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THE

# LIFE

O F

WILLIAM BEDELL, D.D.

## BISHOP

O.F

KILMORE

I N

## IRELAND.

By Dr. GILBERT BURNET, late Lord Bishop of SARUM.

The Second Coirion, with Additions.

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#### THE

## PREFACE.

HE Contests that have been raised in this Age concerning the lawfulness and the usefulness of the Epis copal Government, have engaged so many learned Men to treat that Argument so fully, that as there is very little excuse left for the Ignorance or Obstinacy of those who still stand out against the Evidence of a Cause made out so clearly, so there is scarce any thing left to be faid by any, whose zeal may fet him on to handle a matter that feems to be now exhausted. There is one fort of Arguments yet remaining, that as they are more within every one's compass to apprehend and apply, so they have a greater force on Mens affections, which commonly give a bials to their understandings. For conviction has an easy access to us when we are already inclined to wish that were true, concerning which we imploy our enquiries: And in practical matters, such as Government, Arguments fetched from great Patterns do not only prepare us to think well of fuch Forms, but really give us truer and juster Ideas of them than speculative Discourses can raise in us; which work but coldly on Persons unconcern-

ed. An Argument not foreign to this, is ufed by all the Affertors of Episcopacy, in which the force of the reasoning is equal to the truth of the affertion; which is, that it is not pos-. fible to think that a Government gair be criminal, under which the World received the Christian Religion, and that in a course of many Ages, in which as all the corners of the Christian Church, so all the parts of it, the found as well as the unfound, that is, the Orthodox as well as the Hereticks and Schifmaticks, agreed: The Persecutions that lay then fo heavy on the Church made it no desireable thing for a Man to be exposed to their first fury, which was always the Bishops portion; and that in a course of many Centuries, in which there was nothing but Poverty and Labour to be got by the Imployment: There being no Princes to fet it on as an Engine of Government, and no Synods of Clergymen gathered to assume that Authority to themselves by joint designs and endeavours. And can it be imagined that in all that glorious Cloud of Witnesses to the truth of the Christian Religion, who as they planted it with their Labours, fo water'd it with their Blood, there should not for much as one single person be found, on whom either a love to truth, or an envy at the advancement of others, prevailed to far as to declare against such an early and universal corruption (if it is to be effectioned one.) When all this is complicated togeher, it is really of so great Authority, that love not to give the proper name to that temper

temper that can withstand so plain a demonstration. For what can a Man, even heated with all the sore of imagination, and possessed with all the sharpness of prejudice, except to the inference made from these Premisses; that a Form so soon introduced, and so wonderfully bless'd, could not be contrary to the Rules of the Gospel; and cannot be ascribed to any other Original, but that the Apostles every where established it, as the Fence about the Gospel which they planted, so that our Religion and Government are to be reckoned Twins born at the same time, and both derived from the same Fathers.

But things so remote require more than ordinary knowledge to let them before us in a true light: And their Distance from us makes them lessen as much to our thoughts, as Objects that are far from us do to our Eyes. Therefore it will be perhaps necessary in order to the giving a fuller and amiables prospect of that Apostolical Constitution, to chuse a Scene that lies nearer,, and more within all peoples view; that so it may appear, that for the living Arguments in favour of this Government we need not go so far as to the Ckment's, the Ignatius's, the Polycarp's, the Ireneus's, the Denys's, and the Cyprian's, that were the Glories of the Golden Ages: to the Athanasius's, the Basil's, the Gregoty's, the Chrysostome's, the Martin's, the Ambrose's and the Austin's, that were the beauties of the Second but Silver Age of Christia-

nity;

#### THE REFACE.

but that even in this Iron Age, and dreg of time, there have been such Patterns, as perhaps can hardly be matched since Miraeles ceased.

We ought not to deny the Church of Rome the just Praises: that belong to some of the Bithope the has produced in this and the last Age, who were burning and shiring Lights : And we cushe not to wonder if a Church fo blemish'd all over with the corruptions of her Clergy, and in particular of the Heads of them, covers her felf from those deserved Reproaches by the brightness of such great names; and by the exemplary Virtues of the present Pope, which being so unusual a thing, it is not strange to see them magnify and ce-Lebrate it as they do. France has likewise produced in this Age a great many Bishops. of whom it must be said, That as the World was not worthy of them, so that Church, that used them so ill, was much less worthy of them. And though there are not many of that stamp now lest, yet Cardinal Grimaldy +; the Bishop of Angiers, and the Bishop of Grenoble, may serve to dignify an Age, as well as a Nation. The Bishop of Alet was, as a great and good Man told me, like a living and fpeaking Gospel.

It is true their intanglements with the See of Rome and the Court of France, were things both uneasy and dangerous to them; but I love not to point at their blind sides, it is their fair one that I would set out: And if we can bear the highest commendations that can be given

to the Virtues of Heathen Philosophers, even when they do eclipse the Reputation of the greater part of Christians; it will be unjust for any to be uneasy at the Praises given to Prelates of another Communion, who are to be so much the more admired, if notwithstanding all the corruptions that lie so thick about them, that they could hardly break through them, they have fet the World such examples as ought indeed to make others ashamed that have much greater advantages. But since the giving of Orders is almost the only part of their function, that is yet intirely in their Hands, they have indeed brought a regulation into that which was so grosly abused in former times, that cannot be enough commended, nor too much imitated; have built and endowed Seminaries for their Diocesses, in which a competent number of young Ecclefiafticks are bred at Studies and Exercises suitable to that Profession, to which they are to be dedicated; and as they find them well prepared, they are, by the feveral steps and degrees of the Pontifical, led up to the Altar, and kept there till Benefices fall, and so they are removed from thence, as from a Nursery, into the several parts of the Dio-By this means the Secular Clergy of France have in a great measure recovered their reputation, and begin now to bear down the Regulars, whose Credit and Wealth had risen chiefly by the Ignorance and Scandals of the In this the present Archbishop of Rheims has set a pattern to the rest, suitable

to the high Rank he holds in that Church, for he has raised a Seminary that cost him Fifty Thousand Crowns a building, and above Five Thousand Crowns a year in supporting the expence of it; in which there are about One Hundred Ecclesiasticks maintained; and out of these he Ordains every year such a number as the extent of his Diocess does require: And with these he supplies the Vacancies that fall. This is a way of imploying the Revenues of the Church, that is exactly suitable to the Tenfe of the Primitive times, in which a Bi-Thop was not confidered as the Proprietor, but only as the Administrator and Dispencer of the Revenue belonging to his See: And there is carce any one thing concerning which the Synods in those Ages took more care than to distinguish between the Goods and Estate that belonged to a Bishop by any other Title, and those that he had acquired during his Episcopate: For though he might dispose of the one, the other was to fall to the Church.

But now to return to the Subject that led the into this digression, there is nothing that can have a stronger operation to overcome all prejudices against Episcopacy, than the proposing eminent Patterns, whose Lives continue to speak still, though they are dead: Of which my native Country has produced, both in the last and in the present Age, some great and rare Instances, of which very eminent essects appeared, even amidst all that rage of surious Zeal, into which that Nation was transported against it: And I suppose the Reader will

will not be ill pleased if I make a second digression to entertain him with some passages concerning them, but will bear with it per-

haps better than with the former.

And fince my Education and the course of my Life has led me most to know the Affairs of Scotland, I will not enter upon a Province that is foreign to me, and therefore shall leave to others the giving an account of the great Glories of the Church of England, and will content my felf with telling some more eminent things of some of our Scottish Bishops: In which I will say nothing upon flying Reports, but upon very credible, if not certain Infor-There was one Patrick Forbes of Aberdeensbire, a Gentleman of Quality and Estate, but much more eminent by his Learning and Piety, than his Birth or Fortune could make him. He had a most terrible Calamity on him in his Family, which needs not benamed: I do not know whether that or a more early principle determined him to enter into Orders: He undertook the labour of a private Cure in the Country, upon the most earnest invitations of his Bishop, when he was Forty Eight years old, and discharged his Duty there so worthily, that within a few years he was promoted to be Bishop of Aberdeen; in which See he sat about Seventeen years. It was not easy for King James to persuade him to accept of that Dignity, and many Months pass'd before he could be induced to it, for he had intended to have lived and died in a more obscure corner. It soon appeared how

how well he deserved his Promotion, and that his unwillingness to it was not feigned, but the real effect of his humility: He was in all things an Apostolical Man. He used to go round his Diocess without noise, and but with one Servant, that so he might be rightly informed of all matters. When he heard reports of the weakness of any of his Clergy. his custom was to go and lodge unknown near their Church on the Saturday Night, and next day, when the Minister was got into the Pulpit, he would come to Church, that so he might observe what his ordinary Sermons were, and accordingly he admonished or encouraged them. He took fuch care of the two Colleges in his Diocess, that they became quickly distinguished from all the rest of Scot-Land: So that when the troubles in that Church broke out, the Doctors there were the only Persons that could maintain the Cause of the Church; as appears by the Papers that pass'd between them and the Covenanters. And though they begun first to manage that Argument in Print, there has nothing appeared fince more perfect than what they writ. They were an honour to the Church both by their Lives and by their Learning, and with that excellent temper they seasoned that whole Diocess, both Clergy and Laity, that it continues to this day very much distinguished from all the rest of Scotland, both for Learning, Loyalty and Peaceableness; and, since that good Bishop died but three years before the Rebellion broke out, the true source of that

that advantage they had, is justly due to his Memory: One of these Doctors was his Son John, the Heir of his Virtues and Picty, as well as of his Fortune: But much superior to him in Learning; and he was perhaps inferior to no Man of his Age, which none will dispute, that have read his Instructiones Historico-Theologica, a Work which if he had finished it, and had been suffered to enjoy the privacles of his Retirement and Study, to give us the Second Volume, had been the greatest Treasure of Theological Learning that perhaps the World has yet seen. He was Divinity Professor at Aberdeen, an Endowment raised by his Father: But was driven out by the Covenant, and forced to fly beyond Sea. One memorable thing of his Father ought not to be left unmentioned; he had Synods twice a year of his Clergy, and before they went upon their other business, he always began with a short discourse, excusing his own infirmities, and charging them that, if they knew or observed any thing amiss in him, they would use all freedom with him, and either come and warn him in secret of secret errors, or if they were publick, that they would speak of them there in publick; and upon that he withdrew to leave them to the freedom of Speech. This condescension of his was never abused but by one petulant Man, to whom all others were very levere for his insolence, only the Bishop bore it gently and as became him.

One of the Doctors of Aberdeen, bred in his time, and of his name William Forbes, was promoted by the late King, while he was in Scotland in the year one thousand six hundred thirty and three, to the Bishoprick of Edenburgh, that was then founded by him, so that that glorious King faid on good grounds, that he had found out a Bishop that deserved that a See should be made for him; he was a grave and eminent Divine; my Father, that knew him long, and being of Council for him in his Law-matters, had occasion to know him well, has often told me, That he never faw him but he thought his Heart was in Heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a Commentary on these Words of the Apostles, Did not our Hearts burn within us, while he yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures? He preached with a zeal and vehemence, that made him often forget all the measures of time, two or three hours was no extraordinary thing for hin; those Sermons wasted his Strength so fast, and his ascetical course of life was such, that he supplied it so scantly that he died within a year after his Promotion; so he only appeared there long enough to be known, but not long enough to do what might have been otherwise expected from so great a Prelate. That little remnant of his that is in Print shews how learned he was. I do not deny but his earnest desire of a general Peace and Union among all Christians has made him too

too favourable to many of the corruptions in the Church of Rome: But though a Charity that is not well ballanced, may carry one to very indifcreet things; yet the Principle from whence they flowed in him was fo truly good, that the errors to which it carried him ought to be either excused, or at least to be very

gently censured.

Another of our late Bishops was the noblest born of all the Order, being Brother to the Lord Boyd, that is one of the best Families of Scotland, but was provided to the poorest Bishoprick, which was Argile; yet he did great things in it. He found his Diocess over-run with ignorance and barbarity, so that in many places the Name of Christ was not known, but he went about that Apostolical Work of planting the Gospel, with a particular Industry, and almost with equal Success. He got Churches and Schools to be raifed and endowed every where; and lived to see a great bleffing on his endeavours; fo that he is not so much as named in that Country to this day but with a particular veneration, even by those who are otherwise no way equitable to that Order. The only answer that our angry People in Scotland used to make when they were pressed with such instances, was, that there were too few of them: But some of the severest of them have owned to me, that if there were many such Bishops, they would all be Episcopal,

I shall not add much of the Bishops that have been in that Church since the last re-establishing of the Order, but that I have obferved among the few of them, to whom I had the honour to be known particularly, as great and as exemplary things, as ever I met with in all Ecclefiastical History: Not only the practice of the strictest of all the Ancient Canons, but a pitch of Virtue and Piety beyond what can fall under common imitation, or be made the measure of even the most Angelical Rank of Men; and faw things in them that would look liker fair Ideas, than what Men cloathed with Flesh and Blood could grow up to. But of this I will say no more, fince those that are concerned are yet alive, and their Character is too fingular, not to make them to be as easily known, if I enlarged up. on it, \* as if I named them.

But of one that is dead I may be allowed to fay somewhat; with whom the See of Aberdeen was as happy in this Age, as it was in his worthy Predecessor Forbes in the last; both in the number of the years, for he sat serventeen years in that Chair, and in the rare qualities that dignified them both almost equally. He also saw his Son fill the Divinity Chair, as the other had done; but here was the satal difference, that he only lived long

enough

here meant, is dead fince this was put his Name and a more particular eodeferves a Book by it felf. so will perr occasion.

enough to raise the greatest expectation that I ever knew upon any of that Nation of his flanding; for when all hoped to see in him a second Dr. Forbes, or, to bring it nearer home, another Bishop Scougall, for that was his Father's name, he died very young. The endearing gentleness of the Father to all that differed from him, his great strictness in giving Orders, his most unaffected humility and contempt of the World, were things fo fingular in him, that they deserved to be much more admired than his other Talents, which were also extraordinary, a wonderful strength of Judgment, a dexterity in the conduct of Affairs, which he imployed chiefly in the making up of Differences, and a Discretion in his whole deportment. For he had a way of Familiarity, by which he gave every body all fort of freedom with him, and in which at the fame time he inspired them with a veneration for him, and by that he gained so much on their affections, that he was confidered as the common Father of his whole Diocess, and the Differenters themselves seemed to esteem him no less than the Conformists did. He took great pleasure in discoursing often with young Divines, and let himself to frame in them right and generous Notions of the Christian Religion, and of the Pastoral Care; so that a sett of Men grew up under his Labours, that carry still on them clear Characters of his spirit and temper.

One thing more I will add, which may afford a more general Instruction. Several years ago he observ'd a great heat in some young Minds, that, as he believed, had very good intentions, but were too forward, and complained much of abuses, calling loudly, and not very decently, for a Reformation of them: Upon which he told them, the noise made about reforming abuses was the likeliest way to keep them up; for that would raise heats and disputes, and would be ascribed to envy and faction in them; and ill-minded Men, that loved the abuses for the advantages they made by them, would blaft and mifrepresent those that went about to correct them, by which they would fall under the jealoufy of being ill affected to the Church; and they being once loaded with this prejudice, would be disabled from doing the good, of which they might otherwise be the Instruments: Therefore he thought a Reformation of Abuses ought to be carried on by every one in his station, with no other noise than what things themselves must necessarily produce, and then the filent way of conviction that is raised by great Patterns would speak louder. and would recommend fuch Practices more strongly, as well as more modestly. Discourses work but upon speculative People; and it has been so long the method of factious and ill defigning Men, to accuse publick Errors, that he wished those, to whom he addreffed

thoughts of mending the World, which was grown too old in wickedness to be easily corrected; and would only fet themselves to do what good they could, with less noise; and so to give less occasion to angry people to quarrel with them; and to justify those abuses which are by such indiscreet opposition kept in some credit, and preserved; whereas without that they must have fallen under so general an Odium, that sew could have the face to excuse them.

And now I have done with this digression: which not being at all foreign to my delign? of raising the credit due to that venerable Order. I shall make no Apology for it; but shall come next to the subject of the following Book. I had a great Collection of Memorials put in my hands by a worthy and learned Divine, Mr. Clogy, who as he lived long in this Bishop's House, so being afterwards Minister at Cavan, had oceasion to know him well: And as he had a great zeal to see the Justice done to his Memory and the Service done to the World, which the putting these in order, and the publishing them must needs produce; fo he judged it would come better from another hand than his, that was so much obliged by him, that it might be thought affection and gratitude had biaffed him too much. I confess my part in this was so small, that I can scarce assume any thing to my self, but the copying out what was put in my hande. Lives

mory, but will not persuade others: On the contrary it will incline them to suspect his partiality, and make them look on him as an Author rather than a Writer.

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The following Account was given to the Publisher of this Edition by Mr. Bedell Stanford, a near Relation of the Bishop's:

ISHOP BEDELL had a Tenant, (a Popish Priest) his Name Edmund Ferrily, he was fond of the Man, and for his good Qualities and agreeable Conversation had him frequently at his Table, they often chose Religion for their Topick, and the Arguments made use of by the Bishop had such Instuence on the Priest, that he was heard to say at the Bishop's Interment, O six mina mea cum Bedello!

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THE

# L I F E

O F

WILLIAM BEDELL, D. D.

Bishop of

## KILMORE

IN

# IRELAND.

born at Black Notley in Essex, in the Year 1570. he was the younger Son of an ancient and good Family, and of no inconsiderable Estate, which has now descended to his Son (his elder Brother dying without Issue): After he had pass'd through the common education at Schools, he was fent to Emmanuel College in Cambridge, and put under Dr. Chadderton's care, the famous and long-liv'd Head of that House; and here all those extraordinary things, that rendred him afterwards so conspicuous, began to shew themselves in such a manner, that he

came to have a very eminent Character both for Learning and Piety: so that Appeals were oft made to him, as Differences or Controversies arose in the University. He was put in Holy Orders by the Bishop Suffragan of Colchester. Till I met with this passage, I did not think these Suffragans had been continued so long in *England*: How they came to be put down, I do not know; it is probable they did ordain all that defired Orders, so promiscuously, that the Bishops found it necessary to let them fall. For Complaints were made of this Suffragan, upon which he was threatned with the taking his Commission from him: For though they could do nothing but by a Delegation from the Bishop, yet the Orders they gave were still valid, even when they transgressed in. conferring them: Upon that the Suffragan faid a thing that was as insolent in him, as it was honourable for Mr. Bedell, That he had ordained a better Man than any the Bilhop had ever ordained, naming Bedell. He was chofen Fellow of the College in 1593. and took his Degree of Batchelour of Divinity in the year 1599.

From the University he was removed to the Town of S. Edmondsbury in Saffolk, where he served long in the Gospel, and with great Success, he and his Colleague being of such different characters, that whereas it was said of him that he made the difficultest places of Scripture appear plain, it was said, That his Colmade the plainest places appear difficult;

ing of dark passages, and the com-

paring of many Texts of Scripture, together with a serious and practical application of them, being the chief subject of his Sermons: Which method several other great Men at that time followed, such as Bishop Usber, Dr. Jackson, and Mr. Mede. He had an Occasion given him not long after his settlement in this charge, to shew his Courage, and how little he either courted preferment, or was afraid of falling under the displeasure of great Men: For when the Bishop of Norwich proposed some things to a meeting of his Clergy, with which they were generally diffatisfied, though they had not resolution enough to oppose them; He took that hard Province upon himself, and did it with so much strength of reason, as well as discretion, that many of those things were let fall: Upon which when his Brethren came and magnified him for it, he checkt them and faid, He desired not the praises of Men. His reputation was so great and so well established both in the University and in Suffolk, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton to be his Ambassador at Venice, at the time of the Interdict; he was recommended as the fittest Man to go Chaplain in so critical a conjuncture. This Imployment proved much happier and more honourable for him than that of his fellow Student and Chamber-fellow Mr. Waddefworth, who was at that time beneficed in the same Diocess with him, and was about that time sent into Spain, and was afterwards appointed to teach the Infanta the English Tongue, when the match between the late King and her was believed concluded: For Waddesworth was prevailed on to change his Religion and abandon his Country, as if in them those Words of our Saviour had been to be verified, There shall be two in one Bed, the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. For as the one of these was wrought on to forsake his Religion, the other was very near the being an Instrument of a great and happy change in the Republick of Venice. I need not fay much of a thing so well known as were the quarrels of Pope Paul the V. and that Republick; especially fince the History of them is written so particularly by him that knew the matter best, P. Paulo. Some Laws made by the Senate, not unlike our Statutes of Mortmain, restraining the excessive Donations, extorted from superstitious Men, and the imprisoning two lewd Fryers, in order to the executing Justice on them, were the grounds of the quarrel; upon those pretences, the Ecclesiaftical Immunity from the Secular Tribunals was afferted to fuch a degree, that after that high spirited Pope had tryed what the Spiritual Sword could do, but without success, (his Interdict not being observed by any, but the Jesuites, the Capuchins and Theatines, who were upon that banished the State, for the Age of the 'Anselms and the Beckets could not be now recalled) he resolved to try the Temporal Sword next, according to the advice Cardinal Barogave him; who told him in the Confifto-That there were two things said to St. , the first was, Feed my Sheep, the other

was, Arise and kill; and therefore since he had already executed the first part of St. Peter's duty, in feeding the Flock, by Exhortations, Admonitions, and Cenfures, without the defired effect, he had nothing left but to arise and kill: And that not being an Age in which Croisades could pass upon the World; and the Pope not finding any other Prince that would execute his Bulls, he refolved to make War upon them himself, hoping to find assistance from the Crown of Spain, who, he believed, would be willing to enlarge their Dominions on that side: But when all help failed him, and he saw that his Censures had not created any distractions in the Republick, and found their Treasure and Force like to prove a match too hard to the Apostolical Chamber, and to fuch Forces as he could levy and pay, he was at last willing to accept of a mediation, in which the Senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate Fryers, yet afferted their Right, and maintained their Laws, notwithstanding all his Threatnings; nor would they so much as ask pardon, or crave absolution. But without going further into matters so generally known, I shall only mention those things in which Mr. Bedell had some share.

P. Paulo was then the Divine of the State, a man equally eminent for vast Learning and a most consummated Prudence; and was at once one of the greatest Divines, and of the wisest Men of his Age. But to commend the celebrated Historian of the Council of Trent, is a B 3 thing

thing so needless that I may well stop; yet it must needs raise the Character of Bedell much, that an Italian, who, befides the Caution that is natural to the Country, and the Prudence that obliged one in his Circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the World, was tyed up by the strictness of that Government to a very great refervedness with all People, yet took Bedell into his very Soul; and, as Sir Henry Wotton affured the late King, communicated to him the inwardest thoughts of his Heart, and professed that he had learn'd more from him in all the parts of Divinity, whether Speculative or Practical, than from any he had ever conversed with in his whole life. great an Intimacy with so extraordinary a Perfon is enough to raise a Character, were there no more to be added. P. Paulo went further, for he affifted him in acquiring the Italian Tongue, in which Bedell became such a Master, that he spoke it as one born in Italy, and penned all the Sermons he then preached, either in Italian or Latin; in this last it will appear by the productions of his Pen yet remaining, that he had a true Roman Stile, inferior to none of the Modern Writers, if not equal to the Ancients. In requital of the Instruction he received from P. Paulo in the Italian Tongue, he drew a Grammar of the Eng-Lifb Tongue for his use, and for some others that defired to learn it, that so they might be able to understand our Books of Divinity, and he also translated the English Common-prayer Book into Italian; and P. Paulo and the feven Divines that during the Interdict were commanded by the Senate both to preach and write against the Pope's authority, liked it so well, that they resolved to have made it their pattern, in case the differences between the Pope and them had produced the effect which they

hoped and longed for.

