pageantry of this world, which for him were so soon to pass away. He had fought the good fight and was now ready to be offered up. He had all the satisfaction which came from the consciousness that he was innocent of the crimes alleged against him. He understood well the legal aspects of his prosecution; the hollow pretence about sedition and insurrection and the rest. Knollys, who was a kinsman of Elizabeth's, and entirely devoted to her interests, told Burghley how he marvelled that the Queen associated sedition with the Puritans and reformers. No instance was known of their participation in any movement directed against the throne; but their ecclesiastical opposites, the Roman Catholics, were notorious for their treasonable plots. Penry was a young man with but one interest in life. It inspired him before he left Oxford in 1587. It was a purely religious interest. It never departed from him during his few adventurous years of life. All his troubles sprang from his zealous propaganda of this one supreme purpose, the spread of the free Gospel throughout Wales. And now he is about to die a martyr to his faith. The gross illegality and the bitter sectarianism, which hastened him to his early death, add to our admiration of his brave and strenuous fight. Landing at St. Mary Overy's Stairs, and passing through the Close and down Pepper Alley they were in the chief thoroughfare leading from London Bridge and finding its terminus at Dover, a part of the ancient Watling Street. This section is called Long Southwark, though the southern stretch is also known as St. Margaret's Hill. On the left-hand side, leaving the Bridge, there are a series of public buildings. First there are at brief intervals the three prisons, the Marshalsea, the King's Bench and the White Lyon; then St. George's Church,

situate near the end of Blackman Street; in the second-named, popularly called the Bench, Penry is immured. It is a villainous place, in which a virulent and most fatal form of typhus is endemic. There is a continuous gaol-delivery through death from this loathsome plague, which in the records with a mild blasphemy is ascribed to the hand of God. It is no improvement upon the Poultry Compter. Penry will miss the keeper Gittens, whose favour, stimulated we think by a word from a certain high quarter, enabled Penry to get through so large a mass of writing. He is not likely to remain long enough in the custody of his rascally new gaoler, to establish terms of tolerable good will. It was commonly understood that from him nothing was to be expected, without the persuasion of lavish bribes. But by this time Penry has learned to endure hardness. He and misfortune are familiar acquaintances.¹

2. *The Delayed Execution.*—The next day, Saturday, a devout company, chief among them let us picture the brave-hearted Eleanor Penry, with Deliverance and Comfort her two eldest daughters, made their way to St. Thomas a Waterings, where condemned men from 'the Bench' and White Lyon prisons were customarily taken to be executed. This place lay something more than a mile from the prison. It was on the Kent Road. Just beyond the King's Bench prison you turned a sharp corner to the left, and almost opposite, extending diagonally to the south-east, was Kent Street, which when crossing the boundaries of the Borough became Kent Road. Thomas a Waterings is mentioned by Chaucer as the first halt of the Canterbury pilgrims, leaving the Tabard Inn on their famous journey to the shrine of a-Becket. It lies a little short of the second milestone, and is named after the saint. A group of houses stood at the junction of the roads at this point, just beyond the turnpike. The stream, crossed

¹ For the general character of King's Bench prison something can be learnt from *Essays and Characters*, letters from 'the Bench' by Geffray Mynshul to his uncle Mathew Mainwaring, 1618. Particulars are also given in the *History of Surrey* by Manning and Bray, App. xi., xvii. ff. An account of Wood Street Compter is found in W. Fennor's *Compter's Commonwealth*, 1617.

by a bridge where the pilgrims watered their horses, was a few yards beyond. The gallows was erected 'near the Green Man.'¹ The confident expectation of the sad company gathered here this Saturday morning was that the peremptory order of the Court would be carried out without delay, 'sine dilacione.' A few loitered about the prison gates, but all would be prepared for the event when they heard the great bell of St. George's Church tolling, as the condemned was placed upon the hurdle to be dragged to the gallows. Hour after hour went by, and as evening came on, the weary watchers made their way homewards. The gibbet lacked its victim that day. Nothing happened the next day; but it was Sunday.

On Monday, Penry inside the prison discovered that the Keeper had no warning to prepare his prisoner; no timely word to get the smith to remove his fetters. Outside the prison it began to enter the minds of the friends, as they waited fruitlessly all day on Monday, that the authorities might yet hesitate to carry out their sentence. John Udall, condemned to death, had remained long, and at last died, in prison. There was much delay in the case of Barrowe and Greenwood. What was proceeding behind the scenes the little company of Separatists did not know; but they conjectured that some merciful hand was delaying the proceedings; and judged it would be useless to attend further at St. Thomas a Watering. It was wiser to wait upon events.

3. *The Martyr's Final Appeal.*²—Some such thought must have entered Penry's own mind. With his unconquerable will he managed to pen one more letter, addressed once more to Burghley, his one hope. Sunday he must have spent in negotiating for writing materials. He has to buy in a hard market; in the Bench all things are at famine price, and the highest-priced commodity is the favour of the surly and stony-hearted gaoler. He succeeded so far as to get a half-sheet of paper and also pen and ink of a sort. His letter

¹ See Waddington's *Penry*, 203 n. (with a quotation from Chaucer's 'Prologue'); W. Rendle, *Old Southwark*, 55, and his index.

