







ALEXANDER

Dean of St. Paul's,

An. 61.

*PISCATOR.*



NOWELL, D.D.

Ob. 13. Feb. 1601½

95.

*HOMINUM.*

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
ALEXANDER NOWELL,  
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S,

CHIEFLY COMPILED FROM  
REGISTERS, LETTERS, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC  
EVIDENCES.

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BY  
RALPH CHURTON, M. A.

RECTOR OF MIDDLETON CHENEY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,  
ARCHDEACON OF ST. DAVID'S, AND LATE FELLOW OF BRASEN  
NOSE COLLEGE.

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SUCH PERSONS WHO SERVED GOD BY HOLY LIVING, INDUSTRIOUS  
PREACHING, AND RELIGIOUS DYING, OUGHT TO HAVE THEIR NAMES  
PRESERVED IN HONOUR, AND THEIR HOLY DOCTRINES AND LIVES  
PUBLISHED AND IMITATED. JER. TAYLOR.

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J. PARSONS,

VICE-CAN. OXON.

COLL. BALL.  
13<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1800.

TO  
THE RIGHT REVEREND,  
THE  
LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

---

MY DEAR LORD,

IN requesting Your favourable acceptance and patronage of the following pages, there is one circumstance, which encourages me to hope, that they may not prove altogether uninteresting to Your Lordship. The delineation of the life of Dean Nowell, famed for his Three Catechisms, and perhaps also the compiler of our Church Catechism, necessarily includes a sketch of the history of Catechisms; a mode

of instruction, of which Inspiration itself seems to have afforded the first hint or outline; and which, after various learned labours in the service of Literature, has been adopted by Your Lordship in the cause of religion.

But whatever want of interest, or other defects, may be found in this attempt to do justice to the character of the last surviving Father of the English Reformation, I shall ever rejoice in the opportunity, thus given me, publicly to acknowledge Your Lordship's peculiar and unmerited goodness to the author, in collating him, in the kindest manner and totally unsolicited, to the archdeaconry of St. David's; a station endeared to the inquirer into our national antiqui-



ties, as having been held by the celebrated Giraldus Cambrensis, to whose Itinerary, recently edited with unrivaled splendor, posterity is indebted for one of the earliest authentic accounts of the Principality of Wales.

With truest sentiments of respect and gratitude, for past favours and constant kindness, I am ever, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obliged and faithful

humble servant,

R. CHURTON.

*Middleton, near Banbury,  
Feb. 13, 1809.*

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## PREFACE.

THE Author of the *Fairy Queen*, diffident of his own merits, dedicates his labours to Queen Elizabeth, “to live with the eternity of her fame.” Of this never-dying fame one of the brightest parts was the wisdom she shewed in encircling her throne with a constellation of sage and virtuous Counsellors; fortifying the State and replenishing the Church with such men as Burghley, Bacon, Egerton, Smith, and Cooke; Parker and Grindal, Cox, Aylmer, Sandys, and Jewell.

Of these illustrious Statesmen and distinguished Prelates, whose lives have, most of them, been described at large by no incompetent hands, I presume not to speak, further than to pay them a passing tribute of respect, when the transactions, in which they were engaged, require their names to be mentioned. In the Dean of St. Paul’s I have selected one, who though he did not stand in the forefront and head of affairs, was a constant friend and counsellor to most of the ostensible agents

and directors of public business; and from the last years of Henry VIII. till the close of the reign of Elizabeth, was not only an attentive observer of the swiftly changing scenes, but bore an efficient part in the progressive steps of the Reformation, and final establishment of the Church of England. A portion of time abounding with events of equal magnitude and interest can scarcely be found in the whole compass of our annals: near a century has elapsed since the period has been reviewed and exhibited, as combined with the lives of any of the great actors in this sacred drama; and the life of Nowell, one of the best mirrors to discern the true spirit and temper of the age and character of the Reformation, never has been displayed in that full and distinct light, which his various merits justly demand, and which existing materials, especially if they had been collected and arranged before the irreparable loss of the ancient documents and papers of the family <sup>a</sup>, might readily have supplied.

The common epitomes of the life of Nowell, dispersed in various collections of biography, are little more than transcripts or trans-

<sup>a</sup> See p. 383. n. <sup>u</sup>.

lations of the Latin epitaph, inscribed on his monument in St. Paul's; and, what is more to be lamented, where attempts have been made to fill up the outline there given, the additions have rested on no good authority, and often prove, on examination, to be totally erroneous. Better hopes were conceived from what appeared to be a plain reference in the margin of Fuller's Church History: "D. Lupton in his Life." No repository, however, public or private, was found to contain the book; nor was any friend, within the compass of my inquiries, able to inform me whether any such work existed. In a bookfeller's shop at Coventry I had the good fortune, after many years of fruitless search, to obtain the first clue to the discovery of what I sought for. A copy of the Common Places of Wolfgangus Musculus, translated by John Man, Warden of Merton college, with an Admonition to the Reader, by the pen (as is supposed) of archbishop Parker, contained a note in the hand of a former proprietor of the book, pointing to "A neat Effigies of this venerable Divine and Protestant Reformer; in a small duodecimo volume, called "The History of the modern Protestant Divines, printed at London by J. Okes, 1637,

the centre a female figure seated on a throne, on her head a radiated crown, on her breast "Sion," or the Church. On the dexter side, an elderly man (Lupton himself, as Mr. Granger thinks) sitting in an elbow chair, a pen in his hand, and a book before him; beneath, a ship struggling with the waves: on the sinister, a phoenix (typical of the resurrection) and a ship in harbour; with appropriate mottoes.

Lupton, who was the author of several other curious works<sup>e</sup>, which are now scarce, aspires to no higher praise in this performance, than that of having faithfully translated the Lives out of Latin; but does not acquaint his Reader where the originals are to be found. They are not, as Mr. Greene thought, in Melchior Adamus; but are all contained, with others, the English (with the exception only of Wiclif) in the *Heroologia* of Henry Hol-

<sup>e</sup> Mr. Beloe (ut supra) mentions his "Emblems of Rarities, or choice Observations out of Worthy Histories." London, by N. Okes, 1636. and "London and the Countrey carbonadoed and quartered into several Characters." London, by Nichols, 1632. Mr. Granger mentions his *Lives of the Fathers*, 1640, 4°. with heads engraved by G. Glover, vol. i. 8vo. p. 41. And see vol. ii. p. 181. Donald Lupton, M. A. (the same person, I presume) was presented by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the Vicarage of Sudbury, Middlesex, May 27, 1663, which was void by his death before May 1, 1676. Newcourt, i. 744.

land ; and the foreigners in Verheiden, who has also a Life of Wiclif, Cranmer, and Bale. "The effigies," Lupton says, meaning those in Verheiden, "were taken to the life," some by Albert Durer, "and the others by that famous Henry Hondius ; only I desired to have them done in lesser plates, for the benefit of the buyer." The English heads are copied, on the same reduced scale, from the neat and genuine portraits in the *Heroologia*, which were engraved by Crispin Pass and his sister Magdalen f.

The life of Nowell in this choice little volume, which had so long been the object of anxious curiosity, was found, on inspection, to be of such a nature as rather to increase, than satisfy, my wishes. It was not exempt from common mistakes ; and though enlarged from the Latin (as the others also are occasionally compressed or expanded) furnished nothing new, beyond a single, but interesting, anecdote. Veneration therefore for the memory of one, whose munificence I had so long participated as a member of Brasen Nose College, and respect for the Society, to which, in life and in death, he was so great an orna-

f Granger, i. p. 139. 314.

ment and benefactor, prompted me to try whether the materials, which I had already incidentally amassed in a course of years, while I was in pursuit of another object, might be so far enlarged, as to furnish, in a succinct volume, a more just and accurate account, than the friends and admirers of the good Dean of St. Paul's had hitherto been obliged to accept. The result of this experiment is now, with all deference, laid before the Public; and to the narrative itself I would at once gladly send the Reader, but that two or three preliminary circumstances, which it seems an indispensable point of duty in me to mention, will not, I trust, be deemed an unpardonable trespass on his patience.

To acknowledge with gratitude favours received is a task as pleasing as it is necessary; and the frankness of communication and obliging assistance, which I have experienced, on this as on former occasions, from individuals eminent in rank and distinguished by learning, as well as from Societies of highest respectability, will be matter of most gratifying reflection to me as long as I live. I would call this the Humanity of letters, did I not hope, that it has a more sacred and august origin, and flows without noise



from a heart replenished daily with the perennial dew of heaven.

To the Right Reverend the Dean, and to the Right Reverend and Reverend the Refidendiaries of St. Paul's, my best thanks are due for permission to examine, without restriction, the ancient Records and Muniments of the Chapter; and I am much obliged to their intelligent Registrar, Mr. Hodgson, for affording me every facility in the free and frequent use of the favour so liberally granted. From these authentic documents many facts and dates have been ascertained, respecting the immediate object of my inquiries; and I have also been enabled, from these and other sources, to bring forward some circumstances in the history of St. Paul's, connected with my subject, which, if not altogether new, are not however generally known.

A writer, quoted more than once in the following pages, calls London "a light to the rest of England;" and in contemplating the Deans of St. Paul's, when we behold in that station Colet, Nowell, Overall, Donne, Sancroft, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Sherlock, Secker, and Newton (for I will not intrude upon living merit) we see a phalanx of learned men, an assemblage of pious and exemplary

Divines, such as no other church in the kingdom can parallel. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that the bishops of London and archbishops of Canterbury, who, from proximity of situation, may also be regarded as luminaries in the London hemisphere, have generally maintained the same pre-eminence, in respect of other English prelates, whose dioceses lie at a greater distance from the metropolis.

But I must not deviate from Nowell; nor forget one, whose family has, in more than a single instance, been connected with the Nowells. Richard Heber, Esquire, once my pupil, and always my friend, has kindly contributed an engraving of the Dean's uterine brother, John Towneley, Esquire, and favoured me with the sight of many rare books from his large and highly curious collection; and supplied many useful hints from his own well-informed and generous mind.

Biography, which looks back into times at all remote, is necessarily connected with patents and charters; and, in searching for these treasures, my wishes have been always met by John Kipling, Esquire, of Overstone, Northamptonshire, Clerk of the Rolls, with an alacrity and zeal, which the most intimate friendship could not surpass. It is honourable,

when those, whose stores are inexhaustible, and who in consequence are open to frequent solicitation, give without sparing:

The British Museum is an institution, which reflects the highest honour on a great and affluent nation. The Burghley Manuscripts, which have lately been repositied there by the well-judged munificence of Parliament, though culled by the indefatigable Strype and by others, still afford a rich harvest to the antiquary and biographer. The new letters of Nowell in that collection (for some of them have already appeared in the volumes of Strype) are certainly among the most valuable of his remains; and there are a dozen letters or more by his nephew Whitaker, addressed, as most of Nowell's are, to Lord Burghley, the common friend and patron of both, which have never, I believe, been noticed in print.

In the extensive Library of my excellent friend and neighbour, John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamscot, abounding particularly with books of English antiquities, fraught with innumerable references and notes (chiefly by the hand of his incomparable father, the late John Loveday, Esquire, of Caverham) and in the quick mind, exact judgement, and

retentive memory of the worthy Proprietor, I find a ready answer to every question, a satisfactory solution of every difficulty or doubt, which might obstruct or retard my progress.

But the pains, which, for a number of years, have been bestowed in collecting scattered notices of the good Dean of St. Paul's (if indeed the endeavour to investigate departed merit "*labor potius quam voluptas appellanda fit*") would be amply compensated, had they procured me no other remuneration, but the friendship and correspondence of the Historian, now, by the judicious selection of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Vicar, of Whalley, in Lancashire. Descended from a sister of Dean Nowell, and inheriting, from the eldest offspring of that match, the mansion where the Dean's favourite nephew, the celebrated Professor of Cambridge was born, Dr. Whitaker feels a lively curiosity and interest in whatever relates to his two illustrious kinsmen; while, by his own habits of study, and excursive researches into the antiquities of the neighbourhood, he is eminently qualified to elucidate the history of those who have adorned it. He was so obliging as to look over

these papers, when the greater part of them, as yet unaccompanied with notes, was otherwise in some forwardness for the press; and there is scarcely a page, which has not been corrected by his strictures, improved by his judgement, or enriched by his ample communications.

How shall I mention, and yet how can I forbear to mention, One, who, for almost half a century, has been the encourager and patron of every literary undertaking, the exemplar, father, and friend of antiquaries? Till he had passed the age of man, Mr. Gough possessed an understanding, which in vigour and extent of powers was equaled by very few, and in activity and exertion left all competition far behind. Having honoured me with his notice, our acquaintance was gradually matured into friendship; and, during several years of sweet remembrance, scarcely a week passed without a letter from Enfield, and scarcely a letter came without some hint or allusion to Nowell. He perused my papers, and, with the partiality of a friend, wished to see them in print; and he may perhaps see them, but if he does, there is too much reason to fear it may be "*Ipse sui superstes!*" We do not inherit a

frame of adamant; and it is no cause of surprize, but of infinite regret, if frequent and numberless epileptic seizures have clouded one of the brightest gems, that ever was lodged in a mortal casket. It has been my lot, through the mercy of heaven, to witness some of the closing days of some of the best men, that ever added lustre to the English name; but never was I more deeply affected, than in one of my latest visits at Enfield. A life of humble, but ardent, unostentatious piety and charity is not unrewarded. The harbingers of dissolution had already alarmed every one, excepting him only to whom their errand was. It was truly delightful, and yet pierced the inmost soul, to see with what steady composure and cheerfulness he discoursed of an event, which he regarded as near at hand, and longed for its approach; and, when I left him, he said with as much pleasantness, as if he was dismissing me to my apartment for the night, "*Remember my last dying words!*"

These have been the principal sources of intelligence, and these are some of the invaluable Friends, to whom the Reader owes whatever he may find of entertainment or information (if indeed he finds any thing of

either) in the following memoirs. It only remains to bespeak, if I might, his favourable indulgence towards the author, who has arranged the materials, and laid them together. But here what shall I say? No one ever forgives a foolish book; yet whatever faults or imperfections may be found in the volume, which is now, not without solicitude, sent into the world, it may tend, I hope, to propitiate or to disarm the severity of criticism, when it is known, that the whole was written and revised, not in retirement, which the Muses love, not in the shade of Academic bowers, but amidst the constant and arduous, though pleasing duties, of a populous parish and large family.

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P. S. March 10. The ingenuous Reader will pardon me, I trust, if in the foregoing preface, the revision of which has been delayed by necessary avocations and deep sorrow, I neither cancel nor alter what was written, however feebly, with truth and affection, while two of the kindest and best of friends were living. But alas! what is life! Three days after the preceding pages were

sent to the press, I received information, that on Monday evening, February 20, it pleased God to release Mr. Gough from his great sufferings; and on the morning of Saturday, March 4, Dr. Loveday, in full vigour at the age of 66, sunk under a painless malady of only eight days! Each fell asleep without a pang or a struggle. Each left instructions to be interred in the cemetery of the church, which they constantly frequented; Dr. Loveday at Cropredy, near Banbury, Oxon; Mr. Gough at Wormley, Herts, and the following epitaph, written by himself five or six years ago, and containing matter that might fill a volume, to be inscribed in the church.



Hunc prope parietem  
Reliquias suas condi voluit

RICARDUS GOUGH,

antiqua stirpe ortus ;

ex heroibus qui in bellis Gallicis et  
civilibus claruere

gloriam,

ex mercatoribus Stapulæ Calefiæ Indiæque orien-  
talis divitias,

deduxit :

Patriæ amorem, erga Reges fidem,  
Legum Antiquitatumque patriæ peritiam,  
ex atavis consanguineisque derivatam,  
constanter coluit ;

Hæc investigandi cupiditatis innatæ  
testimonia habeto

*Topographiam Britannicam,*  
*Gulielmi Camdeni Britanniam renovatam,*  
*Monumenta Sepulchralia Magnæ Britanniae.*

Abi, Lector, nec vanitatis infimules.

Obiit xx die mensis Februarii, A. D. MDCCCIX.

Ætat. LXXIV.



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THE  
L I F E  
OF  
ALEXANDER NOWELL.

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SECTION I.

THE name and family of Nowell, of one of whom, the venerable Dean of St. Paul's, I purpose to give a faithful account, are thought to have been of Norman origin. The word, Nowell or Noel, a corruption of Natalis, indicates the festival of our Lord's Nativity, and likewise a cry of joy appropriate to the season; and, by degrees, came to signify a convivial cry in general; in which sense it appears to have been in use as late as the days of Chaucer<sup>a</sup>. Of the occasion, on which the name was assumed, or imposed perhaps on some one eminent for his festive talents, there is no tradition; but whe-

<sup>a</sup> " And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine.  
Beforn him stant braune of the tusked swine,  
And *nowel* crieth every lusty man." *Canterb. Tales*, 11567.  
where see Mr. Tyrwhitt's note.

ther the Christmas cry, or the Christmas cup, like the waffail bowl (*et calices pascit majores*) were the distinct meaning, there is no doubt that the covered cups in the family arms allude to the circumstance; and, as heraldry delights in such devices or parodies, three similar cups, in the escutcheon of Butler<sup>b</sup>, unquestionably allude to the name and office of a butler, or cupbearer.

The Nowells probably were followers of the Lacies out of Normandy; and from that illustrious family, afterwards earls of Lincoln, the subject of these memoirs was, through his grandmother Townley, lineally descended; but the first who appears in the records of their Lancashire territories was Robert Noell, who is the last subscribing witness but one, to the memorable grant by Roger de Lacy of the Villa de Tunleia, to Geoffry son of Robert, dean of Whalley. This was in the year 1200. About forty years after this period two brothers, Adam and William, obtained their first settlement in Blackburnshire<sup>c</sup>; the former by marrying the heiress of Stephen de Magna Merlay, the latter by a grant of Little Merlay

<sup>b</sup> Dugd. Warw. by Thomas, p. 1002. Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, by Gutch, p. 328. 346. App. 242.

<sup>c</sup> So Camden and others call the hundred of Blackburn.

from John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln<sup>d</sup>. The Dean of St. Paul's was a descendant of the former branch, when they had added to their patrimony the neighbouring manor of Read, and fixed their residence there, in the parish of Whalley and county of Lancaster.

His father, John Nowell, esquire, was twice married. By his first wife, Dowfabel, daughter of Robert Hesketh, esquire, of Rufford in Lancashire, he had an only son, Roger Nowell; whose issue male, in a direct line, enjoyed the family estates for more than two centuries. By his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Kay of Rachdale, he had four sons, Alexander, Laurence, Robert, and Nicholas, and several daughters. In the reign of Henry VII. he obtained leave of the crown to impark his estate at Read<sup>e</sup>; and, in later life, gave a rent-charge in trust, to endow a chantry in the parish church of Whalley, and in the neighbouring church of Burnley<sup>f</sup>; a design, which, owing perhaps to the mutability of the times, seems not to have been carried into effect; but he who projected the pious deed, we may presume, did not neglect to impress the in-

<sup>d</sup> Hist. of Whalley by T. D. Whitaker, LL. D. 1800. p. 143.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 248.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. 249.

fant minds of his children with congenial principles, to which Providence afterwards gave a better direction.

His son Alexander, born in 1507 or 1508, was so named, as appears by the pedigree<sup>g</sup>, after several of his kindred of earlier days; but the frequency of the name, among the Nowells in later times, is ascribed to just affection for the memory of the meritorious Dean of St. Paul's, rather than to respect for their more remote ancestors. Read hall, the place of his birth, anciently Rivehead or Riverhead, was pleasantly situated on the Calder, a tributary branch of the Ribble; and is said to have been "an extremely convenient and handsome old house<sup>h</sup>." The annexed view of the south front shews the hospitable mansion, as it was standing fifty years ago; in which the west end, with the double gable, is thought to have been as old as the early part of the reign of queen Elizabeth; but the east end, of which the ground floor was the chapel, appears to have been of later construction.

The author of the life of Whitaker, the

<sup>g</sup> Appendix, No. i.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Whalley, p. 247. And see Camd. Epp. London, 1691. p. 39.



*To* ALEXANDER NOWELL, ESQ.<sup>RE</sup> of Underley Hall, Westmoreland;  
this Seat of READ, the seat of his Ancestors for more than three centuries,  
is with sincere respect presented by his much obliged humble Servant, R. Churton.



celebrated Profeffor of Cambridge, regards the mountainous diftrict of his birth, which was in the fame parifh of Whalley, where Nowell was born, as propitious to genius (agreeably to a remark of Cicero) on account of the rare and fubtle element, which the inhabitants of fuch elevated fituations refpire<sup>i</sup>: and certainly, whatever were the caufe, it was, at this period, “ native to famous wits ;” for, befides the eminent author now mentioned, who was nephew to Nowell, his two brothers, Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, and Robert, Attorney of the Court of Wards,

<sup>i</sup> Life by Abdias Afsheton, published with Whitaker’s Prælections at Cambridge, 1599. Ames by Herbert, p. 1427. in Whitaker’s Works, 1610. tom. i. 698. and by Melchior Adam in his Decades duæ, 1653. p. 163. The paffage alluded to in Cicero is De Nat. Deor. ii. xv. Afsheton was fellow of St. John’s college, of which Whitaker was Mafter, afterwards Rector of Middleton, in Lancashire, where upon his death (which happened June 29, 1618) he was fucceeded by his fon of both his names, rector of Sladeburn, Com. York. Dr. Whitaker, Nov. 18, 1807, from an original journal of the Afsheton family. And fee Hift. Craven, p. 26. He alfo informs me (Feb. 9, 1808.) that the faid Abdias Afsheton, while refident in St. John’s, was engaged, together with Gataker (firft of St. John’s, then fellow of Sidney) and Bedell of Emmanuel (afterwards the moft learned bifhop of Kilmore) in the pious and laudable work of preaching every Sunday in the adjacent country churches, where the people were in want of able minifters. See Biogr. Brit. We fhall have occafion again to refer to the Life of Whitaker.

were highly distinguished by their talents and learning, as the following pages will occasionally shew.

He was educated at Middleton<sup>k</sup>, about six miles from Manchester; but who was his preceptor there, we have not learnt. That his elementary progress was rapid, we may reasonably presume, as he was deemed ripe for the university, where however early entrances were then more frequent, at the age of thirteen; and respecting this number a singular coincidence is mentioned, whether it were the result of choice, or of accident. He became a member of Brasen Nose college at the age of thirteen; he resided there thirteen years; and he afterwards bestowed on the society thirteen scholarships.

He is said to have been chamber-fellow with Fox, the martyrologist<sup>l</sup>; and had perhaps the same tutor, Mr. John Hawarden or Harding, who was afterwards Principal of the college, to whom Fox dedicated a learned work upon the Eucharist<sup>m</sup>. We are assured, that he was a public reader of logic in the

<sup>k</sup> So he himself informs us in a letter, which will hereafter be quoted.

<sup>l</sup> Tanner and Biogr. Brit. art. Fox.

<sup>m</sup> De Sacram. Eucharist. Lond. 1563.



university, and taught the famous book of Rodolphus Agricola, which was shortly afterwards enjoined at Cambridge by Henry VIII.<sup>n</sup> when he was in the twentieth year of his age<sup>o</sup>; which, if the other accounts of his academical life are accurate, is not a little remarkable; for, by those accounts, he was still an undergraduate. There is a mystery in the affair, which the scanty or imperfect registers of the time do not enable us to unravel. It was not uncommon, in the early days of the college, for a bachelor of arts to postpone his second degree, in hopes of obtaining a fellowship, to which a master of arts was then deemed ineligible; of which we have an instance in the famous Robert Bolton, born at Brook-house near Blackburn in 1572, who studied ten years in Lincoln and in Brasen Nose, and was thirty years of age, before he was chosen fellow of the latter society, and was then presently admitted to the degree of Master of arts<sup>p</sup>. But Nowell, whatever might

<sup>n</sup> Fuller's Hist. Camb. p. 112. From the use of "Rodolph's Logic" (as the book was called) the Topic Lecture in Brasen Nose obtained the name of the Rodolph Lecture, which was not quite forgotten in the last century. Agricola is mentioned in Humphr. Vit. Juel. p. 267.

<sup>o</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 206.

<sup>p</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 560. F. 163. and his Life, 1633. by Edward

be the reason, deferred his first degree, till he was of ten or twelve years standing; and then, having been admitted Bachelor of arts, May 29, 1536<sup>q</sup>, and elected fellow of the college shortly afterwards, proceeded to the degree of Master of arts, with the delay of a single year only, June 10, 1540<sup>r</sup>.

To the service of God in his church he had directed his intent, ever since he was sixteen years old<sup>s</sup>; but it is not known when or by whom he was admitted into holy orders. He was a party by the style of Alexander Nowell, Gentleman, in the marriage settlement of his sister Elizabeth Nowell with Thomas Whitaker, son and heir apparent of Richard Whita-

Bagshaw, who was his pupil in Brasen Nose, afterwards a Bencher of the Middle Temple, and eminent in the profession of the law. Ath. Oxon. ii. 315. and Bridges' Northampt. ii. 87. in the account of Broughton, of which Bolton was Rector. An original portrait of him on board (once belonging to the family) a striking resemblance of the engraving in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, is now (September, 1808.) the property of Dr. Whitaker. His Life is also in Morton's *Monument of the Fathers and Reformers*, 1706. 8vo. p. 66. with a head, better than many in the collection, but neither excellent, nor very like Fuller's plate, which is also prefixed to some of Bolton's Works. Fuller calls Bagshaw his "good friend." Ch. Hist. B. xi.

<sup>q</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. F. 57.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. 63.

<sup>s</sup> Strype's *Annals*, i. p. 206.

ker of Holme, in 1529-30<sup>t</sup>; which seems to disprove the assertion in his epitaph, that he died a “nonagenarian” in 1601-2. For had he been no more than ninety at that time, he would not have been of age at the time of his sister’s marriage; nor consequently, we may presume, have been enfeoffed with her jointure. The inscription therefore on his picture in Brasen Nose college more probably states the truth, that he died in the ninety fifth year of his age; which makes him twenty one and upwards before his sister married. But perhaps the unknown compiler of the epitaph meant to reckon only by decads, and would style him a nonagenarian in any year between ninety and a hundred.

When he quitted the University, we find him in a conspicuous situation in the metropolis, as Master of Westminster School; where that excellent topographer, William Harrison, was, as he modestly says of himself, “sometime an unprofitable grammarian under him<sup>u</sup>.”

<sup>t</sup> From the original indenture, dated 3d Feb. 21 H. VIII. in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL. D. of Holme, the learned Historian of Whalley and Craven, who is descended from this match.

<sup>u</sup> Holinshed, vol. i. p. 151. 2d ed. 1587. Ath. Oxon. i. 234.

This renowned seminary claims Henry VIII. as its founder; and Nowell was the second master on the new foundation, appointed in 1543, with the approbation, no doubt, if not by the particular choice of the king, whose merit as a patron and judge of literature is undisputed. He succeeded John Adams, of whom the name only is known, and was followed in 1555 by Nicholas Udall<sup>x</sup>, famous, like Busby in later days, for erudition and flogging. While he filled this important post, he is said to have been diligent in teaching his pupils pure language and true religion; using for the former purpose Terence<sup>y</sup>, and for the latter St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, in the original Greek. At the funeral of that lamented and peerless prince, Edward VI. the prebendaries and other members of Westminster abbey, where he was interred, as well as the great officers of state and others,

<sup>x</sup> See list of Westm. Scholars. He had before been Master of Eton. See Tanner and Ath. Oxon. i. 88. Ascham speaks of him as the best teacher and "the greatest beater" of his time. Works by Bennet, p. 192. where the well known lines of Tuffer, who had been educated under him at Eton, are quoted.

<sup>y</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 206. To this probably Pound, one of the disputants on Champion's side, alluded, when he said, "We know you to be a good *Terence* man." True Report of the Conference, Signat. F iiiii. a. penes me.

had an affignment of cloth for mourning ; and, whether it were to gratify a national fondness for dress, or whatever might be the reason, it is memorable, that Belmayne, the French teacher, had more than double the quantity, which was allotted to the more honourable preceptor in the classics <sup>z</sup>.

He had now been a preacher for some years, having been licensed thereto by the King, about the year 1550 ; but where he exercised his talent, we are not particularly informed ; except that he preached, during this reign, “ in some of the notablest places and auditories in the realm.” For so he himself says, in answer to a scoffing slander of Dorman ; who, notwithstanding he “ did right well know” this fact, was not ashamed to say of him, fifteen years afterwards, that “ of a mean schoolmaster he was suddenly become a valiant preacher <sup>a</sup>.”

And here, having mentioned him as a schoolmaster in London, at the head of the chief feminary in the kingdom, we must turn,

<sup>z</sup> “ The Frenche Skoolemaster” had 9 yards, the other only 4. See the account of the Funeral by Sir Edw. Waldegrave, Archæol. xii. 389.

<sup>a</sup> Confut. of Dorman, p. 22. Strype’s Parker, p. 202. Annals i. 206. Memor. iii. 477. The patent of Edw. VI. licensing him to preach has not been found.

for a moment, to his brother Laurence Nowell, following at the same time the same honourable and useful employment in the country. He was ordained deacon on the ninth of November, 1550, by that excellent and learned prelate, bishop Ridley ; and is described in the episcopal register <sup>b</sup>, as residing at Sutton Colfield, in the county of Warwick ; where he was Master of the Grammar School, founded in 1543, by John Harman or Veysey, bishop of Exeter, who was born in that town, and dying there at the extreme age of one hundred and three, was buried under a fair monument, with his effigies mitred and vested for the altar, in the church of Sutton, to which, as well as to the town, he was a great benefactor <sup>c</sup>. The school was conferred on Laurence Nowell, October 1, 1546, on the death or cession of John Savage, the first master ; but he was not suffered to continue long in quiet possession of it ; for articles of complaint were exhibited against him by the corporation, as patrons of the school, in the court of chancery, upon a pretence of neglect of duty ; though the real ground of offence appears to have been his

<sup>b</sup> Extr. Episc. Reg. Ridley, in the Library of Ric. Gough, Esq.

<sup>c</sup> See Dugd. Warw. by Thomas, p. 913. &c. The bishop's effigies and other monuments of the family are engraved, p. 917.

zeal for the reformation ; and therefore, on appeal to the King in council, he justified his character and conduct so well, that letters were issued to the Warden and Fellows of the King's town of Sutton, not to remove him from his place of schoolmaster, nor to give him any further molestation, or disturbance <sup>d</sup>.

Martin Bucer, a man of mild counsel and deep learning, who was invited into England by archbishop Cranmer, and for a while had graced both our universities, died at Cambridge, February 28, 1551. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, preached at his funeral <sup>e</sup>, which was attended by the whole university ; and the next day, verses in honour of the deceased, by Redmayne, Master of Trinity college, by Cheke, Haddon, and others, were affixed on the walls of the university church. Nowell was one of those, who on this occasion paid a tribute of respect to the memory

<sup>d</sup> Kennet's L. of Somner, p. 62. Letter to the Warden &c. Feb. 28, 4th Edw. VI. (1549-50.) Reg. of Council Edw. VI. and see and correct Dugd. Warw. p. 670. (and ed. Thomas, ut supra) where it is said, he resigned 1 Edw. VI.

<sup>e</sup> The sermon was published ; Ames by Herbert, p. 727. It was also translated into Latin, and published at Strasburgh, 1561. Strype's Grindal, p. 201. Bucer was preceptor at Cambridge to Henry Duke of Suffolk and his brother, who presented to him "vaccam et vitulum." Humphr. Vita Juelli, 1573. p. 26.

of this great reformer, in two copies of Latin verses ; but as he was not resident in Cambridge, the lines did not perhaps publicly appear, till they were inserted, with many others, in a volume of Bucer's works, intituled *Scripta Anglicana*, published at Basil in 1577. In the first of these copies he says, " Bucer was known to Germany and to Britain by the sanctity of his life and eloquence of his tongue, and known to the world by his learned writings ; but when he had been known to Cambridge scarcely an entire year, he was there interred, at once the honour and the regret of the place." In the other he consoles himself with the idea, that " Bucer is not extinct, since his fame lives, and his writings live, and he himself lives to the world and to God."

Nowell appears to greater advantage, as a classical scholar, in prose, than in verse ; nor indeed did the brightest wits and most admired Latinists of Edward's days, Haddon, Ascham, and Cheke, attain to that ease and elegance of versification, which several others, in many respects inferior to them, afterwards acquired ; but, as these verses of Nowell, if they were composed, as is probable, at the time of Bucer's death, are, though not a very



early, yet the first production of his pen, which we have met with, it seemed not improper to give the substance of them here, and the lines themselves in the appendix <sup>f</sup>.

John Redmayne or Redman, one of the writers in praise of Bucer, who was nominated Master of Trinity college in the charter of foundation, 1546, was one of the first prebendaries of Westminster, on the dissolution of the monastery. He was related to Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and, by the encouragement of that learned prelate, was from his infancy devoted to literature; which he cultivated first in Corpus Christi college, Oxford, under the first President, John Claymond, a man of singular erudition and generosity. From Oxford Redman went for a time to study in Paris <sup>g</sup>, and then fixed himself in St. John's college, Cambridge; coming thither so adorned with the knowledge of Cicero and the purest authors of antiquity, that Cheke, then a young man there, was fired with emulation; and in a short time, through their united pains and example, that seminary acquired the fame of being more than a match for a whole

<sup>f</sup> No. ii.

<sup>g</sup> Strype's L. of Cheke, p. 197.

foreign university <sup>h</sup>. Redman applied his matured judgement and learning, with equal piety and patience, for the space of twenty years, to the study of the Scriptures and the early writers of the church, intending to compose a work on the subject of transubstantiation. The result of his inquiries was such as might be expected, that there was no foundation whatsoever for that absurd dogma, either in Scripture, or in the primitive fathers. He therefore relinquished this and other errors of the Romish creed, and “with constant judgement and unfeigned conscience descended into that manner of belief,” which he held, when he assisted in compiling the first Liturgy of Edward VI. which was published in 1549.

We should readily conclude, if we had not been expressly assured, that a person of such “excellent learning and purity of life” would be “highly favoured” and esteemed by Nowell, himself adorned with learning, and “earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God.” He therefore waited upon Redman in his last illness, desirous to know what was his opinion and belief concerning the “troublesome contro-

<sup>h</sup> Ascham's Schoolmaster, f. 20. b. ed. 1570. Works by Bennet, p. 241.

verfies of thofe days ;” profefling himfelf willing to “ receive and approve his words as oracles fent from heaven.” The dying confeffor, poffeffing a “ quiet mind and perfect remembrance,” took a day or two to confider of the matters propounded to him by Nowell ; and then fent for him, declaring himfelf ready to converfe with him on thofe points, and to anfwer truly as he thought, to whatever queftion fhould be asked him, as in the prefence of God.

The particular articles, fourteen in number, twelve of them attefted by Nowell and others, need not be repeated. The fum of them was, that purgatory, the facrifice of the mafs, and tranfubftantiation were groundlefs and ungodly ; that we are juftified, not by our works, but by lively faith, which refts in our only Saviour Jefus Chrift ; that good works “ are not deftitute of their rewards ; yet nevertheless they do not merit the kingdom of heaven,” which is “ the gift of God<sup>i</sup>.”

Dr. Wilkes, Mafter of Chrift’s college, Cam-

<sup>i</sup> Fox’s Martyrology, ed. 1583. vol. ii. p. 1360—1364. a letter by Redman to Latimer, ib. p. 1736. And fee the Life of Redman in Lives of the Compilers of the Liturgy, by Downes, prefixed to Sparrow’s Rationale, p. cXLIV. Ath. Oxon. i. 80. Davies’ Athene Brit. p. 80.

bridge, and Dr. Young of Trinity college in that university, were present at this conference; of which an account was given by Young, in a Latin epistle, to their common friend Cheke. Redman survived this affecting and instructive interview, which was in the beginning of November, 1551, not many days; for on the 27th of that month a presentation was granted by the crown to Alexander Nowell, Master of the King's school in Westminster, conferring on him the canonry in that church, vacant by the death of John Redmayne<sup>k</sup>; and he was accordingly installed on the fifth of December following<sup>l</sup>.

In the first parliament of queen Mary, which met at Westminster on Thursday, October 5, 1553, Nowell was returned one of the Burgesses for Loo in Cornwall; but a committee being appointed, including Secretary Bourne and Story, men famous afterwards in the persecutions of this reign, to inquire into the validity of the return, they reported to the House, that "Alexander Nowell being a prebendary of Westminster, and thereby having a voice in the Convocation house, cannot be

<sup>k</sup> Rex &c. Alex. Nowell preceptoris Scholæ nostræ Westm. T. R. ap. Westm. 27 Nov. 5 Ed. VI. p. 3. Rolls Chapel.

<sup>l</sup> Le Neve, p. 366.

a member of this house ;” and a new writ was directed to be issued accordingly <sup>m</sup>.

In this report of the House there seems to have been something inaccurate at least, if not directly contrary to fact. As prebendary of Westminster Nowell had no “voice in the Convocation ;” for none below the dignity of Deans and Archdeacons were bound to personal appearance there ; the rest of the clergy appearing only by their proxies, every chapter choosing one, and the clergy of each diocese two, to represent them <sup>n</sup>. These however were not times for those who were desirous of retaining peace and a good conscience, to insist rigidly on their right, against the prevailing party ; and Nowell withdrew quietly from the honour, of which it is not likely that he was ever very ambitious.

In this retreat from parliament there was perhaps no immediate personal danger. His escape out of England was not effected without imminent hazard ; as we have the ac-

<sup>m</sup> Journals, vol. i. p. 27. where Newell is a mistake for Nowell, as appears by Willis’s Notitia, vol. ii. p. 92. ed. 1716.

<sup>n</sup> See a Writ de Parl. tenend. Claus. 24 Edw. I. m. 7. dorf. (1296) in Prynne’s Reg. of Parl. vol. i. Part i. p. 6. notis MSS. in the Library of William Bray, Esq. of Great Russell Street. See also Gent. Mag. 1802. p. 641.

count, though less circumstantial than might be wished, from the quaint pen of Thomas Fuller, in his *Worthies of Lancashire*. It happened that he was fishing upon the Thames, an exercise wherein he much delighted; and while he was intent upon catching fish, Bonner, understanding who he was, was intent upon catching him; in which he had succeeded, and had sent him to the shambles, had not Francis Bowyer, at that time a merchant, afterwards Sheriff of London, safely conveyed him beyond the seas.

## SECTION II.

**T**HESSE were days, to which we look back with mingled emotions of grief and admiration. We lament that the most learned and best men in the kingdom were driven into exile, or seized and imprisoned, by the persecuting spirit of popery; but we venerate the patient magnanimity of the oppressed, and confide in the truth, which, like the faith of the first ages, was cemented with the blood of martyrs, and conquered by suffering.

The exiles, in number about eight hundred, were dispersed in various parts of Germany and Switzerland; but Straßburgh and Frankford were the chief places of their resort. From Straßburgh in 1554, Thomas Becon, who had been chaplain to the protector Somerset, author of the Pomander of prayer<sup>p</sup>, a

<sup>p</sup> There is a beautiful copy of this very rare book in the Library of the late Sir Roger Newdigate, Baronet, at Arbury, by Day, 1578. with a wood cut of the author, æt. 41. a border of flowers and heads of Apostles &c. on each page; with this motto (Ecclus. xxiv. 15.) "Pleasantly do I smell, as it were Cinamone, and sweete Balme." Black letter; by the signatures it seems to be 8vo. but smaller than 12mo. There had been earlier editions of this work; for Wharton's Dream in this same year 1578 (a

book of great repute in its time, and of other learned works, addressed an Epistle to the Faithful in England<sup>9</sup>, exhorting them to patient perseverance in the truth. There was at Straßburgh a college of English, who had a common table, and devoted themselves to the pursuit of literature, with great harmony and

book hereafter to be noticed) in the address to the Reader, complaining of the use of improper books, says, "They will have their Palace of Pleasure, the wanton Epistles of Ovid,—the bowget of Merry Demaundes;—fewe or none will have maister Beacon's sweete Pomander to smell unto." The name and use of a Pomander, or perfumed ball (sometimès perhaps inclosed in a silver case, as we find a pomander among plate, Coates's Reading, p. 222.) as a preservative against infections, seem to have been familiar as late as the reign of James I. For in 1610, the plague being at Oxford, George Radcliffe (afterwards Sir George) cousin to Samuel Radcliffe (Principal of Brasen Nose college, 1614) descended from Maud Nowell, Dean Nowell's aunt, wrote from Oxford, that his tutor, who was also his cousin, Charles Greenwood, the great benefactor to University college, "had sent him out of town, if he had desired it, and made him a *Pomander*." Dr. Whitaker, July 28, 1807, from the original letter, with many others by the same hand, in the possession of Richard Henry Beaumont, esquire, of Whitley Beaumont, Yorkshire, sometime of Brasen Nose college, a gentleman whose various learning and eminent skill in the antiquities of his country are the least part of his merit.

<sup>9</sup> Straßburgh, August, 1554. Ames, p. 1577. Richard Heber, Esq. The author had been in prison from Aug. 16, 1553, till the 22d of March following, and translated the 103d psalm, printed at the end of the volume, as a thanksgiving for his deliverance. His life, with a head, and a list of his works in three volumes, is in Lupton's Modern Protestant Divines, 1637, p. 330.



great ardour. Jewell was here, and Nowell was here, and Poinet bishop of Rochester (afterwards of Winchester) and Grindal and Sandys, afterwards successively archbishops of York; nor did the learned laymen, Sir John Cheke, Sir Richard Morison, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Thomas Wroth, and others, disdain to hear Peter Martyr expounding Aristotle's ethics and the book of Judges <sup>r</sup>. In the following year (May 6, 1555.) Grindal, then at Frankford, wrote a letter to bishop Ridley, to whom he had been chaplain, informing him there were well nigh an hundred students and ministers on that side the sea, and giving an account of some of them <sup>s</sup>. The letter was a cordial to the pious prelate in his imprisonment; and he says, in his answer, "I ensure you it warmed my hart, to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory and Coxe, and others. And, Syr, seeing you saye that there be in those parties with you of students and ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wishe that Gods glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call

<sup>r</sup> Humphr. Vit. Juel. 1573. p. 86—88.

<sup>s</sup> Letters of Martyrs, by Day, 1564. p. 50. Strype's Mem. iii. 245.

us home (as we loke daily for none other, but when it shall please God to saye, Come) ye, blessed be God, are enoughe through his aid, to light and fet up again the lanterne of his word in England<sup>t</sup>.”

When the expected summons was given, he had two requests only to make to the Queen; that the tenants of his see might be permitted to enjoy the benefit of their leases, or that the fines might be paid back out of his plate and effects<sup>u</sup>; and that a poor sifter, who had come to him out of the north, with three fatherless children, for her relief, now put out of what he had provided for her, might be mercifully considered.

“Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late mine own colledge!—In thy orcharde (the walls, buttes and trees, if they could speak, would beare me witnesse). I learned without booke almost all Pauls Epistles, yea and I weene all the canonical Epistles, save only the Apocalipse. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweete smell thereof, I truste (says the dying

<sup>t</sup> Letters, ut supra, p. 52.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 38. There was afterwards a notable law suit about these leases, and a bill was brought into parliament to make them void, but it did not pass. Strype's Memor. iii. 58.

martyr) I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profite thereof I thinke I have felte in all my life \* !”

Such was this great reformer of our church in the days of Edward the sixth. But we are chiefly concerned with one of a congenial spirit and equal learning, who lived to bear a part in the reformation achieved in the reign of Elizabeth.

Scarcely any earthly good is unalloyed with evil. The retirement and suffering and study, which prepared the exiles to adorn and defend the church of England on their return in better days, did not in the mean time produce entire concord and unanimity among themselves. Whittingham and Sutton, and a few more, the first that fixed themselves at Frankford, were no sooner come thither, than they shewed themselves willing to lay aside the very face and appearance of an English church. On the night of their arrival, Valeran Pullan, minister of the French exiles, waited upon them at their lodging, and informed them, that he had obtained a church there in the name of all such as should come out of England for the gospel, wishing them

\* Letters, ut supra, p. 92.

† June 27, 1554. Troubles at Frankford, 1642. p. 1, &c.

to join his congregation. But as this, because few of them understood the language (for no other objection was made) would be of small advantage, they presented a request to the magistrates of the town, that they might be permitted to have the use of some place, where they might have the word and sacraments ministered in their own native tongue. It was ordered therefore<sup>z</sup>, in compliance with their wishes, that the same church, which had hitherto been allowed to the French, should now serve them and the English alternately; but with this injunction, that they should not dissent from the French in doctrine or ceremonies; willing them further, before they entered their church, to subscribe the same confession of faith; which they all accordingly did.

Their next care was to frame a liturgy, or order of service; but this they dispatched within a fortnight; for they did little else but cancel largely. The interlocutories between the minister and people, the litany, and the surplice, and many other things were cast aside. The general confession was altered for "one of more effect," and suited to their

<sup>z</sup> July 14. *ib.* p. 2.

present state. Instead of the psalms and lessons for the day <sup>a</sup>, with the intervening hymns, they had “ a psalm in metre in a plain tune ;” and this done, the preacher went at once into the pulpit, and, after praying for assistance of God’s Spirit, proceeded to the sermon. Next followed “ a general prayer for all estates, and for our country of England,” with the Lord’s Prayer ; then the rehearsal of the articles of faith, and another psalm ; and then lastly they were dismissed with the peace of God. This was the meagre and disorderly form, which they endeavoured to impose on all the English abroad, and afterwards to obtrude on the whole church of England.

They wrote a circular letter <sup>b</sup> to the exiles at Straßburgh, at Zurick, at Embden and other places, inviting them to Frankford, where “ God’s providence had procured them a

<sup>a</sup> Ib. p. 3. Heylin, Reform. p. 228. says they had the psalms and lessons ; but I can discover no trace of them at this time. In their new Discipline, afterwards adopted, there were to be assistants “ to read and expound the chapters.” p. 100. There were some at Basil, who, like these at Frankford, “ triumphed in erecting their church of the *Purity* ;” of whom Bale says, “ They mock the rehearsal of God’s commandments, and of the epistles and gospels in our communion, and say they are misplaced.” Strype’s Mem. iii. App. p. 107.

<sup>b</sup> Troubles, p. 4—9.

church, free from all *dregs of superstitious ceremonies.*" The answers, from Embden, where Scory bishop of Chichester presided, from Straßburgh, where Grindal, Sandys, and Haddon had the constituting of the church, from Horne, Chambers, Mullins, Parkhurst, and others at Zurick, were temperate, but firm; that they would adhere to "the order last taken in the church of England," and were "fully determined to admit and use no other <sup>c</sup>."

These answers, as might be supposed, gave little satisfaction; nor was the matter mended, when Knox, who by his "First Blast" against all government, and other seditious tracts, had made Scotland, France, and England too hot for him, came from Geneva to Frankford, in consequence of a letter from the congregation there, inviting him to be their minister <sup>d</sup>. Other letters passed, and the breach grew wider; which Grindal and Chambers, coming

<sup>c</sup> From Zurick, 23 Oct. 1554. *ib.* 10—12. The answers from Embden and Straßburgh (p. 9. 12.) are not given; no doubt because they agreed with this from Zurick, and, as the innovators confessed, were "not in such sort as they looked for." p. 14.

<sup>d</sup> P. 14. The magistrates afterwards obliged him to leave Frankford, on account of treasonable passages in his "Admonition to Christians," p. 37. The letter inviting him to Frankford was dated Sept. 24, 1554. Strype's Mem. iii. 149.

from Straſburgh, endeavoured to heal by propoſing to retain the ſubſtance of the Engliſh liturgy, omitting only ſuch ceremonies and things as the country could not bear<sup>e</sup>. Tranquillity was thus reſtored for a time, but it did not laſt; for Knox and Whittingham were as averſe to the ſubſtance as to the circumſtantials of the Engliſh book; and they now wrote to Calvin<sup>f</sup>, not becauſe they were inclined to accede to what many deſired<sup>g</sup>, the order of Geneva, but willing enough to diſgrace the Engliſh ritual by his authority. Calvin, in his anſwer, lamented that there ſhould exiſt among them ſtrife and diſputes, when they ought to be united in their diſperſion and common ſuffering; but as to the main buſineſs, though he did not go the lengths of thoſe that wrote to him in cenſuring the Engliſh liturgy, yet he ſufficiently expreſſed his diſapprobation of it; ſaying that he ſaw in it *multas tolerabiles ineptias*, remains of popiſh dregs, and a want of ſuch purity as might be deſired<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> P. 18. Grindal in his letter of May 6, 1555 (quoted above, p. 22.) thanks God that the church was then “well quieted by the prudency of Maſter Cox and others, which met here for that purpoſe.”

<sup>f</sup> P. 23—27.

<sup>g</sup> P. 21. 30.

<sup>h</sup> From Geneva, 22 Jan. 1555. ib. 28—30.

This letter from Geneva inflamed the opposition, and disputes increased. At length John Hales, a man of learning and moderation, much respected in the court of Edward VI. addressed a letter to "certain persons that seemed desirous of the peace of the church," wishing them to meet, and consult how they might best allay this strife<sup>i</sup>. Nowell, now at Frankford, was one of these sons of peace, and, as the account says, "the mouth for the rest<sup>k</sup>." Certain decrees or resolutions, reasonable and conciliatory, were presented to the pastor and elders, accompanied with a modest protestation, intreating their consent; but they chose to resign, rather than submit; and afterwards, when the magistrates of the town made an order, that they should be restored, the congregation refused them<sup>l</sup>.

They had successively two forms of Discipline among them, the Old and the New<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> 26 Jan. 1557. p. 55, 56. Hales probably was of Brasen Nose. Ath. Oxon. i. 176.

<sup>k</sup> P. 62. Nowell had probably not been long at Frankford; for Fox, in a letter from thence to Martyr (at Straßburgh, as it seems) six or eight months at least after the commencement of the troubles, sends salutations to him among others: "D. Nowellum—salutari cupio." Strype's Memor. iii. App. p. 106.

<sup>l</sup> P. 75.

<sup>m</sup> The old Discipline, p. 94—97. The new, p. 97—114.



In both there was an exprefs rule, that all perfons, women as well as men, before they were admitted members of the church, fhould make a declaration or confeffion of faith ; which the new difcipline further required them to fubfcribe, if they could write <sup>n</sup>. In this new difcipline, affuming truth of doctrine and the right miniftration of the Sacraments and Common Prayer, as principal figns and notes of a vifible church, and holding for true doctrine, full and fufficient for falvation, what is contained in canonical Scripture, and briefly fumm'd up, as concerning faith, in the three Creeds, they pledged themfelves to “ obferve and keep the form and order of the miniftration of the facraments and common prayer, as fet forth by the authority of bleffed king Edward of famous memory,” but with omiffion of certain rites and ceremonies, as things indifferent <sup>o</sup>.

The whole congregation, at this time, feems not much to have exceeded threefcore <sup>p</sup> ; fifty-feven of whom fubfcribed the new difcipline ; and among them are the names of David Whitehead, Alexander Nowell, Thomas Wil-

<sup>n</sup> P. 94. 108.

<sup>o</sup> P. 99.

<sup>p</sup> Not above 62. March 30. p. 84.

fon, and John Mullins <sup>q</sup>. Nowell, Daniel Rogers, Sir Francis Knolles, and Henry his fon, with twenty others, “were added to the church, the 21 of December, 1557;” and, I prefume, affented to the difcipline; though none of them feem to have fubfcribed it; but Nowell only; who appears to have been at Frankford before <sup>r</sup>.

This amended difcipline, in common with the other, coincided in moft points with the prefbyterian form, particularly in appointing two minifters with equal powers; to which Horne, Ifaac, and Chambers objected on many grounds, but principally on the authority of Scripture, and the example of the primitive church <sup>s</sup>. To the answers, which were neceffarily evafive and unfatisfactory, the names of Hales, Whitehead, Nowell, Mullins, Watts, and Wilfon, among others, are fubfcribed <sup>t</sup>.

On the death of queen Mary the venerable Miles Coverdale, Knox, Whittingham, Goodman, and others addreffed a circular letter to Strafburgh, Frankford, and other cities, where

<sup>q</sup> P. 114.

<sup>r</sup> 26 Jan. 1557. (as juft mentioned, p. 29. n. i.) which I fup-  
pofe muft mean 1556-7 and fo was prior to Dec. 1557.

<sup>s</sup> P. 115.

<sup>t</sup> P. 116.

the English resided, exhorting them to unity, and not to contend for superfluous ceremonies, to the joy of the papists <sup>u</sup>. The answer from Frankford, by the same messenger who brought the letter, William Kethe, deserves particular notice. Those with whom reconciliation was fought, had left Frankford before the letter arrived; "and as for ourselves, as we have had no contention with you at all aforetime; so we purpose not (as we trust there shall be no cause) to enter into contention with you hereafter. For ceremonies to contend (where it shall be neither in your hands nor ours to appoint what shall be, but in such men's wisdoms as shall be appointed to the devising of the same, and which shall be received by common consent of Parliament,) it shall be to small purpose. But we trust that both true religion shall be restored, and that we shall not be burthened with unprofitable ceremonies. And therefore, as we purpose to submit ourselves to such orders as shall be established by authority, being not of themselves wicked, so we

<sup>u</sup> From Geneva, Dec. 15. p. 160—162. William Kethe, a minister, "was a Scot, endued," as Strype says, "with a vein of poetry." Memor. vol. iii. 460. where, and p. 441. are specimens of his talent, such as it was.

would wish you willingly to do the same. For whereas all the reformed churches differ among themselves in divers ceremonies, and yet agree in the unity of doctrine; we see no inconvenience, if we use some ceremonies diverse from them, so that we agree in the chief points of our religion. Notwithstanding, if any shall be intruded, that shall be offensive, we, upon just conference and deliberation upon the same, at our meeting with you in England (which we trust by God's grace will be shortly) will brotherly join with you to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of the same. In the mean season, let us with one heart and mind call to the Almighty God, that of his infinite mercy, he will finish and establish the work, that he hath begun in our country, and that we may all lovingly consent together in the earnest setting forth of his truth, that God may be known and exalted, and his church perfectly builded up through Christ our Lord. Your loving friends, in the name of the rest of the church, James Pilkington, Edmund Isaac, Henry Knolles, John Mullins, Alexander Nowell," and others<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Jan. 3. 1559 (i. e. clearly 1558-9) p. 163. The "Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankford," a small quarto, was printed

We have dwelt perhaps too long on this unfortunate controversy ; but it was the original malady, the first spring and occasion of all the disputes, which ever since have harassed the church of England ; and Nowell, as we have seen, was concerned in it ; sometimes perhaps, for the sake of peace, conceding too much to the presbyterian party ; but at last, with equal wisdom moderation and firmness, pressing unity in essentials, and submission in smaller matters to authority duly appointed and legally exercised.

But it is time to look homeward, and see how affairs are going on in England.

abroad, without the name either of editor or place, in 1575. It appears to have been compiled (p. 81, 82.) by some one of the fifteen persons, who were chosen to frame the New Discipline ; and as it all along favours the presbyterian party, it was reprinted at London in 1642, and “ presented to the view and consideration of—Parliament, and the reverend Divines of the intended ensuing Assembly.” Both editions, by the kindness of the late Mr. Brand, are in my possession ; the references are to that of 1642. The other, which is more scarce, is a curious specimen of early German typography. The tract is also printed in the Phenix, vol. ii. p. 70, &c.

## SECTION III.

**I**T was the wisdom of Elizabeth, when she assumed the reins of a kingdom suffering and distracted, to do nothing precipitately. Instructed in true religion, and resolved from the first to encourage and restore it, she deliberated, in her own mind and with her experienced counsellors, how she might bring about the reformation, which she meditated, with greatest security and best effect. The proclamation therefore, which announced her accession to the throne, strictly commanded all her subjects to keep themselves in peace, and not to attempt any alteration or change of established usages. The Litany in English; as used in her Majesty's chapel, was allowed, with the epistle and gospel, and the Lord's prayer and creed, in English; and no other prayers or ceremonies permitted, but such as were at present used in the church; until consultation might be had in parliament, by her Majesty and the three estates of the realm, for the better conciliation and settlement of matters of religion.

In the mean time care was taken, that the

public preachers, especially at St. Paul's cross, should be men of prudence and piety, who would move no disputes respecting government. And so Dr. Bill, the Queen's almoner, preached at the cross on the Sunday after her Majesty's accession<sup>y</sup>; and Dr. Cox, recently returned from abroad, was appointed to preach at the opening of the parliament<sup>z</sup>, January 23, 1559-60.

But though the learned exiles were called to preach before the Queen and other public auditories, they were for some time suffered to remain in a poor neglected condition; neither restored to their former preferments, nor otherwise provided for; so that, as Dr. Sandys lamented to Parker, they were not so bare in the time of their exile, as now on their return<sup>a</sup>.

It has been said, that Nowell was "the first that returned from foreign parts<sup>b</sup>;" but this account, if it did not originate, as perhaps it did, in a mere mistake, seems not to be correct

<sup>y</sup> Strype's Ann. i 35. 112.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. 56.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. 131. with 56.

<sup>b</sup> Donald Lupton in his Life of Nowell. In the engraving of Nowell's epitaph in Dugd. St. Paul's (p. 110.) I suspect "reducum i," which is certainly a blunder, and probably ought to be "reduci," was read "reducum primo," and of course translated "the first of those that returned."

in point of fact. For as he was at Frankford, and apparently not hastening home, on the third of January<sup>c</sup>, Sandys and Grindal, who reached London on the day of the Queen's coronation<sup>d</sup>, which was the fifteenth of that month, and Cox and others probably, must have returned before him. Whatever was the exact time of his arrival, his brother Laurence, who had also been abroad, obtained preferment before him; for he was installed Dean of Lichfield on the 29th of April, 1559. His predecessor in that dignity was John Ramridge, D. D. of Merton college, a zealous papist, who was made dean in the first year of queen Mary, and leaving England without any compulsion, on the accession of Elizabeth, being much troubled at foreseeing the alteration of religion, he went into Flanders; where, wandering about in great discontent, he was accidentally met by thieves, who robbed and murdered him<sup>e</sup>.

The new Dean was entrusted by Sir William Cecil with the education of the young earl of Oxford, his ward (who afterwards married his beloved and accomplished daughter, Anne Cecil;) and on prospect of leisure

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 34. n. x.

<sup>d</sup> Fox's Martyrs, ii. p. 2089. b.

<sup>e</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. Fasti 67. Harwood's Hist. Lichf. p. 182.



when he was about to be released from his honourable charge, he submitted a proposal to the Secretary, expressed in very elegant Latin, offering to frame and present to him an exact map of England. Such a gift, in these days, might seem hardly worthy of the acceptance of a great and learned statesman; but in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when the art of engraving in this country was in its infancy, and an engraved map probably could not be procured, if the learned Dean, a complete master of his pen, was able to achieve his wishes, and to delineate the whole kingdom and the several counties with greater clearness and accuracy, than had hitherto been done, the work might be, as he confidently hoped, no despicable monument to be dedicated to the name of his illustrious patron, and to remain in the royal cabinets, a valuable document for his successors in office, while the British empire should endure<sup>f</sup>.

The business of that important parliament, the first of Elizabeth, in which the acts of uniformity and supremacy for the settlement of religion were passed, was principally managed by the lord Keeper Bacon, conformably

<sup>f</sup> See the original in the Burghley MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. vi. No. 54. in June 1568.

to the wishes of the Queen and his own sagacious maxim, "Let us wait a little, that we may have done the sooner <sup>g</sup>." It was dissolved on the eighth of May <sup>h</sup>; and shortly after, as appears by a paper of secretary Cecil's, Nowell was fixed upon, with Parker, Bill, Whitehead, Pilkington, Sandys, Jewell, Becon, and others, to be promoted to the chief preferments then vacant <sup>i</sup>.

And here it may be proper to advert to an original letter, which, though it does not mention Nowell, refers to transactions in which he was concerned, and throws considerable light on the state and occurrences of those days. It is dated at London, May 28, 1559, and addressed to Mr. Abel at Strafburgh, one of the learned and liberal merchants of London, who had contributed to the support of the exiles; and, by the importation of books and otherwise, greatly promoted literature and the reformation<sup>k</sup>. The

<sup>g</sup> Biogr. Britan.

<sup>h</sup> Strype's Annals, i. 68.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 154.

<sup>k</sup> Humphr. Vit. Juel. p. 90. Parkhurst addresses one of his epigrams to him: "Cum perpetuo me amaveris,

Abele mi charissime" &c. p. 108.

He subscribes a letter, Sept. 29, 1556, with Edwin Sandys and others, endeavouring to make an end of the "forrowful controversy" at Frankford. Troubles of Frankford, p. 149.

writer, who does not subscribe his name, as his hand was well known to his friend, had recently been at his new benefice in Kent, “by the same token that he was robbed of his gown and cap at Gad’s hill”—one proof, by the way, that our immortal bard did not, even in small matters, lose sight of truth and probability, when he made Gad’s hill the scene of the depredations of his valorous knight.

The chief particulars in the letter are these : that Mr. Grindal preached at the cross on Whitfun monday, which was the first sermon that had been there since Christmas, except two at Easter; and in his sermon, the lord Keeper and the whole Council being present, he proclaimed the restoring of the book of king Edward; whereat as well the lords as the people made, or at least pretended, a wonderful rejoicing. There was no bishop, nor canon of St. Paul’s, present; and as the penalty for not receiving the new service book was not to take place till midsummer, therefore St. Paul’s and certain other churches still kept their popish service; but the greater part in the city were reformed.

From the very beginning of the Queen’s reign plots were formed against her; and con-

jurers<sup>1</sup> did incredible mischief, in abusing her subjects, and pretending to foretel, that she should not live long. In consequence of some charge of this sort it seems to have been, that on friday in Whitsun week “ a priest, a popish merchant, was carried to the tower for uttering words against the Queen’s majesty,” saying “ that she should not long continue.”

There was shortly to be a visitation of the whole realm by her Majesty’s authority ; and Sir Anthony Cook, Mr. Goodrich, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Dr. Haddon, Mr. Wroth, with my Lord of Bedford, Lord Mountjoy, and Dr. Weston, lately chancellor to bishop Coverdale, now dean of the arches, were to be visitors, and also the Queen’s commissioners for all ecclesiastical matters ; to whom others were to be added, making the whole number fourteen.

Some of these names are not elsewhere found among the Queen’s visitors, and were not perhaps actually appointed ; and Nowell, who was one of the number, is not here mentioned. Separate commissions were issued

<sup>1</sup> See Strype’s Ann. i. 7, 8. 44. A priest, with others, was set in the pillory for conjuring, 1561. ib. 269. And the frequency of these practices occasioned an act against conjurations in 1562. ib. 311.

for distinct parts of the kingdom; in one of which, dated July 22, 1559, Nowell was included, with the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Rutland and Huntington, Sir William Cecil, Sir Ambrose Cave, Thomas Bentham, D. D., Fleetwood the lawyer, Stephen Nevinson, LL. D., and others, to visit the dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, and Lichfield <sup>m</sup>.

The design of these visitations was to deliver the Queen's Injunctions, to see that registers were duly kept, that altars and images were removed and defaced; to inquire what books of the Scriptures had been burnt, and how many persons put to death, or imprisoned, for religion, in the late troubles; to restore ejected ministers, to administer the oath of supremacy, and to injoin the use of the new service book. And the effect of the visitation, in advancing the reformation, was so great, that, throughout the whole kingdom, the commissioners made returns of not more than one hundred and eighty nine of the clergy, who refused compliance <sup>n</sup>.

The letter writer says, Mr. Horn (afterwards bishop of Winchester) preached at the

<sup>m</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 167.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. 159. 164. 172. App. 58.

cross on Trinity funday, and made an excellent sermon against Antichriff's vicar. On tuesday in that week the French ambaffadors arrived, and were received very honourably at the court at Westminster. They were present at the English service in her Majesty's chapel, and when she had taken an oath in confirmation of the peace, they were feasted by her Highness with such solemnity as was scarcely ever seen. Philip's ambaffador, count Feria, with his suite, departed the same day; but his consort, a lady of great piety, whom he had married in England, did not choose, as we learn elfewhere °, to accompany her husband and leave her native country.

° From "The Life of the Ladie Jane Dormer Duchesse of Feria," a manuscript in a very fair hand, by H. Clifford, dedicated to Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, and Baron of Wing, whose "valiant father—died in the battle of Newbury this year 1643." It is enriched with some fine drawings, particularly a beautiful one of the Duchesse with a black veil thrown back, a book in her right hand and beads in her left, copied 1802, from an original painting of 1572, at Catesby in Northamptonshire, where she is styled, "Vidua D. Gomiffi Sueres Defigueroa y Cordova, Feriæ Ducis, æt. suæ 35." She was daughter of "Sir William Dormer, one of 6 Knights of the Bath to queen *Mary of blessed and pious memory*," p. 8. only son of Sir Robert Dormer by his wife Lady Jane Newdigate, p. 15. Her mother was Lady Mary Sydney, sister to Sir Henry Sydney, lord Lieutenant of Ireland &c. The MS. was lately in the hands of Mr. Howlett,

Mr. Springham, another London merchant, a patron of the exiles, came home with his wife and company on the wednesday before this letter was written, and on the day of its date Mr. Barlow preached at the cross, who was named to be bishop of Chichester, as were Scory for Hereford, Parker for Canterbury, Cox for Norwich, and Bill or Whitehead for Salisbury. Some of the bishops, as York, London, Lichfield, and Carlisle, had dismissed their servants, because, as it was thought, they intended to resign their bishoprics: "I pray God," says the writer, "there come no worse tidings to England. The greater part of the monks of Westminster have changed their coats already."

From the writer's salutations to his friends abroad, it is probable, that he himself had been an exile; but who he was, it were, I fear, fruitless to inquire; for it was not Jewell, to whom, after laborious research, it was once ascribed<sup>p</sup>. For the accurate bishop Jewell

Alderman of Coventry. A proviso in favour of the Duchess of Feria, 13 Eliz. 1571. Dewes, f. 179. b.