The intimacy between them grew so great and so publick, that when P. Paulo was wounded by those Assassinates that were set on by the Court of Rame to destroy so redoubted an Enemy, upon the failing of which attempt a Guard was fet on him by the Senate, that knew how to value and preserve so great a Treasure; and much precaution was used before any were admitted to come to him, Bedell was excepted out of those rules, and had free access to him at all times. They had many and long discourses concerning Religion: He found P. Paulo had read over the Greek new Testament with so much exactness, that having used to mark every Word when he had fully weighed the importance of it as he went through it; he had by going often over it, and observing what he past over in a former reading, grown up to that at last, that every word was marked of the whole New Testament: and when Bedell suggested to him critical explications of some passages that he had not understood before, he received them with the transports of one that leapt for joy, and that valued the discoveries of divine Truth beyond all other things.

During his stay at Venice, the famous Ant. de Dominis Archbishop of Spalata came to' Venice; and having received a just character of Mr. Bedell, he discovered his Secret to him, and shewing him his ten Books De Republica Ecclesiastica, which he afterwards printed at London: Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many ill applications of Texts of Scripture, and Quotations of For that Prelate being utterly ignorant of the Greek Tongue, could not but be guilty of many mistakes both in the one and the other; and if there remain some places still that discover his ignorance of that Language too plainly, yet there had been many more, if Bedell had not corrected them: But no wonder if in such a multitude some escaped his diligence. De Dominis took all this in good part from him, and did enter into fuch familiarity with him, and found his Assistance so useful, and indeed so necessary to himself, that he used to say he could do nothing without him..

A passage sell out during the Interdict, that made greater noise than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to: But it was suited to the Italian Genius. There came a Jesuite to Venice, Thomas Maria Carassa, who printed a Thousand Theses of Philosophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant Inscription, PAULO V. VICE-DEO Christiana Reipublica Monarcha invictissimo, & Pontiscia Omnipotentia conservatori acerrimo. To Paul the D. the Dise-Bod, the most invincible

cible Monarch of the Christian Commons wealth, and the most zealous asserter of the

Papal Omnipotency.

All people were amazed at the impudence of this Title, but when Mr. Bedell observed that the numeral Letters of the first Words, PAULO V. VICE-DEO being put together, made exactly 666, the number of the Beast in the Revelation, he communicated this to P. Paulo and the Seven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate: It was entertained almost as if it had come from Heaven, and it was publickly preached over all their Territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichrift: And it is like this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the Italians, than that they could build much upon it; though it was as strong as the like computation from the Greek Word raleirs, upon which some of the Ancients laid some weight. This flew so over Italy, that lest it should take too much among the people, the Pope caused his Emissaries to give it out every where, That Antichrist was now born in Babylon, and was descended of the Tribe of Dan; and that he was gathering a vast Army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendom: and therefore all Christian Princes were exhorted to prepare all their Forces for relifting fo great an Invasion. And with this piece of false news that was given out very confidently, the other conceit was choaked. But tho' Mr. Bedell makes use of it in his Book against Waddesworth, yet he was too modest a man to claim

claim the discovery of it to himself, but Sir Henry Wetton assured King James, That he first observed it.

Here I must add a passage, concerning which I am in doubt whether it reflected more on the fincerity, or on the understanding of the English Ambassador. The breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Crilis; so that it was expected a total separation, not only from the Court, but the Church of Rome, was like to follow upon it. It was fet on by P. Paulo and the seven Divines with much zeal, and was very prudently conducted by them. In order to the advancing of it, King James ordered his Ambassador to offer all possible assistance to them, and to accuse the Pope and the Papacy as the chief authors of all the mischiefs of Christendom. The Prince and Senate answered this in words full of respect to King James, and said, That they knew things were not so bad as some endeavoured to make the World believe, on defign to fow discord between Christian Princes: And when the Pope's Nuncio objected, That King Fames was not a Catholick, and so was not to be relyed on: The Duke answered, The King of England believed in Jesus Christ, but he did not know in whom some others believed. Upon which P. Paulo and the Seven Divines pressed Mr. Bedell to move the Ambassador to prefent King James's Premonition to all Christian Princes and States, then put in Latin, to the Senate, and they were confident it would produce a great effect. But the Ambaffador

bassador could not be prevailed on to do it at that time, and pretended that since S. James's day was not far off, it would be more proper to do it on that day. If this was only for the Sake of a Speech that he had made on the conceit of S. James's Day and King 7ames's Book, with which he had intended to present it, that was a weakness never to be excused. But if this was only a pretence, and that there was a delign under it, it was a crime not to be forgiven. All that Bedell could fay or do to perswade him not to put off a thing of such importance was in vain; and indeed I can hardly think that Wotten was so weak a Man as to have acted fincerely in this matter. Before S. James's day came, which I suppose was the first of May, and not the Twenty fifth of July, the difference was made up, and that happy opportunity was lost; so that when he had his audience on that Day, in which he presented the Book, all the answer he got, was, That they thanked the King of England for his good will, but they were now reconciled to the Pope, and that therefore they were resolved not to admit of any change in their Religion, according to their agreement with the Court of Rome.

It may be easily imagined what a Wound this was to his Chaplain, but much more to those who were more immediately concerned in that matter; I mean P. Paulo with the seven Divines, and many others, who were weary of the Corruptions of their Worship, and were groaning for a Reformation. But now

the reconciliation with Rome was concluded r the Senate carried the matter with all the Dig. nity and Majesty that became that most serene. Republick, as to all civil things: For they would not ask Absolution; but the Nuncio, to fave the Pope's credit, came into the Senate-House, before the Duke was come, and croffed his Cushion, and absolved him, Yet upon this they would not fuffer any publick figns of joy to be made; nor would they recall the Jefuites. But in all these things greater regard was had to the dignity of their State, than to the interest of Religion; so that P. Paulo was out of all hopes of bringing things ever back to fo promising a conjuncture; upon which he wish'd he could have left Venice and come over to England with Mr. Bedell: But he was so much esteemed by the Senate for his great Wisdom, that he was consulted by them as an Oracle, and trufted with their most important Secrets: So that he faw it was impossible for him to obtain his Congè; and therefore he made a shift to comply as far as he could with the established way of their Worship; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great measure rather quieted than satisfied his Conscience. In faying of Mass, he pass'd over many parts of the Canon, and in particular those Prayers, in which that Sacrifice was offer'd up to the honour of Saints; He never prayed to Saints, nor joined in those parts of the Offices that went against his Contcience; and in private Confessions and Difcourses, he took people off from those abuses,

and gave them right Notions of the purity of the Christian Religion; so he hoped he was fowing Seeds that might be fruitful in another Age: And thus he believed he might live innocent in a Church that he thought fo defiled. And when one press'd him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an Idolatrous Church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, by which means others that depended much on his example would be likewise encouraged to continue in it: All the answer he made to this was, That God had not given him the Spirit of Luther. He expressed great tendemess and concern for Bedell, when he parted with him; and said. that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their power: but that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him his Picture, with an Hebrew Bible without Points, and a little Hebrew Pfalter, in which he writ fome Sentences expressing his esteem and friendship for him; and with these he gave him the invaluable Manuscript of the History of the Council of Trent, together with the History of the Interdict and of the Inquifition; the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief pattern after which all, that intend to fucceed well in writing History, must copy. · But among other Papers that P. Paulo gave him, some that were of great importance are lost: For in a Letter of Mr. Bedell's to Dr. Ward, he mentions a Collection of Letters that were fent him Weekly from Rome during the contests between the Jesuites and Dominicans.

vans, concerning the efficacy of Grace; of which P. Paulo gave him the Originals; and in his Letter to Dr. Ward he mentions his having fent them to him. These, very probably, contained a more particular relation of that matter than the World has yet seen, since they were writ to so curious and so inquisitive a Man; but it seems he did not allow Bedell to print them, and so I am afraid they are now irrecoverably lost.

When Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbishop of \* Spalata, and one † Despotine a Physician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman Worship; and so chose a free'r air. The latter lived near him in S. Edmondsbury, and was by his means introduced into much Practice, which he maintained so well, that he became eminent in his Profession, and continued to his death to keep up a constant correspondence with him. As for the Archbishop of Spalata his Story, it is too well known to need to be much enlarg-He was an ambitious Man, and let too great a value on himself, and expressed it so indecently, that it funk much in the estimation of the English Clergy, by whom he was at first received with all possible respect: but after he had stayed some Years in England, upon the promotion of Pope Gregory the XIV. that had been his School-fellow, and old acquaintance, he was made believe that the Pope intended to give him a Cardinal's Hat,

and to make great Use of him in all Affairs; so that he fancied that he should be the instrument of a great Reformation in the Church: His pride made him too easy to flatter himself with these vain Hopes, and the distaste some of the English Clergy had taken at him for his ambition and covetousness, gave Gundamer the Spanish Ambassador great advantages in the conduct of that matter: For his mind that was blown up with vanity, and sharpened with resentment, was easily wrought on, so that he, believing that the Promises made him would not only be performed, but that he might be the instrument of bringing about agreat change even at Rome, went thither. He was at first well received by the Pope himself: But he happened to fay of Cardinal Bellarmine, that had writ against him, That he had not answered his Arguments. Upon which a complaint was carried to the Pope, as if he had been still of the same mind, in which he was when he published his Books. He excused himself, and said. That though Bellarmine had not answered his Arguments, yet he did not say they were unanswerable: And he offered to answer them himself, if they would allow him time for it. But this excuse was not accepted, so he was cast into the Inquisition, but was never brought to any Tryal: He was poyloned not long after, and his Body was cast out at a Window, and all his Goods were confiscated to the Pope. This was the tragical end of that great but inconstant Man: If he had had as good a Soul as he had a great understanding.

derstanding, together with vast Learning; confidering his education and other disadvantages, he had deserved to have been reckoned among the greatest Men of his Age. In his Fate it appeared, how soolishly credulous, Vanity makes a Man; since he that was an Italian born, and knew the Court of Rome so well, could be wrought on so far, as to believe that they were capable of pardoning and promoting him after the mischief he had done their Cause. This account of that matter, my Author had from Master Bedell's own Mouth.

But now Mr. Bedell had finished one of the Scenes of his life with great honour. The most confiderable addition he made to his learning at Venice, was in the improvements in the Hebrew, in which he made a great progress by the affiftance of R. Leo, that was the chief Chacham of the Tewish Synagogue there: From him he learned their way of pronunciation, and some other parts of Rabbinical learning; but in exchange of it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi exprefled himself often to be highly satisfied: And once in a folemn dispute, he prest his Rabbi with so clear proofs of Jesus Christ being :the true Messias, that he, and several others, of his Brethren, had no other way to escape, but to fay that their Rabbins every where did expound those Prophecies otherwise, according to the Tradition of their Fathers. By R. Leo's means, he purchased that fair Manuscript of the

Old Testament, which he gave to Emmanuel College; and, as I am credibly informed, it cost him its weight in Silver.

After Eight Years stay in Venice, he returned to England, and without pretending to Preferment, or aspiring to it, he went immediately to his charge at S. Edmondsbury, and there went on in his ministeria al labours; with which he mixt the translating P. Paulo's immortal Writings into Latin. Sir Adam Newton translated the two first Books of the History of the Council of Trent. but was not master enough of the two Languages; so that the Archbishop of Spalata · said it was not the same Work; but he highly approved of the two last, that were translated by Mr. Bedell, who likewise translated the History of the Interdia, and of the Inquisition, and dedicated them to the King. But no notice was taken of him, and he lived fill private and unknown in that obscure corner. He had a Soul of too generous a composition to stoop to those servile compliances, that are often expected by those that have the distribution of Preferments in their power. He thought that was an abjectness of Spirit that became not a Christian Philosopher, much less a Churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the World, a contentedness with a low condition, and a refignation of one's outward circumstances wholly to the conduct of Divine Providence; and not to give that advantage which Atheists and Libertines take from the covetousness and aspirings of some Church-

Churchmen to fcoff at Religion, and to call Priesthood a Trade. He was content to deserve Preferment, and did not envy others, who upon less merit, but more industry arrived at it. But though he was forgot at Court, yet an eminent Gentleman in Suffolk, Sir Thomas Fermyn, who was a privy Counsellor, and Vice-Chamberlain to King Charles the First, and a great Patron of Virtue and Piety, took fuch a liking to him, that as he continued his whole life to pay him a very particular esteem; so a considerable Living that was in his Gift, falling void, he presented him to it in the Year 1615. When he came to the Bishop of Norwich to take out his Title to it, \* he demanded large Fees for his Institution and Induction: But Bedell would give no more than what was fufficient gratification for the Writing, the Wax, and the Parchment; and refused to pay the rest. He look'd on it as Simony in the Bishop, to demand more, and as contrary to the command of Christ, who said to his Apostles, Freely ye have received, and freely give. And thought it was a branch of the fin of Simony to sell Spiritual things to Spiritual persons; and fince whatfoever was askt, that was more than a decent gratification to the Servant for his pains, was asked by reason of the thing that was granted, he thought this was unbecoming the Gospel, and that it was a fin both in the Giver and in the Taker. He had obferved that nothing was more exprelly contra-

Ty to all the primitive Rules. Chrysoftome examined a complaint made against \* Antonine Bishop of Ephelus, for exacting Fees at Ordination. Antonine dyed before the Process was finished; but some Bishops that had paid those Fees, were upon that degraded and made incapable to officiate any more, though they pretended, that they paid that Money as a Fee for obtaining a Release from such Obligations as lay on them by Law, to serve the Court. Afterwards not only all Ordinations for Money, but the taking Money for any Imployment that depended upon the Bishops Gift, was most severely condemned by the Council of Chakedon. The Buyer was to lose his Degree, and the Seller was to be in danger of it: And after that, severe Censures were every where decreed against all Presents that might be made to Bishops, either before or after Ordinations, or upon the account of Writings, or of Feafts, or any other expence that was brought in use to be made upon that occasion; and even in the Council of Trent, it was decreed, That nothing should be taken for Letters dimissory, the Certificates, the Seals, upon any such like ground, either by Bishops or their Servants, even though it was freely offer'd. Upon these accounts Mr. Bedell resolved rather to lose his Presentation to the Parsonage of Horing sheath, than to purchase his Title to it by doing that which he thought &mony. And he left the Bishop and went home: But

But some sew days after, the Bishop sent for him, and gave him his Titles without exacting Fees of him; and so he removed to that place, where he flayed Twelve Years, during which time he was a great honour to the Church, as well as a pattern to all Churchmen. His habit and way of living was very plain. and becoming the simplicity of his Profession. He was very tender of those that were truly poor, but was so strict in examining all Vagabonds, and so dextrous in discovering counterfeit Passes, and took such care of punishing those that went about with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his Town. all that time no notice was ever taken of him. though he gave a very fingular evidence of his great capacity. For being provoked by his old acquaintance Waddefworth's Letters, he writ upon the points in controversie with the 'Church of Rome, with fo much learning and judgment, and in so mild a strain, that no wonder if his Book had a good effect on him, for whom it was intended: It is true he never returned and changed his Religion himself, but his Son came from Spain into Ireland, when Bedell was promoted to the Bishoprick of Kilmore there, and told him, That his Father commanded him to thank him for the pains he was at in writing it: he faid, It was almost always lying open before him, and that he had heard him fay, He was resolved to save one. And it seems he instructed his Son in the true Religion, for he declared himself a Protestant on his coming over. This Book was printed.

printed, and dedicated to the late King, while he was Prince of Wales, in the Year 1624. The true Reasons that obstructed Bedell's preferment seem to be these; He was a Galvings in the matter of Decrees and Grace; and Preferments went generally at that time to those that held the other Opinions. He had also another Principle, which was not very acceptable to some in power; he thought, Conformity was an exact adhering to the Rubrick; and that the adding any new Rite or Geremony, was as much Monconformity, as the pasfing over those that, were prescribed: So that he would not use those Bowings or Gesticula. tions that grew so much in fashion, that Mens affections were measured by them. too good an understanding, not to conclude, That these things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed that when once the humour of adding new Rites and Ceremopies got into the Church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that Bulk, to which we find it swelled in the Church of And this began so early, and grew so fast, that S. Austin complained of it in his time, faying. That the condition of Christians was then more uneasse by that Yoke of Observances, than that of the Tews had been, therefore Bedell thought the adhering to established Laws and Rules was a certain and fixed thing; whereas Superstition was infinite, So he was against all Innovations, or arbitrary and assumed Practices; and so much the more when Men were diffiguished and markt out  $\mathbf{C}$  3 far for preferment, by that which in strictness of Law was a thing that deserved punishment. For in the Act of Uniformity, made in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, it was made highly penal, to use any other Rite or Ceremony, Order or Form, either in the Sacraments, or in Morning or Evening Prayers, than what was mentioned and set forth in that Book. And this was particularly intended to restrain some that were leavened with the former Superstition, and yet for saving their Benefices, might conform to the New Service, but retain still with it many of the old Rites in facred Offices. And it seems our Legislators were of the same mind, when the last Act of Uniformity was past; for there is a special Proviso in it, That no Rites or Ceremonies (bould be openly used in any Church, other than what was prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the Therefore he continued to make (aid Book. the Rubrick the measure of his Conformity, as well before his promotion as after it.

But he was well satisfied with that which the Providence of God laid in his way, and went on in the duties of his pastoral care, and in his own private Studies; and was as great a Pattern in Suffolk, of the pastoral care, in the low degree, as he proved afterwards in Ireland igher Order. He laboured not as an that only raised a Revenue out of his abandoned his Flock, trusting them heapest Mercenary that he could find; he satisfie himself with a slight persone of his duty only for sashion's sake; but

he

he watched over his Flock like one that knew he was to answer to God for those Souls committed to his charge: So he preached to the understandings and consciences of his Parish, and catechifed constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued Sermon; so he was very exact in the more private parts of his Function, visiting the Sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of Religion. This he made his work, and he followed it so close, and lived so much at home, that he was so little known, or fo much forgot, that when \* Diodati came over to England, many years after this, he could hear of him from no Person that he met with; though he was acquainted with many of the Clergy. He was much amazed at this, to find that so extraordinary a Man, that was so much admired at Venice, by so good Judges, was not so much as known in his own Country; and so he was out of all hope of finding him out, but by a meer accident he met him on the Streets of Loudon, at which there was a great deal of joy on both fides. And upon that Diodati presented him to † Morton the learned and ancient Bishop of Duresme, and told how great a value P. Paulo set on him; upon which that Bishop treated him in a very particular manner. It is true, & Sir Henry Wotton was always his firm and faithful Friend; but his Credit at Court had funk: For he fell under necessities, having

<sup>\*</sup> Diodate. † Merton. S Sir Wirry Wetten.

having lived at Venice in an Expence above his appointments, And as necessitous Courtiers must grow to forget all concerns but their own; fo their interest abates, and the favour they are in lessens, when they come to need it too much. \* Sir Thomas Jermyn was in more credit, though he was always suspected of being too favourable to the Puritans; so that his inclinations being known, the character he could give of him, did not serve to raise him in England.

While he was thus neglected at home, his fame was spread into Ireland; and though he was not known either to the famous Bishop Usher. or to any of the Fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, yet he was chosen by their unanimous consent, to be the Head of their College, in the Year 1627, and as that worthy Primate of Ireland, together with the Fellows of the College, writ to him, inviting him to come and accept of that Mastership, so an Address was made to the King, praying that he would command him to go over. And that this might be the more successful, Sir Henry Wettom was moved to give his Majesty a true Account of him, which he did in the following Letter.

May it please your most Gracious Majesty,

Aving been informed, That certain Per-Sons have, by the good Wishes of the Archbishop of Ardmagh, been directed bither, with a most humble Petition unto your Majesty, That you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell

<sup>\*</sup> Six Thomas Jermyn. + An Account of Bedell.

Bedell snow resident upon a small Benefice in Suffolk ) Governor of your College at Dublin, for the Good of that Society: And my self being required to vender unto your Majesty some Teftimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my imployment there; I am bound in all Conscience and Truth ( so far as your Majesty will accept of my poor Judgment) to affirm of bim, Ibst I think, hardly a fitter Man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of the Church, and Zeal to advance the Cause of God; wherein his Travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your Majesty to know, That this is the Man whom Padre Paulo took (I may fay ) into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest Thoughts of his Heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and postive, than from any that he had practifed in his Days: of which all the Passages were well known unto the King your Father, of bleffed And so with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless Office: For the general fame of his Learning, his Life, and Christian Temper, and those religious Labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, de better describe him than I am able.

Your Majesty's

most humble and faithful Servant,

H. Wotten. But

But when this matter was proposed to Mr. Bedell, he expressed so much both of true Philosophy, and real Christianity in the Answer that he made to so honourable an offer, that I will not undertake to give it otherwise than in his own Words, taken from a Letter which he writ to one that had been imployed to deal with him in this matter. The Original of this and most of the other Letters that I set down, were found among the Most Reverend Primate Usher's Papers, and were communicated to me by his Reverend and Worthy Friend Dr. Parre.

SIR,

7 1TH my bearty commendations remembred: I have this day received both your Letters, dated the 2d of this Month; I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite, as to have conferred with some of my Friends, such as posfibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate; yet since that I perceive by both your Letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married, and have three Children; therefore if the place requires a single Man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a competent ziving of above a hundred pound a year, in a

good Air and Seat, with a very convenient House near to my Friends, a little Parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak Voice. I have often heard it, That changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well. And I see well, That my Wife (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with what so ever God shall appoint) had rather continue with her Friends in her native Country, than put her self into the hazard of the Seas, and a foreign Land, with many casualties in Travel, which she perhaps out of fear apprehends more

than there is cause.

All these Reasons I have, if I consult with Flesh and Blood, which move me rather to reject this offer; (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord Primate for his Mind and good Opinion of me : ) On the other side. I consider the end, wherefore I came into the World, and the business of a Subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a Minister of the Gospel, of a good Patriot, and of an bonest Man. If I may be of any better use to my Country, to God's Church, or of any better service to our common Master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer, Here I am. For my part therefore I will not stir one foot, or lift up my singer for or against this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is, If those whom it concerns there, do procure those who may command me here, to fend me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia, yea though I were not only to meet with troubles.

bles, dangers, and difficulties, but death it self in the performance. Sir, I have, as plainly as I can, shewed you my mind; desiring you with my humble service to represent it to my Reven rend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the Glary of his Holy Name, and have you in his merciful protection; so I rest

Your

From Bury, March 6, 1626.