² *Egerton MSS.* 2603, 49. See Bibliography.

is a pathetic production ; badly written for him, his manacled wrists perhaps at fault, with many broken sentences, and penned in a small hand, for his paper was scanty, and with an ill-cut quill, his lines to-day looking faded, as though he had eked out his ink with water. But in this last, pathetic effort to obtain justice, in many turns of phrase, in figurative expressions, and in its eloquent tenacity of persuasion, the hand of the deft and scholarly writer is still to be seen. And the letter hints at one or two interesting facts not known to us from any other source. It begins—

‘ Although Right honorable my thoughtes at this present are wholly employed as it is meet, rather vpon *y^e meditation of*¹ that heauenly lyf wherevnto of the Lordes infinite favor, I ame now to passe, than vpon any earthly consideration whatsoeuer, yet *to the end* yo^r Lordship may see that I have in no wise slightly regarded yo^r last speach vsed vnto mee, I do heer most humblie *craue*, entreat, the vse of penn and inke, y^t I may writ(e) vnto hir ma^{tie}, my most gracious soueraing to see yf the Lord will therby encline hir roiall heart to hould forth vnto mee *the compassionate* hand of hir wonted clemency towards her distressed subjectes in my case.’

Not many days have passed since his interview, his ‘last speach,’ with the Lord Treasurer, when he was advised to write to the Queen ; but the delay in following that wise advice is wholly due to his lack of writing materials. A word from Burghley would speedily rectify the deficiency.

He is specially anxious that Burghley should not misinterpret his silence at the bar. It was no admission of guilt, that he ‘did not lay open, the clearnes of [his] case, as in law *it is well known* to bee.’ We have already alluded to the manner in which the business was hustled on the Friday. He was formally invited to speak, and not responding on the instant, he was tricked out of his opportunity—‘y^e Iury wear sent away befo^r I cold haue tyme so to doe.’ If, contrary to their own bill they had proceeded against him under 23 Eliz. cap. 2 it would have been necessary to have him indicted within a year of his offence. Moreover, the *malice* of the

¹ Words in italics are Penry’s interlinear and marginal corrections.

intention as well as the intention itself to defame Elizabeth should be proved by evidence. An impression on the mind of the judge is not enough. It has to be shown to the jury, not as the opinion of the judge, or of any one else, but on the evidence of the prisoner's own words or acts.¹ If it be within the four corners of the indictment, it must go to the jury; and a jury can deal only with facts. Unfortunately for the prosecution there appear to be no facts to place before the jury, none relevant to the charge. As to the scurrilous charges scattered about at random in the absurd conventional indictment presented at King's Bench, Penry challenges the verdict of the public.

'From which purposes, he says, how farr I have been all wayes, I refer it vnto y^e voyce of y^e whole world, even unto the very consciences of adversaries them selues yf I haue any.'

To go back to the matter presented on his first appearance at the Court; the secret papers, which the authorities brought into the country, and to which they gave publicity, may have left an unfavourable impression on the mind of her Majesty; but if he can only get ink and paper he will declare to her how far he is from having any disloyal thoughts.

He reasonably complains of the immunity shown to the Papists. If he were of that faction, he says, 'as farre beit fro' me I should,' he might write, 'in defiance² of ye sixt 'article' of 23 Eliz. cap. 1, to induce the Queen's subjects to be of his 'wicked mynd.' But he would not be adjudged as a *felon* by that statute. He could publish the works of Bellarmine and Saunders—for they are commonly sold by the stationers—though they make the Queen and nation to be heretics, and yet not come within this Act. How lamentable a case is his, that a plain misreading of the law should be written in his blood.

Lord Burghley, he pitifully concludes, if he can preserve his petitioner from an untimely end, will not have cause to regret it now or in the hereafter. For Penry means to be a

¹ See Hallam, *Const. Hist. of Eng.* iii. 290. Debate in the House of Lords, 1737.

² 'defence' in the original.

peaceable and reconciling spirit in regard to ecclesiastical affairs ; though the ends he has in view cannot be denied—his secret heart, is it not laid bare, in the papers which are in the hands of the Government. He hopes Chief Justice Sir John Popham will mediate with the Queen for his reprieve. To Lord Burghley, this great national figure, who alone among the great ones has shown him any humanity in his helpless misery, he believes there will accrue the blessing of the widow and the orphan and of him that is ready to perish. All this, characteristic of Penry's mind, is accompanied by abundant scriptural references in the margin ; in his prayer for Burghley he especially draws at length upon the Book of Job—' y^t you shall dy in yo^r nest and multiply your dayes as the sand,' with ' yo^r root . . . spread out by y^e waters & y^e dew upon yo^r branch ' ; with the reverence of men, amongst whom his great benefactor shall ' sitt as cheife.' So he hurries to his subscription—' from close prison the 28 of y^e 4 month Maii, 1593 Yo^r Lordships most suppliant, Iohn Penry.'

4. *The End of the Pilgrimage.*—Means were found to forward to the great minister this last of Penry's letters, whose outward show told sufficiently its tale of distress and suffering. There was nothing left but to turn his dreary cell—it was ' close prison '—into a little sanctuary, to meditate, as he has told us, upon that heavenly life, into which by the Lord's favour, he was now to enter. Yet it was strange that it was now the fourth evening since he left the Court, under condemnation to be hanged without delay. Would the angel that set Peter free, discharge him into the bustling liberty of the High-street of Southwark ? That night he lay dreaming of Eleanor and his little lasses, of his mother, of Wales, and who knows of what possibilities of preaching the Gospels among his native mountains.