<sup>p</sup> By the late John Loveday Esq. of Caversham. The letter is now in the hands of his son, John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamscot near Banbury. See a copy of it, App. No. iii.

wrote a small and very beautiful hand<sup>a</sup>; but this anonymous letter is in a hand totally different, strong and coarse.

Cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, died on the day of the demise of queen Mary; but consistently with the careful deliberation already noted<sup>r</sup>, whereby the reign of Elizabeth was distinguished from the hasty measures of Mary's court, as well the metropolitan as other churches, some void by death and others by deprivation, were suffered to continue for some time without pastors. At length however Parker, mild and comely<sup>s</sup>, grave, learned, and devout, was pitched upon to be archbishop of Canterbury, and was consecrated in Lambeth chapel, December 17, 1559; where, four days afterwards, he consecrated Grindal bishop of London, Cox of

<sup>a</sup> As appears by his letters among Abp. Parker's MSS. in Bennet College, Cambridge.

<sup>r</sup> P. 36.

<sup>s</sup> The learning judgement and talents of the archbishop are universally known. Of his personal appearance Ascham, who knew him well and had seen him preside at Cambridge, says, "The Vice Chancellor (at Louvain is) more like in apparel and port to our priest of Horningshire, than to the comeliness of M. Dr. Parker." Letter from Augsburg, Jan. 20, 1551-2. Works by Bennet, p. 371.



Ely, Sandys of Worcester, and Merrick of Bangor. Nowell was chaplain to Grindal, and preached the consecration sermon<sup>t</sup>, on the very seasonable and apposite text, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." Acts xx. 28.

Preferment now began to flow in upon him. On the first day of the new year, 1559-60, Grindal collated him to the Archdeaconry of Middlesex<sup>u</sup>. On the third of February the Archbishop collated him to the rectory of Saltwood, with the annexed chapel of Hythe, in Kent<sup>x</sup>; and on the fourteenth of the same month to a prebend of Canterbury<sup>y</sup>. The archdeaconry was void by the deprivation of William Chadsey, D. D. who had been

<sup>t</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 156.

<sup>u</sup> Extr. Reg. Grindal, in the possession of R. Gough Esquire. Newcourt, i. 82.

<sup>x</sup> Reg. Parker i. 341. Of the fine old Castle at Saltwood (part of which was thrown down by an earthquake in 1580, Stow's Chron. 680.) see an account, accompanied with four views, in Gent. Mag. 1802. 1089. a view of Hythe church, ib. 1001. Saltwood church and part of the Castle, ib. 1805. 1112 with 1012.

<sup>y</sup> Reg. Parker i. 341. b.

chaplain to Bonner, and was President of Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and canon of Christ Church<sup>z</sup>; from both which he was ejected, probably, as others were, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. Saltwood was vacant for the same reason, by the deprivation of Nicholas Harpsfield<sup>a</sup>, celebrated for his skill in theology and history, who was one of the disputants at Westminster, in the beginning of this reign, on the Roman catholic side, when they were so foiled the first day, that they refused to continue the disputation<sup>b</sup>.

The prebend of Canterbury was vacant by the deprivation of Robert Collins, probably the same person who was commissary to Cardinal Pole, and was installed as his proxy archbishop of Canterbury<sup>c</sup>. The register states, that the prebend was in the gift of the archbishop, by virtue of a royal patent of Edward VI. granting to archbishop Cranmer and his successors the patronage, which they still enjoy, of three prebends in the church of Canterbury, of which this was one. John Bale,

<sup>z</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 136.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. 214. Newcourt i. 153. 444.

<sup>b</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 87 &c.

<sup>c</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 121.

the laborious compiler of the lives of English writers and of other learned works, particularly against the church of Rome, had been admitted to another stall in the same cathedral, a few days before, by royal presentation<sup>d</sup>.

Nowell preached at the cross on the tenth of February this year; at which time a person did penance for bigamy<sup>e</sup>. This was before the beginning of Lent. During Lent the new bishops, and other eminent confessors and sufferers of Mary's days, took their turn at the cross, before noble and crowded auditories; and conciliated great respect, as Strype observes<sup>f</sup>, to what was called the new religion, and to the persons of the clergy, newly appearing out of their banishment and recesses, shining with clear consciences and holy zeal for truth. Now also, first at the court, and more publicly at the cross on passion Sunday, Jewell made his famous challenge, that none of the peculiar and discriminating dogmas of popery could be proved, either by warrant of Scripture, or by authority of the fathers or

<sup>d</sup> Reg. Parker, ut supra.

<sup>e</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 199.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. 201.

councils, during six hundred years from the birth of Christ <sup>g</sup>.

Nowell resigned Saltwood within the year, and was succeeded by Stephen Nevinson <sup>h</sup>, LL. D. prebendary of Canterbury, and commissary general to the archbishop; by whom he was deputed, with Nowell and other commissioners, about autumn, 1560, to visit the church and the diocese of Canterbury, and the church and diocese of Rochester <sup>i</sup>. The injunctions for this metropolitan visitation, respecting residence, sermons, the holy communion, and other matters of ecclesiastical discipline, drawn up by the commissioners, were revised and approved by the archbishop; and are preserved among his other invaluable manuscripts in Bennet college, Cambridge; a monument at once of his own care, and of the wisdom of those, to whom he delegated his visitatorial authority <sup>k</sup>.

By a patent, dated at Westminster, June 21, 1560, the queen erected the monastery of St.

<sup>g</sup> Humphr. Vit. Jul. p. 124. Heylin's Reform. p. 302. Strype's Ann. i. 201.

<sup>h</sup> Reg. Parker, 347.

<sup>i</sup> Strype's Parker, p. 72. 75. 93. 136. L. of Grindal, p. 50. 192.

<sup>k</sup> MS. Parker cxx. 8. Injunctions by—Alexander Nowell &c. Sept. 1560.

Peter's, Westminster, which the monks had lately quitted<sup>l</sup>, into a collegiate church; and Nowell had the honour of being named, in the charter of foundation<sup>m</sup>, the first prebendary of the seventh stall; which he resigned the year following, and was succeeded in it by John Hill, B. D. of Christ Church, Oxford<sup>n</sup>. The statutes, on this new foundation, were compiled by Dr. Bill<sup>o</sup>, the queen's almoner, who was the first Dean.

William May, LL. D. Dean of St. Paul's, counsellor to Edward VI, and one of the compilers of his first liturgy, having been ejected from his deanery by queen Mary, was restored by Elizabeth, and was afterwards elected archbishop of York, but died August 8, 1560, before he was consecrated. "This eminently pious and learned Dean was succeeded by another eminently pious and learned man, Alexander Nowell<sup>p</sup>." The Queen's letter to the chapter on the occasion, dated November 11, is couched in these words: "As well for his godly zeal, and special good learning, and

<sup>l</sup> See above, p. 45.

<sup>m</sup> Rymer xv. p. 590. Newcourt i. 49.

<sup>n</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. F. 90. Newcourt i. 436. n. m. and 926.

<sup>o</sup> Strype's L. of Cheke, p. 10.

<sup>p</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 205. and see Newcourt i. 47.

other fingular gifts and virtues, we thought good to commend him unto you, as one, whom we, of a fingular good will and hearty affection towards that church, would have preferred unto the Deanery thereof<sup>q</sup>." Accordingly his friend and fellow exile, John Mullins, one of the refidentiaries, having appointed tuesday, November 27, for the day of election, he was by the said Mullins, Gabriel Goodman (afterwards dean of Westminster) Alley, bishop of Exeter, Thomas Watts, William Saxey, and other prebendaries, duly elected<sup>r</sup>; and made his entrance into the choir the same day, when Te Deum was sung, and the organ played. The bishop of London confirmed the election December 1; and on the third of that month, collated him to the prebend of Wildland in St. Paul's<sup>s</sup>, vacant by the deprivation of John Morwen, noted for his pro-

<sup>q</sup> Strype's Grindal, p. 38. The terms of the letter were not words of course, but select and appropriate, as is evident by comparing it with the letter recommending Nowell's successor, Dr. Overall (Chaplain in Ordinary and Professor of Divinity at Cambridge) "in some consideration of his learning and other virtues inabling him to a place of such dignity." Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane, 856. f. 47.

<sup>r</sup> Reg. Decan. et Capit. D. Pauli, Nowell i. f. 52. b. &c. Reg. Grindal, 15. b. &c. Strype's Grind. 38. Annals i. 205.

<sup>s</sup> Reg. Grind. Newcourt i. 215.

found knowledge of divinity and Greek, who had been private instructor to Jewell in Corpus Christi college, and bore this memorable testimony to his merit, "That, though a heretic in faith, in life he seemed an angel <sup>t</sup>.

The learned exiles, according to Ridley's prophetic wish <sup>u</sup>, had a principal hand in restoring and advancing the reformed religion; and, among them, Nowell, ready at every call of duty, bore a constant part. He preached at the cross on the third Sunday after Epiphany; on which occasion a passage of his sermon was much talked of, and grossly misrepresented by the papists; who had the confidence to charge him, even in print, with having said, That "it would do him good to raze his buckler upon a papist's face." To this he was forced to answer, and said, "It was a false lye; and that he had rather go a thousand miles about, than to be put to that necessity to save his life by such hard means: and have his own face razed ten times, than he would once raze another man's face; or hurt any Christian man: so little good would it do him."

<sup>t</sup> Humphr. Vit. Juel. p. 25. Of Morwen see Ath. Ox. i. 82. and Newcourt i. 147.

<sup>u</sup> See above, p. 24.

The truth was this, he preached upon the epistle of the day ; in which are the words, “ Avenge not yourselves ;” and after he had declared, that we may not avenge ourselves, he observed that the common old translation had it, that we should not *defend* ourselves. And hereupon he moved this question, “ Whether a Christian man might defend himself.” Whereunto he answered by these words : In case we be, by any magistrate or officer, or at the commandment of the prince, by any man wronged, I know no defence, but patient suffering. For no true Christian hath any hand to lift up against the prince. But in case a thief would set upon me by the high way, where I could have no help at the magistrate’s hand, I would, if I were able, defend myself ; and rather than I would be slain, I would, if I could, *maim* him. For to kill the thief, who, being in that cause slain, should a thousand pounds to a penny be damned, would be most horrible. Yea, said he, if any private person, without authority of office, or commandment of the prince, should quarrel with me, and call me heretic, thief, or would invade me forcibly, I would lift up my buckler hand, and rather than he should kill me, I would lay my buckler upon his face, if I



could, though it were rough with studs, and had a pike in the middle : speaking (as he said in his vindication) those words only in case of saving his own life, if he could no other-wise do it \*.”

It will readily be admitted, that the good Dean fully vindicated himself from this foul aspersion, and carried the Christian doctrine of submission and non-resistance quite as far as is just or necessary. But the alteration of manners, for the better surely, which has long taken place, makes some illustration of the passage requisite. No one now, in the pulpit or elsewhere, would talk of “ razing his buckler” on the face of a robber that assailed him ; but, till the days of Elizabeth or later, it was almost as common to wear weapons of defence, as to wear clothes. When Dr. Sandys, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, in the beginning of queen Mary’s reign, sat in the chair to confer degrees, and perceived some violence attempted, he “ groped to his dagger ;” and, being a man of great courage, had dispatched some of them, if Dr. Bill and others had not prayed him to hold his hand †.

\* Strype’s Annals, i. 236.

† Fox, ii. p. 2087.

Stow informs us <sup>z</sup>, that every serving man, from the base to the best, carried a buckler at his back, which hung by the hilt or pomel of his sword, which hung before him; and that thirty or forty, thus accoutred, used to fight in Smithfield, particularly on fundays; and yet little harm was done, as thrusting was not then in use. The bucklers, an article in every haberdasher's shop, were about a foot broad, with a pike of four or five inches. The sword and buckler, about the 20th of Elizabeth, gave place to the rapier and dagger <sup>a</sup>; when sturdy apprentices used to wear long daggers at their backs or sides, and to carry the water tankard, to serve their masters, from the Thames and the common conduits <sup>b</sup>. The length of the rapiers, and about the same time the depth of the ruffs, increasing, a proclamation was issued against them; and grave citizens were stationed at the gates of the metropolis to cut the ruffs, which were above a nail deep, and break the rapiers' points, if they exceeded a yard.

<sup>z</sup> Stow's Chron. by Howes, 1631. p. 1024. and 869. b.

<sup>a</sup> Stow, ut supra. And see Gervase Markham's remarkable challenge to Sir John Holles, first Earl of Clare, in 1597. "with my rapier and dagger—to fight in our shirts and waistcoats." Gent. Mag. 1803. p. 1004.

<sup>b</sup> Stow, p. 1040.

Such were the times, when Nowell spoke so familiarly of a buckler, rough with studs and sharpened with a pike. He preached before the Queen, February 19; and made a godly sermon, and had a vast and honourable audience; and again, at court, March 19. Some of the other preachers at this time, in Lent and at Easter, were Skamler bishop of Peterborough, Pilkington bishop of Durham, Horn of Winchester, Grindal of London, Cox of Ely, the archbishop of Canterbury, archdeacon Mullins, and bishop Jewell. For, as Strype observes, it was the wisdom of the present governours to put up, from time to time, able, learned, discreet, and aged men, to be teachers of the people at these solemn and great assemblies; who commonly made it their business to prove and evince the present proceedings in religion; and, as occasion served, to lay open the errors and corruptions of that religion and worship, which was now lately rejected<sup>c</sup>.

About this time we meet with the first certain notice of the Dean's brother, Robert Nowell. He was employed, in the first year of the Queen, as counsel for the patentees of

<sup>c</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 246, 247. L. of Grindal, 48.

certain lands, parcel of the estates of the bishop of Winchester, when their rights were secured by act of parliament<sup>d</sup>. After this, by a patent bearing date February 8, 1560-1, the Queen constituted him her Attorney General of the Court of Wards, for life<sup>e</sup>; and it was probably on account of the business, which the entrance upon this new office brought with it, that, being appointed Lent Reader of Gray's Inn this year, he did not now read<sup>f</sup>; but did, on being re-chosen, in the autumn following. His arms were formerly in one of the fourth windows of the hall in Grays' Inn<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Dewes' Journals, 1682. f. 50—52. "Mr. Noell" here, no doubt, means the Counsellor of Grays' Inn, as the Dean also is called "Noell," f. 58. b. 59. where his sermon before the Queen and Parliament is mentioned. I have not however noticed this, till I could subjoin to it the patent, in which he is described by both his names.

<sup>e</sup> Pat. 8 Feb. 3 Eliz. p. p. Rolls.

<sup>f</sup> Orig. Jurid. p. 294. The eminently accurate author makes a slight mistake in saying, "*Postea* Attorn. Gen. Cur. Ward." &c. for he was *already* in possession of the office. See the preceding note.

<sup>g</sup> Dugd. ib. 306.

## SECTION IV.

**T**HIS summer, wednesday June 4, 1561, the spire of St. Paul's suddenly took fire, and was burnt down. The cause of the conflagration has been variously reported; but it should seem, that the *Vera historia*<sup>h</sup>, minutely detailed in the episcopal register, by an eye witness, should have precluded some late attempts<sup>i</sup> to ascribe the catastrophe to the carelessness of plumbers in repairing the leads; for the writer of that account assures us, that neither plumbers, nor other workmen, had been employed about the church, for six months before, and that the fire was occasioned by lightning.

Between the hours of one and two in the afternoon there was an immense crash of thunder, and most awful lightning; by which

<sup>h</sup> Reg. Grindal, f. 23. Stow also, a contemporary witness, gives a similar and circumstantial account of it as "fired by lightning," in his MS. collections. MS. Library, Lambeth, No. 306. In Chaloner De Rep. Anglorum, 1579, p. 344-348. are verses "De templi D. Pauli--conflagratione."

"Trajectu horrendo qua passa est *fulminis ignes*."

<sup>i</sup> See Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynard, p. 135--137 from Heylin's Reform. p. 312.

the fourth-west pinnacle of St. Martin's, Ludgate hill, was thrown down, and burst through the roof of the church. And certain persons on the Thames, and others, who were in the fields, affirmed, that they saw a long stream of fire ending in a point, which seemed to enter into the spire of St. Paul's on the east side. Between the hours of four and five Peter Johnson, the bishop's registrar, who records the accident, and others with him, perceived a smoke issuing from below the globe on the top of the spire; and in a moment a flame burst out, and environed the summit of the spire, like a crown. In quarter of an hour the brass eagle, with the cross which supported it, and the golden ball or globe, which used to be so much admired, fell on the south tower. The lord mayor and aldermen, the bishop of London, whose house adjoining the cathedral on the north-west was with difficulty saved, the Keeper of the great seal, and the lord Treasurer, came and consulted what might be done; and in the evening they were joined by the Lord Clinton, admiral of the fleet; who was dispatched by the Queen from Greenwich, as soon as she saw the fire. At ten the fury of the flames abated, and the wind having become moderate, and veering

from the east to a more favourable point, by great providence no lives were lost, nor houses destroyed, though the embers were carried as far as Newgate market and Fleet street.

On the Sunday after this melancholy disaster, the bishop of Durham at the cross exhorted men to repentance and submission to legal authority; bidding them regard what had happened as a warning to all, not as a judgement on any individuals, or particular class of men. He took occasion also to condemn the inveterate and shameful practice of walking, talking, quarreling, and fighting in St. Paul's, in time of sermon and prayers; and refuted the groundless calumny of those, who interpreted the event as a mark of divine vengeance, on account of the change of religion; reminding them of heavier calamities, which had befallen the kingdom and its capital, during the times of superstition; as in the first of Stephen, when the cathedral and great part of the city were burnt, from London bridge to St. Clement's in the Strand<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Reg. Grindal, ubi supra. See also a "Cronicle" printed by Thomas Marthe, 1561. Ames, ed. Herbert, 851. Bishop Pilkington's sermon on the burning of St. Paul's gave rise to a pamphlet by Morwen already mentioned, p. 52. who had been chaplain to Bonner, which was printed and cast about in the

The next funday dean Nowell preached an excellent fermon at the crofs, the lord mayor and aldermen and moft of the companies being prefent, and a great audience befides. Whofe fubject, fays Strype, no doubt was the rueful fpectacle of their cathedral lying in afhes; and he exciting them, with all his rhetoric, to fet upon the reparation of it. Accordingly two days after, the lord mayor and common council appointed a committee, men of ability and vigilance, to overlook the work, in purfuance of a previous refolution to grant a levy of three Fifteens, to be raifed within the city, towards the rebuilding of the church and fteeple, with all convenient fpeed<sup>1</sup>. The Dean and chapter on this occafion contributed the fum of 136l. 13s. 4d. and

ftreets of Weft Chefter (Strype's Ann. i. 278.) with this title, "An Addicion with Appologie to the caufes of the brinnynge of Pauls Church," reprinted, together with the bifhop's fermon and a Confutation of the libel by the faid Bifhop, 1563, by William Seres. Herbert, *ib.* 696.

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 268. In the Dean's fermon on this occafion perhaps it was, that he related of archbifhop Courtney, that having collected great fums for the rebuilding of Paul's crofs, when it was overthrown by an earthquake in 1382, he applied the money to his own ufe. Pennant's London, 1790, p. 433. But as no authority is cited for this anecdote, fo much to the difcredit of that munificent prelate, I have not ventured to give it a place in the text.



likewise, with the bishop's approbation, sold various articles of superfluous plate, to enable them to defray one moiety of 220*l.* which the bishop and chapter had jointly bound themselves to pay to Christopher Trapp, alderman, for lead used in covering the cross-roof of the north "yle," leading towards Pater Noster row<sup>m</sup>. There was also, in aid of these resources, a general contribution throughout the province of Canterbury, in consequence of a letter from the Queen to the archbishop, under her privy signet, for that purpose<sup>n</sup>.

Grindal, bishop of London, visited his cathedral in April, 1561, the Dean and other members giving their attendance; and there being much to be done, not only in discipline, but, after the fire, in repairing the church, the visitation was continued, at intervals, till the middle of November, 1562, when the business was concluded; an explicit renunciation of the pope and his supremacy, by a prescribed form, having been previously subscribed by the Dean and chapter<sup>o</sup>.

About this time William Whitaker, the

<sup>m</sup> Reg. Nowell i. 139. b.

<sup>n</sup> Reg. Parker, f. 231. Wilkins Concil. T. iv. 226.

<sup>o</sup> Strype's Grindal, 59—62.

future ornament of the university of Cambridge, having acquired the elements of grammar at Burnley in his native parish, where Hargrave was master, came up to London; and was kindly entertained by his uncle at the Deanery of St. Paul's, and put under the tuition of Cook, the learned master of St. Paul's school<sup>p</sup>. His mother was Elizabeth Nowell, the dean's sister, who was married, as we have already noted<sup>q</sup>, to Thomas Whitaker of Holme, in the year 1530, and survived her marriage the wonderful period of seventy six years<sup>r</sup>.

A book was published about this time, which, though now extremely scarce and little known, was not without fame in its day, and maintained its ground in successive editions for half a century and more. It has been ascribed to Nowell<sup>s</sup>, but was in fact dedicated to him, and John Mullins and John Walker, prebendaries of St. Paul's<sup>t</sup>. It is

<sup>p</sup> Life by Asheton. See above, p. 5. n. And of Cook, who was patronised by Burghley his schoolfellow, see Knight's Colet, p. 373.

<sup>q</sup> Above, p. 8.

<sup>r</sup> Letter of Dr. Whitaker, dated Holme, Feb. 28, 1807.

<sup>s</sup> Tanner in Biblioth.

<sup>t</sup> Archdeacon Mullins has often been mentioned in these papers. Of Walker see Newcourt i. 73.

intituled, "A sword against swearers and blasphemers, shewing the lawfulness of an oath, and how great a sin it is to swear falsely, vainly or rashly;—enlarged with sundry examples of God's judgements upon perjured persons and blasphemers of his holy name." The author, Edmund Bicknoll, in his epistle to the Reader, says, "The force of papistry, God be thanked, is beaten down; they write not, nor have not what to write. Our lack of good life is the greatest loss." And therefore he desires all good Christians to further this motion, but especially his patrons by name, having chosen three such, that "all other, either learned or godly, will easily give them the title (besides their excellent universal gifts of literature) of diligent and faithful distributors of God's heavenly mysteries." And, speaking of Nowell particularly, as heretofore promoting the reformation, "so at this time I trust in God his spirit will work almighty effect in him. And the other twain I am sure, in their condition and place, will move and further this Christian request." To this there are subjoined certain lines, the initials of which form the word "Alexander;" and then follow three qua-

trains, addressed to Nowell, and beginning with his name <sup>u</sup>.

In the Dedication the author says, “ some faults against the second table, because they concern the commonwealth, are somewhat duly executed: nay I dare boldly say, that laws for hawks’ eggs<sup>x</sup>, for covies of partridges, and eyes of pheasants<sup>y</sup>, are with much diligence observed and looked unto (and good cause that so they should.) But this that concerneth God’s honour,—this commandment of the first table, concerning the reverence of God’s own name, is too much neg-

<sup>u</sup> “ NOWELL, God speed thy tongue,  
 And guide thee with his grace;  
 That when to preach thy course shall come,  
 This vice thou maist deface.  
 And as. S. Ridley did  
 procure the poore some ioy,  
 When good King Edward did from him  
 perceive their hard distresse;  
 So God give thee to moue,  
 That sharp Lawes may destroy  
 This filthie sinne, and thine attempts  
 God bleffe with good successe.”

<sup>x</sup> Penalty for taking hawks eggs. 5 Eliz. c. 21. f. 3.

<sup>y</sup> A bill for the preservation of pheasants and partridges was read the third time, 9 March, 18 Eliz. 1575-6. Dewes’ Journ. 257. b.

lected." He therefore intreats his patrons, gladly professing that he knew, that both in doctrine and life, none laboured more fervently than they did, to continue their earnest zeal; and, when opportunity of time and place should serve, to require some strength of law to be established against vain swearing and perjury. "God is never better served than in adversity. Wealth maketh us wantons, peace breedeth pride; we have quite forgotten *Mariana tempora*.—The profession of our faith in religion is like unto our foolish fancy in building. We delight in shews, in tricks and toys, in cornered windows, in tops of chimnies, though the bottoms be not<sup>2</sup>. So we dispute curious unprofitable preternecessary questions; not regarding the ground and substance, which is most necessary, as without the which we are not. *That* your godly wisdom right well considered, when in your ancient reverend age you wrote yet instructions for the tender youth, a work which to your presence for to commend is not so seemly: it was indeed a hammer, a hatchet, a sword, an axe, to beat, to cut, to wound, to destroy Antichrist and all heretics."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a misprint for "naught."

Tanner <sup>a</sup> mentions an edition of this book in 1561, which had the acrostics on Nowell, but, it is presumed, without the dedication and name of the author; whence he was led to assign it to Nowell. Two copies only of this rare book have met my inquiries, one of the year 1606, in the library at Arbury; the other, which belonged to the late Mr. Brand, was without date, printed for William Towreolde, by the assent of Richard Watkins; and therefore not prior to 1577, when it was licensed to Watkins <sup>b</sup>. The dedication, as here quoted (since it alludes to Nowell's Catechism, which was not published till 1570) is plainly of that date, or not earlier; about which time the author was presented by the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's to the vicarage of Horndon on the hill, in the archdeaconry of Essex <sup>c</sup>, and in 1579 to the rectory of Runwell in the same archdeaconry, by Margaret Ayloffé, widow. Both livings became void by his death before November 18, 1585.

In September, 1561, archbishop Parker visited Eton college, and ejected the Provost for

<sup>a</sup> Bibliotheca, art. Nowell, Alex.

<sup>b</sup> Ames, ed. Herbert, p. 1029.

<sup>c</sup> June 11, 1578. Newcourt, ii. 343. to Runwell, July 24, 1579. ib. 511.

non-conformity<sup>d</sup>; on which occasion he recommended to Secretary Cecil the choice of several persons fit to supply the place, with this remark, "That, if the Queen would have a married minister, none comparable to Mr. Nowell." The Secretary consulted the bishop of London upon the business; and he too named Mr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and Mr. Mullins, and Mr. Watts, all of them married. The two last, added his lordship, "though they be my chaplains, are sober, honest, and learned men." He also named Mr. Day of Cambridge and others, that were unmarried; and probably these two circumstances, his being a Cambridge man (on account of the connection between Eton and King's college in that university) and a bachelor, determined the Queen, who was by no means partial to married clergymen, to fix upon Day. Nor indeed had Nowell or any others (if they were apprized, that their names had been mentioned on this occasion) cause to think themselves aggrieved or disgraced by the preference of Day; for he was a very polished and able scholar, and, as one of his contemporaries informs us, "had a

<sup>d</sup> Strype's Parker, p. 103—105.

good plain fashion of preaching, apt to edify, and easy to remember<sup>e</sup>." He was soon after made Dean of Windsor, and in 1595 promoted to the bishopric of Winchester. As to his ejected predecessor in the provostship of Eton, his name has entirely eluded my search; nor does the transaction itself seem generally known; for the Register of the college has no provost between Dr. Bill<sup>f</sup>, who was also Dean of Westminster and died in July 1561, and Day, who was elected December 18<sup>g</sup>, the same year. The unknown provost therefore, whom the archbishop removed, had a very short reign.

In the course of the ensuing year, 1562, Nowell was frequently in the pulpit, on public occasions, before large auditories; but his labours, in one respect, commenced a little inauspiciously. On new year's day, being the festival of the Circumcision, he preached at St. Paul's, whither the Queen resorted. Here, says Strype, a remarkable passage happened, as is recorded in a great

<sup>e</sup> Sir I. Harrington's Brief View &c. p. 69.

<sup>f</sup> Elected Provost, July 5, 1559. Reg. Regale, Eton, 1774. p. iv. died July 15, 1561, as Le Neve says, p. 362, or July 20, according to Strype, Ann. i. 270.

<sup>g</sup> Reg. Regale; and correct Le Neve, who has it Jan. 5.



man's memorials<sup>h</sup>, who lived in those times. The Dean, having met with several fine engravings, representing the stories and passions of the saints and martyrs, had placed them against the epistles and gospels of their respective festivals, in a Common Prayer book; which he had caused to be richly bound, and laid on the cushion for the Queen's use, in the place where she commonly sat; intending it for a new year's gift to her Majesty, and thinking to have pleased her fancy therewith. But it had a quite contrary effect. For she considered how this varied from her late Injunctions and proclamations, against the superstitious use of images in churches, and for the taking away all such reliques of popery. When she came to her place, and had opened the book, and saw the pictures, she frowned and blushed: and then shutting the book (of which several took notice) she called for the verger, and bade him bring her the old book, wherein she was formerly wont to read. After sermon, whereas she used to get immediately on horseback, or into her chariot, she went straight to the vestry, and applying herself to the Dean, thus she spoke to him:

<sup>h</sup> Sir H. Sydney. Strype's Ann. i. 272.

“ Mr. Dean, how came it to pass, that a new service book was placed on my cushion ? To which the Dean answered, May it please your Majesty, I caused it to be placed there. Then said the Queen, Wherefore did you so ? To present your Majesty with a new year’s gift. You could never present me with a worse. Why so, Madam ? You know I have an aversion to idolatry, to images, and pictures of this kind. Wherein is the idolatry, may it please your Majesty ? In the cuts, resembling angels and saints ; nay grosser absurdities, pictures resembling the blessed Trinity. I meant no harm ; nor did I think it would offend your Majesty, when I intended it for a new year’s gift. You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation against images, pictures, and Romish reliques, in the churches ? Was it not read in your deanery ? It was read. But be your Majesty assured, I meant no harm, when I caused the cuts to be bound with the service book. You must needs be very ignorant to do this after our prohibition of them. It being my ignorance, your Majesty may the better pardon me. I am sorry for it : yet glad to hear it was your ignorance, rather than your opinion. Be your Majesty assured,

it was my ignorance. If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you his Spirit, and more wisdom for the future. Amen, I pray God. I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by these pictures? who engraved them? I know not who engraved them: I bought them. From whom bought you them? From a German. It is well it was from a stranger. Had it been any of our subjects, we should have questioned the matter. Pray let no more of these mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm for the future. There shall not."

Though the whole of this dialogue is given in Strype, it seemed too memorable not to be copied from him. He adds, that this matter occasioned all the clergy in and about London, and the church-wardens of each parish, to search their churches and chapels: and caused them to wash out of the walls all paintings, that seemed to be Romish and idolatrous; in lieu whereof suitable texts of holy Scripture were written.

The Dean preached at the Cross three days afterwards, January 4, when one did penance for a cheat, having pretended to be dumb; but the master of Bridewell having made him speak, he was brought thither, by his

own mouth to confess his imposture, and to ask the church pardon.

Nowell also sustained a principal part this year among the Lent preachers at court before the Queen. His turns there were wednesday in the second week of Lent, and March 11 and 13; and again on the 15th being passion sunday; for the bishop of London, who should have preached there, was sick. Sandys and Jewell were some of the other preachers; and all these sermons at court were on afternoons, that they might not interfere with the sermons at St. Paul's, which were in the forenoon.

He likewise preached one of the Spital sermons, on Easter tuesday, March 31; which, with the monday's and wednesday's sermon, was repeated at the cross on Low Sunday, by Sampson, dean of Christ Church, Oxford; an office to which he had at other times been appointed, on account of his excellent elocution and memory<sup>i</sup>. The name of Spital sermons still subsists in the metropolis; but at what time the custom of repeating those sermons on the important doctrine of the resurrection first began, or when it ceased, I am

<sup>i</sup> Strype, ubi supra.

not informed. In the university of Oxford the practice, which was as early as the reign of Henry VII. was continued till near the close of the last century.

The royal visitation before mentioned<sup>k</sup> extended to both the universities; and, mildly as it was conducted, there were some persons found in both, who relinquished their places and preferments, rather than take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. All however, who did thus far comply, did not at once become sincere Protestants; which seems to have been the case with John Sanderfon, fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, who being obstinate in his errors, and bold and insolent in opposing Dr. Beaumont, Master of the house, was by him and the whole college expelled from the society. Upon this he appealed to the high Commissioners, by a letter to the archbishop, who was one of the number<sup>l</sup>; and the cause being called before them, he laboured by all the friendship he could make, to have it remitted to Cambridge again, where he was assured of favour, whether his cause were right or wrong.

<sup>k</sup> P. 43.

<sup>l</sup> Strype, Ann. i. 167, gives the names of the Commissioners. The commission was dated 20 June, 1 Eliz.

Nowell, understanding this to be the nature of the case, informed the archbishop of it, suggesting to his Grace, that if the matter was suffered to slip out of their hands, there was no further hope of bridling the obstinacy of the papists in that university; and, there being two fellows of the same house then in London, he thought it expedient, that they should be examined before the high Commissioners, and that the controversy should be determined, as equity and truth and the establishment of good order in the university should require, rather than by subtlety of law, and descanting upon terms and words. For, as he goes on to say, “it is not only in hand whether John Sanderfon shall be fellow of Trinity college, or not; but whether there shall be any reverence towards the superiors, any obedience, any redress, or reformation in religion, in that whole university, or no; whether the truth shall obtain, or papistry triumph<sup>m</sup>.”

Nowell's letter on this occasion, which is dated “from London, 4 Octobris, 1562,” having never been in print, and being not unconnected with the history of the times, may

<sup>m</sup> MS. Parker cvi. 221. p. 534.

be seen in the appendix <sup>n</sup>. As for Sanderfon, his future fate and the issue of this business are not known. He seems by some verses subjoined to his petition to the archbishop, not to have been deficient in learning and ingenuity; but at the same time not to have wanted a certain spirit, which if the consciousness of talents does not engender, it does not always subdue. For among the reasons for his expulsion one was “a stomachous insulting ageynst the Master’s charitable admonition <sup>o</sup>.”

Towards the close of the year, his patron, the bishop of London, collated him to the valuable rectory of Great Hadham in Hertfordshire, a place memorable on many accounts, and in more respects than one en-

<sup>n</sup> App. No. iv.

<sup>o</sup> MS. Parker, ut supra, p. 540. I subjoin Sanderfon’s verses to the archbishop, from the same MS.

*Ite meæ lacrymæ, versus properate lugubres,*

*Ad Mæcenatem flebile carmen abi.*

*Voce gemente refer quanta est angustia nostra,*

*Commemora vitæ tristia fata meæ.*

*Paupertate premor, misero sum nudior Iro,*

*Vix ullus fidam præstat amicus opem.*

*Nescio quid faciam, vel quo vestigia ducam,*

*Si tu non faveas, vir celebrande, mihi.*

*Tu potes huic nostro medicinam adhibere dolori;*

*Tu potes, oh! tantum velle, levatus ero.*

deared to Nowell. It was the birth place of Edmund of Hadham, the father of Henry the seventh<sup>p</sup>. The bishops of London had a country house here; so that, in his rectorial as well as decanal residence, he would be near his friend and fellow exile, with whom he appears to have kept up a constant community of intercourse and counsels; and when his wife and family were at Hadham and himself in town, he was commonly a guest at his lordship's table<sup>q</sup>, in his episcopal house adjoining St. Paul's. The river Aft runs through the parish of Hadham; and, in this agreeable retirement, he could indulge, unmolested, his favourite amusement of angling. I know not whether an anecdote, then fresh in memory, concerning Dr. Edmund Bricket, his immediate predecessor in the living, might not also recommend it to Nowell. For he too, like the Dean, though without very imminent risk of life, had experienced the fury of Bonner's resentment. For when Bonner came to Hadham, upon his visitation, two hours

<sup>p</sup> Newcourt i. 829.

<sup>q</sup> Grindal, in a letter to Cecil in 1569, tells him, that the "Dean of St. Paul's was commonly with him at meals, his wife and family being then at Hadham." Strype's Grind. 150. his wife's family by a former husband, as will appear hereafter.



fooner than was expected, and found no bells ringing on his approach, and that neither the sacrament was hanging up in the church, nor a rood set up, "he fell a railing and swearing most intemperately," calling the rector "heretic and knave, with many other such goodly words;" and at last, losing all patience, and reaching at the unfortunate rector to beat him, he misguided the stroke, which fell on Sir Thomas Joffelin's ear with great force<sup>r</sup>. The meek and placid Nowell, treading the same spot, would often revolve occurrences which had passed there; not without humble gratitude to the great Disposer of events, who had caused a purer form of religion to be restored, and given him, in Grindal, a more christianlike diocesan.

Traditional accounts of departed merit, if not combined with some permanent memorial, are commonly short-lived and uncertain. The munificent founder of New College in Oxford, known by the magnificence and taste of his public buildings, is remembered also by various edifices of a less splendid, yet useful sort, with which he supplied many of the benefices, which he bestowed on his colleges.

<sup>r</sup> Burnet's Reform. ii. 290.

At Hadham Nowell built an ample tithe barn, one hundred and ninety feet in length, forty in breadth, and lofty in proportion; which was furnished with two spacious threshing floors, and so well constructed, entirely of English oak, that it still remains in very good condition, commanding the gratitude of successive incumbents, during the lapse of more than two centuries <sup>s</sup>.

To enable him the more commodiously to take his amusement in angling, the succeeding bishop of London, Edwin Sandys, conferred on him a grant of the custody of the river, within the manor of Hadham, with leave to take fish, and to cut down timber to make pits and dams, free of all expence whatsoever <sup>t</sup>.

And here, having mentioned his attachment to this honest and quiet art and recreation of angling, with which Augustus used to relieve the cares of empire <sup>u</sup>, one circumstance connected with it must not be omitted. Having either accidentally or by design (for

<sup>s</sup> From the obliging information of the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, the present worthy Rector of Hadham, F. R. and A. S. Archdeacon of Essex, and Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, 1808.

<sup>t</sup> Reg. Nowell i. f. 460.

<sup>u</sup> Sueton. in Aug. c. 83.

the accounts vary) left in the grafs, or buried in the ground, a bottle of ale, he found it again, after some time, “not a bottle but a gun, fuch the found of it when opened. And this (as casualty, fays Fuller, is the mother of more inventions than induftry) is believed the original of bottled ale in England <sup>x</sup>.”

Izaak Walton, in praife of the art of angling, mentions fome memorable men, who have been dear lovers of it and ornaments to it. “The firft is Doctor Nowell, fometimes Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul’s in London, where his monument ftands yet undefaced, a man that in the reformation of Elizabeth, not that of Henry VIII. was fo noted for his meek fpirit, deep learning, prudence, and piety, that the then parliament and convocation both chofe, enjoined, and trusted him to be the man to make a catechifm <sup>y</sup> for public ufe, fuch a one as fhould ftand as a rule for faith and manners to their pofterity. And the good old man, though he was very learned, yet knowing that God leads us not to heaven by many nor by hard queftions,

<sup>x</sup> Fuller’s Worthies, p. 115. *Anglorum Speculum* or *Worthies of Engl.* by G. S. Gent. 1684. p. 431.

<sup>y</sup> Fuller, *ubi fupra*, has the fame remark in the fame words; which, in fubftance, is repeated in *Anglorum Speculum*.

like an honest angler, made that good plain unperplexed Catechism, which is printed with our good old service-book. I say, this good man was a dear lover and constant practiser of angling, as any age can produce; and his custom was to spend besides his fixed hours of prayer, those hours which by command of the church were enjoined the clergy, and voluntarily dedicated to devotion by many primitive Christians: I say, besides those hours, this good man was observed to spend a tenth part of his time in angling; and also, for I have conversed with those which have conversed with him, to bestow a tenth part of his revenue, and usually all his fish, amongst the poor that inhabited near to those rivers, in which it was caught: saying often, "That charity gave life to religion:" and at his return to his house, would praise God he had spent that day free from worldly trouble; both harmlessly, and in a recreation that became a church-man. And this good man was well content, if not desirous, that posterity should know he was an Angler, as may appear by his picture, now to be seen, and carefully kept in Brasen Nose college, to which he was a liberal benefactor, in which picture he is drawn leaning on a desk with

his Bible before him, and on one hand of him his lines, hooks, and other tackling, lying in a round; and on his other hand are his angle-rods of several forts: and by them this is written, "That he died 13 Feb. 1601, being aged 95 years, 44 of which he had been Dean of St. Paul's church; and that his age had neither impaired his hearing, nor dimmed his eyes, nor weakened his memory, nor made any of the faculties of his mind weak, or useles." 'Tis said that angling and temperance were great causes of these blessings, and I wish the like to all that imitate him, and love the memory of so good a man<sup>z</sup>."

There is so much *naiveté* and truth in this character, that I make no apology for laying it entire before the reader. Though not by the hand of a contemporary, it is, I believe, the earliest and most exact account, which we have of the good Dean of St. Paul's, and at the same time furnishes no improper introduction to an obscure subject, which we are presently to inquire into, the history of Catechisms.

<sup>z</sup> Complete Angler, ed. Sir J. Hawkins 1760. p. 40.

## SECTION V.

**T**HE second Parliament of queen Elizabeth, which met at Westminster, January 12, 1562-3, is mentioned as memorable on several accounts, especially for the splendor and magnificence, with which the Queen appeared at the opening of it, as particularly described by a contemporary writer<sup>a</sup>. Her Majesty came on horseback, appareled in her mantle, open before, furred with ermine, and her kirtle of crimson velvet, close before, and close sleeves, but the hands turned up with ermine, and a hood hanging low round about her neck of ermine; over all a collar set with rich stones and other jewels, and on her head a rich cawl. At the north door of the abbey

<sup>a</sup> Sir S. Dewes (in his Journals, ed. Bowes, 1682. p. 58. b.) gives the same account of the Queen's dress &c. without pointing out the source of his information. It is copied, almost *verbatim*, from a MS. in Caius College, Cambridge (No. 1183 old Library, 64 new Library) where it stands as an introduction to Nowell's sermon; for which reason I have suffered it to retain its place, abridging only what the MS. and Dewes relate more at large.

she was met by the Dean of Westminster and the Dean of the chapel royal; and St. Edward's staff, with the martlet in the top, was delivered to her; her arm for the bearing thereof assisted by the baron Hunfdon, the canopy borne over her by Charles Howard, esquire, and five knights; her train borne up by Lord Robert Dudley, master of the horse, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice chamberlain. When her Majesty, thus royally attired and attended, had proceeded to the traverse, near the table of administration, and taken her seat, the spiritual lords sitting on the north side, and the temporalty on the south, the litany in English having been sung, the Dean of St. Paul's began his sermon, praying first for the universal church of Christ, for the Queen, and the three estates of the realm. The text was, "Offer ye the sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord." Psal. iv. 5. and as this psalm is thought to have been composed, as that which precedes it is expressly said to have been, when David fled from Absalom, the discourse opens with a short view of the rebellion of that beloved but ungrateful son. Absalom and his counsellors, not trusting in the Lord, but in themselves, came to ruin;

but David prospered; for he neither neglected nor confided in ordinary and reasonable means, but put his trust in God. The words, spoken by a prince, are a monition to princes and to others in authority, to excel in wisdom and virtue, as they do in station; suggesting to them, that, according as they imitate the irreligious son, or the pious father, they may expect the success of the one or the other.

He then adverted to some prevailing evils, as pride of apparel, excess of diet, the neglect of divine worship, and profanation of the Lord's day. The natural clemency of the Queen was very evident; for never, in this realm, had been seen a change so quiet, and so long a reign without blood. But now royal clemency should be converted into justice, not for the sake of punishing any man, who kept his opinions within his own breast, but to restrain such as disseminated mischief, whether against the safety of the Queen, or the truth of religion. It were well also, if, as in France, some sharper laws were devised against adultery (—a *desideratum* still in our criminal code) and severer punishment in the case of murder, than for simple felony.

Our present happiness (continued the preacher) especially when compared with the



miserable estate of France (then suffering by intestine commotions, by famine, and the plague<sup>b</sup>) was matter of joy and gratitude; and as the Queen, greatly to her honour as well as cost, had lately aided her neighbours of Scotland, although before her enemies, against the French; and now had entered upon wars in France, to disappoint the devilish designs of the same her known and inveterate enemy; it should be well foreseen to go through with it vigorously, and all should contribute largely and willingly. It was also advisable, even in time of peace, particularly for younger brothers, to serve in foreign wars, to gain experience; nor should that now be forgotten, which at the suppression of abbeyes would have been a wise measure, to reserve two houses in every county, one for the reward of soldiers, and the other for scholars. We should then have been supplied with learned scholars and good soldiers.

As to the scarcity of provisions and high price of corn, it was no wonder, when it was considered, that the good laws in maintenance

<sup>b</sup> Haddoni Epp. p. 285. Strype's L. of Sir T. Smith, p. 88. And see "Deploratio belli civilis in Gallia excitati anno 1562," by Sir T. Chaloner, in his miscellaneous verses, subjoined to his work De Rep. Anglorum, 1579. p. 334.

of tillage were not executed; and by the increase of pasture, where there used to be “twenty several houses for the Queen’s subjects to inhabit in, now there remaineth only a shepherd and his dog<sup>c</sup>.”

<sup>c</sup> The expression, though striking, is natural; and therefore, notwithstanding we find it in several authors, it is not certain that they copied one from another. Latimer in his first sermon before the king, printed in this same year 1562, complaining of graiers and inclosers as hinderers of the king’s honour, as it “standeth in the greate multitude of people,” says, “For where as have ben a greate many of householders and inhabitauntes, there is now but *a shepbeard and his dog.*” f. 29. b. In 1597, Nov. 5. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Bacon, speaking in the House of Commons against inclosures, has the same remark of “a shepherd and his dog.” Dewes’ Journals, where see also the speeches in 1601, on repealing the statute for the increase of tillage. f. 674, 675. I know not whether Sir T. More led the way in these complaints; but he speaks in the same strain, that “English sheepe” are “devourers of men,” that noblemen and gentlemen “leave no ground for tillage; they inclose all into pastures; they throw downe houses; they plucke downe townes, and leave nothing standing, but onely the Church to be made a sheephouse.” Utopia, p. 34. ed. 1639. which is quoted from the Latin by Gataker in his sermon on the Armada, 1626, p. 22. Among the Harley Pamphlets is one (No. 174.) dedicated to the King and Parliament (probably about 1550.) shewing “The decaye of England, onely by the great multitude of shepe.” Ames, p. 746. In a sermon at the cross on Trinity sunday, 1571, by E. B. the preacher says, “I do know wher of late there hath bene villages, wherein diuers families haue bene norished—and now all are wrung out, and turned out, and all is annexed to the demayne of one man to mainteine an ynfatiable cormorant.”

On this difficult subject, which will meet us again; the worthy Dean espoused the popular and plausible side of the question; which a more enlightened and comprehensive policy seems at length to have proved to be more specious than true. In a general view, what is most advantageous to the individual is most beneficial also to the public; and land not equally suited to all purposes is best applied in that way, in which it will be most productive. Where the prospect of success in pasture, or by the plough, is equal, and the cultivation of course entirely optional, as on a large scale must be the case in numberless instances, there an increasing demand, in one way or the other, will increase the cultivation, and bring a larger stock to market: and, certainly, that the complaint, which has subsisted for ages, of pasturage increasing to the serious diminution of the supply of grain, is altogether groundless, we have this unanswerable proof, that when, a few years ago, corn and other articles of subsistence were enormously dear, wheat and other sorts of grain returned to nearly their former level, long

Signat. B. ii. ed. 1576. penes me. Lastly, Wharton in his *Dream*, 1578 (of which more hereafter) speaks of those, who "By hedging of the commons in robd a common wealth."

before the meat in the shambles, or any other article connected with grazing, experienced any material reduction of price.

From this view of public manners, and political wants, the preacher proceeded to a point of greater delicacy, the Queen's marriage; which he endeavoured to recommend, as well from the consideration of the general difmay and sorrow, which overwhelmed the nation, when her Majesty was lately afflicted with sickness, as from the common uncertainty of human life: to which latter reflection he was led by a walk, which he chanced lately to have taken, in the church where he now spoke, surveying the tombs of her Majesty's most noble ancestors, those of the longest and those of shorter reign alike laid in the dust. Musing on these things, and foreseeing, in his judgement, the ruin of his country, he had been disposed "to pass away these his old years, meditating himself in the Lamentations of Jeremy." But then again, when he heard of the calling of this Parliament, he was thereby encouraged, hoping and not doubting, but there would be such order taken, and good laws established, as should again erect up the decay of the common weal. "And thus beseeching God, that this

assembly of the two Houses may wholly together offer up a sacrifice of righteousness and thanksgiving, and proceed forward with making of good laws, then I doubt not but your Majesty shall to our comfort long reign over us, and the Nobles with their issues continue<sup>d</sup>.”

If the preacher, in this discourse, should be thought to encroach a little on the province of the senator, it will be recollected, that though the times were now past, when the clergy, as almost the only competent persons in point of learning, generally filled the chief offices in the state; yet the examples were recent and approved, when Latimer and others recommended from the pulpit such matters, especially touching religion and good manners, as seemed to require legislative redress and regulation; and of the particular points, to which Nowell adverted, there were not a few, which soon afterwards, and partly perhaps in consequence of his suggestion, actually engaged the deliberative wisdom of parliament.

It is not likely that Nowell was taxed, as

<sup>d</sup> MS. Caius Coll. Cambridge, No. 1183 old Library, No. 64. new Library.

he is reported to have been sometimes, with flattering the Queen in this sermon; in which if he praised her well known and princely clemency, he at the same time, in her royal presence, superbly as she was attired, did not scruple to censure excess of apparel. We may however mention here the plea, which, when he was thus accused, he was wont to urge in his own justification; that, "he had no other way to instruct the Queen what she should be, but by commending her<sup>e</sup>," as if she already was what he wished her to be. And of this allowable practice and address, which her Majesty wanted neither discernment to interpret, nor ingenuity to acknowledge<sup>f</sup>, we perhaps have an instance in the foregoing discourse; when, noting the care and anxiety of a man dying before he has made his will, and set all things in good order, he added, "even so, no doubt of it, was and is the Queen's Majesty much troubled for the suc-

<sup>e</sup> Fuller's Ded. of Life out of Death, a sermon on the recovery of an honourable person, 1655.

<sup>f</sup> Thus when the Speaker, Sir Thomas Gargrave, had commended the Queen, in his speech at the opening of the Parliament, 1 Eliz. the lord Keeper Bacon, by her command, "gave him her hearty thanks, as for a good exhortation to her Highness, to become such a one as you have commended her for." Dewes' Journ. f. 16. b.

cession of this crown." Whether her Majesty did, or, in these her youthful days, did not yet, feel much concern about a successor to the throne, the nation at large had a vast stake and interest in the question; and it was the more natural to presume the royal breast not unmoved with this solicitude, "as her sweet words and sweeter deeds<sup>g</sup>" (as one says of her) were such as won the hearts and affections of all who saw her.

The Convocation this same year was also memorable; being that famous synod, in which the Articles of Religion were revised and subscribed. The archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops and clergy of his province, met in St. Paul's, January 13, when the litanies, then commonly a distinct service, was chanted in English, and a Latin sermon preached by Day, provost of Eton, on the apposite words of St. Peter, "Feed the flock of God, as much as in you is,—not by constraint, but willingly<sup>h</sup>." The bishop of London administered the holy Communion; and when they had withdrawn into the chapter

<sup>g</sup> Sir I. Harrington, *Nugæ Antiq.* i. 61.

<sup>h</sup> 1 Pet. v. 2. See the Acts of this Convocation in *Synodus Anglicana*, p. 194 &c. *Strype's Ann.* i. 315. *Heylin's Reform.* p. 330.

house, the archbishop, in a short but eloquent speech, opened the business, stating the opportunity which was then afforded, with the approbation and good wishes of the Queen and of others, for reforming what might be thought to require reformation, in the church of England; and concluded with directing those of the lower house to choose a Prolocutor, and to present him there on the ensuing saturday, recommending to them especially the Dean of St. Paul's. He was accordingly elected, and presented by the clergy in a body, being introduced between Goodman, dean of Westminster, and Sampson, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, with a short speech by the former, in commendation of his talents and virtues. The Prolocutor, in an elegant speech, declared himself little fit for the office, but not unwilling to accept it; and the archbishop, after conference had with his brother bishops, by their unanimous consent, in a neat speech approved and confirmed the election.

In the next session, adjourned to Henry VIIth's chapel in Westminster abbey, for the convenience of the bishops in attending parliament, the Prolocutor informed the upper house, that certain papers, concerning matters to be reformed, had been submitted to a



committee of the lower house, to be revised and reduced into order and exhibited in the next session; and likewise that the Articles of Edward VI. had been delivered to another committee, chosen for the purpose, to examine and consider them, and, as they should see occasion, to correct and amend them; these also to be exhibited in the next session. The Articles, thus produced, seem to have engaged the attention of four ensuing sessions; and then, on the 29th of January, they were unanimously subscribed by the upper house.

On a subsequent day, Feb. 5. Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, Bentham of Lichfield, Davies of St. David's, and Alley of Exeter, were, by the unanimous consent of the upper house, appointed to examine a book called "The Catechism;" but whether it was Nowell's, as is most likely, or some other, is not said. After conference about a subsidy, the Prolocutor being sent for, he, with six others of that house, produced the book of Articles, before sent from the bishops, and now subscribed by some of the members of the lower house, requesting, with the consent of that house, that all, who had not yet subscribed, might be obliged to do so, either publicly in their own house, or, on refusal, before the bishops:

whereupon it was unanimously ordered, that the Prolocutor should, in the next session, deliver in the names of all those, who continued to withhold their subscription. At the time appointed, which was five days afterwards, some had complied, and some had not; so the former order was repeated, and those who had hitherto demurred, no doubt, subscribed; for the title to the Articles, as they were soon after published, expresses, that they were “agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the year 1562.”

A subsidy and matters of discipline now engaged the attention of the Convocation; after which, on the third of March, the Prolocutor, with Sampson, dean of Christ Church, and Day, provost of Eton, presented to the upper house a book called “*Catechismus puerorum* ;” to which, they said, all the members of the lower house had unanimously given their consent; and they left the book with their Lordships; and there, unfortunately, it remained without further notice; for, as far as appears, nothing was from this time concluded, either on the subject of discipline, though diligently prosecuted by both

houses, or on any other. And on the 14th of April the convocation was prorogued, by virtue of a writ from the crown.

Of the Catechism, which thus obtained the sanction of the lower house, and was by them submitted to the upper, we shall have occasion to inquire more hereafter. With respect to the Articles of religion, revised and settled by this Convocation, the alterations made in them, without departing, unless perhaps in a single point, from the sense or substance of Edward VIth's Articles, were more numerous and more important, than will, without exact comparison, easily be believed, or has been distinctly noted by those, who have compared them. The Descent into hell, an article that occasioned great dispute in those days and long afterwards, which before was limited to one doubtful if not erroneous sense<sup>i</sup>, was now left in the general expression of the Apostles' creed, as that is grounded on an equally comprehensive text of Scripture.

<sup>i</sup> Applying to the Descent the text of 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. The wise archbishop Parker canceled this clause, and most of the alterations seem to have been made by him; as appears by a copy of Edw. VIth's Articles marked by his hand. Strype's Annals, vol. i. chap. xxviii. By whom the new Articles (namely v. xii, xxix, xxx.) were framed, does not appear.

Six or seven<sup>k</sup> articles, chiefly negative, condemning errors, then perhaps less rife than in Edward's days, were struck out; four new articles were added, with several material clauses in others, and the whole compressed and rendered more clear, and more nearly conformable to the language of Scripture.

During this convocation the second book of Homilies, to which the Articles refer, was prepared among the bishops, revised, and finished; though it was not yet published, but, as Strype says<sup>1</sup>, lay till the next year before the Queen, for her confirmation.

Various other matters of inferior magnitude, though in themselves not unimportant, were likewise debated in this convocation. It was thought desirable to restore the jurisdiction of the Ordinary over the sites of monasteries and other peculiars, within their several dioceses; to devise some sharper laws against simony and adultery; and to contrive means for the augmentation of small vicarages. But on these and similar points, some of them in-

<sup>k</sup> Seven in fact; but the substance of one (xix Edw. VI.) that "all men are bound to keep the Moral Commandments of the Law," was added to the Article concerning the Old Testament (VIth of 1552, VIIth of 1562) "Although" &c.

<sup>1</sup> Annals i. 346.

terfering with private property, others delicate, and all of them difficult, nothing was done.

Rites and ceremonies also were warmly agitated, particularly in the lower house; where Nowell, the prolocutor, and his brother, the Dean of Lichfield, with about thirty more, chiefly such as had been abroad in the late troubles, proposed that some other long garment should be used instead of the surplice, or that the minister should, in time of divine service, use the surplice only; that the sign of the cross should be omitted in baptism, and that kneeling at the holy Communion should be left to the discretion of the Ordinary; that saints' days should be abrogated, and organs removed<sup>m</sup>. But others, and the prevailing party, would allow of no alterations in the liturgy or rules of Edward the sixth's service book (knowing the wisdom, deliberation, and piety, with which it had

<sup>m</sup> Strype gives a petition to the upper house, signed by Nowell and thirty one more; and then six articles, on which the house divided, 58 for them, and 59 against them; many being, designedly as it seems, absent. This was Feb. 13. He introduces the petition *first*, but without date. Is it not likely to have been after the other had been carried against them? Ann. i. 335—339.

been framed) as it was already received and enforced by the authority of parliament, in the first year of the Queen.

On the day when the convocation was prorogued, being the wednesday in Easter week, Nowell preached the third Spital sermon; which, with the two former, was repeated according to custom, on the funday following, by Bradbridge, dean of Salisbury, afterwards promoted to the see of Exeter. The monday's sermon was by Horn, bishop of Winchester, who took occasion to mention the condition of the poor French Protestants, who had fled from persecution in their own country; and he raised such compassion for them, in the breasts of the auditors, that a handsome sum was immediately collected for their relief<sup>n</sup>.

The persecution in France, by which not fewer than a hundred thousand Protestants were cut off, in less than six months<sup>o</sup>, was not the only evil, which oppressed that unhappy country. The plague (as said above<sup>p</sup>) also raged there, and from thence was communicated to England, where it first wasted

<sup>n</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 377.

<sup>o</sup> Heylin's Reform. p. 323.

<sup>p</sup> See above, p. 87.

the metropolis, and then the country<sup>q</sup>. In this severe affliction, the piety of the bishop of London suggested to him the propriety of preparing "common prayers," for the benefit of his diocese; and he also desired the Dean of St. Paul's "to write an homily meet for the time," which was accordingly done; but upon the motion of Cecil, and "by help of Mr. Dean, who was luckily with him" when the Secretary's letters came, he proceeded further, and drew up a form of prayer for general use, sending to the Secretary a copy of what was done, before the homily was "fair written; but of that," he says, "ye cannot doubt, knowing the Author<sup>r</sup>."

The form of prayer, having been revised and corrected by Cecil and by the archbishop (who wished the collects had been shorter<sup>s</sup>) was set forth by the Queen's special commandment, July 30, 1563, to be used twice a week, with an order of public fast, to be used every wednesday, during this time of morta-

<sup>q</sup> Haddoni Epp. p. 281. 283. 285. 294. 296. Strype's L. of Sir T. Smith, p. 88.

<sup>r</sup> Grindal to Cecil, from Fulham, July 30, 1563. Burghley MSS. vol. vi. No. 63. See also Strype's Parker, p. 131—133.

<sup>s</sup> Burghley MS. vi. No. 66. Abp. to Cecil, 6 Aug.

lity<sup>t</sup>: to which the homily was subjoined, with this title: "An Homily, concerning the Justice of God in punyshyng of impenitent fynnners, and of hys mercies towards all such as in theyr afflictions vnfaynedly turne vnto hym. Appoynted to be read in the tyme of sicknes." It is a pathetic and truly Christian discourse, consisting of denunciations against sin, exhortations to repentance, and promises of mercy, with examples under each head, chiefly from Scripture, the author rightly judging "it necessary that we should be instructed by the doctrine of God's word;" and he concludes with a common form, expressed in an easy and yet not a common way: "Unto whom [our Saviour Jesus Christ] with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one eternal majesty of the most glorious God, be all honour glory and dominion, world without end. Amen."

The bishop, "having left the book in some readyness," with instructions to the printer to

<sup>t</sup> Lambeth Library, 30. 3. 17. See also Ames by Herbert, p. 721. It was reprinted, as "necessarie to be used at this time in like visitation, July, 1593." ib. 1086. Ascham mentions the "great plague at London, 1563," in the preface to his Schoolmaster, p. 191. ed. Bennet.



wait upon the Secretary with it, “ fet forward for Farnham, carrying Mr. Dean with him <sup>u</sup>” the next day, which was the second of Auguft. During that month the plague ſwept away in the metropolis about a thouſand ſouls a week <sup>x</sup>; and in the enſuing month, an earthquake, felt in different parts, increaſed the general alarm and conſternation <sup>y</sup>. As the cold weather fet in, the number of deaths abated greatly; and towards the end of January came forth a form of Thankſgiving, by the biſhop of London, to be uſed in his dioceſe, and by others at their diſcretion <sup>z</sup>.

A very elegant little volume, now one of the ſcarceſt in the Engliſh language, conſiſting of Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets, written by Barnabe Googe, came out about this time. One of the ſonnets, ſuperior, as the reſt are, in point of harmony to moſt of the productions of thoſe days, is addreſſed to

<sup>u</sup> Burghley MS. vi. No. 65. Aug. 1. Grindal to Cecil, who, no doubt, knew the occaſion of his going (as he ſpeaks of it with ſo much eaſe, “ I fet forward to morrow” &c.) whether it was to Farnham in Eſſex, or Farnham in Surrey, which does not appear.

<sup>x</sup> Strype’s Ann.-i. 434.

<sup>y</sup> Stow’s Summ. p. 615.

<sup>z</sup> Ames by Herbert, p. 721.

Alexander Nowell; in which the poet makes Apollo and the Muses rejoice at the success of his studies, but chiefly commends him for employing his time in the "sacred schools" of theology <sup>a</sup>. The Author seems to be the same Barnaby Googe, who was a relation and retainer to Sir William Cecil <sup>b</sup>, and at this time Gentleman Pensioner to the Queen <sup>c</sup>; and is probably the same, who translated into English the popish Kingdom, or reign of Antichrist, written in Latin verse by Naogeorgius,

<sup>a</sup> Signat. E. 5. b. small 8vo. black letter. Mr. Warton mentions these Sonnets in his notes on the Fairie Queen, i. 219. and Hist. Poet. iii. 449—459. where he observes (p. 451.) that Googe in 1563 noted, that Isaiah wrote in verse. The book was published that year, in the absence of his "deare friend M. Googe," by L. Blundeston, whose address to the reader is dated, "From my Chambre the .xxvii. of Maye. 1562." It is dedicated, "To the ryght worshipfull M. Will. Louelace, Esquier, Reader of Grayes Inne." A very neat copy in red Russia, gilt, in the possession of Richard Heber, Esquire, was bought at the sale of Mr. Steevens's Library. No other copy is known to exist, but one in Mr. Capell's Shakspereana, in the Library of Trinity college, Cambridge. The curious reader will not be displeased to see the lines on Nowell, as a specimen from a volume so extremely rare. They are therefore printed in the Appendix, No. v.

<sup>b</sup> "Wherein ye write for your cosyn and servant Bernaby Goge" &c. Abp. Parker to Cecil, 20 Nov. 1563. Burghley MS. vi. No. 81.

<sup>c</sup> Strype's Parker, p. 144.

and four books of Husbandry from the Latin of Hereſbachius<sup>d</sup>; the father perhaps of Barnaby Googe, maſter of Magdalen college, Cambridge, who was incorporated at Oxford in Auguſt 1605, when King James was there; and afterwards, being engaged in a ſuit of great property in behalf of his college, and, from his high ſpirit and knowledge of the laws, confident of ſucceſs, was caſt in chancery, and lay long in priſon, for not obeying the order of Lord Chancellor Eger-ton<sup>e</sup>.

Harding's Anſwer to Jewell, printed at Lovain, was brought over into England in the beginning of this ſummer; and a copy of it falling into Nowell's hands, he, when he was preaching at the croſs, four days afterwards<sup>f</sup>, read ſome paſſages of it, and confuted them in the pulpit; laying open to his auditors certain notable untruths and abſurdities; willing them, by that example, to give leſs credit to the reſt. And he had good reaſon for

<sup>d</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. F. 171.

<sup>e</sup> Fuller's Hiſt. Cam. 121.

<sup>f</sup> 4. S. after Eaſter, 1564. Strype's Ann. i. 451. Nowell himſelf, in a ſermon which will be noticed preſently, ſays, Harding's book had not fallen into his hands "paſt three days, and rather two days than three," when he thus animadverted upon it.

this, as he said, because the papists, who had not read the book, in corners magnified it above the stars: whereby, as he suggested, he did in effect give neighbours warning to beware of a thief. And, before the year went round, he gave similar warning at the same place, respecting another answerer of Jewell, protesting in a sermon at the cross, November 19, that “there was not one true word in master Dorman’s book, lately brought over from beyond the seas<sup>g</sup>.”

The emperor Ferdinand dying in autumn this year, it was resolved that his funeral should be honourably celebrated in St. Paul’s cathedral; which was accordingly performed at the Queen’s cost, with great splendor, the ceremony lasting three days<sup>h</sup>. The Dean assisted in these solemnities, the lords and great officers of state being the mourners; and the bishop of London made so good and discreet a sermon on the occasion, that it was determined it should be printed, as it was delivered by the preacher, and translated into Latin by the ready and elegant pen of John Fox.

<sup>g</sup> Stow’s MS. Collections. Lambeth MS. Libr. 306.

<sup>h</sup> Oct. 1—3. 1564. Strype’s Ann. i. 455. L. of Grindal, p. 99. Stow’s Chron. 658.