Loving Friend,

Will. Bedell.

The conclusion of this matter was, that the King being well informed concerning him, commanded him to undertake this charge,. which he did cheerfully obey; and fet about the duties incumbent on him, in such a manner, as shewed how well he had improved the long time of retirement, that he had hitherto enjoyed, and how ripely he had digested all his thoughts and observations. He had hitherto lived as if he had been made for nothing but speculation and study; and now when he entred upon a more publick Scene, it appeared that he understood the practical things of Government and humane Life fo. well, that no Man seemed to be more cut out for bufiness than he was. In the Government of the College, and at his first entry upon a new Scene, he refolved to act nothing till he both knew the Statutes of the House persectby well, and understood well the tempers of

the People; therefore when he went over first. he carried himself so abstractly from all asfairs, that he pass'd for a soft and weak Man. The zeal that appeared afterwards in him, shewed. That this coldness was only the effect of his Wisdom, and not of his Temper: when he found that some grew to think meanly of him, and that even Ulber himself began to change his opinion of him: Upon that when he went over to England some Months after, to bring his Family over to Ireland. he was thinking to have religned his new Proferment, and to have returned to his Benefice in Suffolk; but the Primate writ so kind a Letter to him, that as it made him lay down those thoughts, so it drew from him the following Words in the Answer that he writ to him.

Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your Grace's exhortation, advising me to have Faith in God, and not to confult with Flesh und Blood, nor have mind of this Country. Now I would to God, that your Grace could look into my Heart, and see how little I fear lack of Provision, or pass upon any outward thing in this World: My chief fear in truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in that place; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no 'svise Man could blame me to retain it: Especially having understood that your Grace, whose Authority I chiefly followed at the first, did from your own Judgment, and that of other wise wife Men, so truly pronounce of me, That I was a weak Man. Now that I have received your Letters so full of Life and Encouragement, it puts some more life in me. For sure it cannot agree with that goodness and ingenuity of yours, praised among all God's Graves in you, by those that know you, to write one thing to me, and to speak another thing to others of me, or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair Words, laying in the mean while a Net for my Feet, especially sith my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither.

Thus was he prevailed on to refign his Benefice, and carry his Family to Ireland, and then he applied himself with that vigour of Mind, that was peculiar to him, to the go-

vernment of the College.

He corrected such abuses as he sound among them; he set such rules to them, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made: And as he was a great promoter of learning among them, so he thought his particular Province was to instruct the House aright in the Principles of Religion. In order to this he catechised the Youth in the College once a Week, and preached once a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it: And that he might acquaint them with a plain and particular body of Divinity, he divided the Church Catechism into Two and Fifty Parts, one for every Sunday, and did explain it in a way so mixed

ed with Speculative and Practical Matters. that his Sermons were both learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent Exhortations to Virtue and Piety: Many took notes of them. and Copies of them were much enquired after; for as they were fitted to the capacity of his Hearers, so they contained much matter in them, for entertaining the most learned. He had not stayed there above two Years, when by his Friend Sir Thomas Jermyn's means, a Patent was fent him to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, two contiguous Sees in the Province of Ulfter. And in the Letters by which the King fignified his pleasure for his Promotion, he likewise expressed his acceptance of his service he had done in the College, in very honourable terms as follows:

And as we were pleased by our former gracious Letters to establish the said William Bedell, by our Royal Authority, in the Provostship of the said College of the Blessed Trinity near Dublin, where we are informed that by his Care and good Government, there hath been wrought great Reformation, to our singular contentment; so we purpose to continue our care of that Society, being the principal Nursery of Religion and Learning in that our Realm; and to recommend unto the College some such Person from whom we may expect the like worthy effects for their good, as we and they have found from Mr. Bedell.

And now in the 59th Year of his Age, he entered upon a different course of Lise and Em-

Employment, when it might have been thought, that the vigour of his Spirits was 'much broken and spent. 'But by his administration of his Diocess, it appeared that there remained yet a vast heat and force of Spirit to carry him through those difficult undertakings, to which he found himself obliged by this new Character; which if it makes a Man but a little lower than the Angels, so that the term Angel is applied to that Office in Scripture, he thought it did oblige him to an angelical course of life, and to divide his time. as much as could confift with the frailties and necessities of a Body made of Flesh and Blood, as those glorious Spirits do, between the beholding the Face of their Father which is in Heaven, and the ministring to the Heirs of Salvation: He considered the Bishop's office made him the Shepherd of the inferior Shepherds, if not of the whole Diocess; and therefore he refolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of Religion among them: And he thought it a difingenuous thing to vouch Antiquity for the Authority and Dignity of that Function, and not at the same time to express those Virtues and Practices that made it to Venerable among Since the Forms of Church Government must appear amiable and valuable to the World, not so much for the reasonings and arguments that learned Men use concerning them, as for the real advantages that mankind find from them. So that he determined with the great Nazianzen, To give Wings to his Soul

Soul, to rescue it wholly from the World, and to dedicate it to God: And not to think it enough to perform his duty in fuch a manner, as to pass through the rest of his life without reproach: For according to that Father, This was to weigh out Virtue by small weights; but in the Language of that Father he resolved to live, as one that had got above his senses, and all sensible things, that was recollected within himself, and had attained to a familiarity with divine matters, that so his mind might be as an unsullied Mirrour, apon which be might receive and represent the impresses of God and divine things, unallied with the Characters of lower objects. He saw he would fall under some envy, and meet with great oppositions, but he considered that as a fort of martyrdom for God, and resolved cheerfully to undergo whatfoever uneafy things he might be forced to suffer, in the discharge of his conscience and duty.

In laying open his designs and performances in this last and greatest period of his Life, I have suller materials than in the somer parts. For my Author was particularly known to him during a large part of it, and spent several Years in his Family; so that his opportunities of knowing him were as great as could be desired, and the Bishop was of so gentle a temper, and of so communicative a nature, that he easily opened himself to one, that was taken into his alliance as well as into his heart, he being indeed a Man of primitive simplicity. He found his Diocess under

fo many diforders, that there was scarce a found part remaining. The Revenue was washed by excessive dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to fale in so fordid a manner, that it was grown to a Proverb. But I will not enlarge further on the ill things othere had done, than as it is necessary to shew the good things that were done by him. One of his Cathedrals, Ardisch, was fallen down to the ground, and there was fearer enough remaining of both these Revenues to Support a Bishop that was resolved not to supply himfelf by indirect and base methods: He had a very small Clergy, but seven or eight in each Diocess of good sufficiency; but every one of these was multiplied into many Parishes, they having many Vicarages a piece; but being English, and his whole Diocets confifting of brift, they were barbarians to them; not could they perform any part of divine Offices among them. But the flate of his Chergy will appear best from a Letter that he writ to Archbishop Land concerning it, which I shall here infert.

Right Reverend Father, my honoumble good Lord,

SINCE my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time, the fettling of the flate of the College, and my Lord Primate's Visitation deferred my Conferration) I have not been unmindful of your Lordship's commands, to advertife you, as my expense.

experience should inform me, of the state of the Church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my Diocesses, and can fet down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate: And shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The Cathedral Church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by S. Patrick, together with the Bishop's House there, down to the ground. The Church kere, built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice. The Parish Churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and anrepaired. The People, saving a few British Planters here and there (which are not the tenth part of the remnant) obstinate Recusants. A Popish Clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-General and Officials; who are so confident as they Excommunicate those that come to our Courts, even in matrimonial caules: Which affront bath been offered my self by the Popish Primate's Vicar-General; which I have begun a Process against him. The Primate himself lives in my Parish, within two miles of my house; the Bishop in another part of my Diocess surther off. Every Parish bath its Priest; and some two or three a piece; and so their Mass-houses also; in some places Mass is said in the Churches. Fryers there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their Habit, and by their importunate begging impowerifb the people; who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so, from their

their paying double Tythes to their own Clergy, and ours, from the dearth of Corn, and the death of their Cattle these late years, with the Contributions to their Soldiers and their Agents: And which they forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the Court Ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. our own, there are seven or eight Ministers in each Diocess of good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery still) English, which have not the Tongue of the people, nor can perform any Divine Offices, or converse with them; and which holdmany of them Two or Three, Four, or more Vicarages a piece; even the Clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes Two or Three, or more, upon one Man, and ordinarily bought and sold or let to farm. His Majesty is now with the greatest part of this Country, as to their Hearts and Consciences, King, but at the Pope's discretion.

Kilmore, Apr. 1. 1630.

Will. Kilmore & Ardagh.

Here was a melancholy prospect to a Man of so good a mind, enough to have disheart-ned him quite, if he had not had a proportioned degree of Spirit and Courage to support him under so much weight. After he had recovered somewhat of the spoils made by his Predecessor, and so put himself into a capa-

capacity to subfift, he went about the reforming of abuses: And the first that he undertook was Pluralities, by which one Man had a care of Souls in so many different places, that it was not possible to discharge his Duty to them, nor to perform those Vows, he made at his Ordination, of feeding and instructing the Flock committed to his care. And though most of the Pluralists did mind all their Parishes alike, that is, They neglected all equally; yet he thought this was an abuse contrary both to the nature of Ecclesiastical Functions, to the obligations that the care of Souls naturally imported, and to those solemn Vows that Church-men made at the Altar when they were ordained: And he knew well that this corruption was no fooner observed to have crept into the Christian Church, than it was condemned by the fourth general Council at Chalcedon. For when some that had removed from one Diocess to another, continued to have their share in the dividend of the Church, which they had left, as well as of that to which they had gone; the Council decreed, That such transgreffors should restore all they had got from the Church, which they had left, and should be degraded, if they refused to submit to this regulation. He thought it a vain, and indeed an impudent thing, for a Man to pretend that he answered the obligation of fo facred a truft, and fo holy a vow, by hiring some mercenary Curate to perform Offices; fince the obligation was personal, and the Ecclesiastical Functions were not like the Levitical service in the Temple, in which the observing their Rites, was all that was required. But the watching over Souls had so many other things involved in it, besides officiating according to the Rubrick, that it drew this fevere reflection from a witty Man, in which though the Wit of it may feem too pleasant for so serious a subject, yet it had too much fad truth under it; That when such Betrayers and Abandoners of that trust which Christ purchased with his own Blood, found good and faithful Curates that performed worthily the obligations of the Pastoral Care, the Incumbent should be saved by Proxy, but he damned in Person, Therefore the Bishop gathered a meeting of his Clergy, and in a Sermon with which he opened it, he laid before them, both out of Scripture, and Antiquity, the Institution, the Nature, and the Duties of the Ministerial Imployment; and after Sermon he spoke to them largely on the same subject in Latin, stiling them, as he always did, His Brethren and fellow Presbyters: And exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which as it brought a heavy scandal on the Church, and gave their Adversaries great advantages against them; so it must very much endanger both their own Souls, and the Souls of their Flocks. And to let them see that he would not lay a heavy burthen on them, in which he would not bear his own share, he resolved to part with one of his Bishopricks. For the Ardaeh was confidered as a ruined See, and had long gone as an accessory to Kilmere, and

continues to be fo still; yet fince they were really two different Sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his Clergy to renounce their Pluralities, unless he fet them an example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a confiderable charge in recovering the Patrimony of Ardagh, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the duty of both these Sees, they being contiguous, and small; and though the Revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not feem to be guilty of that which he so severely condemned in others: And therefore he refigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson; and so was now only Bishop of Kilmore. The Authority of this example, and the efficacy of his discourse, made such an impression on his Clergy, that they all relinquished their Pluralities. .Arguments that arise out of interest are generally much stronger than those of mere speculation, how well foever it be made out; and therefore this concurrence that he met with from his Clergy in so sensible a point, was a great encouragement to him to go on in his other defigns. There seemed to be a Finger of God in it; for he had no Authority to compel them to it, and he had managed the minds of his Clergy so gently in this matter, that their compliance was not extorted, but both free and unanimous. For, one only excepted, they all submitted to it; and he being Dean, exchanged his Deanery with another; for he was ashamed to live in the Diocels, where he would not submit to such terms, D 4

after both the Bishop himself and all his Cleragy had agreed to them. But the opposition that was given him by the Dean, and both his sense of that matter, and his carriage in it, will appear from the following Letter, which he writ concerning it to the Primate; which though it be long and particular, yet it seemed to me too important to be either stifled or abridged.

Most reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

Cannot easily express what contentment  $oldsymbol{I}$ received at my late being with your Grace There had nothing happenat Termonseckin. ed to me, I will not say, since I came into Ircland, but, as far as I can call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did so much affect me in this kind, as the hazzard of your good opi-For, loving and honouring you in Truth (for the truth's fake, which is in us, and shall abide with us for ever ) without any private Interest, and receiving so unlook'd-for a blow from your own Hand, (which I expected should have tenderly apply'd some remedy to me, being smitten by others) I had not present the defences of Reason and Grace. And although I knew it to be a fault in my self, since in the performance of our Duties, the Judgment of our Master, even alone, ought to suffice us; yet I could not be so much Master of mine Affections, as to cast out this weakness. But blessed be God, who (as I began to (ay) at my leing with you refreshed

iny Spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me: and all humble thanks to you; that gave me place to make my Defence, and took upon you the cognisance of mine innocency. And. as for mine Accuser (whose hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous desire of heaping Living upon Living, to the evident damage, not only of other Souls committed to him, but of his own) truly I am glad, and do give God Thanks that this malignity, which a while masked it self in the pretence of friendship, bath at last discovered it self by publick opposition. It hath not, and I hope it shall not be in his power to hurt me at all; be hath rather shamed himself: And, although his high heart cannot give his Tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his Understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to taste the Fruit of it also, without being further troublesome to your Grace, save that I do not despair, but your Grace's Authority will pull him out of the snare of Satan, whose Instrument he hath been to cross the Work of God, and give me more occasion of joy by his amendment, than I had. grief by his perversion and opposition.

Tour Grace's Letters of Aug. 23. were not delivered to me till the 29th. In the mean space what effect those that accompanied them had with Mr. Dean you shall perceive by the inclosed which were sent me the 28th. the Evening before our Communion. I answered them the next Morning, as is here annexed. As I was at the Lord's Table; beginning the service of the

Communion before Serman, he came in, and after the Serman was done, those that communicated not being departed, he stood forth, and spake to

this purpose:

. That whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires. That before the Lord's Supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there should be reconciliation; this was much more requisite between Ministers: And because they all been that there had been some difference between me and him, be did profess, that he bare me no malice nor hatred, and if he had offended me in any thing, he was forry. I answered. That he had good teason to be forry, confidering how he had behaved himself. For my part I have him no malice, and if it were in my would not make so much as his Finger ake, Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knesa there were many good Parts, would become or instrument to appose the Work of God, which I was affered he had called me to. This was all that poffed. He offered himself to the Lord's Board, and I gave him the Communion. Dinner he preached out of I Joh. 4. 10. And this Commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God, &c. When we came out of the Church, Dr. Sheriden delivered me your Grace's Letters. And thus Mr. Dean thinks be bath healed all, as you may perceive by his next Letters of August 30. Only he labours about Kildromfarten. Whereabouts I purposed to have spoken with your Grace at my being with you; but I know not how it came not to my mend, whether it be that the Soul, as well \*the Body, after some travel easily falleth to reft;

rest; or esse God executed have it reserved per-

baps to a more seasonable time.

It is now above a Twebvemouth (the Day in many respects I may well wish that it may not be reckened with the days of the year ) that your Grace, as it were, delivered to me with year even Hands, Mr. Crian, a converted Fry-To whom I offered my felf as largely as my Ability would extend unto: though I had alroady at your Grace's commendation received Mr. Dunsterville to be in my House, with the allowauce of Twenty Pound per annum. Day before my departing, Mr. Hilton made a enotion to me, That where he had in his Hands sufficient to make the Benefice of Kildromsarton word, if I would bestow it upon Mr. Dean he would de se; etherwise it should remain in statu. I answered with profession of my love and good opinion of Mr. Dean, whereof I shewed the reafens. I added, I did not know the place nor the peaple, but if they were more Irish, I did not fee bow Mr. Dean should discharge the duty of a Minister to them. This motion was seconded by your Grace: But so as I easily concerd d, that being sollicited by your old Servant, you could do no less than you did; and not withstanding the Lecture he promised your Grace should be read to me, in the matter of Collations, would not be displeased, if I did as became me, according to my Confcience, and in Conformity to your former motion for Mr. Crian. Mr. Dean after pressed me, that, if without my concurrence your Grace would confer that Living upon him, I would not be against it; which I promised, but

but heard no more of it till about April lasti-In the mean while the Benefice next unto that which Mr. Dunsterville was already possessed of. falling void: Mr. Crian not coming to me, nor purposing to do so till after Christmas, and whensoever he should come, my House, as I found, not affording room for him and Mr. Dunsterville both, whose former Benefice was unable, he (aid, to maintain him, chiefly he promising Residence, and taking of me for that purpose an Oath, absolutely without any exception of Dispensation, I united it to his former, and dismissed him to go to his Gure; wherein how carelesty he hath behaved himself, I forbear to relate. To return to Mr. Dean: About mid-April he brought me a Presentation to Kildromfarten under the broad Seal. I could do no less but signifie to the Incumbent, who came to me and maintained his Title, requiring me not to admit. Whereupon I returned the Presentation, indorsing the reason of my refusal; and being then occasioned to write to the Lords Justices, I signified what I thought of these Pluralities, in a time when we are so far overmatch'd in number by the adverse part. This passed on till the Visitation; wherein Mr. Dean shewed himself in his Colours. When the Vicar of Kildromsarten was called, he said, he was Visar; but would exhibit no Title. After, the Curate, Mr. Smith signified to me, that his Stipend was unpaid, and he feared it would be still in the contention of two Incumbents. Upon these and other Reasons, I sequestred the Profits, which Thave beard by a Simoniacal compact between t hemi

shem should be for this Year the former Incumbents. Neither did Mr. Dean write or speak a Word to me hereabout, till the day before the Communion in the inclosed. That very Morning I was certified that he purposed to appeal to your Grace, which made me in answer to his next

to add, Quod facias, fac citius.

Here I befeech your Grace give meleave to speak freely touching this matter, so much the rather, because it is the only Root of all Mr. Dean's despite against me. Plainly I do thus. think, That of all the diseases of the Church in these times, next to that of the corruption of our Courts, this of Pluralities is the most deadly and peftilent, especially when those are instituted into charges Ecclesiastical, who, were they never so willing, yet for want of the Lawguage of the People, are unable to discharge them. Concerning which very Point, I know your Grace remembers the Propositions of the learned and zealous Bisbop of Lincoln before Pope Innocent. I will not add the Confession of our Adversaries themselves in the Council of Trent, nor the judgment of that good Father, the Author of the History thereof, touching now. Residency. Let the thing itself speak. Whence flow the ignorance of the people, the neglect of God's Worship, and defrauding the Poor of the remains of dedicate things, the ruin of the mansion-Houses of the Ministers, the desolation of Churches, the (wallowing up of Parishes by the Farmers of them, but from this Fountain? There may be cause no doubt, why sometimes, in some place, and to some Man, many Churches may

may be committed; but now that, as appears by the late Certificates, there are, besides the titular Primate and Bistop, of Priests in the Diecess of Kilmore and Ardagh, 66, of Miniflers and Curates but 32, of which number also 3, robose Wives came not to Church: In this so great Odds as the adversaries have of us in number, (to omit the advantage of the Language, the possession of peoples Hearts, the countenancing of the Nobility and Gentry, Is it a time to commit many Churches to one Man. whom I will not disable, and be saith he hath a very able Interpreter, and I think no less [ which made me once to fay, That I would somer sonfer the Benefice of Kildromfarten upon him than upon himself, which resolution I do yet hold, in how ill part soever he take it.) But what hath he done in the Parishes already committed to him, for the Instruction of the hish, that we foould commit another unto him? be that cannot perform his duty to one without a below, or to that little part of it whose Tongue he bath, is he sufficient to do it to three? No it is the Wages is fought, not the Work. And net with the means he hath already, that good Man his Predecessor maintained a Wife and Family; and vannot be in his folitary ( he bad once written Monkifo ) life defray himfelf? Well, if there can be none found fit to discharge the duty, bet bin have the Wages to better his maintenance. But when your Grace affureth as we soall lack no Men, when there is besides Mr. Crian (whom Dr. Sheriden hath beard preach as a Fryer in that very place; which I account

account regulal be more to God's Glory, if there now he should plant the Truth, which before he endeavoured to root out) besides him to e borne Mr. Nugent; who offerest himself in an bonest and discreet Letter lately written to me, we have fundry in the Gullege, and namely, tend trained up at the Irish Lecture, one whereaf hath tribilated gour Gruce's Gatechifm into Irish; bepder Mr. Duncan and orbers; with what colour can we pass by these; and suffer him to fat himself with the blood of God's peon plet Pardon me, I befrech your Grace, when I fay We: I mean not to preferibe any thing to you; my self, I hope, shall never do it, or comfent to it. And so long as this is the varie of Mr. Dean's wrath against me, whether I suffer by his Pen or his Tougue, I fould rejuice, as suffering for righteensiness sake. And, sub binfelf in his last Letter excuses my intent, I do fabrist my Actions after God, to your Grave's Confure, ready to make bise latisfaction, if in any things, in word or deed, I have surrouged bim.

For conclusion of this befiness of wherein I am forry to be so troublesome to your Grace) but him surcease this his greedy and impudent presence to this Benefice, let Mr. Nugent be admitted to it, or Mr. Crian, if he be not yet provided for I without I will hope etc long to add Mr. Nugent for a Neighbour, on or it is expute, If these second (questiontess better) thoughts have any place in him; as in his last Letters he gives some hope, let my complaints against him be cast into the Fire. God make him an humble and modest Man.

Man. But if Mr. Dean will needs persist, I beseeth your Grace to view my Reply, to the which I will add no more. As touching his traducing me in your Pulpit at Cavan, I have sent your Grace the Testimonies of Mr. Robinston and Mr. Teate; although he had been with them before, and denied what they formerly conceived. And if your Grace will be pleased to enquire of Mr. Cape, by a line or two, (with whom I never spake a Word about the matter) or compare the Heads of his Sermon (which he saith were general) with his former Reports made of me, I doubt not but you will soon sind the truth.