Whatever action Burghley took on receiving the young Welshman's last appeal, nothing could happen at Court without the Archbishop's privity ; he especially guarded all avenues of approach to the Queen, in connection with matters involving his designs or interests. Already a brief ' opinion '

was being feverishly circulated, denying that Penry was as loyal as he professed to be ; for there were not wanting men, who on the other hand, whatever their thought of the religious restlessness of the Separatists, or of the Puritans generally, laughed to scorn the baseless and absurd charge that they were rebellious traitors. On Monday night Whitgift was aware that a last effort might be made to release Penry, or at any rate to mitigate his punishment ; and anything short of hanging would, if the prison plague spared him, eventually mean his release. Whitgift had many and strong enemies. Not a few would have been glad to see Penry escape, if only to spite the wilful and intolerant old ecclesiastic. We cannot therefore be surprised to find that the Council was convened very early on Tuesday morning, and the last act in the Penry-tragedy hurried to its close. The warrant for immediate execution was hastily drawn up, and signed by ' John Cant.,' Penry's ancient and sleepless enemy ; also by Sir John Puckering, Keeper of the Great Seal, a creature of Whitgift's ; and Chief Justice Sir John Popham, who had already condemned him. No prefatory warning was sent to ' the Bench.' No intimation was given to the verger at St. George's to be ready to toll his dismal knell and to drive the curious to the place of hanging. All was bustle at the prison. The prisoner had just received his dinner ; it was about eleven in the forenoon. The smith was hastily summoned, and on his arrival, in the midst of his meal, Penry without ceremony was hurried on to his hurdle and dragged to St. Thomas a Watering, where a gallows stood waiting its next victim. Having arrived there Penry found no friend among the sprinkling of people who saw the grim cortege pass, and were drawn to the scene by their morbid curiosity. It was part of the mean design to have none of the condemned man's friends present ; and, in any case, peremptory orders were issued to deny him the ordinary courtesy of the times, an opportunity at the gallows to bid farewell to the world ; in Penry's case to deny his guilt, to profess his unswerving loyalty to Elizabeth, and his faith towards God. Some chance friend might be present, and if the eloquent young apostle of Wales had any opportunity,

he might be trusted to make a touching and memorable dying speech, some more or less authentic version of which would be hawked about Cheapside and St. Paul's the following day by the chapmen. Nearly eighty years later the contemptuous official explanation is given by the chaplain of the first and second Charles, writing in the heyday of the Stuart restoration. Recording that Penry was executed at St. Thomas a Watering, he then says, that he was

executed with a very thin company attending on him, for fear the Fellow might have raised some Tumult, either in going to the Gallows, or upon the Ladder. But what he could not do when alive, was put into a way of being effected when the Hang-man had done his office, by publishing one of his Seditious Pamphlets entituled, *The History of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, applied to the Prelacy and Ministry of the Church of England; by Mr. John Penry, a Martyr of Jesus Christ, as the Pamphlet calls him.*¹

The spirit which compassed his death never varied or relented by one jot, till the last article of the tragedy was attested. The curious witnesses stayed by the gallows till the few involuntary struggles were over, making remarks in their callous way upon the victim and inquiring with the sheriff's men who he might be.² In the official circle, where there was ever an apprehension that Penry might yet escape, it was satisfactory to get the sheriff's deposition, certifying that John Penry, a young man from the mountains of Wales, a graduate of both Universities, sometime publisher to Martin Marprelate, Gent., 'nuper de London, Clericus' verily was dead. The little Archbishop had won, as he generally did win, in his contests with men, whether great or small. On the evening of this 29th day of May, 1593, he could sleep in peace. He must have listened with satisfaction to his

¹ *Aerius Redivivus: A History of the Presbyterians*, by Peter Heylin, D.D., p. 325, Oxford, 1670. Published posthumously.

² The few particulars of Penry's last day which we possess are taken as already indicated, from the printer's introduction to *Corah, Dathan and Abiram*, the MS. of which was left in Mrs. Penry's hands. It is assumed that she was responsible for the publication of the work and for the details given by the printer.

19. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23.

The most of your...
 I have...
 I have...
 I have...
 I have...
 I have...
 I have...
 I have...

The Lord...
 I have...

The Lord...

Closing sentences of Penry's last letter, addressed to Lord Burghley from King's Bench Prison, 28th May 1593, slightly reduced.
 A transcript will be found on p. 494. (See Bibliography at close.)

domestic chaplain concluding the proper Psalm for the evening prayers of the day :

‘ And of thy mercie slay mine enemies, and destroye all them that oppresse my soule : for I am thy servant ’ (Ps. cxliii. 12).

EPILOGUE

1. *The Brief Span of Penry's Public Life.*—It is with an effort, in closing this account of John Penry, that I realise how brief was his span of public life. The earliest positive date in his story, that supplied us by the Rev. Dr. T. A. Walker, is that his name appears on the bakery books of Peterhouse on 11 June 1580. His public life began with the publication of his first plea for the evangelisation of Wales. This appeared in 1587 ; and in six years his life is untimely ended. Yet we learn to know him very thoroughly. In his numerous writings, and in the vicissitudes of his troubled career, his soul is laid bare for our curious observation ; especially is this disclosure of the man made manifest in the letters which he penned in prison. We have no room for any misgiving concerning him. We know his strength ; we know his tenderness. During the six years in which he claims our attention we discover in his life one interest only. Religion so completely filled his thought that it left no place for any companion enthusiasm. ‘ This one thing I do ’ he said when he left St. Alban Hall at Oxford ; and for the rest, through good report and evil, and generally through evil, he pressed on to the goal of his high calling.