The free School at Tunbridge in Kent, founded by Sir Andrew Judd, Skinner, Alderman and lord Mayor of London, in the fourth year of Edward VI.<sup>i</sup> seems hitherto not to have been furnished with rules. The Skinners' Company therefore, patrons of the school, caused certain articles to be drawn up, which they submitted to the correction of the Dean of St. Paul's<sup>k</sup>. He accordingly perused and corrected them, and under his own hand signified his approbation of them; whereupon the Company laid the corrected copy before the Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose diocese the school was, requesting his Grace to peruse and subscribe the rules, already perused and subscribed by "The Deane of Powles." Erasmus and Ascham, men of profound learning and placid manners, were both of them advocates for a gentle and humane mode of education<sup>l</sup>. The good Dean of St. Paul's, of similar erudition and congenial spirit, also approved of mild discipline, as his emendations, all on the side of lenity, evince<sup>m</sup>. One injunc-

<sup>i</sup> Baker's Chron. 1733. p. 313.

<sup>k</sup> MS. Parker cviii. No. 64. p. 403—413. May 12. 6 Eliz. (1564.) And see Haſted's Kent, ii. p. 346, 347.

<sup>l</sup> Knight's Colet, p. 175.

<sup>m</sup> A single instance may be given. One of the rules was, that

tion, on a point of higher moment, he judged fit to be added, that all the scholars, upon the sabbath and holidays, should resort in due time to divine service, in the parish church, attended by the master or usher, one or both.

Henry Fisher, citizen of London and Skinner, who was feoffee with the founder, and after his decease conveyed the estates to the Skinners' Company, endowed a scholarship in Brasen Nose college, in 1562, the scholar to be elected by the Skinners' Company from Tunbridge school. The son of the said Fisher endeavouring to impeach the conveyances of the estates, the endowment of the school was settled and confirmed by act of parliament, in the year 1572<sup>n</sup>. The two first schoolmasters of Tunbridge, John Proctor<sup>o</sup>, who seems to

no "remedy for playe" should be allowed "above ffower tymes in the yere." The Dean wrote in the margin, "Leave to play once a weke may well be borne with." The word "remedy" in this sense occurs in dean Colet's statutes of St. Paul's, dated 1518. (Knight's Colet, p. 362.) "I will also that they shall have no *remedyes*." It is the appropriate term, I understand, at Winchester for a half-holiday, or remission of part of the daily business of the school.

<sup>n</sup> May 8. MS. Parker, ubi supra, p. 413. Dewes' Journals, p. 219.

<sup>o</sup> "A slender historical account of Wiat's rebellion (12mo. Lond. 1555) was set out by John Proctor, Schoolmaster of Tun-

have taught there in the reign of queen Mary, and John Stockwood <sup>p</sup>, who was probably the first master on the new foundation, were both of them writers.

But to return to Nowell: It was not only his general character, as a man of judgement and learning, but the memory of his fame, as Master of Westminster school, that made his revision and approbation of the rules of this and other seminaries, established in his time <sup>q</sup>, to be so much desired. And, upon the same ground, his friend the Archbishop, who was now founding a school at Rachdale in Lancashire, an appropriation belonging to the see of Canterbury, requested the sanction of his name, together with that of Cox, bishop of Ely, preceptor to Edward the sixth, and Horn, bishop of Winchester; who accordingly sub-

bridge, perhaps the only particular history of this [Q. Mary's] reign." Hist. Libr. p. 66.

<sup>p</sup> A sermon at Pauls cross on Barthmew day, 1578, on Acts x. 1—10. by John Stockwood, Scholemaister of Tunbridge, and ded. to the Skinners Company. Ames, 982. "An Addition to the proues of Scripture noted in master Deeringes Catechisme," by the same, "minister and preacher at Tunbridge, 1583." ib. 1098. A short Catechism for Householders, by the same, "Scholemaister of Tunbridge," 1587. ib. 1100. See also 1032.

<sup>q</sup> Particularly, as I am informed, of the Grammar School at Bangor in Carnarvonshire; but those statutes I have not seen.

scribed the original endowment, on the first day of the new year, 1564-5 ; and were present also at the delivery of the charter and title deeds, to James Wouldfenden, clothier, and John Warbarton, merchant, both of Rachdale, proxies for the parish, June 18, 1571<sup>r</sup>.

It was his misfortune to offend the Queen in his sermon on Ash wednesday, preached before her Majesty at Westminster this year<sup>s</sup>. Some "lewd," and in many places "unhonest" or immodest, book, had lately come out, which the writer was "not abashed to dedicate to his most gracious soveraign, *et Principi et Virgini.*" The Dean therefore was moved by this "unreverent impudency of the author," and by his own "due reverence to his gracious soveraign," to shew at once his "mifliking of the book, and of the judgement of some (as he thought) undiscreeet subjects," who were pleased with it. The author, as it seems, had defended some of the superstitious books and customs of popery, which the preacher condemned ; but going one step too

<sup>r</sup> MS. Parker, ubi supra, p. 444. Strype's Parker, p. 182. 523.

<sup>s</sup> 7 March, 1564-5. Stow's MSS. Lambeth Library, No. 306. Stow calls him "Master Newalle Deane of Powles." Compare note m. p. 19.



far, and expressing some dislike of the sign of the cross<sup>t</sup>, the Queen called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return to his text. The worthy Dean was so distressed and "utterly dismayed" with this unexpected rebuke, that the archbishop, who appears to have been one of his auditors, "for pure pity took him home to dinner with him;" as he informed the Secretary Cecil the next day<sup>u</sup>. The Dean himself also, on that day, wrote to Cecil, explaining, as here stated, the true reason of his adverting to the book in question, "which though it fell out somewhat otherwise, than he, so long accustomed to his Sovereign's gracious patience with him, could well foresee; yet, what error soever was admitted in the utterance thereof, he enjoyed the testimony of sound doctrine, and the con-

<sup>t</sup> I have given this as others have reported it; but it would seem from Nowell's own account, that it was not the sign of the cross, but either the crucifix (which remained for some time in the Queen's chapel, Strype's Ann. i. 176.) or other images, that were the object of his censure. For he says, "My transgression was from Dame Grace's books burned, to Images, termed the Books of Ideots, which I took as not altogether impertinent." Letter to Cecil, March 8, 1564-5. Burghley MS. viii. No. 5. Strype's Parker, p. 160. App. p. 52. Heylin's Reform. p. 296.

<sup>u</sup> Burghley MS. viii. No. 2.

science of a good intent, and most humble reverence towards his most gracious Sovereign<sup>x</sup>.”

It is probable, the Secretary, Nowell's constant friend, took occasion to lay the truth of the matter before the Queen, and to intercede in his behalf; but it appears to have been some time before he was entirely restored, or at least known to be restored, to her Majesty's favourable opinion and good liking. For when the archbishop, in January following, was “devising for Lent preachers,” he was apprehensive he should “fail of divers, fearing the like sequel of reproof,” which had befallen the Dean, whom he wished to be one; but being aware, that he would “hardly be intreated to occupy the place, if her Majesty should not like, after her accustomed manner, to favour him, and to give him hearing,” he wished the Secretary could understand her Highness' inclination, that he might accordingly move the Dean, whom he had, partly with that view, invited to dine with him<sup>y</sup>. In the end however he appears to have been excused preaching this Lent, though not, as

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. No. 5. Strype's Parker, App. p. 52.

<sup>y</sup> Abp. to Cecil, 29 Jan. 1565-6. Burghley MS. viii. No. 74.

Strype supposed <sup>z</sup>, on account of the past displeasure of the Queen (and yet perhaps the rather on that account) but because he had long before prayed to be discharged, “for that he was thoroughly occupied against Dorman <sup>a</sup>.”

Trivial disputes are often powerful agents in disturbing public as well as private repose. It is marvellous and humiliating to think how warmly the matter of canonical habiliments, the surplice, square cap, and hoods, was about this time and long afterwards contested; notwithstanding it was admitted, by those who were most vehement in opposing the use of them, that they were in themselves perfectly indifferent; and that it was expedient that a long robe, different from the common dress, should be worn by the clergy, when attending divine service. The archbishop, prudent gentle and patient, took infinite pains in this business, weighing and debating the subject in every point of view; not only with several of his brethren the bishops, and other dignitaries of the church, but likewise with Sampson, dean of Christ

<sup>z</sup> Strype's Parker, p. 202.

<sup>a</sup> Abp. to Cecil, 26 Feb. (1565-6.) Burghley MS. viii. No. 80.

Church, and Humphry, president of Magdalen college, Oxford, both of them exiles in Mary's days, two of the most eminent in talents and station, of those who refused the habits <sup>b</sup>. The Dean of St. Paul's also laboured the point, and framed what his Grace called "Mr. Nowell's pacification;" in which he proposed, that the general use of the ecclesiastical vestures should be continued, but with a protestation, that it was desirable such distinction of apparel should be taken away; for several reasons, particularly these; to shew more fully their detestation of that corrupt and superstitious church, in which they had been abused; for fear lest they should be again abused; and to remove dissension among the brethren <sup>c</sup>. No alteration however was made, nor deviation permitted; and though Sampson chose to quit his deanery, rather than comply; yet Humphry, as one observed of him, became "conformable in the end, as he grew riper in experience, and sager in judgement <sup>d</sup>." Whittingham also, dean of Durham, another who imported with him from abroad much of the leaven of Geneva,

<sup>b</sup> Strype's Parker, 162—173.

<sup>c</sup> Strype's Parker, 173.

<sup>d</sup> Gab. Harvey in Ath. Oxon. i. 242.

and was zealous in non-conformity (secretly abetted therein by his patron the Earl of Leicester <sup>e</sup>) yielded at last, however reluctantly, to wear the habits <sup>f</sup>. As for Nowell, he not only wore them orderly and punctually, enjoined as they were by legal authority, but likewise, as we have seen, voluntarily stepped forward, in revising the rules of Tunbridge school, to enforce a kindred ordinance, commonly opposed by those who opposed the habits, that the saints' days should be kept <sup>g</sup>, as well as fundays.

<sup>e</sup> See a letter by him to the Earl on this subject in 1564. Strype's Parker, p. 156. App. p. 43.

<sup>f</sup> Strype, *ib.* 157. Ath. Oxon. i. 195. Whittingham, who was born in the city of Chester, was educated in Brasen Nose college; afterwards became fellow of All Souls, and then student of Christ Church. He probably was first tinctured with puritanism at Geneva, where he resided some time in the reign of Edward VI. He translated the 119th and fourteen other psalms, inscribed W. W. though the initials vary a little in some early editions. He was also the principal translator of the Geneva Bible.

<sup>g</sup> See above, p. 108. and his Reproof of Dorman, f. 16.

## SECTION VI.

**F**IVE years had now elapsed, since Jewell's famous challenge, in his sermon at Paul's cross<sup>h</sup>, startled the English papists at home and abroad. Rastell, who had been a fellow of New College, and in the year of the challenge fled to Lovain, was the first that publicly appeared in the lists against the challenger, with a Confutation of the sermon, and other things<sup>i</sup>. Harding, who had been fellow of the same college, and in the reign of Edward the sixth, being chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and strenuous for the reformation, endeavoured to prepare men for the persecution which was apprehended<sup>k</sup>, but in Mary's days revolted to popery, next came out with his Confutation of Jewell's Apology; and was followed by Dorman, who had also been edu-

<sup>h</sup> See above, p. 49.

<sup>i</sup> Heylin's Reform. p. 302. 346. Ath. Oxon. i. 306.

<sup>k</sup> Vita Juel. p. 138—142. Heylin ut supra. Ath. Oxon. i. 175. See a long letter to Harding on his lapsing to popery, by Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, in Fox, vol. ii. p. 1420. Of which also see Strype's Aylmer, p. 11.

cated in the same college, afterwards fellow of All Souls, and now beyond seas, adhering to popery.

Jewell prepared an answer to Harding; but a number of other books, as it were darts, being in the mean time directed at his head, most of them such as he, if he had leisure, would never answer, but by contempt, and yet if not answered, they might seem to be let alone as being unanswerable; Nowell therefore, in the cause which was common to all (for they who assailed the Bishop only by name, endeavoured through his sides to thrust all through the heart) resolved, for the satisfying of the simple and repressing of the insolent, to say somewhat to some one of these books; and to Mr. Dorman's rather than any other, as it came abroad next in order after Dr. Harding's.

Dorman's book is intitled, "A Proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr. Jewell." It was dedicated to Harding, and with good reason, as Nowell says, the author having borrowed from him "authorities and reasons ready framed to his hands," with others from Hosius, whom Harding also in many places had literally translated. This, which he discovered more and more as he proceeded, had

he understood at the first, and that the Bishop of Sarum in answering the master must needs answer the scholar also, their reasons being the same, he would have waited till the Bishop's answer had come abroad in print; and would then no otherwise have answered it, but by noting in what places of the Bishop's answer to Harding, every place of Dorman was answered, himself directly answering such things as were peculiar to Dorman. But having taken the book in hand, he was the more careful to answer the reasons alleged in it, not as being the reasons of Dorman, but of Harding, of Eckius, Pighius, and Hofius, and of all that had written for the pope's supremacy. Another and most weighty cause, why he used such diligence and prolixity, was, because Dorman, though a weak assailable and slender reasoner, was a great liar and venomous calumniator; who had slandered his country, the laws, and his sovereign, at home and abroad. "Wherefore, says he, I thought it should become me not slenderly to esteem the honour of my prince, my duty to my country, and to the laws of the realm; but with earnestness to repel such reproaches, as M. Dorman hath attempted to blemish them withal." A third reason for his an-



swering more at large was, that the simple and unlearned readers have often best liking in books more boldly than learnedly written, and are most in danger to credit most lewd and slanderous lies; insomuch that a great many, for the commendation of these virtues, preferred the scholar before the master, M. Dorman before Dr. Harding. He therefore endeavoured to adapt his answer to those of mean understanding, to whom the guileful dealings of the papists cannot with brevity be made manifest<sup>1</sup>.

The points, which Dorman undertook to prove against Jewell's negative, were, That the Bishop of Rome is the head of Christ's universal church here in earth, and was, within the first six hundred years, so called and taken; That transubstantiation (not the name, but the doctrine) was then taught; That the communion was then ministered under one kind; and mass said, although there were none to receive with the priest. On the first of these points, where Harding had professed brevity, Dorman amplified his matter, considering it to be, as in truth it is, the very foundation of all true religion (as he

<sup>1</sup> Pref. to the Reader.

called it) that is, of all popery. On this therefore Nowell was full in his answer, and he published this part first. The dedication and preface, as containing nothing material to the question, he omits; but of the treatise itself he transcribes and answers the whole, paragraph by paragraph; a method the most fair and reasonable, which was afterwards adopted by Whitgift in his answer to Cartwright.

It will easily be supposed, that Dorman fails to prove that, of which there is neither proof, nor shadow of proof, in the Scriptures, or the fathers; but that he may seem to say something, he corrupts and misapplies a variety of passages: which deceitful dealing caused Nowell to say, before a public auditory, when the book first came over, "that he had not found any one authority by him (as far as then he had read) truly alleged<sup>m</sup>." Where the question, as it stands in Dorman's page, has the most plausible appearance, it is found, on examination, to be merely this: what St. Cyprian and others say of deacons and other ministers submitting to their *own* proper bishop, at Carthage, at Alexandria, or

<sup>m</sup> Reproof, f. 10. And see above, p. 106.

other places (which implies, what the same fathers often expressly teach, that all bishops are equal, each head of his own peculiar diocese) this Dorman has the effrontery to assume and apply, as if it were spoken of submission to the bishop of *Rome*.

Nowell's *Reproof* is dated 30 May, 1565<sup>n</sup>; and in little more than a month (July 13.) came out a second impression<sup>o</sup>, in which, as he says, "there is nothing altered from the first, saving onely that M. Dorman's euyl handlyng of the auncient Doctours is, in some places, more at large explicated; and that some part of Mr. Dorman's treatie, somewhere before diuided, is now for the more perspicuitie and plainenesse ioyned together." Both impressions are very neat, but the second, as well in point of typography as paper,

<sup>n</sup> Penes me. There is written in it, "Sum Thomæ Beulei, anno 1565. pr. 18 D." Afterwards it belonged to the Lord North, whose elegant but very peculiar signature, "R. North," together with his maxim or motto, "DVRVM PATI 70" (i. e. 1570) appears on the title-page. See two later autographs of his, one in 1575. MS. Burghley xxi. No. 44. the other in 1591. ib. lxviii. No. 9.

<sup>o</sup> In the Library of Brasen Nose College. Strype seems only to have seen this second impression, and to have mistaken it for the first, as he says (L. of Parker, p. 180.) it came out July 13, which is the date of the second impression.

has the advantage; particularly as the quotations, *Italic* in the first, are here Roman, which assimilates better with the black letter, in which both are printed.

The works, which the divines issued from their seminaries abroad, were for the most part “by common conference elaborated, at convenient opportunity to be put in print<sup>p</sup>;” and it was also supposed in the case of Dorman, that he derived considerable assistance from the papers of Dr. Richard Smith, to whom he was executor: so before the year ended, he printed at Antwerp a “Disproof of Nowell’s Reproof,” confidently and in direct words charging his adversary with no less than eighty two lies.

The manner of these two controversialists was in itself no obscure indication of the nature of the cause, which they severally maintained. Nowell, as we have seen, candid and sincere, transcribed in his Reproof Dorman’s entire book; so that the reader, having the whole fairly laid before him, might be able to judge, whether the answer was satisfactory, and which of the parties had truth on his side. Dorman, on the con-

<sup>p</sup> Nowell to the Reader.

trary, scarcely quoted a single sentence fairly from Nowell, but picked out what he pleased, and omitted what he did not care to meddle with; and by darkening what was plain, and confounding things that were distinct; by adding, altering, corrupting, and falsifying, he kept up an appearance of contest, and boasted of victory, while he was combating a shadow.

In 1566 Nowell published the Continuation of his Reproof, "with a defence of the chief Authority and Government of Christian Princes, as well in causes Ecclesiastical as Civil, within their own dominions, by Mr. Dorman maliciously oppugned." And in the following year came out his second book in this controversy, intitled "A Confutation as well of Mr. Dorman's last book, intitled a Discourse &c. as also of Dr. Sanders's causes of Transubstantiation: whereby our countrymen (specially the simple and unlearned) may understand, how shamefully they are abused by those and like Books, pretended to be written for their instruction <sup>9</sup>." This caution, or warning to the unlearned, refers to the confident assertions, evasive arts, and palpable

<sup>9</sup> By Binneman, 1567. Brasen Nose College Library.

falsifications, before noted in Dorman, but common to him with most of his party; against which it was his wish to put his readers upon their guard. As he had, in the first part of his *Reproof*, amply evinced the pretended supremacy of the Pope to be without foundation, he enlarged, in his *Continuation*, as the title promised, upon the sequel to it, the sovereignty of the civil power; and answered other subordinate points in a more summary way. But in the *Confutation*, being a distinct work, he proceeded as before, paragraph by paragraph; and also spared his readers much trouble, by not sparing himself, drawing up a table, which shewed in one column allegations of the fathers, in nine and twenty places at least, transcribed by Dorman from Harding, and another column of references to the answers to them, by Jewell against Harding, or by Nowell himself; and another table of pilferings from Hofius, and the answers to them also, by Jewell, or Nowell.

Of this work it is to be remembered, that, as Strype truly observes, it is not to be regarded as containing the mature learning and judgement of Nowell only, but likewise of several "other great and wise men," by

whom it was well weighed and considered, particularly the bishop of London, and the Secretary of state. The former saw the sheets, as the author finished them; and so did the Secretary, at least many of them, and occasionally corrected and added to them. This we may collect from a letter of the Dean, wherein he “ thanks his Honour for the perusing of his papers; which he sent again written out, unto him; for so my Lord of London said was your Honour’s pleasure.” He sent him “ half a dozen leaves or more, and would be much bounden to his Honour, in case he would oversee that part, containing an answer to Calvin, by oversight uncomely and untruly writing of Henry the eighth, and the title of Supreme Head, which Dorman had laid to our charge.” He added, that “ the printer called upon him, and that he had no cause to stay, but the lack of intelligence of his Honour’s judgement upon that part <sup>r</sup>.”

When he was employed upon these works, probably the Confutation, where he answers Sanders on transubstantiation, he had occasion to consult Innocent the third and Scotus,

<sup>r</sup> “ Too the right honorable and my vere good frend, Sr Wyllyam Cicill knight, Secretarie to the Quenes Matie.” 1 April (1566.) Burghley MS. ix. No. 42. Strype’s Ann. i. 541.

in whose judgement, contrary to the doctrine of modern Rome, the form of consecration in the eucharist consists, not in the words, "*Hoc est corpus meum*," but in some blessing going before; and having been told by the bishop of London, that the archbishop had these books, he said, "I wolde resorte to your Grace sumtyme this day to be certified herof; for I dare trust noe reporte of the places of authors, unles I doe my-felfe see the originalls, suche wranglers have I to doe with, and foe vnfure are men's notes of the places of the authors, by their faulte, or the printers <sup>s</sup>."

The meek and learned Jewell, about the same time, manifested similar anxiety in point of correctness; but his own printed work being the object of his care, he expressed himself with still greater emphasis: "I beseeche your Grace to geeue fraite order, that the Latine Apologie be not printed againe, in any case, before either your Grace, or somme other haue wel perused it. I am afraide of printers. Their tyrannie is terrible <sup>t</sup>."

<sup>s</sup> MS. Parker cxiv. p. 913.

<sup>t</sup> "From my poore house in Sarisburie, 3 Maii, 1568. Your Graces most humble, Jo. Sar." MS. Parker, ib. p. 457.



These anecdotes, though slight in themselves, the attentive reader will not deem altogether uninteresting or unimportant, as they shew, in the undisguised intercourse of confidential friends, how solicitous the persons, to whom, under God, we in great measure owe the final reformation of our Church, were "*ut veritas ipsa limaretur in disputatione,*" that genuine truth might be fully known, and accurately expressed.

Bringing into one view the whole of this controversy, we have passed by one or two literary matters, which occurred in the mean time.

At the close of the year 1565 Cooper's Thesaurus, or Dictionary of the Latin tongue, was published. It came out under the auspices of the great court favourite, the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the university of Oxford, to whom it was dedicated; and was graced with a commendatory copy of verses by Nowell; bidding young men respect the author, and avail themselves of his book, undismayed by its bulky appearance; for, large as the volume was, the size was not comparable to the value of the work. This was the first competent production of the sort, published in England, the author having aug-

mented Sir Thomas Elyot's book, with more than thirty thousand words and phrases; and it is generally said to have been the chief cause of Cooper's preferment<sup>u</sup>; who, from this æra, rose rapidly in the church. In 1567 he was made Dean of Christ Church, and filled the office of Vice Chancellor of the university, in that and the three following years, a term to which, from his time, it has been customary to continue the office, in itself annual; and, from the same period also, the more ancient name of Commissary grew into disuse<sup>x</sup>. In 1569 he was made Dean of Gloucester, Bishop of Lincoln in 1570, and translated to Winchester in 1584.

If what a very learned and exact author of the last century says is true, that the Thesaurus of Cooper is in fact little more than a transcript of Charles Stephens's Dictionary, printed at Paris in 1553<sup>y</sup>, it was fortunate for the author, that the discovery was not made sooner. But he had at least the merit

<sup>u</sup> Sir J. Harrington, Brief View, 1653. p. 62. who highly commends his learning, industry, and "unreprovable" life.

<sup>x</sup> Wood's Fasti, by Gutch, p. 103. This is noticed in his epitaph: "Oxonienſis erat Gloceſtrenſiſque decanus;

*Continuus primæ Vice-Cancellarius urbis, &c.* Strype's Ann. iv. 204.

<sup>y</sup> Bishop Kennet, L. of Somner, p. 94.

of translating from the French ; and, at the same time, what Manutius observed, on a like occasion <sup>z</sup>, a few years before, is indubitable, that a Dictionary, even of a dead language, never was brought to perfection, but by repeated attempts, and the accumulated industry of many successive hands.

Nowell preached at the cross on the 12th of May, 1566 ; being, I presume, the feast of the Ascension, as the sermon was on that subject, from John xvi. 5, 6. Of this and of some other contemporary sermons, chiefly at the cross, certain “short and summary notes” have been preserved by some attentive auditor, who deemed them “not unprofitable to be remembered <sup>a</sup>.” By this, as by other instances, it appears, that Nowell’s discourses from the pulpit were not, as sermons sometimes are, on some general topic, having only a faint and distant relation to the text prefixed to them, but were, like the homilies of St. Chrysostom, expositions of Scripture ; unfolding the text and the passages connected with it : as on this occasion he explained the verses

<sup>z</sup> In Ded. of Calepin’s Dictionary, 1557. inter Epp. P. Manutii, p. 498. He speaks of Charles Stephens as “veterrimo amico meo, spectatæ virtutis et industriæ viro.” ib. 246.

<sup>a</sup> MS. Tanner, 50. f. 92—94. In Biblioth. Bodl.

which follow the text, and speak of the Holy Spirit reprovng the world, being, as he observes, “ somewhat obscure ;” and he alleges, from St. Augustine, a reason why such obscurities were permitted, “ to stir up our diligence.”

One expression in this sermon may deserve notice, in considering the question of the real or supposed Calvinism of Nowell ; for when he says, “ It shall be more tolerable for them (Tyre &c.) in the day of judgement, than for this *people, which is the elect of God,*” it is evident, that he did not restrict the election of God to individuals, and also that he conceived the elect might perish.

He preached at the cross again <sup>b</sup>, as the same pen informs us, on the 27th of January, upon Romans xii. 15, 16 ; when, after discoursing of charity, peace, and humility, as taught in the text, and dehorting from pride by examples of its punishment, he is led to censure the pope’s flatterers, as more gross than those of Herod, calling him “ their Lord and God ;” and then repels their slanderous accusations against us for breach of charity, and craves leave to digress a little, to notice

<sup>b</sup> MS. Tanner, ut supra, f. 70—73.

two books, come over since he last preached at the same place, an answer to the Apology of the English Church, and a Disproof of his Reproof; wherein Dorman said, he was very rash in answering, on a former occasion at the cross<sup>c</sup>, certain points in Harding's book before he had read it over. "The truth is, said Nowell, Harding's book came not into my hands past three days, and rather two days than three, before I preached here. But alas! if I happened to read there some things that were too fond, might I not lawfully give warning of them, seeing the book was come into all men's hands almost: and if I see a fault in a man's behaviour, shall I not tell him of it, except I know all the rest of his life?"

He then, in order that his auditors might see Dorman's shifting, and take heed to his deceit, read to them certain passages from his first and second book, where what he alleged in the first book, he denied in the second.

In the beginning of the next year<sup>d</sup>, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's granted to Dr. Henry Harvey, "a reverend learned and good man," as one who knew him calls him<sup>e</sup>,

<sup>c</sup> In 1564. See above, p. 105.

<sup>d</sup> Feb. 2, 1567-8. Reg. Nowell i. f. 314.

<sup>e</sup> Sir George Buck Kn. Master of the Revels, in Stow's Chron.

Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and Dean of the Arches, and to the Fellows of the College of Advocates, a lease of their capital messuage in Knightrider street, since known by the name of Doctors' Commons; which is memorable, as fixing the date, when the Society of Advocates first dwelt together in a permanent and appropriate habitation; and memorable also, as supplying the names of several illustrious persons, who aforesaid had inhabited the house; namely, Sir Thomas Stanley, knight, Lord Stanley, Sir John Say knight, the Duchefs of Richmond, and lastly the Lord Mountjoy, whence it obtained the name of Mountjoy house. Dr. Harvey and the Fellows had been at great expence in taking down and new building the house; in consideration whereof the present lease was granted to them, for ninety nine years, on the expiration of a lease to Sir Thomas Pope in 1555, with a promise of renewal during the term, for the fine of 20l<sup>l</sup>. Under this and similar leases, the premises continued in the

by Howes, 1631, p. 1077. Dr. Harvey was Prebendary of Ely, Precentor of St. Paul's, and Rector of Bishop's Stortford (Reg. Nowell ii. f. 147. 303. b. iii. 46.)

<sup>l</sup> Reg. Nowell, i. f. 314. And see Sketches of Civilians &c. reviewed in Gent. Mag. 1804. 645.

occupation of the Civilians, till they purchased the fee simple by royal assistance, and were incorporated by royal charter, in 1768.

In the ensuing part of this year (1568) we find the Dean among his friends in Lancashire; where, by his continual preaching in divers parts of the country, he brought many to conformity; and obtained singular commendation and praise, even of those who had been great enemies to his religion. So Downham, bishop of Chester, who this year visited his whole diocese, and therefore had the better opportunity of informing himself, reported the matter to Secretary Cecil; desiring him to be a means to the Queen, and to her honourable Council, to give the Dean thanks for his great pains, taken among his countrymen <sup>g</sup>.

On his return to London he had to witness an afflicting scene, in the sickness and death of his intimate friend, the celebrated Roger Ascham. With a constitution subject to attacks of fever, and enfeebled by frequent returns of it <sup>h</sup>, he imprudently sat up late, intent upon finishing a copy of verses, as a new year's gift for the Queen, as well as letters to

<sup>g</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 547.

<sup>h</sup> See his Epp. to Sturmius, L. i. Ep. i. and xiii.

to his friends, and contracted cold, which brought on a dangerous malady in the beginning of December. Nowell often visited him during his illness, and supported and comforted him, by setting before him the sufferings of earth, and the prospect of heaven; but in a strain and manner so divine, that, when he had left the room, the sick man declared with joy, that the excellent Dean had sustained his soul with food that would never die! His disease grew more oppressive; but his rich and happy memory did not forsake him, and he rehearsed, before the Dean and other surrounding friends, a variety of passages, expressive of the mercy and love of God to mankind, and of his blessings bestowed on them.

Gravet, one of the prebendaries of St. Paul's and vicar of St. Sepulchre's<sup>i</sup>, came to him, not, as he said, to instruct him; "for I know you are amply informed on all points,

<sup>i</sup> William Gravet M. A. was presented by the Queen to St. Sepulchre's, 8 Oct. 1566. Newcourt i. 534. collated to the prebend of Willefdon in St. Paul's, July 28, 1567. ib. 229. Rector of Little Laver, Essex, Dec. 3, 1569. on presentation of John Collyns. ib. ii. 370. He was mentioned by the Privy Council in 1582, together with the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Fulk, Dr. Still, Mr. Mullins &c. as a fit person to confer with priests and Jesuits. Strype's Whitg. p. 99.



by the words of that venerable man, Alexander Nowell, and by your own learning ; but to administer comfort, and to perform my duty." " I am in great pain, said Ascham, and my disorder is heavy ; this is my confession, and faith ; this my prayer, and all that I long for : *I desire to depart, and to be with Christ !*" words, which he had often repeated to Nowell, and they were now the last that he spoke ! He expired on the 30th of December, at the age of not more than fifty three ; and was buried in St. Sepulchre's church, on the fourth of January, with this testimony to his merit by Nowell, who preached his funeral sermon : " That he never saw or heard of a person of greater integrity of life, or that was blessed with a more Christian death <sup>k</sup>." He was indeed the pride, and in one respect perhaps the shame, of the

<sup>k</sup> Grant's L. of Ascham, pref. to Ascham's Epp. Oxford 1703, p. 28. With this agrees the elegant elogium of Buchanan on his death :

Extinctum Aschamum patriæ Graiæque Camœnæ,

Et Latîæ vera cum pietate dolent.

Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,

Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit.

Poemata, Amstel. 1687. p. 371.

See also a copy of verses in return for a book, which Ascham had sent him, ib. 359.

days of Elizabeth. In a letter to the Earl of Leicester, who had been godfather to one of his sons, he laments, that, through tedious and expensive suits at law and other difficulties, he had been obliged to sell his plate, and, that which grieved him much, his wife's poor jewels; and was not very like to live long, nor to leave to his family any thing but beggary. "And yet, says he, that poor service that I have done to queen Elizabeth shall live still, and never die, as long as her noble hand, and excellent learning in the Greek and Latin tongues, shall be known to the world!" But he had learnt the truest and best philosophy. On the death of a child (probably their first) a stroke the more severe, as it happened in his absence, he says, in a letter to his wife, "Mine own good Margaret! referring me wholly to the will of God, I found cause of joy. You well remember our continual desire and prayer together. We desired to be made vessels to increase the world; and it hath pleased God to make us vessels to increase heaven<sup>m</sup>!" He who was so perfectly

<sup>1</sup> Nugæ Antiq. 1769. vol. i. 148. The letter is dated Apr. 14. 1566.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. 177. The letter is imperfect and without date. It was first conjectured, this might be his son Sturmius, of whom he says, with exquisite beauty and pathos, "Nam Sturmius Ascha-

master of this world, was fit, in the divine mercy, to go to a better !

In the space of about a month Nowell sustained a nearer affliction, in the death of his brother Robert Nowell. He had made his will, while the plague was in London, August 16, 1563, written with his own hand in one of his books in Gray's Inn, "trusting through Christ's death to have everlasting life," and appointing his brothers, Alexander and Laurence Nowell, and his uterine brother John Towneley, his executors. Mindful also of the vicissitudes, which he had seen in religion, he intreats his brother Towneley, who was a Roman Catholic, to be kind to his brothers, if the times should again turn to popery.

He was, as already noted <sup>n</sup>, the Queen's Attorney General of the Court of Wards, so constituted by patent for life, February 8, 1561; and by another patent, February 6, 1563, was appointed guardian of Charles Waldegrave, with an allowance of 40l. a year, out of the estates of his late father, Sir Edward Walde-

*mus vivit ille quidem, sed nunquam moriturus !*" But Sturmius, named after his intimate friend and correspondent, was his third child. Epist. to Sturmius, L. i. Ep. i.

<sup>n</sup> P. 58.

grave, knight, in Somersfetshire<sup>o</sup>; and had a lease from the crown of lands in Cardigan-shire, part of the estates of the late Duke of Richmond<sup>p</sup>. He was also included in a special commission, with the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, Sir William Cecil, and other great officers of State, to audit accounts and correct abuses in the Queen's household<sup>q</sup>. He was steward to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, for their lands in the counties of Middlesex and Hertford<sup>r</sup>; and had from them the reversionary grant of the rectory and great tithes of Tottenham<sup>s</sup>; of which, though he bequeathed the estate in his will to his godson, Robert Caffie (his sister's grandson) the Nowells were, for many years, lessees under the chapter of St. Paul's.

*ms. 10 m. 10 p. 10  
9c 10 p. 10  
less and  
Alex. H. 10*

<sup>o</sup> Pat. 5 Eliz. p. 1. Rolls Chapel. Sir Edward Waldegrave was one of the great officers of Mary's court, and a privy Counsellor. His account of the funeral of Edw. VI. has been quoted above, p. 11. n. z. He died in the tower, Apr. 30, 1561. Strype's Ann. i. 267. 270.

<sup>p</sup> Patent 7 Eliz. Nov. 23. (1564.) p. 10. Rolls.

<sup>q</sup> T. R. ap. Westm. June 12 (1565.) Rymer xv. 660. He was also guardian of Francis Green. Pat. 12 June, 9 Eliz. p. 3. (1567.) Rolls.

<sup>r</sup> Feb. 28. 4 Eliz. (1561-2) Reg. Nowell, i. f. 76.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. f. 72. Indent. 1 Mar. 4 Eliz.

He seems also to have purchased of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the great Seal, the Manor of Burfton in Hertfordshire <sup>t</sup>; and was a party in the sale and conveyance of Gorhambury, and other estates in the same county, from the said Sir Nicholas Bacon and Anne his wife, to the use of Thomas Bacon and his heirs for ever; which being held *in capite*, pardon was granted for entrance and possession taken without the previous consent of the crown <sup>u</sup>.

These, among other grants and employments, bespeak credit and affluence; of which his will supplies further and ample proof. Dying unmarried, it was not his wish to accumulate wealth on any one, but to be useful to many relatives and friends, and kind to the indigent. He accordingly bequeaths to the poor of the parish, where he happens to be buried, the sum of ten pounds; and to the parishes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Hendon in Middlesex, and Whalley and Burnley in Lancashire, 20 nobles each. The sum of 4l. for three sermons, one at his funeral, the other

<sup>t</sup> Sir N. Bacon &c. licence to sell to R. Nowell, 8 Eliz. p. 4. May 20 (1566.) Rolls.

<sup>u</sup> Pardon of intrusion to R. Nowell, Will. Lovelace, Thomas Bacon and Edw. Cooke Esquires, for purchase Hil. term. 7 Eliz. Pat. 12 Nov. 8 Eliz. (1566.) Rolls.

on the two fundays following ; and 60l. for a dinner and supper at his funeral, and for the poor. To his brother Laurence Nowell, dean of Lichfield, his lease of Mr. Lufon's lands : his lease in Hendon and his house and furniture there to James Wolton <sup>x</sup> (a kinsman probably, perhaps brother, of his brother in law, John Wolton, afterwards bishop of Exeter.) Certain lands in Hertfordshire to his cousin John Nowell, son of Mr. Andrew Nowell, exhorting him to "agree with my Lady, his mother in law." To his cousin William Deane, servant to Lady Meltravers, a lease of lands in Weyland, a cloak, coat, and doublet, and 10l. in money. To Richard and William Whitaker an annuity of 40l. granted him by Mr. Ralph Leycester, out of Mr. Leigh's estates in Cheshire, during Mr. Leigh's minority. Richard Whitaker is to receive immediately, and is advised to bestow the money "in some house of court, or in getting himself some good wife, if he can ;" but the

<sup>x</sup> In the codicil, to which he is a witness, he is called the testator's servant, and has a legacy of 50l. if he chooses it in preference to the bequest in the will, which, with others, the testator did not distinctly recollect. His cousins Laurence and Thomas Nowell have also 20l. each in the codicil, to which the latter is a subscribing witness,

younger brother's share is "to be laid up, and [to be] bestowed in buying Mr. Bruister's wife's daughter, or otherwise, as" the testator's "brother, Alexander Nowell, shall think convenient."

It does not appear, that either of these intended matrimonial barthers succeeded; but his kinsman and legatee, William Deane, son of William Deane of Tanworth in Warwickshire, by a sister of Nowell, without the aid of testamentary injunction, married the Lady dowager Maltravers, who enriched him with her immense fortune, as heiress of Sir John Wentworth of Gosfield<sup>y</sup>; and, she dying without issue, Mr. Deane married to his second wife Anne daughter of Thomas Eger-ton, Esquire, of Ryne hill in Cheshire, and by her had a son John, of whom we shall hear more in the latter part of these memoirs of his kinsman, the Dean of St. Paul's.

To the said Dean Mr. Nowell bequeathed his signet, and as much of his apparel, and as many of his geldings, as he shall choose; his lease of Lord Bath's lands jointly to his executors; and to his brother Towneley (who

<sup>y</sup> Pedigree of Nowell in Lanc. Visitation, 1567. MS. Williamson, F. 30. f. 16. Queen's Coll. Oxford. Morant's Essex, ii. 381. Holman's Hist. Essex, MS. Bodl. Libr.

was also bred to the law in Gray's Inn) his books, except those which were Mr. Chaloner's, which he gives to Gray's Inn; where, as curiosities, they have been searched for in vain. The former owner of them, however, was probably not Sir Thomas Chaloner, as once conjectured (for he did not die till two years afterwards) but a person less known, Robert Chaloner, Esquire, who married the testator's aunt<sup>z</sup>. The residue of his effects he orders to be distributed, at the discretion of his executors, among his kindred and the poor; an injunction which the pious Dean of St. Paul's seems to have discharged with interest, adding to the residuum his own personal share, as one of his brother's legatees<sup>a</sup>.

One or two among many other legacies must still be mentioned. He leaves to "his good Master and friend, Mr. Secretary Cecil, Master of the Court of Wards, the wardship of young Mr. Walgrave, and 100 marks, to make him some such thing as shall please him, in remembrance of his poor friend; and I beseech him neither to trust too much to himself, nor to this deceitful world." Sincere af-

<sup>z</sup> Pedigree of Nowell, MS. Williamson, ut supra.

<sup>a</sup> "Opum quæ sibi jure testamentario cesserunt diribitor pietissimus." Epitaph.



fection, especially in a dying friend, is apt to give superabundant caution; and the statesman, who, like Cecil, wields at will affairs of such variety and magnitude, may have as much need as others, for the hint which reminds him, that events are uncertain and himself mortal. He appointed Cecil overseer of his will, together with Gilbert Gerard, the Queen's Attorney General, who has a legacy of 5*l.* for a ring; and they both attested the will to be the hand-writing of the testator.

In a codicil, dated February 6, 1568-9, which was the day of his death, he bequeathed "to his good friend Ralph Barton of Gray's Inn 40*l.* and his best furred gown, and best other gown faced with velvet;" and again remembered some of the friends remembered in his will, and others. He then delivered to his brother Alexander the key of his chest, and his ring, and "prayed him not to deceive him, but that the poor should have all his goods, his debts and legacies and funeral expences being first discharged <sup>b</sup>." Full of these pious sentiments, he seems to have expired, surrounded by his friends; for some of

<sup>b</sup> Nowell to Cecil, without date, but written, as appears, in 1596. Burghley MS. lxxxii. No. 48.

them were witnesses to the codicil; and it was proved by the three brothers, his executors, the same day <sup>c</sup>.

Whitaker of Cambridge, one of the legatees and nephew of Robert Nowell, published this year the Prayers of the Church of England in Greek <sup>d</sup>; a circumstance, which requires to be mentioned, if it were only to correct the mistake of his biographer, implicitly adopted by others, that his skill in Greek was first known by his translation of Nowell's Catechism; but that translation was not printed till 1573, four years after this version of the prayers. He had suffered long and severely by a quartan ague; and as he could not live without some literary employment, he made choice of this, that, being intent at once upon study and upon prayer, he might beg of God medicine and strength, both of body and mind.

The book contains the morning and evening prayers, the litany, the catechism, the col-

<sup>c</sup> Prerog. Office, Sheffield xiii.

<sup>d</sup> Penes me, the obliging gift of the Rev. Henry J. Todd, Rector of Allhallows, Lombard street, and Librarian to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. Printed by Reynold Wolf, 1569. 16°. The Præfatio "ad virum doctrina et pietate præstantem, D. Alexandrum Nowellum, D. Pauli Lond. Decanum, Avunculum ac patronum suum eximium," is dated "23 Maii, 1569."

lects, and, to fill a vacant page or two, the prayer after receiving the holy Communion, accompanied with the Latin version (the work, as is supposed, of Walter Haddon) which had been published by the Queen's authority a few years before<sup>e</sup>. It is dedicated, in a prefatory address in Latin, to his uncle and patron, the Dean of St. Paul's; from whom he had received, from his childhood, innumerable favours; to whom therefore, he says, of right belonged whatsoever he could perform; and he intreats him to protect his labours, and expresses a hope, that, if he is indulgent to this his first attempt, he may one day produce something not unworthy of his acceptance. The translation achieved under such circumstances, when the author, a bachelor of arts, had barely entered his one and twentieth year, must have raised great hopes, which his future progress and celebrity did not disappoint.

The depressed state of religion abroad, about this period, beset with so many implacable enemies, excited great compassion in the breasts of the grave and good, as well as serious apprehension, lest the mischief, as

<sup>e</sup> A. D. 1560. Ames by Herbert, p. 605. 1602.

from a neighbour's house on fire, should pass over to this country. The Dean of St. Paul's shared largely in this pious solicitude; especially when the admiral Coligni and his brother Dandilot, heads of the Protestant party in France, had been treacherously poisoned, and the villain, who administered the poison, boldly acknowledged, that Catharine de Medici, the queen mother, set him on. The admiral narrowly escaped with life, to lose it with baser treachery three years afterwards; but Dandilot died; on which occasion Nowell expressed his fears and his wishes, by letter, to his friend Grindal, bishop of London. Some of the chief nobility and privy counsellors were to dine with his lordship, after attending, as is most probable, some public sermon at the cross. Nowell therefore says, "he is, as it were, by a certain violence enforced to put his Lordship in mind, that after the entertainment of those most honourable and wise counsellors with good cheer, he would take occasion" privately to move them "to endeavour, by their wisdoms, to remove the dangerous security and slackness" of many, "in the common cause;" "and to stir them up, by some speedy competent aid, to help towards the delivery of our brethren from cer-

tain destruction, and to the depulſion of imminent danger from our own heads<sup>f</sup>." The biſhop, being himſelf ſufficiently ſenſible of theſe matters, did not, as his biographer probably conjectures, reject this advice; but it does not appear, that it led to the adoption of any ſpecific meaſure, for the general ſafety, further than to increaſe perhaps the vigilance of thoſe, who watched over the public welfare.

Though no Papiſts were, in this reign, put to death purely on account of their religion, as numberleſs Proteſtants had been in the woful days of queen Mary, yet many were executed for treaſon; and others it was found neceſſary to commit for a time to ſafe cuſtody, either in ſome priſon, or, as was often tried with various ſucceſs, to the houſe of ſome biſhop, or learned divine, in the hope of bringing them to conformity.

Sir John Southworth, knight, of Samleſbury in Lancaſhire, was committed in 1568 to the

<sup>f</sup> Strype's Grindal, p. 137. "And thus I commit your good Lordſhip to Almighty God, who defend his poor flock from the greedy gaping of the roaring Lyons, theſe bloodthurſtye papiſts. Amen. 6<sup>o</sup> Junii, 1569." MS. Burghley, xi. No. 92. "To the right reverend father in God and my very good Lord, my L. Biſhop of London."

archbishop of Canterbury, for harbouring and encouraging disaffected priests; but afterwards was set at liberty, without express submission, upon some promise of amendment. But in this year (1569.) when a conspiracy was plotting in the north, which broke out into open rebellion in September, Southworth was an active and popular leader of a knot of suspected persons at Bath; as Thomas Churchyard, a man of honest principles, an excellent soldier, and a poet of some repute, secretly informed the Secretary Cecil. He was therefore again taken up, and made a prisoner for some time; and then placed, under some easy confinement, with the bishop of London<sup>s</sup>; who often conferred with him, in hopes to reclaim him; as did also the Dean of St. Paul's, by his lordship's desire, taking great pains with him several times, and using great courtesy and humanity towards him. But all was to no purpose; for he was altogether unlearned and obstinate, his principal grounds being these only, that he would follow his fathers, and die in the faith, in which he had been baptized. From the bishop he was

<sup>s</sup> See, in the Burghley MSS. vol. xi. No. 61. a Letter from Bp. London to Sir W. Cecil on the fruitless issue of his conference with Sir I. Southworth, Aug. 3. 1569.

transferred to Nowell; but continuing fixt in his principles, and refusing to attend, either at prayers, or sermon, the Dean soon grew weary of his guest, as the bishop had been before<sup>h</sup>. In 1584 (having probably been enlarged in the interim, and again confined) he was released from confinement; the privy Council observing on the occasion, that as the statute allowed recusants the alternative, either to conform, or pay a penalty, and as Sir John Southworth answered the penalty, it did not seem reasonable, that he should endure a double punishment<sup>i</sup>.

The Southworths, originally of Southworth in Lancashire, succeeding by marriage in the 15th century to the estates of Sir William Samlesbury of Samlesbury, in that county, assumed the arms of that family, and settled at Samlesbury in the parish of Blackburn; where they flourished for two centuries or more<sup>k</sup>; and the remains of their family

<sup>h</sup> Strype's Grindal, p. 138.

<sup>i</sup> Lett. of Privy Council, July 5, 1584, in answer to one from the Earl of Derby and Bishop of Chester, May 3, who thought their credit as Commissioners was touched by the enlargement of recusants. Desid. Curios. i. B. iv. No. xlvii. xlviii.

<sup>k</sup> See the Southworth pedigree in the Lanc. Visitation, 1567. MS. Williamfon, F. 30. f. 120. Queen's College, Oxford. And see the Townley pedigree in the Hist. of Whalley, p. 325.

manſion there are very magnificent<sup>1</sup>. The circumſtance of Nowell's ſtep-father, Charles Towneley, eſquire, being the grandſon of a Southworth, would not leſſen the intereſt, which the Dean felt for the preſent head of the family, however little his good wiſhes and endeavours for his information and welfare might avail.

In the beginning of the year 1570 he was appointed Guardian of Triſtram Mitchell, ſon and heir of Richard Mitchell, eſquire, of the county of Somerſet<sup>m</sup>, a point not very material to mention, were it not for a particular circumſtance involved in the appointment. For the patent gave him full ſeven years' arrears of an annuity of thirteen pounds fix ſhillings and eight pence, reſerved in the royal coffers ſince the death of his ward's father; which would put into his hands what was then no inconfiderable ſum, whether he choſe to employ it in works of charity, or devote it to purpoſes literary or domeſtic, for his own convenience.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Dr. Whitaker, 1807.

<sup>m</sup> Pat. 11 Feb. 12 Eliz. (1569-70) p. 2. Rolls.



## SECTION VII.

**WE** are now arrived at that period in the life of Nowell, when he published his Catechism, the principal remaining monument of his fame, and connected with an interesting point in the annals of our church, the history of Catechisms. It will not be amiss therefore, on this occasion, to look back a little, and investigate the subject; especially, as the most learned and diligent inquirers into our ecclesiastical antiquities are here full of mistakes; some of which we may hope to remove; but others, I fear, must still wait for more laborious research, or fortunate discovery.

The practice of catechizing, or instructing children in the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, was carefully observed in the primitive church; and the names of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and others, from the very days of St. Mark, are recorded with honour for their catechetical labours. The intermission of this

duty, in succeeding times, was one of the causes, which occasioned and perpetuated the ignorance and errors of what are truly styled the dark ages; and when at last, after ten centuries, light began to dawn, the Council of Trent, to prevent the diffusion of it, strictly prohibited the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue<sup>n</sup>, and forbade the use of all Catechisms, and expositions even of the Apostles' creed and ten commandments<sup>o</sup>. Genuine learning however and true religion could not for ever be suppressed; and when they revived together in the sixteenth century, the importance of early instruction by catechetical forms was again acknowledged; and Erasmus and Luther<sup>p</sup> and Melancthon, and Calvin and others wrote Catechisms.

<sup>n</sup> Rules &c. by order of the C. of Trent. Index Libror. Prohibit. 1758. p. ii.

<sup>o</sup> Catecheses et Catechismi omnes &c. ib. p. xxxi. It comes under the head of "Libri ab Hæreticis scripti vel editi," and probably was intended of such only. In the Index many Catechisms are prohibited by name; with this sweeping addition: "Et, ceteri omnes Hæreticorum Catechismi." In 1566 a Catechism was published in consequence of a decree of the council of Trent, but so little calculated to teach pure evangelical truth, that in the copious index subjoined to it (where the Eucharist occupies four columns) the holy Scripture is never once mentioned.

<sup>p</sup> A larger and a smaller Catechism, both in 1529. Cave Hist. Lit.

In our own country, next to the renunciation of papal supremacy and the translation of the holy Scriptures into English, the Institution of a Christian Man<sup>q</sup>, and Henry VIIIth's Primer<sup>r</sup>, containing the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments in English, with a strict injunction to all schoolmasters to use and teach the same, were the main steps, which prepared the way for a fuller reformation in the days of the sixth Edward. In the first year of that prince's reign, Cranmer published and dedicated to him a Catechism; for the "commodity and profit of children and young people." He was not the author

<sup>q</sup> Printed by Berthelet, 1537. In the Library at Arbury, bound up with, "The waye of Dyenge well" by Thomas Lupset, same printer, 1534. Lupset was the friend and correspondent of Erasmus. Knight's Colet, p. 234. 239. The title of "The Institution of a Christen man" was probably borrowed from "Institutum Christiani hominis," which Dean Colet says "that learned Erasmus made at my requeste," which he ordered to be taught to the children at St. Paul's, after the "Catechizon," which was "instruction of the articles of the faythe and the x Commandments in Inglishe." ib. 361. 364. His school is inscribed, "Schola Catechizationis puerorum in Christi Opt. Maximi fide et bonis literis. MDX." The "Institution" contains an exposition of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Pater noster, Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.

<sup>r</sup> Printed by Walter Lyne in 1548. Ames, p. 710. In the possession of R. Heber Esquire.

of it, but it was translated from the German under his immediate eye, and revised by him<sup>s</sup>. It was not in the form of questions and answers, but consisted of short explanations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, baptism, the power of the keys, and the Lord's Supper; and though, neither in form, nor size, so well calculated for general use, yet, as Dr. Rowland Taylor observed, the "book for the time did much good<sup>t</sup>."

The first and second Liturgy of Edward VI. each contained a catechism, in the order of Confirmation; which, as far as it went, was almost verbatim the same with our present church Catechism, ending with the Desire, or explanation of the Lord's prayer. The com-

<sup>s</sup> Bishop Ridley seems to have known who was the author of this Catechism, and speaks of him as still living in 1554: "Mr. Secretary (quoth I) that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again." Discourse in the Tower, Apr. 1554. Fox ii. p. 1426.

<sup>t</sup> Letters of Martyrs, p. 172. Fox's Martyrs, ad ann. 1555. p. 1521. Dr. Taylor had been in archbishop Cranmer's household, which he quitted on being presented to the living of Hadley in Suffolk. Gardiner committed him to the King's Bench, where he lay about a year and three quarters, and was then, among other things, questioned by Gardiner about "a religion set forth in a Catechism by my Lord of Canterbury." Fox, ii. 1521. He was afterwards sent to his parish of Hadley, and there burnt, Feb 6, 1554-5. Strype's Mem. iii. 209.

plers of this Liturgy are known, but not the distinct parts framed separately by each; unless it may be thought perhaps, that bishop Goodrich, one of the number, drew up those two admirable summaries of our duty to God and to our neighbour, which he caused to be inscribed, where they still remain, on a part of the episcopal palace at Ely<sup>u</sup>.

In 1553 was published "A short Catechism, or plain instruction, containing the sum of Christian learning, set forth by the King's majesty's authority, for all schoolmasters to teach<sup>x</sup>." The King's letter prefixed to it is dated at Greenwich, May 20, only seventeen days before his decease; and yet there came out at least two impressions of this catechism in Latin, and two in English, this same year<sup>y</sup>;

<sup>u</sup> As this inscription has never been noticed in print, and is connected with our present inquiry, the curious reader will not be displeased to see a copy of it. It is therefore correctly exhibited among the Collections in the Appendix, No. vi. from an exact transcript, which, through the kindness of my ever honoured Tutor, the Rev. Houstonne Radcliffe, D. D. late Prebendary of Ely, now (1808) Archdeacon of Canterbury, I received a few years ago from the Rev. William Metcalfe, Minor Canon of Ely and Rector of Barley in Hertfordshire, once the living of the famous Dr. Willet, author of *Synopsis Papismi* and other learned works.

<sup>x</sup> Ames, p. 602. and p. 1571. another without date, p. 612. The King's letter is also in Wilkins' *Counc.* vol. iv. p. 79.

<sup>y</sup> Ames, p. 628.

with the Articles subjoined, forty two in number, which were agreed upon in the Convocation of 1552, and now published also by the King's authority. As it is not likely, that new editions of such a work would be hazarded after the accession of Mary, it is probable that at least one Latin and one English impression of the catechism were already in the press, and waited only for the King's letter to be prefixed to them.

This is what is commonly called Edward VIth's Catechism, and is by some ascribed to Nowell<sup>z</sup>, and by others to Poinet, bishop of Rochester, who was afterwards translated to Winchester; and he was probably (as we shall see presently) the real author of it. The King, in his royal letter prefixed to it, says nothing more on the subject, than that, "when there was presented unto us, to be perused, a short and playne order of Catechisme, written by a certayne godlye and learned man: We committed the debatinge and diligent examination thereof to certain Byshoppes and other learned men, whose

<sup>z</sup> "Authore Alex. Nowell, si quid ego judico." Bishop Ward in Strype's Cranmer, p. 294. Tanner in Biblioth. quotes Ric. Smith's Scutum Fidei for saying it was "Compilatus a dom. Cranmero, Ridleio" &c.

judgement we have in greate estimation. And because it seemed agreeable with the Scriptures and the ordynaunces of oure Realme, we have commanded it to be published, and to be taught by all schoolmasters, immediately after *the other brief Catechism*, which we have already set forth."

And here a fresh difficulty starts up, what this "other brief catechism" might be; for it is not likely, that the allusion is to that in the book of Common Prayer. But this may perhaps occur again. Of Edward VIth's catechism it must further be observed, that it is in the form of a dialogue or question and answer, between *Magister* and *Auditor*, as some of Cicero's dialogues are, and as Nowell's catechism was afterwards; and treats of the Law or Obedience, of Belief, and of Prayer; which are the three first parts of Nowell's also, but has no distinct account of the Sacraments, except that they are briefly handled (where we should little expect them) in the exposition of the Creed<sup>a</sup>. Concise as it is, the

<sup>a</sup> The very learned and excellent archbishop Wake speaks not very accurately of this Catechism, when he says, "Here I take the complete model of our Church-Catechism to have been first laid; to the explication of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, was *added* a short account of the two Sacra-

questions and answers are too long. The style is in general good ; but it is unequal, and not always perfectly accurate and classical.

The catechism of Henry Stephens also requires to be mentioned. It was published in French, in Latin, and in Greek ; went through several editions, and received successive alterations and corrections. The first edition in Greek, but anonymous, was in 1551, when the author, as he afterwards confessed, was almost a boy ; yet it pleased Melancthon so well, that, having learnt who the author was, he wrote him a letter of thanks and encouragement<sup>b</sup>. It is in the form of question and answer, between Master and Child, and consists of five parts, Faith, the Commandments, Prayer, holy Scripture, and the Sacraments ; but in a later edition the part concerning holy Scripture stands at the head of

ments." (Preface to his Commentary upon the Church-Catechism.) The Sacraments do not, as is here implied, constitute a separate and the last part of the work ; but are introduced under the ninth article of the Creed, (" The holy catholic church; the communion of saints") as some of the external parts of religion, or "*cultus Dei*;" and the mode of administration and design of them are delivered, chiefly in the words of Scripture, but not their appropriate nature, as outward signs of inward grace.

<sup>b</sup> H. Stephens at the end of an edition of his Catechism, Gr. et Lat. 1563. In the Library at Arbury.



the work, the place which in appearance it ought to occupy, if it is made part of a catechism.

If Nowell, as has been thought, borrowed from this catechism some things, which lean towards the doctrines of Calvin, he was not (at least not in other matters) a blind copyist, but followed his own judgement; for the Descent into hell, which Stephens, after Calvin and most of that school, interprets of the horror and anguish of Christ on the cross, Nowell explains, more consistently with the scope of the Creed, where it stands *after* our Lord's *death*, of the real descent of his soul into Hades, or the invisible world; and if, as may be conjectured by the marginal reference to 1 Peter, iii. 19. he had an eye, in what follows, to the Articles of Edward VI. in which that text is expressly applied to the soul of Christ, while separate from the body, he was careful however to restrain his exposition to a safe and general sense, by saying, that the Virtue of his death so pierced through to the dead, both to the wicked and the good, as to increase the pain and despair of the one, and the comfort of the other.

Bishop Ridley, in a letter written when he was in prison, laments that "the Catechism,

which was lately set forth in the English tongue, was now in every pulpit condemned. Satan could not endure," continues the pious and learned prelate, "that so much light should be spread abroad; for he knew that nothing tended so effectually to overturn his kingdom, as for children to learn Christ from their infancy; by which means not only children, but those of riper years also would, together with the children, necessarily learn Christ<sup>c</sup>."

The catechism thus described and commended, as calculated for the instruction of young and old, could hardly be that which was contained in Edward VIth's Service book, published first in 1549, but was, I conceive, some distinct and more recent publication; and if we are right in this conclusion, we shall probably not mistake, in supposing the catechism intended to be that before mentioned of Edward the sixth, which was published, as well in English as in Latin, in the year 1553. The Articles of religion subjoined to it, though not alluded to by Ridley, would furnish an additional reason with the Papists to condemn it.

<sup>c</sup> Letters of the Martyrs, printed by Day, 1564. p. 33.

Among the works, which are not very numerous, of Poinet, bishop of Winchester, Bale reckons "A Catechism to the King;" and, to identify the book, he quotes, as his manner is, the first words of Edward VIth's letter, prefixed to what is called his Catechism. The industrious author, in his learned and extensive work "De Scriptoribus Britannicis," is not without mistakes, nor is this very accurately styled "Catechismus *ad Regem*;" but as it is plain what book was intended, and as there is nothing of real weight to throw into the opposite scale, this, so far as I know, single contemporary evidence for ascertaining who was the writer of the book, must, I presume, be admitted as decisive. At the same time, however, it is certain, that Nowell has transcribed from this Catechism more than it would be supposed, on the first view of the question, he would copy from any book not written by himself, without acknowledging it. Indeed the two books have so much in common, that if they were not penned by the same hand, the author of the latter, I make no doubt, would with far greater ease have produced a work of equal excellence, the matter and style being entirely his own, than adopt what he has

adopted, and in the manner he has done it, from the work of his predecessor. Of this any one will be convinced, who will take, for instance, a sermon of Atterbury or of Sherlock, and write another on the same subject, retaining half the substance and half the diction of the copy before him ; yet so as never to transcribe a single page, and scarcely a sentence, unaltered or unimproved ; but elaborating the whole in his own mind, and clothing it in a style equable and uniform, as if the method sentiments and language were entirely new and his own.

It was not therefore from penury of matter, or poverty of style, and certainly not to spare his own labour, that Nowell consolidated so much of Poinet's Catechism with his own, but for another reason, honourable to both. It was a principle with our reformers, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, not to frame a new liturgy, but to revise and retain what was already well done in the liturgy and Articles of Edward VI. ; and Nowell, one of those reformers, thought himself bound to pay similar deference to the catechism of that reign ; which, in point of authority, was only inferior to the established liturgy, and homilies, and articles of the church. This also

obviated a popular pretext of the Roman catholics, who objected nothing more frequently against the reformed, than the novelty and variety of their catechisms, or, as they chose to call them, "religions."

The variety of catechisms was indeed a serious inconvenience, and it was thought very desirable, that there should be one catechism, as there was one grammar, for public use; which was the chief reason why Poinet's was enjoined, as Nowell's was afterwards<sup>d</sup>, by royal authority. But, in another view, this very diversity furnishes no contemptible argument in favour of the truth. The disciple of Lily, the scholar of Eton, and the scholar of Westminster, have laws of grammar, which are framed with some variety; but when they write an oration in Latin, their style and language are one and the same, equally correct and classical: and among those who used the Catechism of Poinet, or of Nowell, or others, which that age produced, there was the same agreement and consistency of truth. Their doctrine was one, though their forms varied.

<sup>d</sup> Not explicitly, but by ratifying the Canons of the church; which Canons (as will appear below) enjoin the use of this Catechism.

But as the circumstance of these two celebrated Catechisms having so much in common, though not entirely a new discovery, is yet a curious fact, which has never been distinctly stated and ascertained, it seemed necessary to institute a more particular comparison of them, by bringing together some of the most remarkable passages, wherein this agreement is found. A paper of this sort is therefore, in the appendix<sup>e</sup>, laid before the reader; and if, on examining these specimens, he is satisfied of what a careful collation of each from beginning to end has convinced the present writer, that, in Nowell's hands, the gold, which is not originally his own, receives a fresh polish and lustre, an incidental proof will hence arise, that the works are really by different authors. For it is rare indeed, that our powers of Latinity are found to improve, as we recede from the schools and Academic bowers; and though Nowell might possibly, at any period, surpass Poinet, it is not likely, that when he was fifty at St. Paul's, he would, in point of style, surpass himself when forty at Westminster. I will only add, that although, following herein the

example of Cicero, when, in a like case, he borrowed from preceding philosophers “as much as he thought good, and in the manner he judged best<sup>f</sup>,” he has indeed availed himself of almost all that is truly excellent in Poinet’s Catechism, passing over such things as were less important, or less suitable to his purpose; yet the matter, thus imported and used with advantage, scarcely amounts to a twentieth part of his own truly valuable and masterly work.

The precise time, when he wrote his Catechism, has not been discovered; nor whether, as is not improbable, he first devised it (or some such summary) for the use of his pupils in Westminster school; in which case the date of that original draught was, in all probability, prior to Poinet’s. But, leaving conjectures, it is certain, that it was composed, and in readiness for publication, before the Convocation sat in 1562. For among the minutes of matters to be moved in that synod, we find two memorable papers, both of them noted by the archbishop’s hand, and one of them drawn up by one of his secretaries, in

<sup>f</sup> Cic. de Off. L. i. c. ii.

both of which there is exprefs mention of Nowell's Catechifm.

The firft of thefe papers, concerning the Form of Doctrine, fays, “ Firft, A Catechifm is to be fet forth in Latin. Which is already done by Mr. Dean of Paul's, and wanteth only viewing. Secondly, Certain Articles, containing the principal grounds of Chriftian religion, are to be fet forth,—much like to fuch Articles as were fet forth a little before the death of king Edward. Of which Articles the moft part may be ufed, with addition and correction, as fhall be thought convenient. Thirdly, To thefe alfo may be adjoined the Apology [of bifhop Jewell] lately fet forth, after it hath been once again revifed, and fo augmented or corrected as occafion ferveth. Thefe to be joined in one book; and by common confent to be authorized, as containing true doctrine, and enjoined to be taught to the youth in the univerfities and grammar fchools throughout the realm.” To which the archbifhop added, “ And in cathedral churches and collegiate, and in private houfes<sup>s</sup>.” So much had he at heart the

<sup>s</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 317.



advancement of true religion, and so much did he approve of these means of advancing it.

The other paper, which had passed Grindal's hands, as well as the archbishop's, having first proposed, for unity of doctrine, to put out one book containing Articles of religion; next advised, that, "As there is one uniform Grammar, prescribed throughout the schools of the whole realm, so there may be authorized one perfect Catechism, for the bringing up of the youth in godliness in the said schools, which book is well nigh finished by the industry of the Dean of Paul's. And that the said Catechism, being once approved by the learned of the Convocation House, may be authorized to be taught also by the universities, and to the youth wheresoever they be taught their grammar in any private men's houses <sup>h</sup>."

The unequivocal evidence of these authentic papers leaves no room for hesitation in supposing, that when, in the Convocation of 1562, a committee of the upper house, consisting of Jewell and three other bishops, was appointed<sup>i</sup> to examine a book called "The

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 350.