I have sent also his Protostation against my Visitation, wherein I desire your Grace to observe the blindness of Majice: He pretends that I may not vift but at or after Michaelmas every year. As if the Month of July, wherein I visited, were not after Michaelmas: For before the last Michaelmas I visited not. I omit that he calls himself the Head of the Chap-The Canon Law calls the Bishop so: He will have the Bishop visit the whole Diocess together; directly contrary to that Form, which the Canous prescribe. But this Protestation having neither Latin, nor Law, nor common Sense; doth declare the skill of him that drew it, and the wit of him that uses it. ·Which, if your Grace injoin him not to revoke it, I shall be forced to put remedy unto otherwife, in respect of the evil example and prejudice it might bring to posterity. And now to leave this unpleasing subject. Since my being with

with you, here was with me Mr. Brady, bringing with him the resignation of the Benefice of Mullagh, which I had conferred upon Mr. Dunsterville, and united to bis former of Moybolke: He brought with him Letters from my Lard of Cork, and Sir William Parsons, to when he is allied. But examining him, I found him (besides a very raw Drume) unable to read the Irish, and therefore excused my self to the Lards for admitting him. A few days ofter, viz. the 10th of this Month, bere was swith me Mr. Dunsterville himself, and signified to me that be had revoked bis former Resignation. Thus he plays fast and loofe, and most suggestionably negletts his duty. Omnes que fus funt, querunt. Indeed I doubted his Resignation was not good, in as much as he retained still the former Benefice, whereunto this Now I fee clearly there was a evas united. compact between him and Mr. Brady, that if the second could not be admitted, he should re-Sume his Benefice ogam.

I have received Latters from Mr.Dr.Warde, of the Date of May 28, in which he mentions again the point of the justification of Infants by Baptism. To whom I have written an answer, but not yet sent it. I send herewith a Copy thereof to your Grace, humbly requiring your advice and consure (if it he not too much to your Grace's trouble) before I send it. I have also written an answer to Dr. Richardson in the question tenching the root of Efficacy or Efficiency of Grace; but it is long, and consists of 3 or 6 sheets of Paper, so as I cannot now send it:

it; I shall hereafter submit it, as all other my endeavours, to your Grace's censure and correction. I have received also a large anfwer from my Lord of Derry, touching justifying Faith; whereto I have not yet had time to reply; nor do I know if it be worth the labour, the difference being but in the manner of teaching, As whether justifying Faith be an Assent working affiance; or else an affiance following Assent. I wrote presently upon my return from your Grace to my Lords Justices, descring to be excused from going in person to take possession of the Mass-House; and a Certificate that my fuit with Mr. Cook is depending before them. I have not as yet received answer, by reason (as Sir William Usher signified to my Son ) the Lord Chancellor's indisposition did not permit his hand to be gotten.

I do scarce hope to receive any Certificate from them, for the respect they will have not to seem to infringe your Grace's Jurisdiction. Whereupon I shall be inforced to entertain a Proctor for me at your Grace's Court, when I am next to appear, it being the very time when my Court in the County of Leitim was set be-

fore I was with you.

Asoamed I am to be thus tedious. But I hope you will pardon me, sith you required, and I promised, to write often; and having now had opportunity to convey my Letters, this must serve instead of many: Concluding with mine and my Wife's humble service to your Grace and

and Mrs. Ulher, and thanks for my kindentertainment, I desire the blessing of your Prayers, and remain always,

Your Grace's

Kilmore, Septemb. 18, 1630.

humble Servant,

Will. Kilmore & Ardagb.

The condemning Pluralities was but the half of his Project. The next part of it was to oblige his Clergy to reside in their Parishes; but in this he met with a great difficulty. King James upon the last reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's Rebellion, had ordered Gkbe-Lands to be affigued to all the Clergy; and they were obliged to build Houses upon them, within a limited time, but in affigning those Glebe-Lands, the Commissioners that were appointed to execute the King's Orders, had taken no care of the conveniences of the Clergy: For in many places these Lands were not within the Parish, and often they lay not all together, but were divided in parcels. So he found his Clergy were in a strait. For if they built Houses upon these Glebe-Lands, they would be thereby forced to live out of their Parishes, and it was very inconvenient for them to have their Houses remote from their Lands. In order to a remedy to this, the Bishop that had Lands in every Parish assign'd him, resolved to make an exchange with them, and to take their Glebe-Lands into his own hands for more convenient portions of equal

value that he affigued them: And that the exchange might be made upon a just estimate, so that neither the Bilhop nor the inserior Clergy might suffer by it, he procured a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant, for some to examine and settle that matter, which was at last brought to a conclusion with so universal a satisfaction to his whole Diocess, that since the thing could not be finally determined without a Great Seal from the King, confirming all that was done, there was one sent over in all their names to obtain it; but this was a work of time, and so could not be finished in several years: And the Rebellion broke out before it was fully concluded.

The Lord Lieutenant at this time was Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, a name too great to need any enlargement or explanation; for his Character is well At his first coming over to Ireland, he was possessed with prejudices against the Bishop upon the account of a Petition sent up by the County of Cavan, to which the Bishop had let his hand, in which some complaints were made, and some regulations were propoled for the Army: Which was thought an infolent attempt, and a matter of ill example. So that Strafford, who was severe in his administration, was highly displeased with him: And when any Commission or Order was brought to him, in which he found his name, he dashed it out with his own Pen; and expressed great indignation against him. When the Bishop understood this, he was not much

much moved at it, knowing his own innocence; but he took prudent methods to overcome his displeasure, He did not go to Dablin upon his coming over, as all the other Bishops did, to congratulate his coming to the Government: But he writ a full account of that matter to his constant Friend Sir Thomas Jermin, who managed it with fo much zeal. that Letters were sent to the Deputy from the Court, by which he was so much mollified towards the Bishop, that he going to congratulate, was well received, and was ever afterwards treated by him with a very particular kindness. So this storm went over. which many thought would have ended in imprisonment, if not in deprivation. Yet how much soever that Petition was mistaken, he made it appear very plain, that he did not defign the putting down of the Army: For he faw too evidently the danger they were in from Popery, to think they could be long fase without it. But a Letter that contains his vindication from that aspersion, carries in it likewise such a representation of the state of the Popish intenest then in Ireland, and of their numbers, their tempers, and their principles, that I will fet it down. It was written to the Archbishop of Ganterbury, and is taken from the printed copy of it that Mr. Pryune has given us.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

I N'the midst of these thoughts, I have been advertised from an honourable Friend in England, that I am accused to his Majesty to have opposed his fervice; and that my hand with two other Bisbops only, was to a Writing touching the Money to be levied on the Papists for maintenance of the Men of War. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of bis Majesty, but to expose with the publick peace mine own Neck, to the Skeans of the Romish Cut-threats. I that knew that in this Kingdom of his Majesty's, the Pope hath another Kingdom far greater in number, and as I bave beretofore signified to the Lords Justices and Council (which is also since justified by themselves in Print ) constantly guided and diretted by the Order of the new Congregation De propaganda Fide, lately erected at Rome, transmitted by the means of the Pope's Nuntio's residing at Brussels or Paris, that the Pope hath here a Clergy, if I may guess by my own Diocess, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal Oath bound to him, to maintain him and his Regalities contra omnem hominem, and to execute his Mandates to the uttermost of their forces; which accordingly they do, stiling themselves in Print, Ego N. Dei, & Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Episcopus Fermien & Ossorien. I that knew there is in the Kingdom for the moulding of the people to

<sup>\*</sup> This seems to be but the half of the Letter by the be-

she Pope's obedience, a rabble of irregular Regulars, commonly younger Brothers of good Houfes, who are grown to that infolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in better ranks than Priests, in so much that the censure of the Sorbon is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again; so tender is the Pope of his own Creatures. I that knew that his Holiness Bath erected a new University in Dublin to confront his Majesty's College there, and to breed the youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, of which University one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous Libel, which was put forth in Print against my Lord Armach's Wansted Sermon, stileth bimself in Print to be Dean: I that knew and have given advertisement to the State, that these Regulars dare erect new Fryeries in the Country, since the dissolving of these in the City, that they have brought the people to such a sottish senseleines, as they care not to learn the Commandments as God himself spake, and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitious and detestable Doctrines, such as their own Priests are asbamed of; and at all those they levy Collections, Three, Four, Five, or Six Pounds at a Sermon. Shortly, I that knew that those Regulars and this Clergy have at a general meeting like to a Synod, as themselves stile it, decreed, That it is not lawful to take an Oath of Allegiance; and if they be constant to their own Doctrine, do account his Majesty in their Hearts to be King but at the Pope's  $\mathbf{E}$ 

The LIFE of

Pope's discretion. In this state of this Kimpdom, to think the Bridle of the Army may be taken away, should be the thought not of a brain-sick, but of a brain-bess Man.

The day of our deliverance from the Popilh Powder Plot, Anno 1622.

Your Lordship's

in all Daty,

Will. Kilmore.

By his cutting off Pluralities there fell to be many Vacancies in his Diocels, to the care he took to fill these, comes to be considered in the next place. He was very strict in his examinations before he gave Orders to any. He went over the Articles of the Church of Ireland fo particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the Ordination of him that was afterwards his Arch-Deacon, Mr. Thomas Price, reported that though he was one of the Senior Fellows of the Collège of Dublin, when the Bishop was Provost; yet his examination held two full hours: And when he had ended any examination, which was always donein the presence of his Clergy, he defired every Clergy-man that was present to examine the person further, if they thought that any material thing was omitted by him; by which a fuller discovery of his temper and sufficiency might be made. When all was ended, he made all his Clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to Ordination: For he would never assume that fingly to himself, nor take the load of it wholly on his own Soul

Boul. He took also great care to be well informed of the moral and religious qualities of those he ordained, as well as he satisfied him-Telf by his examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had always a confiderable number of his Clergy affilling him at his Ordinations, and he always preached and adminiftred the Sacrament on those occasions him-Telf: And he never ordained one a Presbyter, till he had been at least a year a Deacon, that To he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree, before he raifed him higher. He look'd upon that power of Ordination as the most sacred part of a Bishop's trust, and that in which the Laws of the Land had laid no fort of imposition on them, so that this was intirely in their Hands, and therefore he thought they had fo much the more to answer for to God on that account; and he weighed carefully in his thoughts the importance of those Words, Lay Hands suddenly on no Man, and be not a partaker of other Mens Sins. Therefore he used all the precaution that was possible for him in so important an affair. He was never prevail'd on by any recommendations nor importunities to ordain any; as if Orders had been a fort of Freedom in a Company, by which a Man was to be enabled to hold as great a portion of the Ecclesiastical Revenue as he could compass, when he was thus qualified: Nor would he ever ordain any without a title to a particular Flock. For he thought a title to a maintenance was not enough; as if the Church

Church should only take care that none in Orders might be in want; but he saw the abuses of those emendicated titles, and of the Vagrant Priests that went about as Journeymen, plying for work, to the great reproach of that facred Imployment; and in this he also followed the Rule fet by the fourth general Council that carried this matter so high, as to annul all Orders that were given without a particular designation of the place, where the person was to serve. For he made the Primitive times his Standard, and refolved to come as near it as he could, confidering the corruption of the Age in which he lived. He remembred well the grounds he went on, when he refused to pay Fees for the title to his Benefice in Suffolk, and therefore took care that those who were ordained by him, or had titles to Benefices from him, might be put to no charge: For he wrote all the Instruments. himself, and delivered them to the Persons to whom they belonged, out of his own Hands. and adjured them in a very folemn manner, to give nothing to any of his Servants. that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them always on those occasions to the Gate of his House, that so he might be fure that they should not give any gratification to his Servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient Wages as became them, and not to let his Clergy be burthened with his Servants. And indeed the abuses in that were grown to such a pitch, that

that it was necessary to correct them in so ex-

emplary a manner.

His next care was to observe the behaviour of his Clergy; he knew the lives of Churchmen had generally much more efficacy than their fermons, or other labours could have; and so he set himself much to watch over the manners of his Priefts; and was very fenfibly touched, when an Irishman said once to him in open Court, That the King's Priests were as bad as the Pope's Priests. These were so grosly ignorant, and so openly scandalous. both for drunkenness, and all fort of lewdness, that this was indeed a very heavy reproach: Yet he was no rude nor morose Reformer, but confidered what the times could bear. He had great tenderness for the weakness of his Clergy, when he saw reason to think otherwise well of them; and he help'd them out of their troubles, with the care and compassion of a Father. One of his Clergy held two Livings, but had been couzened by a Gentleman of Quality to farm them to him for less than either of them was worth; and he acquainted the Bishop with this: Who upon that writ very civilly, and yet as became a Bishop, to the Gentleman, persuading him to give up the bargain: But having received a fullen and haughty answer from him; he made the Minister resign up both to him; for they belonged to his Gift, and he provided him with another Benefice, and put two other worthy. Men in these two Churches, and so he put an end both to the Gentleman's fraudulent bar-

gain, and to the Church-man's Plurality. He never gave a Benefice to any without obliging them by Oath to perpetual and personal residence, and that they should never hold any other Benefice with that. So when one Bachanan was recommended to him, and found by him to be well qualified, he offered him a Collation to a Benefice, but when Buthanan faw that he was to be bound to Residence, and not to hold another Benefice: he that was already possessed of one, with which he resolved not to part, would not accept of it on those terms. And the Bishop was not to be prevailed with to dispense with it, thos he liked this Man so much the better, because he found he was akin to the great Buchanana whose Paraphrase of the Psalms he loved beyond all other Latin Poetry. The Latin form of his Collations will be found at the end of this Relation, which concluded thus; \* Obtesting you in the Lord, and enjoining you, by verthe of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his Flock committed to your care, which he purchased with his own Blood; that you instruct them in the Catholick Faith, and perform Divine Offices in a Tongue understood by the people: And above all things that you show your felf a pattern to Believers in good Works, so that the adversaries may be put to shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you. He put all the Instruments in one, whereas devices had been found out, for the in-

<sup>, \*</sup> See at the End, Numb. 1.

Increase of Fees, to divide these into several Writings: Nor was he content to write this all with his own hand, but sometimes he gave Induction likewise to his Clergy; for he thought none of these Offices were below a -Bishop: And he was ready to ease them of charge all he could. He had by his zeal and earnest endeavours prevailed with all his Presbyters to refide in their Parishes; one only excepted, whose name was Johnston. He was of a mean Education, yet he had very quick parts, but they lay more to the Mechanical than to the Spiritual Architecture. For the Rarl of Strofford used him for an Engineer. and gave him the management of some great Buildings that he was raising in the County of Wickley, But the Bilhop finding the Man had a very mercurial Wit, and a great Capacity, he resolved to set him to work, that so he might not be wholly useless to the Church; and therefore he proposed to him the compoling an universal Character, that might be equally well understood by all Nations: And he shewed him, that since there was already an universal Mathematical Character, received both for Arithmetick, Geometry, and Aftronomy, the other was not impossible to be done. Johnston undertook it readily, and the Bilhop drewfor him a Scheme of the whole Work, which he brought to fuch persection, that, as my Author was informed, he put it under the Press, but the Robellion preyented his finishing it,

After the Bishop had been for many years carrying on the Reformation of his Diocess, he resolved to hold a Synod of all his Clergy. and to establish some Rules for the better Government of the Flock committed to him: The Canons then established will be found at the end of this Work. \*He appointed that a Synod should be held thereafter once a year, on the second Week of September; and that in the Bishop's absence, his Vicar General, if he were a Priest, or his Arch-Deacon should preside: That no Vicar should be constituted after that, unless he were in Orders, and should hold his place only during the Bishop's pleasure. He revived the ancient custom of Rural Deans, and appointed, That there should be three for the three Divifions of his Dioces; who should be chosen by the Clergy, and should have an inspection into their deportment, and make report to the Bishop of what pass'd among them, and transmit the Bishop's orders to them; and that once a Month the Clergy of each Divifion should meet, and preach by turns, without long Prayers or Preambles: And that no Excommunication should be made but by the Bishop in person, with the assistance of such of his Clergy as should be present. related to some things of less importance, that required amendment. When the News of this was carried to Dublin, some said it was an illegal Assembly, and that his presuming to make Canons, was against Law, and brought

<sup>\*</sup> See at the end, Numb 1.

him within the guilt of a Premunire. So that it was expected that he should be brought up as a Delinquent, and censured in the Star-Chamber, or High Commission Court: But others look'd on what he had done, as nothing but the necessary discharge of his Episcopal Function. And it seemed strange if some Rules laid down by common consent, for the better government of the Diocess. should have furnished matter for an Accusation or Censure. His Arch-Deacon, that was afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, gave such an account of this matter to the State, that nothing followed upon it. The Bishop had indeed prepared such a Justification of himfelf, as would have vindicated him fully before equitable Judges, if he had been questioned for it. Archbishop User, who knew well how much he could fay for himself upon this Head, advised those that moved that he might be brought up upon it. To let him alone, lest he should be thereby provoked to fay more for himfelf, than any of his Accusers could fay against him.

When he made his Visitations, he always preached himself, and administred the Sacrament; and the business of his Visitations was, what it ought truly to be, to observe the state of his Diocess, and to give good Instructions both to Clergy and Laity. The Visitations in Ireland had been matters of great Pomp and much Luxury, which lay heavy on the inferior Clergy. Some slight enquiries were made, and those chiefly for Form's sake; and indeed nothing

nothing was so much minded, as that which was the reproach of them, the Fees, that were exacted to fuch an intolerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the Clergy. as the Bishop's Visitation came about every Year; to every third Year the Archbishop made his Metropolitical Visitation, and every seventh Year the King's Visitation went round: And in all these as they were then managed, nothing feemed to be so much aimed at, as how to fouceze and oppress the Clergy, who were glad to purchase their Peace by paying all that was imposed on them, by those severe Exactors. These Fees at Visitations were not known in the Primitive Times, in which the Bishop had the whole Stock of the Church in his Hands to defray what expence necessarily fell on him, or his Church. It is true, when the Metropolitan, with other Bishops, came and ordained the Bishop at his See, it was but reasonable that their expence should be discharged; and this came to be rated to a certain Sum, and was called the Inthronistick: And when these grew unreasonably high, the Emperous reduced them to a certain proportion, according to the Revenues of the Sees. But when the Bishops and the inferior Clergy came to have distinct Properties, then the Bishops exacted of their Clergy that which other Vassals owed by their Tenure to the Lord of the Fee, which was the bearing the expence of their Progress; but when they began first to demand those Subfidies from their Clergy; that Practice was condemned, and provision was made, That in

case a Bishop was so poor that he could not bear the charge to which his Visitation put him, he should be supplyed by the richer Bishops about him; but not prey upon his Clergy. And both Charles the Great, and his Son Lewis took care to see this executed: Yet this abuse was still kept up, so that afterwards, in stead of putting it quite down, it was only regulated, so that it might not exceed such a proportion; but that was not observed: So that an arbitrary Tax was in many places levied upon the Clergy. But our Bishop reformed all these excesses, and took nothing but what was by Law and Custom established, and that was employed in entertaining the Clergy: And when there was any overplus, he fent it always to the Prisons, for the relief of the poor. At his Visitation he made his Clergy fit all with him, and be covered, whenever he himself was covered. For he did not approve of the State, in which others of his Order made their Visitations; nor the distance to which they obliged their Clergy. And he had that Canon often in his Mouth, That a Presbyter ought not to be let stand after the Bishop was set. He was much troubled at another abuse which was, that when the Metropolitical and Regal Vifitations went round, a Writ was ferved on the Bishops, suspending their Jurisdiction for that year: And when this was first brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was encreased by two Clauses in the Writ: By the one it was afferted, That in the year of the Metropolitan's Visitation, the whole

and entire furisdiction of the Diocess belonged to him; the other was the reason given for it, Because of the great danger of the Souls of the people: Whereas the danger of Souls rise from that suspension of the Bishop's Pastoral power, since during that Year he either could not do the duty of a Bishop; or if he would exercise it, he must either purchase a Delegation to act as the Archbishop's Deputy, and that could not be had without paying for it, or be lyable

to a Suit in the Prerogative Court.

He knew the Archbishop's power over Bishops was not founded on Divine, or Apostolical right, but on Ecclefiastical Canons and Practice, and that it was only a matter of Order, and that therefore the Archbishop had no Authority to come and invade his Pastoral Office, and suspend him for a Year. These were fome of the worst of the abuses that the Canonists had introduced in the latter Ages; by which they had broken the Episcopal Authority, and had made way for vesting the whole power of the Church in the Pope. those things often before Archbishop User, and press'd him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them, fince they were acted in his name, and by vertue of his Authority deputed to his Chancellor, and to the other Officers of the Court, called the Spiritual Court. No Man was more sensible of those Abuses than Usper was; no Man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touchwith the ill effects of them: And together h his great and yast Learning, no Man had

a better

A better Soul and a more Apostolical mind: In his conveniation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian: For Passion, Pride, Self-Will, or the Love of the World, seemed not to be so much as in his Nature. So that he had all the innocence of the Dove in him. He had a way of gaining peoples Hearts, and of touching their Consciences that look'd like somewhat of the Apostolical Age reviv'd; he spent much of his time in those two best Exercises, secret Prayer, and dealing with other peoples Consciences, either in his Sermons or private Discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his Studies; in which those many Volumes that came from him, shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great Judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best Men that the Age, or perhaps the World, has produced. But no Man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his Function. He had too gentle a Soul to mamage that rough Work of reforming Abuses: And therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of Reformation would come. He law the necessity of cutting off many Abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the Canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a Church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the World, that he apprehended it would bring a Curse and Ruine upon the whole Con-Aitution: But though he prayed for a more favourable Conjuncture, and would have conthred in a joint Reformation of these things tery

very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself fuitably to the Obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: And it is very likely that this fat heavy on his thoughts when he came to dye; for he prayed often, and with great humility. That God would forgive him his Sins of Omission, and his failings in his Duty. It was not without great uneafiness to me that I overcome my felf so far, as to fay any thing that may feem to diminish the Character of so extraordinary a Man, who in other things was beyond any Man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himself: And those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him; which was the only allay that seemed lest, and without which he would have been held, perhaps in more Veneration than was fitting. His Physician Dr. Bootius, that was a Dutchman, faid truly of him, If our Primate of Armagh were as exact .a Disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching . Antiquity, defending the Truth, and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief Churchman of Christendom. But this was necessary to be told, since History is to be writ impartially; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his Memory a little; for I was never fo tempted in any thing that I ever writ, to disguise the Truth, as upon this occasion: Yet though Bishop Usber did not much himself, he had a singular Esteem for that vigour of Mind, which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these matters. now I come to the next instance of his Pastoreal care, which made more notife, and met with more opposition than any of the former.