2. *The Scholar and his Environment.*—His record must be his ultimate witness—the things he did, the words he wrote. They are his compurgators against the slanders of men who have written of him in ignorance ; an ignorance for which they were themselves sometimes responsible. The facts concerning him may now be seized of those who are willing to make the necessary effort, and if our gaze be clear and steady, the

perspective of three centuries will be helpful to set the young agonist in just proportion to his times.

He was a scholar. As his sixteenth century biographer Anthony à Wood, a writer with no liking for his propaganda, says, his opponents 'knew Penry to have more than ordinary learning in him.'¹ He had the literary instinct; he was sensitive to the magic of fit words. Had not a preponderant spiritual interest, ever clamant, exigent, ever clashing against a hard and implacable opposition, hustled him through the brief course of his life, how would he, the child of this great century, have responded to the great literature springing into life and beauty all around him, and making his age for ever famous? He was on intimate terms with the great classical writers. He knew his Homer and his Vergil, had an easy acquaintance with the great prose writers; especially with 'Tully,' and we are quite sure he felt the charm of the great Latin orator and writer's style. If, under another star, a kindly providence such leisure had granted him, would he have shown an urbane and erudite appreciation of the writings of his great literary contemporaries? It is useless to speculate. He has left on his age the impress of a complete life; but it is only a fragment. He was a blade too finely tempered, which snapped in the early stages of the great encounter.

3. *A Chivalrous and Courteous Disputant*.—It is given us to see him, during these six years, in many straits; vexed at the tyrannical methods employed against him; fighting an unequal battle, and at last adjudged by a tribunal whose legal methods seem, from our present-day standpoint, only a cruel mockery of justice. These are times and circumstances, when men, fighting a battle of life and death, are not meticulously fastidious about the weapons they employ. Against poison-gas, poison-gas seems to be the only possible weapon. If Martin Marprelate be deemed scurrilous, that sapient man of the world, Richard Bancroft, knows the parry and counter to such a thrust. He will impress Tom Nash and John Lyly, literary adventurers who can easily out-Martin the personalities of *Hay any Worke*. It is therefore the more to be

¹ *Athen. Oxon.* (ed. Bliss) II. *sub nom.*

noted that Penry never forsakes his grave religious manner of dealing with religious affairs. Fire and indignation redden and glow in some of his pages. Yet in the exigency of the conflict, unfairly matched and unequally equipped with literary apparatus and convenience for writing against his antagonists, he uses no word, employs no device, which for his fair fame, as his biographer, I am tempted to regret. I have withheld nothing good or bad, from these pages, which I deemed necessary for a truthful and adequate appraisal of his character. My judgement now is, that no apologies are called for, and I make none. Writing during the primacy of Whitgift, harried by the intrigue and espionage of Bancroft, his pages are free from brutality; on the contrary he is a chivalrous antagonist. He can be courteous even to a wordy and irritating old egotist, like Dr. Robert Some.

Penry was a man beyond his years. Gifted natively with an alert intellect and a warm enthusiastic spirit, his wits were sharpened and expanded by all the training the schools could afford, and his personality developed intensively under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances. What has most deeply impressed me, apart from his fervid piety, what remains with me as a permanent estimate of his character, is his mature judgement of men and things. The *Aequity* is remarkable as the first work of a youth on leaving his college halls. Yet quickly under our eyes, as we pursue his career, he becomes the sage representative of a great controversy. We forget his youth, and make no allowance, when we see him matched against old and experienced antagonists. All we note is the competent management of his controversy with official disputants of the Established Church.

4. *A Great Lover*.—But he is greatest of all as a lover. How far removed from all calculated prudencies is his love for Wales. The great, human, unofficial, unfettered evangelical faith, he held passionately. His logical defence of its tenets, I have already confessed, is apt to become tedious; the taste for these quodlibets has faded from our age. Once, however, he turns from his syllogisms, we see that in his native soul, his Christian faith is a supreme emotion. It

glows, it flames, with radiant light and heat. The single life of man is not sufficient for a sacrifice to lay upon the altar of allegiance to his great Lord. If his blood were an ocean sea and every drop a life, they should all be offered for that sake.

We are sure there lies hidden a very tender romance in his marriage with Eleanor Godley. We judge her chiefly through the immortal love her husband bore her, revealed in his farewell letter, written in the gloom of the Compter, and after sharing with her six years of care and weariness. But by that time the daffodil sky of their first love had deepened into crimson. It was as a whisper to her inner ear that he told her before he died, how dear a sister and how loving a wife she had been to him. We love to think that she was worthy of it all. One single clear expression of her personality is all that is left us. It is her petition on behalf of her imprisoned husband. She pleads hard, hard; but she does not grovel. She has no abject excuse or snivelling sorrow for the misdemeanours of her husband. She has no such thoughts concerning her comrade, and lacks nothing of courage and wifely pride in her outspoken protest against his shameful treatment.