<sup>i</sup> Feb. 5. See above, p. 95.

Catechism ;” and when the Prolocutor of the lower house afterwards <sup>k</sup> presented to the upper “ *Catechismus puerorum*,” as unanimously approved by the lower house, both the one and the other of the works, thus under the cognizance of the Convocation (if they were indeed distinct works, and not one and the same) were Nowell’s Catechisms, which it had been the intention of the archbishop and others, who had the lead in these matters, to bring forward, and adopt ; and the only doubt will be, which of the three catechisms is intended. The titles of Nowell’s Catechisms, as they were afterwards published, do not lessen, but rather increase the difficulty of the question. The preparatory minutes of *desiderata* for the Convocation lead us to expect a work of just magnitude, fit to be taught as well in the universities, as in grammar schools ; and the “ *Catechismus*” of Nowell (which is the title of the largest of the three) fully answers such an expectation. But then it is strange, that a work, which as yet, we may conclude, existed only in Latin, should be designated in a Latin register by an English title, “ The Catechism,”

<sup>k</sup> March 3. See above, p, 96.

The description of the other, as "*Catechismus puerorum*," accords very well as an abbreviated title of the smallest Catechism<sup>1</sup>; and this probably, as we shall presently see reason to suppose, was first drawn up in English, and then translated into Latin.

On the whole therefore I do incline to think, but without being at all confident in the opinion, that the smallest Catechism was that which obtained the unanimous approbation of the lower house of Convocation; leaving the reader at full liberty to believe, that the upper house had, a month before, entered upon the examination of the largest Catechism. They do not however appear, by any recorded act, to have sanctioned the book; whether for want of time fully to revise it, or whether they did not care, how much soever they might value it individually, to give that high authority to every part of so long a work, which their united suffrage would seem to convey. Of Jewell's Apology, and perhaps for the same reason, because they would not make themselves responsible for every page of it, no notice whatever ap-

<sup>1</sup> The full title is, "*Catechismus parvus pueris, primum Latine qui edificatur, proponendus in scholis.*"

pears to have been taken by the Convocation; though it had previously, as we have seen <sup>m</sup>, been in contemplation to join that with Nowell's Catechism and the Articles, as containing collectively the doctrine of the Church of England.

That the Catechism was very generally approved by the Convocation, if not adopted and ratified by some particular though unrecorded act, seems to be the least that can be inferred from the words of Nowell himself, in a letter to Sir William Cecil, which is dated June 22, 1563, within three months from the rising of the synod. He therein certifies him, "That whereas the copy of the Catechism, which he caused to be written out for his Honour, to whom the book is dedicate, came to the hands of the bishops and clergy, assembled in the late Convocation; and, by reason that certain places were by their judgements altered, was interlined and somewhere blotted, he had caused it to be copied out again, and had sent it to his Honour, not now in his own name, as afore, *but in the name of the clergy of the Convocation, as their book, seeing it is by them ap-*

*proved and allowed.* That he would have sent it sooner, but that he thought his Honour to be occupied with certain most weighty public affairs ;—which seeing they did not, so speedily as he trusted, draw toward an end, but continued and augmented still, he thought it meet that the copy of the book, at the beginning appointed and dedicated to his Honour, should remain with the same ; that when opportunity should serve, he might at leisure have it, and judge, whether it were not unworthy, by his help, to be made public by the Queen's Majesty's authority. For how expedient it were, that some treaty of religion should be set forth publicly in the name of our country, his Honour did well understand ; seeing the opinion beyond the seas was, that nothing touching religion was, with any authority or consent of any number of the learned here in our country, taught and set forth ; but that a few private persons taught and wrote their opinions, without the approbation of any authority at all. That for his part he had taken pains, as well about the matter of the book, that it might be consonant unto the true doctrine of the Scriptures, as also that the style might agree with the purity of the Latin tongue. And

that as the book had not misliked their judgments, whom he did both most allow, and also reverence; so if it might likewise be approved to him, to whose patrocinie in his purpose he appointed it, when he first began it, he should think his pains most happily bestowed<sup>n</sup>.”

In Cecil's hands it lay for above a year, as Strype says, and was then returned, with some learned man's notes upon it; and so remained with the author till 1570, when it was called for again by both the archbishops, in order that it might be published; and, by Cecil's consent, to whom it had been addressed before, it was now dedicated to the two archbishops, and the bishop of London, by name, and generally to the other bishops, vigilant and faithful pastors of the Church of England.

In this prefatory address or dedication two things certainly are very extraordinary; that he does not so much as allude to the sanction of the Convocation, whatever it was; and that he never once mentions the Catechism of Edward VI. Whether in the course of seven

<sup>n</sup> Burghley MS. vii. No. 9. See also a copy of it in Strype's Ann. i. 353.

years, while it lay by him, it had received so many corrections and improvements, as to be in some sense a new work (a supposition possible, no doubt, but not very probable) or whatever might be the reason, so it is, that there appears not the most distant hint or allusion to the decrees or deliberations of Convocation; nor is any account given of the progress of the work, from the first sketch to its present form and completion; only that it had been composed, as a book intended for the instruction of youth, on points of such moment, ought to be, with great care, and with attention to the style as well as matter. And he concludes with expressing his earnest hopes, that if the youth of the realm take the book into their hands, sanctioned by the authority of those to whom it is addressed, it will be of great advantage to the Christian world.

The date of the publication was June 16, 1570; and the preface, already quoted, announced it to be the author's intention, for the sake of those that are fond of brevity, to publish the same Catechism, reduced into a shorter compass, as soon as possible. The abridgement accordingly came out the same year, and was dedicated, as the other had

been, to the archbishops and bishops, to whom the author held himself accountable both for his leisure and his labours.

The longer and the shorter Catechism had one common object of general utility, to retrieve and recover, if it were possible, the manners of a corrupt age, by laying a good foundation in the religious institution of youth, while their minds were ductile and untainted with vice. Great, and, we may truly add, successful pains were bestowed upon the style, that the terms and phrases should be pure and correct; a point to which he was the more studiously attentive, knowing, from his own experience in teaching, that many learnt the language in such a way, that, in their maturer years, they could not trust themselves to write or speak it. One exception was necessary, where accuracy of doctrine was rather to be regarded than purity of speech; and things never taught by Roman eloquence were to be told in words and expressions of established use among Christian writers, but unknown to Livy and Cicero. To remedy however this inconvenience, he subjoined to the larger Catechism an alphabetical list of words and forms of expression, peculiar to the Christian religion, noting the



deviations from correct Latinity, and shewing commonly how the same sense might be conveyed, in phraseology more conformable to the style of the best classics.

To render the work more extensively useful, two of the author's learned friends translated, each of them, the longer and the shorter catechism, one into English, the other into Greek. The English translator was Thomas Norton, a man eminent in the reign of queen Elizabeth for the productions of his pen, as well in poetry as in prose, having written the greater part of "Ferrex and Porrex, sons of Gorboduc, King of Britain," a tragedy acted before the Queen by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple in 1561, commonly attributed to Thomas Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset; which, in the judgement of Sir Philip Sidney, was esteemed the best tragedy of its time<sup>o</sup>. It will not, I fear, in the present day, add to Norton's fame, of whom we shall again have occasion to speak, that he also, as Wood says, "made twenty seven of the Psalms run in rhyme<sup>p</sup>;" which

<sup>o</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 348. Norton is said to have written the three first acts. It was afterwards altered, and published with the title of Gorboduc.

<sup>p</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 77.

are printed in the version of Sternhold and Hopkins, and marked with the initial of his name. However he who failed, where very few have succeeded, in attempting sacred poetry, might be very competent to give an exact translation of an elementary book in prose, containing the sum of the Christian religion; and as it was an object with him to promote the design of the first author of the book, “that such as were studious, specially the youth, might with one labour learn the truth of religion and the pureness of the Latin tongue,” he so framed his translation, and so caused it to be printed, as to answer the Latin, page for page; so that any sentence of one may easily be found in the other. But in following this method, “for the benefit of the meaner learned,” though he tied himself very much to the observing of the words themselves, yet he had always “regard to the natural property and easiness of our native tongue;” and Nowell, who seems to have seen the book, observes, that whoever carefully reads this English version, will learn to speak and write our native tongue with greater propriety and accuracy, than is generally done<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Latin Dedication of the Middle Catechism.

Norton says, the “ Author had very good reason to offer his work” to the bishops, “ chief pastors and governors of Christ’s flock in England, that it might be received with better assurance of good allowance; and that we and our posterity, so long as an English child or other shall in this Catechism learn Christianity, may keep in thankful remembrance the happiness of these good times, the blessed memory of her Majesty, and the good names of you, God’s good ministers, in whose time God hath so liberally spread among us the light of his gospel, and hath made you his faithful dispensers of so great a grace.”

He offers his translation (as will be seen by this extract) to the same patrons, and for the same reasons, specially and by name to the archbishops, and to “ my Lord of London, to whose diocese London, a light to the rest of England, belongeth, and to whom myself, dwelling within your charge, do owe particular duty.”

It was printed in small quarto, like the Latin, and in the same year 1570, by Day<sup>r</sup>, with a table of the principal matters con-

<sup>r</sup> Ames, p. 647.

tained in it; and reprinted<sup>s</sup> the next year, and at other times, though copies of any edition of it are now extremely rare.

To the translation of the smaller or middle Catechism there was prefixed a distinct Dedication by Nowell himself; part of which the reader may not dislike to see, as it will explain the design of the three Catechisms in the writer's own words. Addressing himself to the bishops, as before, he says, "It is not vnknowne vnto your wisedomes, that the diuersities of Catechismes, in shortnesse, or in length, either for the first entring of children, or for the more full instruction of youth, in the principles and summe of Christian religion, are as wel allowed by the iudgementes of diuers godly and learned men, as also practised in many Christian Churches in sondrie Countreys wel reformed, not without good reason, grounded vpon the diuersities of ages and capacitie of wittes: I therefore vpon the said considerations, haue applyed my self in this Catechisme, beyng of a middle fort, bothe to further the profite, and to satisfie

<sup>s</sup> By Day, as before: penes me. Ames, 652. Again by Day, 1573. In the Library of R. Heber Esquire.

them yndes of fuche as maie iudge the little Catechisme, as written for very yong children, not fully enough to serue for their instruction; and on the other part, may thinke the larger Catechisme, to bee too long and tedious either for their capacitie or leifure.—The whiche three Catechismes being purely translated into the Latine tongue, may not only serue yong beginners, or more forward Scho- lers, in the Grammer Schole, to the same vses, and to the learnyng of true Religion, and the right vse of the Latine speach with one labor, but the last also might seeme not vnprofitable vnto many ecclesiastical ministers for diuers good purposes: might it therefore please your good L.— to allow the same, I shall thinke my little labour right well bestowed.—November. 1572.”

The Greek translations, which were by his nephew Whitaker, though spoken of by Nowell as already finished, when he published the Latin, were not however suffered, by their laborious author, to come abroad for some time. The larger was first printed, together with the Latin, in 1573, and presented, in a Greek dedication, to the lord Treasurer, Sir William Cecil, a tribute due to him as the common patron of literature

and Chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and partly also in respect of the most renowned Lady his wife, universally admired for her learning, and particularly for her singular skill in the Greek language; so that she was excellently qualified to judge of the performance. He prefixed also a short copy of Greek Iambics to the Reader, exhorting him to the study of what he will here find correctly taught, true Christianity †.

The version of the smaller Catechism, accompanied, like the other, with the original Latin, was published in 1575, and dedicated to Nowell, “a preacher of the word of God, most celebrated for piety, and learning, and every virtue.” In this dedication, adverting to the laudable custom of the primitive church in instructing youth in true religion as well as sound learning, and noting the ignorance and errors, which followed the neglect of the custom, and the consequent necessity of reviving it, he observes, that the public was greatly indebted to Nowell, who had bestowed so much pains, and written many books, and contributed so liberally of his substance, to advance this great work, the

† London, by Wolfe, 1573. 8vo. In the Library of John Loveday, D. C. L.

right instruction of youth. "Of the three Catechisms, which you have accurately composed in Latin, two I have already translated into Greek; and now I present to you the third, in the same language; from which, with the help of good masters, children may learn to be Christians, and Latinists, and Grecians." And that for himself, he "esteemed nothing more worthy of ambition, than to be an assistant and fellow labourer with him in this good work."

The third Catechism remains to be noticed, which is more scarce than either of the other two, and the history of it involved in greater obscurity. Tanner mentions an impression of it in 1572, and three or four others of Whitaker's version, with the Latin. He says also, that somebody translated it into English in 1577, where Nowell's preface differs from that prefixed to the Latin<sup>u</sup>; and that it was also translated into Hebrew<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Is not this a mistake for Nowell's dedication of the *middle* Catechism in English, as just mentioned, p. 178?

<sup>x</sup> Is not this also a mistake for "A short Catechisme, by Law authorised in the Church of England, for young Children to learne: *Translated into Hebrew*, by Thomas Ingmethorpe, London, 1633," 8vo. in the Library of the late Mr. Brand; which is in fact the Church Catechism in English and Hebrew. And A. Wood, as it seems, is not perfectly correct, who mentions the

Of all this how much is correct, I am not able to say, as the only copy, except an imperfect one in English, which, after diligent search for many years, I have been fortunate enough to meet with, is of so late a date as 1687, printed with prayers for the use of St. Paul's school, and followed by the Church Catechism in English<sup>y</sup>. It is dedicated, as the others are, to Parker, Grindal, Sandys and the other bishops; and the dedication informs us, that this very catechism, which Tanner says some one translated into English, is itself the translation of a small English catechism, and that "if any one shall think the answers are (many of them) too long for the memory and apprehension of a child, he should be told, that the translator deemed it a point of conscience, not to make any alter-

"Short Catechism—1633" and the "Catechism in English and Hebrew" (which however he says he had not seen) as distinct works of Ingmethorpe, who was of Brasen Nose college, Rector of Great Stainton in the bishopric of Durham, "eminent for the Hebrew tongue and for his admirable methods in pedagogy," and published several sermons. Ath. Oxon. i. 599.

<sup>y</sup> As this neat little volume is very scarce, and though called "Editio novissima multo Auctior et emendatior," is yet probably, in substance, the same collection, which had often been printed together from the days of Elizabeth, a fuller account of it shall be given in the Appendix, No. viii.



ation whatsoever, in a Catechism *approved by public authority* <sup>2</sup>.”

This republication of a Catechism publicly authorized, as the reader, not without wonder, must now be told, is in substance the church catechism, as we now have it, including the part upon the Sacraments. The first part consists of the same number of questions and answers as the church catechism, and is an exact translation of it, with one digressional enlargement, after the Duty to our neighbour in general, on the relative duties of subjects, children, parishioners, servants, parents, masters, and married persons. The part upon the sacraments does not so exactly tally with the present church catechism, but has rather the appearance of being (as no doubt it was) the original work, from which the latter was composed, by compressing it a little, and dividing it into portions somewhat shorter, and omitting, as less necessary, two questions and answers, one against transubstantiation, and the other against the notion of the Lord's supper being a sacrifice for the remission of sins. In other respects there is

<sup>2</sup> Does this allude to the approbation of the Convocation in 1562? See above, p. 168.

little difference; as the reader will see, on examining the document itself, which, with the other additional part on the relative duties, from this very rare catechism, is printed in the appendix <sup>a</sup>.

Here then occurs a question, more interesting than easy to be answered: Who was the author of that *prior* English catechism, of which Nowell only professes himself the translator? Must we abide by the authority of Izaak Walton, a diligent inquirer into these matters, who had conversed with those who had conversed with Nowell, and tells us, that he “like an honest angler, made that good, plain, unperplexed Catechism, which is printed with our good old Service-Book <sup>b</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup> No. ix. This smallest Catechism was translated into Welsh, and printed by Jones in 1578. Ames, p. 1042.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 82. And see also, p. 178. and p. 181. what Nowell and Whitaker say of the Three Catechisms. If he was really the *Author* of the smallest of the three, of which the *English* copy appears to have been the original, that English copy must have been written by him, which is in effect the Church Catechism. And was this, namely Nowell's *smallest* Catechism in English, “the other brief Catechism” mentioned as “already set forth” by the King, in 1553? See above, p. 157.

The late Mr. Brand informed me, that in a copy of bishop Beveridge on the Church Catechism, 1705, is the following note by Dr. Ellison, Vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne, dated 1708: “Dr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, composed the Church Ca-

If this were so, he modestly chose to speak of a catechism "publicly authorized," rather than avow himself the author of it; and yet those, to whom he addressed himself, probably knew by whom it was written. The question is perplexing in any view. In the mean time this is certain, that bishop Overall, who is universally said to have written the part upon the sacraments (sometimes called an "Addition to the Catechism") after the

catechism as far as the article upon the Sacraments, which article was drawn up by Bishop Overall."

<sup>c</sup> It is so quoted by Sanderson, in stating the objections made to the liturgy by the Assembly of Divines: Hist. Charles I. p. 683. A work however, under the title of "The Catechism with Additions," had long before been in existence. The Convocation in 1586 ordered, that "The ministers shall, according to her Majesty's Injunctions, instruct the youth in the Catechism, with Additions, set forth by public authority," and expound "the points of the said Catechism only, with the Additions." Strype's Whitg. App. 113. And at the end of the vol. in the table of Authors made use of, p. iii. is "The Catechism, with Additions. Set forth by public Authority." In "The Entrée to Christianitie or an Admonition to Householders," by Thomas Wats, Lond. 1589. small 8vo. are titles of various initiatory tracts, chiefly under the name of Catechisms, "beginning with the plainest." Among them are these:

"The Little Catechisme with additions."

"Maister Nowell's *Little* Catechisme."

"Maister Nowell's *middle* Catechisme."

"Maister Beacon's Catechism." &c.

Nowell's "Little Catechism," without doubt, was his *smallest*.

Conference at Hampton court, did nothing more than shorten and reduce into a more commodious form the excellent matter, which Nowell or some earlier writer had provided to his hands. This, however, is freely told to his praise, that he performed the task assigned him with so much skill and judgement, that no further improvement has been found necessary or practicable, except by the omission of a single clause at the last revision. "Water, wherein the person baptized is *dipped or sprinkled with it*" (for so it stood before) seemed to limit baptism to one or the other of those two specific modes of administration; but as no mode whatsoever is enjoined in the New Testament, and it is consequently a matter of indifference, whether it be performed by immersion, by dipping<sup>d</sup>, by pouring, or

as described above. And was "The Little Catechism with Additions," in Wats, and "The Catechism, with Additions: set forth by public authority," in Strype, one and the same tract? and was that the Church Catechism, with *Nowell's* additional part on the Sacraments, but without the enlargement upon the relative duties? But it is much more easy to start a difficulty, than to remove it.

<sup>d</sup> The sectaries, who contend that no mode of baptizing is valid, but by a total immersion, and insist that our church *requires* it, and only *permits* sprinkling (which in fact is never mentioned, but only "pouring water upon" the child, or "laying water

by sprinkling, the restricting clause was properly struck out; and the important ordinance was left in the generality of Scripture, by which nothing more is required, but the application of water to the body, accompa-

upon the face of it." 30th Canon.) mistake at once the meaning of words, and the intent of our church. To *dip* is merely to put a body (either some part of it, or the whole) into water, in contradistinction to the applying of water to the body; as a single instance will shew; "that he may *dip the tip of his finger* in water." Luke xvi. 24. And that our Church never meant to enjoin immersion, is plain from the form of baptizing "such as are of riper years," where the rubric allows the same alternative, as in the case of infants: He "shall *dip him in the water*, or pour water upon him." Of the fonts now remaining in our churches by far the greater part are older than the Reformation, when the rubrics and canons now quoted were framed; and yet there is not perhaps a single font in the kingdom, in which it is *possible* to *immerse* an adult. But when the minister, as directed, "taking the person by the right hand, has placed him conveniently by the font," he may "dip" his head, his face, or his forehead, "in the water;" and if water is but made to touch any part of his body, by a lawful minister, with the prescribed words, no doubt he "is clean every whit." John xiii. 10. "De minimis non curat lex," an approved maxim in human laws, is no less true of the laws of God. No particular mode of performing circumcision was enjoined, either in the Abrahamic or Mosaic covenant; and no mode is ordered for the administration of "the circumcision of Christ" (i. e. Christian circumcision, Col. ii. 11.) further than that it be performed with water, and in the solemn form of words, by those and the successors of those, whom Christ sent and commanded to baptize all nations.

nied with the prescribed form of words, by a minister duly appointed.

It is not necessary to give a fuller account of Nowell's principal Catechism, or of the abridgement of it; but we may observe, that as one of the four heads, into which he divides his subject, namely that on the Sacraments, did not form a distinct head in Poinet, and what was incidentally advanced there on those two ordinances, was not didactic and suited to his purpose, he therefore here availed himself of his own smallest Catechism, in the same manner as he did of Poinet's, where that could afford assistance.

The reading world, in the reign of Elizabeth, was comparatively small; but Nowell's Catechisms, especially the two larger, were in such request, that they went through more impressions in the space of a few years, than can, at this distance of time, be easily traced; for indeed all the copies are now extremely scarce, except of the middle Catechism, which continuing to be used in schools for a century or more, is no uncommon book.

In the Canons, agreed upon by archbishop Parker and the bishops of his province, in the year 1571, one of the injunctions was,

that Schoolmasters should teach no other Latin Catechism, but that which was published in the year 1570 (plainly meaning Nowell's Catechism) and that such children as did not understand Latin, should learn the English translation <sup>c</sup>. But when archbishop Grindal, in 1572, required, that the choristers at York should be examined thrice every quarter of a year "in the English Catechism, now lately set forth and enlarged <sup>f</sup>," he probably meant Nowell's smallest Catechism; as he probably did three years afterwards, when, on his translation to Canterbury, he enjoined, "that the Catechism allowed should be diligently taught to the youth in every parish church <sup>g</sup>." But in the statutes of the grammar school, which he founded at St. Bee's in Cumberland, he seems to enjoin the use of the three Catechisms; for the children are to "say by heart the Catechism in English, set forth by public authority;" and to be taught "the greater as well as lesser Catechism, set out by authority, and no other Catechism, except publicly authorized <sup>h</sup>." There is also, I con-

<sup>c</sup> Sparrow's Canons, p. 239.

<sup>f</sup> Strype's Grindal, p. 169.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. 195. App. 61.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. 312.

ceive, indubitable allusion to the three in a deed of later date, under the Dean's own eye; for when he, with the chapter of St. Paul's, appointed their almoner, Thomas Gyles, "Master of the Quirifers," it was covenanted with him, that he should instruct them "in the principles and grounds of the Christian religion, contained in *the little Catechism* set out by public authority, and after, when they shall be elder, in the *middle Catechism*; and in writing and music—; and then suffer them to resort to Paul's school, that they may learn the principles of grammar, and after, as they shall be forwards, learn the said Catechisms in Latin, which before they learned in English, and other good books—taught in the said school<sup>i</sup>."

In 1578 the university of Oxford made a statute for the extirpating of heresy and grounding of youth in true religion<sup>k</sup>. At the head of the list of books, appointed to be read for this purpose, stands Nowell's larger Catechism; and the statute was reinforced by the injunctions of that great statesman, Sir Christopher Hatton, on his being elected Chancellor of the university, in 1589; and

<sup>i</sup> Reg. Nowell ii. f. 189. May 22, 1584.

<sup>k</sup> Wood's Ann. ed. Gutch, ii. 193.



again by archbishop Bancroft, as soon as he became Chancellor, in 1608<sup>1</sup>. Five years before this, when the Canons of the Church were drawn up and agreed upon, in 1603, under the same Bancroft, then bishop of London, President of the Convocation (the see of Canterbury being vacant) the seventy ninth Canon ordered, that "All Schoolmasters shall teach in English or Latin, as the children are able to bear, the larger or shorter Catechism heretofore by public authority set forth;" evidently meaning Nowell's Catechism, which the Canons of 1571 had in like manner enjoined<sup>m</sup>.

These facts and documents are a sufficient indication of the use and estimation of these elementary, but standard works of Nowell: two testimonies, however, to their merit, which have been quoted by others, are too honourable to be omitted. Cooper, bishop of Winchester, in his Admonition to the people

<sup>1</sup> Wood's Annals, ii. 237, 296. Bancroft's letter requires "first and above all things" the observance of the "ancient statutes" for "catechizing and training up of youth in true religion," but does not mention Nowell's Catechism by name.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 188. "The Catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer" is distinctly mentioned in the Canons of 1603, and Ministers are enjoined to instruct the youth in it. Canon 59 and 61.

of England, 1589, says, in answer to Martin the libeller, "For a Catechism, I refer them to that which was made by the learned and godly man, Mr. Nowell, Dean of Paul's, received and allowed by the Church of England, and very fully grounded upon the word of God. There may you see all the parts of true religion received, the difficulties expounded, the truth declared, the corruptions of the church of Rome rejected".<sup>n</sup>

The other is from the pen of archbishop Whitgift, in his answer to the same scurrilous Marprelate. It had been required in the Advertisements of 1564, by virtue of the Queen's letters to Parker and others, that "young ministers should be instructed to make apt answers concerning the form of the Catechism prescribed"<sup>o</sup> (whatever the book was, which was thus alluded to) and when Nowell's book was published, that

<sup>n</sup> Cooper's Admonition, f. 65. b. The clause, "Very fully grounded upon the word of God," evidently refers to Nowell's largest Catechism, or the abridgement of it, both which have the Scriptural authorities in the margin. And when he says, "received and allowed by the Church of England," he alludes, either to its reception in the Convocation of 1562, or to the injunction in the Canons of 1571, or to both.

<sup>o</sup> Sparrow's Canons, p. 126. Could this "Catechism, prescribed" in or before 1564, be Nowell's smallest Catechism?

seems, in like manner, to have been recommended, or enjoined, to young ministers in the diocese of London; of which Cartwright and others, conceited of their own talents and learning, complained, as a high indignity. Whitgift therefore said, "That Catechism, which you in derision quote in the margin, is a book fit for you to learn also. And I know no man so well learned, but it may become him to read and learn that learned and necessary book<sup>p</sup>."

About the close of Queen Anne's reign, some "ingenious person" translated the middle Catechism into English, not knowing, as it seems, that it had been done before; and put it into the hands of a friend, desiring him to "use the interest he had with the learned and pious Mr. Nelson, to get his opinion of it; and, as he approved it, to request that he would consent to recommend it to the public."

Mr. Nelson, having given it several perusals, was so much pleased with its design and usefulness, that he readily consented to honour it with a Preface; but his lamented death, which happened soon afterwards, prevented

<sup>p</sup> In Strype's Ann. i. 354.

him from fulfilling his design. The task therefore of introducing it to the world devolved on Mr. Theobald; who, in his preface, informs us of these particulars, adding a short account of the work; as originally written in Latin by Mr. Alexander Nowell; translated into Greek by Mr. Whitaker; and now presented in English, that it might be of more general use.

In this edition, which bears the title of "The Elements of Christian Piety, being an Explanation of the Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Sacraments<sup>9</sup>," most of the texts of Scripture, to which Nowell refers, are given at length from our public translation; but some are omitted, and now and then another is substituted by the editor,

<sup>9</sup> London, 1715. 12mo. This little volume and Nowell's smallest Catechism above described, p. 181. &c. are both in my possession from the library of the late Charles Baldwyn, Esquire, of Manchester, a very studious, learned, and excellent man, to whose kindness while living, though personally unknown, I was indebted for many favours; and now he is no more, I gratefully record him here as M. A. of Brasen Nose college. He died Aug. 31, 1801. See Gent. Mag. 1803. p. 1110.

As to the editor of this English Catechism, I suspect from the name, "L. Theobald," it might be the same Lewis Theobald, whom the poet "damned to everlasting fame" in the first *Dunciad*, published first in 1722.

or, more probably, by the unknown author of the translation.

Further honour at a later period awaited Nowell's Catechism. In 1792 Dr. Randolph, Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Divinity in the university of Oxford (now, 1807, Bishop of Bangor) published, under the title of *Enchiridion Theologicum*, a collection of short comprehensive tracts, with a view "to shew the genuine sense of the Church of England in her earliest days, both as to the grounds of separation from the Church of Rome, and the doctrines which she at length finally adopted and ratified." For this purpose, directing his choice principally to "such works as had the sanction of public authority," he placed at the head of the first volume the English copy of the Catechism of Edward VI; which, being the "last work of the reformers of that reign, may be understood to contain, as far as it goes, their ultimate decision, and to represent the sense of the Church of England as then established." And with a similar view he assigned the same post of precedence, in his second volume, to Nowell's largest Catechism, as giving an account of the doctrines of the church, when it had been restored and established under queen Eliza-

beth<sup>r</sup>. This judicious selection by the learned Professor was so well approved and received, that the work, in five duodecimo volumes, has long been out of print.

Three years after this the learned and Right Reverend Dr. Cleaver, Principal of Brasen Nose college and Bishop of Chester (since of Bangor, and now, 1807, of St. Asaph) anxious for the improvement both of his collegiate and episcopal charge, looking out for some theological work more full and comprehensive than the common catechisms, and less bulky than the generality of Theological Systems, which young men in the university and candidates for holy orders might read with advantage, made choice of Nowell's Catechism, as best adapted to the design which he had in view. He therefore revived it in a new edition; and thus devoted it to the same important purposes, which it had so long and ably served upon its first appearance. To this edition, introduced with a succinct preface, and short account of the author from that scarce book, the *Heroologia* of Henry Holland, there is subjoined the learned Disputation of Vossius on the Virtue

\* See the Preface to *Enchirid. Theolog.*

and Efficacy of the Sacraments. Some few of Nowell's marginal references to texts of Scripture are omitted, as less necessary or less apposite; references are given to later works of eminent divines; and notes are occasionally added, chiefly on passages where the words of the author seemed to countenance the Calvinian notions. The abridgement or middle Catechism was printed the following year by the same Right Reverend Editor, for the same purposes, and with equal care.

## SECTION VIII.

**F**ROM this necessary digression we return, and resume the thread of our narrative in the year 1571; when the same Parliament that incorporated the two Universities<sup>s</sup>, enjoined all clergymen to subscribe the Thirty nine Articles of religion<sup>t</sup>. The original instrument, with the autographs of Laurence and Alexander Nowell and others, which once belonged to the learned Mr. Selden, is preserved among his books in the public library at Oxford.

In this same year died that luminary of his country and of the Christian name, bishop Jewell, exhausted with intense study and the labours of his profession, before he had entered his fiftieth year. Many pens were employed to embalm his memory; and, among them, Nowell foothered his forrow on the occasion in twenty six elegiac verses<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Wood's Annals, ii. 171.

<sup>t</sup> Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. viii. §. 55.

<sup>u</sup> At the end of Jewell's L. by Laur. Humphrey, printed by Day, 1573.



The allusion, in these lines, to the name of Jewell was natural, though trite perhaps; but when he says, The portrait of the deceased lessened the want and regret of "his placid countenance," we have a trait of character from one who well knew him.

When Nowell, as already mentioned<sup>x</sup>, assisted the archbishop in settling his school at Rachdale in Lancashire, he was himself planning a similar but more extensive benefaction to that his native county; in the execution of which his beneficence and modesty were alike conspicuous. This was the endowment, at one and the same time, of a free School at Middleton in Lancashire, and of thirteen scholarships in Brasen Nose college; and as these benefactions were both of them established by royal patent (her Majesty also of her free bounty encouraging and assisting him) he chose that the school should be called Queen Elizabeth's School<sup>y</sup>, and the scholars Queen

<sup>x</sup> See above, p. 109.

<sup>y</sup> On the inner wall of the School, facing the great door, is this inscription: "Libera Schola Reginæ Elifabethæ

αξιαφηγητα.

Cujus præsignis Reginæ auspiciis pius admodum et orthodoxus vir Dr. Alex. Nowell Aulæ Regiæ et Coll. de Brasenose in Acad. Oxon. quondam Principalis et Eccles. Cathedr. St. Pauli London Decanus, ob pium erga patriam affectum, et ad bonarum

Elizabeth's Scholars. How much he had at heart this good work, for the encouragement of religion and learning, appears by a letter of his to the lord Treasurer, while the patent of foundation lay in his hands; in which, by the advice of Sir Walter Mildmay, a blank was left for the mortmain, upon good hope, that it would please her Majesty to license a large sum, for such goodly uses. He therefore "in her Majesty's name humbly prayed his Honour to finish the good work, which he had so happily begun; and to move her Majesty to license the sum of 100*l.* or so many marks at the least, by him and others to be purchased in mortmain, for the increase of the stipends of the schoolmaster and usher, and of the number and exhibition of the said scholars, and the better relief of the great company of that poor college: and all to be done in her Majesty's name <sup>z</sup>."

*literarum profectum Scholam hanc fundavit, Didascalum pariter et Hypodidascalum honorario auxit competenti, anno regni Elisabeth. xiiii. annoque Domini M. D. L. XXII.*" "This school was new roofed and cieled 1781." Communicated by my very worthy friend, the Rev. Joshua Brookes, M. A. of Brasen Nose, Chaplain of the collegiate Church in Manchester, to whose kind inquiries and assistance these memoirs are in many parts indebted.

<sup>z</sup> June 24, 1572, Burghley MS. xv. No. 67. Strype's Ann. ii. 239.

It is a remark of Mr. Nelson <sup>a</sup>, that the connecting of a school with a college is a wise contrivance to preserve the school in honour and reputation; and if the gradual decline of Middleton school furnishes an exception to the observation, the cause is to be sought probably in the celebrity of the earlier school of bishop Oldham, in the large neighbouring town of Manchester, similarly connected with three distinct colleges <sup>b</sup>, and not in any defect of Nowell's institution. For though political arithmetic has taught us, that the assignment of a specific sum for an office is not a well-devised provision, under the identity of human wants; and the perpetual fluctuation of the value of money; yet this oversight, common to Nowell with a thousand other benefactors of their country, has not hindered the flourishing growth of other

<sup>a</sup> Life of Bishop Bull, 1713. p. 10. Christopher Wake also, in his Considerations concerning Free Schools, 1678, p. 80. observes, that the annexing the patronage of a country free school to some house in the University has been experienced mutually beneficial; and he instances, among others, the schools of Charlebury and Steeple Aston in Oxfordshire, and Middleton, Lancashire, belonging to Brasen Nose college.

<sup>b</sup> Corpus Christi and Brasen Nose in Oxford, and St. John's, Cambridge.

feminaries, not originally more liberally endowed than the school at Middleton.

By the charter of foundation, August 11, 1572<sup>c</sup>, certain rent-charges, in London and elsewhere, are vested in the Principal and Fellows of Brasen Nose college, who are incorporated Governors of the Free School of Middleton in Lancashire, on condition that they pay to the upper Master twenty marks, and to the under Master or Usher ten marks, yearly; and five marks apiece to thirteen scholars, chosen from that school, or from the school of Whalley or Burnley, or, in defect, from any other school in the county. But the liberal donor having shortly afterwards bought of Sir Henry Cheney, Lord Cheney, and the Lady Jane his wife, the manor of Upberry, and the rectory of Gillingham in Kent, with the advowson of the vicarage, he bestowed these estates also on the college, in trust, to augment the stipend of the master and usher, and the allowance of the scholars, as well as to improve the weekly commons or allowance of the Principal and fellows.

<sup>c</sup> Reg. Nowell i. f. 432. an indenture Oct. 26, 1574, in which the patent at Gorhambury, Aug. 11, 1572, is recognized.

The manor of Gillingham and estates thereto appendant were part of the endowment of the fee of Canterbury, in the time of the Conqueror, as appears by certain grants of archbishop Anselm, remitting to the monks of St. Andrew's in Rochester part of the rent, which they used to pay for the right of fishing in the sea, a privilege belonging to the said manor<sup>d</sup>. The archiepiscopal estates in this parish were alienated to the crown in the time of Henry VIII; and by him granted to the family of Cheney, who re-fold them to Nowell. A part of the estate, on a commanding spot in Upberry, by recent purchase from the college of Brasen Nose, has been re-invested in the crown, for the purpose of constructing barracks and other public works, in these days when the proud menaces of a neighbouring usurper have served only to rouse, with redoubled ardour, the ancient spirit of Britons.

But Nowell's own account of these his benefactions is too memorable and interesting to be omitted; especially as it supplies, together with a royal donation hitherto unre-

<sup>d</sup> Hearne's Text. Roffenf. 154. 159. More about Gillingham, *ibid.* 181. 380. Lambarde's Perambul. p. 385. Strype's Parker, p. 80.

corded, a new member and grateful benefactor to the college of Brasen Nose, in the person of Robert Nowell, who was not before known ever to have "saluted the Oxford muses." Some complaint made to Lord Burghley, who was overseer of Robert Nowell's will, and an intimation in consequence from his Lordship to the Dean, extorted from him, in his own justification, the recital of particulars, "which ought" otherwise, as he says, "with silence to be laid up in the lap of the poor, and in God's memory only."

His brother Robert Nowell, about six hours before he died, said unto him, "Forget not Middleton school (where we and other our brethren were taught in our childhood) and the college of Brasen Nose, where we were brought up in our youth. And if you would procure any thing to continue, with my money, you shall do it best and most surely in the Queen's Majesty's name, whose poor officer I have been <sup>e</sup>."

The dying request of a beloved brother added speed and alacrity to one, who was

<sup>e</sup> Burghley MS. lxxxii. No. 48. Nowell's hand, without date, but a pencil on the back says, "1596." The words in the parenthesis are from another letter of Nowell to the L. Treasurer, March 13, 1594-5. ib. lxxviii. No. 18. See App. No. x.

never flow in the career of charity. He therefore began immediately to think of the foundation of Middleton school, and of certain scholars to be chosen out of that school into the college of Brasen Nose, there to be maintained with certain exhibition.

And first, for three years space, before he obtained the said foundation, he sent yearly twenty pounds to the Principal and fellows of that college, to be bestowed upon six poor scholars. And when, by means of Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay, he had obtained the foundation of the school, her Majesty most graciously and bounteously giving freely that twenty pounds yearly for ever, which he would have purchased of her Majesty, he was thereby more inflamed to go through with that, which he first intended. To that purpose therefore he purchased in reversion of the Lord Cheney, as before mentioned, the manor of Upberry and impropriate rectory of Gillingham; for which he paid nine hundred pounds, and ten pounds, with a purse of forty shillings, to my Lady for her consent.

Nor was this all. For the lower chambers of the college being hitherto unboarded, and therefore dampish and unwholesome, he caused

them thoroughly to be boarded, which cost above forty pounds.

He would also before this time (1596) have built a fair schoolhouse, with lodgings for the schoolmaster and usher, but that young Mr. Ashton, lord of Middleton, being under age, could make no assurance of the ground, whereupon to build it. He therefore engaged to bestow two hundred marks at the least for that purpose, or leave that sum to the college for that use, if he died before it was completed<sup>f</sup>. There was however a schoolhouse already in existence, though less commodious or substantial, I presume, than fully to answer the generous wishes of the founder. For in the appointment of Robert Walkeden M. A. (a name not elsewhere found) to be Master of Queen Elizabeth's free school in Middleton, in 1593, he assigns him a stipend of twenty pounds (a sum exceeding the first endowment, the deficiency, no doubt, being supplied by his privy purse) together with the chamber in the upper part of the school, and the lower part of "the nethermost Barrow field," and an adjoining meadow, belonging to the school, for life; on condition, that he

<sup>f</sup> MS. Burghley, ut supra. lxxxii. No. 48.



instruct his scholars in true piety, good manners, and useful learning §.

In later days the master's place has usually been given to the curates of Middleton; one of whom, Richard Dean, was the author of an ingenious essay on an unpromising subject, "The future life of Brutes, introduced with Observations upon Evil, its nature and origin," printed at Manchester, 1767<sup>h</sup>.

Before we take our leave of Nowell's benefaction to Brasen Nose college, it should be noted as peculiarly seasonable; since in consequence of a severe plague at Oxford, in the preceding year, and for want of exhibitions to assist them in their studies, some of the scholars were compelled to go about, requesting alms, having licence so to do, as an act of parliament required, under the common seal of the university<sup>i</sup>.

On the second of June, 1572, the Duke of Norfolk, having some months before been found guilty of treasonable practices with the

§ Abstr. of Compositions &c. of Brasen Nose College, 1772, p. xxiv.

<sup>h</sup> Mr. Dean died and was buried at Middleton, Jan. 10, 1778. and was succeeded by the Rev. James Archer, the present master, 1807.

<sup>i</sup> Wood's Annals, ii. 171. ad ann. 1572.

Queen of Scots, was brought to his execution on tower hill, attended by Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the tower, Sir Henry Lee, Fox, who had been his preceptor, and Nowell his spiritual father. When he had ascended the scaffold, after some little talk had with Nowell, who desired the people to keep silence, he addressed them with a cheerful countenance and dauntless looks: "It is no rare thing, he said, to see a man come to this place to take his death; though, in our Queen's gracious and most merciful reign, it is my fortune to be the first; and I pray to God I may be the last." To which the crowd gave a hearty, Amen. He then acknowledged himself guilty, but denied that it was ever his intention to deprive the Queen of her crown, or to invade the realm; and as to his religion, which was by some suspected, he declared that he had ever been a Protestant, since he first knew what religion meant, trusting to be saved by faith in Christ alone. He acknowledged the Queen's clemency in forgiving his faults, and granting him so long a time for repentance, and thanked her gracious Majesty, that it had pleased her to promise to be kind to his poor orphan children, which was his only request. "And I beseech

Almighty God to grant her a long, prosperous, and quiet reign over you. I could use a similitude, though the occasion and speaker are very different, yet not unmeet for this time and place. I did once hear, in king Edward's time, Mr. Latymer, a good old and blessed martyr, preach, that he feared great plagues were to come upon the people for their exactions, and contentions, and disobedience. On the contrary I hope verily, that this realm shall be blessed, and the state of it most prosperous, by reason of your dutiful obedience to your Prince and her laws; which, by my death, I pray God you may take example to do."

Then desiring the people to pray for him, he knelt down, and read with a loud voice two or three penitential psalms; and when he said, "Pray for the peace of Jerufalem," the Dean reminded him, that Jerufalem meant the church of Christ, "I know it, Mr. Dean, and mean it so, the church of this land, and all that believe in Christ."

Then he took leave of all the gentlemen upon the scaffold; and putting off his gown and doublet<sup>k</sup>, stretched himself upwards,

<sup>k</sup> " Casting [off] his gowne being of wrought velvett, and having on a doublett of black fatten, with great pacyence [he]

looking towards heaven; and withal cast his arms abroad, and with singular signs of loving affection embraced Mr. Nowell, with whom he had some secret talk, bowing his body even to the ground, with great humility. The axe, at his request, was then shewed him. He refused to cover his eyes, when a cloth was offered him for that purpose, saying, "My fellow, I will not move; for I do not fear death; for I hope to go singing into heaven." Then, without any sign of sorrow, or alteration of countenance, he meekly offered his head upon the block to the executioner, and his soul to the mercy of Almighty God<sup>1</sup>.

This unfortunate Nobleman, graceful in person, of a manly countenance, dignified and yet courteous in demeanour, wise in counsel, sound and exemplary in religion, was wonderfully beloved, and greatly lamented; and what heightened the general regret for his fate, was the recollection of his father, the

kneled downe, to the blocke, Mr. Nowell kneeling with him." Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xvii. 11. f. 388. He had just before, according to this MS. taken Mr. Nowell by the hand and embraced him.

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Annals, ii. 82. 129. App. No. xiii. Camden's Annals, 1615. p. 216—218. who says he was present at the trial and at the execution.

illustrious Henry earl of Surrey, a most accomplished scholar, of rare talents and of high military glory, who on the same spot, twenty five years before, fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of Henry VIII.

The Paris massacre, on the ever memorable St. Bartholomew's day, caused very different sensations here and on the continent. The French King, glorying that the hour was come when all France should be of one religion, gave solemn thanks, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung, with processions and bonfires; while at Rome, whither the admiral Coligni's head, having been first presented to the King and the Queen mother, was sent to feast the eyes of his Holiness and the cardinals, the pope proclaimed a jubilee, and struck a medal, still sold without reserve at the papal mint, avowing to all the world the unparalleled deed of treachery and carnage<sup>m</sup>.

In England these "beacons," as they were termed<sup>n</sup>, were viewed with abhorrence, and

<sup>m</sup> Ex ore viri præstantissimi, Rogeri Newdigate, Baronetti, who bought one there. See *Gent. Mag.* 1784. p. 831. where is also an engraving of two medals struck by the King of France on the same occasion. See also *Fox's Martyrs*, ii. 2153. *Strype's Parker*, 351—358.

<sup>n</sup> By Sir Thomas Smith. See his *L.* by *Strype*, p. 165. 238. See also p. 162. 215.

not without alarm. The navy therefore was sent to sea with speed, and the coast and the whole kingdom were put into a posture of defence, as well against foreign force as domestic treachery; nor was religion, the best safeguard, overlooked or forgotten. Particular care was taken that preachers, at once learned and loyal, should be appointed for the Cross; Sandys bishop of London and the Dean of St. Paul's intending to go up first, for an example to the rest; and a form of prayer and public fast were ordered, the whole nation calling themselves to humiliation and repentance °.

Cartwright's Admonition to Parliament, published about this time without a name, inveighing bitterly against the clergy, especially the bishops, and demanding a total abolition of the book of Common Prayer, was, like other things which complain of established order and constituted authorities, eagerly read, and industriously disseminated; and as it was supposed to contain the combined strength of the party, who were clamorous for their new Discipline and Platform, it was judged proper that it should be

° Strype's Annals, ii. 151—160. It was computed that not less than ten thousand were killed in three days.

answered by some able divine. Accordingly Whitgift, dean of Lincoln, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, took it in hand; but when his Answer was nearly ready for the press, Mr. Norton, of whom we have already heard, whether a clergyman or lawyer, which has been variously conjectured, wrote to him to dissuade him from publishing: "One thing, at least, he says, I would seriously advise you, before you go any further in your book, to confer with some grave and wise men, and especially such as have been rather beholders, than actors in this tragedy; as the Dean of Paul's, and the Dean of Windfor," and to abide by their judgement, whether by publishing you are likely to benefit the cause, or to please the papists by continuing the dispute<sup>p</sup>.

Whitgift's answer to this friendly advice carried full conviction to Norton's mind, as he frankly acknowledged in a letter to the archbishop, with whose knowledge and approbation the Answer to the Admonition had been undertaken; and the work in a short time came out, worthy of the occasion and

<sup>p</sup> Strype's Whitgift, p. 29. 30—32. and L. of Parker, p. 364.

of the author, to whose future promotion it contributed <sup>q</sup>.

A confederacy of foreign princes, encouraged by the pope as well as by many among the English papists <sup>r</sup>, threatening to invade the realm, in the present conjuncture, when the church was so rudely assailed by the advocates of the new discipline, the vigilant Queen and her no less vigilant counsellors saw it was high time to provide for the security of the state and of the established religion. A proclamation therefore was issued against papists and their seditious books <sup>s</sup>, and two against the puritans and contemners of the book of Common Prayer <sup>t</sup>. A special commission also was granted to the Bishop of London, the Lord chief Justice of England, Sir Walter Mildmay, the Dean of St. Paul's and others, the better to enforce the act of uniformity <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> Sir J. Harrington says, "Cartwright's books not unlearnedly written, were more learnedly answered by Dr. Whitgift. Both had their reward." &c. Brief View, p. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Strype's Annals, ii. 254. L. of Parker, p. 438.

<sup>s</sup> Strype's Ann. ii. 255. L. of Parker [444] with 442. 477.

<sup>t</sup> Ames, p. 723. Sparrow's Canons, p. 169. Strype's Ann. ii. 255. L. of Parker, [446] 454.

<sup>u</sup> Rymer, xv. p. 725.



A horrid principle of the puritanical party, common to them with that corrupt church which they pretended to abhor, was that the end sanctifies the means; and that it was lawful to kill those, who opposed their endeavours to introduce their model and discipline. One Burchet, a furious zealot in this way, assassinated Hawkins, a captain of the navy, in the public streets, mistaking him for Mr. afterwards Sir Christopher, Hatton; which so alarmed and exasperated the Queen, that she ordered the man to be examined and executed immediately by martial law. But yielding to milder counsel, and suffering law to take its usual course, which proved the innocent occasion of a second murder, committed by him on the person of his keeper, she commanded, that he should be examined before his execution, not only by the Solicitor-General and the Recorder of London, but likewise by the Dean of St. Paul's, if he were in London, or by the Dean of Westminster; who should endeavour by all means to learn from him, whether he knew any who entertained similar notions with himself, and to persuade him to disburthen his conscience for the sake of his soul\*.

\* Strype's Ann. ii. 288.

Cartwright, who had been educated at Cambridge, and was bachelor of divinity in that university, was the chief pillar of the puritanical party, and caused great disturbance by preaching and writing against the constitution of the church. The Queen therefore required, that he should be apprehended, and brought to trial for his misdemeanors, before the ecclesiastical commissioners; and a strict warrant for that purpose was issued in the name of the bishop of London, the Attorney and Solicitor General, the Dean of St. Paul's, and others, commissioners for ecclesiastical purposes<sup>y</sup>; but whether he was actually laid hold on at this time, does not appear. He was certainly at liberty afterwards, and suffered to enjoy quietly his hospital at Warwick, where he died in affluence, deeply lamenting the troubles and schism, which he had fomented; and earnestly wishing he were to begin life again, that by his altered conduct he might shew his dislike of his former ways<sup>z</sup>. John Dod, the famous decalogist,

<sup>y</sup> Dec. 11, 1573. Strype's Ann. ii. 282.

<sup>z</sup> Strype's Whitg. p. 554. Cartwright was one of the disputants before the Queen at Cambridge in 1564. and is said to have been displeas'd that he was not rewarded by her. Desid. Curios. L. vii. No. xv. §. 22. n.

born at Shockledge in Cheshire, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, preached his funeral sermon <sup>a</sup>.

But though the proceedings as well against the papists as sectaries, in these days of conspiracy and danger, were not without rigour, one instance only of burning heretics (and that one to be lamented) is found throughout the reign of Elizabeth. Two anabaptists, John Peters and Henry Turwert, Flemings by birth (for as yet that sect had not infected the Queen's English subjects) having been pronounced heretics by the bishops of London and Rochester, the Master of the Rolls, and two Justices of the Common Pleas (Manwood and Mounson) with the Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster, acting under a special commission from the Queen <sup>b</sup>, she, by her warrant to the sheriff of London <sup>c</sup>, commanded them to be burnt in Smithfield; which was accordingly done, the meek and humane John Fox and the Dutch congregation having interceded for them in vain <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Fuller's Church Hist. Book x. p. 6. Hist. of Cambridge, p. 86.

<sup>b</sup> Rymer, xv. 740.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. 741.

<sup>d</sup> July 22, 1575. Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. ix. p. 104. and Stow's Chron.

We have stated the fact as the writ states it; but Strype says<sup>c</sup>, the chief cause of their suffering was, because they denied the authority of the magistrate, and had returned from banishment, to which they had been sentenced a year before.

Most sects grow ashamed of the extravagances of their first founders, and tacitly soften down or explain away the dogmas, which are found most repugnant to Scripture and common sense. The anabaptists have long ago relinquished the principle of the community of men's goods, held by their legitimate ancestors, the anabaptists of Germany and of Holland; but they are supposed still to cherish, with secret fondness, the kindred maxim, that the saints alone, that is themselves, ought to govern.

Parkhurst's Sports or Juvenile Epigrams, which from the date of the preface at Zurich in 1558, seem to have been printed, as many of them were written, abroad, while the author was an exile in Mary's days, were published at London in 1573, when he was bishop of Norwich. Among the commendatory verses prefixed to the volume, by

<sup>c</sup> Annals, ii. 380.

Dr. Wilfon, Master of Requests (under whose care the book was printed<sup>f</sup>) and by others, there is one copy by Nowell; to whom also two of the epigrams are addressed. One of them, which by the expression of "subduing barbarism" seems to allude to Nowell in the combined character of a classical preceptor and a teacher of the gospel, appeared in English in Kendall's Flowers of Epigrams, 1577<sup>g</sup>. As both works are extremely scarce, the Latin distich and English translation may not be unacceptable:

"Ad Alexandrum Nouellum.

Magnus Alexander domuit (quod magnum  
opus) orbem :

Barbariem ipse domas : hoc puto majus opus<sup>h</sup>.

Great Alexander all the world

did in subjection bringe :

Rude barbarous people thou dost tame ;

thou dost a greater thing."

<sup>f</sup> Strype's Parker, p. 383. Annals, ii. 232. App. xxiv.

<sup>g</sup> In the library of T. Park, Esquire, London.

<sup>h</sup> Parkhurst Juvenilia by J. Daye, 1573. 4to. p. 26. The other epigram addressed to Nowell, p. 63, is this :

Quod nos Christicolæ confundimus omnia bellis,

Quod dura miseri pauperie premimur,

Nos sumus in causa, quibus est peccare voluptas,

Et quod negligimus verba sacrata Dei.

Parkhurst remembers Nowell among other friends in a letter to Fox in 1562-3<sup>i</sup>. His epigrams, affording notices of persons and things not elsewhere easily found, are on the Grecian rather than the Roman model, not sparkling with wit, but grave and didactic. The author of them, mild and conciliating, like his pupil<sup>k</sup> Jewell, in the exercise of his authority as a bishop, but peremptory when the case required it, demands the gratitude of posterity, if it were only for the sententious remark, with which he dismissed a puritan, presented to him for admission to a school in his diocese; who was reported to condemn the reading of profane authors to children: "Then dare I boldly say, he shall never bring up good scholars<sup>l</sup>." He died about two years after the publication of his poems, in the sixty third year of his age<sup>m</sup>, with the character at once of a learned pious and good man, and very vigilant bishop.

John Baret of Cambridge, who had traveled

<sup>i</sup> Strype's Ann. i. 407.

<sup>k</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 168.

<sup>l</sup> Strype's Ann. ii. 292.

<sup>m</sup> Feb. 2, 1574-5. Ath. Oxon. i. 179. And see Gent. Mag. 1807. p. 509-511. where the single but severe objection to his Epigrams, which Wood "could not perceive," and I have not discovered, is, I hope, unfounded.

in many countries beyond the seas for language and learning, compiled a triple Dictionary, in English, Latin, and French; of which as the materials were collected by his pupils in their daily exercise, like so many diligent bees gathering honey to their hive, he called it their Alvearie. But when, at the importunity of friends, who had seen and used the work, he consented that it should appear in print, other difficulties arose. For “surely,” he says, “had not the right honorable Sir Thomas Smith, knight, principal Secretary to the Queenes Maiestie, that noble Thefeus of learning, and comfortable patrone to all students, and the right worshipfull Maister Nowell Deane of Pawles, many wayes encouraged mee in this weary worke, (the charges were so great, and the losse of my time so much grieved mee) I had neuer bene able alone to haue wraffled against so many troubles, but long ere this had cleane broken of our worke begunne, and cast it by for ever.”

It was printed by Denham in 1573, with a Latin dedication to the universal Mæcenas, Baron Burghley, and various recommendatory verses, among which the Latin of Cook and Grant, the celebrated Masters of St. Paul's

and Westminster, and the English of Arthur Golding, the translator of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, have chief merit. The book, a moderate folio, was more commodious in size than in form; for as there is only one alphabet, the Latin and French words are to be traced back by means of tables at the end of the volume. In the scarcity however of Dictionaries, so many were glad to cull "sugred wordes and phrascs," as one of the eulogists speaks, from this storehouse of sweets, that a second edition, with the title of a "Quadruple Dictionarie" (the Greek, thinly scattered in the first impression, being now added) "newlie enriched with varietie of wordes, phrascs, proverbs, and diuers lightsome obseruations of Grammar," came out after the decease of the author, in 1580<sup>n</sup>; when another London schoolmaster of high repute gave his suffrage in its praise, Richard Mulcaster, the first master of Merchant Taylors' school, afterwards chosen to St. Paul's, author of a famous catechism in Latin verse (a translation of the Church Catechism) for the use of that

<sup>n</sup> Ames, p. 949. Ainsworth, in the historical preface to his Dictionary, speaks of the *Alvearie* of 1580 as "a valuable performance for those times;" but was not aware that there had been a former impression of it.



school, and of other learned works<sup>o</sup>, chiefly on education, which contain, as Mr. Warton says, “many judicious criticisms and observations on the English language<sup>p</sup>.”

A book in Latin, in behalf of the new or presbyterian discipline, came out in the year 1574; which the archbishop, ever attentive to the welfare of the church, was desirous to have well answered; and Nowell, with Aylmer and Still (both of them afterwards distinguished as bishops) and others were recommended for that purpose by Grindal, archbishop of York; but all of them, as it should seem, declining it, the book was answered by some unknown hand, probably one of the archbishop's chaplains<sup>q</sup>. The work itself, being anonymous, was supposed to be written by Travers, memorable for the trouble which he afterwards gave the meek and learned Hooker. Whoever was the author of it, the tract, which was subscribed by

<sup>o</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 369. And his life in Gent. Mag. 1800. p. 419. 511. 603. I suspect a tetraſtich in the first edition of Barret, under the name of “Richardus Moncaſterus,” was by him. It is omitted in the edition of 1580, and we have, instead, thirty long and short verses, under his proper name, Mulcaſter.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Poet. iii. 345.

<sup>q</sup> Strype's Parker, p. 480. L. of Aylmer, p. 22.

all the Disciplinarians, was afterwards in great vogue, having been reviewed and corrected by Cartwright; and, from a copy found in his study after his death, was reprinted, as the troubles of Frankford (penned by some congenial spirit) were, for the same purpose, in 1644, to promote the godly cause of diffension and disobedience.

And here, as this is the last time, that we have occasion to mention Cartwright, of whose final concern for his non-conformity we lately heard<sup>r</sup>, it may not be amiss to produce a short specimen of his talents and manner of writing; for he was reckoned a man of learning, had been the Margaret Professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge; and was the leader of those who complained of the English reformation as incomplete, and laboured to introduce a more godly and perfect form of discipline.

When a learned man, trained from his youth in theological studies, writes to a learned man, his friend, on the important subject of prayer, we expect what is elevated wise and pious. Mr. Cartwright, addressing Sir Michael Hicke, the tried and confidential

<sup>r</sup> See above, p. 216.

secretary of the profound Burghley, says, "Prayer being as it were a bunch of keys, whereby we go to al the treasures and store-houses of the Lord; his buttries, his pantries, his cellars, his wardrobe<sup>s</sup>." Does fanaticism extinguish all taste and judgement? or is it only in minds originally weak, that the infection can fix itself? Which ever way the reader may solve the problem, he will naturally ask, Was this the man, that was to improve what had been done by Cranmer and Ridley, by Parker and Nowell, and their great coadjutors? to give us a form of worship more pure and edifying, more dignified and devout?

"Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,  
That we must change for heaven? this mournful  
gloom  
For that celestial light?"

Nowell is said to have "enlarged<sup>t</sup>," and to have been "the author of much good to,

<sup>s</sup> Strype's Whitg. App. p. 184.

<sup>t</sup> "He--enlarged the schools of St. Paul." Epitome of Eccles. Hist. by I. S. Gent. p. 205. 4th edition enlarged with many lives, concluding with queen Anne, 1705. In the possession of Mr. Brookes, Manchester.

St. Paul's School "u;" which perhaps is to be understood of his constant patronage and encouragement, rather than of any specific benefaction, of which no certain instance has come to our knowledge; unless the following donation, or arrangement rather, by the Dean and Chapter, for the benefit of St. Paul's school, may be regarded in that light. John Reston, D. D. Residentiary of St. Paul's, and Master of Jesus college, Cambridge, noted as the first who from the class of fellows was raised to that dignity<sup>x</sup>, founded one fellowship and seven scholarships in that society; but thirteen tenements in Aldermanbury, part of the benefaction conveyed to the college by his executors, having been

Life by Donald Lupton. Both perhaps from his epitaph: "Scholæ Paulinæ plurimorum bonorum auctori."

<sup>x</sup> "Primus qui e Sociorum numero inclaruit." Dr. Sherman in his MS. History of this college, an extract from which, with other particulars on the subject, was most obligingly communicated (Oct. 7. 1808.) by Dr. Pearce, the present Master. See and correct Newcourt, i. 196. who calls him Royston, Preb. Pancras, Oct. 30, 1529. void by his death before Aug. 24, 1551. Fuller also calls him Royston, Hist. Camb. p. 86. He himself, Dr. Sherman observes, always wrote his name Reston; and so it is in the Registers of St. Paul's, where as "Residentiary and Prebendary of Pancras," he was President of the Chapter at the election of William May, Dean of St. Paul's, 15 Feb. 1545. Reg. A. f. 156—158.

heretofore given to St. Paul's, by Sir John Beauchamp, knight, to maintain a chantry priest in that church<sup>y</sup>, the title of the college was thought to be open to exception or litigation. The Dean and Chapter therefore, for themselves and their successors, relinquished all claim to the said houses in Aldermanbury; and the college, on their part, granted to the Dean and Chapter the right of nominating to two of Dr. Reston's scholarships, candidates chosen, from time to time, from St. Paul's school, or, in defect, from any other<sup>z</sup>. Dr. Ithell, chancellor to Nowell's friend and fellow exile, Cox bishop of Ely, was Master of Jesus college at that time<sup>a</sup>; kinsman perhaps, as the name is not common, to Benedict Ithell, Esquire, of Temple Dintley in Hertfordshire, who is mentioned, at a later period, as having in his possession a curious portrait of Dean Colet<sup>b</sup>, founder of St. Paul's school.

<sup>y</sup> Dugd. St. Paul's, by Maynard, p. 39.

<sup>z</sup> Indent. 8 Feb. 17 Eliz. (1574-5.) Reg. Nowell, i. 431.

<sup>a</sup> Drake's Parker, p. xxii. Strype's L. of Parker, p. 380. Ithell was one in a commission, 1576, for visiting St. John's college, when the Master was removed, and Dr. Still was made Master. Strype's Whitg. p. 70.

<sup>b</sup> Knight's L. of Colet, 1724. p. 257.

“ I tell you, Sirs,” said Henry VIII. to some of his hungry courtiers, fleshed with the abbey lands, and wishing to spoil colleges also; “ I tell you, Sirs, that I judge no land in England better bestowed, than that which is given to our universities<sup>c</sup>.” Sensible of the truth of this royal maxim, many opulent citizens did voluntarily what the wealthy clergy, in the beginning of the reformation, were by royal Injunctions required to do<sup>d</sup>, in contributing to the maintenance of scholars in either university. Some of these generous citizens, eight in number, who had long been exhibitors to Magdalen college, Cambridge, signed an humble petition to Lord Burghley, recommending the bearer of it, Stephen Richman, to his honourable favour for the mastership of that house, in the room of Dr. Kelke deceased; “ understanding that the gift thereof was in his Lordship’s hands,” and commending Richman, on their own knowledge, as one from his childhood brought up in that college by their exhibition, and “ for ability in learning, zeal in religion, and charitable disposition to-

<sup>c</sup> Wood’s Annals, ii. p. 67.

<sup>d</sup> Injunct. Edw. VI. Sparrow’s Canons, p. 6. Injunct. Eliz. *ibid.* p. 71. See also p. 28. 35.

wards poor scholars," a fit person for the government of the society, of which he had been fellow and president. The petition, very fairly written, was seconded by a postscript from the Dean of St. Paul's, who assured his Lordship, he verily thought that in granting this suit, he would "doe a deede verie acceptable to Almighty God, who have your goode Lordshippe alwayes in hys blessed kepyng<sup>e</sup>."

The patronage of this college, as is well known, was vested by the founder in the lord of Audley End, for the time being, which at this time was Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, a minor. But whether by the attainder of his father, the Duke of Norfolk, this with other privileges of the family was merged in the crown, and so was virtually in the disposal of the lord Treasurer, or whether it was deferred to his Lordship as a compliment, there is no doubt but the nomination, in this instance, was in his hands. And therefore certain persons in London,

<sup>e</sup> Nowell's postscript is dated Jan. 13, 1575. Paper Office. For the privilege of examining this national repository I am indebted, through the obliging introduction of the Right Honourable John Hiley Addington, to the liberality of John Bruce, Esquire, Keeper of State Papers.

some of them lately fellows and others members of that society, addressed a well-penned Latin epistle to his Lordship, in behalf of the same candidate, without any solicitation on his part, or interest of their own to serve, but moved thereto solely, as they said, by a sense of duty and regard for the college, conceiving him to be, from his singular erudition, piety, and other qualifications, the fittest person for the situation<sup>f</sup>. Richman however, in whose praise and recommendation so many persons freely concurred, did not obtain the honour of the appointment; which was conferred on Richard Howland, fellow of Peter House, who was translated two years afterwards to the headship of St. John's, and in 1584 advanced to the bishopric of Peterborough.

In these days the bishops, who esteemed it

<sup>f</sup> Burghley MS. xxi. No. 46. "London. posttridie idus Januar." 14 Jan. Kelke, who was also archdeacon of Stow, died on the 6th of that month, as I learn from Dr. Gretton, the present worthy Master of Magdalen college; who also informs me, that in 1577, Henry Coppinger was nominated by the Queen, but the patron above named, or those in whose wardship he was, contesting his title, he presently resigned. In 1595 Dr. Goad and some other Heads recommended Mr. Neale to L. Burghley for the headship of Magdalen. Burghley MS. LXXIX. No. 66. But neither did that recommendation succeed.



a point of duty not to rob their successors, and impoverish their fees, by alienating their estates, or granting long leases of them to court-favourites, or other great men, had often a very difficult and delicate part to act. Cox, bishop of Ely, the venerable preceptor of Edward VI. whose various merits should have procured him respect and repose in his old age, suffered infinite trouble, because he modestly but firmly resisted applications of this sort for some of his best houses and manors. Obloquy was set to work, and charges equally severe and unfounded were preferred against him, by his own tenants and others, seduced by his enemies. One of these, not involved in the guilt, or with some compunction for it, came to him with a letter in his hand from the Dean of St. Paul's, intreating his favour, that he might not lose his lease, which his under-tenant had forfeited without his knowledge. The bishop, in his answer, assured the Dean, that nothing was less his intention, than to take away the lease; and also directed his receiver to say to Mr. Nowell, by word of mouth, that he was minded so to deal with the young man, that Mr. Nowell should well like of it <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> Strype's Annals, ii. 368. App. p. 97.