He found his Court, that fat in his Name, was an entire abuse: It was managed by a Chancellor, that had bought his place from his Predecessor; and so thought he had a right to all the Profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the Court seemed to be nothing but Extortion and Oppression. For it is an old observation, that Men, who buy Inflice, will also sell it. Bribes went about almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of Penance for Money was the worst fort of Simony; being in effect the very same abuse that gave the World fuch a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the Church of Rome, and opened the way to the Reformation. For the felling of Indulgences is really but a commutation of Penance. He found the Officers of the Court made it their business to draw People into trouble by vexatious Suits, and to hold them so long in it that for three Pence worth of the Tythe of Turf, they would be put to five Pounds charge. And the folemnoff and facredest of all the Church Censures, which was Excommunication, went about in so fordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a spiritual Centure, was lost, and the effects it had in Law made it bo cryed out on as a most intolerable piece of Ty-The Officers of the Court thought they had a fort of right to oppress the Natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them. And of all this the good Primate was

was so sensible, that he gives this sad account of the Venality of all sacred things in a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: As for the general state of things here, they are so designed to write any thing thereof. Some of the adverse part have asked me the Question, where I have heard or read before, that Roligion and Mens Souls should be set to Sale, after this manner? Unso whom I could reply nothing, but that I had read in Manton, That there was another place in the world, where

## Cœlum est venale, Deusque.

Both Heaven and God himself are set to Sale. But our Bishop thought it not enough to lan ment this; he resolved to do what in him lay to correct these abuses, and to go and fit and judge in his own Courts himself. He carried a competent number of his Clergy with him, who fat about him, and there he heard Caufes, and by their advice he gave Sentence. By this means so many Causes were dismiss'd, and such a change was wrought in the whole Proceedings of the Court, that inflead of being any more a grievance to the Country, none were now grieved by it but the Chancellor, and the other Officers of the Court; who saw their Trade was funk, and their Profits were falling; and were already displeased with the Bishop, for writing the Titles to Benefices himself, taking that part of their Gain out of their Hands. Therefore the Lay Chancellor brought a Suit

a Suit against the Bishop into Chancery, for invading his Office. The matter was now a common Canfe; the other Bishops were glad at this Step our Bishop had made, and encouraged him to go on resolutely in it, and assured him they would fland by him; and they confessed they were but half Bishops till they could recover their authority out of the hands of their Chancellors. But on the other hand all the Chancellors and Registers of Ireland combined together; they faw this struck at those Places which they had bought, valuing them according to the Profits that they could make by them: And it cannot be denyed but they had reason to move, That if their places were regulated, the Money, by which they had purchased that right to squeeze the Country, ought to have been reftored. The Bishop defired that he might be suffered to plead his own Cause himself, but that was denyed him, which he took ill: But he drew the Argument that his Council made for him; for it being the first Suit that ever was of that fort, he was more capable of composing his Defence than his Council could be.

He went upon these Grounds, That one of the most essential parts of a Bishop's duty was to govern his Flock, and to inslict the Spiritual Censures on obstinate Offenders: That a Bishop could no more delegate this power to a Lay-man, than he could delegate a power to Baptize or Ordain, since Excommunication and other Censures were a suspending the rights of Baptism and Orders; and therefore the

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judging

judging of these things could only belong to him that had the power to give them: and that the delegating that power was a thing null of itself. He shewed, that feeding the Flock was inherent and inseparable from a Bishop, and that no Delegation he could make, could take that power from himself; since all the effect it could have, was to make another his Officer and Deputy in his absence. From this he went to shew how it had been ever look'd on as a necessary part of the Bishop's Duty, to Examine and Censure the Scandals of his Clergy and Laity in Ancient and Modern times: That the Roman Emperors had by many Laws supported the Credit and Authority of these Courts, that fince the practices of the Court of Rome had brought in fuch a variety of rules, for covering the corruptions which they intended to support; then that which is in it self a plain and simple thing was made very intricate: So that the Canon-Law was become a great study; and upon this account Bishops had taken Civilians and Canonists to be their Asfistants in those Courts: But this could be for no other end but only to inform them in points of Law, or to hear and prepare matters for them. For the giving Sentence, as it is done in the Bishop's name, so it is really his Office; and is that for which he is accountable both to God and Man; and fince the Law made those to be the Bishops Courts, and since the King had by Patent confirmed that Auity, which was lodged in him by his Off governing those Courts, he thought all DeleDelegations that were absolute and exclusive of the Bishop, ought to be declared void. The Reader will perhaps judge better of the force of this Argument, than the Lord Chancellor, of Ireland Bolton did, who confirmed the Chancellor's right, and gave him an hundred Pounds Cost of the Bishop. But when the Bishop asked him, how he came to make so unjust a Decree? he answered, that all that his Father had lest him was a Register's place; so he thought he was bound to support those Courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the way he took had not been checkt. This my Author had from the Bishop's own mouth.

But as this matter was a leading Case, so great pains were taken to possess the Primate against the Bishop; but his Letters will best discover the Grounds on which he went, and that noble temper of mind that supported him in so great an undertaking. The one is long,

but I will not shorten it.

Right Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

Have receiv'd your Grace's Letters concerning Mr. Cook, and I do acknowledge all that your Grace writes to be true concerning his sufficiency and experience to the execution of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: Neither did I forbear to do him right in giving him that Testimony, when before the Chapter I did declare and shew the nullity of his Patent. I have heard of my Lord of attempt, and

and I do believe, That if this Patent had due form, I could not overthrow it; how unequal soever it be. But failing in the essential parts, besides sundry other desects, I do not think any reasonable creature can adjudge it to be good. I shall more at large certific your Grace of the whole matter, and the reasons of my Council I shall defire herein to be tryed by your Grace's own Judgment, and not by your Chanoellor's; or (as I think in fuch a case I ought to be) by the Synod of the Province. I have refolved to see the end of this matter: And do defire your Grace's favour herein no farther than the equity of the Caufe and the good, as far as I can judge, of our Church in a high degree do require. So with my humble Service to your Grace, and respectful commendations to Mrs. Usher, Irest

28, 1629.

Your Grace's

in all duty,

Will. Kilmore.

Most Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

THE report of your Grace's indisposition, how forrowful it was to me, the Lord knows. Albeit the same was somewhat mitigated by other News of your better estate. In that sustuation of my mind (perhaps like that of your health)

health) the laying of the Apolile ferved me for as Auchor. That none of us liveth to himself. neither doth any dye to himself. For whether we live, we live to the Lord; or whether we dye, we dye to the Lord. Whether wo live therefore or die we are the Lord's. Therei upon from the bottom of my Heart commending your estate, and that of the Church bere; (which how much it needs you, He knows best) to our common Master, though I had written large Letters to you, which have lain by me fundry Weeks, fearing in your sickness to be troublesome; I thought not to send them, but to attend some other opportunity after your present recovery to send, or perhaps bring them. When I understood by Mr. Dean of his journey, or at least sending an express Messenger to you with other Letters; putting me also in mind, That perhaps it would not be unwelcome to you to kear from me, though you forbear to answer. yielded to the enample and condition: so much the rather, because I remembered my self a Debter to your Grace by my promise of writing to you more fully touching the reasons of my difference with Mr. Cooke; and now a suiter in your Court at his instance.

And, First, I befeech your Grace, let it be a matter meerly of merriment, that I skirmish a little with your Court touching the Inhibition and Citation which thence proceeded against me, as you shall perceive by the inclosed Recusation. For the thing it self, as I have written, I do submit it wholly to your Grace's decision. And to enlarge my self a little, not as to a Judge,

Judge, but a Father, to whom, besides the bond of your undeferved Love, I am bound also by an Oath of God; I will pour out my heart unto you, even without craving pardon of my boldness. It will be perbaps some little diversien of your thoughts from your own Infirmity, to understand that you suffer not alone, but you in Body, others otherwise; each must bear bis Cross, and follow the steps of our high Master. My Lord, since it pleased God to call me to this place in this Church, what my intentions have been to the discharge of my duty, he best knows. But I have met with many impediments and discouragements; and chiefly from them of mine own Profession in Religion. Concerning Mr. Hoile, I acquainted your Grace: Sir Edward Bagshaw, Sir Francis Hamilton, Mr, William Flemming, and diverse more have been, and yet are, pulling from the rights of my Church. But all these have been light in respect of the dealing of some others, professing me kindness, by whom I have been blazed a Papist, an Arminian, a Neuter, a Politician, an Equivocator, a niggardly Housekeeper, an Usuxer: That I bow at the name of felus, pray to the East, would pull down the Seat of my Predecessor to set up an Altar, denying burial in the Chancel to one of his Daughters: and to make up all, That I compared your Grace's preaching to one Mr. Whiskins, Mr. Creighton, and Mr. Baxter's; and preferred them: That you found your self deceived in me. " 'e things have been reported at Dublin, and of the best affected of mine own Diocess

( as

( as bath been told me ) induced hereby to bewall with tears the misery of the Church; somerof the Clergy alfo, as it was faid, looking about how they might remove themselves out of this Of all this I heard but little, till Country. Mr. Price, coming from Dublin before Christmas to be ordered Deacon, having for his memory fet down Twelve Articles, among a number of Points more, required satisfaction of me concerning them. Which I endeavoured to give both to him, andto them of the Ministry, that met at our Chapter for the Examination of Mr. Cooke's Patent . Omitting all the rest; yet because this Venome hath spread it self so far, I cannot but touch the last, touching the preferring others to your Grace's preaching. To which Mr. Price's answer was, as he told me, I will be quartered if this be true. Thus it was, Mr. Dunkerville acquainted me with his purpose to preachout of Prov. 20. 6. But a faithful Man who can find; where he said, the Doctrine he meant to raise was this, That Faith is a rare gift of God. I told him I thought he mistook the meaning of the Text, and wished him to choose longer Texts, and not bring his Discourfes to a Word or two of Scripture; but rather to declare those of the Hoby Ghost. He said your Grace did so sometimes. I answered there might be just Canse, but I thought you did not so ordinarily. As for those Men, Mr. Whiskins, and the rest, I never heard any of them preach to this day. Peradventure, their manner is to take longer Texts; whereupon the comparison is made up, as if I preferred them before you This

This paper did not much trouble me. I know your Grace will not think me such a Fool (if I bad no fear of Ged) to prefer before your excellent Gifts, Men that I never heard. But look as the French Procerb is, He that is difposed to kill his Dog, tells Men he is mad: And whom Men have once wronged, unless the Grace of God be the more, they over hate. Comcerning the Wrongs which these People have offered me, I shall take another sit time to inferen your Grace. Where they say, Your Grace deth find your felf deceived in me, I think it may be the truest Word they said yet. For indeed I do think beth you and many more are deceived in me, accounting me to have some banesty, discretion, and Grace, more than you will by pract find. But if, as it seems to me, that form buth this meaning that they pretend to have undeceiveed you, I hope they are deceived; yea I hope they shall be deceived, if by such Courses as these they think to unsettle me; and the Devil bimself also, if he think to dismay me.

I will go on in the strength of the Lord God, and remember his righteousness, even his alone, as by that reverend and good Father my Lord of Canterbury, when I first came over, I was exhorted, and have obtained help of God to do

to this day.

But had I not work enough before, but I must bring Mr. Cooke upon my top? One that for his Experience, Purse, Friends, in a case already adjudged, wherein he is engaged, not only for his prosit, but reputation also, will easily no doubt overhear me. How much better to study

findy to be quiet; and to do mine own business; ar, as I think, Staupitius was went to bid Luther, go into my Study and pray. Lerd, all these things came to my mind, and at the first I came with a resolution to take heed to my felf, and, if I could, to teach others moderation and forbearance by mine own Example. But I could not be quiet. nor without pity hear the complaints of those that referted to me, some of them of mine own Neighbours and Tenants, called into the Court, commonly by information of Apparitors, bolden there without just cause, and not dismissed with out excessive Ices, as they exclaimed. Lastly, one Mr. Mayot, a Minister of the Diocess of Atdagh, made a complaint to me, That he was encommunicated by Mr. Gooke, notwithstanding, as I heard also by others, the correction of Ministers was excepted out of his Patent, Whereupon I desired to see the Patent, and to bave a Copy of it; that I might know how to govern my self. He said Mr. Ask, being then from bome, should bring it to me at his return. Himself went to Dublin to the Term. At the first wew I saw it was a formless Chaos of Authority, conferred upon him against all reason and equity. I had not long after, occasion to call the Chapter together at the time of Ordination. I showed the Original, being brought forth by Mr. Ask, defined to know if that were the Chapter Seal, and these their Hands; they acknowledged their Hands and Seal, and faid they were less careful in passing it, because they accounted it did rather concern my Predecessor than them. I shewed the faile Latin, Nonsense,

sense, Injustice of it, Prejudice to them, Contrariety to it self, and the King's Grant to me: I shewed there were in one Period above 500 Words, and, which passed the rest, hanging in the air without any principal Verb. I desired. them to consider if the Seal hanging to it were the Bishop's Seal; they acknowledged it was sot. Therefore with protestation, That I meant. no way to call in question the sufficiency of Mrs Cooke or his former Acts, I did judge the Patent to be void, and so declared it; inhibiting Mr. Cooke to do any thing by vertue thereof, and them to assist him therein. This is the true History of this business howsoever Mr. Cooke disquise it. I suspend him not absent, and indicta causa; it was his Commission, which was present, that I viewed, which, with the Chapter, I censured; which if he can make good, be sball have leave, and time, and place enough.

And now to accomplish my promise, to relate to your Grace my purpose herein. My Lord I do thus account, that to any Work or Enterprize, to remove impediments is a great part of the Performance. And amongst all the Impediments to the Work of God amongst us, there is not any one greater, than the abuse of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. This is not only the opinion of the most godly, judicious, and learned Men that I have known; but the cause of it is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true Reasons of things; they are sensible in the Purse. And that Religion that makes Men that profess it, and shews them to be despiters to the World, and so far from encroaching upon

on others in matter of base gain, as rather to part with their own; they magnific. bred the admiration of the Primitive Christie ans, and after of the Monks. Contrary causes must needs produce contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painfully, and piously: I say more, let us live never so blamelesty our selves, so long as the Officers in our Courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than Publicans and Worldlings: and so much the more defervedly, because we are called Spiritual Men, and call our selves reformed Christians. And if the honestest and best of our own Protestants be thus scandalized, what may we think of Papists, such as are all, in a manner, that we live among? The time was when I hoped the Church of Ireland was free from this abuse, at least free'r than her Sister of England: But I find I am deceived; whether it be that distance of place, and being further out of the reach of the Scepter of Justice, breeds more boldness to offend, or necessarily brings more delay of redress. I have been wont also in Ireland, to except one Court, (as he doth Plato) but trust me my Lord, I have heard that it is said among great personages here, That my Lord Primate is a good Man; but his Court is as corrupt as others. Some say worse, and which, I confess to your Grace, did not a little terrifie me from visiting till I might see how to do it with Fruit, that of your late Visitation they see no profit, but the taking of Money.

But to come to Mr. Cooke, of all that have enercifed Jurisdiction in this Land these late G Tears,

Tears, he is the most noted Man, and most cryed out upon. Insomuch as he hath found from the Irith, the nickname of Pouc: Albeit he same off with Credit when he was questioned, and justified himself by the Table of Fees, (as by a leaden Rule any Stone may be approved as well as hewed). By that little I met with since I came hither, I am induced to believe, it was not for lack of matter, but there was Some other Course of his escaping in that Tryal. By this pretended Commission, and that Table of Fees, he hath taken in my Predecesfor's time, and feeks to take in mine for Exhibits at Visitations, and his Charges there above the Bishop's Procurations, for Unions, Sequestrations, Relaxations, Certificates, Licenses, Permutations of Penance, Sentences (as our Court calls them ) Interlocutory in Causes of Corrections, such Fees as I cannot in my Conscience think to be just. And yet he doth it in my Name, and tells me I cannot call him into question for it. Alas, my Lord! if this be the condition of a Bishop, that he standeth for a Cypher, and only to uphold the Wrongs of other Men, What do I in this place? Am I not bound by my Profession made to God in your presence, and following your Words, To be gentle and merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and such as be destitute of help. Can I be excused another day, with this, that thus it was ere I came to this place, and that it is not good to be over just? Or, sith I am perswaded Mr. Cooke's Patent is unjust and void, am I not bound to make it so? and

to regulate, If I may, this matter of Fees, and the rest of the disorders of the Jurisdiction, which his Majesty hath intrusted me withal? Your Grace faith, Truly it is a difficult thing, if not impossible, to overthrow a Patent so confirmed; and I know in deliberations it is one of the most important Considerations, what we may hope to effect. But how can I tell till I have tryed: To be discouraged ere I begin, is it not to consult with Flesh and Blood? Verily I think (o. And therefore must put it to the Tryal, and leave the Success to God. If I obtain the Cause, the Prosit shall be to this poor Nation; if not, I shall shew my consent to those my Reverend Brethren that have endeavoured to redress this enormity before me; I shall have the testimony of mine own Conscience. to have sought to discharge my duty to God and bis People. Tea, which is the main, the Work of my Ministry and service to this Nation, shall receive furtherance how soever rather than any hinderance thereby. And if by the continuance of such Oppressions any thing fall out otherwise than well, I shall have acquitted my self towards his Majesty, and those that have engaged themselves for me. At last I shall bave the better reason and juster cause to resign to his Majesty the Jurisdiction which I am not permitted to manage: And here I befeech your Grace, to consider seriously whether it were not happy for us to be rid of this Charge, which not being proper to our Calling, is not possible to be executed without such Deputies, as subject us to the ill contest of their unjust or indiscreet

carriage, and no way further our own Work? Or if it shall be thought fit to carry this Load fill, whether we ought not to procure some way to be discharged of the envy of it, and redress the abuse, with the greatest strictmess we can artife? For my part I cunnot bethink me of aby course fitter for the present, than to keep the Edults my felf, and fet some good order in them. And to this purpose I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, Granard and Longford, and do intend to go to the rest, leaving with some of the Ministry there, a few Rules touching those things that are to be redressed, that if my health doth not permit hie to be always prefent, they may know how to proceed in my absence. I find it to be true that Tully saith, Justitia mirifica quiedam les multitudini; and certainly to our proper Work a great advantage it is to obtain a good opinion of those we are to deal with. But besides this there fall out occasions to speak of God and his presence, of the Religion of a Witness, the danger of an Oath, the purity of a Marriage, the preciousness of a good name, repairing of Churches, and the like. Penance It felf may be enjoined, and Penitents reconciled, with some profit to others besides themlelves.

Wherefore, albeit Mr. Cooke were the justest Chancellor in this Kingdom, I would think
it sit for me, as things now stand, to sit in these
Courts'; and the rather sith I cannot be heard
in the Pulpits to preach as I may in them: Albeit innocency and justice is also a real kind of
preaching. I have shewed your Grace my intentions

, toutions in this matter. Now Spould I require your direction in many things, if I were present with you. But for the project it man please you to understand, that at Granard one Mr. Nu-Bont, a Nephew as I take it to my Lordaf Westmeeth delivered his Letter to Mr. Aske, which he delinered one in open Court, requiring that bis Tenant might not be troubled for Christning; Marriages, or Funerals, so they pay the Miwister his due. This reserved to a Letter of my Lard Chancellor's to the like purpole, which yet was not delivered till the Court was rifen. answered generally, That none of my Lord's Tenants or others should be responsed. The like metion made at Longford, by true or three of the Farrals, and one Mr. Fagarah, and Mr. Rassa to whom I gave the like answer, and added, That I would be first in requiring them to bring their Children to be Baptized, and Marriages to be solemnized likewise with us, sith they asknowledged these to be lawful and true; so as it was but wilfulness if any forbear. Here I desire your Grace to direct me give way that they should not be so much as salled in question, seems to further the Schiste they labour to make. To lay any pecuniary multi upon them, as the value of a Licence for . Marriage, three Pence or four Pence for a Christning, I know not by what Law it can be done. To Excommunicate them for not appearing or obeying, they being already none of our body, and a multitude; it is to no profit, nay rather makes the exacerbation worse.

Many things more I have to confer with your Grace about, which I hope to do coram; as about the re-edifying of Churches, or employing the Mass-houses (which now the State inquires of ) about Books, Testaments, and the Common-Prayer Book, which being to be reprinted would perhaps be in some things better'd: But especially about Men to use them; and Means to maintain them, now that our English have engrossed the Livings. About the printing the Platter, which I have caused to be diligently surveyed by Mr. James Nangle, who adviseth not to meddle with the Verse, but set forth only the Prose: Which he hath begun to write out fair to the Press. Mr. Murtagh King I have not heard of a long time, I hope he goeth on in the Historical Books of the Old Testament. Mr. Crian was with me about a Fortnight after I came to Kilmore; since I heard not of him. Of all these things, if by the Will of God, I. may make a journey over to you, we shall speak at full.

As I was closing up these, this Morning, there is a complaint brought me from Ardagh, That where in a cause Matrimonial in the Court at Longsord, a Woman had proceeded thus far, as after contestation, the Husband was enjoined to appear the next Court, to receive a Libel; one Shaw-oge, Mr. Ingawry, the Popish Vicar General of Ardagh, had excommunicated her, and she was by one Hubart, and Mr. Calril a Priest upon Sunday last, put cut of the Church and denounced excommunicate. Herein, whether it were more sit to proceed

seed against the Vicar and Priest by vertue of the last Letters from the Council; or complain to them, I shall attend your Grace's advice. And now for very shame ceasing to be troublesome, I do recommend your Grace to the protection of our merciful Father, and rest, with my respective salutations to Mrs. Usher,

Kilmore, Feb. 15. 1629.

## Your Grace's

in all Duty,

Will. Kilmore & Ardaghen.

The other Bishops did not stand by our Bi-Thop in this matter; but were contented to let him fall under Censure, without interposing in it as in a cause of common concern: Even the excellent Primate told him, The tide went so high that he could affist him no more; for he stood by him longer than any other of the Order had done. But the Bishop was not disheartened by this. And as he thanked him for affifting him so long, so he faid he was resolved by the help of God, to try if he could stand by himself. But he went home, and resolved to go on in his Courts as he had begun, notwithstanding this Censure. For he thought he was doing that which was incumbent on him, and he had a Spirit for made, that he resolved to suffer Martyrdom, rather than fail in any thing that lay on his Conscience. But his Chancellor was either G 4 advised. advised by those that governed the State, to give him no diffurbance in that matter; or was overcome by the authority he law in him. that inspired all people with reverence for him: For as he never called for the 100 Pound Costs, so he never disturbed him any more, but named a Surlogate, to whom he gave order to be in all things observant of the Bishop, and obedient to him: So it seems, that though it was thought fit to keep up the authority of the Lay Chancellors over Ireland, and not to fuffer this Bishop's practice to pass into a Precedent; yet order was given under hand to let him go on as he had begun; and his Chancellor had so great a value for him, that many years after this, he told my Author, That he thought there was not such a Man on the face of the earth as Bishop Bedell was ; that he was too hard for all the Civilians in Ireland, and that if he had not been born down by meer force, he had overthrown the Confistorial Courts, and had recovered the Episcopal Jurisdiction out of the Chancellor's hands. But now that he went on undisturbed in his Episcopal Court, he made use of it as became him, and not as an Engine to raise his power and dominion; but confidering that all Church power was for Edification, and not for Destruction, he both dispensed that Justice that belonged to his Courts equally and speedily, and cut off many Fees and much Expence, which made them be formerly fo odious; and also when scandalous persons were brought before him to be censured, he conficonfidered that Church Cenfures ought not to be like the acts of Tyrants, that punish out of revenge, but like the Discipline of Parents, that correct in order to the amendment of their Children: So he studied chiefly to beget in all offenders a true sense of their sins. Many of the Irish Priests were brought off into his Courts for their lewdness; and upon that he took occasion with great mildness, and without scotling, or insultings to make them sense ble of that tyrannical imposition in their Church, in denying their Priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much impurity among them; and this had a good effect on some.