5. *Deliverance Penry*.—We should greatly like to know how she fared in her widowhood. Her married life assures us that she would not be wanting in courage. And what became of the little girls left to her care? Did help come from Northampton or from Wales? No trace of any of them seems to have survived, except a few references to Deliverance, the 'elder wench,' whom Penry advises his wife not to 'snib,' because 'the least word will restrain her.' We have assumed, though not with full confidence, that some sixteen years later, the widow was a party to the publication of *Corah, Dathan and Abiram*, and supplied the details of Mr. Penry's death. Deliverance involuntarily comes into the story of the fortunes, misfortunes indeed, of the exiled Church at Amsterdam, under the pastoral care of Francis Johnson. Mrs. Johnson, formerly Mrs. Thomasin Boyes, the widow of the well-to-do London tradesman, was the storm-centre in the Separatist community.

Her expensive and too fashionable attire shocked their sense of propriety. It was alleged against Francis Johnson that he was ruled by his wife, and in the story given by his brother George Johnson,¹ who was spokesman for the dissatisfied members, one of the instances is Mrs. Johnson's taking Deliverance now approaching fourteen years of age, into her own charge, whereas the final instruction of the Martyr was, that she should abide under the charge of the Church. Mrs. Johnson scoffed when told that divers of the people were grieved at her action. Deliverance would probably be more comfortably provided for, as a member of the Johnson household; but she would certainly not be under the control of the Church. The real grievance no doubt was that she would be under the influence of a somewhat worldly-minded lady. However, we find that Deliverance at the age of twenty-one settled her future for herself, by marrying at Amsterdam (14 May, 1611) one Samuel Whitaker, 'a bombazine worker.' There the meagre story ends.

(¹ *A Discourse of Some Troubles*, 1603, pp. 130, 131, 136, 142.)

Adieu!—Thus I part with my Hero; whose great heart, on many days, as I tracked his movements, and pored over his words; I, too old to be a soldier, and just old enough to be a student; while the great guns of war were reverberating from the battle-fields of Flanders; has inspired my own heart to believe in a day, that is ever on its way, when tyranny, ecclesiastical and political, of priest and kaiser, shall darken man's life no more. I lay down my pen, in silence paying my humble tribute to the memory of my illustrious countryman, John Penry, saint and hero, patriot and Martyr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRINTED BOOKS. 1587-1591.

- Nos. 1-5 printed in England.
- 6-8 printed in Scotland.
- 9 printed posthumously.

B. MINOR WRITINGS. London, Jan. 5 *c.* to May 28, 1593.

- Nos. 1, 2. Before imprisonment.
- 3-14. Prison Writings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Printed Books. Brit. Mus. press marks in brackets

1. A Treatise | Containing | The Æquity of | An Humble Svppli-
| cation Which Is To Be | Exhibited Vnto Hir | Graciovns Maiesty
And | this high Court of Parliament | *in the behalfe of the Countrey*
of | Wales, that some order may | *be taken for the preaching of* | the
Gospell among those | people.

Wherein also is fet downe as much of the | cftate of our people as
without offence | could be made known, to the end that | our case (if it
please God) may be piti- | ed by them who are not of this affem- | bly,
and fo they alfo may bee driuen to | labour on our behalfe.

At Oxford, | Printed by Ioseph Barnes, and are | *to be fold in Pauls*
Church-yard at the | figne of the Tygers head. 1587.

[c. 37. a. 54.]

8°, [A]-D8³; [A], Title, v. blank; A2-A5^v, To Al That Mourn in Sion;
A6-D7^v, Text; D8, To the reader [explains that from p. 32 an enforced
haste compelled the curtailing the remainder to one-third of that which
had been written]; D8^v, blank; the book paged [1]-62 [A-D7^v].

2. An exhortation vnto the gouer- | nours, and people of hir
Maiefties | *countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly,* | to haue the preaching
of | *the Gospell planted a-* | mong them.

There is in the ende something | *that was not in the former* | impression.

Psal. 137. 5, 6. 2 Cor. 1-13. 1 Cor. 5. 13, 14. [Should be 2 Cor.]
[Quoted with slight variations from the Genevan version.]

1588.

[702. a. 39.]

8°, [A]-I2⁴ [note, only p. 1 of each sheet signed with a letter;] [A], C,
E, F, H signed A, etc., 2, 3, 4; but B, D, G signed B, etc., 2, 3; [A],
Title, v. blank; [A]2-[I2], Text; [A]2-[F]^v, An Exhortation, signed John
Penri; [F]2-[I2], an appendix, also signed, which states it sets forth the
arguments syllogistically; [I2]^v, blank; the text paged [1]-65 [note, 41
instead of being at the middle of the top, is to the right; 54 misprinted
for 64].

See the reproduction of title-page and of the last page of the *Exhortation*,
ante, p. 478.

3. A defence of that which hath bin | written in the questions of the ig- | norant minifterie, and the communicating | with them. By JOHN PENRI.

[4103. aa. 14.]

8°, B-[I4]⁴; [the signatures which occur are, first 2 pp. of B, are signed B, 3; C, 2, 3; D, 2; E, 2; F, ; G, ; H, ; I,]; B, half-title, not displayed; B-I[4], Text; I4^v, blank; the text paged, 1-63.

4. A viewe of some part of such pub- | like wants & disorders as are in the seruice | of God, within her Maiesties cuntrye | of VVales, together with an humble Petiti- | on, vnto this high Court of Parlia- | ment for their speedie redresse.

¶ Wherein Is Shevved, | not only the necessitie of reforming | the state of religion among that people, but | also the onely way, in regarde of substauce, | to bring that reformation to passe.

[c. 38. a. 16.]