In this instance there seems to have been little need of any intercession, other than might be found in the integrity and benevolence of the worthy prelate. But Nowell stands on record as “an especial reconciler of contentions and law-suits: Witnesses for ever to his praise,” says the biographer, “that agreement and unity, which he alone procured between Sir Thomas Gresham and Sir John Ramsfey, being fallen out, and fully intending to prosecute their causes at law; but by this reverend Divine’s persuasion and mediation were made friends, and so continued to their dying day<sup>h</sup>.” There can be no reason to question the truth of this fact, so circumstantially related, though it escaped the researches of the learned and exact biographer of Gresham; but as I find no Sir John Ramsfey about this time, I suspect there is a mistake in the name, and that the person intended was Sir Thomas Ramsfey<sup>i</sup>, who was lord Mayor of London in 1577, two years before the decease of the memorable founder of the Royal Exchange; to whose will, dated

<sup>h</sup> Nowell’s L. by Lupton.

<sup>i</sup> “The poore man’s Jewell, that is to say, A treatise of the Pestilence” was ded. by Thomas Brasbridge To Sir Thomas Ramsfey Kn. Lord Maior of London, 1580. Ames, p. 1012.

July 5, 1575, one of the witnesses was Henry Nowell<sup>k</sup>, but whether a kinsman of the Dean, I have not discovered.

Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, died in or about the month of October, 1576; for his will is dated the 7th of that month, and he was succeeded in the deanery by George Boleyn on the 22d of November following, though his will was not proved till August 26, 1577, and then by his widow and executrix only, though his "five sons" (not mentioned by name) were appointed joint executors with her<sup>l</sup>. But they probably were all of them under age, unless Daniel and Edward Glover, his wife's sons by her former husband, to whom he leaves 10*l.* each, were included in the number; for only two sons of Laurence Nowell have been found, and the elder of them, of his own name, was a commoner of Brasen Nose, aged 18, in 1590<sup>m</sup>. He left also three daughters, Catharine, Sarah, and

<sup>k</sup> Ward's L. of Gresham, p. 25.

<sup>l</sup> Prerog. Office, Daughtry xxxiii.

<sup>m</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 186. He was baptized Dec. 7, 1571. Extr. from Reg. of St. Mary's, Lichfield; where these baptisms also occur: Mary daughter of Mr. Laurence Nowell, Sept. 16, 1567. Sara, May 1, 1569. Thomas, Apr. 5, 1573. Marie, Aug. 1, 1574. as I am obligingly informed by Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, Esq. of Statfold, Staffordshire.

of his son  
 W. Hall  
 seldom Hall  
 name  
 1535  
 Hall just  
 was born  
 (P. 5)  
 281
 
 Mary, bequeathing to each of them 100l. and had buried another Mary. Mary was their mother's name, and from the coincidence of the name and situation, I have sometimes conjectured she was the niece of bishop Latimer, Mary the widow of Robert Glover, who was burnt at Coventry; but as he had a son and heir named Hugh<sup>n</sup>, that lessens the probability of the conjecture, unless Hugh were the martyr's son by a former wife.

Laurence Nowell was entered of Brasen Nose in 1536, the same year when his elder brother in the same college became B. A. After a little while, Wood says, he went to Cambridge, was admitted to the degree of B. A. in that university, and re-incorporated at Oxford in July 1542, where he proceeded M. A. 18 March, 1544. In 1546, as already mentioned<sup>o</sup>, he was appointed Master of the Grammar school at Sutton Colfield; but was not yet, as Wood makes him, in sacred orders; for he was not ordained a deacon till 1550<sup>p</sup>. During the troubles in Mary's days

<sup>n</sup> Dugd. Warw. by Thomas, p. 1054. These Glovers, as I learn from Mr. Wolferstan, were of Baxterley in Warwickshire; and Edward Glover of Baxterley is mentioned, *ibid.* p. 1063.

<sup>o</sup> P. 12.

<sup>p</sup> *Ibid.*

he was concealed for some time in the house of Sir John Perrot, at Carew castle in Pembrokeshire; where, besides the knight himself, he found two others of his own persuasion, Mr. Perrot (Sir John's uncle) who had been Reader of the Greek tongue in the reign of Edward VI. and a gentleman of the name of Banister. But, before the Queen died, he went to his brother Alexander and the exiles in Germany<sup>q</sup>. On his return he was made Archdeacon of Derby and Dean of Lichfield, April 29, 1559; had the prebend of Ferring in the cathedral of Chichester, August 9, 1563, and of Ampleford in York, May 27, 1566, and the rectory of Haughton and Drayton Bassett, in the county of Stafford<sup>r</sup>. A lease of certain lands in Spalding and Sleaford, in the county of Lincoln, was granted by the crown to Laurence Nowell, in the second year of Mary's reign<sup>s</sup>; but as our Laurence was little likely to ask, or Mary to bestow, favours on men of his principles, I presume the grantee was some other person, perhaps of the Wentworth family; for the

<sup>q</sup> Bale ad fin. Cent. ix. gives a list of the names of English exiles, and among them is, "Alex. Nouellus cum fratre."

<sup>r</sup> Wood, ut supra. Tanner Biblioth. Willis's Cathedr. i. 115. 400. 421.

<sup>s</sup> Pat. 1 & 2 Phil. et Mar. p. 15. Feb. 1. (1554-5.) Rolls.

Noells of Rutland often wrote their name, as the Lancashire Nowells did invariably, Nowell. At a later period, 17 Elizabeth, the Dean of Lichfield purchased a house and estate at Sheldon in Warwickshire, and a meadow in the parish of Colehill in that county, of John Jeffreys, Gentleman, who covenanted to deliver the title deeds to him at his house, in the Close at Lichfield †.

He was, as Wood truly notes, “ a most diligent searcher into venerable antiquity.” He had also this peculiar merit, that he revived and encouraged the neglected study of the Saxon language, so essential to the accurate knowledge of our legal antiquities, as well as to the elucidation of ecclesiastical and civil history. In these studies, while he resided, as is said, in the chambers of his brother Robert Nowell in one of the inns of court, he had the celebrated William Lambarde for his pupil, who availed himself of his notes and assistance in composing his learned work on the ancient laws of England.

He wrote a Saxon vocabulary or dictionary, still extant in manuscript, which from the

† Clauf. Rolls, 17 Eliz. p. 4. The purchase was 400l. The estates had lately belonged to William Blackenhall of Oddington in Oxfordshire.

time when it was first written, 1567, has "numbered" various "good intellects." It was given by the author to his pupil Lambarde. From him it passed to Somner, the learned antiquary of Canterbury, who made use of it in compiling his Saxon Dictionary. It then came into the hands of Mr. Selden, and is now, with other books of that great man, printed and manuscript, repositied in Bodley's library at Oxford. Franciscus Junius also had a copy of it, and, as Wood says, makes honourable mention of the author. The historian of Leeds had a quarto manuscript, intitled "Polychronicon," a miscellaneous collection, as it seems, containing perambulations of forests and other matters, an original in the hand writing of Laurence Nowell, 1565<sup>u</sup>. There is also a volume of *Collectanea* by him, chiefly relating to ecclesiastical affairs, in the Cotton library<sup>\*</sup>, a quarto of a small size, rendered smaller by the fire, which injured many books in that invaluable collection. The Saxon deeds and transcripts, of which there are not a few in the volume, are in a very beautiful hand; but where the

<sup>u</sup> Thoresby's Leeds, p. 531. MSS. in 4to. No. 118.

<sup>\*</sup> Vitellius, D. vii.

extracts are in Latin, and therefore more easy to be read, he did not take pains to write better than other laborious collectors have done.

“*Vatis avarus Non temere est animus.*” The learned works, on which the Dean of Lichfield employed his leisure, afford a presumptive argument, that he was a good man. A letter to archbishop Parker, 2 June, 1567, in which he intercedes for two non-conformists, members probably of the cathedral at Lichfield, one of them promising to conform, the other alleging sickness as a present excuse, and promising to attend divine service as God should enable him<sup>v</sup>, is a more direct proof of his humanity; and his will, though

<sup>v</sup> MS. Parker cxiv. No. 320. p. 883. Mr. Walker alleged sickness; John Belfhaw promised to conform. Of the latter nothing further is known. Walker, no doubt, was Mr. Richard Walker (not Roger, as Ath. Oxon. i. 714. F. 14.) Archdeacon of Stafford (1547) and Prebendary of Prees in the church of Lichfield, and Dean of Chester, who died soon after this letter mentioned his sickness, giving directions in his will (dated Sept. 4, and proved Nov. 11, 1567. Broster's Chester Cathedral, 1793, p. 56.) that he should be buried in the cathedral at Lichfield. He was succeeded in his deanery, Oct. 4, 1567, by John Piers, afterwards archbishop of York. Finally this Mr. Richard Walker appears to be the same who was ordained and preferred by Lee, bishop of Lichfield, as mentioned in the Life of bishop Smyth, p. 87. See Willis Cathedr. i. 419. 455.



it seems to carry marks of the pressure of sickness, evinces at once the soundness of his faith, and the disinterestedness of his charity. For though he left behind him a widow with eight children, all under age (unless, as before conjectured, the two Glovers were included in the number) yet, besides kind legacies to friends and domestics, he bequeathed the sum of one hundred pounds to the poor of the parishes, where he had charge. His brother Alexander and his uterine brother John Towneley, Esquire, were overseers of his will, to have the care of his children, if his wife, their immediate guardian, married again.

## SECTION IX.

SEVERAL books, now very scarce, were about this time dedicated to the Dean of St. Paul's. The first of these was the Schoolmaster, or Teacher of Table Philosophy, "a most pleasant and merrie companion, wel worthy to be welcomed (for a daily gheast) not only to all mens boorde;—but also into every mans companie at all tymes, to recreate their mindes with honest mirth and delectable devises <sup>z</sup>." It is anonymous, but

<sup>z</sup> London, 1576. 4to. Ames, p. 1040. The late Mr. Brand had a copy of this very rare book, and very kindly transcribed the Dedication for me. It is now (1807) the property of Richard Heber, Esquire. T. T. (the same person, I presume) wrote "Wonderful Effects of late dayes come to passe—conferred with the presignification of the Comete or Blasing Star, which appeared—10 Nov. last." 28 Nov. 1578. *ib.* p. 1042. and "A shorte and pithie Discourse concerning the engendering tokens and effects of all Earthquakes in general: particularly applyed to that 6 April, 1580." *ib.* 1043. Library of R. Gough, Esquire. Mr. Beloe (*Anecd. of Literature*, 1807. ii. p. 70.) quotes "An ould fashioned Love, or a Love of the ould facion by T. T. Gent." 1594. which is perhaps by the same author. Twyne died and was buried at Lewes, aged 70, in 1613. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 387. Mr. War-ton cites an elegy of Twyne's, *Hist. Poet.* iii. 288. and gives a circumstantial account of the author, *ib.* 396, &c.

from the initials, "T. T." I presume it was the production of Thomas Twyne, a native of Canterbury, educated as a scholar in Corpus Christi college, Oxford; who afterwards practised physic with great success at Lewes in Suffex, where his patron, Thomas lord Buckhurst, lived. He translated the three last books of the *Æneid* in Phaer's Virgil, which shewed him, Wood says, to be a tolerable English poet; and was the author of several other works enumerated by that antiquary, who yet does not mention, and perhaps had never seen, the *Table Philosophy*.

From the dedication of the tract, written, as appears, by the editor, we seem authorized to conclude, that if, as some have imagined, Nowell when he was abroad espoused some of the notions of Calvin, he did not however imbibe with them that sourness of temper and gloominess of character, which usually accompany those dark and cheerless dogmas. The dedicatory, who had often been entertained at the Dean's table, and had experienced, in himself and family, many other courtesies from him, says of this pamphlet, which chance had brought to him, that it "contains nothing else but wholesome diet, sauced with honest and pleasant pastimes;

and interlaced with pithy and effectual examples, tending unto the advancement of vertue and suppression of vice, a fit meane to delight and recreate the weak, and especially the overweryed spirits of students." And he presumed to offer to him this poor present, "partely the travaile of another man, but the testimony of his hartly affection," the rather, because he had perceived it was his custom, "among other grave and weightie matters, to solace himself and others, with whom his board was alwaies furnished, with seemly mirth in opportunities uttered, either concerning the qualities of meats, or the usages of forrain contries, to the great delectation of the hearers." It seems to have been intended as a new year's gift; for he concludes with wishing him "now a merry new yeer, and many" of them.

John Ludham, Vicar of Wethersfield in Essex, to which he was presented in 1570 by Trinity Hall, Cambridge<sup>a</sup>, translated many theological tracts, particularly of Hyperius, a learned divine of Marpurg in Germany. One of these, called the Practicè of Preaching or Pathway to the Pulpit, he dedicated to Ayl-

<sup>a</sup> Newcourt, ii. p. 654.

mer, bishop of London, and subjoined to it an Oration or elogium on Hyperius by Wygandus Orthius, which he addressed to Nowell; partly in consideration of the near friendship and familiarity between the Dean and the Bishop, that as they were linked together in one band of amity, so they might be joined in one little volume; and partly "induced to do so by the likenes and resemblance of the persons, that is to say, of D. Andrew Hyperius and D. Alexander Nowell: the one a famous superintendente in Marpurg a citie of high Almayne, the other a most worthy Deane of the cathedrall church of St. Paule in London: the one renowned after his death for his rare gifts of learning and godlines of life, the other yet living with no lesse commendation, as well for his manifold knowledge in thinges divine and humayne, as also for his singuler ornaments of curtesye, affabilitie, modesty &c. The one a mirror of his time for his notable frugalitie and sobriety, the other a spectacle of our age for his bountifulnes and good hospitalitie." Lastly, he says, he was "stirred or rather compelled" to this mark of respect, "as well by the certain report of his rare benignity towards all men, and especially poor scholars and minif-

ters of the church, as also by infallible experience of his bountiful courtesy ;” which he had tasted, if not otherwise, probably by conversation and intercourse with the worthy Dean on his annual visits to his relations, the Deanes of Dynes Hall, in the neighbourhood of Wethersfield, whence Ludham dates his dedication, May 28, 1577<sup>b</sup>; in which living he was succeeded by a person of both his names, on the presentation of the crown, November 21, 1592. As for Hyperius, whose life has been recorded by two English pens, by Lupton in his Protestant Divines<sup>c</sup> and Fuller in his *Abel Redivivus*<sup>d</sup>, his works, recommended by intrinsic merit, were probably the more acceptable in this country, as he had resided here some time, visited Oxford and Cambridge, as well as the metropolis, and gained so much the esteem and affection of Charles Montjoy, son of Baron Montjoy,

<sup>b</sup> Ames, p. 1009. This also (now the property of Mr. Heber) was in the Library of Mr. Brand, who transcribed the Dedication for me. Ludham also translated *The Course of Christianity*, from Hyperius, 1579. ib. 985. and a treatise of Baro, the learned Cambridge Professor, on Providence, 1590. ib. 1177.

<sup>c</sup> P. 81. See also Granger, i. 124.

<sup>d</sup> P. 264. *The Elements of Christian Religion* by Hyperius was one of the books recommended by the university of Oxford in 1578. Wood's *Annals*, ii. 193.

that at his request he lived with him four years; and then, on his return, calling upon Bucer at Strasburgh, settled finally at Marpurg, where he was professor of divinity twenty two years, and died at the early age of fifty three, in 1564, solemnly protesting the truth of his doctrine and sincerity of his faith, and that he desired rather to depart, than to behold the havoc and desolation, which he foreboded would come upon the churches<sup>e</sup>.

William Gace was another painful translator of the works of foreign divines. One of these, "A learned and fruitful Commentary upon the Epistle of James the Apostle," by Nicholas Hemminge, professor of divinity in the university of "Hafnic" or Copenhagen, he "thought good to publish the rather under the protection of" Nowell's "name, that thereby it might be the more willingly accepted, and the better liked of many, who have of a long time," he says, "known you to be a learned and faithful preacher of God's word, and an earnest furtherer of all godliness<sup>f</sup>." The dedication, of some length,

<sup>e</sup> Humphrey's L. of Jewell, p. 267.

<sup>f</sup> London, 1577. 4to. Ames, p. 1106. 1326. In Sion College Library. Other translations of Gace were Sermons of Luther,

turning chiefly on the point of faith and works, then controverted by the papists, and rightly taught by his author Hemminge, contains little that is historical, but has this singular merit, that, with the exception perhaps of a single antiquated word<sup>s</sup>, it is written in a style as pure, fresh, and flowing, as if it were the production of the days of Addison.

The next year he received two or three literary new year's gifts. Whitaker, having translated into Latin Jewell's Vindication of his Apology for the Church of England, dedicated it to the two archbishops, Grindal and Sandys, to the bishops Aylmer, Whitgift, and Freak, and to the Dean of St. Paul's. In choosing those prelates for his patrons, he was probably influenced, independently of their merit, and other ties of regard or obligation, which bound him to them, by the consideration that they were all of them

1578 and 1581. Ames, p. 1069. Fourteen Points of Consolation, also from Luther, 1578 and 1580. ib. 1070. Guide to Godliness, from Joh. Rivius, 1579. ib. 1326. Tanner also mentions a treatise on Folly by him, from the same. Biblioth. v. Gace.

<sup>s</sup> " Which false interpretation of theirs [of St James by the papists] is in this treatise very learnedly and thoroughly *improved*, and the meaning of the Apostle truly and playnely declared." From the Latin, " improbo."



Cambridge men. He added Nowell to them, doubtless, not only as well known and esteemed by them, but because he was his near kinsman. And there was, besides, one circumstance common to them all: For “you all, he says, loved Jewell dearly, while he was alive; and you will not cease, as long as you live, to remember him with a most dear remembrance, now he is dead<sup>h</sup>.”

A work called the “Contemplation of Sinners,” consisting of brief sentences from the Scriptures and the fathers, was printed in 1499, under the auspices of Fox, bishop of Durham, afterwards of Winchester, the great patron of literature, and munificent founder of Corpus Christi college. This book coming into the hands of Richard Robinfon, who styles himself a citizen of London, and writes from the parish of St. John the Evangelist<sup>i</sup>, he translated it into English, and dedicated it in a Latin epistle to Nowell, with the title of “A Dyall of dayly Contemplacion,” being divided into meditations for the seven days of the week<sup>k</sup>. It appears to have been one of

<sup>h</sup> Strype's Ann. ii. 550. Lond. 1578. 4to. The ded. is dated, 10 Cal. Maii (Apr. 22.) Lambeth Libr. 24. 4, 8.

<sup>i</sup> Jan. 1. 1578.

<sup>k</sup> Ames, p. 742. Mr. Heber has a copy of this book from the

the editor's first attempts. He afterwards translated Melanchthon's Prayers, was the author of the Vineyard of Virtue<sup>1</sup>, and of various other things, original or translated.

John Wharton, who styles himself "Schoolmaster," but whether in London or the country I have not learnt, addressed to Nowell an Invective or satire against usurers, extortioners, and others, interspersing among his lines some quotations in prose, chiefly from Scripture<sup>m</sup>. He so far performs the office of a poet, that he makes fiction the vehicle of

Library of the late Mr. Brand, who obliged me with a copy of the Dedication. Other translations by Robinson are, "A moral Method of civil Policy," abridged from Fran. Patricius, 1576. 4to Ames, p. 865. Melanchthon's Prayers, 1579. 8vo. ib. 949. His Assertion of the true Church, 1580. dedicated to the Earl of Rutland, ib. 1119. *Gesta Romanorum* corrected and spiritualized, 1595. 8vo. ib. 1019. *Solace of Sion*, by Urbanus Regius, 1594. 8vo. 1049. Hemminge on 25th Psalm, 1580. 8vo. 1071. A homily of the good and evil angel, on Matth. xviii. 10. by Urb. Regius, 1590. 8vo. ib. 1101. 1119. Part of the harmony of K. David's Harp, exposition of 21 first Psalms, by Strigelius, 1582. Ded. to Ambrose Dudley E. of Warwick. ib. 1171. Second part, 23 Psalms more, 1593. ib. Leland's L. of K. Arthur, 1582. 4to. ib. 1172.

<sup>1</sup> 1591. but licensed 1579. 16°. Ames, p. 1128.

<sup>m</sup> Printed by Charlewood, 1578. small 4to. black letter, in the Library of R. Heber, Esq. Ames, p. 1094. Hen. Kirkham had licence in 1576 to print Wharton's Novels, ib. 1322. perhaps a production of the same author.

his censure, imagining himself to have beheld in a dream the terrible day of judgement, and to be waked at last by the "howling" of those, who had "executed tyranny on God's elected choice." But it may be questioned whether he received the meed, which one of his eulogists promises him :

"Thrice Nestor's years he and his praise shall live."

For, with exception of John Fox, the martyrologist, who was one of those that persecuted and thought well of the performance, the author and his encomiasts are, except to a few collectors of forgotten treasures, alike unknown; though one of them, William Wager, besides other productions, was author of two comedies, one of which, in the title at least, had something comic, "The longer thou livest, the more fool thou art <sup>n</sup>."

William Phiston likewise "thought good to offer to the worthie and right worshipfull Deane of Paules, as to a true patron of godlines and vertue," the translation of a French book by Simon de Vyon, with the title of "A Testimonie of the true Church of God, confirmed as well by the Doctrine as Lives

<sup>n</sup> See Philips's *Theatr. Poetar.* Mr. Beloe has three songs from this comedy. *Anecd. of Literat.* 1807. vol. ii. 45.

of fundry holy men, both Patriarkes, and Prophetes, and also by the Apostles and their true Successours." The pretended novelty of the reformed faith was a popular objection in the mouths of the Roman catholics. To obviate this plea therefore, but without mentioning it, the translator thought it "profitable to register in perpetual memory the names of some godly setters forth of the said truth," that "such as had not sufficient leisure to read over Mr. Fox his book of Martyrs," might see, in a short compass and for a small price, "the antiquitie of the same faith and religion, that true Christians now holde and imbrace." The famous German divine, Illyricus, about the same time, in his *Catalogus testium Veritatis*, and bishop Morton soon afterwards, in his *Catholic Appeal*<sup>p</sup>, wrote more largely on the same subject.

The translator of Voyon, who styles himself "William Phiston of London student<sup>q</sup>,"

<sup>o</sup> 4to. without date, by Henry Middleton, who prints from 1570 to 1587. Ames, p. 1063. Mr. Brand had a copy of this book, and another (not quite perfect) is by his kindness in my possession.

<sup>p</sup> *Catholic Appeal for Protestants out of the Confessions of the Roman Doctours, manifesting the Antiquity of our Religion.* 1609. fol.

<sup>q</sup> In his translation of *Ochin*, Ames, p. 1012. In the "Tef-

also collected and translated out of the Italian tongue “Certaine godly and very profitable sermons of Faith, Hope, and Charitie, by Barnardine Occhine of Sienna in Italy;” which he dedicated “to the famous and most reuerend Father in God, Edmond” Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1580; and the “Welspring of Wittie Conceights,” from the same language, was probably by the same hand, though in the title he is called “W. Phift<sup>r</sup>.”

Another compliment of this sort requires transient notice. Robert Vaux, Vicar of High Easter in Essex, having dedicated to his diocesan, bishop Aylmer, what appears to have been the first fruit of his labours, a translation of Calvin’s Commentary on the Galatians<sup>s</sup>, addressed in the same year<sup>t</sup> his Commentary

timonie” he gives his name only, “William Phiston.” Ochin had been in England, as Latimer informs us: “There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr, and Bernard Ochin, which have a hundred marks apiece. I would the king would bestow a thousand pound on that sort.” 3 Sermon before the King.

<sup>r</sup> Ames, p. 1045. where he is called W. Phift, but in the Index Phiston. Mr. Warton, Hist. Poet. iii. p. 308. mentions this work under the name of W. Phift.

<sup>s</sup> Aug. i. 1581. Ames, p. 998.

<sup>t</sup> 1 Nov. 1581. Ames, ib. my copy however has no year, but the month only.

on the Coloffians “To the worshopful and reverende fathers, maister Noel, Deane of Poules, M. Mullins, Archdeacon of London, maister D. Walker, Archdeacon of Effex, and maister Towers profeffor of diuinity, his finguler good friendes and Patrons.” He had received, he fays, his living at their hands, (“that worthy man maister D. Watts beyng then alive, whom with reverence I remember.) And whereas want of abilitye would not fuffer me to recompense otherwye your good will, yet rather then ftill I fhould continue vnthankful, I chofe this little commentary of that worthy father, M. Caluine, to fupply that which els might be left vndon.” He appears to have been educated in Brafen Nofe college, tranflated feveral other theological works <sup>u</sup>, and had another living in Effex, the rectory of Wellingale Doe <sup>x</sup>, on the prefentation of Jeremiah Wefton, Efquire, which was void by his death before 26 February, 1604-5.

<sup>u</sup> Two Common Places of Hyperius, 1581. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 84. Ames, p. 1171. Chemnitius on unwritten Traditions, 1582. Ames, 998. “A fermon made in Latine at Oxonforde,” in Edw. VI. reign, by Jewell, on 1 Pet. iv. 11. 1586. ib. p. 1000.

<sup>x</sup> Jan. 24. 1587. Newcourt, ii. p. 668. Vicar of H. Eafter, on prefentation of Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s, Aug. 25, 1569. ib. 233.

Manchester college, founded in 1422, in honour of the blessed Virgin, by Thomas lord de la Ware, Rector of the parish, for a Warden and eight fellows, underwent in these days various changes. It was dissolved by the statute of chantries, in the first year of Edward VI. refounded by Mary, and again dissolved, or thought to be dissolved, by a statute in the first of Elizabeth. Internal mismanagement however was a greater enemy to the foundation, than an act of parliament, which did not alienate the estates, nor sequester the revenues, of the college. The Warden, Thomas Herle, sold some of the estates and granted others upon long leases and small rents, particularly one to Mr. Killigrew, one of the gentlemen of the Queen's privy Chamber, who married one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Coke, sister to Lady Burghley.

The Dean of St. Paul's having been apprized of these dealings of the Warden, by Mr. Carter, fellow of the college, he felt, as may be supposed, no small concern on account of the danger, which threatened an important institution in his native county. He therefore wrote a letter to the lord Treasurer, to whom with Secretary Walsing-

ham the cause of the college had been committed by the Queen, informing his Lordship of the lease to Mr. Killigrew, which had passed under the Great Seal, during the time that the examination of the Warden's proceedings was going on; and "most humbly beseeching their Honours" to be a means for the preservation of the college in some convenient state, for the sake of the good instruction not only of the town, but of the whole people of that country *y*.

The matter was pending some time; but in the end, the articles alleged against the Warden, though he had himself, but two years before, made earnest suit to the lord Treasurer to redress the grievances and prevent the spoliation of the college *z*, were found to be true. He was therefore ejected, upon a pension of twenty pounds a year *a*; and a new charter was granted, dated at Gorhambury, the seat of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal, July 28, 1578; by

*y* Oct. 28, 1576. Burghley MS. xxiii. No. 50. Strype's Ann. ii. 454.

*z* Strype, *ib.* p. 348.

*a* MS. History of Manchester by Hollingworth, in the Library there; of whom see Nicholson's Hist. Libr. p. 17. Gough's Topogr. i. 496. and Whitaker's Manchester.



which the Queen established it a perpetual college, by the name of Christ's College in Manchester, to consist of one Warden, four fellows, two chaplains, four laymen, singers, and four choristers<sup>b</sup>; constituting, by the same charter, John Wolton, the first Warden, and John Mullins, Alexander Nowell, Oliver Carter, and Thomas Williamson the first fellows. Of Mullins, who was a prebendary of St. Paul's, we have often heard before. Carter had been fellow on Mary's foundation; he is mentioned as a learned man, a succinct and solid preacher, who wrote a book in answer to Bristow's Motives, which were also answered by Dr. Fulke of Cambridge. His sons walked in the pious steps of their father; and one of them, a frequent preacher, was preferred, it is said, to a bishopric in Ireland<sup>c</sup>. Of Williamson, the fourth fellow, nothing further is known, but that he became D. D. in 1579.

Of the two Wardens a few words must be added. Herle, who is called a Cornish man<sup>d</sup>,

<sup>b</sup> Charters of the Collegiate Church, Grammar School, &c. Manchester, 1791.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Hollingworth, ut supra; but as I do not find him in Ware, I doubt the fact.

<sup>d</sup> Account of the Wardens of Christ's College, Manchester. Manchester, 1773. p. 8.

and probably was so, as the name, not common elsewhere, subsists at this day with credit in that county, appears to have been an instance (such, it is hoped, as is not often found) of a person, who passed his earlier and middle days with integrity and repute, and forfeited his good name by his after conduct. He was Chaplain to queen Elizabeth, a grave man and an excellent preacher, so favourably regarded by the intelligent archbishop, that it was once his intention to associate him with the commissioners for visiting his province<sup>e</sup>; and he was also thought of by the Court for the bishopric of Bangor<sup>f</sup>. The first considerable preferment which he enjoyed, seems to have called forth a latent spirit of rapacity; and, some years after his ejection, Herle, the old Warden of Manchester, is mentioned as one, of whom there was no hope of his doing good any where<sup>g</sup>.

His successor, Wolton, was Nowell's nephew, born at Wigan in Lancashire, entered of Brasen Nose college in 1553; whence, in

<sup>e</sup> See a letter of the archbishop to Cecil, Feb. 12, 1565. Burghley MS. viii. No. 78. and Strype's Parker, p. 542.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. 204. Of his ejection from the wardenship in 1576. ib. 298. a letter by him, App. 75.

<sup>g</sup> Sir F. Walsingham to the bishop of Chester, July 31, 1580. Desid. Curios. Lib. iii. No. xviii.

1555, he fled to his uncle and the other exiles in Germany<sup>h</sup>. On his return, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, he was made canon residentiary of Exeter, where he read a divinity lecture twice a week, and preached twice every Lord's day; and in the time of the great plague, he only with one more remained in the city, preaching publicly as before, and comforting privately such as were infected with the disease<sup>i</sup>. He composed many theological tracts, monitory and practical, which were all of them printed and published in the space of about twelve months, in the years 1576 and 1577<sup>k</sup>. In

<sup>h</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 262. Annals by Gutch, ii. 123. MS. Tanner, 141. p. 199.

<sup>i</sup> Strype's Whitg. p. 221. where are also certain malicious articles of accusation against him to the archbishop, in 1585, and his own full vindication, App. of B. iii. No. xxii. from the originals in Burghley MS. xlv. No. 42. 43.

<sup>k</sup> Anatomie of the Whole Man, 1576. Ames, p. 998. Christian Manuell, 1576. ib. p. 1094. Of Conscience, 1576. ib. p. 936. 1133. Armour of Prooffe, 1576. ib. p. 1114. Immortalitie of the Soule, 1576. ib. Fortresse of the Faithfull, 1577. ib. p. 1094. Dodsworth (MS. 153. f. 152. in Biblioth. Bodl.) speaking of bishop Wolton, "sister's son to Alex. Nowell," says, "Mr. Chambers, parson of Newton Kyme near Tadcaster, Yorkshire, 14 Sept. 1627, told me, he did teach this bishop Wolton's children, and did copy over four books of this bishop's making," three of them those last mentioned here; but the fourth (the second as he enumerates them) "David's Chain, dedicated to the Earl of

1579 he was consecrated bishop of Exeter; and, as he had before been esteemed a pious, painful, and skilful divine, he was now a vigilant and exemplary prelate. Bishop Godwin, who married one of his daughters<sup>l</sup>, and seems to have been with him in his last moments, says, he dictated letters, not two hours before his death, on subjects of importance, full of the piety and prudence of a man in health and vigour; and being reminded to consult his health, he repeated and applied the saying of Vespasian, that “a Bishop ought to die upon his legs<sup>m</sup>,” which in him, as before in the emperor, was literally verified. For as he was supported across the room (his complaint being an asthma) he sunk, and expired almost before he touched the ground, in the 59th year of his age<sup>n</sup>. The epitaph on his monument, in the cathedral at Exeter, erected

Bedford,” is one which I have not traced in Ames, nor is it mentioned by Wood.

<sup>l</sup> Mr. Barret, archdeacon of Exeter, married another; as appears from the Bishop’s spirited vindication of himself above referred to, in which several circumstances respecting himself and his family are incidentally mentioned. Strype’s Whitg. App. p. 90—92.

<sup>m</sup> Godwin de Præful. ed. Richardson, p. 418. “Imperatorem ait stantem mori oportere.” Sueton. in Vespas. c. 24.

<sup>n</sup> Nondum sexagenarius, ob. 13 Mar. 1593. Godw.

by the affection of his eldest son, is given below, as it seems never to have been accurately exhibited in print °.

But we must return to the new charter of Manchester college, which constituted Wolton the first Warden. This royal patent secured the estates to their proper use; but provided, at the same time, that a lease, granted by the late Warden and fellows to the Queen in 1575, should be good and valid; and also insured to the college a reserved rent, issuing out of the estate, as expressed in letters patent of the following year, which were granted, most probably, to the court favourite, Mr. Killigrew, before mentioned. It was ordered in the charter, partly no doubt in compliment to Nowell, who was consulted with regard to almost every ecclesiastical and literary foundation in his time, that the Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster, and the Bishops of London and Rochester, for the time being, or any two of them, should have power to make

° "Hic jacet"—haud jacet hic, tumulo quem credis inesse,

Terra nequit tantum contumulare virum.

Ingenium, genium, mores, pietatis honores,

Eloquiumque pium busta perusta tegent ?

Falleris ; Ultonus tonus est, sic spiritus. "Unde

Hoc nosti ?" Tonus est cœlicus orbe tonans.

such statutes and regulations, as should seem necessary, provided they were not repugnant to the patent of foundation.

It is memorable, that, in little more than half a century from the grant of this charter, the revenues of the college were again withholden or misapplied, and the church itself in danger of falling, and that chiefly, as before, by default of the Warden, a Scotchman of the name of Murray <sup>p</sup>, presented by James I.; so that upon inquiry made by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the Keepers of the Great and Privy Seal, commissioners for the crown, a new patent was issued by Charles I. in 1635; under which the foundation has flourished to the present time, when the rapid increase of this great commercial town is worthy of notice. The inhabitants, who were stated in 1578 to amount to the number of 10,000, were at least double that number in 1635 <sup>q</sup>; and have recently been ascertained to be upwards of eighty four thousand <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> The Account of the Wardens, ut supra, calls him Richard Murray, D.D. Rector of Stopford [Cheshire] and Dean of St. Buriens in Cornwall.

<sup>q</sup> Charters, ut supra.

<sup>r</sup> The return to Parliament in 1801 was 39,110 males, 44,910 females; total 84,020.

The metropolis this summer (1578) was alarmed by the appearance of that frequent scourge of the nation, the plague. Aylmer, bishop of London, therefore, anxious at once for the bodily health and spiritual welfare of his charge, convened the London clergy, the Dean of St. Paul's assisting; and proposed to them, that a certain number should be chosen for the purpose of visiting the sick, that the rest might be spared. But the motion did not meet with the concurrence of the clergy; who, highly to the honour of their zeal and humanity, esteemed it their duty not to desert their own proper cure, in the midst of danger and of death<sup>s</sup>; and, like "Marseilles' good bishop" at a later period, they escaped infection; and, as winter came on, the malady subsided.

The vigilant bishop had several other consultations with his clergy, about this time; particularly one in September, 1579, when a virulent pamphlet called the Gaping Gulph, by Stubbs, a rigid puritan of Lincoln's Inn, abusing the Queen on account of the projected match with the Duke of Anjou, then

<sup>s</sup> Strype's Aylmer, p. 44. See also of this plague, Annals, ii. 502.

at court, caused a great ferment in London and other parts. The advice which the bishop gave, not to meddle with state affairs, but to study peace and quietness, was sure to meet the entire approbation of the meek and pacific Nowell, who assisted on the occasion<sup>t</sup>. As for the author of the libel, he was brought to trial, and sentenced to lose his right hand; which was no sooner chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet, in the public street in Westminster, than, as Camden, who was present, relates<sup>u</sup>, he took off his hat with his left hand, and cried, "God save the Queen."

Mistaken zeal is in general one of the most hopeless maladies of the mind; but Stubbs, whose learning and abilities were respectable

<sup>t</sup> Strype's Aylmer, p. 64.

<sup>u</sup> Annals, i. 326. Howell's Letters, vol. iv. Let. xii. In Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 188. is his speech when his hand was cut off, Nov. 3, 1579. and p. 202—210. several letters written by him afterwards, during his imprisonment, to the Queen, the Privy Council, &c. A Proclamation was issued, chiefly in consequence of Stubbs's publication, dated at Giddy Hall in Essex, Sept. 27, 21 Eliz. Strype's Ann. ii. 562—565. See also Strype's Parker, p. 489. and correct from thence Ath. Oxon. i. 283. where it is said, Stubbs married Cartwright's sister, whereas the fact was, that Cartwright married Stubbs's sister, as Camden also informs us. ib. p. 325.



(having been educated in Bennet college, Cambridge) was so fortunate, or so penitent for this his single fault, that he was employed by the lord Treasurer, a few years afterwards, to answer cardinal Allen's Defence of the English Catholics; and he performed the task so well, and so fully refuted what the papists boasted of as unanswerable, that Dr. Hammond and Dr. Byng, two learned civilians, having been desired by the lord Treasurer to peruse the work, and acquaint him with their judgement of it, gave for answer, that "the author's travel had so well throughout acquitted itself, that it little needed any censure, much less theirs; and that it was more than time, in their opinion, the work were abroad, for the better staying of certain weak ones," on the one side, "and for the repressing of some insolent vaunts," on the other <sup>x</sup>.

The cardinal's book, thus answered by Stubbs, was aimed against "The Execution of Justice," a very able and convincing work, said to be from the pen of Burghley himself,

<sup>x</sup> Strype's Annals, ii. 610. The letter itself, July 11, 1587, is in the Burghley collection, vol. liv. No. 52. where also, No. 57, is Stubbs's own letter to the Treasurer, accompanying his Answer to Allen; whose "Defence" was printed about 1584. Ames, p. 1664. Strype's Ann. iii. 481.

which went through two editions in 1583, and was translated into Latin and other languages, to justify the proceedings of the English government in the opinion of foreign courts<sup>y</sup>. Several letters of Stubbs, addressed to the lord Treasurer and his secretary Hicckes, are preserved in the Burghley papers; and most of them having been written with his left hand, after the loss of his right, he usually, in allusion to that circumstance, signs himself Scæva<sup>z</sup>. Whether his Answer to Allen was ever published, I have not discovered: he translated Beza's Meditations on eight of the Psalms<sup>a</sup>, from the French, which he dedicated to Lady Anne Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, that it might remain in

<sup>y</sup> Ames, p. 1082. 1073. Ath. Oxon. i. 271. And Stillingfleet's Preface to his republication of it in 1675, which was from the first edition, 17 Dec. 1583. "The second edition, in Jan. 1583-4, had some small alterations of things mistaken or omitted in the former edition." John Loveday, Esq. of Caversham, deceased. It is printed also in Tracts against Popery.

<sup>z</sup> To Mr. Hicckes from Bennet college, 1569. vol. xii. No. 53. another, 1570. ib. No. 98. From the Tower, 1580. xxxi. No. 19. From France (1584) xliii. No. 24. For Mr. Garrard to be bishop of Chester, 1596. lxxxii. No. 99. And see last note but one.

<sup>a</sup> The first Psalm and the seven penitential Psalms. The dedication is dated "From Thelucton [in Norfolk] 31 May, 1582. John Stubbe Sceua." In the Library at Arbury.

the same house, passing from the father's wife to the son's wife; as Beza had dedicated the original to the Lord Keeper's widow, one of his Latin correspondents, whose father, Sir Anthony Coke, he had known at Geneva, and admired for his Christian courage in the troubles of Mary's days.

Sir John Harrington, in his Discourse on Play, among other arguments against it, observes, "It is an unprofitable trade. I have herd of many ritch marchants and goldsmiths in Cheap; and *Who hath not hard of the Hofyer, whome Deane Nowell, that good old father, was administrator unto?*—but never of a rich gamester<sup>b</sup>." It were to be wished, the worthy knight had told us a little more of this Hofier, so opulent and famous in his time, and particularly whether Nowell, in right of himself or of his wife, administered to his effects, as nearest of kin; or whether, as I rather suppose, he was appointed by will to be the dispenser of his charity;—a mark of respect for his virtues, which was paid to him in other instances.

Dame Mary Rowe, late wife of Sir Tho-

<sup>b</sup> Nugæ Antiq. vol. ii. p. 33.

mas Rowe, alderman and sometime lord Mayor of London, by her will in 1579, bequeathed "to pore scholars in the Univerſities ſtudyng divinity, ten pounds, after the diſcretion of Mr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Pauls;" and, conſtituting him overſeer of her will, ſhe ſays, "whom I moſt heartily praie for the love that he beareth to the truth, that he wolde earneſtlye travel withe all my ſonnes and daughters, as neede ſhall requier, that they keepe brotherlie love amonge themſelves, that they never flyde backe from the profeſſion of the goſpell, that theye feare God and his judgments, that theye ſtudye to lyve honeſtlye and godlye duryng their lyves, that after this lief, theye maye comme to the kingedome of heaven." She leaves ten ſhillings in money and thirty ſhillings for a ring to "ſome godly learned man," who ſhould "make a ſermon at her burial;" to her "cozin Bullingham, late wife to Mr. Bullingham, biſhop of Worceſter, deceaſed, a ring of gold of forty ſhillings;" five pounds for a ring to Nowell, "and five pounds (over and above the ten pounds before given) to be diſtributed to ſuch ſcholarſ in the univerſities, as are, or in his judgment

are like to prove, godlye, learned, and painfull preachers of the gofpell <sup>c</sup>.”

On wedneſday in Eaſter week, April 6, 1580, about fix o'clock in the evening, happened one of the moſt tremendous earthquakes, that is ever known to have befallen this favoured iſland. The ſhock was felt not only in moſt parts of England, but in France and in Flanders, as far as Cologn; and though, where the concuſſion was the greateſt, as in London and in Kent, leſs miſchief was done than might have been apprehended (for we only hear of its throwing down part of Saltwood caſtle in Kent, and ſome ſtones from St. Paul's and the Temple church, and Chriſt's hoſpital, where a boy and a girl were killed, and were the only lives loſt;) yet the conſternation, which it occaſioned, was very great; and the more ſo, as it was thought not to proceed from natural cauſes, but to be the immediate interpoſition of Heaven, as it was unaccompanied with a previous dimneſs of the ſun, ſtillneſs of the air, motion of the waters, and other cuſtomary precuſſors of ſuch cala-

<sup>c</sup> Antiquar. Repert. 1779. vol. iii. p. 231. Her huſband's will, dated 2 May, 1569. ib. p. 225. He was lord Mayor, 1568.

mities <sup>d</sup>. A homily was written on the occasion, and by her Majesty's command forms of prayer were composed by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, to be used in their dioceses <sup>e</sup>. Many private persons also published reports of the earthquake and reflections upon it, as well in verse as in prose; and, in particular, Churchyard the poet "set forth in verse and in prose" a book of the earthquake, addressed "to the good Deane of Paules," which his fertile, if not very vigorous, Muse produced in two days. But it being one of the most rare among the very scarce tracts of this writer, we can only lay before our reader the title of it, as no incurious specimen of the alliteration of the times, when "grief and misery could be joined with verse <sup>f</sup>." It is called "A warning to the wise, a feare to the fond, a bridle to

<sup>d</sup> Strype's Annals, ii. 668. 672. Wood's Annals, ii. 198. Stow's Chron. p. 687.

<sup>e</sup> The order of Prayer, Report &c. 1580. 4to. Ames, p. 1080. "God hath shaken the earth, and sent us blasing stars to warn us." Dr. Billet, in his Spital Sermon, Easter monday, 1582. MS. penes me. Letter to Lord Burghley of a Form of Prayer for a public Fast on the occasion, by Aylmer bishop of London, Apr. 22. 1580. Burghley MS. xxx. No. 49. Strype's Aylmer, p. 78—80. Brit. Topogr. ii. 691.

<sup>f</sup> Cowley, on the death of Mr. Hervey.

the lewde, and a glaffe to the good. Written of the late earthquake, for the glory of God, and benefit of men, that warely walke, and wifely can iudge<sup>s</sup>.”

In this summer, June 22, 1580, a licence of non-residence was granted to Nowell by the Crown; but the patent is couched in such terms, as shew the intention of the Sovereign was rather to vary and extend, than to intermit or limit, the sphere of his utility and labours. The instrument, addressed to him as one of her Majesty's Chaplains, states, that whereas the revenues of Brasen Nose college and the number of scholars there had been augmented, and the school of Middleton in Lancashire founded, by her Highness; whence

<sup>s</sup> Harl. Catal. No. 222. p. 891. Ames, p. 1806, 1807. Other publications on the Earthquake were “A Discourse” on it by Arthur Golding (who translated Ovid's *Metamorphosis* and other things) 8vo. Ames, p. 986. A pithie Discourse by Twyne, already mentioned, p. 241. Ames, p. 1043. in the Library of R. Gough, Esquire. “A fatherly Admonycion—by reason of a moost fearfull Earthquake.” Ames, p. 1322. “Sorrowful Song” upon, by J. Carpenter, *ib.* p. 1337. where for 1586 read 1580. Three proper and wittie familiar Letters—betweine two Univerfitie men, touching the Earthquake—and our English reformed versifying. By Gabr. Harvey, in *Brit. Mus. Beloe's Anecd. of Literat.* 1807. vol. ii. p. 203.

greater advantage might arise, if the conduct and studies of the preceptors and their scholars were looked into and examined; she had therefore thought good to delegate him, as a fit person for carrying into effect these her royal wishes, by visiting the said scholars of Brasen Nose and the school at Middleton; having long, by sure proof, known his experience and skill in business, as well as earnest desire and constant solicitude for the training up of youth in learning and virtue. She moreover particularly commits to him her authority to inquire into the state of religion in those places; and signifies her royal will and pleasure, that he should instruct and confirm her subjects in their duty to God and obedience to their Sovereign, in charity towards all and innocency of life, by preaching every Sunday and holiday, wherever he should be; and directs all magistrates, bailiffs, and others to be assisting to him. Such are the conditions, on which he is allowed to be absent three months and fourteen days, annually, from the Deanery of St. Paul's and the Rectory of Hadham, the duties of those places in the mean time being not neglected; and the injunction of preaching is repeated,



as a point of prime consequence, which nothing but sickness should prevent or hinder<sup>b</sup>.

His diligence and success in reducing papists to conformity, in his native county of Lancashire, had been favourably reported to the Crown twelve years before<sup>i</sup>; and he was, no doubt, equally zealous and probably not less successful, when he proceeded on his tour under this notable licence of non-residence. His talents and virtues rendered him a fit object of papal hostility and hatred; and therefore his works were proscribed in the Index Librorum Prohibitorum<sup>k</sup>; and his name, together with that of Fox, Fleetwood the Recorder, and others, was inserted at Rome in a "bede-roll," or list of persons, that were to be dispatched, and the particular mode of their death, as by burning or hanging, pointed out<sup>l</sup>, when they should accom-

<sup>b</sup> T. Reg. ap. Westm. Rolls, Pat. 22 Eliz. p. 1.

<sup>i</sup> See above, p. 133.

<sup>k</sup> Ed. Romæ, 1758. penes me. The frontispiece to this book is a very neat engraving of the burning of the books of them which used curious arts, Acts xix. 19. which is the motto to the work; and above, two flying cherubs, supporting a shield (paly of 6, Or and Gules) the arms I suppose of Benedict XIV. by whose command the book was revised and published; and a cherub's head, crowned with the papal tiara, for a crest.

<sup>l</sup> Strype's Annals, ii. 643.

plish their design of invading and over-running England; of which they now conceived great hopes, as well from the activity of their abettors, on this side of the water, as from the republication of the Bull against the Queen, and the combination of the pope and Spaniard against her<sup>m</sup>.

To forward these hopes Sanders addressed a Letter to the Roman catholics in Ireland, exciting them to rebellion<sup>n</sup>; and Campion and Parsons landed in England, where, traveling in disguise, they were entertained by their friends, in different parts, till, after a few months, Campion was apprehended, and Parsons fled.

Campion, though a mighty boaster, had yet the reputation of being a polished scholar; and as his book of Ten Reasons was now industriously circulated, it was thought that it should be answered, and Nowell among others was named for the purpose<sup>o</sup>; but he did not undertake it, knowing perhaps that it was already in the hands of his nephew Whitaker, by whom it was fully and learnedly answered. In the mean time, as Campion in

<sup>m</sup> Strype, *ibid.* p. 631—634.

<sup>n</sup> Strype's Parker, p. 378. and Append. No. lxxvii.

<sup>o</sup> Strype's Aylmer, p. 50.

his book had boldly challenged all Protestants to a disputation, it was determined, that a disputation or conference should be held with him in the Tower.

The Dean of St. Paul's and May, Dean of Windfor, being accordingly sent to have conference with him and his fellows in the chapel of the Tower, on the last day of August, 1581, they opened the business with observing, that it was not their meaning to take any advantage against him by the suddenness of their coming; and therefore they intended to deal with him in no other matters, than such as were contained in his own book, by him so much studied, and so lately published; and as he had therein made so large a challenge, he could not think himself to be taken unprovided<sup>p</sup>.

After this and a few other introductory questions and remarks, they came at once to the matter of his book; and asked him first of all, how he could charge us with rejecting the Epistle of St. James, which, whether Luther admitted it or not, we had always

<sup>p</sup> A true Report of the Disputation or rather private Conference had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion Jesuite &c. London, 1583. 4to. penes me, Signat. C. i.

received <sup>q</sup>. But Luther's preface to St. James, which he had alleged, being produced, when he found, that, instead of rejecting, Luther allowed and commended the Epistle, he had no other evasion, but to say, it was not the true edition. To which it was replied, that it was so in all the editions <sup>r</sup>.

They dwelt the rather on this and other misquotations and falsities in his book, being of opinion, that, if any thing at all, this "laying open before his face of his continual untruths" (as they were shortly after set out in the confutation of his book) "might reclaim him." And he was accordingly observed to be much more gentle and mild in his behaviour and speech in the afternoon's conference; when, agreeably to his repeated desire of coming to some point of doctrine, they entered upon the subject of justification, both because it was the first mentioned in his book, and was likewise a matter of chief controversy.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. Signat. C. ii.

<sup>r</sup> It has lately been observed, that Luther in his German preface to his first edition of the Bible, 1525, intimated that the Epistle of St. James ought to be struck out of the canon; but the passage was omitted in 1526, and all subsequent editions. *Brit. Crit.* vol. xxvii. p. 422.

On this head, when, among other things, a saying of Aquinas was alleged, that "God justifies effectively, faith apprehensively (or, as Sherwin said it was, instrumentally) and works declaratively," Campion said, he could subscribe to this saying of St. Thomas. And we, said the two Deans, "would do the like; for that is the very true doctrine that we teach." The same they inferred also from the text of St. Paul, Eph. ii. 8. "The cause of our justification is the grace of God, the instrument whereby we receive it is faith, the false cause alleged by you is here excluded, that is, our works. And so we conclude, that we mean not by faith only, to exclude the *doing*, but the *meriting*, of good works." Both parties, in fine, confessed themselves defective; and therefore "what remedy?" "The remedy, quoth Master Campion, is the mercy of God in Christ Jesus." "That is, quoth the other, what I believe. And therefore here, as in some good hope of our agreement in this point of justification by faith only, without any merit of works, let us make an end."

From this abstract of what was said on this memorable occasion, two things, I think, appear evident: first, that if these two di-

vines, Nowell and May, understood the doctrine of our church, in its final reformation, of which they both were eminent instruments and ornaments, then we have not, as is often with so much confidence asserted, swerved in this point from the doctrine of our reformers ; and, secondly, that their doctrine is in truth so consonant to the Scriptures and sober sense, that no candid Roman catholic, nor, one would imagine, Calvinist, can withhold his assent from it, if he does but allow, that, while mercy through Christ is freely offered to sinners, it is necessary on our part to believe and obey.

Notes of this conference were immediately committed to writing by the parties themselves, “ out of their fresh memory of all events,” but without any design of publishing them, till the favourers of Campion, in various pamphlets, printed and manuscript, which were industriously dispersed, boasted that the Protestants in this dispute “ were quite confounded,” and that the “ Catholics did get the goal.” Hereupon they were “ partly of themselves inclined, and by others importuned, and by some in great authority almost enforced, to set down the true report ;” which they accordingly did, subscribing it

with their own names, and subjoining “ a brief Recital of certain untruths scattered in the pamphlets and libels of the Papists,” concerning the conference. And they declare now in print, what before “ as occasion served they had not diffembled, that they found not Campion such a man, as by his challenge and book, and other men’s reports of him, they had looked for ;” but “ verily thought the book published in his name was none of his writing, much less penned by him as he was in his journey, as he reported himself ; but that it was elaborate before, by the common and long study of all the best learned Jesuits, to serve at all opportunities <sup>s</sup>.”

There were conferences again with Campion, on three other days, about a month afterwards ; and, as before, upon questions handled in his own book. On two of these days the disputants were Dr. Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, author of several tracts against popery, and Dr. Goad, Provost of King’s college ; and on the last day Dr. Walker, archdeacon of Essex, and

<sup>s</sup> True Report, ut supra, Signat. A. ii. G. i. b.

Mr. William Charke<sup>t</sup>. These conferences were collected, from the notes of several who wrote there, by John Field; and having been perused by the learned men themselves, were published with the other. But it is not necessary to notice them, further than to say, that these later disputants, particularly Fulke and Goad, being puritanically inclined and leaning to Calvin's notions, afforded Campion, on one or two points, an advantage, which his cause did not give him over the real principles of the English church.

Campion had come into England the preceding year, with a faculty from the reigning pope, explaining the famous bull of Pius V. (who has since been canonized as a Saint by the church of Rome!) agreeably to the request of himself and Parsons, to this effect: that the said bull, depriving Elizabeth of her

<sup>t</sup> Mr. Charke, (the same person I believe) late fellow of Peter House, is mentioned in 1572 as chaplain to Lord Cheynie, and a puritan. Strype's Parker, p. 389. See also L. of Aylmer, p. 55. and L. of Whitg. p. 253. Nowell in 1598 mentions "Mr. Charke" with several others, "men both of great learninge and godlyness." Biogr. Brit. art. Nowell. Wood mentions him as a writer against Campion, &c. Ath. Oxon. i. 358. "A noted puritan," living in 1600. ib. 308. Archdeacon Walker has occurred before in these papers.



crown, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance, should always be in force against her and the heretics ; but should not bind the catholics, as matters now stood, but only hereafter, when it could publicly be put into execution <sup>u</sup>. He was tried and executed for treason in December, 1581 ; and Henry Walpoole, a brother Jesuit (who was also hanged for treason some years afterwards) wrote his martyrdom in English verse, as Paul Bombin and several others did in prose <sup>\*</sup>.

In 1582 Nowell preached the Easter Monday Spital sermon, a circumstance which escaped the researches of Strype, who commonly mentions the Spital sermons, as well as those at the cross ; but the sermon itself in a contemporary hand, perhaps the only one of Nowell's remaining, is in my possession, together with five others preached in the same year, by the favour of Mr. Brand, the late learned Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, whose delight it was to gather rare tracts and manuscripts, and present them

<sup>u</sup> See Exec. of Justice in Engl. 1675 from the ed. of 1583. p. 19. A remarkable portrait of Father Parsons, engraved from the original, once the property of the celebrated Michael Maïttaire, may be seen in Gent. Mag. 1794. p. 409.

<sup>\*</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 208. 276. 298.

to his friends. The Dean's sermon, the first in the volume, though not preached first, is on Ephesians ii. 8, 9, 10. "For by grace are ye saved," &c. which he "thought convenient to divide into three parts; the first whereof is the matter, and that is of salvation; the second is the means, whereby we are saved; and that is also divided into two parts, the first wherof is grace, the principal cause of our salvation; the second, faith, the instrument whereby (being God his gift and liberality mercifully bestowed on us) we apprehend this grace, the principal cause of our salvation. The third and last part is the caution or adversity, which the schoolmen call antithesis, that namely, by the which we are not saved, which is neither by ourselves, nor by our works."

He chose this Scripture, he says, not to "maintain an old grudge and quarrel, but to quit and clear ourselves from the opprobrious flanders, wherewith Stapleton hath flandered us in his book, saying, that we teach that good works are pernicious, and not availing to salvation; as also to defend my God against vile dust and ashes, and the mercies of the Lord against man his presuming merits."

He had "not long ago entreated of the

like Scripture, though not the very same altogether." But "forasmuch as the holy Apostle St. Paul doth begin and end every one of his epistles with the word of Grace, using it for the most part both for a salutation, and also for a valediction, do not you think it much, if I in two months twice entreat of it; of the which albeit I preached every day throughout the week, yet could I not enough talk of it; especially by which only both churches are preserved, common wealths governed, kingdoms maintained, titles of the same retained, and specially the title of this realm: Elizabeth by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland Queen."

This specimen of the preacher's manner may suffice, from a sermon, in which while he speaks, as the subject and the points then in controversy led him, of our regeneration in baptism, of the freedom of divine grace, and our election and calling in Christ, he is careful to shew, that each of these instances of divine mercy requires, that "we should live in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life." The other preachers were Mr. Stone<sup>y</sup> at the cross on Good Friday, Dr. Goad

<sup>y</sup> Thomas Stone of Christ Church was one of the Proctors of the University of Oxford in 1580, and afterwards parson of

and Dr. Billett, Spital sermons; Mr. Donehill at the cross, after his rehearsal of the four Easter sermons; and Mr. Grant, the learned master of Westminster School, in the Abbey, April 30, but on what particular occasion does not appear.

The free states of Switzerland having been recently invaded, and being again threatened, by the Duke of Savoy, at the instigation of the pope, the Queen and her privy Council, in grateful remembrance of the protection, which the English exiles had experienced there in the days of queen Mary, resolved that a contribution should be sent to them, in their present distress<sup>z</sup>; in which the aid and advice of the Dean of St. Paul's was particularly desired<sup>a</sup>. The contribution, conducted chiefly through the bishops and clergy, appears to have been general, throughout the kingdom; and the sum raised, no doubt, was ample. The Dean gave twenty marks<sup>b</sup>.

Warkton in Northamptonshire. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 120. Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. ix. p. 207. Whether he was the preacher, I know not; nor have elsewhere met with Billett or Donehill. The other two are well known.

<sup>z</sup> Peck's *Desid. Curios.* L. iv. No. xv. xxii.

<sup>a</sup> L. of Grindal, p. 279.

<sup>b</sup> L. of Grindal, p. 283. In Strype's *Ann.* iii. p. 161. is an account of various sums sent to Geneva on this occasion, from a

The good archbishop Grindal, who died this year, among other legacies, marks of esteem and affection, gave by will to his "faithful friend Mr. Nowel, Dean of Powls, his ambling gelding, called Gray Oliphant;" and "to Mr. Redman, archdeacon of Canterbury, his white Hobbie, called York." Princes have sometimes made similar bequests; for Ethelstan Etheling, son of king Ethelred, by his will gives to his father "those white horses, which Liefwine me gave<sup>d</sup>."

John Towneley, Esquire, Nowell's uterine brother, having been committed to the new Fleet at Manchester, for not conforming himself in matters of religion, the Dean petitioned the privy Council in his behalf, that he might be permitted to come up to London, as he had fallen into some disease, and was desirous to be cured, where best advice and help might be had. The Council therefore wrote to the Earl of Derby and the bishop of

paper in the Lord Treasurer's own hand. A letter in French from Geneva to his Lordship, to further their petition to the Queen for a loan, Oct. 7, 1582. in Burghley MS. xxxv. No. 64.

<sup>c</sup> Strype's Grindal, App. p. 104. 107.

<sup>d</sup> Somner on Gavelkind, App. p. 200. The will is dated A. D. 1015.

Chester, ecclesiastical commissioners for those parts, that he should be sent up, in company with some trusty person by them appointed<sup>e</sup>. But there is reason to doubt whether the order was obeyed, not only because the bishop imagined the plea of sickness to be groundless, but because a second letter from the Council, some three months afterwards, was addressed to the said Commissioners, respecting Mr. Towneley, that as the statute allowed this alternative, that recusants should either conform or pay, and Mr. Towneley answered the penalty, they saw no reason that he should “endure a double punishment<sup>f</sup> for one offence.”

The annexed portrait of Mr. Towneley, progenitor of Charles Towneley, Esquire, the late celebrated collector of the Towneley

<sup>e</sup> Peck, *Defid. Curiof.* L. iv. No. xxxix. “Whereas owre lovinge frend and deane of Powles hath bene an earnest futor unto us that his brother Towneley” &c. 22 March, 1583. He had before petitioned for liberty on account of suits for land, and a marriage in Lincolnshire for his daughter; which, if the allegations were true, the Privy Council ordered him to be allowed, for a reasonable time, and the rather, as (his religion excepted) he carried himself dutifully and quietly. Feb. 22, 1582. *ib.* No. xviii.

<sup>f</sup> Peck, *ut supra*, L. iv. No. xlvii. July 5, 1584. The letter equally respects Mr. Towneley and Sir John Southworth, mentioned above, p. 149.

Museum, is copied, by favour of Peregrine Towneley, Esquire, the present proprietor of Towneley, from a very curious family painting in his possession, on board, very perfect, containing sixteen figures, all kneeling, the father with seven sons in order of primogeniture, behind him; the mother with as many daughters, in the same situation. Between the parents is a double desk, and a crucifix above. On a book upon the desk, before the father (as in the engraving) are the words "FIAT VOLUNTAS TUA;" before the mother, "UT IN CÆLO ITA IN TERRIS." Above the crucifix, "VIRTUTE DECET, NON SANGUINE NITI." From the back of the youngest son and daughter spring two vines, emblems of fruitfulness, which mantle over the heads of the figures; that on the right laden with black grapes; that on the left with white. From the branches on the right depend the shields of the Towneleys, with their various impalements; from those on the left the shields of the Wimbishes, until the two stems unite in Sir Richard Towneley and Frances Wimbish, and terminate in John Towneley and Mary Towneley (daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard) who, in the language of the follow-

ing inscription<sup>3</sup>, “ united and preserved the family.” Mr. Towneley was interred in the family chapel, on the north side of the choir of Burneley church, on the first of March, 1607; probably, therefore, at the advanced age of fourscore. The interchange of kind offices, and frequent instances of trust reposed in him by the Nowells, may be regarded as so many instances of fraternal affection and unsuspected integrity; while the attitude and accompaniments, with which he chose to be handed down to posterity, in this family group, shew

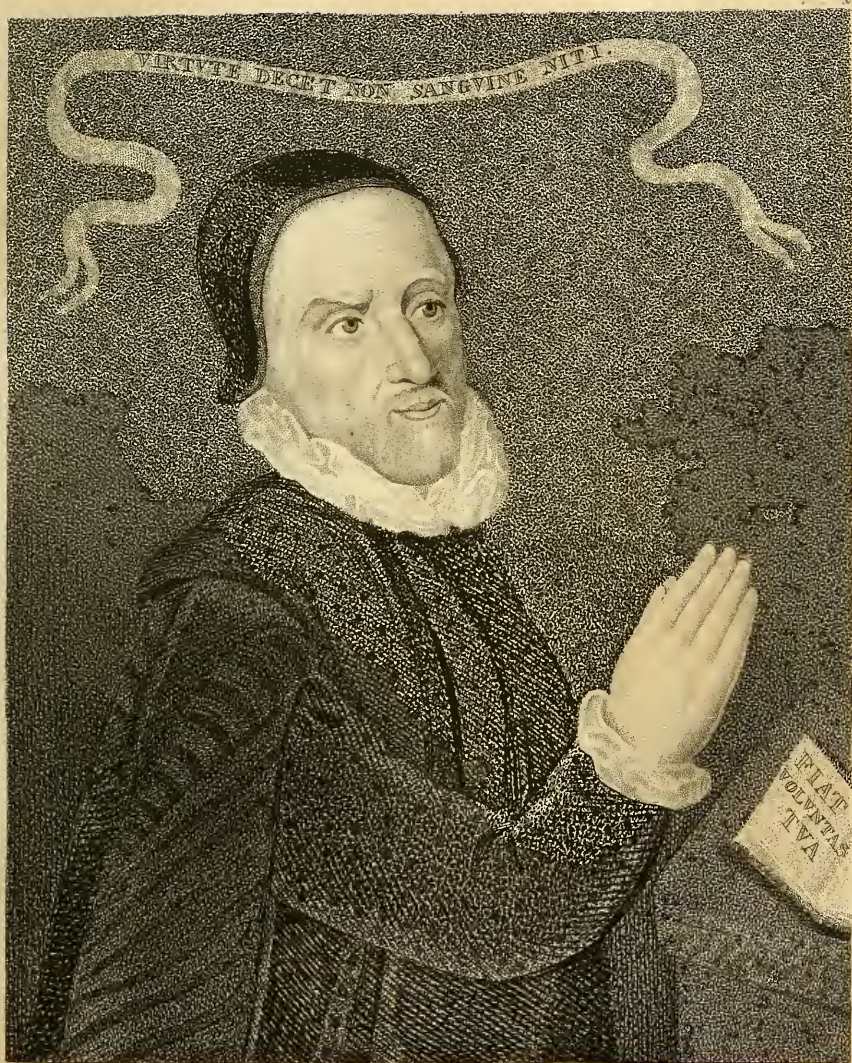
“ How firm his sacred, though mistaken zeal.”