This leads me to another part of his Character, that must represent the care he took of the Natives; he observed with much regret that the English had all along neglected the Irifo, as a Nation not only conquered but undisciplineable; and that the Clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their Charge, but had left them wholly into the hands of their own Priests, without taking any other care of them, but the making them pay their Tythes. deed their Priests were a strange fort of people, that knew generally nothing but the reading their Offices, which were not to much as understood by many of them; and they taught the people nothing but the faying their Paters and Aves in Latin. So that the state both of the Clergy and Laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a Man that had so tender a sense of the value

of those Souls that Christ had purchased with his Blood: Therefore he resolved to set about that Apostolical Work of converting the Natives with the zeal and care that so great understanding required. He knew the gaining on some of the more knowing of their Priests was like to be the quickest way; for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the Reformed Religion among the Natives; or rather of the Christian Religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no fort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their Priests, and were to confels such of their actions, as they call sins, to them; and were to pay them Tythes. Bishop prevailed on several Priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them to Ecclesiastical Benefices: Which was thought a strange thing, and was censured by many, as contrary to the interest of the Englife Nation. For it was believed that all those Irish Converts were still Papists at heart, and might be so much the more dangerous, than otherwise, by that disguise which they had put on. But he on the other hand confidered chiefly the duty of a Christian Bishop: He also thought the true interest of England was to gain the Irish to the knowledge of Religion, and to bring them by the means of that which only turns the heart to love the English Nation: And so he judged the Wisof that course was apparent, as well as iety of it. Since such as changed their Reli-

Religion would become thereby so odious to their own Clergy, that this would provoke them to further degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them: And he took great care to work in those whom he trusted with the care of Souls, a full conviction of the truth of Religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it. And in this he was so happy. That of all the Converts that he had raised to Benefices, there was but one only that fell back, when the Rebellion broke out: And he not only apostatized, but both plundered and killed the English among the first. But no wonder if one murderer was among our Bishop's Converts, fince there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour. There was a Convent of Fryers very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good fuccess: That he might furnish his Converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short Catechism to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one Page, and Irish on the other, which contained the Elements, and most necessary things of the Christian Religion, together with some forms of Prayer, and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture: This he fent about all over his Diocess; and it was received with great joy, by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after Righteous ness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave a good encourage. ment to hope well upon further endeavours.

The Bishop did also set himself to leave the Irish Tongue; and though it was too late for a Man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree, as to compose a compleat Grammar of it, (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told) and to be a Critick in it: He also had Common Prayer read in Irifb every Sumday in his Cathedral for the benefit of the Converts he had made, and was always present at it himself, and he engaged all his Clergy to fet up Schools in their Parishes; For there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the Nation wery much. The New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer were already put in the Irifo Tongue; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irile; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the Language so well that he might be imployed in so sacred a Work: And by the advice of the Primate, and sever ral other eminent persons, he pitched on one King, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest writer of the Irish Tongue then alive, both for Profe and Poetry. He was then about seventy, but notwithstanding his Age and the ntages of his Education, yet the Bi-

ught him not only capable of this Imit, but qualified for an higher characrefore he put him in Orders, and gave
enefice in his Diocess, and set him to
work.

work, in order to the translating the Bible: which he was to do from the English Transfation; since there were none of the Nation to be found that knew any thing of the Ori-The Bishop set himself so much to the revising this Work, that always after Dirmer or Supper he read over a Chapter: and as he compared the Irifb Translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the Seventy Interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian Translation, which he valued highly; and he corrected the briffs where he found the English Translators had failed. He thought the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of Re-Ligion in among the Irish, as it had first let the Reformation, into the other parts of Europe: And he used to tell a passage of a Sermon that he heard Fulgentie preach at Venice, with which he was much pleased: It was on these Words of Christ, Have ye not read: and so he took oceasion to tell the Auditory. That if Christ were now to ask this Question. Thrue ye not read? all the answer they could tnake to it, was, No, for they were not suffered to do it. Upon which he taxed with great zeal the restraint put on the use of the Scriptures, by the See of Rome. This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another Sermon preaching upon Pilate's Queftion. What is Truth? he told them that at last after many searches he had found it out: and held out a New Testament, and said, There it was in his Hand, but then he put it in his pocket,

pocket, and faid coldly, But the Book is pros hibited; which was so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the Auditory. The Bishop had observed that in the Primitive times; as foon Nations, how barbarous foever they were, began to receive the Christian Religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar Tongues: And that all people were exhorted to fludy them ? therefore he not only undertook and began this Work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the Translation; and resolved to set about the printing of it: For the bargain was made with one that engaged to perform it. And as he had been at the great trouble of examining the Translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the Impression, and took that expence upon himself. It is scarce to be imagined what could have obstructed so great and so good a Work. The Priests of the Church of Reme had reason to oppose the printing of a Book, that has been always so fatal to them; but it was a deep fetch to possess reformed Divines with a jealousy of this Work, and with hard thoughts concerning it: Yet that was done; but by a very well disguised method: For it was faid that the Translator was a weak and contemptible Man, and that it would expose such a Work, as this was, to the scorn of the Nation, when it was known who was hor of it: And this was infused both

nor of it: And this was infused both Earl of Strafford, and into the Arch-Canterbury: And a bold young Man

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pretended a lapse of the Benefice that the Bishop had given to the Translator, and so obtained a Broad Seal for it; though it was in the Bishop's Gift. This was an abuse too common at that time, for licentious Clerks to pretend either that an Incumbent was dead, or that he had no good right to his Benefice, or that he had forfeited it; and upon that to procure a Grant of it from the King, and then to turn the Incumbent out of Possession, and to vex him with a Suit till they forced him to compound for his peace. So upon this occasion it was pretended that the Translator had forfeited his Living; and one Baily that had informed against him, came down with a Grant of it under the Great Seal, and violently thrust him out of it. The Bishop was much touched with this, and cited Baily to appear before him. He had given him a Vicarage. and had taken an Oath of him never to hold another; so he objected to him both his violent and unjust intrusion into another Man's right, and his Perjury. Baily, to cover himfelf from the last, procured a Dispensation from the Prerogative Court, notwithstanding his Oath, to hold more Benefices. shop look'd on this as one of the worst and most scandalous parts of Popery, to dissolve the most facred of all Bonds; and it grieved his Soul to see so vile a thing acted in the name of Archbishop Usher, though it was done by his Surrogates: So without any regard to this he served this obstinate Clerk with feveral Canonical admonitions; but finding him still hardened in his wickedness, he deprived him of the Benefice he had given him, and also excommunicated him, and gave orders that the Sentence should be published through the whole Deanry: Upon which Baily's Clerk appealed to the Prerogative Court, and the Bishop was cited to answer for what he had done. He went and and peared before them, but declined their Authority, and would not answer to them. thought it below the Office and Dignity of a Bishop to give an account of a Spiritual Cenfure, that he had inflicted on one of his Clergy, before two Laymen that pretended to be the Primate's Surrogates, and he put his Der clinator in 24 Articles, all written with his own Hand, which will be found at the end of this Narrative: \*He excepted to the incompetency of the Court, both because the Primate was not there in Person, and because they that fat there had given clear Evidences of their partiality, which he had offered to prove to the Primate himself. He said the appeal from his Sentence lay only to the Provincial Synod, or to the Archbishop's Confiftony; and fince the ground of Raily's appeal, was the dispensation that they had given him from his Oath, they could not be the competent Judges of that, for they were Parties: And the appeal from abusive faculties lay only to a Court of Delegates by the express words of the Law: And by many Indicatiit appeared, that they had prejudged the matter

matter in Banly's favours, and had expressed: great referements against the Bishop; and notwithstanding the dignity of his Office. they had made him wait among the croud an hour and an half, and had given directions in the management of the Caufes as Parties as: gainst him; they had also manifefully abused. their power in granting Dispensations contrary to the Laws of God: And now they profumed to interpole in the just and legal Jurisdiction that a Bishop exercised over his Clergy both by the Laws of God and by the King's Authority; upon these grounds he excepted to their Authority; he was ferved with feveralCitations to answer, and appeared upon evety one of them; but notwithstanding the higheffcontempts they put upon him, he shewed no undecent pallion, but kept his ground fill. In conclusion he was declared Contumax, and the perjur'd Intruder was absolved from the Sentence, and confirmed in the possession of his ill acquired Benefice. It may be easily imagined, how much these Proceedings were censured by all fair and equitable Men; The constancy, the firmness, and the courage that the Bishop expressed being as much commended, as the injustice and violence of his Enemies was cried out upon. The strangest part of this transaction was, that which the Primate acted, who though he loved the Biltop beyond all the rest of the Order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his Office, that diffinguissied him so much from othere; yet he eould not be prevailed on to in-

Profecution that this good Man had fallen under, for so good a Work: Indeed it went further, for upon the endeavours he used to convert the Irish, and after he had refused to answer in the Archbishop's Court, it appears that he was in some measure alienated from him, which drew from the Bishop the following Answer to a Letter, that he had from him.

Most reverend Rather, my

honourable good Lord, HE Superscription of your Grace's Letters was most welcome unto me, as, bringing under, your own hand the best evidence of the recovery of your health, for which I did. and do give hearty thanks unto God. For the Contents of them, as your Grace conceived, they were not so pleasant. But the Words of. a Friend are faithful, saith the Wise Man: Sure they are no less painful than any other. Unkindness cuts nearer to the Heart than Malice can do. I have some experience by your. Grace's said Letters, concerning which I have. been at some debate with my self, whether I bould, answer them with David's demand, What have I now done? Or as the wrongs of Parents, with Patience and Silence. But Mr. Dean telling me, That this day he is goreards you, I will speak once, come of it vill.

ou write that the course I took with the offs, was generally cryed out against, neither

meither do you remember in all your life that any thing was done here by any of us, at which the Professors of the Gospel did take more offence, or by which the Adversaries. were more consirmed in their Superstitions and Idolatry; wherein you could wish that I had advised with my Brethren before I would adventure to pull down that which they have been so long a building. Again, What I did, you know, was done out of a good intention; but you were assured that my project would be so quickly resuted with the present success and event, that there would be no need my friends should advise

" me from building such Castles in the air, &c. My Lord, All this is a riddle to me. course I have taken with the Papists; what I have done at which your Professors of the Gospel did take such offence, or the Adversaries were so confirmed; what it is that I have adventured to do; or what piece so long a building, I have pulled down; what those Projects were, and those Castles in the air, so quickly refuted with present success, as the Lord knows, I know not. For truly since I came to this place I have not changed one jot of my purpose or practice, or course with Papists from that which I held in England, or in Trinity-College, or found (I thank God) any ill success, but the standers only of some persons discontented against me for other occasions. which I cannot hope to justify my self, if your Grace will give ear to private informations. H 2 But

But let me know, I will not fay, my Accuser, ( let him continue masked till God discover him ) but my Transgression, and baye place of defence; and if mine Adversary write a Book against me, I will hope to bear it on my Shoul-

der, and bind it to me as a Grown.

For my reculation of your Court, and advertissement of what I heard thereof, I see they have stirred not only laughter, but some coals too. Your Chancellox desires me to acquit him to you, That he is none of those Officers I meant; I do it very willingly: For I neither meant him nor any Man elfe. But though it concerned your Grace to know what I credibly beard to be Spoken concerning your Court; neither, as God knows, did I ever think it was fix to take away the Jurisdiction from Chancellors, and put it into the Bishops bands alone; or so much as in a dream condemn those that think they bave reason to do otherwise, nor tan your Grage's Visitation: Nor imagine you would account that to pertain to your reproof, and take it as a wrong from me, which out of my duty to God and you, I thought was not to be concealed from you. I beseech you pardon me this one error, Si unquam post hac --- For that knave whom (as your Grace writes) they say I did absalve; I took him for one of my Flack, or rather Christ's, for whom he shed his Blood. And I would have absolved Julian the Apostate under the same form. Some other passages there be in your Grace's Letters, which I, - but I will lay mine Hand upon my Mouth, and Graving

Biftop BEDEEL

craving the Bleffing of

remain.

Kilmore, March 89. IØ3P.

Four Graces poor Brother,

and humble Servant

Will. Kilonofts

The malice of Mr. King's Enemies was not Catiated with the spoiling him of his Benefice, For often it falls out, That those who have done acts of high Injustice stok some excuse for what they have done, by new Injuries, and a vexatious profecution of the injured person. defigning by the noise, that such repeated acculations might raile, to possess the World with an Opinion of his guilt, which much clamour does often produce; and so crush the person so entirely that he may never again be in a Capacity to recover himself, and to obtain his right, but be quite simk by that vast encrease of weight that is laid upon him. But I will give the Reader a clearer view of this invidious Affair from a Letter which the Bishop writ concerning it so the Earl of Straft ford.

Hat which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my ddress to your Honour by writing. H 3 fitness

Right honourable, my good Lord.

fitness for conversation beretofore bath pleaded. for me, and now your Lordsbip's infirmity allows, and in a sort inforces it. The occasion is. not my love of contention ( which I have committed to God) or any other matter of profit, but God's bonour, and (as he is witness) your's. I have lately received Letters from my Lord of Canterbury; whereby I perceive his Grace is informed that Mr. King, whom I employed to transtate the Bible into Irish, is a Mun fo ignorant that the Translation cannot be worthy publick Use in the Church, and besides, obnoxious, to as the Church can receive no Credit' from any thing that is his. And his Grace adds. That he is fo well acquainted with your Lordship's disposition, that he assures himself' you would not have given away his Living, had you not feen justedule for it. I account my self bound to fatisfie his Grace herem, and defire, if I may be for happy, to doit by satisfying you. do subscribe to his Grace's affured perswafton that jour Thraffip, had you not conceived Mr. King to be fired as the writes, would not have given away his Diving But (my Lord) the greatest, wifest, and suffest Men do, and must take many things upon the information of others; who themselves are Men, and may sometimes out of Weakness, or some other cause, be deceived. Touching Mr. King's silliness, (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that  $m{I}$ be not accounted silly my self) I beseech your Lordship to take information, not by them rich never saw him till Testerday, but by the nt either Churchmen or Statesmen of this King-

Kingdom in whose Eyeshe hath lived the soma ny Tears ) as are the Lord Primage, The Biffeet of Meath, the Lord Dillon, Sir James, Ware and the like: I doubt not but your Landship shall understand that there is no fuch donger that the Translation should be unworthy, becanse be did it; being a Man of that known Sufficiency for the Irish especially, either in Prose or Verse, as few are his matches in the King-And shortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, Let the Work it felf freak, sea, let it be examined rigoroso examine: If it be found approveable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the Workman, but let himrather ( as old Sophocles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the Work Touching his being obnoxious, it is true thereits a scandalous Information put in against bimin the High Commission Court, by his despoiler Mr. Baily (as my Lord of Derry told him in any hearing be was ) and by an excaminimicate de-Spoiler, as my felf before the Execution of any Sentence, declar'd him in the Court to be Mr. King being cited to answer and not appear ing, (as by Law be was not bound) was taken pro consesso, deprived of his Ministry, and Living, Fined an hundred Pound, Decreed to he attached, and imprisoned. His Adversary Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new Dispensation to hold bis Benefice, and was the very, next day after (as appears by the date of the Institution) both presented in the King's Title (although the Benefice be of my Collation) and instituted by my Lord Primate's Vicar: Shortly after inducted HΔ

by an Arabdencon of another Diocess, and a few days after, he brought down an Attachment, and delivered Me. King to the Purfevant: He was baled by the Head and Feet to Horseback, and brought to Dablin, where he bath been kept, and continued under Arrest these four or five Months: and bath not been fuffered to purge his supposed Contempt, by Oath and Witneffes, that by reason of his sickness he was hindered, whereby he was brought to Death's Door, and could not appear and prosecute his Referee: And that by the cunning of his Admight be restored to Liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it bath not availed bim : My Reverend Colleagues of the High-Commission do some of them pity his Case, othere fay the Sentence past cannot be reversed, left the Oredit of the Court be attached. tild him samply submit bimself, and acknowledge bis Sentence Just. Whereas the Bishops of Rome themselves, ofter most formal proceedmgs, do grant refisitation in integrum, and acthornledge, That Sententia Romana Sedis potest in melius commutari. My Lord, if I understand what is Right Divine or Humane, these be wrongs upon wrongs; which if they reached only to Mr. King's person, were of less consideration; but when through his side, That great Work, the Translation of God's Book, so necessary for both his Majesty's Kingdoms, is mortally wounded; pardon me ( I be-Jeech your Lardswip) if I be sensible of it. I to consider what Feast our adversaries make

make of our rewarding him thus for that Service; or what this example will avail to the allaring of others to conformity. What should your Lordship have gained if he had dyed (as it was almost a miracle he did not ) under Arrest, and had been at once deprived of Living, Liberty and Life. God hath reprieved him, and given your Lordsbip means upon right Information, to remedy with one Word all inconveniences. For conclusion (good my Lord) give me leave a little to apply the Parable of Nathan to King David to this purpose: If the wayfaring man, that is come to us (for such be is, having never yet been settled in one place) have so sharp a Stomach that he must be provided for with Pluralities, sub there are Herds and Flocks plenty; suffer him not, I beseech you under the colour of the King's name to take the coffet Ewe of a poor Man, to satisfie his ravenous appetite. So I befeech the Heavenly Phylician to give your Lordsbip health of Soul and Bedy. I rest.

My Lord,

1, 1638.

... Your Lordship's

most humble servant

in Christ Jesus,

Will. Kilmere.

By these practices was the printing of the Bible in Irish stope at that time, but if the Rebellion had not prevented our Bishop, he was resolved to have had it done in his own House, and at his own charge; and as preparatory to that, he made some of Chrysostome's Homilies, the three first upon the parable of the rich Man and Lazarus, together with some of Leo's; all which tended chiesly to commend the Scriptures in the highest strains of Eloquence that were possible, to be translated both into English and Irish; and re-printing his Catechism, he added these to it in both Languages: and these were very well received, even by the Priests and Fryers themselves.

He lived not to finish this great design; yet potwithstanding the Rebellion and Confusion that followed in Ireland, the Manuscript of the Translation of the Bible escaped the storm, and falling into good Hands, it is at this time under the Press, and is carried on chiefly by the zeal, and at the charge of that noble Christian Philosopher Mr. Boyle, who as he reprinted upon his own charge the new Testament, so he very cheerfully went into a Proposition for reprinting the old. But this is only one of many instances, by which he has expressed, as well his great and active zeal for carrying on the true interest of Religion, as by his other publick labours he has advanced and improved Philosophy.

But to go on with the concerns of our Bishop, as he had great zeal for the purity of the Christian Religion in opposition to the

corruptions of the Church of Rome; so he was very moderate in all other matters, that, were not of such importance. He was a great. supporter of Mr. Dury's design of reconcilingthe Luther ans and the Calvinists; and as he directed him by many learned and prudent Letters, that he wrote to him on that Subject, so he allowed him 20 1. a year in order to the discharging the Expence of that negotiation: which he payed punctually to his Correspondent at London. And it appeared by his managing of a business that fell out in Ireland, That if all that were concerned in that matter, had been blest with such an understanding, and such a temper as he had, had been no reason to have despaired of it, There came a company of Luther ans to Dublin. who were afraid of joining in Communion with, the Church of Ireland, and when they were, cited to answer for it to the Archbishop's Confiftery, they defired some time might be grant-, ed them for consulting their Divines in Germany: And at last Letters were brought from thence concerning their Exceptions to Communion with that Church; because the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, was not explained in such a manner, as agreed with their Doctrine. The Archbishop of Dublin sent these to our Bishop, that he might answer them; and upon that he writ fo learned and fo full an Answerto all their Objections, and explained the matter fo clearly, that when this was seen by the German Divines, it gave them such entire latisfaction, that upon it they advised their CounCountrymen to join in Gommunion with the Church. For such is the moderation of our Church in that matter, that no positive definition of the manner of the Presence being made, Men of different sentiments may agree in the same acts of Worship, without being obliged to delare their Opinion, or being understood to do any thing contrary to their several Persuasions.

His moderation in this matter was a thing of no danger to him, but he expressed it on other Instances, in which it appeared that he was not afraid to own it upon more tender occasions. The troubles that broke out in Scotland upon the account of the Book of Common Prayer, which encreased to the height of the fweating the Govenant and putting down of Episcopacy, and the turning out of all Glergy Men that did not concur with them, are so well known that I need not inlarge upon them. It is not to be denied but provocations were given by the heats and indiferetions of some Men; but these were carried so far beyond all the bounds either of order in the Church, or peace in the State, that, to give things their proper names, it was a Schismatical rage against the Church, back'd with a rebellious fory against the state. When the Bishop heard of all these things, he said, that which Nazianzene said at Constantinople, when the Rir was raised in the second General Council npon his account, If this great tempest is risen for our sakes, take us up, and cast us into the 'a, that so there may be a Calm. And if all others

others had governed their Dioceles, as he did his one may adventure to a firm after Dr. Bernoed, That Episcopacy might have been hope kill upon its Wheels. Some of those that were drives out of Scotland, by the fury of that time, came over to Inchand: among these there was one Corbet, that came to Dublin, who being a Man of quick Parts, writ a very fmart Book, thewing the persilel between the Tesuites and the Scotch Covenanters, which he pointed under the Title of Lafonachus Nicawar. The Spirit that was in this Book, and the sharpness of the skile procured the Author fuch favour, that a confiderable Living falling in the Bishop of Killala's Gift, he was recommended to it, and so he west to that Bishop; but was ill received by him. The Bithop had a great affection to his Country (for he was a Scotchman born) and though he condemned the courses they had taken, yethe did not love to fee them, exposed in a strange Nation, and did not like the Manthat had done The Bishop was a little sharp upon him; he played on his: Name: Corby in Scotch being. a Raven, and faid it was an ill Bird that defiled its own Nest. And whereas he had said in his Book, That he had hardly escaped with his own life, but had left his Wife behind him, to try the humanity of the Scots: he told him. He had left his Wife to a very base office. Several other things he said, which in themselves amounted to nothing, but only expressed an Inclination to lessen the faults of the Scots, and to aggravate some

provocations that had been given them. Corabet came up full of wrath, and brought with him many Informations against the Bishop, which at any other time would not have been much considered; but then, it being thought necessary to make examples of all that seemed savourable to the Covenanters, it was resolved to turn him out of his Bishoprick, and to give it to Maxwell, that had been Bishop of Ross in Scotland, and was indeed a Man of eminent Parts, and an excellent Preacher; but by his sorwardness and aspiring he had been the unhappy instrument of that which brought on all the disorders in Scotland.