8°, [A1]-4, B-2, C-H2⁸; [note, A has 4 leaves and is signed [A1], A2, —, 4; [A1] was loose, is pasted in; B has 2 leaves, B, 2; C-H, 8 leaves, but C is signed C, 2, and D-G, are signed D, etc., 2, 3, 4, H has 3 leaves, these have been pasted in, only H[1] is signed]. [A1], half-title, v. blank; A2-4, B-[B]2, C^v, Epistle to the Reader; [C]2-H3, Text; H3^v, blank; the text paged 1-83, but 4 is omitted, 55 misprinted for 54, and 16 for 61.

Note 1. The half-title on [A1] has no date, but where it is printed again on [C]2, the date "Anno 1588" is added.

2. The book signed on last page (H3), John Penri.

3. The running title is "A Supplication Unto The | High Covrt of Parliament."

4. The book is a reprint of the special appendix to what I regard as 2nd ed. of *The Exhortation*. See p. 247.

5. Th' Appellation Of | Iohn Penri, vnto the Highe | court of Parli-
ament, from the bad and inju- | rious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb.
& | other his colleagues of the high commissi- | on: Wher- | in the com-
plainant, humbly submitting himselfe | and his cause vnto the deter-
mination of this ho- | norable assembly: craueth nothing els, but
either | releafe from trouble and perfecution, or iust | tryall.

Psalm 35. 19, 20, &c. [Quoted.]

Ierem. 20. 21. [Quoted.]

Anno Dom. 1589.

[c. 25. b. 19.]

8°, [A]-G3⁴; [note, the signatures are [A], 2, 3; B, 2; C, 2; D, ; E, ; F, ; G, ;] [A1], Half-title, v. blank; [A]2-G3^v, Text; the text paged 1-52.

Note 1. The running title is "Th' Apellation of John Penri | to the High court of Parliament."

2. The last page (G3^v) is signed John Penri.

6. A Briefe Dis- | Covery Of The | Vntrvthes And Slan- | ders
(Against The Trve Go- | uernement of the Church of Chrift) contained

in a | Sermon, preached the 8. of Februarie 1588. by | D. Bancroft,
and since that time, set forth in | Print, with additions by the said |
Authour.

This Short Answer May | Serve For The Clearing Of | the truth,
vntill a larger confutation of the | Sermon be published.

2 Pet. 2. 1, 2, 3. [Quoted.]

[1590.] [Printed at Edinburgh by Waldegrave.]

[693. b. 52.]

4°, [A]-H4⁴; [note, signatures [A2], A3, B, etc., 2, 3;]; [A1], missing,
? blank; [A2], Title, v. blank; A3-[A4], To the Reader; [A4^v], blank;
B-[H4^v], Text; the text paged 1-[56], but H [49, 50] and H4 [55, 56] cropped
so that numbers are not visible.

7. A Treatise | Wherein Is Ma- | Nifestlie Proved, That | Reformation
And Those | that sincerely fauor the fame, | are vnjustly charged
to be enemies, | vnto hir Maiestie, and | the state. Written Both For
The | clearing of those that stande in that | cause: and the stopping
of the sclaunde- | rous mouthes of all the ene- | mies thereof.

Zephaniah 3. 18, 19. [Quoted.]

1590. [Printed at Edinburgh by Waldegrave.]

[697. f. 33.]

4°, [—], 2, 3, 4, ¶, 2, B-[I]2⁴; [note, signatures are —, 2, 3 4; ¶, 2;
B, —, 3; C, 2, —, 4; D-H, 2, 3, 4; I, 2]. —, Title, v. blank; 2-[¶]2^v, To
all-that-love the Lorde Jesus; [¶]2^v, To the Reader; B-12^v, Text.

8. Propositions | And Principles | of *Diuinitie, propounded and* |
diputed in the vniuersitie of | *Geneua, by certaine students of Di-* |
uinitie there, vnder M. Theod. | Beza, and M. Anthonie | Faivs, pro-
fessors of | Diuinitie. Wherein Is Con- | tained a Methodicall sum- |
marie, or Epitomie of the common | places of Diuinitie.

Translated Ovt Of | *Latine into English, to the end that* | *the causes,*
both of the present dangers | *of that Church, and also of the trou-* | *bles*
those that are hardlie dealt | *vwith els-vwhere, may appeare in the* | *English*
tongue.

At Edinbvrgh | Printed by Robert Walde- | graue, printer to the
Kings | *Maiestie.* | Anno Dom. 1591. | *Cum Priuilegio Regali.*

[697-c. 28.]

4°, [A], 4 leaves, B, 2 leaves, B-Nn2^{v4}; [note, the signatures are in the
form A, etc., 2, 3, except [A], 2—; B, —; D, 2—; N, 2, 3, 4; Nn, —;].

[A1], Title, v. blank; [A]2-4, B^v, Epistle; [B2]-[B2^v], To all those
that wish well unto the Lord Jesus; B-Nn^v, Text; [Nn2]-[Nn2^v], Table;
[Nn2^v], errata; the text paged 1-268, but with the following errors, 5g
for 53 [H3]; 153 for 154 [x], this error makes the total of pages one less
than it should be; 265 for 272 [Nn]; 268 for 273 [Nn^v].

9. The | Historie | of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, &c. | *Numb.* 16. *Chap.*

Applied to the Prelacy Ministerie and | Church-Affsemblies of England.
By Mr Iohn Penry, a Martyr | of Iefus Christ.

Numb. 16. 26. [Quoted.] | *Rev.* 18. 4. [Quoted.]