<sup>3</sup> *Hic Johannes et Maria per 44 annos matrimonio juncti seriem Towneleiam conjunxerunt et conserbaverunt; qui quasi 14 nobellas arborum, 7 filios et 7 filias procreaverunt, Ricardum, Johannem, Carolum, Christophorum, Carolum, Thomiam et Nicholaum—Johannam, Franciscam, Mariam, Annam, Elizabetham, Margaretam et Franciscam—Solut Ricardus ex Johanna Wisheron 5 filios suscepit: duo superstites, Ricardus et Carolus<sup>1</sup>: Johannes maximus natus, Thomas, et Johannes minimus natus mortui. Ex filibus sola Anna superstes, quae per Gulielmum Midleton gaudet Gulielmo, Johannes vero mortuus. Johannes est 73 an<sup>m</sup>. Maria 59, et adhuc cum Ricardo et 4 filiis nondum uxoratis et Anna<sup>2</sup> apud Towneley vivunt. A. D. 1601.*

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards slain at Marston Moor.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose Anne Midleton, who was probably a widow, and had returned to her parents.





JOHN TOWNELEY,

UTERINE BROTHER OF

died AD. 1607



of TOWNELEY ESQ.

DR. ALEXANDER NOWELL,

Æt. 79.



## SECTION X.

**A**MONG the rare books of the reign of queen Elizabeth are the Emblems of Geffrey Whitney, which were dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter at London, in November, 1585, but printed in 1586, in the houſe of Chriſtopher Plantin<sup>h</sup> at Leyden; where, Wood ſays, the author then lived in great eſteem among his countrymen for his ingenuity<sup>i</sup>. He was ſon of Geffrey Whitney, born at Nantwich in Cheſhire, and, as himſelf tells us, “ſpent his prime” at Audlem ſchool<sup>k</sup> in that neighbourhood; afterwards paſſed ſome time in Oxford, but more in another univerſity, which is not named. His Emblems, generally one or more ſtanzas of fix lines (a quatrain followed by a couplet) have a device or wooden

<sup>h</sup> See an Epigram to him, p. 164.

<sup>i</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 230.

<sup>k</sup> Emblems, &c. 1586. 4to. p. 172. See Ames, p. 1675. There is a copy of Whitney's Emblems in the Library at Arbury: Mr. Heber has another, and a third is in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, Dean of Cheſter.

cut prefixed, with an appropriate motto ; and being addressed, either to his own kinsmen and friends, or to some eminent characters of the times, they furnish notices of persons, places, and things not elsewhere easily to be met with. If he attained among his contemporaries “ the title of a poet,” it was perhaps, as Sir Philip Sidney, to whom some of his Emblems are addressed <sup>l</sup>, says of himself, “ by I know not what mischance <sup>m</sup> ;” but he was at least a sonorous versifier, at a time when that talent was not common. He has two Emblems to the Dean of St. Paul’s, “ eminent for his learning and example.” The first, which he styles “ The dead man’s riches <sup>n</sup>,” illustrates the position, that nothing but a winding sheet attends us to the grave, by the example of Saladin, who charged his attendants, whenever he should die, to elevate his shirt upon a spear, and proclaim with sound of trumpet, “ Great Saladin is dead ;

“ And this is all he bare with him away.”

<sup>l</sup> See Emblems, p. 38. 109. 196.

<sup>m</sup> Defence of Poësie.

<sup>n</sup> Ad Rev. virum Dn. Alexandrum Nowell Paulinæ ecclesiæ Londini Decanum, doctrina et exemplo clarum. p. 86.

In this there is nothing, which might not be said to any man. The other, a single stanza, of the pelican feeding her young from her own breast (the well-known device of the Founder of Corpus Christi college, Oxford) is more personal and appropriate; exhorting the good Dean, whose "zeal was great and learning profound," that as he had already with his tongue, so now

"With pen proceed to do your country good°."

His pen he did employ in the service of his country, not indeed by publishing, at this time, any learned work, but by preventing an irregularity; which, if it had been suffered to

° P. 87. The motto is, "Quod in te est prome." The following notices of his relatives occur: To his "Brother Mr. Br. Whitney," p. 88. "Ad affinem suum R. E. medicum insignem," 90. "Ad agnatum suum R. W. Coolensem," 91. In the pedigree of Bruyn of Tarvin, Cheshire, Robert Whitney of Coole [in the parish of Wrenbury, Cheshire,] is the third husband of Anne Bryde, whose son by her second husband was Ralph Bruyn of Tarvin in 1566. Chesh. Pedigrees MS. penes me. "Ad D. H. Wh. patruelis mei F." 92, 93. To his "Sister M. D. Colley," 93. "Ad Ra. W." 94. To his "Father M. Geoffrey Whitney," 164. To his "Uncle Geoffrey Cartwrighte," 166. probably a branch of the Cartwrights of Aynho, Northamptonshire, some of whom were seated at Wrenbury (Bridges' Northampt. i. 137.) and are recorded among the benefactors in the church. To his "kinsman M. Geoffrey Whitney," 181. To his "nephew Ro. Borron," 191.

pass, under all the circumstances of the case, would have been an ill example and precedent.

Mr. Daniel Rogers, a very learned and accomplished man, son of Mr. John Rogers, the first martyr in the days of Mary, had been agent for the Queen in Germany and other northern parts; and was now, on his return, in the eye of the court for preferment. The Lord Treasurer, by instructions from the Queen, had conferred with the archbishop, and written to Nowell, in order to bestow upon him the Treasurership of St. Paul's, about to be vacated by the advancement of Dr. Westphaling to the bishopric of Hereford. The Dean therefore, besides an humble supplication to the Queen, from himself and other members of his church, intreating her Highness not to urge such a thing upon them, wrote also to the Lord Treasurer upon the subject; shewing the inconveniences that would follow, if a layman were admitted to the office of their Treasurer, which had three several benefices annexed to it, and ought regularly to be held by a clergyman; that every prebendary of their church was bound to preach, and had his peculiar turn of preaching appointed to him; that if an entrance to the

Treasurership, charged with so many ecclesiastical cures, were afforded to a layman, the like might follow in the Deanery, shortly to be void by his extreme age and much fickleness: he was therefore an humble suitor in behalf of his church, or rather of the whole church of England. For if the dignities of St. Paul's (which was of all others most in the eyes of the whole realm) were thus bestowed, the same might be done in other churches, to the great decay and hindrance of the preaching of the gospel, which had been so long by her gracious Majesty maintained.

These and similar considerations, which the worthy Dean humbly but forcibly urged, had the desired effect; and Bancroft, afterwards bishop of London, was presented to the Treasurership in the room of Westphaling<sup>p</sup>.

In the Convocation, which sat this year (1586) from November till March, Nowell,

<sup>p</sup> Strype's Whitg. p. 233—235. Strype says, "I hope it took place." Newcourt ascertains the fact, vol. i. p. 107. where we have, among the Treasurers of St. Paul's, Ric. Bancroft, S. T. P. 10 Feb. 1585. per promot. Westphaling ad Episc. Hereford. Nowell's letter to the Lord Treasurer is in Burghley MS. xlvi. No. 74. dated Jan. 1. 1585.

by the customary privilege of the Deanery of St. Paul's, having the right of directing the election of Prolocutor<sup>a</sup>, Redman, archdeacon of Canterbury, afterwards promoted to the see of Norwich, was chosen; and Nowell, with others, was occasionally appointed one of his assessors or coadjutors, for the better dispatch of business. But no deliberations or transactions are known to have taken place, that were of sufficient magnitude to be at present interesting. In a subsequent convocation, 1588, the learned Dr. Still, Master of Trinity college, Cambridge, who preached the Latin sermon, was in like manner chosen Prolocutor, by the direction and recommendation of Nowell<sup>r</sup>. He was afterwards made bishop of Bath and Wells; and has this high encomium from Sir John Harrington, his pupil: "To whom I never came, but I grew more religious: from whom I never went, but I parted better instructed<sup>s</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> Synodus Anglicana, p. 137.

<sup>r</sup> Synod. Anglic. p. 165.

<sup>s</sup> Brief View, p. 119. John Chetwind in 1652, dedicating this work of his maternal grandfather to Lady Jane Pile, widow of Sir Francis Pile of Colingborne, Wilts, says, "Your Ladyship with delight will read the duly merited praises of that Rev. prelate, Dr. John Still, whom your Ladyship's children call great grandfather."



The defeat of the Armada, in this ever-memorable year, 1588, filled every heart with rapture and every tongue with praise; but the Dean of St. Paul's was made choice of to give the first public notice of it from the pulpit, in a sermon at the cross, on tuesday the twentieth of August, before the Lord Mayor and aldermen and city companies, in their scarlet robes and richest liveries; when he exhorted them and the whole auditory to return thanks to God, for the great victory vouchsafed to the nation by the overthrow of the enemy<sup>t</sup>. He performed also the same honourable task a second time, at the same place, on the eighth of September<sup>u</sup>; when eleven ensigns or banners, taken in the Spanish ships, were displayed before the preacher and the audience, on the lower battlements of St. Paul's; excepting one streamer with a painting of the holy Virgin and Child, which was held in a man's hand over the pulpit. The occasion and the accompaniments might have inspired the coldest breast with zeal, and the feeblest preacher with eloquence; but the Dean, who possessed judgement in youth

<sup>t</sup> Stow's Chron. 751. Strype's Ann. iii. 525.

<sup>u</sup> Stow, 752.

and vigour in age, wanted no adventitious circumstances to call forth his powers, when religion was his subject, and the pulpit the theatre of his exertion. The banners were hung, the next day, on London bridge, towards Southwark, where our Lady's fair, usually commencing on the supposed day of her nativity, was kept; and the sight of these trophies caused great rejoicing in all that beheld them.

The nineteenth of November was appointed for a general thanksgiving throughout the kingdom; and on Sunday the 24th of the same month, the Queen, in a chariot of state, drawn by a pair of white horses, went in solemn procession from Somerset House to St. Paul's; where she was received by the bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and others of the clergy; and a sermon was preached on the occasion by Piers, bishop of Salisbury<sup>x</sup>, Almoner to the Queen, who in February following was translated to York<sup>y</sup>.

This example of elder days in fixing one day for national thanksgiving, and another for the procession of the Court to St. Paul's,

<sup>x</sup> Stow's Chron. p. 753—755.

<sup>y</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 714.

except that Sunday was the day appointed<sup>z</sup>, seems to be a precedent not unworthy of attention, whenever it pleases divine Providence to confer blessings of such magnitude (of which we have seen many instances) as to suggest to a religious Sovereign the duty of giving thanks in the cathedral of the metropolis. For though there is a manifest propriety in the monarch and his subjects giving thanks, as with one voice, on one and the same day; yet this is more than overbalanced by the inevitable inconvenience, that curiosity will draw thousands to gaze upon the procession, who would otherwise not neglect more important duties in their respective churches.

It is not perhaps generally known, that in order "to revive" the memory of "this blessing (which ought never to be forgotten) and for it to eternize God's praise amongst us," Mr. Thomas Chapman, a worthy citizen of London, instituted in his life time, and by large legacies at his death provided for the continuance of, three sermons at St.

<sup>z</sup> It seems first to have been fixed for Nov. 18. which was the Monday preceding. - See the Lord Mayor's Letter on the occasion from Q. Elizabeth's Progresses, in Gent. Mag. 1806. p. 841. The reason of the day being changed I have not discovered.

Pancras, Soper's Lane; one on the 17th of November, in thankful remembrance of the accession of queen Elizabeth, and of "the establishment of that truth of the gospel and discipline of the church, which we now enjoy;" the second on the 12th of August, for our deliverance from the Spanish Armada; and a third on November 5, "for the preservation of our King and state from that damnable powder plot, as yet unparalleled in any age since the world began." So says the learned Thomas Gataker, in a sermon on the anniversary of the defeat of the Armada, dedicated to the son and heir of the Founder of the lecture <sup>a</sup>, on Psalm xlviii. 7, 8. which was perhaps one of the texts alluded to in the famous medal on the occasion, "*Flavit Jehovah, et dissipati sunt.*"

About this time Nowell quitted the prebend of Wildland, the fifth stall in St. Paul's, in which he was succeeded by William Hutchinso, archdeacon of St. Alban's; and was collated to Tottenham, the first stall, on the death of Adam Squire <sup>b</sup>, archdeacon of

<sup>a</sup> "To the worshipful his very loving Friend, Mr. Thomas Chapman," &c. London, 1626. 4to. penes me.

<sup>b</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. F. 113. Newcourt, i. 82. 215. He has two copies of verses, one Greek, the other Latin, on bishop Jewell, in

Middlesex and Master of Balliol college, who married a daughter of bishop Aylmer, and was by her the father of John Squire, vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, the learned author of several single sermons, and of "A plain Exposition upon the first part of the second chapter of 2 Theſſalonians, proving the Pope to be Antichrist<sup>c</sup>."

By the ancient constitution of St. Paul's, the number of prebendaries being thirty, five of the psalms were assigned to the daily meditation of each of them; and the first words of the first of each five were inscribed on the respective stalls<sup>d</sup>; whence Dr. Donne, when he was dean of this church and prebendary of Chifwick, laid upon himself the obligation of preaching his prebend sermons on some portion of each of his five psalms, which began with the sixty second. "As the whole booke," he says, "is manna; so these five psalms are my Gomer, which I am to fill and empty every day of this manna<sup>e</sup>." To

Humphr. V. Juel. See more of him in Strype's Aylmer, p. 173. 177. 186—191.

<sup>c</sup> Lond. 1630. 4to. See Ath. Oxon. i. F. 183. Strype's Aylmer, p. 177. 180. 191. Newcourt, i. 687.

<sup>d</sup> Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynard, App. p. 40—42.

<sup>e</sup> Donne's Sermons, Lond. 1640. vol. i. f. 663. See also f. 653. 673. 683.

the first stall, to which Nowell was now collated, the five first psalms belonged; and "*Beatus Vir qui non abiit*" was his motto <sup>f</sup>.

When he had obtained this better stall, if not before, he resigned his living of Hadham, and was succeeded by Theophilus Aylmer, a learned man and reverend divine, worthy of the bishop his father, and not unworthy to be Nowell's successor; for he was an excellent preacher, much commended afterwards by James I. to whom he was chaplain; of singular humility and unbounded charity. Among his last prayers was a fervent petition for his flock, "that they all might be saved," and "that God would send faithful pastors among them." As death came with nearer approaches towards him, he shewed greater acts of faith and fearlessness: "Let my people know, he said, that their pastor died undaunted, and not afraid of death. I bless my God, I have no fear, no doubt, no reluctance, but an assured confidence in the sin-overcoming merits of Jesus Christ." In the conclusion of all he closed his eyes with his own hands, and slept in peace, in the month of January, 1625-6. He was buried in his

<sup>f</sup> Newcourt, i. 54.

own church, and honoured with a funeral sermon by the most learned archbishop Usher<sup>g</sup>.

But we must not go beyond the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth; when the want of learned and able preachers was still felt and lamented; of which one cause was the poverty and paucity of students in the universities, and the little encouragement given to men of real talents and diligence. To remedy, in some measure, these inconveniences, the university of Cambridge sent to the Lord Treasurer, their Chancellor, a list of preachers unprovided for; together with a petition, that he would be pleased to consider of some mode of relief, particularly by promoting contributions among the opulent citizens, recommending the Dean of St. Paul's to be treasurer of the charity; "by whom, with the assistance of some others, it shall be well bestowed<sup>h</sup>."

<sup>g</sup> Strype's Aylmer, p. 176—184.

<sup>h</sup> Strype's Ann. iii. 269. At the end of a vol. of Sermons by Richard Greenham, 1605. folio, is a Letter without date to some nobleman, (probably Lord Burghley) called "Master Greenham's care for the poore schollers of Cambridge;" where, towards the conclusion, he says, "Further we shall be ready, each other year or oftner, to make our accounts to Maister Nowell Deane of Paules, Maister Osburn of the Exchequer, maister Docter Ham-

This was an honourable, but not a solitary instance of preference, when he was selected by the other university to superintend and dispense the donations, which were designed for their benefit.

The pious Lady Frances Sidney, ennobled as the relict of the third Earl of Suffex, nor less illustrious as sister to Sir Henry and aunt to Sir Philip Sidney, provided by her will for the erection of the college in the university of Cambridge, which bears her name; and also ordered that Dean Nowell should preach her funeral sermon, "which, no doubt," says Fuller, "was accordingly done<sup>i</sup>." The epitaph, on her very stately monument in the chapel of St. Paul, in Westminster abbey, where her effigies, in full length and beautifully robed, rests under a canopy on an embroidered cushion, informs us she died on the ninth of March, and was buried on the fifteenth of April, 1589.

mond, maister Vincent Skinner, or some two of these or any other whom your Lordship shall think meete herein." As "Mr. Doctour Hamonde was delivered to the earthe," as Fleetwood the Recorder says (*Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist.* 1791. ii. 382.) "uppon the laste mondaye" of Dec. 1589. this letter of Greenham's must have been prior to that date.

<sup>i</sup> Fuller's Hist. Cambr. p. 153. See also Strype's Ann. iii. 588.



A month had scarcely passed, when he was called upon to perform the same melancholy office for another great personage, in whose death he probably felt a deeper interest, as she had often, while living, consulted and employed him as her almoner. This was the celebrated Mildred Cecil, wife of Lord Burghley, one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Coke. Her afflicted husband soothed his sorrow for her loss in recounting some of the deeds of charity, great, numerous, and permanent, which she had devised and conducted in her life-time; chiefly without his knowledge, but with the advice of the Deans of St. Paul's and Westminster, she enjoining them secrecy, and "forcing upon them some fine pieces of plate, to be used in their chambers, as remembrances of her good will for their pains<sup>k</sup>."

Lord Burghley also drew up a paper of instructions for the Dean, preparatory to his sermon, to be preached at her funeral. From this authentic document one testimony shall

<sup>k</sup> Strype's Annals, iii. 595—597. Ballard's Mem. of learned Ladies, p. 184. The original papers are among the Burghley MSS. in the Lansdowne collection, vol. ciii. No. 51. and 57. The meditations are dated April 9, 1589; the instructions for the Dean the 21st of the same month.

suffice, that “ he had lived with her in the state of matrimony forty and two years without any unkindness.” Let me be indulged in adding one circumstance, which, if not of equal importance, is at least new, and unknown to the biographers of this matchless lady. In the library of the late revered and excellent Dr. Townson, Rector of Malpas and Archdeacon of Richmond, was a beautiful copy of the *O mirificam* Greek Testament of Robert Stephens, with the name of *Mildreda Cecilia*, neatly written by her own hand, in Greek letters. It is now (1806) with most of his other books, the property of Reginald Heber, late of Brasen Nose college, now Fellow of All Souls<sup>1</sup>, whose prize poem on Palestine, 1803, marks the genuine feelings of a poet and a Christian.

In the selection of Nowell to the important office of preaching funeral sermons, of which several memorable instances have occurred, and others will meet us as we proceed, and many more, probably, have escaped our search, we have a testimony at once honourable to his worth and talents, and an inci-

<sup>1</sup> Now (1807) Rector of Hodnet, Salop, on the presentation of his brother, Richard Heber, Esquire.

dental proof of the truth of the account inscribed on his picture, that age did not impair the faculties of his mind, or make any of them weak or uselefs<sup>m</sup>. Thomas Newton therefore, in his "*Illustrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia*," subjoined to Leland's *Encomia*, which he published in this year, 1589, expressed not only his own affectionate regard, but the congenial feelings also of the public mind, in wishing him "the return of many a summer and many a winter, that he might long continue to serve his country, by unfolding the word of God, and dispensing the food of heavenly life<sup>n</sup>." The author, who had studied in both universities, was so renowned, as Wood observes, for his Latin poetry, that he was numbered by the scholars of his time among the most noted poets in that language<sup>o</sup>. He had already published various works, some original, and some translated; one of which procured him a hand-

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 83.

<sup>n</sup> Lel. Collect. by Hearne, v 182. "*Ad reverendum D. Alexandrum Nouellum, vere theologum, Pban Paulini Dec. digniss.*

Ut longum, longumque, tuis sis fructifer Anglis,

Et referes summi verba (Noelle) Dei,

Ut populum doceas cœlestis pabula vitæ,

Æstas multa tibi, multa recurrat hyems."

<sup>o</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 337.

some compliment, in Latin verse, from the pen of Camden<sup>p</sup>; but without mentioning or alluding to these or other circumstances, which were highly to his credit, only retaining a strong affection for his *natale solum*, though he had long quitted it for the Rectory of Ilford in Essex, he simply styles himself, “Thomas Newtonus *Cestreshyrius*.”

The Queen, this same year, gave him the next presentation to a Canonry of Windsor, by a patent dated October 20, in which some of the particulars require to be mentioned. It is stated, that her Majesty was pleased to grant this addition to his income, in consideration of his constant preaching of the word of God, during the space of almost forty years; and because he had lately resigned the Rectory of Hadham and prebend of Willand, as being, through age and imbecillity of body, not equal to the duties of them; nor likely, on account of his extreme age and infirm health, long to enjoy either his present or any future preferment<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Leland, ut supra, p. 180. Newton has verses to the two archbishops, Whitgift (p. 170.) and Piers (171.) to bishop Aylmer (ib.) and Fleetwood the Recorder, whose eloquence he compares to the thunder of Pericles. p. 175.

<sup>q</sup> Patent 31 Eliz. p. 9. Rolls.

There was no vacancy in the church of Windfor, from this time, till the year 1594<sup>r</sup>; when, in virtue of this royal grant, he succeeded on the death of Richard Reeve, who had, in his younger days, been a noted schoolmaster at Berkhamstead<sup>s</sup>; where, among others, he instructed Thomas Dorman in learning and religion, which he afterwards disgraced by falling away to popery, and writing in defence of it.

The commission for causes ecclesiastical was now renewed, and published at Lambeth the last day of the year, when all the commissioners dined with the archbishop. Of those who had been in commission from the beginning of the Queen's reign, two only were now living, Fleetwood the Recorder, and the Dean of St. Paul's, who were both included in the new warrant<sup>t</sup>. They had not

<sup>r</sup> Apr. 28. Ath. Oxon. i. 313. or Apr. 23. according to White Kennet's MS. Add. in the Library of Mr. Gough.

<sup>s</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 189. F. 59.

<sup>t</sup> See a Letter by Fleetwood to the Earl of Derby, "This new yere's day, 1589," in Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist. vol. ii. p. 382. William Fleetwood, Serjeant at law, who was born at Penwortham, near Preston, Lancashire, was, as Wood thinks, (Ath. Oxon. i. 621.) of Brasen Nose college, or Broadgate hall. In the library of Brasen Nose is a volume, which once belonged to him, and was by him "freely given unto Sir Edmund Ander-

been long invested with their powers, when an information was lodged with the archbishop, not concerning puritans or papists, but against a dignitary of the church, Griffin,

son, knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas." It is Lyndewoode's Provinciale, printed at Antwerp, 1525, at the expense of Francis Brickman, "honesti mercatoris" in St. Paul's church yard; together with the "Constitutions provincial or Legantine," printed at Paris, 1506, by Jod. Badius Ascensius, and by him dedicated "studiosissimo et probissimo majoris Britannie feu Ecclesie Anglicane clero." A memorandum in Fleetwood's hand, 1582, says, "He that made the commentaries upon this book was William Lyndewoode, born in the dale of Milaine, now called Landesdale, in the county palatine of Lancaster, who upon the mother's side was descended of the family of Tunfalls of Thorland Castle, within Landesdale aforesaid. This Lyndewoode was a Cambridge man, and Dr. of both the laws. He was great uncle unto Cutbert Tunfall, late bishop of Duresme. He was before and at the time of K. Henry the 5<sup>th</sup>. ambassador in Portugall; he returned by reason that the said K. deceased at Boyes St. Vincent in France, A.D. 1422. And after he was Official general unto archbishop Chichley, at whose request he made these Commentaries." &c. It is a curious volume, adorned with some very elegant wood cuts, and has the earlier and neat autograph of Thomas Redman; but whether he was a kinsman of John or William Redman already mentioned, is not known. The book, with many others, was given to Brasen Nose college by Henry Mason, B. D. of whom see Ath. Oxon. ii. 107. and as this circumstantial account of Lyndwood, who in 1435 was made Bishop of St. David's, and is by Godwin said to have been LL. D. of Oxford, differs in some respects from his biographers, Harpsfield, Tanner, &c. the candid reader will the rather pardon this long note.

Dean of Lincoln ; who was charged, by the residentiaries of that church, with having vented an opinion, or at least used expressions, in a sermon in their cathedral, which were highly unbecoming, if not absolutely blasphemous, concerning the person and character of Christ.

It was the desire of the archbishop, that the controversy might be terminated by the ordinary of the place ; but that not succeeding to his wishes, the Dean was convened and examined before his Grace, the bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and others, upon all the articles alleged against him ; and though they all unanimously disapproved and condemned the manner of speech, which he had used in his sermon ; yet as they found him, in substance of doctrine, to differ in no respect from themselves, and as he begged pardon for the unwary expressions, which he had used, and promised to abstain from such in future ; the prudent archbishop thought it best, for the quiet of the church, that the matter should rest <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Strype's Whitgift, p. 356. Ralph Griffin, M. A. elected Dean of Lincoln, Dec. 17, 1584, was succeeded, as Le Neve and Brown

It is not possible, whatever "studious care" we may use (agreeably to the precept of early wisdom) always to escape the entanglements of law. The pacific Nowell was about this period, as he had also been before, and was some time afterwards, involved in several long and chargeable litigations<sup>\*</sup>; in which I know not whether his very humanity did not contribute to engage him, as the interest of others seems, in general, to have been more nearly concerned, than his own. Of these legal disputes, were the progress and issue of them more certainly known, the details at this time would not be necessary; but certain circumstances connected with the transactions are not altogether incurious, or uninteresting.

Writing, in the year 1590, to his "special good frende Mr. Egerton, principal Sollicitor to the Queenes Majestie," afterwards the famous Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who was

Willis (Survey Linc. p. 78.) say, by John Reynolds in 1593. Wood has it (probably by a mistake or misprint) 1598. Ath. Oxon. i. 339.

<sup>\*</sup> In behalf of certain orphans, of whom more hereafter: as suitor, in conjunction with Brasen Nose college, to the Privy Council, to the Queen, and in the court of Common Pleas, against Sir Edward Hoby, who retained, for several years, the rents of Upberry and Gillingham. See App. No. x.



educated (but at a later period) in the same college with himself, "praying him verie hartely to be of his counsell," in a matter of dilapidations against a tenant, as also in the case of a forfeiture of bond by the bishop of London, he says, "I am bolde to send vnto your woorshyppe a poore token, for the antiquitie rather then for the value of the same<sup>y</sup>." A few years afterwards, in a like case and for a similar purpose, he sent to Mr. Hicke, Lord Burghley's secretary, what he terms "the Image of our late yonge Kynge, the Josias of England." Whether, as I suspect, a piece of money was, in both these instances, the retaining fee, I will not venture to pronounce; nor whether, if it was so, in the good days of old, counsellors and secretaries, learned in the law, preferred a *douceur*, which was valuable for its curiosity, rather than its currency; but one thing, in these letters, it is impossible not to observe and admire, the heart-felt complacency, with which, on the prospect of being delivered, chiefly by the authority and "great travel" of Lord Burghley, from some of these tedious

<sup>y</sup> See the Letter (dated July 7, 1590) copied from the Egerton Papers in the Library of the most noble the Marquis of Stafford, by favour of the Rev. Mr. Todd, in the Appendix, No. xi.

suits in the law, he speaks of being thereby “restored unto the quiet and comfortable studies of the holy Scriptures again<sup>z</sup>.” He was hastening fast, when he wrote this, to the age of the pious and patriotic Barzillai; but the appetite for reading, as well as food, had not deserted him; and what the orator said with feeling and with truth of human letters, he found more eminently true of the divine, that they are “the sustenance of youth, and the delight of old age.”

Mullins, archdeacon of London, the friend and companion of Nowell in his exile, now like him full of years, “lay in great extremity of sickness” in the spring of 1591; and he being one of the Residentiaries of St. Paul’s, interest was made with the Dean for the residentiaryship, likely to be vacant by his decease. On this occasion Aylmer, bishop of London, espoused the cause of his nephew and chaplain, Dr. Vaughan, archdeacon of Middlesex; who, having been some years a prebendary of St. Paul’s<sup>a</sup>, “had often

<sup>z</sup> To Lord Burghley, June 26, 1584. Burghley MS. xlii. No. 73. The letter will be quoted again, as we proceed, for another purpose.

<sup>a</sup> Collated by Aylmer to the Preb. of Holborn, Nov. 18, 1583. Newcourt, i. 28. 158. I have met with only one certain in-

been a fuitor to the Dean and chapter for a residentiary's place," but, "to his no small discouragement, had not" hitherto "prevailed." The bishop therefore, understanding that, on the present prospect of a vacancy, "divers had already been recommended to the Dean and chapter," was "bold," as he says, ("partly being moved in conscience, left by so many repulses his said chaplain should be altogether discouraged) to pray" the Lord Treasurer's "favourable assistance in this suit. Wherefore if it may please your good Lordship, at my intreaty, to address your honourable letters to Mr. Dean on his behalf, I shall be in great hope, that the success will be better now, than it hath been heretofore." And he added, by way of postscript, "Truly, my good Lord, I am marvelously troubled for lack of such a one as he is" (a learned and able preacher, as he had before described him) "to be ready

stance of a vacancy among the Residentiaries from that time till 1591. Robert Towers was a Residentiary (Reg. Nowell, ii. f. 179. b. 183.) though not so named in Newcourt; and dying in 1585, was succeeded in his Preb. of Wenlakesbarn by Henry Hammond (Newc. i. 222.) not by Thomas White, as Wood has it, Ath. Ox. i. 485. White however was afterwards, as we shall see, a Residentiary; and he is so called, for the first time, I believe, in Gutch's Annals, ii. 791.

to supply the defaults at the cross, which by sickness," or otherwise, often "happen<sup>b</sup>." The effect of this application is not known, but the circumstances of the case are too memorable to be passed over, as they are by Strype, without any remark, or comment whatsoever.

The Residentiaries of St. Paul's, though, in point of form, they are elective by the Dean and chapter, are virtually however, as is well known, in the patronage of the Crown; and upon every vacancy that occurs, a letter missive from his Majesty recommending some clerk, who is previously a prebendary by the collation of the bishop of London, is as certain in its operation, as the *Congé d'élire* for

<sup>b</sup> See Strype's Aylmer, p. 295. where 1592 should be 1591, as appears by the letter itself, here quoted, which is dated Apr. 17, 1591. Burghley MS. lxviii. No. 24. Mullins was of Magdalen college, Oxford, whence he was ejected by Gardiner's commissioners, 26 Oct. 1553. Wood's Annals, ii. 121. He was Greek Reader to the exiles at Frankford. Strype's Mem. iii. 333. Chaplain to Grindal (Strype's Parker, p. 103.) who collated him to the archdeaconry of London, Dec. 13, 1559. He was also Rector of Theydon in Essex, and Dean of Bocking, and sometime Rector of St. Botolph's, Billingsgate. Newcourt, i. 63. ii. 584. His effigies and epitaph are engraved in Dugd. St. Paul's, p. 106. He founded two exhibitions of six pounds a year in Magdalen college; died May 22, 1591; and was succeeded in his archdeaconry by Theophilus Aylmer, June 1, 1591. Le Neve, p. 188.

the election of a bishop: by resistance, in one case as well as the other, a *premunire* would be incurred. But at the time, when so many candidates were recommended to Dean Nowell, when a letter from his friend Burghley, the dispenser of royal favour, would merely strengthen the interest, but not insure the success, of the person whom he might name, the circumstances of these dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul were evidently not as they are at present.

Sir George Buck in his Third University of England, compiled about the year 1612, informs us, that there had formerly been "many more Residentiaries of St. Pauls," than there were at that period<sup>c</sup>, but does not mention what was the exact number of them, either then, or before.

We learn from the statutes of this very ancient foundation, that it was customary, in early days, for all the Canons or Prebendaries to reside, being thirty in number; and when, in process of time, many, by mutual connivance, withdrew themselves to their cures or

<sup>c</sup> Stow's Chron. ed. Howes, 1631. p. 1077. b. Buck's Ded. to Sir Edward Coke is dated 1612.

avocations elsewhere, the remaining few bound themselves by a new oath, to reside and attend the duties of the church<sup>d</sup>. While residence was thus optional, and the Residentiaries no otherwise limited or restricted, but that they should previously announce their intention in the chapter, at one of the four quarters of the year, with a power of rejection however in the chapter, if those who presented themselves were judged unfit for the office; at length, by increasing luxury and extravagance, enormous expence and entertainments being required of the new dignitary, in his first year of residence, the Residentiaries were reduced to two only, and no others found willing to undertake the office.

In this state of uncertainty and disorder, Braybroke, bishop of London, wishing to reform growing abuses in his cathedral, interposed his visitatorial authority; but with no other effect, than that both parties, after long dispute, agreed to submit the pending controversy to royal arbitration. It was finally therefore accorded, by an order from

<sup>d</sup> Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynward, App. p. 32.

the Crown in 1399, that residence should be kept in future according to the form of the Sarum missal <sup>e</sup>.

In the course of a century there was again great need of a reform; which Warham, the memorable friend of Erasmus, during the short time that he was bishop of London, set himself to accomplish; and the excellent Dean Colet, that other distinguished friend of the same illustrious foreigner, soon after carried it into full effect. In the body of statutes as they were revised by him, and confirmed by the legatine authority of cardinal Wolsey, it was enacted, that, as the burdens of St. Paul's were heavy, and the patrimony slender, and not competent to sustain a numerous train of Residentiaries, there should in future be, under the Dean as head, four and only four Canons Resident <sup>f</sup>; eligible, as before, out of the senior prebendaries, offering themselves and protesting their design of residence, as for-

<sup>e</sup> Claus. 22 Ric. ii. 2 p. 1. m. 4. April. 16. Dugd. ut supra, App. p. 39.

<sup>f</sup> Sub Decano residente sint *alii* Residentes *quatuor et tantum quatuor* ex Canonicis. Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynward, App. p. 44. 53. Warham's regulations are mentioned, p. 25. (where "A. Chr. M.CCCC." should be "M.CCCCII." or "M.CCCCIII.") and p. 43.

merly<sup>g</sup>, at one of the quarterly feasts; when, if none came forward, some one should be invited to accept the office, and, in case of refusal, be amerced in some pecuniary fine<sup>h</sup>.

The constitution of St. Paul's continued, it is apprehended, in this state, when another century was hastening to its close; at which time, as we have seen, there was no want of candidates for the place of Residentiary, but considerable anxiety for the success of a meritorious individual, who was afterwards the worthy bishop of London.

In the cathedral of Lincoln the custom, in ancient times, was similar to what appears to have been the rule in St. Paul's. Of the numerous body of prebendaries, members of that church, any one, who chose it, used to protest in chapter his intention to become a Residentiary; and they were obliged to admit him accordingly, upon taking the usual oath. A practice, so variable and uncertain as this, being found inconvenient in many respects, it was settled and agreed in a general chapter, about three hundred years ago, with the concurrence of the bishop, that the number

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 35.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 44, 45. Wolfey's decree, to whom the regulations were submitted by Colet, Sept. 1, 1518, occurs at p. 53.



of Residentiaries should be limited to four; who were to be the four principal persons of the church, as the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Subdean<sup>i</sup>. An alteration not very dissimilar took place, at a later period, 1697, in the church of York; when, in consequence of a representation from the Dean and chapter, the number of Residentiaries was reduced, under a writ of Privy Seal, from six to four, now as formerly in the nomination of the Dean<sup>k</sup>.

The number of Residentiaries however in St. Paul's has not, I believe (as I once imagined) by any positive agreement, subsequent

<sup>i</sup> Letter, March 15, 1803, from Mr. John Fardell, Deputy Registrar of Lincoln; in whose death I regret the loss of a prompt Friend, an accurate Antiquary, and a truly worthy man. He died Feb. 16, 1805. See Gent. Mag. of that year, p. 284. Notwithstanding this union or consolidation of a Residentiaryship of Lincoln with the Deanery of that church, it would seem that Government still considers them as *distinct* preferments. For the London Gazette of Jan. 23, 1762, announces, "The King has been pleased to promote the Hon. and Rev. James Yorke, clerk, M. A. to the Deanry of the Cathedral church of Lincoln, void by the promotion of John Green, D. D. late Dean thereof, to the bishoprick of Lincoln. And also to that Residentiary's place in the said Cathedral church, which was lately in possession of the said Dr. John Green."

<sup>k</sup> From the obliging information of the Rev. Dr. Markham, the present Dean of York (1807.)

to the revifal of the ftatutes by Dean Colet, fuffered a further reduction from four to three ; but fince, at fome period, pofterior, as it feems, to the reign of Elizabeth, though alike unknown in the records of the Chapter, and in the epifcopal registers of the fee of London, and, fo far as I can learn, in the Offices of State, the Crown has obtained the right or privilege of recommending to the Refidentiaryfhips in this church, it has fometimes been the will and pleafure of the Sovereign to recommend one and the fame favoured individual to the place or dignity of Dean, and alfo to that of a Refidentiary ; and fometimes to the place of Dean only ; in which latter cafe there are, more conformably to the purport of the ftatutes, four Refidentiaries together with the Dean.

In the year 1621, White, Carey, King, and Montford, each of them feperately and diftinctly ftyled Refidentiary, elected Dr. Donne Dean of St. Paul's<sup>1</sup> ; when this very

<sup>1</sup> See the election in Reg. Decan. et Capit. S. Pauli. G. f. 1—3. Tho. White Canon. Refident. et Stagiarius ac Præbend. de Mora, prefident of the Chapter, Valent. Carey Epifc. Exon. Canon. Refident. et Stagiarius ac Præbend. de Chifwick, Henry King, &c. This was Nov. 27, 1621. Carey was confecrated bifhop of Exeter the 18th of that month ; he died in 1626, and

ingular circumstance occurred, that Carey, bishop of Exeter, who made the vacancy, assisted as Residentiary and prebendary of Chifwick, in electing his own successor in the Deanery; and, as far as appears, he held the prebendal stall, and with it, I presume, the residentiaryship, *in commendam*, till his death.

In the last century “the King was pleased to direct the archbishop of Canterbury to grant his dispensation to Dr. Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford, for enabling him to accept and hold *in commendam* the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, and the place of Canon Residentiary and Stagiary and the Prebend of Portpool in the said Cathedral, void by the promotion of Dr. Joseph Butler, late bishop of Bristol and Dean of the said cathedral church of St. Paul, to the see of Durham<sup>m</sup>.” But on the promotion of the former learned prelate from Oxford to Canterbury, Dr. John Hume, who succeeded him in the bishopric of Oxford, was, in virtue of a Letter recommendatory from his Majesty for that purpose, chosen to succeed

no other Prebendary of Chifwick occurs till May 2, 1631. Newcourt, i. 50. 140.

<sup>m</sup> London Gazette, Nov. 17, 1750.

him also in the Deanery of St. Paul's<sup>n</sup>; and in pursuance of another Letter recommendatory, a month afterwards, from the King, the Dean and chapter elected Christopher Wilson, D. D. Prebendary of the said church, to the place of Canon Residentiary, vacant by the translation of the said Dr. Secker, bishop of Oxford, to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury<sup>o</sup>.

In 1670 the excellent Dr. Stillingfleet, in consideration of the "eminent service" which he had "done by his learned writings for the Church of England in particular, and the defence of the Christian Truth in general<sup>p</sup>," was recommended by Charles II. to the place of a Residentiary of St. Paul's; and seven years afterwards, upon the remo-

<sup>n</sup> Gazette, May 27, 1758. Bishop Hume, on his translation to Salisbury, 1766, was succeeded at St. Paul's (Nov. 28, 1766.) by Dr. Cornwallis; and in 1768, Dr. Thomas Newton, bishop of Bristol, was recommended "to be elected into the place of Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul, void by the promotion of Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, late bishop of Lichfield and Dean thereof, to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury." Gazette, Oct. 4, 1768.

<sup>o</sup> Gazette, July 8, 1758. which is the date of the Letter missive from the King.

<sup>p</sup> Words of the King's Letter, 9 June, 1670. Dr. Timothy Goodwin's Life of Stillingfleet, Lond. 1710. p. 22.

val of the learned and pious Dr. William Sancroft from the Deanery of St. Paul's to the archiepiscopal fee of Canterbury, he was promoted to the Deanery<sup>a</sup>; and if, as is probable, he was permitted to hold his Refidentiaryship with the Deanery, he was perhaps the first person, in whose favour a departure from the strict letter and tenor of the statutes was made, by the uniting of a Refidentiaryship with the Deanery; a practice, which in later times has been more frequent, but, as it appears, not universal. It may be proper to add, that the ecclesiastical Registers of the Dean and chapter (distinct from the records of their temporal concerns) which might probably have thrown additional light on this subject, and on many other points touched upon in these memoirs, are supposed to have perished in the fire of London, 1666; for the earliest now extant does not commence till some years after the time of that fatal catastrophe.

In the same year 1591, the occurrences of which led to this digression, there was an expectation in the university of Cambridge, that the Mastership of Trinity college would

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

be void by the promotion of Dr. Still (as lately mentioned<sup>r</sup>) to a bishopric. Of this, as it seems, Dr. Goad, Provost of King's college, informed the Dean, requesting him at the same time to use his interest, that Dr. Whitaker, Master of St. John's, might be preferred to the more valuable headship of Trinity. The worthy Dean, anxious to serve his friend and kinsman, forwarded Dr. Goad's letter, the day he received it, together with one of his own, to the Lord Treasurer; reminding his good Lordship of Dr. Whitaker's learning, well known at Cambridge by the productions of his pen in Greek and Latin; and not unknown to his Lordship, to whom several of his works had been dedicated. His fitness for presiding over a learned society had partly appeared by the quietness and good order, established in St. John's college since he became Master of it; and as for his circumstances, they were so far from being affluent, that the Dean, in consideration of his poverty, had now for two years past taken upon himself the maintenance of one of his sons<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> P. 292.

<sup>s</sup> Brit. Mus. MS. Birch, 4276. f. 43. The letter is dated Apr. 29, 1591. A copy of it was obligingly communicated to me

This application in behalf of Whitaker, whatever might be the reason of it, proved unsuccessful; the learned professor was destined to remain at St. John's; and Dr. Still was succeeded at Trinity by the "magnificent Nevil <sup>t</sup>," as Fuller calls him, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, and a great benefactor to the college, where the interior quadrangle, called Nevil Court, was built at his expence, and preserves his name.

In the year 1592, which the learned and pious but Calvinistic Perkins styles (I know not for what reason) "the year of the last patience of faints <sup>u</sup>," I have met with no

by the late Rev. Samuel Ayscough, of the British Museum,—one out of many favours, which I owe to his accuracy and friendship. See an account of him, accompanied with an engraving, a striking but not quite a favourable likeness, in *Gent. Mag.* 1804. 1093.

<sup>t</sup> "Tho. Nevil the most magnificent Master and Benefactor of Trin. Coll." Fuller in the Index, referring to *Hist. Camb.* p. 122. where, in the margin, by a strange blunder, it is "Magnificant Newly."

<sup>u</sup> Address prefixed to his "Armillæ aurea," July 23, 1592. In the Parliament, which met in February following, an act was passed, 35 Eliz. c. 1. "to retain the Queen's subjects in due obedience," forbidding unlawful conventicles, &c. But it is not very probable, that Elizabeth's wife counsellors, if they had at this time such an act in contemplation, would suffer their design to be publicly known half a year beforehand; if it could be thought likely, that Perkins, on the prospect or fear of such an act impending, would so express himself.

particular tranſaction of Nowell; unleſs he now perhaps purchaſed of Richard Smith, M. D. a houſe in the pariſh of St. Alban's, Woodſtreet; which, about the cloſe of the next year, was ſecured to him and his wife and their heirs for ever<sup>x</sup>; and as the price (470 l.) indicates the houſe to have been a pretty good one, it was probably intended for the reſidence of his wife, if ſhe ſurvived him.

On the 22d of Auguſt, 1595, Mr. Harris, the fourth Principal of Braſen Noſe college, reſigned the headſhip, as his two immediate predeceſſors had done; and retiring from the ſociety, over which he had preſided more than twenty years, ended his days in the city of Worceſter<sup>y</sup>; and on the fifteenth day from the vacancy, as the ſtatutes of the college ſeem to require, the Dean of St. Paul's was choſen to ſucceed him<sup>z</sup>. This election of Nowell, now on the verge of ninety, was perhaps intended or accepted rather as a

<sup>x</sup> Pat. 36 Eliz. p. 10. Feb. 22, 1593-4. Rolls. The conjecture, as to the deſtination of the houſe for Mrs. Nowell's reſidence, has ſince been confirmed, as will appear in the ſequel.

<sup>y</sup> A. Wood, Colleges, p. 363. who thinks he was buried in the cathedral there.

<sup>z</sup> Reg. Coll. Æn. Naſ. A. f. 25. 26.



compliment, than with a view to the performance of much actual service; for it is certain, that he resigned in December following, and was succeeded in the headship by Thomas Singleton; having in the interim, October 1, been created D. D. with allowance of seniority over all doctors in the university, not only out of regard had to his age, but likewise to his dignity in the church<sup>a</sup>.

In this year died the learned Dr. Whitaker, so lately and so often mentioned in these pages, leaving behind him, as Wood says, "the desire and love of the present times, and the envy of posterity, that cannot bring forth his parallel<sup>b</sup>." He was nephew to the Dean of St. Paul's, the second son of his sister Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Whitaker, gentleman, of Holme in the parish of Burnley<sup>c</sup>; where he was initiated in grammar

<sup>a</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 313. F. 151.

<sup>b</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. F. 117.

<sup>c</sup> Life by Afsheton, ut supra, p. 5. n. The greater perpetual curacies are often called Parishes, and so Burnley (itself a member of the parish of Whalley) is called to this day; as it is here by the writer of the life of Whitaker, and by Nowell himself in the reversionary grant of the Hart's Horn inn, to "William Whittacre of the Holme in the parish of Burnley—and now student in thuniuersitye of Cambridge." See below, note <sup>f</sup>.

under Hartgrave<sup>d</sup>, at that time master of Burnley school, to whom, in his declining years, he was a kind benefactor. At the age of thirteen the Dean sent for him to London, and maintained him in his own house, and at St. Paul's school, of which the celebrated Cook, a schoolfellow of Lord Burghley, was then master. When he was eighteen he was admitted of Trinity college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. West<sup>e</sup>; the generous hand of Nowell contributing towards his maintenance in his studies there, by certain leases, which he granted to him freely and without fine<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> "Mr. William Hargrave" was interred at Burnley in 1584, having resigned the school some years before, probably on account of age and infirmity. The old school, in which Whitaker was educated, though converted into a dwelling house, is still entire; and has the Towneley arms in front, having previously been the house of a chantry priest of St. Mary's altar, founded by that family. It is now about to be taken down to enlarge the churchyard. Dr. Whitaker, Dec. 8, 1808.

<sup>e</sup> Robert West, D. D. born at Louth in Lincolnshire, Rector of Snoring in Norfolk 30 years, and of Fakenham, in the same county, 33 years (the latter in the gift of Trinity college, Cambridge) died June 24, A. D. 1610, æt. 74. as appears by his monument still remaining in the church of Snoring. Dr. Whitaker, June 1, 1807. And see the epitaph in Blomefield's *Norf. Parkin's Contin.* v. 821.

<sup>f</sup> Indent. Aug. 5, 1566. for 60 years in reversion, the existing lease to expire at Lady day, 1590. Reg. Nowell, i. 182. b.—

Having obtained a fellowship in his college, and growing daily in repute by his learning and talents, particularly in the Roman catholic controversy, he was in 1579 made her Majesty's Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge, on the promotion of Dr. Chaderton to the see of Chester<sup>g</sup>; and (on his death) was succeeded in the theological chair by the learned Dr. Overall, afterwards successively bishop of Lichfield and Norwich. The next year the Queen gave him the Chancellorship of St. Paul's<sup>h</sup>, where also he succeeded, and was succeeded by, a bishop; Watson bishop of Winchester being his predecessor in that stall, and his successor

184. b. A house, &c. in Carter Lane, joining close to the Dean's house was also "freely letten without fine by the Dean to a Scholar of Cambridge his kinsman towards his maintenance at his study." (This lease, I make no doubt, was to Whitaker.) "The said scholar parted with the lease to one James Woolton, a kinsman of his, for 10l." Woolton to James Readfearne for 20l. Readfearne to James Farrington for a great sum. Farrington pulled down a "mayne stone wall," inclosing the tenement, "part of the bounders of the churchyard of St. Paul's" &c. &c. Case inclosed in the letter to Mr. Egerton, Solicitor General. See above, p. 309. and App. No. xi.

<sup>g</sup> Fuller's Hist. Cambr. p. 124.

<sup>h</sup> Newcourt, i. p. 114. His letter of thanks to Lord Burghley in Latin for this promotion, is among the Burghley papers, dated Sept. 11, 1580. vol. xxx. No. 62.

Day, dean of Windſor, who alſo roſe to be biſhop of Wincheſter. His works and his worth gained him renown throughout Europe; ſo that cardinal Bellarmine, the champion of popery, though often foiled by his pen, honoured his picture with a place in his library; and ſaid, “He was the moſt learned heretic he had ever read<sup>1</sup>.”

Deeply rooted in the principles of Calviniſm, he is yet to be commended for his candour in acknowledging, at the very time when the predeſtinarian diſpute ran high, that “theſe points were not concluded and defined by public authority—in our Church<sup>k</sup>.” The controverſy however appears to have coſt him his life. For coming up to London with the five Lambeth Articles, as they were called, and purſuing that buſineſs warmly, but without ſucceſs, having paid what proved to be a farewell viſit, at the Deanery of St. Paul’s<sup>l</sup>, on his return to Cambridge, fatigued and diſappointed, he fell ſick; and

<sup>1</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. 354.

<sup>k</sup> Lett. to Archbiſhop Whitgift. Strype’s Whitg. App. p. 199.

<sup>l</sup> See extract of a letter dated thence, Nov. 19, 1595, Strype’s Whitg. p. 460. and the letter itſelf among Lord Burghley’s papers, to whom it was ſent with a ſermon, which he had juſt before preached at Cambridge on the controverted points. Burghley MS. lxxx. No. 10.

within a fortnight, the soul was released from his enfeebled body, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

Of the dignity of his person and eloquence of speech (besides innumerable allusions in the verses on his death) we have evidence in the pointed appeal of bishop Hall, who knew him well, to his correspondent Mr. Bedell, who also knew him well: "Who, says he, ever saw him without reverence? or heard him without wonder<sup>m</sup>?" Of his unwearied industry and profound learning his various works afford pregnant proof; and he is also commended for those rare virtues in a Calvinist, charity and humility. When he lay on his death-bed, and was told of the symptoms of approaching dissolution, he said, "Life or death is welcome to me; and I desire not to live, but so far as I may be serviceable to God and his church<sup>n</sup>."

From the number of his sepulchral eulogists the ode of Mr. Bedell, then a young man of Emmanuel college, afterwards the most exemplary bishop of Kilmore, has been selected<sup>o</sup>; a specimen, which if the incom-

<sup>m</sup> Hall's Epistles, Decade i. Ep. vii. To Mr. Bedell at Venice.

<sup>n</sup> Life in Christ. Morton's Monument of the Fathers and Reformers, 1706. 8vo. p. 52.

<sup>o</sup> Append. No. xii.

parable Biographer of the English Poets had seen, he would scarcely have pronounced all the Latin poetry of our countrymen contemptible, who wrote before May. Gataker, bachelor of arts of his own college, was another of his encomiasts, and afterwards wrote his life; from which a few characteristic traits will give and receive illustration from the annexed portrait. He says, "He was a man very personable, of a goodly presence, tall of stature, and upright; of a grave aspect, with black hair, and a ruddy complexion; a solid judgement, a liberal mind, an affable disposition; a mild yet no remiss governour; a contemner of money; of a moderate diet; a life generally unblameable, and (that which added a lustre to all the rest) amidst all these endowments, and the respects of others, even the greatest, thereby deservedly procured, of a most meek and lowly spirit<sup>p</sup>."

He was twice married, to "women of good birth and note," and had eight children by them. His surviving wife, described as "*partui vicina*," when he expired on the fourth of December, caused her child to be baptized on the eleventh of that month, the

<sup>p</sup> Life by Gataker, in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 401—408.



*Wilhelmus Whitaker. S. J. P. R.*

*natus apud Holme*



*A. D. 1547*

*denatus Cantabrigie*

*A. D. 1595.*





day after her husband's funeral, by the name of Jabez, doubtless for the Scriptural reason, "Bécause, she said, I bare him with sorrow<sup>q</sup>." In behalf of the afflicted widow and orphans, Nowell wrote to Lord Burghley, to whom Whitaker had been chaplain<sup>r</sup>, a most impressive letter; which it were injustice either to withhold from the reader, or to forestall his pleasure by quoting in this place any part of it<sup>s</sup>.

One of the orphans, probably of the first marriage, named after the Dean of St. Paul's, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, had competent provision as a clergyman, in the north of England; but quitted his preferment and native country to assist as a preacher of the gospel in Virginia; and from his meritorious labours, in that infant province, obtained the title of the "Apostle of Virginia." He is mentioned with respect in Smith's Travels<sup>t</sup>, in the year 1614; and was

<sup>q</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 9.

<sup>r</sup> So he subscribes himself in a letter to Lord Burghley, Dec. 15, 1591. Burghley MS. lxviii. No. 35. and again, Nov. 19. 1595. ib. lxxx. No. 10. See the plate of fac-similes below.

<sup>s</sup> Append. No. xiii.

<sup>t</sup> Account of Virginia, &c. by Captain John Smith, p. 117. 147.

himself the author of a tract intitled "News from Virginia," published the year before. It contains, I am informed<sup>u</sup>, a good zoological sketch of the country; and in speaking of the various kinds of fish in those rivers, it appears, that he had caught the propensity of his father<sup>x</sup> and great uncle for the amusement of angling.

Richard Whitaker, brother of Alexander (as the time, the family name, Richard<sup>y</sup>, his piety and erudition all concur to prove) did not cross the Atlantic, but was in his own country an encourager of learning and learned men, and editor of their works; himself a learned bookfeller and printer in the metropolis; as a Greek Testament dedicated by him, in his own name and in classical Latin, to Charles I. Harmer's Scapula, dedicated by him to archbishop Laud, and other circumstances evince<sup>z</sup>. But whether the "learned

<sup>u</sup> By Dr. Whitaker from the tract itself, by Alex. Whitaker, Minister of Henrico in Virginia.

<sup>x</sup> "How dear a lover and great a practiser of it [angling] our learned Dr. Whitaker was." Walton's Compl. Angler, p. 40.

<sup>y</sup> The Professor's grandfather and elder brother and others of the family were named Richard.

<sup>z</sup> The date of his Gr. Testament, a large duodecimo, is 1633; his Scapula, 1637. Gerard Langbaine, writing from Oxford to Mr. Selden, Oct. 30, 1648. mentions a "controversie betwixt

Mr. Laurence Whitaker, that elegant linguist and worthy traveler, secretary (in 1611) to Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls<sup>a</sup>," who animated that extraordinary genius, Coryat, to publish his *Crudities*, and compliments the author in various verses, Greek, Latin, French, and English, was, as is most probable, of the same family, named after his great uncle, Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, has not, with any certainty, been made out.

For some of these particulars respecting the family of Whitaker, as well as for the portrait of the Professor himself (copied from an original in his possession) and for much valuable assistance in various parts of these

my lord of Cherbury's younger son and Mr. Whitaker, the stationer, about the right of imprinting my Lord's History of Henry VIII." which "was referred by the Lords to the Lord North to determine"—and that "Mr. Whitaker has since employed his son in law Mr. Bowman, a stationer of this town, to procure some collation or transcript from the most corrected copy, left by my Lord Cherbury in his life time to the university library, where it now remains." *Lel. Coll. by Hearne*, vol. v. p. 285.

<sup>a</sup> Coryat in his *Ep. Dedicatory*. My very worthy friend, the Rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, Dean of Chester, has a copy of this book, superbly bound in red velvet, and gilt, the letters "H. P." embossed and gilt on the cover, bearing also the crest of the Prince of Wales, being the copy which was presented to Henry Prince of Wales, to whom the book is dedicated.

memoirs, I have great pleasure in acknowledging myself indebted to the friendship and correspondence of the very learned and interesting Historian of Whalley and Craven, the Reverend Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL. D. the present proprietor of Holme; a spot, as appears in the view<sup>b</sup>; contributed by another worthy relative of Dean Nowell, bold and romantic, and still, as in days of yore, to "wit" and genius "native or hospitable."

<sup>b</sup> Of the house as exhibited in the engraving, the centre and the wing to the right, as you face it, were rebuilt, exactly on the old site and foundations, in 1613, by Thomas Whitaker, the Professor's nephew. The old building was of wood, and the precise apartment, to which the constant tradition of the family assigns the birth of the Professor, was the ground room on your right hand, now the drawing room. And this tradition consists of very few links; as will easily be believed, when it is told, that Elizabeth Nowell (the Dean's sister) and Anne Bancroft, wife of her now named grandson, Thomas Whitaker, lived in this house as Wives and Widows from 1530 to 1644, or 114 years! The left wing was rebuilt in 1717, by the great grandfather of the present Possessor, from whose Letter of Dec. 6, 1808, these minutes are chiefly extracted.



To **RICHARD NOWELL, ESQ.<sup>RE</sup>** of  
 this View of **HOLME**, the seat of his worthy friend  
 the birth place of **William Whitaker, D.D.**  
 is gratefully inscribed by his sincere humble Servants **R. Norton.**



*Essex Street, London,*  
 and kinsman, the *Rev. T. D. Whitaker, L.S.D.*  
 the celebrated Professor of Cambridge,

*Engraved by J. Basire.*



## SECTION XI.

FROM Whitaker, the pride and ornament of Cambridge, who was also incorporated at Oxford<sup>c</sup>, we pass to an eminent benefactress of both universities, Joyce Frankland, widow, daughter of Robert Trapps, citizen of London and goldsmith; who bestowed ample donations on two colleges in the university of Cambridge, and on the like number at Oxford. To Emmanuel college, then recently founded, she ordered estates to be conveyed, to the value of twenty pounds a year, to be disposed of at the discretion of Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder<sup>d</sup>; and at Caius college she increased the four fellowships, which Mrs. Joan Trapps her mother had founded, and endowed six fellowships and twelve scholarships of her own. Her

<sup>c</sup> July 14, 1578. Ath. Ox. i. F. 117.

<sup>d</sup> Nowell is reckoned among the Benefactors of Emmanuel college (Fuller's Hist. Camb. p. 148.) probably on account of some particular (though now unknown) donation, accompanying this benefaction of Mrs. Frankland.

mother had appointed by her will, that certain lands in Kent should be secured to Lincoln college, for the purpose of sustaining four exhibitioners or scholars. These Mrs. Frankland augmented, but with an express proviso, that Sir Roger Manwood, one of her mother's executors, who had shewn great cruelty and injustice in settling the benefaction at Caius college, should not have the nomination or appointment of the scholars <sup>e</sup>.

It is with no pleasing emotions we hear of such a charge of mal-administration, in a confidential trust and a matter of charity, coupled with the name of a Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer (for such Sir Roger Manwood was for many years;) but many similar complaints, from various quarters and for a length of time, leave little room to

<sup>e</sup> Wood's Colleges, p. 240. When Parker and others, commissioners of Henry VIII. visited the university of Cambridge in 1546, the report from Caius college was, that there should be four scholars more of the foundation of Mrs. Trapps, but that Mr. Manwood, one of her executors, hath kept the money (900l.) ever since her death, eight years complete; "and no lands will he lett us have, excepte we would take such barren racked pilled and leafyd land of his owne as he lyst to geve us, upon the burned downes in Kent." MS. Parker, cviii. p. 559. He had 116l. in his hands, part of the money of Mr. and Mrs. Trapps, when Mrs. Frankland made her will in 1586-7. And see Burghley MS. li. No. 57.



doubt, that there was much to complain of<sup>f</sup>. As he liberally endowed and patronized a free school<sup>g</sup> in his native town of Sandwich in Kent, in middle life, having a family of his own, we willingly hope, that better principles were not always unattended with answerable practice; and that, when, after ineffectual attempts to justify or excuse his conduct, he acknowledged his faults, near the close of a long life, before the Privy Council, his conviction was as sincere, as his expressions were emphatic: but certainly the *memento*, composed first I believe by the famous William Lily for the monument of

<sup>f</sup> Among the Burghley papers are numerous letters and notes of the hard words and severe dealings of Sir Roger Manwood. See vol. xxiv. No. 39. xxvi. 7. xxxi. 55—59. lxxi. 1. 3. 4. 8. Lord Burghley's note of his abuses, civ. 32. His attempts to excuse and justify his conduct, xxxiii. 81. 87. lxxi. 5. A very penitent letter from him to Lord Burghley, May 12, 1592. lxxi. 6. His recantation and submission before the Lords of the Council, two days afterwards, ib. No. 7. A clause of his will concerning his son Peter, cix. 97.

<sup>g</sup> He endowed it with lands of the value of 20l. a year, and obtained 10l. a year to be added by his brother, Thomas Manwood, Mayor of Sandwich, and 8l. by Thomson, one of the Jurats. The archbishop forwarded the business in 1563, and wrote to the Secretary to procure the Queen's Licence. Burghley MS. vi. No. 71. But it seems not to have been finally incorporated by patent till 1586. Strype's Parker, p. 138.

dean Colet<sup>h</sup>, and often, from its justness, adopted by others, has seldom been applied, where the lesson it contains was more strongly enforced, by the character of the deceased, than when it was inscribed on the tomb of the Lord chief Baron Manwood :

“ Disce mori mundo, vivere disce Deo<sup>i</sup>.”

Mrs. Frankland gave in her life-time to Brasen Nose college certain estates and rent-charges<sup>k</sup>, and bequeathed by her will the further sum of five hundred pounds, with a *proviso*, that when the same was invested in lands, and assured to the college, it should be employed for the benefit of the society, in such manner as Alexander Nowell and Thomas Smallman, Esquire, of the Inner Temple,

<sup>h</sup> Knight's L. of Colet, p. 261. Dugd. St. Paul's, p. 64.

<sup>i</sup> See the whole epitaph on his monument at Hackington, near Canterbury, in Antiq. Repert. vol. v. p. 19. He died Dec. 14, 1592. The identical line may be seen on a grave-stone at Welford in Northamptonshire, at Middleton Cheney, &c. Walter Haddon prefixed to his “Poemata,” Lond. 1567. of which the version of our Lord's sermon on the mount is the first, an address “Pio Lectori,” which begins thus :

Quisquis es, has Domini leges qui scire laboras,  
Disce mori mundo, vivere disce Deo.”

<sup>k</sup> Abstr. of Compositions relating to Brasen Nose College, 1772. p. iv.

should direct. Mr. Smallman did not live to execute the designs of this “greate and worthe Benefactrix<sup>1</sup>,” and therefore Nowell, who survived, declared the purposes of the benefaction confided to his care, which were secured by an indenture between the Principal and Scholars of Brasen Nose college, as Governours of queen Elizabeth’s free school in Middleton, and the Dean and chapter of St. Paul’s: by which instrument it is covenanted and agreed, among other things, that an annual commemoration of Mrs. Frankland shall be kept on the fifth of September; that there shall be four scholarships, endowed with a certain allowance, and one fellowship, to be called Mrs. Frankland’s Fellowship, in the election to which her kindred, and especially the Trapps and the Saxies, shall be preferred.

Our ancestors were content rather to do

<sup>1</sup> Indent. 26 June, 40 Eliz. (1598) Reg. Nowell iii. f. 149. Mr. Smaleman, Smalman, or Smallman, “unus executorum lectissimæ fœminæ Jocosæ Frankland,” paid into the hands of the college 100l. in 1592. Plate Book, p. 17. 19. and Thomas Coventree, one of his executors, other sums on the same account in 1595. *ib.* p. 22. Mrs. Frankland left him 20l. and “her jewel of the story of Paris, being her best jewel.” Part of her will respecting Caius College, and the School at Newport, Essex, printed 1804. p. 19.

things worthy of memory, than to record the history of the persons that did them. Of this liberal benefactress to both our universities little is known in either, beyond what is necessarily contained in the detail of her munificence. She was twice married. By her first husband, Henry Saxy, she had a son named William<sup>m</sup>, who died before her, without issue. Of her second husband, Frankland, nothing is known; nor have any of her kindred ever appeared to claim the preference, which was kindly secured to them in the terms of the donation; though her brother, Robert Trapps, had a numerous family of sons, to each of whom by name she bequeathed a legacy of twenty pounds, and to her cousin and godson, Saxy Pretty, a jewel with a sapphire, a green stone, and a ruby.

<sup>m</sup> William Saxey was prebendary of Willefdon in 1560 (Reg. Nowell, i. 53. b.) and Treasurer of St. Paul's, both which became void by his death about July, 1567. But as he was collated to his prebend, Aug. 20, 1553, and, as Newcourt thinks (vol. i. 107.) was Vicar of St. Bride's, Aug. 11, 1530, by the name of William Saxim, LL. B. he probably was not Mrs. Frankland's son, but William Saxie "one of the Masters of Windso" (whatever place or office is meant) "and parson of Swainscomb in Kent," whose will is in Prerog. Office, Stonard 20, dated 30 Jan. 1566, proved 26 June, 1567, with legacies to his brothers &c. of his own name.

She lived at the Rye house, in the parish of Stansted Abbots, Herts,—as yet unconscious of plots against kings; and had also a “great house,” for her London residence, in Philip Lane, Aldermanbury, which she devised to Caius college. Her will, which is of great length, dated at the Rye house, February 20, 1586<sup>n</sup>, after emphatic expressions of religious trust in God, and pious disposal of her soul and body, to be buried at Stansted, where her son William Saxy lay, if she died there, and if in London, at St. Leonard’s, Foster Lane, where her father and mother lay, is occupied with numberless bequests to her relatives, and servants, to the poor, to all the London prisons, and to various other charities, public and private.