A Pursevant was fent to bring up the Bishop of Killala; and he was accused before the high Commission Court for those things that Corbet objected to him; and every Man being ready to push a Man down that is falling under diffrace, many deligned to merit by aggravating his faults. But when it came to our Bishop's turn to give his Sentence in the Court, he that was afraid of nothing but finning against God, did not stick to venture against the Stream: He first read over all that was objected to the Bishop the Barr, then he fetched his Argument from. the qualifications of a Bishop set down by St. Paul in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus; and assumed that he found nothing in those Articles contrary to those qualifications; nothing that touched either his Life or Doc-He fortified this by flewing in what manner they proceeded against Bishops both in

the Greek and Latin Churches, and so concluded in the Bishop's favour. This put many out of countenance, who had confidered nothing in his Sentence but the consequences that were drawn from the Bishop's expressons, from which they gathered the ill disposition of his mind, so that they had gone high in their Censures, without examining the Canons of the Church in such Cases. But tho' those that gave their Votes after our Bishop. were more moderate than those that had gone before him had been; yet the current run fo strong that none durst plainly acquit him, as our Bishop had done: So he was deprived, fined, and imprisoned, and his Bishoprick was given to Maxwell, who enjoyed it not long. For he was stript naked, wounded, and left among the dead, by the Irish; but he was preferved by the Earl of Thomond, who passing that way took care of him; so that he got to And then his Talent of Preaching, that had been too long neglected by him, was better imployed; so that he preached very often, and very much to the edification of his Hearers, that were then in so great a consternation, that they needed all the comfort that' he could minister to them; and all the Spirit that he could infuse in them. He went to the King to Oxford, and he said in my Author's hearing, That the King had never rightly understood the innate hatred that the Irish bore to all that professed the true Religion, till he had informed him of it. But he was for much affected with an ill piece of News, that he heard concerning some missortune in the King's affairs in England; that he was some hours after sound dead in his Study. This short digression, I hope, may be forgiven me; for the person was very extraordinary, if an unmeasured ambition had not much defaced his other great abilities and excellent qualities.

The old degraded Bishop Adair was quickly restored to another Bishoprick, which came to be vacant upon a dismal account, which I would gladly pass over, if I could; for the thing is but too well known. One Adderton Bishop of Waterford, who, as was believed, had by a Symoniacal compact procured fuch favour, that he was recommended to that Bishoprick; and had covered his own unworthiness, as all wicked Men are apt to do, by seeming very zeasous in every thing that is acceptable to those who govern, and had been in particular very severe on Bishop Adair; came to be accused and convicted of a crime not to be named, that God punished with Fire from Heaven; and fuffer'd publickly for it! He expressed so great a Repentance, that Dr. Bernard, who preached his funeral Sermon, and had waited on him in his Imprisonment. had a very charitable opinion of the State in which he dyed. Upon this, Adair's Case was fo represented to the King, that he was provided with that Bilhoprick. From which it may appear, That he was not cenfured so much guilt, as to strike a terrour in all that express the least kindness to the Scotch

Cor

## Biftop BEDELL

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Govenanters. But our Bishop thought the degrading of a Bishop was too facred a thing to be done meerly upon politick Considerations.

Bishop Bedell was exactly conformable to the Forms and Rules of the Church; he went constantly to Common Prayer in his Cathedral, and often read it himfelf, and affifted in it always, with great reverence and affection. He took care to have the Publick Service performed strictly according to the Rubrick; so that a Curate of another Parish being employed to read Prayers in the Cathedral; that added somewhat to the Collects; the Bishop obferving he did this once or twice, went from his place to the Reader's Pew, and took the book out of his hand, and in the hearing of the Congregation suspended him for his prefumption, and read the rest of the Office hima felf. He preached constantly twice a Sunday in his Cathedral on the Epiffles and Gospels for the day; and catechiled always in the afa ternoon before Sermon; and he preached always twice a year before the Judges, when they made the Circuit. His Voice was low and mournful, but as his matter was excellent, so there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that struck his Auditors. observed the Rubrick so nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; fo that in the teading the Pfalms and the Anthens he did hot observe the common custom of the Minister and the People reading the Verses by turns, for he read all himself, because the other was not

not enjoined by the Rubrick. As for the placing of the Communion Table by the East Wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the Rule of observing the Conformity prescribed by Law; for he said, That they were as much Non-conformists who added of their own, as they that came short of what was enjoined; as he that adds an Inch to a measure dislowns it for a Rule, as much as he that cuts an Inch from it: And as he was severe to him that added words of his own to the Collect, so he thought it was no less censurable to add Rites to those that were prescribed. When he came within the Church, it appeared in the composedness of his Behaviour, that he observed the Rule given by the Preacher, of Keeping his Feet when he went into the House of God; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatness of any Man, or by the Authority of any person's example, to go out of his own way; though he could not but know that such things were then much observed, and measures were taken of Men, by these little distinctions, in which it was thought that the zeal of Conformity difcovered it felf.

There is so sull an account of the tenderness with which he advised all Men, but Church-men in particular, to treat those that differed from them, in a Sermon that he preached on those Words of Christ, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly; that I am afsured the Reader will well bear with the length of it. It was preached soon after some heats that had been in the House of Commons in the Parliament of *Ireland*, in which there were many Papists; and in it the sense he had of the way of treating all differences in Religion, whether great or small, is so well laid down, that I hope it will be looked on as no ordinary, nor useless piece of Instruction.

S it not a shame that our two Bodies, the Church and Common-wealth; should exercise mortal hatreds; (or immortal rather) and being so near in place should be so far asunder in affection; it will be faid by each that other are in fault, and perhaps it may truly be faid, that both are; the one in that they cannot endure with patience the lawful superiority of the worthier Body; the other in that they take no care so to govern, that the governedmay find it to be for their best behoof to obey: Until which time it will never be, but there will be repining and troubles, and brangles between us. This will be done in my opinion, not by bolffering out and maintaining the errors and unruliness of the lower Officers or Members of our body, but by severely punishing them; and on both sides must be avoided such Men for Magistrates and Ministers, as feek to dash us one against another all they may.

And would to God this were all; but is it not a shame of shames, that Mens emulations, and contentions cannot stay themselves in matters of this sort, but the holy profession of

Divinity is made fuel to a publick fire; and that when we had well hoped all had been either quenched or raked up, it should afresh be kindled and blown up with bitter and biting words? God help us! we had need to attend to this Lesson of Christ, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; or to that of the Apostle, It behoves the servant of God not to contend, but to be meek towards all, instructing with lenity those that be contrary affected, waiting if at any time God will give them a better mind to see the truth, 2 Tim.

2, 25.

And here give me leave (R. W. and belowed Brethren and Sifters) to speak freely my mind unto you: I know right well that I thall incur the reproof of divers, yet I will never the more for that spare to utter my Conscience; I hope wise Men will assent or shew me better. For my part, I have been long, of this mind, that many in their Sermons and Writings are to blame for their manner of dealing with the adversaries of their Opinions, when they give Reins to their Tongues and Pens, to railing and reproachful fpeeches, and think they have done well, when they exceed or equal them in this Trade; wherein to have the better is indeed to be the worse: And alledging that Text for themselves, || That a fool is to be answered according to his folly; they do not consider that other, where such manner of answer is forbidden, whereby the

gaswerer becometh like him: Prov. 26, 4.15,

1. 24, 26.

And this is yet more to be blamed, because fometimes all reasons are laid by, and nothing is foundly refuted, but only hot Words are given, yea, and with a misconceiving, or misreporting at least, of their Opinions, and make ing every thing worse than it is; which many times ariseth upon ambiguity of Words not used in the like sense by both sides. What then? Do I approve of tolerations and unions with errors and herefies? Truly I wish not to live so long. And yet as our Sins are, and our folly too to fall together by the ears about small matters amongst our selves, there is just cause to sear it: But yet such points as may be reconciled, saving the truth, I see not what should move us to hold off in them, and why we may not feek to agree in word, as we do in meaning: For the rest, their purpose and endeavours shall deserve thanks, who bringing them to the fewest and narrowest terms, shall set down how far we are to join with our diffenting Brethren, and where for ever to differt; that so controversies being handled without the vain flourish of swelling Words, and (like proportions) our Opinions being set down in the least terms. Men may. know what to bend their Wits to, and where again to plant their Arguments, not, as many do, reving always at random; but may always remember to imitate Christ's meckness. and to deal with Arguments rather: Let us not envy the Papists and other Hereticks, the

glory and preheminence in railing, wherein the more they excel, the more unlike they are to Christ, whose pattern is of meekness, Learn of me, &c.

\* Tea, but will some Man say, This course will not stay Men from backstiding to any error or heresy, &c. Who can keep off his enemy

without shot, &c.

† I. God's Truth needs not to be graced,

nor his Glory fought by my fin.

Auditor, and at the first; but if inquiring himself, he shall find that they or their Opinions are not so bad as we make them to be, and would have them seem, it will be a hundred to one that in other things too, they will not seem to be so bad as they are; and, unless I much mistake, it is not the storm of Words, but the strength of Reasons, that shall stay a wavering Judgment from errors, &c, When that like a tempest is over-blown, the tide of others examples will carry other Men to do as the most do; but these like so many Anchors will shok, and not come again.

\*\* III. Besides, our Calling is to deal with errors, not to disgrace the Man with scolding Words. It is said of Alexander, I think, when he overheard one of his Soldiers railing lustily on Darius his enemy, he reproved him, and added, Friend (quoth he) I entertain thee to sight against Darius, not to revile him. Truly it may be well thought that those that take this course shall find but small

\* Object. † Resp. 1. - \$ Resp. 2. \*\* Resp 3.

thanks.

thanks at Christ's, our Captain's, hands; and it is not unlike but he would fay to them. were he here on earth again, Masters, I would you should refute Popery, and set your selves against Antichrist my enemy, with all the discoloured Sects and Herefies, that fight under his banner against me, and not call him and his Troops all to nought.

And this is my poor Opinion concerning our dealing with the Papists themselves, perchance differing from the practice of Men of great note in Christ's Family, Mr. Luther and Mr. Calvin, and others; but yet we must live by Rules, not Examples; and they were Men, who perhaps by complexion, or otherwife, were given over too much to anger and heat: Sure I am, the Rule of the Apostle is plain, even of such as are the flaves of Satan, that we must with lenity instruct them, waiting that when escaping out of his snare, they should recover a found mind to do God's will, in the place I quoted before. \*.

But now when Men agreeing with our felves in the main (yea and in profession likewife enemies to Popery) shall, varying never so little from us in Points of less consequence, be thereupon centured as favourers of Popery, and other errors; when Mole-hills shall be made Mountains, and unbrotherly terms given: Alas! methinks this course savours not of meekness, nay it would hurt even a good cause, thus to handle it; for where such violence is, ever there is error to be suspected;

Affection and Heat are the greatest Enemies that can be to soundness of judgment, or exactness of comprehension; he that is troubled with passion, is not fitly disposed to judge of truth,

Besides, Is my conceit ever consonant with truth? And if I be subject to error my self, have I forgotten so much the common condition of mankind, or am I so much my own enemy, as to pursue with a terrible Scourge of Whip-cord, or Wyer, that which was worthy of some gentler lasses: For indeed he that taketh pet, and conceiveth indignation, that another should, I will not say, differ from himself, but err, and be deceived, seems to proclaim war to all mankind, and may well look himself to find small sayour, but rather to endure the Law that he had made, and he bated with his own rod.

To make an end of this point, which I would to God, I had not had an occasion to enter into: If this precept of our Lord Jesus Christ be to be heard, these things should not be so; if it were heard, they would not be so; and undoubtedly, if it be not heard, they that are faulty shall bear their judgment, whose ever they be. Mean while they shall deserve great praise of all that love Peace, who shall maintain quietness, even with some injury to themselves: And in a good cause do still endeavour to shew forth the vertue of Christ, that hath called us, as the Apostle Peter exhorteth us at large from this example of Christ,

is first Epistle, 21. 20, 21, 22 23. It is lory of a Man to pass by an offence. Injuries,

juries, \*if by regarding them a man lay himfelf open to them, wound and hurt us; if they be contemned, or born off with the Shield of Meckness, they glance off, or rebound unto the party that offereth them.

Finally, he that in matters of controversy shall bring meckness to his defence, undoubtedly he shall overcome in the manner of handling; and if he bring truth also, he shall prevail at last in the matter.

This is a part of one of his Sermons; of which I have feen but very few; and because they are not sufficient to give a full Character of him, I have not published them: But I will add to this two parcels of another Sermon that is already in print, and was published by Dr. Bernard, the Text is that of the Revelation 18. 4. Come out of her (Bahylon) my people: And the delign of it is to prove that the See of Rome is the Babylon meant in that Text; but in this he mixes an Apology for some that were in that Communion; and I doubt not but he had his Friend P. Paule in his thoughts when he spoke it: The pasfage is remarkable, and therefore I will fet it down,

Wherein observe first (he calls bis people to come out of Babylon) a plain Argument that there are many not only good Moral and Civil bonest Men there, but good Christians, not redeemed only, but in the polsession

<sup>\*</sup> Prov. 19. 11:

session of the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; which may be confirmed by these reasons.

First, there is amongst these that are under the tyranny of the Romi lb Babylon, the Sacrament of entrance into the Covenant of Grace, Baptism, by which those that are partakers thereof are made Members of Christ, the Chibdren of God, and Heirs of Eternal Life: And these that have but this Seal of God's Covenant, (viz. Infants) are no small and contemptible part of God's people, though as yet, they cannot hear this Voice of Christ calling out of Babylon; besides this there is a publication of the tenure of the Covenant of Grace to such as are of years, though not so openly and purely as it might and ought, yet so as the grounds of the Catechism are preached, Sin is shewed, Christ's Redemption \* (or the Story of it) is known, Faith in him is called for, and this Faith is by the Grace of God, wrought in some: For the Word of God and his Calling is not fruitless, but like the rain returneth not in vain; and where true Faith is, † Men are translated from death to life, he that believeth in the Son, hath everlasting life.

Some Men perhaps may object, the Faith which they describe and call by this name of Catholick Faith, is none other but such as the

Devils may have.

I answer, Religion is not Logick, He that cannot give a true definition of the Soul, is not for that, without a Soul; so he that defines Faith truly, yet may have true Faith:

Learned

Learned Divines are not all of accord touching the definition of it; but if (as by the whole stream of the Scripture it should seem) it be a trust and cleaving unto God; this Faith many there have, the Love of our § Lord Jesus Christ is wrought in many there; now he that loveth Christ is loved of him; and of the Father also; and because the proof of true love to Christ is the keeping of his Sayings, there are good Works, and according to the measure of knowledge, great conscience of obedience.

Yea, will some Men say, But that which marreth all is the Opinion of merit and satis-Indeed that is the School Doctrine, faction. but the Conscience enlightned to know it self, will easily act that part of the Publican, who smote his Breast, and said, God be merciful to me a sinner. I remember a good advice of one of that fide: Let others (faith he) that have committed few sins, and done many good works, satisfie for their sins: But what soever thou dost, refer it to the Honour of God: So as what loever good come from thee, thou resolve to do it to please God, accounting thy works too little to satisfie for thy sins: For as for thy sins thou must offer Christ's Works, his Pains and Wounds, and his Death it self to him, together with that Love of his out of which he endured these things for thee. These are available for the satisfaction for thy sins. But thou whatsoever thou dost, or fufferest, offer it not for thy sins to God, but for his love and good pleasure, wishing to find the more Grace with him.

whereby thou mayest do more, greater and more acceptable Works to him; let the Love of God then be to thee the cause of well-living, and the bope of well-working. Thus he, and I doubt not but many there be on that side that follow this counsel; herewith I shall relate the Speech of a wise and discreet Gentleman, my neighbour in England, who lived and died a Reculant; he demanded one time, What was the worst Opinion that we could impute to the Church of Rome? It was said, There was none more than this of our merits: \* And that Cardinal Bellarmine not only doth uphold them, but faith, we may trust in them, so it be done soberly; and faith, they deferve Eternal Life. not only in respect of God's Promises and Com venant, but also in regard of the Work it self: Whereupon he answered, Bellarmine was a learned Man, and could perhaps defend what he wrote by learning; but for his part he trusted to be faved only by the merits of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and as for good Works. be would do all that be could: Et voleans quantum valere poffint.

To proceed: In or under the Obedience of Rome there is Persecution, and that is a better mark of Christ's People, than Bellarmine's Temporal Felicity. All that will live gody in Christ Jesus (saith the Apostle) skall suffer persecution; ye shall be hated of all Man for my Name's sake (saith our Saviour) and so are all they on that side that are less superstitious than others, or dare speak of redress of abuses:

The justificat, lib. 5. cap. 7.

abules; yea, there is Martyrdom for a free oppoling Mens Traditions, Image-Worship-

pers, Purgatory, and the like.

Add, That in obedience to this call of Christ, there do some come daily from thence; and in truth how could our Saviour call bis people from thente if he had none there? How could the Apostles say that Antichrist, from whose captivity they are called, shall sit in the Temple of God, (fince that Ferufalem is finally and utterly desolated) unless the same Apostle otherwhere declaring himself, had shewed us his meaning, that the Church is the House of God : And again, ye are the \* Temple of the living God, and the Temple of God is Holy, which It will be faid that there are on that fide many gross errors, many open Idolatries, and Superstitions, so as those which live there must needs be either partakers of them, and like minded, or else very Hypocrites. But many errors and much ignorance, so it be not affected, may stand with true Faith in Christi and when there is true Contrition for one fin. (that is, because it displeaseth God) there is a general and implicit repentance for all unknown sins. God's Providence in the general revolt of the ten Tribes, when Elias thought himself left alone, had reserved seven thousand + that had not bowed to the Image of Baal: And the like may be conceived here, fince especially, the Idolatry practited under the obedience of Mystical Babylon, is rather in false and will-worship of the true God, and rather

commended, as profitable, than enjoined as absolutely necessary, and the corruptions shere maintained are rather in a superfluous addition than retraction in any thing necessary to falvation.

Neither let that hard term of Hypocrify be used of the infirmity, and sometime, of humble and peaceable carriage of some that oppose not common errors, nor wrestle with the greater part of Men, but do follow the Multitude, referving a right knowledge to themselves: and sometimes, (by the favour which God gives them to find where they live,) obtain better conditions than others can. call not John the beloved Disciple an hypocrite, because he was \* known to the High Priest, and could procure Peter to be let to see the arraignment of our Saviour: nor call we Peter himself one that for fear denied him; much less Daniel and his companions; that by Suit, obtain'd of Melzar their keeper that they might + feed upon Pulse, and not be defiled with the King of Babel's meat, and these knew themselves to be Captives in Babel. the new Babel how many thousands do we think there are that think otherwise; that they are in the true Catholick Church of God, the name whereof this barlot hath usurped: And although they acknowledge that where they live there are many abuses, and that the Church hath need of reformation, yet there they were born, and that they may not abandon their Mother in her sickness. Those that COD

<sup>\*</sup> John 18. 15, 16.

eonverse more inwardly with Men of Conscience, on that side, do know that these are speeches in secret; which how they will be justified against the commands of Christ, come out of her, my people) belongs to another place to consider. For the purpose we have now in hand, I dare not but account these the people of God, though they live very dangerously under the captivity of Babylon, as did Daniel, Mordecai, Hester, Nehemiah and Exra, and many Jews more, notwithstanding both Cyrus's Commission, and the Prophets command to depart.

This point may give some light in a Question that is on foot among learned and good Men at this day, Whether the Church of Rome be a true Church or no? where I think surely if the matter be rightly declared, for the terms there will remain no question. As thus, whether Babylon pretending to be the Church of Rome, yea the Catholick Church, be so or not? or this, Whether the people of Christ that are under that Captivity be a true Church or no? either of both ways if declared in these terms, the matter will soon be resolved.

\* Except some Man will perhaps still object, Though there be a people of God, yet they can be no true Church, for they have no Priesthood which is necessary to the Constitution of a Church, as S. Cyprian describes it, †, Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, people joined to their, Priest: They have no Priesthood, being by the very form of their Ordination, Sacrificers for the quick and the dead.

\* I an-

<sup>\*</sup> Cbjest.

I aniwer, under correction of better judge thents, they have the Ministry of Reconcilia ation by the Commission which is given at their Ordination; being the same which our Saviour left in his Church, + Whofe fins ye temit, they are remitted, whose sins ye re-

tain they are retained.

As for the other power to facrifice, if it be any otherwise than the celebrating the Coms membration of Christ's Sacrifice once offered upon the Gross, it is no part of the Priesthood or Ministry of the new Testament, but a fee perfluous addition thereunto, which yet worketh not to the destruction of that which is lawfully conferred otherwise. This Doctrine I know not how it can offend any, unless it be in being too Churitable, and that I am fure is a good fault, and ferves well for a fure mark of Christ's Sheep, and may have a very good operation to help Christ's people out of Babéli By this, saith he, I shall Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Charity one to another. But they call us Hereticks, Miscreants, Dogs, &c. and persecute us with more deadly hatred than Jews and Turks; yea, this is Babylon, and perhaps some of God's People in it that are milinformed of us. Thus did Saul for a while, yet a chosen vessel to bear Christ's Name over the World. But let us maintain our Charity to them, as we are wont to bear with the weakness of our Friends of Children, when in bot Fevers or Phrenfies, they miscal us. Let us remember if they be Christ's people, how little loving soeverthey be to us, they must be our beloved Brethren, and this of the Persons.

To this I shall add the conclusion of that excellent Sermon in which there is such a mixture both of serious Piety and of an undissembled sincerity, that I hope the Reader will not be displeased with me for laying it in his way.

IOW should I come to the Motives from the Danger of fin, and of partaking in But the handling of these punishment. would require a long time, let me rather make some Application of that which hath been said already. And First and most properly to those that this Scripture most concerns and is directed unto: The People of God holden in the Captivity of the Roman Babylon: But alas they are not here, for this is one part of their Captivity, that they are kept, not only from hearing the voice of the Servants of Christ, of of S. John the beloved Disciple, but of himself speaking here from Heaven; and fince they are so contented, what remedy may there be for those that are thus bewitched, unless you (My L. L's and Brethren) will be contented to become faithful Feoffees in truft, to convey this voice and Message of Christ unto them: and by my request you shall be pleased to do it, with a great deal of Love. As this President of our Lord himself doth lead you as to Brethren, and, as you hope, faithful People, loth to fin against him, and desirous to please him in all things. Tell them then, that it is acknowledged by their own Doctors: That Rome is Babylon, and it is averred, That this

is the present Papal Monarchy, that out of this they must depart by the Commands of our Lard Jesus Christ's own Voice, under pain of being accellary to all her Sins, and lyable to all her punishments: wish them to use the Liberty to read the Holy Scripture, and to come out of the blind Obedience of Mens Precepts and Traditions; be pleafed to tell them further, that others may have some colour of excuse, that live in such places where they may not discover themselves without danger of the loss of their Goods, Honour or Life; they may do it here, not only with safety but with Reputation and Profit: Intreat them to beware left they make themselves extreamly culpable, not only of partaking with the former Idulatries, Extertions, Massacres, Powder-Treasons, and King-killings of that bloody City, but the new detestable Doctrines, Derogatory to the blood of Christ, which moderate Men even of her own Subjects detest: But which she, for fear it should discontent her own Creatures, and devoted Darlings will not disavow: O if they would fear the plagues of Babylon, and that of all others the fearfullest, \* Blindneß of mind, and strong delusions to believe Lyes, that they may be damued that believed not the Truth, but had pleasure in unrighteeusness. But you hope better things of them, accompanying Salvation; and this Melfage of our Lord Jesus Christ, if you will be pleased to deliver, accompanying it with those general and common goods of Charity and Meek \* 2 Thef. 2. 11.