Imprinted in the yeare, 1609.

[4103. *aaa.* 25.]

4°, [**1].**2, A-F3⁴; [note, each sheet signed A, A2, A3, etc., except F, F2, —;].

1, Title, v. blank; **22^v, To the Reader; A-F3, Text; F3^v, blank; the text paged [1]-45.

B. MINOR WRITINGS

(a) *Written in London before Imprisonment*

1. 1593. Jan. 5 *cir.* *A Petition from the members of the Separatist Church in London on behalf of their Ministers and preachers. Assigned to Penry on the evidence of its style.*

Strype's Annals, iv. 131.

2. —. March 7 *cir.* *A petition on behalf a large number of prisoners seized in the Islington Woods, at a service held there on Sunday, 4 March.*

Harl. MSS. 6848. 150. Endorsed 'Prisoners Petition.'

Written lengthwise on first page of a double folio sheet, in a secretarial hand, and unsigned.

Begins: 'The humble most earnest & honorable Complaint & Supplication of the persecuted & proscribed Church & Servantes of CHRIST falsely called Brownists: Vnto the high Court of Parliament.'

Ends: '. . . from her Ma^{tie} & yo^r H. H^{rs}, whose heartes wee beseech him to encline toward this our most aequall & iust suite, Through CHRIST JESUS our Lord.'

In the body of the Petition: 'There are manie of us by the mercy of GOD still out of theyr handes.'

Assigned to Penry on the evidence of style. The probabilities would naturally point to Penry. Mrs. Penry accompanied Widow Unwin when presenting the petition. Henry Barrowe could not have written it.

(b) *Prison Writings*

3. 1593. Mar. 26 *c.* *Penry's declaration of Faith and Allegiance—for presentation to Parliament.*

Yelv. MSS. No. 70. 15 vers. ff., occupying seven pp. of writing.

Contemporary print, containing also the *Letter to the Church and Letter to his Wife*, six leaves (12 pp.), leaves 1, 2, 5 and 6 in B.L., leaves 3 and 4 in rom. type.

[c. 53. *b.* 2.]

Examinations of Henry Barrowe, etc. (Commonwealth period). No title-p., date, or printer. *Declaration of Faith & Allegiance to her Majesty*, pp. 39-45. [105. c. 45.]

Burrage, *Early Eng. Dissenters*, ii. 79. An incomplete copy.

Waddington, *John Penry*, 270-279. Not a perfect transcript.

Begins: 'I, John Penry do here (as I shall answer before the Lord my God in that great day of judgement) sett downe summarily the truth,' etc.

Ends: 'Subscribed with heart and hand by me,

John Penry,

now in strait and hard bonds for the former testimony of Christs Church.'

A copy of this writing was enclosed to Lord Burghley by Francis Johnson in his letter dated 6 Dec. 1593. *Harl. MSS.* 6849. 143. Penry in his prison letter to the Church suggested that copies should be sent to the Brethren in the West and North.

4. 1593. April 2. *Four Heads and Three Conditions under which Penry is willing to confer.*

Harl. MSS. 6849. 209. Signed (autograph), 'John Penry.'

Burrage, *E.E.D.* ii. 64.

The four Heads are bracketed 'Vnlawfull.'

5. 1593. April 6. *Letter to his Wife.*

Yelv. MSS. 70. 19 ff.

Wadd. *Penry*, 127-135.

See references to No. 3, above.

Begins: 'To my beloved wife Helinor Penry, partaker with me in this life of the sufferings of the Gospel,' etc.

Ends: 'In great haste, with many tears, and yet in great spiritual comfort of my soul, your husband for a season, and your beloved brother for evermore, JOHN PENRIE, an unworthy witness,' etc. A brief P.S. follows.

6. 1593. April. *Letter to his Wife—a fragment.*

Yelv. MSS. 70. Wadd. *Penry*, 135.

MS. begins: 'A pece of another letter of Mr. Penrys to his wife, wherein after he had set down his debts, what was owing by him unto others and by others unto him, he endeth thus—

I trust that my mother and brethren [father not named] will lay up some things for a store unto our poor children against they come of age.'

Ends: 'Oh, it is good to stay the Lords leisure and to suffer with Him. In the mean time He will surely overthrow Babel and build Zion again.'

7. 1593. April 10. *Letter to his Daughters.*

Yelv. MSS. 70. 22 v.-24 v.

Wadd. *Penry*, 136-145 [imperfect].

Begins: 'To my Daughters when they come to years of discretion and understanding.

My dear and tenderly beloved daughters—DELIVERANCE, COMFORT, SAFETY and SURE HOPE.'

Ends: 'From close prison, with many tears and yet in much joy of the Holy Ghost, this 10th of 4th month of April, 1593. Your poor Father, here upon earth, most careful [full of care] to be joined with you for evermore in the KINGDOM OF JESUS CHRIST,

JOHN PENRY.

A poor witness in this life, unto the right of JESUS CHRIST and against the abominations of the Roman Babel.'

In the body of the letter—

'I have left you four Bibles, each of you one; being the sole and only patrimony or dowry that I have for you.

And be an especial comfort in my stead, unto the grey hairs of my poor mother, whom the Lord used as the only means of my stay [support] for me in my beginning up at my studies.'

8. 1593. April 12. *Penry's Certificate to Gittens, Keeper of the Poultry Compter.* (Autograph; half-a-dozen lines.)

Harl. MSS. 6849. 206.