In addition to the particulars hitherto recited, it should be mentioned, that, by this her last will and testament, she institutes a chaplain and founds a Hebrew lecture at Caius college; and likewise, “for the love she bore to learning, and to have youth well brought up and instructed in the fear of God, learning, and good manners, whereby they may become good members in the

<sup>n</sup> Prerog. Off. Spencer xvii.

commonwealth," she makes ample provision for endowing a free grammar School at Newport, near Saffron Walden, in Essex, to be subject to the government of that society; but if her designs were not carried into effect within two years from her decease, then the profits, so intended, to be employed in augmentation of the free school at Beverley, in Yorkshire, to be similarly subject to the inspection and controul of Brasen Nose college. The primary intention of the pious testatrix, towards a place, with which she seems to have had no other connection, but that Jeffery Nightingale, Esquire, of Gray's Inn, informed her it was "a great and poor town," and a school in it much wanted, was duly performed; and the school at Newport, though it seldom in these days produces candidates for the scholarships of Caius College, as the foundress designed it should, subsists and flourishes as a very useful parochial seminary, under the regulations of a decree of Chancery<sup>o</sup>, made in the year

<sup>o</sup> Subjoined to the extract of her Will above mentioned. On a brass over the porch, in front of the school, is inscribed, "The free Grammer Schole of Newport founded Anno Domini 1588 by Mistris Joise frankland widow daughter of Robert Trappes of London Goldsmith the deceased and by William Saxie her sonne:"

1743, in consequence of neglect and abuse of the original trust. The master's salary is very little less than one hundred and fifty pounds a year, arising from the sole generosity of Mrs. Frankland.

She constituted Sir Walter Mildmay and Alexander Nowell overseers of her will, bequeathing to the former her best bason and ewer of silver, and to Nowell, at once "for his pains therein, and in consideration that he shall make a sermon at her burial," the sum of six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. Her executors, who have each of them a legacy of twenty pounds, administered to her will, Thomas Smallman by his proxy, and Thomas Legg, Master of Caius college, and Henry Burr of London, gentleman, in person, on the first of April, 1587.

Her fellowships at Caius college are regarded as By-fellowships; and those who enjoy them have no necessary share in the discipline of the house, or in the emoluments of the original foundation. But in Brasen Nose college, by the liberal encou-

as I learn from my worthy friend, Henry Hodgkinson, M. A. of Brasen Nose college, Rector of Arborfield, Berks, and of Shadingfield, Suffolk, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Braybrooke.

agement held out in the statutes, Mrs. Frankland's fellowship was incorporated as an integral part of the society; in consequence of which he who records this had the happiness of spending fifteen years, "*grande mortalis ævi spatium*"<sup>p</sup>, as the historian deems it, within the walls of Brasen Nose college, as Mrs. Frankland's fellow, and of being presented by the Society, in 1792, to the Rectory of Middleton Cheney in Northamptonshire.

Besides this twentieth and last fellowship (for the college having obtained a proper complement, more have not been added) it should be remembered of "the right worshipfull Mrs. Joice Frankland," that she, in her own name and that of her son, William Saxye, bequeathed some curious and very valuable articles of plate to the society of Brasen Nose; the greater part of which was stolen, not many years afterwards, "by breaking up of our treasure house"<sup>q</sup>, as the

<sup>p</sup> Tacitus in Vit. Agricolaë.

<sup>q</sup> Plate Book, p. 20. "Inprimis a nest of gilt gobletts with one cover to the same waighing 73 oz. 3 qters. at 5s. 2d. the oz. It. one Basen with a rose in the bottome and gilt chafen about the edges waighing 51 oz. at 5s. 1d." The whole amounted to 247 oz. and  $\frac{3}{4}$ . ib. p. 21.



register notes, without further specification of the circumstances of the robbery.

The college entertained so just a sense of the kindness of this their generous benefactress, that her name, with that of Alexander Nowell, is repeated in the common grace after meat in the hall; and, in gratitude to her memory, they also erected a monument over her grave in St. Leonard's church, Foster Lane; which was demolished, as Wood conceives<sup>r</sup>, in the great fire of London, in 1666.

In the hall of Caius college are portraits of Mr. Trapps and his lady, said to be by Holbein; and there is also a painting of their daughter Mrs. Frankland, with a watch in her hands, her arms and motto, "*Suffer and serve*;" an exact duplicate but of inferior merit to that in the hall of Brasen Nose college, which has been engraved for this work by the favour of the Society. Of the history of watches, and of the particular sort (a hunting watch, I am told) which she holds in her hands, I must confess myself ignorant; as also whether any hint or allusion were intended by it, other than that we should seize

<sup>r</sup> Colleges, p. 358.

the moments as they pass; but this may be noted of these ingenious pieces of mechanism, that they seem to have been less common and less understood in the days of our ancestors. For when the Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1611, sent a striking watch to Sir Michael Hicks, secretary to the Earl of Salisbury (as he had before been to his father, Lord Burghley) which he desired him to present to that great statesman, he thought it necessary to accompany it with directions how it was to be managed <sup>s</sup>.

Mrs. Frankland's benefactions had not long been finally arranged and concluded, when business of a kindred nature, but far less magnitude, engaged the Dean's attention: which was to second the recommendation of several learned men and pious divines in behalf of Hilkiah Crooke, who was candidate for the free school in the town of Colchester. "The commendacion" however "of soe manie wise and worthie men," as he speaks, "unacquainted himself with the yonge learned man," was not sufficient to carry the election, against what were deemed superior qua-

<sup>s</sup> See the Letter in the Burghley Papers, vol. xcii. No. 80. And of early watches, see the Gentleman's Magazine for 1771. p. 178.



MRS JOYCE

FRANKLAND,

Widow,

Ob. A.D. 1587.





fications. For, on examination of the candidates, William Kempe, M. A. was best approved, and chosen accordingly, on the death or cession of William Bentley, educated at the free school in Shrewsbury †.

As we approach the termination of the century, we may observe, though the point is not immediately connected with Nowell, that the same perplexity, as to the true mode of reckoning years and ages, appears to have embarrassed our ancestors, which puzzled their descendants two centuries afterwards. And if English good sense, as I think the fact was, determined in the former as in the later period, that we date the year as soon as it commences, and continue it while the twelve months are passing over us; it seems, by a treatise written expressly on the subject and published at Edinburgh, as if our brethren on the north side of the Tweed were an entire twelvemonth wide of the truth; and when they wrote 1599, fancied they were in the 1600th year of our Lord. But having only

† Morant's Colchester, p. 176. In the article Nowell, written by Morant in Biogr. Brit. he gives Nowell's Letter from the original in his possession, and remarks, that he "wrote a very neat and beautiful hand." The letter is dated 7 Dec. 1598. The writer therefore was at least ninety years old.

seen the titles of the works I allude to, and not the books themselves", I will not venture to pronounce decisively, lest I should be, as many wiser heads at the time and on the subject in question were, dogmatically wrong<sup>x</sup>.

In proportion as the period drew near, which must come to all, and which Nowell had long foreseen and expected, he appears to have been doubly solicitous to provide for the subsistence and comfort of his friends and domestics. To his household servant William Towneley he granted, in 1595, a lease of four tenements with four little garden plots in Whitechapel, to be held of him and his successors, Deans of St. Paul's, for the term of forty years<sup>y</sup>; and to the same, in 1599, a similar lease of a close of five acres of land in Bethnal Green, for twenty one years<sup>z</sup>; finally, in November 1601, nine acres and a

<sup>u</sup> "A newe Treatise of the right reckoning of yeares and ages—and of the estate of the last decaying age thereof, *this* 1600 yeare of Christ (Erroniouſlie called a yeare of Jubilee)—Edinb. 1599. by Rob. Pont." Ames, p. 1512. Two Offices of Prayer, *this* year 1600; one for her Majesty now upon entrance into a *new* Century; the other &c. Feb. 1600-1. Strype's Whitg. p. 544.

<sup>x</sup> See Gent. Mag. 1800. p. 64. 132-134. 381.

<sup>y</sup> Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 63. b.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. f. 42.

half of meadow in Hackney marsh<sup>a</sup>; in which lease one condition was, that he should deliver annually "two loads of sweet and good hay trusse band," growing on the premises, at the Dean's stables in the parish of St. Gregory.

In the reign of Elizabeth, according to the practice of earlier days, gentlemen born were frequently found in the menial train, as well of the dignified clergy, as of the higher ranks of the laity; and there is little reason to question, that this William Towneley, servant to the Dean of St. Paul's, and thus patronised by him, to whom also by will he bequeathed the sum of twenty pounds, was a younger branch of the knightly family of Towneley in Lancashire, of which the then head was the Dean's uterine brother, of whom we have particularly spoken above<sup>b</sup>. And it is perhaps some confirmation of this conjecture, that the same William Towneley, in the character of "a literate person," was, in conjunction with Thomas Redman, gentleman (the same perhaps, whose autograph has been mentioned above<sup>c</sup>) a notary public, con-

<sup>a</sup> Ib. f. 242.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 283.

P. 306. note.

stituted Registrar of the Dean and chapter, for their joint lives <sup>d</sup>; and appointed, in 1601, bailiff of the Dean and chapter, for the liberties of London, Middlesex, and Surrey <sup>e</sup>; both which offices were places of trust, usually filled by gentlemen.

There is no doubt at all, that Edward Nowell of Edelmeton (now Edmonton) gentleman, was a kinsman, probably nephew, of the Dean; and having, by purchase I presume, possessed himself of the lease of the valuable impropriate rectory of Edmonton, granted by the late priory of Walden in Essex to Giles Brugge (that is, Bridge) citizen and draper, the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's, now proprietors of the said estate or parsonage, renewed to him the lease, upon surrender, April 29, 1601 <sup>f</sup>; of which estate the said Edward Nowell and his family continued for many years the lessees <sup>g</sup>, residing at Edmonton, and, I apprehend, in the rectorial house.

His own godson and namesake, Alexander

<sup>d</sup> Feb. 23, 1588. Reg. Nowell, ii. f. 249. b.

<sup>e</sup> Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 237. b.--240.

<sup>f</sup> Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 220.

<sup>g</sup> It was granted to Edward Nowell in 1641; and to the family of Thorn in 1694. Lysons' Environs of Lond. ii. 267.



Wolton, son perhaps of the bishop of Exeter, and if so, his great nephew, was the last, to whom we find his kindness in this way extended, by a lease of the valuable manor of Biggins in Essex, dated November 24, 1601, which was confirmed by the Chapter, 23 of January following<sup>h</sup>.

His will, written and subscribed with his own hand<sup>i</sup>, full ten years before his death,

<sup>h</sup> Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 244. b. 245. b. It had been granted in 1583 (Reg. ii. f. 130. b.) for 21 years to James Wolton, servant to the Dean; who therefore, I presume, had surrendered in favour of Alexander, his kinsman probably. The new lease, 1601, was to Alexander Wolton and Richard Etherington of Eberston, Com. York, Esquire, but for the said Alexander, who perhaps was a minor.

<sup>i</sup> Dated Jan. 8, 1590-1. Prerog. Off. Montagu xi. See App. xiv.

The neatness of Nowell's hand-writing having been universally observed, we take this opportunity, near the close of his life, to lay before the Reader, in the adjoining plate, *fac-similes* of his writing and some of his friends.

1. "John Towneley," the Dean's uterine brother (see p. 283, &c.) from the marriage articles of Thomas Whitaker (nephew of Professor Whitaker. See p. 334. n.) and Anne Bancroft, to which he was a witness, 34 Eliz. (1591, or 1592.) The original deed is in the possession of Dr. Whitaker.

2. Bishop Jewell, from a letter to archbishop Parker. MS. Parker, cxiv. p. 457. See above, p. 126. and 46.

3. Alexander Nowell, from his letter to Lord Burghley, in behalf of Professor Whitaker's widow and orphans. MS. Burghley lxxx. No. 61. See above, p. 331. and Append. No. xiii. The

overflows, like his life, with piety and charity. First of all he "betakes and gives himself wholly, both body and soul, into the hands of Almighty God, trusting by his only mercies in Christ Jesus his dear Son my Saviour to have remission and pardon of all his sins, and to enjoy life everlasting." He expresses a decent, not anxious, or superstitious, care respecting his funeral, to be buried "in the church or church yard in the place or parish, where it should please God to appoint him to die." He orders gowns for his brethren the residentiaries,

venerable Dean could not be so little as eighty eight, when he wrote thus steadily and well. The cipher or device, I presume, is to be interpreted, "Anchorâ Christo," a maxim proper to be adopted by every believer in Christ, which probably, in the Dean's use of it, carried an allusion also to his favourite recreation as a fisherman. It is copied from the seal of his letter to Cecil, when he was printing his Confutation, as mentioned, p. 125. Burghley MS. ix. No. 42. Thomas Nowell, M. D. lately deceased (see *Gent. Mag.* 1807. p. 889. b.) had a very antique brass signet of the family; but what the subject or impression was, I am not informed.

4. Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, from his Latin letter to Sir W. Cecil. Burghley MS. vi. No. 54. See p. 39. and 237. He did not always use this Italic character, but wrote a neat cursive or running hand.

5. Professor Whitaker to Lord Burghley, from MS. Burghley lxxx. No. 10. about a fortnight before his death; probably the last letter he ever wrote. See p. 328, 331.

Godsonley

3<sup>o</sup> maij 1568. <sup>yo</sup> Graces moste  
humble

fo. *[Signature]*

12<sup>o</sup> Januarij 1595

<sup>yo</sup> honorable Lord Shippes



humble at Comandement,  
Alexander Newell

Famulus tuus tibi multis  
nomibus demunctissimj.

Laurentius Nouellus.

I desire not to live more idely,  
but more at libertie,  
For the Dean of Pauls house in London.

Novemb-19. 1595. yo Honors & lovosthie chaplain  
Willm Whitaker.



attending his funeral, and for him that should preach his funeral sermon, with gratuities to the prebendaries and petty canons, and to all the officers and members of the cathedral; and fifty gowns to fifty poor men, of any colour except black, as that is least durable: twenty pounds to repair St. Paul's, ten pounds to Christ's Hospital, thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence to the poor of Hadham, and legacies to all his servants. In regard to the children of his "former Wife," whoever they were (which we have in vain endeavoured to discover) and his own poor kinsmen, having in his lifetime, for his ability, dealt friendly and liberally with them, specially such as gave themselves to learning, he trusts they will not look for any legacies, now that, by sundry late great charges, and by the resignation of the parsonage of Hadham, he is much impoverished.

Still, however, friendship has claims, even in poverty and in death. He therefore bequeaths, to his good friend Thomas Bowyer of the Middle Temple, Esquire, son perhaps of Francis Bowyer, who assisted his escape<sup>k</sup>

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 20. It is no confirmation perhaps of the conjecture respecting Thomas Bowyer, yet proper to mention, that

into Germany, five pounds, to make him a ring for a poor remembrance of him, and ten of his books at his own choice, if not expressly by name given otherwise. To the library of Brasen Nose college he gives the Centuries of Magdeburg, Henry Stephens's Greek Lexicon in three volumes, strongly bound and armed, and all the History of Martyrs, written by Mr. John Fox, in two volumes, of the best paper and fair bound. To his cousin Dr. Whitaker of Cambridge he gives twenty books of his choosing; and for the painful and faithful service, which Elizabeth Nowell his wife had for many years, in his extreme age and great and many sicknesses and continual weakness, done unto him, and for that he had spent of her goods and rents more than all that he had was worth, he gives unto her, in token of the love that he had continually borne

Fuller dedicates a portion of his Church History (B. viii. Sect. ii. p. 16.) to Mr. Thomas Bowyer of the Old Jury, merchant; whose "grandfather, Francis Bowyer, brought no fewel to those flames [in Mary's days] but endeavoured to quench them. The Church is indebted to him for saving Rev. Dr. Alexander Nowell—and sending him safe beyond the seas. Thus he laid a good foundation, to which I impute the firm standing of your family, it being rare to see (as in your's) the third generation in London living in the same habitation."

and did bear unto her, all the rest of his goods whatsoever, and makes her sole executrix of this his last will and testament.

Among the witnesses to the will were arch-deacon Mullins, and Thomas White, the founder of Sion college, Residentiaries; William Coton or Cotton, also a Residentiary, afterwards bishop of Exeter, and Lancelot Andrews, Residentiary, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, afterwards the learned and excellent bishop of Winchester<sup>1</sup>.

The will was contained in a single sheet; but as law, if not eloquent, is at least verbose, the codicil, respecting John Deane, his great nephew and ward, covered seven sheets of paper. The young man's father, William Deane, Esquire, of Maplestead in Essex, having constituted Nowell one of his executors, with authority above the rest to educate his son and heir, the widow, his mother, sent him up to town appareled in

<sup>1</sup> Mullins was a Residentiary before Nov. 17, 1560. Reg. Nowell, i. f. 53. b. Cotton before Jan. 8, 1577-8, as seems by Newcourt, i. 211. 406. 605. White was Residentiary before 14 May, 1595. Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 59. and Andrews before June 12, 1594. Extr. from Reg. Whitg. ii. 247. in the Library of Mr. Gough. But I have not with certainty discovered, that the two last were Residentiaries, when they were subscribing witnesses to Nowell's will.

filks; which the good Dean was enforced, as he says, to continue, for fear of alienating his mind from him and from his books. He had pleased himself with great hopes of assistance in his brother guardian, Dr. Whitaker; but, he being deceased, he entrusts his ward to his executrix, Elizabeth Nowell, with direction, that if he behaved well, "no marriage should be tendered to him, but such as he shall well like of"—a favour, which, I fear, young men of fashion in the present day would not think deserving of immoderate thanks. But it shews one of the hardships, which were endured, with or without complaining, while the Court of Wards subsisted; and while guardians, under it, possessed the right, not merely of refusal, but of compulsory recommendation, in the contract, which is of all others the most important to the welfare of the parties, as well as to the interest and good order of society at large.

After expressing this solicitude for his charge, devolved to his sole care by the death of Dr. Whitaker, the good Dean survived five or six years, and sixteen or more from the time when his ward was first entrusted to him. He could not therefore be



far from man's estate, when the Dean's final illness came; and having, we may presume, conceived good hopes of his prudent conduct, he, the day before his death, released him from wardship, and left him entirely at his own free disposal, being already, as it seems, a married man <sup>m</sup>.

The Deanes, as we have said above <sup>n</sup>, were of Tanworth, in the county of Warwick, one of whom, William Deane, gentleman, married Matilda or Maude, sister to Dean Nowell <sup>o</sup>. His second son, of his own name, was servant to Lady Anne Maltravers, who married him and enriched him with her immense fortune, as sole daughter and heiress of Sir John Wentworth, of Gosfield in Essex <sup>p</sup>. She had before him two husbands: 1. Sir Hugh, second son of Lord Chancellor Rich: and 2. Henry Fitz Alan, Lord Maltravers, celebrated by Ascham, with the

<sup>m</sup> See below, note <sup>z</sup>. p. 361.

<sup>n</sup> P. 141.

<sup>o</sup> Pedigree of Nowell, MS. Williamson, Queen's Coll. Oxford. F. 30. f. 16. as also one in the Heralds' College, entered while the name and virtues of the Dean were fresh in the recollection of his friends; where he is described as "vir prudentiss. et erudit. et omnibus virtutibus ornatus, Decanus eccles. Cath. Sancti Paulli London, nuper defunct." Dr. Whitaker.

<sup>p</sup> Morant's Essex, ii. 381.

young Duke of Suffolk, as “two noble primerofes of Nobilitie, two fuch examples to the court for learning, as might rather be wished, than looked for again<sup>q</sup>.” Lady Maltravers died in 1580, without iffue by any of her husbands, and is buried under a ftately monument at Gosfield. Her furviving husband, Deane, married to his fecond wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas Egerton, Efquire, of Ryne Hill in Cheshire, ancestor of Thomas Egerton, the prefent Earl of Wilton, by whom he had John, Dean Nowell’s ward, and two daughters. The father, William Deane, built a fine brick houfe, called Dynes Hall, at Maplestead, and planted a handsome avenue of elms, moft of which were blown down in the great ftorm of November, 1703; but fo late as the year 1766, when Morant published his *History of Effex*, part of the houfe was ftanding, where Nowell ufed to fpend part of the fummer with the faid William Deane his nephew<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> Afcham’s Schoolmafter, 1570, f. 20. b. Works by Bennet, p. 241.

<sup>r</sup> Morant’s *Effex*, ii. 279. Mark Guyon, Efq. bought Maplestead in 1667, and making Dynes Hall his refidence, took down great part of the old houfe, which he rebuilt in a very handsome manner, but did not live to fee it finished. *ibid*.

As guardian of John Deane, in whose education he had been at great expence, Nowell was in the receipt of the interest of 2600*l.* lent upon bonds to different companies of merchants in London; of which income, amounting to the sum of one hundred and thirty five pounds a year, it was his desire that no part should be applied to the emolument of his widow, but that the whole should be bestowed in deeds of charity; and, particularly, that one hundred pounds of it should be sent, half of it to Oxford, and half to Cambridge, to be distributed to "poor toward scholars," in each university; of the former moiety forty five pounds to be given at the discretion of Dr. White, Dr. Singleton (principal of Brasen Nose college) and Dr. Bound and Dr. Reynolds, the Heads of Lincoln and Corpus Christi colleges; but with the reservation of four pounds to be annually delivered to Mr. Edward Clayton\* of Brasen Nose college: and forty five pounds of the other moiety at the discretion of Dr. Nevill, Master of Trinity, Dr. Andrews, Dr.

\* Who this "Edward Clayton" was I have not discovered. No such name occurs among the fellows of the college. Perhaps he was a son of "Mr. Claton the apothecary," whose "servant Claiton" has a legacy in the will of "forty shillings."

Tyndale, and Dr. Chaderton; with the like reservation of four pounds annually for Alexander Whitaker, scholar of Trinity college, and as much for his brother, Samuel Whitaker, scholar of Eton college, the sons, no doubt, of Dr. Whitaker deceased <sup>t</sup>.

The destination of this revenue is one pregnant instance among many, which evince the good Dean's constant attention to the interests of literature and religion; and he probably employed the sums thus accruing to him, as long as he lived, in these or similar acts of beneficence. But as he gave up his ward, as already mentioned, before his death, his executrix was released from this part of her charge; as she was from others by a second codicil, in which are specific legacies to the maid servants, who by the will were remitted to her discretionary kindness.

This second codicil, written after 1597 and probably but a short time before his death, is entirely devoted to legacies friendly and charitable; of which the first is, "To his cousin Mr. Doctor Hammond and his wife five pounds, and to every one of their chil-

<sup>t</sup> Of Alexander Whitaker see above, p. 331.

dren twenty shillings." Who this Dr. Hammond, "cousin," that is nephew, to Nowell, might be, we have in vain endeavoured clearly to ascertain. John Hammond, Doctor of civil law of Cambridge about 1569, was a Civilian of eminence, who often appears with credit in the reign of Elizabeth, and has already been mentioned in these papers <sup>u</sup>. As he was appointed Commiffary to the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's in 1573 <sup>x</sup>, and two years afterwards to the bishop of London <sup>y</sup>, it is not improbable there might be some tie of affinity or relationship between him and Nowell; but dying in 1589 <sup>z</sup>, Nowell himself being one of the witnesses to his will, he was certainly

<sup>u</sup> P. 263.

<sup>x</sup> Reg. Nowell, i. 444. b.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 468.

<sup>z</sup> See above, p. 299, n. <sup>h</sup>. His will, dated 21 Dec. 32 Eliz. Prerog. Office, Drury 62. was proved Oct. 12, 1590. He appoints Agnes his wife sole executrix, and his friends Sir Drue Drury, Sir William Bowes, &c. overseers of his will. Nowell's kinsman and ward, John Deane, married Anne daughter of the said Sir D. Drury, Aug. 27, 1600 (if there is no mistake in the date) Morant's Essex, ii. 278. and a lineal descendant, as is supposed, of both his names, late a jeweller in the Strand, died Dec. 15, 1803. Gent. Mag. 1804. p. 86. b. Sir Drue was made Lieutenant of the Tower in Nov. 1594, in the room of Sir Michael Blunt discharged. Cotton MS. Titus, C. x. f. 96.

not a legatee under the Dean's own will, made many years afterwards. I suppose him to have married a sister of the Dean, and by her to have been the father of a son of his own name, who was educated, as he was, at Cambridge, John Hammond, M. D. incorporated at Oxford while king James was entertained there in 1605<sup>a</sup>. This eminent physician was, I presume, the Dr. Hammond recognised by Nowell as his "cousin," having several children, when the codicil of the Dean's will was penned in 1601. On the accession of James I. he was appointed physician to prince Henry, from whom his youngest son Henry, the celebrated Commentator on the New Testament, born in 1605, "had the honour at the font to receive his Christian name."

Here then, although a degree of uncertainty hangs over some parts of this account, we seem to have light enough to discover a mistake in one of the best pieces of biography in our language. For bishop Fell, in the Life of the truly learned and pious divine now mentioned, educated at Magdalen college, Oxford, where is an original portrait

<sup>a</sup> Ath. Oxon. i. F. 171.

of him in his doctor's robes, says, "By his *mother's* side he was allied both unto learning, and the profession of theology, being descended from Dr. Alexander Nowell, the Reverend Dean of St. Paul's, that great and happy instrument of the Reformation, and eminent light of the English Church<sup>b</sup>." It is very possible certainly, that Dr. Hammond, father of the commentator, might match with a kinswoman of Dean Nowell; but one mistake being indisputable (for Nowell had no children) it is not improbable there may be another, and that instead of "*descended from* Dr. Alexander Nowell by his *mother's* side," we ought to read "*akin* by his *father's* side."

Similar uncertainty attaches to another legacy, the only one remaining, which it seems necessary here to notice; which is ten pounds "to his cousin Mr. Robert Pennington" (besides the like sum for his own use,

<sup>b</sup> Life of Hammond by bishop Fell, second edition; for the first had not the passage; and the Oxford editors, 1806, having been apprized of the mistake, struck it out. David Lloyd, in his *Worthies*, folio edition, p. 381. says, "Son he was to Dr. John Hammond, that exact critic, *grancbild* by his mother's side to Dr. Alexander Nowell, that reverend Divine:" where "*grancchild*," no doubt, should be "great nephew," and the "*mother's* side," as we have said, most probably "the father's side."

and four marks to his son Robert) “to redeem Mr. Thomas Nowell, cousin to the said defunct, out of prison.” Thomas is a name of rare occurrence in the Nowell family. The Dean of Lichfield had a son Thomas, who was baptized April 5, 1573<sup>c</sup>, and was probably the person here intended, who had, by some youthful extravagance, found his way to a prison.

The pious Dean, having thus settled his worldly affairs, and “set his house in order,” departed this life on the thirteenth of February, 1601-2, in the ninety fifth year of his age, almost forty years after he had begun to reckon himself an old man<sup>d</sup>. But notwithstanding his very great age and frequent sicknesses, such was the original strength of his constitution, and such the blessing of Providence on a life of piety, peace, and temperance, that neither his memory nor any of his faculties were impaired; and to the last, it is said, he was able to read the smallest print without the help of glasses.

He was interred, the day unknown, in St. Mary’s chapel, at the back of the high

<sup>c</sup> Reg. St. Mary’s, Lichfield. By favour of S. P. Wolferstan, Esquire.

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 90.



altar in St. Paul's, in the same grave, where, thirty three years before, he buried his beloved brother, Robert Nowell; an union in death, which he probably designed, when he caused his remains to be removed from Gray's Inn to St. Paul's; though afterwards, consulting the ease of his surviving friends (affection also itself perhaps mellowing with time) he willed "his body to be buried and rest in hope of resurrection to life everlasting" wherever "it should please God to appoint him to die<sup>e</sup>;" and that was where, during the space of almost forty two years, he had been known and esteemed as Dean of St. Paul's.

The epitaph on his monument, which the Society of Brasen Nose college, anxious to do honour to their generous benefactor, have caused to be re-ingraved from Dugdale's plate, will illustrate and confirm many parts of these memoirs, as it contains an authentic epitome of his life; but it requires, in one or two points, some elucidation or correction; which the inscription on his portrait (given below<sup>f</sup> for that purpose) will in part

<sup>e</sup> His Will, ut supra.

<sup>f</sup> Inscribed in capitals on the picture of Dean Nowell in Brasen Nose college, and on that which, as mentioned above, has been

supply. In comparing the copy of his portrait, prefixed to these pages, with the monu-

engraved for this work: "Alexander Nowellus sacræ Theologiæ Professor, S. Pauli Decanus, obiit 13 Febr. Anno Dom. 1601, R. R. Eliz. 44. An. Decanatus 42, ætatis suæ 95; cum neque oculi caligarent, neque aures obtusiores, neque memoria infirmior, neque animi ullæ facultates vietæ essent. Piscator hominum."

In the monumental inscription, "Sedit B. R." &c. is, I presume, to be read, "Sedit bono reipublicæ et ecclesiæ *annos* (omitted by the marble cutter, or by the engraver) plus minus 42. Nonagenarius—obiit." On which last expression it has already been remarked, p. 9. that "anno—ætatis suæ 95," as it is on the picture, more probably gives his real age. "Reducum i." This seems to be at once the error and correction, and, as conjectured, p. 37. n. ought probably to have been, "Reduci." "Collegii Ænei Nasi—Præfidi." Had the author of this epitaph been a member of Brasen Nose college, he would rather have used the statutable title, "Principali." "Ad ferenissimam Elizabetham." "Qui publicum" &c. If, as one would be tempted to think, some "public testimony of the two Universities" and of certain "foreign Churches" (conveyed, suppose, in letters of thanks for his Catechisms or other works) is here alluded to, the particular facts have escaped our search. "Edward VI." it is believed, expressed his sense of his merits in the terms of the licence, which he was pleased to grant him to be a preacher, p. 11. and in the presentation to a stall in Westminster abbey, p. 18. and Queen "Elizabeth" in the various preferments, which she bestowed upon him, and particularly in the reversionary grant of a canonry of Windsor, p. 364. and in the memorable licence of non-residence, p. 269. "Procerumque judicium:" for that, I apprehend, is the true order of the words, or if not, "judicium" is to be understood, as if it was repeated after "procerum;" though here again we are at a loss for the particular act or instance of their approbation, unless we could rely on the truth of what some have



Quam speciosa vestigia  
 Evangelizationis iactem.  
 Exul quæ amiffit primævo flore Nowellus,  
 Penore centeno peperi aucta redux.  
 Dignos hinc dicitur hincque labores,  
 Reddenti æternos gratia dabitur habet.  
 Pæco. Auctar condas Cfrisco colit ampliat ornas,  
 Vocallibus opibus Sclibatha, Tempia, Scholas;  
 Dicitur hinc dicitur hincque labores,  
 Sic curat, Floret, eleuaturque, Deo.  
 Sedti B. R. P. & Ecclesie P. M. G. Nonguaricus cum  
 Nec animi nec corporis oculi caligant  
 Obit Anno. Dom. 1601. Feb. 15

PERFECTA

SANCTIMONIA

IVSTITIA

CHRISTIA  
GRATIA

STVDIA VM

PRETATIS

IVSTITICATIO

FIDES  
ELECTIO

Alexandro Nowello, Lancastrænsi, præseæ Nowellorum graue  
 orando, Theologicæ Doctore, ædis S. Pauli Decano, ad exemplum hospitah,  
 Rob. Nowelli, cuius, hoc tum fuis inuenturæ ceteros, fratris, & opuna que  
 ad hunc usque diem, in hunc usque diem, in hunc usque diem,  
 propter Christianissimum Theologum, in hunc usque diem, in hunc usque diem,  
 libris ab eorum primæ & vltimæ Quadragesimalis Concionis per annos xxxi P. M.  
 continuas ad S. Elizabetham, fœmnia Libertate Preuocis, Scholæ Middletonianæ  
 patronat edegit. Quæ nunc obitu alia de hunc etiam, sanctorum xxi tum, conuoluto  
 phantasma bonorum nare torripeta is Presumpti Sinais Concione, & Stralpe  
 Cæciliam propagator, qui publicè in de utriusque Auedonæ & Ecclesiæ ma  
 texteracum testimonium atq; terorumum Principum Eberardi VI & Elizabethæ  
 iudicium, procerum, procerum, in hunc usque diem, in hunc usque diem,  
 Auctar condas Cfrisco colit ampliat ornas, Dicitur hinc dicitur hincque labores,  
 amundicentibus & merita egra Kemp, et optimam statum Brecclesiar  
 fue ab eo potuelligi administratye reddidit, Exec. O. D. S. M.

Viro admodum Reuerendo, Gulielmo Cleaver, S. T. P. Episcopo Asaphensi, et Collegii Sancti Nasti  
 Principali, Reuerendisque ejusdem Collegii Sociis, tantam hanc, Alexander Nowelli, olim  
 ejusdem Collegii Principalis, interque præcipuos ejus Benefactores semper numerandi,  
 Monumentum ante oculos sistentem, summa animi observantia, gratitudinis ergo, D. D. D. R. Clurton.



mental bust, as here delineated, one thing will immediately strike the attentive observer, that though the painter and the sculptor have perhaps been equally successful in throwing that air of serenity over their respective works, which distinguished the meek and pious Dean, when living; yet in the features of the countenance there is little resemblance, the hand of the painter having probably sketched on canvas a more perfect representation, than the other artist was able to achieve, when he attempted to draw "*vivos de marmore vultus.*" The original picture, which adorned the mansion at Read, when the family lived there, was then a whole length; but having since been shortened, as represented in the plate, it is an exact counterpart, with perhaps a younger countenance, of the fine picture of the Dean, which hangs in the hall of Brasen Nose college, and was lately, with other scarce portraits, engraved by Harding of Pall Mall. The picture from Read, in good preservation, is now the property of Dr. Sherfon of London, a descendant of the Nowells by

asserted, that the "Parliament—enjoined and trusted him to make a Catechism for public use." p. 81. "*Executrix optime de se merito posuit.*"

The headless trunk of the Dean from this monument has just been discovered in the vaults under St. Paul's (Jan. 31, 1809.)

the female side, by whose obliging permission it has been accurately copied and engraved, at the expence of Alexander Nowell, Esquire, late of Tirhoot in Bengal, now of Underley Hall, Westmoreland, in grateful remembrance of his illustrious kinsman and namesake ; of whom some mistakes in the current accounts remain to be corrected.

Fuller speaks of him with great truth, as “ a man of most angelical life and deep learning <sup>h</sup>.” And when he adds, that he was “ a great honourer of the marriage of the clergy,” he was equally well founded ; but when he proceeds, “ and yet who lived and died single himself,” he was so totally misinformed, that on the contrary it appears, as we have seen <sup>i</sup>, from the Dean’s own will, that he was married twice, and each time to a widow having children. Of his first wife nothing further is known, but that he was married, either to her or to his second wife, in or before the year 1561 <sup>k</sup>. His surviving wife, Elizabeth Nowell, had been twice married before, and had children by both her

<sup>h</sup> Church Hist. B. x. Sect. x.

<sup>i</sup> See above, p. 353.

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 69. 78.

former husbands. Laurence Ball appears to have been her first husband, and Thomas Blount her second. By Ball she had a son, named Henry, a citizen and haberdasher, how prudent and prosperous I am not informed. Nowell and Edward Blount of the Middle Temple, gentleman, were bound for him, in 1598, in the sum of 500*l.* to the Lord Keeper, Egerton, that he should perform an order of the court of Chancery; but the condition of the bond was fulfilled, and the bail saved harmless<sup>1</sup>. Mrs. Nowell, in her will, says, her said son Henry Ball, then deceased, had received of her in gifts, payment of debts, and other ways, to the amount of three thousand pounds at least; and therefore she hopes, that his eldest son, Alexander Ball, will be content with a small legacy.

The aforefaid Edward Blount was one of her children by her second husband; and for these "poore orphans of Mr. Blounte," as he speaks, Nowell was, in the year 1584, engaged in certain tedious suits of law; and very emphatically thanked Lord Burghley,

<sup>1</sup> Clauf. 40 Eliz. p. 31. Rolls. The condition, whatever it might be, was performed to Richard Hickman, Mr. Ball's wife Margaret being bound with her husband.

as before noted <sup>m</sup>, on the prospect of being delivered from them by his Lordship's authority and exertion, the orphans probably being under his protection as Master of the Court of Wards: the good Dean also, at the same time, most humbly offered, as he appears to have done before, to be ordered by his Lordship and "Mr. Vicechamberlane" his honor in the friendly endynge of all thys controuersie."

Mrs. Nowell speaks with grateful affection of the assistance and comfort afforded her "in her old age," by this her son Edward Blount; and he gave one remarkable proof of filial respect towards her: for having been twice married, he named, after her, a daughter Elizabeth by his first wife, and another "Elizabeth by his now wife;" and they both have legacies in Mrs. Nowell's will. To the first Elizabeth she gives her chain of gold and bracelets in her chamber at Writtle Marsh, and other things in her chest there, and the house itself. To the second Elizabeth she bequeathes a house at Lincoln, pur-

<sup>m</sup> P. 309.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Christopher Hatton was Vice Chamberlain in 1579 (Strype's Ann. ii. 617.) and probably at this time. He was made Lord Chancellor in 1587.



chafed for her by Sir Richard Etherington, knight, who was one of the witnesses to her will.

“ Her late reverend husband had a good liking of her (said) son Edward Blount, and desired her to be kind to him, particularly as to the house in Little Wood street, wherein I now dwell.” And therefore, “ in the remembrance of so small a request by [her] so kind and loving husband,” she leaves him the said house; and in consideration also of his constant and dutiful attention to her, and that he had “ had small preferment from her,” she gives him her estates in Kent, Somersetshire, Lincolnshire, and London; and constitutes him sole executor of her will.

She leaves legacies to “ Nicholas Pearson, parson of Kidston ° in Kent, and Joane his wife, my old servants;” and to all her men and maid servants; and, expressing pious resignation and faith in her Redeemer, desires to be buried at St. Laurence’s church, London, near her late husband Mr. Blount; “ praying the Holy Spirit to be with her, that she may have perfect memory to the

° Keston, I presume, is meant, which is a discharged Rectory in the gift of the archbishop of Canterbury.

laſt, and may ſay with the laſt breath, *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit.*" Her will is dated Dec. 6, 1610; was publiſhed, before many witneſſes, Feb. 13. (in memory, doubtleſs, of her deceaſed huſband) and proved by Edward Blount her executor, January 20, 1611-12<sup>p</sup>.

Humility and gratitude are among the ſureſt criterions of merit. We have ſeen the Dean of St. Paul's giving to Mrs. Nowell the entire reſidue of his eſtates, real and perſonal, not only "in token of the love that he bore unto her," but becauſe, as he accounted, "he had ſpent of her goods and rents more than all he had was worth<sup>q</sup>." Mrs. Nowell, in her turn, ſpeaking of her late "loving huſband," ſays it was by his "kind and loving aſſiſtance, beſides all other never to be forgotten comforts and goodneſs, that ſhe was enabled to do the good ſhe had done to her children<sup>r</sup>."

In a ſermon before the Queen, of which we have, I believe, no other memorial, the "very Reverend, grave, and worthy Dean of Pauls (who hath in many ways deſerved

<sup>p</sup> Prerog. Off. Fenner, vi.

<sup>q</sup> P. 354.

<sup>r</sup> Will, ut ſupra.

well of our whole Church) used the simile of a fluttish housewife, that having swept the house, yet left the dust and dirt behind the doors." But this, which the Puritans laid hold of, and "misapplied to the ceremonies" (says the learned Divine, who reports the story, himself an immortal ornament and bulwark of the University of Oxford and of the Church of England) was "modestly and moderately urged" by the Dean, "not at all against the Ceremonies (which by his practice he did allow) but for the further restraint of popish priests and Jesuites, who lay thick in Ireland, and the western coasts of England and Wales, as heaps of dust and dirt behind the doors<sup>s</sup>."

Yet in removing this calumny we must be careful not to afford handle for another. He was no persecutor. At the time when the wounds of Protestants, inflicted for the sole alleged crime of their religion, were fresh and bleeding, though he observed, that forbearance and "clemency might well and ought now to be changed to justice;" and that "errors or heresy, when opened abroad, and specially if in any thing it touch the Queen's

\* Bishop Sanderfon's Sermons, vol. i. p. 18.

Majesty, ought not, as well for God's quarrel as the realm's, to be unlooked unto;" he was careful to "explicate himself," by saying, "if any man keep his opinion will and mind close within himself, then he ought not to be punished<sup>t</sup>." And if, in saying this, he spoke, as no doubt he did, with the entire approbation of his august audience, it is to be regretted, if, in a single instance perhaps, practice fell short of what theory approved<sup>u</sup>. Of his own moderation, when acting freely by himself, we have pleasing evidence, when we see him at one time successfully interceding for his brother Towneley<sup>x</sup>, a Roman catholic, and at another for Udal<sup>y</sup>, a Puritan.

<sup>t</sup> Sermon before the Queen and Parliament, Jan. 12, 1562-3. See above, p. 86.

<sup>u</sup> See above, p. 217.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 283.

<sup>y</sup> John Udal, Minister of Kingston upon Thames, was tried and condemned at the assizes at Croydon in 1591, on 23 Eliz. c. 2. for defaming government in a pamphlet upon Discipline. Nowell and Dr. Andrews were sent to confer with him. The Queen's clemency respited the sentence. The Dean interceded for him with the archbishop, and by the archbishop's procurement, his pardon, if not actually signed, was on the point of being signed, when the poor man died in prison. Strype's Whitg. 343. 377. Heylin's Hist. of Presbyt. p. 363. Peirce's Vindic. of Dissenters, p. 137. Dr. Zach. Grey's Vindic. of Ch. of Engl. in answer to Peirce, p. 90. Collier's Eccl. Hist. ii. 622. And Strype's Ann. iii.

It is no wonder that the followers of Calvin have endeavoured to draw into their party a person of such eminence in our Church, as the Prolocutor of the Convocation, in which the thirty nine Articles were compiled and agreed upon. I will not undertake to vindicate every passage, or expression, in his Catechisms or other works, which, torn from the context, may seem to favour their rigid notions. This is evident, that he studiously avoids the absolute, and, as Calvin himself calls it, "*horrible decree*," by which it is said, that God, without any regard to faith and obedience, has elected some to life, and doomed others to perdition; and that Christ died, not for the whole world, but for the elect only. In contradiction, or rather in contradiction, to these uncharitable and shocking tenets, he teaches expressly, that "God the Son hath redeemed "the whole race of mankind<sup>z</sup>:" he gives *Præscientia* as an equivalent and purer term

471. 610. iv. 21—30. He had a son Ephraim, of very different principles, a London divine, who wrote in defence of Episcopacy, and was a great sufferer for his loyalty in the Grand Rebellion. L. of Whitg. p. 345.

<sup>z</sup> Deum Filium, qui me, et universum genus humanum redemit. Smallest Catechism.

for *Prædestinatio* <sup>a</sup>; he says, that “those who are steadfast, stable, and constant in faith, they are elected and appointed, and (as we term it) predestinated to happiness <sup>b</sup>,” (making election the consequent, not the antecedent or cause, of belief and obedience;) and plainly supposes, with the Apostle, that “the weak brother may perish, for whom Christ died <sup>c</sup>.” By these clear points and landmarks therefore we should steer in these waters, if we must venture upon them; for they are, assuredly, one of those “depths, in which the elephant may swim,” and which the line of man’s intellect never can fathom.

In truth our Reformers did not learn divinity of John Calvin, but in a better school. To the inspired volume (so long locked up and neglected) and especially to the New Testament, the end and consummation of all God’s counsels, their first and constant attention was given: they perused it so often, and with so much care, that they had the sacred contents almost by heart <sup>d</sup>. Next to the di-

<sup>a</sup> Index to Larger Catechism.

<sup>b</sup> Larger Catechism, p. 96.

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 130. and Rom. xiv. 15. 1 Cor. viii. 11.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 24. Latimer, when he was in prison, read the New Testament over seven times, with great deliberation. Strype’s Memor. iii. App. p. 92.

vine Book itself, and together with it, they were deeply conversant in the writings of those, who were contemporary with the Apostles, and their immediate successors, and those that followed them; so that they could boldly assert, what they well knew could not be disproved, that there was no authority for any of the discriminating doctrines of the Church of Rome, during the six first centuries<sup>e</sup>. These were their studies, and this their preparation for their arduous office. Clad with armour of proof from these inexhaustible storehouses of truth, they were able to defeat and to repel their numerous assailants; to remove from the fortresses of their faith the perishable materials, which rude and unskilful hands had cast about it; and to shew the fair fabric to the eye of day, founded on the rock of ages; her gates of gold, and her walls salvation.

Nowell was one of these holy builders, who, in repairing the breaches of our Sion, did not use "untempered mortar." Endowed with excellent parts, he was soon distinguished by the progress he made in the schools of Oxford; where he devoted thir-

<sup>e</sup> See p. 49, and 16.

teen years, the flower of his youth and best time for improvement, to the cultivation of classical elegance and useful knowledge. His capacity for teaching, tried first in the shade of the University, became more conspicuous, when he was placed at the head of the first seminary in the metropolis; and, at the same time, his talents as a preacher were witnessed and approved by some of the principal auditories of the realm<sup>f</sup>. Attainments such as these, and a life that adorned them, rendered him a fit object for Bonner's hatred<sup>g</sup>; but Providence rescued him from the fangs of the tiger, in the very act of springing upon his prey.

“*Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum.*”

Retirement, suffering, and study, in the company of Jewell, Grindal, and Sandys, stimulated by the conversation and example of Peter Martyr, and other famed divines of Germany, returned him to his native land, with recruited vigour and increasing lustre, when the days of tyranny were overpast. Elizabeth and her sage counsellor, Burghley, placed him at once in an eminent situation

<sup>f</sup> See p. 11.

<sup>g</sup> P. 20.



among those of secondary rank in the Church, and accumulated other preferments upon him; and would probably have advanced him to the episcopal bench, had not his real modesty, together with the consciousness of approaching old age<sup>h</sup>, been known to have created in him a fixed determination not to be raised to a station of greater dignity; which however, all things considered, could scarcely, in his case, have been a sphere of greater usefulness. Near to his friend and patron, bishop Grindal, near also to his other illustrious friend and patron, the excellently pious and prudent archbishop Parker, and not distant from the Court, he was an able coadjutor to each and to all, in bringing forward and perfecting, what they all had at heart, the restoration of true and pure religion<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 90.

<sup>i</sup> Dr. Whitaker having favoured me with a sketch of Nowell's character, I here subjoin some extracts from it, which though not very short, probably the Reader's only wish will be, that they had been more and longer.

“Of all men who have held any distinguished station in the English Church, our Dean of St. Paul's must have had the longest personal acquaintance with its history. No man could ever have detailed in conversation so many interesting anecdotes of the Church and the State, at so great a distance of time. What had been told him by Cranmer, he could have related to Laud; what he had heard in his childhood from the partizans of the House of

It is indeed impossible to view him, in the

Lancaſter, he could have recited to thoſe, who were to bear a part in the troubles under Charles I. And wide as the range of his recollection muſt have been, there were ſome who remembered him almoſt as long; Biſhop Morton, who ſurvived to the dawn of the Reſtoration; and the Counteſs of Pembroke, who having been much in the court of Elizabeth, muſt have heard him preach, lived to the year 1676. Theſe are links in the chain of traditionary evidence almoſt patriarchal.—

Of his domeſtic habits little is known. That his time was divided between ſtudy, devotion, and active beneficence, there can be little doubt. “*Dans, meditans, orans*”<sup>1</sup> will probably deſcribe, with ſufficient exactneſs, the tenor of his ordinary days.—

His perſon appears to have been ſlender and active; his conſtitution of that happy temperament, which contains in it no principle of decay, but that of age. His countenance was ſerene and benevolent; his eyes to the laſt vivid and piercing; his complexion delicate, his carriage upright, his beard filky, and white as ſnow<sup>2</sup>. Such in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century was the laſt of the Reformers.—

Like the ſurvivor of the Apoſtles, he had ſeen his firſt companions in the miniſtry lay down their lives for the truth; like him he was long ſpared to be the witneſs of their faith and patience; and like him he died in peace and ſafety.

In a word, he “*had ſought after wiſdom;*” and by ſuch examples, more than by a thouſand repetitions of the maxim, mankind may be taught, that “*length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour.*”

<sup>1</sup> Inſcr. on his monument.

<sup>2</sup> My friend, contemplating a fine copy of Nowell’s portrait in his poſſeſſion, ſeems to have conceived and expreſſed from it a juſt idea of the venerable Dean; which the engraving, though excellent, being mere light and ſhade, could, without this deſcription, but imperfectly convey.

department assigned him, without love and admiration. Meek, retired, and unobtrusive, he is ready at every call of duty; he is solicited from all quarters, and on all occasions. If a sermon on some great emergence is to be preached at the cross, at Court, or before Parliament, Nowell is the preacher. If the relentless hand of death has deprived the nation of one of its brightest ornaments, of either sex, an Ascham<sup>k</sup>, a Sidney<sup>l</sup>, or a Cecil<sup>m</sup>, he is requested to console the surviving relatives in a funeral discourse, and to convert the common loss into a common example and benefit. When the beautiful and lofty spire of St. Paul's, by a stroke from heaven, is laid in ashes, the Dean is the person, who successfully exhorts the generous citizens to a speedy reparation of the sacred edifice<sup>n</sup>. When the proud Armada has been defeated, he is selected to announce in the house of God the unparalleled victory; and to prepare the public mind for public thanks<sup>o</sup>. If donations are solicited for the University in which he was not educated, at the hands

<sup>k</sup> P. 135.<sup>l</sup> P. 300.<sup>m</sup> P. 301.<sup>n</sup> P. 62.<sup>o</sup> P. 293.

of those who are ever ready to give, the opulent merchants and inhabitants of the metropolis, their thoughts are immediately fixed upon Mr. Nowell, and he is desired to be treasurer of the bounty <sup>p</sup>. When contributions are requested for distressed Protestants abroad, those of first rank and influence in the nation, wishing to forward the object of the petition, particularly desire the aid and advice of Nowell <sup>q</sup>.

His own art of angling suggests the true character of the man. Placid and contemplative, and studious of peace, he loved to pass the day on the margin of the river; and in his adopted motto, "*Piscator hominum*," doubtless had an eye to those sons of peace, whom from this "irreprovable employment" the Saviour of the world called to be his disciples; of whom it is observed, that they have the "priority of nomination in the catalogue of the Apostles <sup>r</sup>."

Whether it is true, as the honest and ingenious Walton, a man of kindred meekness and piety, observes, in his "Contemplative

<sup>p</sup> P. 299.

<sup>q</sup> P. 282. This was about 1582. Succour was again asked, and again received, in 1590. Burghley MS. lxvi. No. 30. 33—37.

<sup>r</sup> Complete Angler, p. 38.

man's Recreation," that angling is like poetry, and a person must be born to it<sup>s</sup>, I shall not inquire: Nowell certainly felt the propensity early, and threw his youthful line in his native rivers, the Calder and the Ribble. Placed, in later life, at a distance (the frequent lot of clergymen) from these his juvenile haunts, his father long ago deceased, his mother, under the legatine dispensation of cardinal Wolsey<sup>t</sup>, married again, and become the parent of another family; though he constantly corresponded with his friends in Lancashire<sup>u</sup>, he seldom had leisure personally

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 22.

<sup>t</sup> In this memorable document (Append. No. xv.) Dr. Whitaker, who favoured me with it, says, "I have remarked (and it is curious enough) that there is an error in the degree of affinity subsisting between the parties" (which is stated to be "the second and third," instead of "third and fourth." See the Nowell Pedigree, App. No. I.) "But I suspect, that as the fees were higher in proportion to the favour granted, the canonists represented the affinity as nearer than it was, and charged accordingly."

<sup>u</sup> His letters, carefully preserved for two centuries, were with other family papers, on the death of the last owner of Read in 1772, left in a chest, in the custody of an old and respected steward of the family; and the son and executor of that steward "distinctly remembers that he committed them all to the flames." We are consoled, however, for this irreparable loss, by one who "examined the family papers," and says, he "never met with any that were very interesting. There were some old letters of Dean Nowell. They were generally accompanied with a receipt

to visit them, and then rather to draw shoals of men with the net of the gospel, than to take a solitary fish with a hook. In his parish of Hadham there was scope at once for serious duties and innocent recreation. On the banks of the Aish he meditated penitence, gratitude, and charity; making it his practice to give a tenth part of his revenue, and usually all his fish, to the poor<sup>x</sup>.

As a Divine he was not one of those "strawberry preachers," described by one of his own days, in a sermon at the cross<sup>y</sup>,

for a rent-charge, or annuity, he had from the Read estate. They were in a fair, neat hand-writing. The letters were confined to *the then existing situation and circumstances of the Family.*" Strange diversity of taste! that the very circumstance, which, to an antiquary or biographer, stamped inestimable value on these relics, should, in the eye of a man of business, have rendered them of no account, fit only for the flames! There was also among the papers "a Letter of thanks, either from Charles I. or II. to Colonel Roger Nowell, one of the gallant defenders of Latham House, for his services and sufferings." Dr. Whitaker.

<sup>x</sup> See above, p. 82.

<sup>y</sup> By "Oxenbridge, B. D. Jan. 13, 1566." MS. Tanner, 50. f. 63. &c. The allusion is from Latimer, perhaps without improvement: "The preaching of the woorde of God unto the people," says the good old martyr, in his famous sermon on the plough, "is called meate. Scripture calleth it meat, not Strawberries, that com but once a yeare, and tary not long, but are soone gone." ed. 1562. f. 14. b. Who this Oxenbridge was, I have not discovered, except that, if he is rightly styled B. D. in 1566, he was

“ which come once in the year.” He was a constant, and he was a successful preacher; for his sermons were unlike those of certain “ seeming and sun-burnt ministers,” of whom his friend Ascham speaks; “ whose learning is gotten in a summer heat, and washed away with a Christmas snow again<sup>z</sup>.” His learning was solid, polished, and durable; his words full of matter, drawn without violence from the Scriptures of truth, and their best interpreters, the early fathers; and enlivened by examples of ancient and of modern days. He had the honesty of Latimer, and a portion of his familiarity, without his quaintness and occasional coarseness.

In whatever light we view him, we see

not John Oxenbridge, who supplicated for that degree in 1572. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 107. He was however an Oxford man; for he says, “ I will show you the state and condition of this my mother Oxford—for a piteous case it is, that now in all Oxforde, their is not past v or vi preachers, I except Strawberry preachers—but—many towardly yonge men,” willing to “ come to the perfect knowledge of the truth.” In the second Book of Homilies, written about four years before, it is remarked, that the saying of Christ, “ The harvest is plentiful, but the workmen be but few,” is, “ in our time, and here in our country so true, that every Shire should scarcely have one good Preacher, if they were divided.” p. 142. Compare Wood’s Annals under the years 1557 and 1563.

<sup>z</sup> Schoolmaster, B. ii. p. 289. ed. Bennet.

the lineaments and proportion of a true son of the Church of England. Dignity and simplicity are the characteristics of her service and ordinances ; piety and plain dealing is the character of Nowell. Generous and kind to his numerous relatives, grave without austerity in his public deportment, condescending without meanness in his intercourse with others, cheerful without levity at his hospitable board, he is formed for all times, and conciliates all hearts ; dextrous alike to detain the ear of friendship and enliven social converse with anecdotes of past occurrences and outlandish customs<sup>a</sup>, or, as occasion invites, to throw in truths of higher import, or, as duty calls, to console the bed of sickness, and elevate the departing soul from earth to heaven.

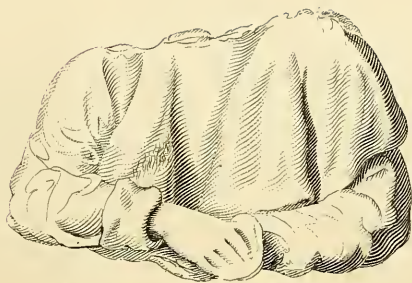
But if in this summary, as in life, religion has precedence, her faithful handmaid, erudition, must not be overlooked or forgotten : and here Nowell ranks with the very first men of his time, with Ascham and Smith, with Grindal and Parker, with Cox and Jewell. His just fame in this respect, together with his known humanity, wisdom,

<sup>a</sup> P. 242.



and experience, caused his advice and assistance to be requested in behalf of almost every seminary of learning established in his time; and when a work of ingenuity, or literary labour is to come abroad, the recommendation of the venerable Dean of St. Paul's is studiously prefixed to it, as a passport to public favour and acceptance; and dedications wait upon him, as if he had to bestow the dignities of the Church, or the patronage of the Crown. To encourage genius and draw forth humble merit, his own labours, time, and talents, were uniformly devoted; securing to himself an honourable place in the memory and gratitude of mankind, while the right institution of youth is regarded as an object of prime concernment, and the Society, which he augmented by his munificence and adorned by his example, shall, by the support of its Friends, the vigilance of its Governours, and the blessing of Providence, continue to flourish.

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several paragraphs and is mostly illegible due to fading and low contrast.



J. Carter. del.

J. Basire Sc.

*Remains of the Bust of Dean Nowell,  
in the Crypt of the present Cathedral  
of St. Paul London. Jan. 1<sup>st</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1809.*



APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

LETTERS, PAPERS, AND EVIDENCES,

MANY OF THEM

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.









NUM. II. See p. 15.

*Lines by Nowell on Bucer, from Buceri Scripta  
Anglicana, Basil, 1577. f. 910.*

In eundem [Bucerum] Alexandri Nouelli.

Cognita Germanis, bene cognita sancta Britannis,  
Vita Bucere tua, et lingua Bucere tua.  
Cognita sunt latum sanctissima scripta per orbem,  
Queis pia nulla magis, docta nec vlla magis.  
Sed Cantabrigiæ, non toto cognitus anno,  
Conditus es tumulo, magne Bucere, breui.  
Sic Cantabrigiæ, fatorum lege, Bucere,  
Cognitus et decus es, conditus et dolor es.

Eiusdem in eundem.

Extinctum nollem quisquam putet esse Bucerum,  
Mens vitam in supero lumine cuius habet.  
Extinctum nollem quisquam putet esse; quid ergo?  
Corporis est placidus somnus, eritque brevis.  
Extinctum nollem quisquam putet esse; perennis  
Fama viri viuit, scriptaque docta vigent.  
Extinctum ne ergo quisquam putet esse Bucerum,  
Scriptaque cum viuant famaque mensque viri.  
Tristis abesto dolor, viuenti gratulor: ille  
Nam mundo viuit, viuit et ille Deo.

NUM. III. See p. 40—45.

*Letter to Mr. Abel at Strasburgh, from the original in the possession of John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamscot.*

At london y<sup>is</sup> 28. of May. 1559.

The comfort of y<sup>e</sup> H. goost rest euer w<sup>th</sup> yow. y<sup>e</sup> last sonday I could not wryte vnto yow in tyme for y<sup>e</sup> post. fyns I wrote last vnto yow, haue we only thes newes that folow on whytsonmonday<sup>a</sup> dyd m<sup>r</sup> gryndal preach at y<sup>e</sup> crofs w<sup>ch</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> first sermon y<sup>t</sup> was there fyns chryfmas sauyng. 2. y<sup>t</sup> were made there at easter. In y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> sermon the lord keeper<sup>b</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> whole cowncell being present, he dyd proclayme the restoring of y<sup>e</sup> booke of kyng edward, whereat as well y<sup>e</sup> lords as the people made or at least pretended a wonderful reyoyfing, never a byshop nor canon of powles being present therat; y<sup>e</sup> fryday affter was, a pryft, a popyshe merchant caryed to y<sup>e</sup> towr for vtterying words against y<sup>e</sup> quens ma. (whom y<sup>e</sup> lord long preferue) y<sup>t</sup> she shuld not long contynewe. by hym we may coniecture y<sup>e</sup> good wylls off y<sup>e</sup> rest. becaus y<sup>e</sup> penaltye for y<sup>e</sup> not receyuyng of y<sup>e</sup> booke shal not take place tyll mydsomer, therfor

<sup>a</sup> Strype speaking of this sermon of Grindal's (L. of Grindal, p. 24.) says, it was on *Wednesday*, May 15; which is probably a mistake. See also his *Annals*, i. 133.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Nicholas Bacon.

powls & certen other churchys kepe their popysfh feruys styll but the most part in y<sup>e</sup> cytye are reformed. ther shall be shortly a vfytacyon thorowt y<sup>e</sup> whole reame. Sir antony coke, m<sup>r</sup> gudryck <sup>c</sup>, d. may. d. cox, d. haddon m<sup>r</sup> wrath <sup>d</sup>, w<sup>th</sup> my lord of bedford, lord munge <sup>e</sup> and one d. weston <sup>f</sup> y<sup>t</sup> was m<sup>r</sup> couerdalys<sup>g</sup> chanceler (who is now deane of the arches)

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps Richard Gooderike, Esquire, one of the Commissioners of Edw. VI. for compiling the Reformatio Legum. See the King's letter prefixed to the work.

<sup>d</sup> "If you will not speake, then I besech yow, let these my letters speake vnto m. Gates, to m. *Wrotbe*, to m. Cicill, whom all I doe take for men that doe feare God." Ridley to Cheke, Jul. 23, 1551. Letters of Martyrs, p. 684. Sir Thomas Wrothe, one of the Gentlemen of the King's privy Chamber, has an allowance of cloth at the funeral of Edw. VI. Archæol. vol. xii. p. 378. and so has "Doctor Coxe, amner," (almoner) ib. 368. Sir Thomas Wroth was appointed, with Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Thomas Gresham &c. to assist the Lord Mayor in the government of the city of London in 1572, during the Queen's progress. Ward's L. of Gresham, p. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Lord Mountjoy, the name being familiarly softened (by the letter writer, and probably by others) nearly as *St. John* is into *Singin*. "The lorde Mounte Joye" is one of "Fower yonge Lordes" of the Chamber to Edw. VI. Archæol. ut supra, xii. p. 375.

<sup>f</sup> Robert Weston, LL.D. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 85. Official of the Court of Canterbury in Convocation, 1562. Synod. Angl. p. 193. One of the Lords Justices in Ireland, and Chancellor of that kingdom. Strype's Ann. i. 330.

<sup>g</sup> Of "father Coverdale," as he was commonly called (formerly bishop of Exeter) or, in his own humble phrase, "Old Miles," many interesting notices occur in the accounts of the times. He had the plague in 1563, but recovered; on which occasion, Grin-

shall be vyfytors and also y<sup>e</sup> quens commyffyoners for all ecclesiastycall matters w<sup>th</sup> certen other ad-joynded vnto them that thei shall be in all. xiiii. on trynyte sonday dyd m<sup>r</sup> horn<sup>h</sup> preach at y<sup>e</sup> crofs & made an excellent fermon agaynst Antychryfts vycar. on tuyfday affter came in y<sup>e</sup> french embaffytors<sup>i</sup> & wer receyued very honorably at y<sup>e</sup> cowrt at west-myfter on wedynesday & there feasted. on thursday in steade of receyuyng y<sup>e</sup> sacrament in y<sup>e</sup> chapell at y<sup>e</sup> cowrt y<sup>e</sup> quene came down from hir closet & receyued a corporall oth to y<sup>e</sup> french kyngs embaffytor for y<sup>e</sup> confirmacyon of y<sup>e</sup> peace, but she receyved not y<sup>e</sup> sacrament. all y<sup>e</sup> embaffytors were present at y<sup>e</sup> Inglysh seruyce in y<sup>e</sup> chapell, & affter y<sup>e</sup> seruyce feasted of y<sup>e</sup> quene very honorably & w<sup>th</sup> such

dal, bishop of London, said, "Surely it is not well that he, *qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo*, should be now in his age without stay of living. I cannot herein excuse us bishops; somewhat I have to say for myself; for I have offered him divers things, which he thought not meet for him." 20. Dec. 1563. Burghley MS. vi. N<sup>o</sup>. 85. He soon after gave him the living of St. Magnus, London Bridge. He died, aged 81, May 20, 1565, as Strype says (for others assign a different date) Annals, i. 405. where see his epitaph. The excellent, though not always perfectly accurate, version of the Psalms in the book of Common Prayer, is from Coverdale's Bible.

<sup>h</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Winchester. There is a head of him in Gent. Mag. 1791. p. 611.

<sup>i</sup> See Strype's Ann. i. 191. "After a splendid dinner, they were entertained with the baiting of bears and bulls with English dogs. The Queen's Grace herself and the ambassadors stood in the gallery looking on the pastime."

solemnyte almost as neuer hath bene sene y<sup>e</sup> lyke. y<sup>e</sup> same day departed hens home agayne, cownty ferys<sup>k</sup>, kyng phylyps embaffytor w<sup>th</sup> his company. on wednyfday last came home m<sup>r</sup> spryngam<sup>l</sup> & his wyffe w<sup>th</sup> his company. y<sup>is</sup> day dyd preach at y<sup>e</sup> crofs m<sup>r</sup> barloo<sup>m</sup>, who is named to be byshop of chychefer. & m<sup>r</sup> scory to be byshop of herford, m<sup>r</sup> parkar of canterbery, m<sup>r</sup> cox of norwych & m<sup>r</sup> byll<sup>n</sup> or m<sup>r</sup> whytheade<sup>o</sup> of salfsbury. but there is none as yet certenly appoynted, but I thynck as soon as the embaffytors be gone, things shall be spedily sett furth.

<sup>k</sup> Comes Feriæ. Camden's Annals, ed. 1615. p. 20. 57. See County, third sense, in Johnson. "If I were able to have bene County of Mansfield." Thomas Count Arundel (afterwards Lord Arundel) about 5 Aug. 1596. Peck, Defid. Cur. Lib. vii. N<sup>o</sup>. xix. 10. 25. So *Vicary* for *Vicar*, in a composition about tithes, A. D. 1444. Newcourt, ii. 624. and in Sir H. Colet's will, 1506. Knight's Colet, p. 462. and in Chaucer :

"Sir preeft (quod he) art thou a *Vicary*,

Or art thou a person? say soth by thy fay." Parson's Tale.

<sup>l</sup> See Burnet's Reform. ii. Collect. p. 264.

<sup>m</sup> William Barlow, bishop of St. David's, 1536. translated to Wells, 1549. made bishop of Chichester in 1559. He is said to have translated the Apocrypha as far as the book of Wisdom. Ath. Oxon. i. 157. He had five daughters, all married to bishops. Strype's Parker, p. 475.

<sup>n</sup> William Bill, Dean of Westminster, is mentioned occasionally in these memoirs of Nowell. See more of him in Willis's Cath. ii. p. 220. Strype's L. of Cheke, p. 10.

<sup>o</sup> David Whitehead, "a great light of learning, and a most heavenly professor of divinity," as Wood says (Ath. Oxon. i. 172.) but whether of Brazen Nose, or All Souls, he finds not. See Granger, i. 214.

m<sup>r</sup> elmar hath fett furth a booke called y<sup>e</sup> harbrough<sup>p</sup>, agaynst m<sup>r</sup> knooks first blast, he is w<sup>th</sup> my lord John graye. of any maryage towards<sup>q</sup> there is no talkyng at all. thes be all y<sup>e</sup> news y<sup>t</sup> I haue at y<sup>is</sup> tyme to wryte yow fauyng y<sup>t</sup> I was at my newe benyfyce in kent, wherof I. wrote yow in my last letters, y<sup>is</sup> last weke, by the same token y<sup>t</sup> I was robbed at gaddys hyll of my gown and my capp, take hede yow come not there. y<sup>us</sup> defyryng yow to make my hartly commendacyons to yo<sup>r</sup> wyffe, to m<sup>r</sup> d. mownt<sup>r</sup> & his wyffe to d. andernake<sup>s</sup> & his wyffe

<sup>p</sup> Aylmer's "Harborough for faithful and true Subjects," against "Mr. Knooks" (John Knox's) First Blast, was printed at Strasburgh, and came out in April, 1559. Strype's Ann. i. 122. L. of Aylmer, p. 16. 224. See Granger, i. 207.

<sup>q</sup> It was first, "Of Phylyps maryage there is." Then the writer dashed his pen through "Phylyps," and interlined "any" and "towards."

<sup>r</sup> Christopher Mount was a German by birth, much employed by H. VIII. in messages to the German princes and states. Strype's Memor. i. 329. Annals, ii. 97. Burnet's Reform. iii. 199. Collect. p. 195. Ascham was acquainted with him, and frequently corresponded with him. See his Epp. p. 35. 385. 399. 418. Joan. Caius de Libris propriis, p. 159. speaks of him as "excellens vir, dominus Christoferus Mounte, juris utriusque Doctor, et serenissimis Angliæ principibus apud Argentoratenses jam diu orator singularis."

<sup>s</sup> Johannes Guinterius, called Andernake from a town on the Rhine, where he was born (as we learn from Melchior Adamus, in his Vitæ Germanorum Medicorum, 1620, p. 223—227.) was Physician to Francis I. He is celebrated for his virtues and his learning, and as "Mæcenas eruditorum." He had three wives (their names not mentioned;) the second died at Strasburg, where Dr. Andernake read lectures on Aristotle and Demosthenes. His

fraw Katryn <sup>t</sup> and other our frynds, I commytt  
yow to y<sup>e</sup> tucyon of god.

yo<sup>r</sup> own allwayes as yow know.

I long now to heare from yow, and what ty-  
dyngs from balborn. yo<sup>r</sup> first letter y<sup>t</sup> yow wrote  
me I haue not yet receyued. yet one thing more  
certen byfshops as y<sup>e</sup> byff. of york. of london, of  
lychfeld, of carlhyll doo put away their men,  
becaus as men thynck thei wyll gyve ouer their  
byfshoprycks I pray god there come no worfe  
tydyngs to Ingland. y<sup>e</sup> most part of y<sup>e</sup> monks  
of westmyster haue changed their cootes allredy.

To his louyng frynd Mr. Abell now being  
at strafsburgh, deliuer this

At Strafsburgh

R the 19 June 1559

This letter, so full of news, at a moment so  
interesting, is sealed with a wafer, the device or  
impreffion now effaced, except that the letters

third wife survived him. He died 4 Oct. 1574. æt. 87. Several  
of his works (De Medicina Vet. et Nova &c.) are in the Bodleian  
Library. See also Magiri Eponymolog. Crit. ed. per Eybenium,  
p. 413.

<sup>t</sup> *Frow* or *Vrow*, I am informed, is *Wife*, in Dutch, or, as  
Bailey and others say, *Woman*, but often used, as the corresponding  
term in Greek is, for *Wife*. And such, I presume, is the sense of  
it here, Dr. Andernake probably being accustomed (as his friend  
the Letter-writer knew) to call his wife familiarly, "Frow Ka-  
tryn."

“E. A.” are discoverable in one part, and I think “N.” on the opposite margin; if these, initials perhaps, may lead to any conjecture respecting the writer. Of Mr. John Abel, to whom it is addressed, in addition to what has been said, p. 40. many references might be given. See in particular, Burnet’s Reform. iii. 351. 360. Collect. p. 295. Strype’s Parker, App. 106. Memor. iii. 142. 147. Ascham’s Epp. p. 391. Bullinger sent his Commentary on Daniel to bishop Sandys (to whom he dedicated it) by Abel, which Sandys acknowledged in a handsome letter, and sent him a token by Abel. Strype’s Ann. i. 523. App. p. 80. where also, p. 81. Jewell mentions him in a letter to Bullinger.



NUM. IV. See p. 77.

*Letter of Nowell to Archbishop Parker, Oct. 4, 1562, concerning John Sanderfon of Trinity College, Cambridge. From MS. Parker cvi. 221. p. 534. in Bennet College, Cambridge.*

After my humble commendations to yo<sup>r</sup> graces are to certifie the same, that, wheras one John Sanderfon late felowe of Trinitie College in Cambrige, doothe troble and molest Mr. Beaumont, Mr. of the saide house and the holle college, pleadinge, that he was uniuertie expelled by them: and, the cause beinge called before the



highe c[ommission]ers<sup>u</sup>, laboreth by all frendshipp that he can make, to have it remitted to C[ambrige] ageine, wher he is affured of frendshipp be his cause right or wrong: in c[ase your] grace and other the highe commiffioners lett the matter flyppe out of yo<sup>r</sup> h[ands] ther is noo further hoope of bridelinge the obstinacie of the papists th[ere] further whereas there be towē of the felowes of the said house now he[reabout], iff it doo soo seme good to yo<sup>r</sup> grace, I and certen other think it expedi[ent], that thei were called before the highe commiffioners by a letter as speciallie sent for that purpose, and examined what thei can say in that matter: and soo further to procede too the determininge of the saide controuersie, as æquitie shall require rather than by subtiltie of law, and descantinge vpon termes and wordes for it is not onlie in hande whether John Sanderfon shalbe felow of Trinitie College, or noo felow: but whether ther shalbe enie reuerence towards the superiors, enie obedience, enie redresse or reformation in religion in that hoole Vniversitie or noo: whether the truthe shall obtaine, or papistrie triumphe. Wherfor I beseeche yo<sup>r</sup> grace to tender this cause, not as the controuersie of towē or thre persons, or the case of one College onlie, or of this present tyme, but as the common cause of vs all, and a

<sup>u</sup> The MS. being in some places a little mutilated, the words or parts of words, included within brackets, have been supplied by conjecture.

matter of example not onlie for that vniuerfitie,  
but all other lyke places, and tymes herafter alsoo  
thus beinge bolde to declare my mynde to yo<sup>r</sup>  
grace concerninge this matter I commend yo<sup>r</sup> grace  
to allmightie god who euer preserue the fame.  
from London 4. Octobris. 1562.

Yo<sup>r</sup> graces to commande

Alexander Nowell.

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NUM. V. See p. 103.

*Sonnet addressed to Nowell, from "Eglogs Epytaphes and Sonettes. Newly written by Barnabe Googe : 1563." in black letter. Signat. E. 5. b. in the Library of Richard Heber, Esquire.*

To Mayster Alexander Nowell.

The Muses ioye<sup>x</sup>, and well they may to fe,  
So well they laboure com to good successe,  
That they sustayned long agoe in the,  
Minerua smyles, Phebus can do no lesse,  
But over all, they chyefly do reioyfe,  
That leauyng thyngs, which are but fond and vayne,  
Thou dyddest chuse, (O good and happye choyse)  
In sacred Scoles, thy lucky yeares to trayne,

<sup>x</sup> The lines are divided, each of them, after the second foot, or fourth syllable, even if it happens in the middle of a word; a peculiarity, for the convenience perhaps of the printer on a small page, which it did not seem necessary to retain.

By whiche thou hast obtayned (O happy thyng)  
 To learne to lyue, whyle other wander wyde,  
 And by thy lyfe, to please the immortall kyng,  
 Then whiche so good, nothyng can be applyed,  
 Lawe gyues the gayne, and Physycke fyls the Purse,  
 Promotions hye, gyues Artes to many one,  
 But this is it, by whiche we scape the Curse,  
 And haue the blys of God, when we be gone.  
 Is this but onely Scriptures for to reade?  
 No, no. Not talke, but lyfe gyues this in deade.

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NUM. VI. See p. 155.

*Inscription on the episcopal Palace at Ely.*

On a stone tablet, in the east side of a spacious bow, in a long gallery, built by bishop Goodrich, on the north side of the palace at Ely, in large capital letters, a full point, as here, after each word:

“OVR · DVTIE · TOWARDES · GOD · IS · TO · BELEVE · IN ·  
 GOD · TO · FEAR · GOD · AND · TO · LOVE · GOD · WITH · ALL ·  
 OVR · HERT · WITH · ALL · OVR · SOVL · WITH · ALL · OVR ·  
 MYND · & · WITH · ALL · OVR · POUER · TO · WORSHIPPE ·  
 GOD · TO · GYVE · HYM · THANKES · TO · PUT · OVR · WHOL ·  
 TRUST · IN · GOD · TO · CALL · VPON · HYM · TO · HONOVR ·  
 HIS · HOLY · NAM · AND · HIS · WORDE · & · TO · SERUE ·  
 GOD · TRVLY · ALL · THE · DAYES · OF · OVR · LYFE.”

On a tablet in the west side of the same window:

“THE · DVTIE · TOWARDES · OVR · NEIGHBOVR · IS ·

TO · LOVE · HYM · AS · MYSELF · AND · TO · DO · TO · ALL ·  
 MEN · AS · I · WOLDE · THEY · SHVHDE<sup>a</sup> · DO · TO · ME · TO ·  
 HONOVR · & · OBEY · THE · KYNGE · AND · HIS · MINIS-  
 TERS · TO · SVBMIT · OVR · SELFE · TO · ALL · OVR · GO-  
 VERNOVRES · SPIRITVALL · & · TEMPORALL · TO · ORDER ·  
 OVR · SELFE · LOWELY · TO · ALL · SVPERIORS · TO · HVRT ·  
 NO · BODY · BY · WORDE · NOR · DEDE · TO · BE · JVSTE ·  
 IN · ALL · OVR · DEALYNG · TO · BEAR · NO · MALYCE ·  
 IN · OVR · HERT · TO · KEP · OVR · HANDES · FROM · STE-  
 LYNG · & · OVR · TONG · FROM · EVYLL · SPEAKYNGE ·  
 TO · KEPE · OVR · BODEYS · IN · TEMPERANCE · NOR · TO ·  
 COVET · OTHER · MENS · GOODES · BVT · LABOVRE · TRVE-  
 LY · FOR · OVR · LYVYNGE · IN · STATE · OF · LYFE ·  
 WHICHE · PLEAS · GOD · TO · CAL · VS · ON · TO."

The lower part of the front of the window is divided into three compartments or tablets; on the middle one are the King's arms, with E. R. over them: on that to the East the arms of the see, with these inscriptions; at the top, "Honour & Glory to God;" on the east side, "In the Lord put I my trust;" on the west, "The Lord be my helper." On the other compartment are the Bishop's arms, with "T. G." and a crozier; over these, "Anno Domini M.VC.LII." On the east side, "Si Deus nobiscum," on the other, "Quis contra nos;" and below, "Anno sexto Edvardi VI."

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

## NUM. VII. See p. 164.

*Some passages of Poinet's Catechism (commonly called Edward VIth's.) and Nowell's compared.*

In the general division of his subject, Poinet thus accounts for the use of the word *Symbolum*, as applied to the Creed, or summary of Christian faith :

“ M. Fidei compendium cur *Symbolum nominarunt* ?

A. *Symbolum, si interpreteris, est signum, nota, tessera, aut indicium, quo commilitones ab hostibus dignoscuntur: unde compendium fidei, quo Christiani a non Christianis distinguuntur, Symboli nomen sortitum est.*” Signature a. v. 4.

Nowell has copied this *verbatim*, but in another part, speaking of the Creed, with the change only of *nominatur*, for *nominarunt*; and for “*sortitum est*,” the neater phrase of “*sibi recte ascivit.*” p. 46. ed. Oxon. 1795.

Poinet thus defines the visible church of Christ :

“ Ea ecclesia non est aliud, quam certa quædam multitudo hominum, qui in quocunque loco sint, puram et sinceram profitentur doctrinam Christi, idque ea forma, quæ ab Evangelistis et Apostolis in *testamento sancto* Christi fideliter *prodata est*: qui que in omnibus gubernantur et regun-

tur legibus et statutis sui regis et pontificis Christi, in vinculo charitatis, et præterea utuntur ejus mysteriis, quæ *communi* vocabulo Sacramenta appellantur, eadem puritate et simplicitate (quod ad ipsorum naturam et *substantiam* attinet) qua usi sunt et nobis in scriptis reliquerunt Apostoli Christi." Signat. d. v. 7.

The definition of "Visible ecclesia" Nowell adopts precisely, as far as "doctrinam Christi;" and then proceeds, "Illam ipsam videlicet, quam Evangelistæ atque Apostoli *sacrarum literarum sempiternis monumentis fideliter memoriæ prodiderunt*: quique Deum Patrem Christi nomine vere invocant: utuntur præterea ejus mysteriis, quæ *usitato nobis* vocabulo Sacramenta appellantur, eadem puritate et simplicitate (quod ad ipsorum naturam attinet) qua usi sunt, et literis consignarunt Apostoli Christi." p. 102.

In this passage, if the theological student, remembering that "in the visible church the evil are ever mingled with the good," commends Nowell for what he has prudently omitted, as scarcely consistent with that melancholy truth, the classical scholar will, at the same time, be pleased with the evident and uniform improvement in the language.

But as matters of doctrine and scholastic definitions must necessarily be, in great measure, the same in those who hold and teach the same doctrine, I will adduce an instance or two, where the agreement or parallelism, being observable in the

argument or illustration, will be regarded perhaps as a still more decisive proof, that one borrowed from the other.

“ Res quæ incorporeæ sunt, *corporis organo non possunt apprehendi.* Quis unquam suam ipsius animam viderit? nullus. At quid nobis præsentius? quid cuiquam propinquius anima sua? Quæ spiritualia sunt, non videntur nisi oculo spiritus. *Christi* igitur *divinitatem* qui in terris videre vult, aperiat oculos non corporis, sed animi, sed fidei, et videbit præsentem quem oculus *non vidit.*” Poinet, signat. c. v.

“ Nam res quæ incorporeæ sunt, *sub sensum cadere non possunt.* Quis unquam suam ipsius animam viderit? Nullus. At quid nobis *adest* præsentius, quid propinquius, conjunctiusve, quam anima cuique sua? Quæ spiritualia sunt, non videntur nisi oculo spiritus. *Christum* igitur qui in terris videre vult, aperiat oculos non corporis, sed animi et fidei, et videbit præsentem, quem oculus *non videt.*” Nowell, p. 85.

“ Cum autem fit rex non alicujus regionis unius, verum etiam et cœli et terræ, vivorum pariter et mortuorum, *consultissimum fuit,* ut clam sensibus nostris regnum suum administraret. Si enim *oculorum sensibus subiceretur,* oportuit eum nunc *in cœlum erigi,* nunc in terram deprimi; nunc in hanc regionem, nunc in aliam migrare, atque ita ut princeps quispiam terrenus, huc atque illuc negotiorum varietate traheretur. Non enim poterat omnibus una *adesse præsens,* nisi corpus illius sic abiret in divini-

tatem, ut ubique aut in quamplurimis locis simul esset, quod Eutyches et consimiles ejus hæretici, *senferunt*. Si vero in eodem momento temporis ubique omnibus præsens adesset, jam *non esset* homo, sed spectrum, neque corpus *habuisset* verum, sed imaginarium: ex qua re mille continuo nascerentur errores, quos omnes corpore integro in cælum *evecto sustulit*. Regnum interim et rempublicam suam, id est Ecclesiam, cum summa sapientia et virtute administrat, ipse inconspicuus. Hominum est humana quadam ratione respublicas suas moderari, Christi autem *et Dei*, divina." Poinet, signat. c, v. 7.

“ Cum non unius alicujus regionis terræ, sed omnium terrarum orbis pariter atque cœli princeps sit, vivorum pariter atque mortuorum Dominus; *par erat*, ut clam sensibus nostris regnum suum administraret. Nam si sub aspectum veniret, locum atque sedem mutare, huc et illuc identidem trahi, et nunc in hanc regionem, nunc in aliam migrare eum opus esset, ut suscepta negotia transfigeret. Si enim eodem momento temporis ubique omnibus præsens adesset, jam non homo, sed spectrum potius esse, neque corpus *habuisse* verum, sed imaginarium *videretur*: aut certe quod Eutyches *cessuit*, corpus ejus abiisse in Divinitatem, aut ubique esse putaretur. Unde mille continuo nascerentur opiniones falsæ quas omnes, corpore integro in cælum *sublato, depulit*, animosque hominum maximis erroribus liberavit. Mundum interim, tametsi nobis non conspicuus, summa virtute et sapientia admirabiliter regit



atque administrat. Hominum est humana quadam ratione respublicas suas gubernare et moderari; Christi autem, id est, Filii Dei, divina." Nowell, p. 86.

The dignity and propriety, as well of the omissions as alterations in these passages, will at once strike the judicious reader: and in this way, following the example of Cicero in a like case, when he borrowed from preceding philosophers as much "as he thought good, and in the manner which he judged best," he has availed himself of almost all that was excellent in Poinet's Catechism; and passing over, besides various other parts, what was said of the millennium<sup>y</sup>, as matter of doubt, or not suitable to an elementary treatise, he has, by his masterly arrangement, application, and improvement of what was once another's, made it his own; and intitled himself to the praise of the architect, who, in constructing a fair and commodious edifice, disdains not to use old as well as new materials.

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NUM. VIII. See p. 182.

"Preces et Catechismus in usum antiquæ et celebris Scholæ juxta D. Pauli Templum apud Londinates." With "Imprimatur. Jo. Battely. Jun. 11. 1687."

The "Contents," on the back of the title page

<sup>y</sup> See the passages in Mede, p. 813. 815. ed. 1672.

are these: "The Prayers in Latine" (for St. Paul's School.) "The Lord's Prayer. The Apostles Creed. The Nicene Creed. The Athanasian Creed. The second Athanasian Creed. The Constantinopolitan Creed. The Commandments. The Salutation. The Magnificat. The Benedictus. Canticum Simeonis. Canticum trium puerorum, Two Hymns, Gratiarum actiones." (The above, except the prayers, all in Greek.) "The names of the Books in the Bible and Apocrypha, Latin, Greek, English. The Hebrew and Greek Alphabet. Catechismus parvus." (Nowell's smallest.) "Church Catechism, English." (The title of this last is, "The A B C: with the Catechism, that is to say an Instruction" &c. as in the book of Common Prayer.) On the back of the title of this part is a wood cut of a Schoolmaster teaching boys and girls, as old as the days of Elizabeth. Facing this are three alphabets, black letter, Roman, and Italic. And of the church Catechism, as here printed, it must be noted, that it is not, "*Question*. What is your name? *Answer*" &c. but,

"*Master*. What is your name?

*Scholar*. N. or M." as in all Nowell's Catechisms. And every Commandment is followed by, "Lord have mercy" &c. as in Nowell's smallest by, "Miserere nostri" &c. John Day had a licence, 25 March, 7 Edw. VI. (1553) to print "A Catechisme in English with the brief of an A B C therunto annexed," and all works of Poinet bishop of Winchester and Thomas Beacon. Reg. of bishop Goodrich, then Lord Chancellor, Cotton Libr. Julius, B. ix. And

33 Eliz. Feb. 26. (1590-1) Verney Alley had a reversionary patent, commencing from the death of John Day and Richard Day his son, to print "The A B C with the Little Catechisme, and the Catechisme in Englishe and Latine, compiled by Alexander Nowell, with all other bookes in Englishe or Latine," made or to be made by "the said Alexander Nowell." Recognized in a patent granted to the company of Stationers, 1603. Malcolm's Londin. Rediviv. 1807: vol. iv. 388. "The Little Catechism," thus coupled with "The A B C," is no doubt the Church Catechism, as in the small volume here quoted; of which it must further be noted, that to the Church Catechism are subjoined eight Graces before and after meat; and then,

"The little Catechism learned  
by heart (for so it ought)

The Primer next commanded is  
for children to be taught."

Which lines are also subjoined to the English copy of Nowell's smallest Catechism, 1582; in the possession of R. Heber, Esquire. As to the letters "N or M," in this and the Church Catechism, I have in vain conjectured whether any latent meaning was intended by them (as the initials of Nowell and Mullins &c.) In the Latin of the Church Catechism (supposed to be Haddon's) printed with Whitaker's Greek version of the Prayers of the Church of England, 1569, the letters are "N vel N." In the form of Matrimony it is "M" where the man is meant, and "N" for the woman.

NUM. IX. See p. 182—184.

*Extracts from Nowell's smallest Catechism.*

Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus ac Dominis, Matthæo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Edmundo Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Edwino Episcopo Londinensi, aliisque reverendis Patribus, Episcopis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ vigilantissimis, fidelissimisque Pastoribus.

Quum pietas fundamentum sit virtutum omnium, par est, ut teneri puerorum animi piis statim opinionibus imbuantur. Ad hunc igitur pietatis usum, Catechismum illum parvum de sermone vulgari nostra in Latinum, quantum efficere et consequi potui, quantumque per religionem licebat, pure atque emendate converti: ut habeant pueri nostri, statim atque scholam sunt ingressi, ipsorum ætati atque ingenio accommodum libellum pium et parvum, quem Latine ad verbum ediscant: quem quum ante quoque cognitum habuerint, eundem illum verbis novum audire, sententia veterem recognoscere, ut parum difficile, ita magnopere ipsis jucundum erit. Quod si quis plerisque in locis prolixè magis responsum esse existimabit, quam sit commodum ad captum memoriolamque puerilem, is sciat, religioni me habuisse, de Catechismo autoritate publica approbato, quicquam movere, aut immutare. Hic Libellus, si infimis Scholarum classibus atque ordinibus (interposita autoritate vestra) ediscendus proponatur, initium inde su-

mere nostris, et aliquem gradum aditumque ad majora assequi possunt atque obtinere.

Vestri studiosissimus,

observantissimusque,

A. N.

M. Volo te, mi fili, de certis adhuc quorundam officiis fusius paulo dicere: itaque primum, quæ in colendis obedientiæ officiis sita sunt explicare: cujus virtutis munera ad ætatis conditionisque tuæ rationem maxime pertinent. Age ergo, dic mihi primum, quod sit subditorum erga suum principem officium.

A. Sancti Apostoli, divus Paulus et Petrus docent, Potestates omnes superiores a Deo creatas et constitutas esse<sup>z</sup>; et eos, qui potestati resistunt, contra divinum decretum repugnare, ipsosque sibi damnationem accersere: subditos proinde omnes etiam atque etiam monent, ut Principem suum metuant, diligant, colant, ejus legibus, edictis, præceptis, legumque et regni ministris modeste pareant: idque non propter metum solum, sed rectæ etiam voluntatis conscientiam: ut vectigalia omnia, tributaque debita conferant: nec opibus solum omnibus, sed et corporibus etiam suis Principi fideliter inserviant. Deum item precibus omnibus orare debent, ut Principem tueri, et in omnibonitate, pietateque non conservare modo, sed cumulatius etiam augere, aut mores ejus, si forte malus fuerit, emendare velit: omnibus denique bonorum

<sup>z</sup> Rom. xiii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

fubditorum officiis promereri, ut Principe facili bonoque in fe utantur.

M. Nunc de liberorum erga parentes officiis narra.

A. Sacra Scriptura liberos jubet parentibus obtemperare, atque infervire<sup>a</sup>: parentes timere, chariffimos eos habere, eos colere et revereri: eaque non verbis folum, actifque, fed vere etiam atque ex animo præftare, parentum præceptis parere, et vitæ eorum exempla imitari: a parentibus fi quando caftigentur, patienter ferre: Deum Optimum Maximum, ut parentes falvos atque confervatos velit, affidue fuppliciterque precari: parentes, fi forte in egeftatem, aut afflictam fortunam inciderint, facultatibus fuis fublevare atque alere: parendo, cunctifque piorum liberorum officiis præftandis nullam partem fe amoris erga<sup>b</sup> bonitatisque promerendæ occafionem amittere.

M. Jam abs te audire velim, quid de fpiritualium liberorum, Paræcorum videlicet, vel curialium, auditorumque officiis erga pastores fuos, et concionatores, ut fpirituales parentes, didiceris.

A. Paræcis auditoribusque in verbo Dei præcipitur, ut pastoribus fuis et concionatoribus duplicem

<sup>a</sup> Ephes. vi. Col. iii. Prov. i. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Having feen only one copy of this Catechifm and that incorreftly printed, I have correfted two or three typographical errors; but here, where probably fomething is omitted as well as fomething wrong, I have been obliged to leave it as I found it. The Scriptural references alfo (which are given in this part only, and upon the inftitution of the Lord's Supper) being full of miftakes, I have correfted feveral; but one or two, which were palpably, and, to me, incorrigibly wrong, I have ventured to omit.

honorem tribuant<sup>c</sup>: id est, ut eos non revereantur solum illisque obtemperent, verum etiam ut tum verbis, tum subsidiis suis illos sublevent atque sustentent. Imprimis vero cavere debent ne bonum divini verbi semen per illos seminum, incuria desidiaque sua ut in faxetum, ut solum sterile sparsum perire patiantur<sup>d</sup>.

M. Servorum nunc quæ sint officia declarato.

A. Servorum adversus dominos officia in sacris literis sic describuntur<sup>e</sup>. Servi, dominis vestris terrestribus in omnibus obedite, cum timore atque tremore, simpliciterque et ex animo, ut Christo ipsi obsequentes: non simulata sedulitate oculis fervientes, ut qui hominum benevolentiam captant; sed ut servi Christi; quicquid vero feceritis, animo id æquò libentique facite, ut Dei potius quam hominum voluntati obtemperantes: certi a Deo vos esse hæreditatis præmio donandos, dominò enim Christo servitis.

M. Tametsi (charissime fili) tibi per ætatem, parendi potius, quam imperandi præceptis adhuc sit opus, tamen quum ad honestam honoratamque senectutem (Dei munere) vivere possis, sicuti et victurum te spero, ignarum nollem, quemadmodum in eo vitæ statu in quo divino beneficio fueris collocatus, te gerere conveniat. Quamobrem explicare te volo, quid ex altera parte, de parentum, dominorum, aut patrum familias, itemque de conjugum, officiis didiceris. Dic ergo primum de parentum in liberos officiis.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Tim. v. 17.

<sup>d</sup> Matth. xiii. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Col. iii. Eph. vi.

A. Parentum<sup>f</sup> erga liberos officium, sicuti idem Apostolus S. Paulus docet, est, ut eos ab ipsis statim incunabulis, ad timorem et disciplinam Domini, ad verecundiam item, vitiorum odium, et amorem virtutis instituant, utque ipsi sese liberis suis omnis pietatis atque sanctitatis exemplaria præbeant. Ab otio vero et desidia, ut malorum omnium matre, liberos suos arcere debent; curareque ut aut liberalibus disciplinis, aut aliqua bonæ artis scientia erudiantur: ut cum adoleverint, ad vicium necessaria honeste justeque possint acquirere.

M. Perge nunc ad Dominorum et Patrumfamilias officia.

A. A Dominis et Patribusfamilias, qui in locum parentum famulis et familiis suis pervenerunt, cavendum esse didici, ne famuli languori sese desidiæque dedant: curandumque tum institutione diligenti, tum imprimis imitatione sui, ut mores eorum ad honestatem, decorum, et virtutem formentur. Cum quibus vero pacti sunt artibus eos, quas ipsi profitentur, erudire, non secus atque liberos suos, parentes consueverunt, sine ulla fraude, dilatione, aut ludificatione perdoceant. Quod si quando animadversio opus fuerit, tam moderate, tam clementer, tantoque emendandi studio, ut naturales parentes charos liberos solent, castigatione afficiant: hujus semper memores, esse et sibi quoque in cælo Dominum<sup>g</sup>.

M. Maritorum jam officia erga uxores recense.

A. D. Petrus Apostolus, qui et ipse maritus fuit,

<sup>f</sup> Eph. vi. Col. iii.

<sup>g</sup> Eph. vi. 9. Col. iv. 1.



et D. item Paulus maritos, sicuti ego accepi, instituit, ut prudenter cum uxoribus, scienterque et absque omni omnino acerbitate versentur<sup>h</sup>: ut uxores non secus ac sua ipsorum corpora diligant, tueantur, et foveant: imo maritos suas conjuges amare debere, perinde atque Christus ecclesiam dilexit, qui semetipsum illi impendit, ut eam sanctam efficeret.

M. Perge porro explicare quo modo uxores vicissim sese gerere debeant.

A. Eisdem illos sanctos Apostolos<sup>i</sup> uxores docere et commonefacere intellexi, ut maritos suos reverentur, illisque haud secus quam Domino ipsi pareant et obtemperent, essetque maritus uxoris suae caput, ut et Christus est ecclesiae caput: proinde, quemadmodum ecclesia five congregatio Christo est subiecta, sic et uxores viris propriis in omnibus rebus, ita ut convenit, in Domino obsequentes esse oportet: sicuti et Sara obedivit Abrahæ, eumque dominum appellavit. In sacris vero literis uxores vestitu se magnifico sumptuosoque exornare, vel intortos aut auro redimitos habere crines prohibentur<sup>k</sup>: sed ut ad exemplum sanctarum illarum matronarum, quæ in Deo spem collocarunt, externum quidem amictum mediocrem simplicemque induant, interno vero illo virtutum cultu animos excolant; lenitate videlicet, mansuetudine, tranquillitate, castitate, quæ res sunt in oculis Dei pretiosissimæ.

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<sup>h</sup> 1 Pet. iii. 7. Eph. v. 25. Col. iii. 19.

<sup>i</sup> Eph. v. 24. Col. iii. 18. 1 Pet. iii. 1.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Pet. iii. 3.

M. Quot in Ecclesia sua Sacramenta instituit Dominus?

A. Duo: Baptismum et Cœnam Domini.

M. Quid est Sacramentum?

A. Est externum et aspectabile signum, internam arcanamque spiritualem gratiam repræsentans, ab ipso Christo institutum, ad testificandum divinam erga nos per eundem Christum Servatorem, benevolentiam atque beneficentiam: qua Dei promissiones de remissione peccatorum et æterna salute per Christum data, quasi consignantur, et earum veritas in cordibus nostris certius confirmatur.

M. Sacramentum quot partibus constat?

A. Duabus: signo externo atque spectabili: et interna invisibilique gratia.

M. Quod est in Baptismo signum externum?

A. Aqua in quam baptizatus intingitur, vel ea aspergitur, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti.

M. Quæ est arcana et spiritualis gratia?

A. Remissio peccatorum et regeneratio, quæ utraque habeamus a morte et resurrectione Christi, eorum vero obfignationem atque pignus habeamus in hoc Sacramento.

M. Baptismi vim adhuc apertius mihi ediffere.

A. Quum natura alieni ab Ecclesia Deique familia, et per peccatum filii iræ, dignique æterna damnatione simus, per Baptismum in Ecclesiam admittimur, certiores facti filios Dei jam nos esse, et in Christi corpus insertos, ejusque membra factos in unum cum ipso corpus coalescere.

M. Quæ requiruntur ab iis, qui ad Baptismum accedunt?

A. Fides et pœnitentia.

M. Hæc planius explica.

A. Anteactæ impiæ vitæ vehementer primum pœnitere, et certam fiduciam habere debemus, nos Christi sanguine a peccatis purgatos, atque ita Deo gratos esse, Spiritumque ejus in nobis habitare. Et secundum fidem et professionem in Baptismo factam omni ope enitendum, ut carnem nostram mortificemus, et pia vita declarem nos Christum induisse, et ejus Spiritu donatos esse.

M. Qui fit tum ut infantes baptizentur, qui hæc per ætatem hæctenus præstare non possunt?

A. Quia ad Ecclesiam Dei pertinent, et Dei benedictio promissioque ecclesiæ facta per Christum, in cujus fide baptizantur, ad eos pertinent: quæ postquam adoleverint, ipsos intelligere, credere, atque cognoscere oportet, enitique ut Christiani hominis officium, quod in Baptismo polliciti sunt atque professi, moribus et vita præsent.

M. Quæ est Cœnæ Dominicæ ratio?

A. Eadem nimirum, quam Christus Dominus instituit<sup>a</sup>; qui ea qua traditus est nocte, accepit panem, [et] postquam gratias egisset, fregit, et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite, edite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur: hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Ad eundem modum et calicem accepit (peracta cœna) et gratis actis dedit eis, dicens: Bibite

<sup>a</sup> Matth. xxvi. Marc. xiv. Luc. xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

ex hoc omnes, hic enim est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro vobis et pro multis effunditur ad remissionem peccatorum; hoc facite, quotiescunque biberitis, in mei commemorationem.

Hanc formam rationemque cœnæ Dominicæ tenere donec ipse veniat, et inviolate servare, pieque atque religiose celebrare oportet.

M. In quem usum?

A. Ut mortis Domini summique beneficii illius, quo per eam affecti sumus, gratam perpetuo memoriam celebremus et retineamus; et sicuti in Baptismo renati sumus, ita cœna Dominica ad vitam spiritualem atque sempiternam jugiter alimur atque sustentemur: ideoque semel Baptismo initiari, ut semel nasci, satis est; at cœnæ Dominicæ, perinde atque alimenti, usus identidem est repetendus.

M. Quæ sunt hujus Sacramenti partes atque materia?

A. Duplici materia, vel partibus duabus hoc Sacramentum, perinde atque Baptismus, constat; quarum una terrena est, atque sub sensu cadens; altera cœlestis est, quæ sensibus externis percipi non potest.

M. Quæ est hujus Sacramenti terrena et sensibilis pars?

A. Panis et vinum, quibus utrisque ut omnes uterentur, Dominus diserte præcepit.

M. Cœlestis illa pars et remota ab omnibus externis sensibus quænam est?

A. Corpus et sanguis Christi, quæ in cœna Dominica fidelibus dantur, ab illisque accipiuntur, eduntur et bibuntur, cœlesti tantum spiritualique modo:

revera tamen, adeo quidem, ut sicuti panis corpora nutrit, ita et corpus Christi animas nostras spiritualiter per fidem alit; et sicut vino hominum corda exhilarantur, et roborantur vires; ita sanguine Christi animæ nostræ reficiuntur atque recreantur per fidem, qua ratione corpus et sanguis Christi in cœna recipiuntur. Nam Christus sibi fidentes tam certo facit corporis atque sanguinis sui participes, quam certo se panem atque vinum ore et ventriculo recepisse sciunt.

M. An ergo panis et vinum in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi mutantur?

A. Minime; illud enim esset naturam sacramenti (quod e materia cœlesti atque terrena constare oportet) extinguere.

M. An instituta fuit a Christo cœna, ut Deo patri sacrificium pro peccatorum remissione offeratur?

A. Nequaquam. Est enim peccati atque illi debitæ damnationis onus tam grave, tam immensum immanequè pondus, ut solus Dei filius Jesus Christus sacrificium, quo nos ab illis liberaret, facere posset. Quum ergo Servator noster Christus ipse in cruce se morti pro nobis obtulit, unicam illam perfectam sempiternamque hostiam Deo patri gratissimam, ac peccati expiationem semel in perpetuum immolavit, scelerum nostrorum maculas sanguine suo eluens atque deluens ad nostram æternam salutem. Nobis vero nihil reliqui fecit nisi ut fiduciam atque spem omnem firmissime in illo collocemus, sempiternique illius sacrificii usum fructumque gratis animis capiamus, quod quidem in cœna Dominica maxime faciamus.

M. Nostrium quod est officium ut recte ad cœnam Dominicam accedamus?

A. Ut nos ipsos exploremus, num vera simus Christi membra.

M. Quibus id notis deprehendemus?

A. Primum si ex animo nos pœniteat peccatorum nostrorum; deinceps si certa spe de Dei per Christum misericordia nitamur, atque nos sustineamus, cum grata redemptionis per mortem ejus acquisitæ memoria; præterea si de vitâ in futurum pie degenda feriam cogitationem et destinatum propositum suscipiamus; postremo cum conjunctionis etiam charitatisque inter homines mutuæ symbolum in cœna Dominica contineatur, si proximos, id est, mortales omnes, fraterno amore, sine ulla malevolentia odioque prosequimur.

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NUM. X. See p. 304. 308.

*Letter of Dean Nowell to Lord Burghley, concerning his own and his brother Robert's benefactions to Brasen Nose College, from MS. Burghley lxxxii. N<sup>o</sup>. 48. the whole in Nowell's hand, without signature, date, or superscription, but dated with a pencil on the back, "1596."*

I beseeche y<sup>r</sup> good Lordshipp to take this as written at y<sup>r</sup> L. commandment, and as by an executor, readie to gyve accompt vnto y<sup>r</sup> L. beyng over-

feer of my brothers wylle, ſpecially uppon ſome complaynt mayde of me vnto y<sup>r</sup> L., rather than as proceeding of vanitie in boastyng of that, which ought with ſilence to be layd upp in the lappe of the poore, and in Goddes memorie only.

My brother *Robert*, late attorney of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> courte of wardes, about vi houres before he dyed, ſaid vnto me: *Forget not Myddleton ſchole, and the college of Braſen-noſe, wher we were brought vpp in our youth: and yf yow wolde procure any thyng to continue, with my money, yow ſhall doe it beſte and moſte ſurely in the Quenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> name, whoſe poore officer I have bene.* And vppon theſe woords I was occaſioned to thinke of the fundation of *Middleton ſchole*, & of certen ſcholars to be choſen out of that ſchole into the college of *Braſen-noſe*, ther to be maynteyned with certen exhibition.

And fyrſte for three yers ſpace, before I obteyned the ſaide fundation I ſent yerely xx<sup>li</sup> to the principall & fellowes of that college to be beſtowed vppon vi poore ſcholars.

And whan by y<sup>r</sup> L. & S<sup>r</sup> *Walter Myldmays* meanes I had obteyned the fundation of the ſchole, her Maieſtie moſt gratiouſly & bounteouſly gyvyng frely that xx<sup>li</sup> yerely for ever, which I wold haue purchaſed of her Ma.<sup>tie</sup> I was therby more inflamed to goe through with that, which I fyrſte intended. wherfore to that purpoſe I purchaſed in reverſion of the L. *Cheny* the manor of *Vppebury*, with the parſonage of *Gyllyngham* in the countie of

*Kente*, which is worth one hundreth marks or more yerely : for the which I payed my L. ix<sup>cl</sup>. and x<sup>li</sup>. with a purfe of xl<sup>s</sup>. to my ladie for her consent.

And for that my L. *Cheny* hath reserved vnto hym selffe the rente, duryng hys lieffe, I prayed Mr. Auditor *Tooke*, who in confideration of a lease of *Esfyndon* in the countie of *Hertford*, was contented to pay me yerely xv<sup>li</sup> for the space of xvi years, to assure the same vnto the college of *Brafen-nose*, which I do yerely make vpp to the somme of xx<sup>li</sup> to the use of vi poore scholars in the saide college, named in the fundation Quene *Elizabeths* scholars. And I payed to Mr. *Henrie Poole* of *Dalby* in *Leicestershyre* who maide a title to the saide *Esfyndon* for hys interest cxx<sup>li</sup>.

And for that the lower chambres of the college were dampeshe and vnholosome beyng vnboorded, I caused the same throgly to be boorded, which coste above xl<sup>li</sup>.

The mortmaynes, fynes, licence of Alienation, fees, fyne & recouerie of *Uppbury* & *Gyllyngham*, wrytinge in sette hand of the fundation, & twoe exemplifications vnder the great Seale : exemplifications of my L. *Chenys* evidence vnder the great Seale, with other wrytings coste above one hundreth pounds, as I haue in particulars to showe.

I haue dealte with my L. *Cheny* to purchafe hys interest for terme of hys lieffe, that I might put the college in full possession, as well of the rent as of the lands, which yf I coulede compasse, ther shuld be



xiii scholars founde in *Brafenose* ; and the husher of the schole hys wages shuld be mayde upp x<sup>li</sup>, which is yet but vi<sup>li</sup> viii<sup>s</sup> IIII<sup>d</sup>.

I had allso buylded or now, a fayre scholehowse with lodgyngs for the schole M<sup>r</sup> and husher, favyng that yonge M<sup>r</sup> *Ashton* Lordé of *Myddleton* beyng vnder age can make noe assurance of the grounde, wheruppon to buylde the same. I wyll bestow, or leave to that vse with the college vppon bonde, yf I dye before, two hundreth marks at the lease.

And for that my saide brother not longe before hys death, delyuerynge me hys key of the cheste, wheare hys other keyes were, and hys rynge also, prayed me not to deceyve hym, but that the poore shuld haue all hys goods, hys debts, legacies, and funeralls beyng fyrste discharged : for that he maide y<sup>r</sup> good L. overseer, I think I am occasioned herby summarily to shewe how the reste of hys goods were bestowed. And I dare to aduouche to shewe y<sup>r</sup> L. in particulars, with the names of persons.”

A sentence or two of another Letter to Lord Burghley, March 18, 1594-5 (MS. lxxviii. No. 18.) may be quoted, as shewing partly the importance of the benefaction, and partly the earnestness of the good Dean in the business.

“ At some yo<sup>r</sup> leysure, my good Lord, I beseeche you, vouchsafe to reade thys <sup>b</sup>.

“ My humble duty to y<sup>r</sup> honorable Lordship remembered: Might it please the same favourably to

<sup>b</sup> This and the signature in his own hand, the letter itself not.

hear mine and my brother Roberts sometime Attorney in the Court of Wardes his humble suite in his last will and testament, by the wordes written in this schedule inclosed, who specially charged me upon his death bed to procure the foundation of Myddleton Schole in the county of Lancaster, whear we, & other o<sup>r</sup> breth<sup>r</sup>en were taught in o<sup>r</sup> child-hoode, & the said School to be annexed vnto Brasen-nose College in Ox<sup>f</sup>d where we were poor students, in the time of our youthe.”

Then follows an account of the foundation and endowment of the School, “by your Lordships & Sir Walter Mildmays commendation of my humble suit” to her Majesty, and of the dispute with Sir Edward Hoby (as mentioned, p. 308. n.) who had “holden” the estates “by coler of a Lease made by the L. Cheyney, now by the space of five years, & more—whereby the college was inforced lastly to seek their remedy by the law, and did bring an action against him—for part of the said arrearages to the value of v<sup>c</sup> li.—By means of all which long suits & delays continuing now five years & more, the said college is greatly impoverished, and her Ma<sup>ties</sup> xiii<sup>ten</sup> poore scholers are shortly to forsake the university, & her Highness free school, so lately by her graciously founded, is in danger to be dissolved; vnless it might please y<sup>r</sup> honorable L. by y<sup>r</sup> authority (which the s<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Edward doth most reverence) to bring him to some reason: unto the which if he did know that y<sup>r</sup> good L. did mislike of his such dealings, he would, we trust, be brought: whereby three

hundreth poor scholars & students shall be bounden continually to pray for y<sup>r</sup> good L. unto Almighty God, who have the fame, and all y<sup>rs</sup> always in his most blessed keeping and protection.

Martii 1594

y<sup>r</sup> honorable Lordshipps

humble at commandm<sup>t</sup>.

Alexander Nowell."

Superfcribed,

"To the right honorable, my verie good Lord, the L. highe Trefaur<sup>r</sup> of England."

In MS. Burghley lxxv. No. 14. is another Letter to L. Burghley in which he says, he had "also been bolde to wryte to his verie good Lorde, the Lorde Admirall," that their LL. would please to appoint some time for hearing and ending this controversy. And ib. No. 10. is an Order of the Queen's Commiffioners on parchment for payment of arrears, but without signatures, as the order, I presume, never took effect. Lastly, ib. No. 15. a short note to his "woorshypful lovyng frende Mr. Hicke Esquier, Secretarie" to the L. Treasurer, to learn whether Sir Edward had made any answer in writing, & intreating to have it. "23<sup>o</sup>. Aprilis 1593. I have been bolde to send yow the Image of o<sup>r</sup> late yonge kyng, the Josias of Englande, for a poore token, Y<sup>r</sup> assured in Christe

See p. 309.

Alexander Nowell.

NUM. XI. See p. 309. 327. note.

*Letter of Dean Nowell, July 7, 1590, to Mr. Eger-  
ton, Solicitor General, afterwards Lord Chancel-  
lor Ellesmere, from the original in the Library  
of the Most Noble, the Marquis of Stafford.*

Right woorthyppfull, I am verie hartely to pray  
yow to be of my counfell in a matier, the effecte  
wherof is conteyned in the articles inclofed. For I  
doe feare that the couetoufnes of a tenant in pluck-  
ynge downe a buyldynge for hys gayne, will toorne  
me to greate looffe: by whose offence, I woote not  
howe muche may be demanded of myn exequutors  
for delapidations. Also wheras Mr. Kempe, one of  
my Lorde Chancellors gent. became bounden vnto  
me for my Lorde byshoppe of London in iii<sup>cli</sup>. w<sup>ch</sup>  
bonde I thynke is forfeited by my said L. byshoppes  
defalte, myght it please yo<sup>r</sup> woorthypppe allso to be  
of counfell w<sup>th</sup> me agaynst my said L. Byshoppe, who  
hath fundrie wayes iniured me, rather then agaynst  
Mr. Kempe, whom my L. ought to saue harmeleffe:  
I shall be much bounden vnto yo<sup>r</sup> woorthypppe, vnto  
whom I am bolde to send a poore token for the an-  
tiquitie rather then for the value of the same. And  
soe ceafynge further to troble yo<sup>r</sup> woorthypppe, I  
commende the same vnto the moste protection of  
allmightie Godde. 7. Julii 1590.

Yo<sup>r</sup> woorthypps to my

little habilitie

Alexander Nowell.

Indorfed (in Nowell's hand) To the right  
woorhyppfull M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Egerton Esquire, prin-  
cipall Sollicitar to the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>. my speciall  
good frende.

(In M<sup>r</sup>. Egerton's hand) for M<sup>r</sup>. Deane of  
Powles. Cafus.

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NUM. XII. See p. 329.

*Bishop Bedell's Ode on the death of Professor Whi-  
taker of Cambridge, printed, with various other  
verses on the occasion, at the end of Whitaker's  
Prælections, Camb. 1599. 4to. p. 77.*

Eheu ! quis capiti, quisnam oculis dabit  
Fontem, qui lachrymis perpetuo fluat,

Condignosque dolori

Luctus sufficiat meo ?

Sic te perpetuus (me miserum !) sopor

Whitakere tenet, nec pietas diem,

Nec virtus tua, quicquam

Supremum tibi distulit ?

Ergo mœsta manus Calliope dedit,

Et vinci erubuit ? Sic Lachesis furit ?

Indignumque, sorores

Tres ter plus poterint tribus ?

Quis nostras acies ordinet, hostibus  
 Posthac oppositas, aut erit impiger,  
 Qui Bellum, arma, minasque  
 Solus sustineat simul?

Quem non Tartaræ colla virum feræ,  
 Munita innumeris anguibus, et genæ  
 Lucentes, neque rictus  
 Oris concutiat triplex?

Experta at semel hæc tota cohorrui,  
 Quam tu certa manu spicula dirigis,  
 Whitakere triumphum  
 Justum debuerat tibi;

Mors infesta simul vidit, et exitum  
 Belli pertimuit, nec mora, perfido  
 Ausu terga tibi alto  
 Telo perfodit infcia.

Et jam colla minax bestia multiceps  
 Vibrat, jam solitas intrepido vomit  
 Iras ore, nec ullum  
 Hostem, qui superest, timet.

At Tu, qui folio sydereo infides,  
 Præfens aut hominum stulta ferocium,  
 Frustra dum tibi bellum  
 Miscent, agmina fundere,

Aut frænum domino Tartaræ specus  
 (Quamvis ille fremat) ponere cum libet,  
 Et qui vincere belli  
 Dextras infituis rudes;

Imbelles acies, quas tibi perfidi  
 Hostes dispositas ordine collocant  
 Ut ventus foliorum

Agmen, præcipites age.  
 Da vires, animos, arma, duces, Pater,  
 Successumque tuis : ocyus improbus,  
 In te qui furit, ille  
 A vultu pereat tuo !

Guil. Bedell, Eman.

*We subjoin here the verses inscribed on Mrs. Frankland's picture in Brasen Nose College. See p. 345.*

“ Trapsi nata fui, Saxy sponsata marito,  
 Guilelmo mater visa beata meo.  
 Mors matura patrem, fors abstulit atra maritum,  
 Filius heu rapida morte preemptus obit.  
 Parca quid insultas ? quasi nunc effeceris orbam ?  
 En ego multiplici prole beata magis.  
 Me namque agnoscit studiis Domus Ænea matrem,  
 Prole sua semper nobilitata domus ;  
 Digna domus meritis, et læta et grata patronæ :  
 Sola mea est soli laus placuisse Deo.  
 Anno Dom. 1586, ætat. 55.”

In one of the windows of the Hall were formerly these arms for Frankland : Argent, on a bend cottised, Azure, three Eagles displayed of the first. The motto, “ *Virtuti fortuna cedit.*”

Impaling, for Trapps, Quarterly, first and fourth, Argent, three Caltraps, sable. Second and third, Azure, a chevron between 3 crosses patee, Or. The motto, “ *Suffer and serve.*” Which impalement was encompassed about with this inscription : “ *Vende quod habes, et da pauperibus.*” Wood's Colleges, p. 368.

NUM. XIII. See p. 331. 351. n.

*Letter by Dean Nowell in behalf of the Widow and orphan children of Professor Whitaker, from the original in Burghley MS. lxxx. No. 61. superscribed, "To the right honorable, my verie good Lord, the L: high Tresaur of England." The signature, but not the body of the letter, in the Dean's hand. See plate of Fac-similes, p. 352.*

My humble dutie to y<sup>r</sup> right honorable Lordshipp remembered: may it please the same to be advertised, that whereas the deathe of Dr. Whytaker in the assured faith and hope of Godds mercies by Christ, was to hym, I doubt not most blessed; yet was it to the great publicke lacke of Christs Church, and of that Univerfitie, and specially of the college of St. Johns in Cambrige, and particularly to my great griefe, he being my neare Kinsman, and deare friend whyle he lyved. But his death was above all, to the extreme sorrowe, losse, and lacke of his poore wiffe, lyinge in travell of chyld, when her husband dyed, and thereby, and with inward sorrowe of hart, not vnlyke to dye herselfe, and now is verie hardly recovered to a weake healthe; and to manie great difficulties, by the vtter destitution and desolation of herselfe, and of a great multitude of their yonge and helpeffe children. ffor he being wholly given vnto his studie, and to contynuall reading of her Ma<sup>ties</sup>



divinitie lecture, and to incessant wryting agaynst the aduersaries of trewe religion, had never any leysure, or care, for the providing of more, then was necessarie for verie meane, and scholerlyke dyet, and clothing; as being in the shaddowe of the Vniverfitie, and far from the light, and frendly aspect of the Court. wherby he hath left to his poore wife, and children for their mayntenance, being manie, and verie yonge, the onely riches of his books, most dearly bought by hym, and little worthe to be sold agayne, for the buying of necessaries, to the mayntenance of lyfe. Of the which desolation, and destitution of the sorrowfull wyddowe and great multitude of the yonge, poore, and helpeffe children, her Ma<sup>tie</sup> having intelligence, being of her own gracious goodnes mercifully inclined to relyve their miserie, hath also been effectuosly moved to the same, by the right honorable the Earle of Effex, who hearing D. Whytaker's good & godly instruction in Cambrige in the tyme of his youth, was his honorable and verie good Lord all his lyfe tyme, & doth still contynue his pittifull compassion towards his poore wyddowe, & children in their most humble & pitifull suit to y<sup>r</sup> good L., that it might please yow to procure some suche reliefe, as may be beneficiall to them, & least chargable to her gracious Ma<sup>tie</sup>, as some little Lease, or otherwise, as to y<sup>r</sup> wisdome may seeme most convenient. Wherby y<sup>e</sup> sorrowfull & desolate wyddowe, & poore children shalbe most bound contynually & most hartely to praye for y<sup>r</sup> good L: & all y<sup>rs</sup> vntoal-mightie Godd, who haue the same alwayes in his

moſt bleſſed keeping & protection. 12<sup>o</sup> Januarii  
1595.

Y<sup>r</sup> honorable Lordſhipps  
humble at commandement,  
Alexander Nowell.

It is ſaid (Strype's Whitg. p. 479.) the Queen intended to purchaſe Dr. Whitaker's Library of books, in conſequence perhaps of this affecting Letter; but I have not learnt whether any thing was actually done.

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NUM. XIV. See p. 351.

*The Will of Alexander Nowell, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Montagu xi.*

In the name of God Amen. I Alexander Nowell. Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London being in competent health of body of quiet mind and of good memory and underſtanding I do hereby thank God therefore do make my laſt will and teſtament as hereafter followeth. Firſt I do betake and give myſelf wholly both body and ſoul into the hands of Almighty God truſting by his only mercies in Chriſt Jeſus his dear Son my Saviour to have remiſſion and pardon of all my fins and to enjoy life everlaſting. And when it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to call me out of this life unto his mercy I will that in the church or church yard in the place or pariſh where it ſhall pleaſe God to ap-

point me to die my body to be buried there to rest in hope of resurrection to life everlasting at that day when Christ shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And if it shall happen that I do die in London and my body to be buried in Pauls church or church yard I will that as many of my brethren the residentiaries of our church as shall be present at my funeral and also he who shall preach my funeral sermon shall have every of them a gown of cloth of sixteen or seventeen shillings price the yard and that every prebendary or greater canon of our church being present at my funeral shall have thirteen shillings and four pence every petty canon being present six shillings eight pence every vicar choral present five shillings every vergger present four shillings every bellringer present three shillings four pence every chorister present two shillings six pence apiece upon condition that the said petty canons vicars choral verggers bellringers and choristers will accept the said several sums for all duties without any further demand or else not. Item I will that at the time of my burial if that shall happen to be in London fifty poor men shall have every of them a gown of cloth of the price of twenty shillings every gown of any colour saving black for that it is least durable. This above concerning my funeral I will to be done if my body be buried in Pauls church or church yard or else not. I give towards the reparations of the upper part of Pauls church which is above the great stairs or steps of stone twenty pounds. I give thirteen pounds six shillings eight pence to be di-

vided among the poor of the parishes of great and little Hadham in the county of Hertford at the discretion of mine executrix and if it shall happen my body to be buried in any other church or church yard than at Pauls then I do give forty shillings to the reparation of that church and chancel where my body shall be buried and five marks in money to be given to the poor of that parish at the discretion of mine executrix. Item I give to Christ's Hospital in London ten pounds. I do give to every of my men servants that shall be in my service at the time of my death a coat of the price of thirteen shillings four pence and forty shillings in money to every of them (except William Townley) for unto him I do give ten pounds in money. The maid servants I leave to the discretion of my executrix. And for that I have in my life dealt friendly and liberally for my poor ability with my former Wifes children and with my poor kinsmen specially such as gave themselves to learning they may not nowe (that I am by fundry late great charges and by giving over my parsonage of Hadham much impoverished) look for any legacies. To my good friend Mr. Thomas Bowyer of the Middle Temple Esquire I do give five pounds to make him a ring for a poor remembrance of me and do also give unto him ten of my books which he shall choose saving those which I shall expressly by name give otherwise. I do give to the library of *Brafen Nose college* in Oxford the thirteen Centuries of the Ecclesiastical History begun at Magdeburge and the great Greek Lexicon

of Henry Stephanus in three volumes strongly bound and armed and all the History of Martyrs written by Mr. John Fox in two volumes of the best paper and fair bound. I do give to my cousin Mr. Doctor Whitaker of Cambridge twenty of my books which he will choose. And for the painful and faithful service which Elizabeth Nowell my wife hath these many years in my extreme age and great and many sicknesses and continual weakness done unto me and for that I have spent of her goods and rents more than all that I have is worth I give unto her in token of the love that I have continually borne and do bear unto her all the rest of my goods cattels chattels leases money plate jewels household stuff and implements of household debts and all other my goods moveable and unmoveable of whatsoever kind sort or condition whatsoever they be. And I do hereby make the said Elizabeth my wife my sole and only executrix of this my last will and testament concerning all mine own goods whatsoever they be. In witness whereof I have written the same and subscribed and set my seal thereunto with mine own hand the eighth day of January and in the three and thirtieth year of the reign of our gracious Sovereign Queen Elizabeth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland Queen &c. And in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety secundum computationem ecclie Anglicane by me Alexander Nowell. In the presence of us John Mullins Edward Maxey Lan-

cellot Andrews Thomas White. By me Thomas Hulme William Coton Thomas Bowyer.

*In the second Codicil is as follows :*

Imprimis to his cousin Mr. Doctor Hammond and his wife five pounds. Item to every one of their children twenty shillings. Item to his cousin Mr. Robert Pennington the father ten pounds. Item to the same Mr. Robert Pennington to redeem Mr. Thomas Nowell cousin to the said defunct out of prison ten pounds. Item to William Townley his servant twenty pounds. Item to his servant John Huggins besides that legacy bequeathed in his former will three pounds. Item to his servant Joyce Smyth fifty three shillings four pence. Item to Elizabeth Talbott forty shillings. Item to Elizabeth Thornton forty shillings. Item to his cousins Mr. Harrison and his wife six pounds thirteen shillings fourpence. Item to every one of their children twenty shillings. Item to Edmond Giles forty shillings. Item to his servant Alexander Bradshaw five marks if it do exceed the legacy bequeathed unto him in the former will. Item to Robert Pennington son of the aforefaid Robert Pennington the father four marks. Item to his servant Thomas Houlden five marks. Item to Claiton servant to Mr. Claton the apothecary forty shillings. Item to his servant Thomas Crafton four marks. in the presence of Edward Blount Robert Pennington the father William Townley with others.

NUM. XV. See p. 383.

*Cardinal Wolsey's Dispensation, for the marriage of Charles Towneley, Esquire, and Elizabeth Nowell (Dean Nowell's mother) dated Dec. 20, 1525. Copied from the Towneley papers, by the Rev. T. D. Whitaker, LL. D.*

Thomas miseratione divina titulo sanctæ Cecilie SS. Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalis, Ebor. Episcopus, Angliæ Primas et Cancellarius, ac apostolicæ sedis etiam de Latere Legatus : dilectis nobis in Christo Carolo Towneley et Elizabethæ Nowell Covent. et Litchf. Dioc. salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.

Sedis apostolicæ providentia circumspicte nonnunquam juris rigorem sua mansuetudine temperat, et quod sacrorum canonum prohibetur justitia de gratiæ suæ benignitate indulget. Cum itaque a felicis recordationis domino Leone hujus nominis nuper Papa X<sup>o</sup>. per<sup>c</sup> suas sub plumbo a sanctissimo patre et domino nostro domino Clemente divina providentia hujus nominis Papa vii<sup>o</sup>. moderno [ ] etiam sub plumbo literas roborantes et confirmantes, inter cæteras facultates nobis fit concessum ut cum quibusvis personis infra nostram legationem de Latere residentibus, qui secundo et

<sup>b</sup> I have inserted "per," thinking, with Dr. Whitaker, it is perhaps wanting here. There are certainly some inaccuracies in the Towneley copy, which my friend transcribed; but the sense is pretty clear, that Clement VII. modernus Papa, or the reigning Pope, confirmed what his predecessor, Leo X. had granted.

tertio, seu tertio et tertio, aut quarto et quarto mixtim consanguinitatis et adfinitatis gradibus conjuncti matrimonium inter se contrahere desiderarent, ut impedimento hujusmodi non obstante invicem matrimonium contrahere et in eo postmodum remanere valeant dispensare poterimus. Postmodum vero pro parte vestra nobis fuerit expositum quod ex certis rationabilibus causis animos vestros moventibus desideratis invicem matrimonialiter copulari, scilicet quod secundo et tertio adfinitatis gradu conjuncti estis, vestrum in hac parte desiderium adimplere non potentes canonica dispensatione desuper non obtenta; quare nobis humiliter supplicari fecistis ut super hoc de opportuno dispensationis remedio providere dignaremur; nos igitur vobis in hac parte supplicantibus inclinati vobiscum per hæc scripta ut impedimento quod ex hujusmodi adfinitate provenerit neque obstante invicem matrimonium contrahere et in eo postquam contractum fuerit libere et licite remanere possitis; dum dicta Elizabetha propter hoc rapta non fuerit et aliud cononicum non obsit, misericorditer dispensamus, prolem exinde suscipiendam legitimam decernentes.

In quorum omnium præmissorum fidem et testimonium præsentis literas nostras fieri fecimus et sigilli nostri applicatione jussimus communiri. Dat. in ædibus nostris prope Westmonast. xx die mensis Dec. A. D. 1525.

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 9. l. ult. An addition has been suggested: "And it was perhaps for this reason, that, in his Description of Britain, he notices Read as the habitation of Mr. Nowell, which is not usual with him: "This brooke riseth above Holme Church, goeth by Towneley and Burnley—bye and bye—meeteth with the Calder;" and "being thus enlarged, runneth forth to Reade, where Mr. Nowell dwelleth, to Whalley, and soon after to Ribble." p. 66. John Savile, one of Camden's correspondents, in 1589, speaking of the Lancashire Calder, says, "the same goeth by Burneley, padiam altam, and not far from Read, where the Dean of Pauls was born." Camd. Epp. Lond. 1691.

P. 39.

P. 22. n. l. 6. The conjecture has since been confirmed; for Dr. Whitaker says, "I have seen a Pomander chain many years ago. The perfume, or whatever else it was, had been inclosed in a silver case, shaped like a large pear, and full of holes for the scent to escape. The original shape was probably that of an apple."

P. 32. n. l. 2. "p. 29." read "30."

P. 46. n. s. l. 5. "Horningshire," I am informed, should be "Horningfie," commonly shortened into "Hornsey," a small peculiar near Cambridge, belonging to St. John's college.

P. 80. n. l. 3. for "Essex" read "Colchester."

P. 100. l. 21. read "six."

P. 140. l. 7. for "brother in law," read "nephew."

l. 13. read "Maltravers."

l. 20. read "is advised to "bestow himself in."

P. 193. By some inadvertence in compiling this section, no use was made of two passages respecting Nowell's Catechism, which occur in a very scarce tract, by an Author, who is justly praised by Philips for "his endless store of universal knowledge." I therefore adduce them here without further apology,

deeming them valuable for more reasons than one: "Now supposing he [Abraham Woodhead] designs to combat the Church of England, I would gladly know to what purpose he alleges Calvin and Beza? for let their doctrine be what it will, to quote it to us who are not to be concluded by their authority, is very trifling and impertinent. When the sense of the Church of England was the question, one would have expected to hear what the Church Catechism says? What the Homilies? What *Nowell's Catechism*? Books allowed and published by the Churches authority, and authentick witnesses of her judgement." Dean Aldrich's "Reply to two Discourses concerning Adoration in the H. Eucharist," Oxford, 1687. 4to. p. 11. "The Church of England has wisely forbore to use the term of *Reall Presence* in all the books that are set forth by her authority. We neither find it recommended in the Liturgy, nor the Articles, nor the Homilies, nor the Churches, nor *Nowell's Catechism*. For although it be once in the Liturgy, and once more in the Articles, it is mentioned in both places as a phrase of the Papists, and rejected for their abuse of it." ib. p. 15.

I have seen what Mr. Beloe in the third vol. of his Anecdotes, p. 22—26, says of Edward VIth's Catechism, which he thinks was written by Nowell. The Reader will judge as he sees fit. The mistakes on many other points in that article it is not necessary to mention.

P. 237. n. x. Other Collectanea of Laurence Nowell, among the Cotton MSS. should have been mentioned; namely, Vitellius, E. v. 15, 34. and Vespasian, A. v. 2.

P. 325. l. 17. "second." read, "third."

P. 331. n. l. 4. read, "below."

P. 334. In the view of Holme the tree peering over the middle of the house is a large yew, which is regarded as the natalial tree of the Cambridge Professor; having by tradition and by nice inspection of the concentric circles where a vast branch was broken off some years ago, been traced with great probability to the year of his birth, 1547.

The arms are, first (on the right) the shield of Mr. Richard

Nowell, the kind Donor of the plate, impaling Coham of Coham in Devonshire, Mrs. Nowell's father, the Archdeacon of Wilts, being owner of the paternal estate there. The other is Dr. Whitaker's shield, impaling Thoresby, Mrs. Whitaker being a descendant of that ancient family, from an uncle of Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary of Leeds.

P. 359. l. 19. "Lincoln." read, "Magdalen."

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Portrait of Mr. Towneley, p. 286.

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