Wadd. *Penry*, 126.

Begins: 'They doe m^r Gittens injury who say that I have wanted eyther meat or drink competent sync(e) I was committed vnto his custody.'

Ends: 'the 4th moneth Aprill 1593. Iohn Penry.'

9. 1593. April 24. *Letter to the Church in London.*

Printed in *The Examⁿ of Henry Barrowe*, etc. See No. 3.

Wadd. *Penry*, 171.

John Penrys Profession of Faith.

Begins: 'To the distressed faithful congregation [church] of Christ in London, and all the members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty—these be delivered—My beloved brethren M[aster] F. Johnson' [references to a number of members under initials].

Ends: 'The Twenty-fourth of the fourth Month April 1593. Your Loving Brother in the Patience and Sufferings of the Gospel,

John Penry.

A Witness of Christ in this life and a Partaker of the Glory that shall be revealed.'

In the body of the letter—

'I humbly beseech you . . . that you would take my poor and desolate Widow and my mess of fatherless and friendless Orphans with you into exile, whithersoever you go.

[May God] be every way comfortable unto the Sister and Wife of the dead; I mean unto my beloved M[istress] Barrowe and M[istress] Greenwood.'

10. 1593. May 1, c. *Answer to XV Slanderous Articles.*

Reprinted from the Bodleian MS. (c. 300. 200 f.) in C. Burrage's *Early Eng. Dissenters*, ii. 66-79.

11. 1593. May 16. *A Legal Defence by Penry.*

Lansd. MS. 75. 26. [Written in secretarial hand.]

Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. 181 f.

Wadd. *Penry*, 181 (inaccurate).

Begins : 'That John Penrie for the Bookes that are published under his name is in no wise under the danger of the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2.'

Ends : 'doth cleere him in expresse wordes.'

Endorsed : '16 May 1593 Mr Penries declaration that he is not in danger of lawe for yo^e bookes published in his name.'

12. 1593. May 22. *Letter from Prison to Lord Burghley.*

A covering letter enclosing his Protestation ; 33 lines of writing.

Printed in Wadd. *Cong. Hist.* i. 91, and *Penry*, 186.

Original in *Lansd. MSS.* 75. 28.

Begins : 'Vouchsafe I beseech yo^r Lordship.'

Ends : 'In great hast from close prison this 22th of the 5th Moneth Maij 1593 yo^r Lordsh^{ps} most humble in the Lord,

John Penry.'

Endorsed : 'To the Right Honorable my good Lord the Lord Burleigh,' etc.

By Burghley's Sec. : '22 Maij 1593 John Penry to my l. He sends yo^r Lp. a writing declaring his innocence.'

Note.—This and the following are written in a formal secretarial hand, but the above is signed (yo^r Lordsh^{ps}, etc.) by Penry. The Protestation (No. 13) is signed by the scribe, 'John Penry,' and countersigned by Penry himself. This means that Penry sent both in rough draft to the scribe outside the prison, and received them back again fairly written, and added to each his signature and then despatched them. They were received by Burghley's secretary the same day, as the endorsement shows.

13. *The Protestation (enclosed).*

Yelv. MSS. 70. 182-186 v.

Lansd. 109. 35 r. and v. 36 r.

Wadd. *Penry*, 188-200 (incomplete).

Burrage, *E.E.D.* ii. 87 (incomplete).

Begins : 'Although it were altogether most reasonable.'

Ends : 'Subscribed wth that hart & that hand w^{ch} never devised or wrote any thinge to the discredit or defamation of my Souereigne Queen Elizabeth (I take it of my death as I hope to have a lyfe after this) by mee

John Penry.' (Autograph) 'John Penry.'

14. 1593. May 28. *Penry's Last Letter. To Lord Burghley.*

Egerton MS. 2603. 49.

Burrage, *E.E.D.* ii. 93-96 (inaccurate).

See account of this letter, and photo. of its close, *ante*, p. 478. Penry was executed the next day.

[Job xxix.]

fynd

- verf. 18. And [omitting the words scored out] shall ^ in the mercyes
y^t same place of openly
29. 20. of god ^ veryfyed of you w^{ch} followeth in the ^ holy story ^ y^t
you shall dy in y^{or} nest & multiply y^{or} dayes as the fād y^t y^{or}
root shalbe spread out by y^e waters & y^e dew bydyng upon y^{or}
bow continue firme
21. branch, y^t y^{or} ho^{or} shalbe renewed toward you & y^{or} ^ in y^{or}
22. hand y^t vnto you men shalbe still give eare & hold their tong at
you still
25. y^{or} counsell y^t ^ shalbe appoynt al their way & continue ^ to
fitt as chiefe, & be truly acco^{unt}ed lyk him y^t comforteth y^e
mourners.
- Thus preparing my self unto y^e tribunall of y^e supream judg, I
frendless due
- humble referr my ^ estate unto y^{or} Lord^{ps} ^ confideration &
y^{or} self wth all y^{ors} vnto his hands whoe tryeth y^e heartes & y^e
reines, y^t hee may give vnto every man according as his workes
shalbec. From streight & close prison, the 28 of y^e 4 moneth
maij, 1593.

Yo^r Lord^p most humble
suppliant

John Penry.

Egerton MSS. 2603. 49.

NOTE.—*The following Index must be used in conjunction with the fully detailed Table of Contents. All that relates to Penry, and a complete analysis of his writings are there given in chronological order.*

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