Meekness, Integrity, good Example, and the special furtherance, which your Callings and Places in State, Church or Family can give it, doubtless to Christ's people it will not be unneffectual.

Bleffed be God that hath long ago stirred up the \* Spirits of our Princes, like Cyrus to give liberty to God's People † to go out of Babylon, and to give large Patents, with Darius, and Artaxerxes, for the building of the Temple, and establishing the Service of God.

And bleffed be God, and his Majesty that hath fent us another Nehemia, § to build up the Walls of Jerusalem, and to procure that the Portion of the Levites should be given them. Give me leave | (Right Honourable) to put you in mind, That this also belongeth to your Care, to co-operate with Christ in bringing his People out of the Romist Captivity. And if to help away a poor Captive out of Turkey hath been honourable to some publick Ministers: What shall it be to help to the enlarging of so many thousand Souls out of the bendage of Mens Traditions, and gaining to his Majesty so many entire Subjects. Your wisdom (my Lord) is such as it needeth not to be advised; and your Zeal as it needeth not to be stirred up: Yet pardon me one word, for the purpose of helping Christ's People out of Babylon.

They are called by himself often in Scripture, His Sheep; and verily, as in many other, so in this they are like to Sheep; which be-

<sup>\*</sup> Ezra 1, 1. + C. 6. 3, &c 7, 12. \$ Neh. 2, 18... || C. 10. 37. &c 13. 10.

ing coop'd up in a narrow Pent, though they find some pressure, and the Passage be set open, are not forward to come out; unless they be put on, but strain Courtesie, which should begin; yet when they are once out with a joy-ful frisk they exult in their Freedom, yea, and when a sew of the soremost lead, the rest sollow; I shall not need to make Application: Do according to your wisdom in your place, and Christ whose Work it is shall be with you, and further your endeavours.

The like I say unto you the test of my Lords, Fathers and Brethren, help your Friends, Followers, and Tenants out of Babylon, what you may in your places; you have the Examples of Abraham, Joshua, Cornelius, praised in Scripture for propagating the Knowledge and Fear of God in their Families and commands, with the report of God's accepting it, and rewarding it, and this to the use

of others.

But shall you not carry away something for your selves also; yes verily, take to your selves this Voice of our Saviour, Come out of Babylon; you will fay we have done it already, God be thanked we are good Christians, good Protestants, some of us Preachers and that call upon others to come out of Babylon: \* But if S. Paul prayed the converted Corinthians to be reconciled to God; And S. John writing to Believers, sets down the Record of God touching his Son, † That they might believe in the Name of the Son of God; Why may not I exhort in Christ's Name and Words, cyen \* & Cor. 5. 2. -† 1 John 5. 13.

even those that are come out of Babylon, to come out of her. Qui monet ut facias, &c. He that perswades another to that which he doth already, in perswading encourageth him, and puts him on in his performance; but if there be any yet unrefolved, and halting or hanging between two, (as the People did in Elias time) \* that present their Bodies at such meetings as this is, when their hearts are perhaps at Rome, or no where; If any are in fome points rightly informed and cleared, and in others doubtful, to such Christ speaks, Come out of her, my people, press on by Prayer, Conference, Reading, (if Christ's Voice be to be heard) If Rome be Babylon, Come out of ber.

And let it be spoken with as little offence as it is delight: We that feem to be the forwardest in Reformation, are not yet so come out of Babylon, as that we have not many shameful badges of her Captivity, witness her Impropriations, being indeed plain Church-robberies, devised to maintain her Colonies of idle and irregular regulars; idle to the Church and State, zealous and pragmatical to support and defend her power, pomp, and pride, by whom they subsisted: Witness her Difpensations, or dissipations rather, of all Canohical Orders; bearing down all with her Non obstante, her Symoniacal and Sacrilegious Venality of holy things, her manifold Extortions in the exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which we have not wholly banished: Let each

of us therefore account it as spoken to himself,

(Gome out of ber my people.)

In this Journey let us not trouble and cast stumbling blocks before God's people, that are. ready to come out; or hinder one another with. Dissentions in matters either inexplicable, or unprofitable: Let it have some pardon, if some be even so forward in flying from Babylon, as they fear to go back, to take their own Goods for hafte; and let it not be blamed or uncharitably censured, if some come in the Rear, \* and would leave none of Christ's people behind them: No man reacheth his hand to another whom he would lift out of a Ditch, but he floops to him. Our ends immediate are not the same, but yet they meet in one final intention; The one bates Babylon, and the other loves and pities Christ's People: The one believes the Angel that cast the Milstone into the Sea; in the end of this Chapter, with that Word ( so shall Babylon rise no more.) The other scars the threatning of our Saviour against such as scandalize any of the bittle ones believing in him, that it is better for such a one to have a Milstone hanged upon his neck, and be cast into the Sea himself.

Finally, let us all befeech our Lord Jesus Christ to give us Wisdom and opportunity to further his work, and to give success unto the same himself, to hasten the Judgment of Babylon, to bring his people out of this bondage, that we with them and all his Saints

<sup>\*</sup> Et qui tardius ambulant, non sunt relinquendi. S. Aug in Etola 1 Joh. Tract. 5.

in the Church Triumphant, may thereupon \*fing a joyful Hallelujah, as is expressed in the next Chapter.

Salvation, and Honour, and Glory, and Power, be unto the LORD our GOD, Amen.

## Hallelujah.

He preached very often in his Episcopal habit, but not always, and used it seldom in the Afternoon; nor did he love the Pomp of a Quire, nor instrumental Musick; which he thought filled the Ear with too much pleasure and carried away the mind from the ferious attention to the matter, which is indeed the finging with Grace in the Heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleaf-And when another Bishop justified these things, became they served much to raise the Affections, he answered, that in order to the raising the Affections, those things that tended to edification ought only to be used: thought it would be hard otherwise to make stops; for upon the same pretence an infinity of Rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excelles of superfittion, from what he had observed during his long stay in Italy, made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease, which is like a green Sickness in Religion. used the Common Prayer in his Family; for he thought it was intended to be the folemn Worship of Christians in their publick Assem-K 4 blies, -\*: Matt. 18. 6.

blies, and that it was not so proper for private Families. He was so exact an observer of Ecclesiastical Rules, that he would perform no part of his Function out of his own Diocess, without obtaining the Ordinary's leave for it; so that being in *Dubliu*, when his Wise's Daughter was to be married to Mr. Clogy, (that is much more the Author of this Book than I am) and they both desired to be bless'd by him, he would not do it till he first took out a Licence for it in the Archbishop of

Dublin's Confistory.

So far I have profecuted the Relation of his most exemplary discharge of his Episcopal Function; referving what is more personal and particular to the end where I shall give his Character. I now come to the conclusion of his life, which was indeed fuitable to all that had gone before. But here I must open one of the bloodiest Scenes, that the Sun ever shone upon, and represent a Nation all covered with Blood, that was in full Peace, under no fears nor apprehensions, enjoying great plenty, and under an easy Yoke, under no oppression in civil matters, nor persecution upon the account of Religion: For the Bishops and Priests of the Roman Communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were almost as publick in the use of their Religion, as others were in that which was established by Law; so that they wanted nothing but Empire, and a power to defiroy all that differed from them. And yet

sudden this happy Land was turned to be ald of Blood. Their Bishops resolved, in one

particular to fulfil the Obligation of the Oath they took at their Confectation of persecuting all Hereticks to the utmost of their Power; and their Priests, that had their Breeding in Spain, had brought over from thence the true Spirit of their Religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the Spanish temper, that had appeared in the conquest of the West-Indies, and so they thought a Massacre was the surest way to work, and intended that the Natives of Ireland, should vie with the Spaniards for what they had done in America.

The Conjuncture seemed favourable, for the whole Isle of Britain was so imbroiled, that they reckoned they should be able to master Ireland, before any Forces could be fent over to check the progress of their butchery. The Earl of Strafford had left Ireland some considerable time before this. The Parliament of England was rising very high against the King; and though the King was then gone to Scotland, was rather for a prefent quieting of things the gave up all to them, than that he gained them to his Service. So they laid hold of this conjuncture, to infuse it into the People, That this was the proper time for them to recover their ancient Liberty, and shake off the English Yoke, and to possess themselves of those Estates, that had belonged to their Ancestors: And to such as had some rests of Duty to the King it was given out, That what they were about was warranted by his Authority, and for his Service. A Seal A Seal was cut from another Charter, and put to a forged Commission, giving warrant to what they were going about. And because the King was then in Scotland, they made use of a Scotch Seal. They also pretended that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms being either in Rebellion against the King, or very near it, That the English of Ireland would be generally in the interest of the English Parliament; so that it was said, That they could not serve the King better than by making themselves Masters in Ireland, and then declaring for the King against his other rebellious Subjects.

These things took universally with the whole Nation; and the Conspiracy was cemented by many Oaths and Sacraments, and in conclusion all things were found to be so ripe that the day was fet in which they should every where break out; and the Castle of Dublin being then as well flored with a great Magazine, which the Earl of Strafford had laid up for the Army, that he intended to have carried into Scotland, had not the Pacification prevented it, as it was weakly kept by a few careless Warders; who might have been casily surprized: It was resolved that they should feize on it, which would have furnished them with Arms and Ammunition, and have put the Metropolis, and very probably the whole Island in their hands. But, though this was fo well laid, that the execution could not have mis'd, in all human appearance; and though was kept so secret, that there was not the least

least suspicion of any design on foot, till the Night before, and then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindness to an Irisoman, that was become a Protestant, communicated the Project to him: The other went and discovered it to the Lords Justices; and by this means not only the Castle of Dublin was preserved, but in effect Ireland was faved. For in Dublin there was both a shelter for such as were stript and turned out of all they had, to fly to, and a place of rendezvous, where they that escaped before the form had reached to them, met to consult about their preservation. But the Dublin was thus secured, the rest of the English and Scotch in Ireland, particularly in Ulfter, fell into the hands of those merciles Men, who reckoned it no small piece of mercy, when they stript people naked, and let them go with their lives. But the vast numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own Writers in a Discourse that he printed some years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two hundred thoufand, and the barbarous cruelties they used in murthering them, are things of so dreadful a nature, that I cannot easily go on with so difmal a Narrative, but must leave it to the His-I shall say no more of it than what concerns our Bishop: It may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that searful form, that was breaking on every hand of him, though it did not yet break in upon him felf. There feemed to be a fecret guard fet about

about his House: For though there was nothing but Fire, Blood and Desolation round about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by fome hidden power, that they did him no harm for many Weeks: His House was in no condition to make any refistance, so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made them, that bound them Great numbers of his Neighbours had also fled to him for shelter: He received all that came, and shared every thing he had so with them, that all things were common among them; and now that they had nothing to expect from Men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death, which they had reason to look for every day; fo that they spent their time in Prayers and Fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by necessity. The Rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that over-ruling power, that stills the raging of the Seas, and the tumult of the people; feemed to be overcome with his exemplary converfation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said, He should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole County of Cavan that was fuffered to live in his own House without disturbance; not only his House, and all the t-Buildings, but the Church and Churchd were full of people; and many that a

few days before lived in great ease and much plenty, were now glad of a heap of Straw or Hay to lie upon, and of some boiled Wheat to support Nature; and were every day expecting when those Swords, that had, according to the Prophetick Phrase, drunk up so much Blood, should likewise be satisfied with theirs. They did now eat the Bread of Sorrow, and mingled their Cups with their Tears. The Bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God, and in order to that he preached to them the first Lord's Day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the Third Pfalm, which was penned by David when there was a general infurrection of the people against him under his unnatural Son Absolom; and he applied it all to their condition. He had a doleful Assembly before him, an Auditory all melting in Tears: It requires a Soul of an equal elevation to his, to imagine how he raised up their Spirits, when he spake to these Words, But thou, O Lord, art a Shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my Head. I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me, round about. And to the conclusion of the Pfalm, Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: Thy Blessing is upon The next Lord's Day, hearing of thy people. the Scoffings, as well as the Cruelty, of the Irish, he preached on these Words in Micah. Rejoyce not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall I shall rise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord

Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he flead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God. By these means, and through the blessing of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared for the worst that their Enemies could do to them.

The Irish themselves were at a stand: The miscarriage of the design on Dublin Castle was a fad difappointment: They were unarmed, they had no Treasure, no Fleet, nor Foreign Support; and though there were some good Officers among them, yet they found the Soldiers to be as cowardly as the English Inhabitants felt them to be cruel: For as those two Characters are observed generally to meet in the same person; so it was very visible upon this occasion, fince a very small Body of good Men, could have gone over the whole Kingdom, and have reduced it in fewer Months than it cost Years. Their chief hope was, the only thing in which they were not disappointed, That the Disputes between the King and the Parliament of England, would make Supplies come over so flow, that they might thereby gain much time; and in conclusion they might hope for a more favourable conjuncture. Those of the County of Cavan seemed to see their erros, and apprehend their danger;

danger; so they came to the Bishop, as the futest Man to interpose for them; he was willing to oblige those on the one hand, at whose mercy he was, and on the other hand to bring them to fuch a submission, as might at least procure some breathing time to the poor English, and to those few Houses that stood out, but were falling within doors under an enemy that was more irrelistible than the Irish: For they were much straitned, their Provisions failing them. The Petition, that they figued and fent up to the Lords Justices and the Council, was too well penned to come from those that set their hands to it. It was drawn by the Bishop, who put their matter in his own Words; therefore I shall insert it here, though it gives the best colours to their Rebellion of any of all their Papers that I ever faw.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and Council,

The humble Remonstrance of the Gentry and Commonalty of the County of Cavan, of their Grievances common with other parts of this Kingdom of Ireland.

Hereas we, his Majesty's loyal Subjects of his Highness's Kingdom of Ireland, have of long time growned under many grievous pressures, occasioned by the rigorous Government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private Fortunes, than

than the Honour of his Majesty, or the welfare. of us his Subjects; whereof we in humble manner declared our selves to his Highness by our Agents sent from the Parliament, the reprefentative Body of this Kingdom! Notwithstanding which, we find our selves of late threatned with far greater and more grievous Vexations, either with captivity of our Consciences, our losing of our lawful Liberties, or utter expulsion from our Native Seats, without any just ground given on our parts, to alter his Majesty's goodness so long continued unto us; of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceeding of our Neighbour Nations, and do see it already attempted upon by certain Petitioners for the like course to be taken in this Kingdom, for the effecting thereof, in a compulsory way, so as rumours have caused fears of Invasion from other parts, to the disolving the bond of mutual agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several Subjects of this Kingdom; and whereby all other his Majesty's Dominions have been link'd in one. For the preventing therefore of such Evils growing upon us in this Kingdom; we have, for the preservation of his Majesty's Honour, and our own Liberties, thought fit to take into our Hands, for his Highness's Use and Service, such Forts and other places of Strength, as coming into the possession of others might prove disadvantagious, and tend to the utter undoing the Kingdom. And we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards bis Majesty, or purpose any burt to any of his

Highness's Subjects in their Possession, Goods or Liberty: Only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make remonstrance to his Majesty, for us, of all our Grievances, and just Fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby the Liberty of our Gonsciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other Burthens in Civil Government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened through the disorder of the common fort of people, against the English Inhabitants, or any other; we with the Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and such others of the several Counties of this Kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made as in part we have already done.

An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may by your Lordships be thought most convenient for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and uncivility of the Commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, confenting, or privity of ours. All which we leave

to your Lordsbips most grave Wisdom.

## And we shall humbly pray, &c.

But this came to nothing: While these things were in agitation, the titular Bishop of Kilmore came to Cavan; his name was Swiney, he was like his name, for he often wallowed in his own vomit. He had a Brother,

whom the Bishop had converted, and had entertained him in his House, till he found out a way of subsistence for him. He pretended that he came only to protect the Bishop, so he desired to be admitted to lodge in his House, and assured him that he would preserve him. But the Bishop hearing of this, writ the following Letter in Latin to him; which will be found at the \* end of this Book, and is indeed a still fit for one of the most eloquent of the Roman Authors. Here I shall give a Translation of it in English.

Reverend Brother,

AM sensible of your civility in offering to protect me by your presence in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: But there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now of-My House is strait, and there is a fer me. great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have sled hither as to a Santtuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own Son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our way of worsbip: I do not say of our Religion, for I have ever thought, and have published it in my Writings, that we have one common Christian Religion. Under our prelent miseries we comfort our selves with the ading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily · Prayers,

Prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar Tongue, and with the singing of Psalms; and since we find so little truth among Men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his affistance. These things would offend your company, if not your self; nor could others be bindered, who would pretend that they came to see you; if you were among us; and under that colour those murtherers would break in upon us, who after they have robbed us of all that bolongs to us; would in conclusion think they did God good service by our saughter. For my own part I am resolved to trust to the Divine Protection. To a Christian, and a Bishop, that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter: On the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for my felf alone, yet if you will require the people under an Anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled and stript, it will be both acceptain ble to God, honourable to your self, and happy to the people, if they obey you: But if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend Brother, I do beartily commend you:

November, 2. 1641.

Yours in Christ,

Will: Kilmore.

Endorsed thus,
Tu my Reverend and Loving Brother,
D. Swiney.

L 2

This

This Letter commends it felf so much, that I need fay nothing but wish my Reader to see where he can find fuch another, writ on fuch an occasion, with so much Spirit, as well as Piety and Discretion: It was the last he ever writ, and was indeed a conclusion well becoming such a Pen. It had at that time some effect, for the Bishop gave him no further disturbance till about five Weeks after this, so that from the 23d of October, which was the dismal day in which the Rebellion broke out, till the 18th of December following, he, together with all that were within his Walls, enjoyed fuch quiet, that if it was not in all points a miracle, it was not far from one; and it seemed to be an accomplishment of those Words, A thousand shall fall on thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee; there shall no evil befal thee; for he shall give his Angels charge over thee. But to the former Letter I shall add the last Paper of Spiritual Advice and Direction that ever the Bishop writ; which he did. at the defire of one Mrs. Dillan, that was a zealous and devout Protestant, but had been fatally deluded in her widowhood by Mr. Dillan, Son to the Earl of Roscommon, taking him to be a Protestant, and had married him, but enjoyed her self very little after that; for though he used no violence to her, or her Children by her former Husband, in the point Religion; yet he bred up his Children by n his own Superflition, and he was now ed in the Rebellion. So that she had

at this time a vast addition to her former forrows upon her; and therefore desired that the Bishop, whose Neighbour and constant Hearer she had been, would send her such Instructions in this sad calamity, as might both direct and support her. Upon which he writ the following Paper.

[700 defire, as I am informed, (dear Sifter in Christ Jesus) that I would " fend you some short Memoriat, to put you "in mind how to carry your felf in this for-" rowful time. I will do it willingly; the " more, because with one and the same labour, " Ishall both satisfy you, and recollect my own "thoughts also to the like performance of " mine own duty, and bethinking my felf " how I might best accomplish it, there came " to my mind that short Rule of our Life, " which the Apostle mentions in his Epistle " to Titus, and whereof you have been a di-" ligent hearer in the School of Grace, where " he reduceth the whole Practice of Christia-" nity unto three Heads, of living Soberly, " Fully, and Godly: This last directing our " Carriage towards God, the middlemost tow " wards our Neighbour, and the foremost " towards our Selves. Now fince this is a " direction for our whole Life, it feems to me " that we have no more to do at any time, but " to conn this Lesson more perfectly, with " some particular application of such parts of " it, as are most suitable to the present occa-L 3

44 fions. And as to Sobriety first, (under which " the Virtues of Humility, Modesty, Tem-" perance, Chastity, and Contentedness are " contained) fince this is a time, wherein, as " the Prophet saith, The Lord of Hosts calleth " to weeping and mourning, and pulling off " the Hair, and girding with Sack-cloth, you " shall, by my advice, conform your self to " those, that by the Hand of God suffer such "things. Let your apparel and dress be "mouraful, as I doubt not but that your " mind is; your diet sparing and coarse, rase ther than full and liberal; frame your felf "to the indifferency, whereof the Apostle " speaketh, In what seever state you shall be, " therewith to be content; to be full, and to " be hungry; to abound and to want. Re-" member now that which is the Lot of o 4: thers, you know not how foon it may be " your own. Learn to despise, and defy, the " vain and falfly called wealth of this World, " whereof you now see, we have so casual s and uncertain a possession. This for Sobriety, the first part of the " Lesson pertaining to your self. " " Now for Justice, which respects others; "(and containeth the Virtues of Honor to Su-" periors, discreet and equal Government of "Inferiors, Peaceableness to all, Meekness, " Mercy, just dealing in matters of getting " and fpending, Gratitude, Liberality, just " Speech and Defires) God's Judgments be-" ing in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the "World should learn Righteousness, as the

" Prophet speaketh. Call to mind therefore and bethink you, if in any of these you " have failed, and turn your Feet to God's " Testimonies; certainly these times are such, " wherein you may be afflicted, and fay with " the Pfalmist, Horror bath taken hold of me, " and Rivers of Tears run down mine Eyes, " because they keep not thy Laws. Rebelling " against Superiors, Misseading, not only by " Example, but by Compulsion, Inferiors, lay-" ing their Hand to them, that were at peace " with them, unjuffly spoiling, and unthank-" fully requiting, those that had shewed them " kindness, no Faith nor Truth in their Pro-" miles; Judge by the way, of the School " that teacheth Christ thus; are these his " doings? as for those that suffer, I am well " affured, I shall not need to inform you, or a stir you up to mercy and compassion. That " which is done in this kind, is done to Christ " himself, and shall be put upon account in " your reckoning, and rewarded accordingly " at his glorious appearance.

"The last and principal part of our Lesson remains, which teacheth how to behave our selves Godly, or religiously; (to this belong, First, the Duties of God's inward Worship, as Fear, Love, and Faith in God; then outward, as Invocation, the holy Use of his Word and Scraments, Name and Sabbaths). The Apostle makes it the whole End and Work for which we were set in this World, to seek the Lord; yet in publick assistion, we are specially invited L. 4

" thereto, as it is written of Jehosbaphat, " when a great multitude came to invade him, " He set his Face to seek the Lord, and called " the people to a solemn fast: So the Church " professeth in the Prophet Isaiah, In the way " of thy Judgments Lord we have waited for " thee, the desire of our Soul is to thy Name, " and to the remembrance of thee. With my " Soul have I desired thee in the Night, year " with my Spirit within me will I seek thee " early. In this publick Calamity therefore " it is our duty, to turn to him that smiteth " us, and to humble our felves under his migh-" ty Hand, to conceive a reverend and reli-" gious fear towards him, that only, by turn-" ing away his countenance, can thus trouble " us, against that of Man, which can do no "Again, to renew our love to our heaven-

"More but kill the Body.

"Again, to renew our love to our heaven"ly Father, that now offereth himself to us,
as to Children, and to give a proof of that
"Love that we bear to our Saviour, in the
"keeping of his Sayings, hating in comparifon of him, and competition with him, Fa"ther, Mother, Children, Goods, and Life
"it self, which is the condition, and proof of
his Disciples; and above all to receive, and
"to reinforce our Faith and Affiance, which
"is now brought unto the trial of the fiery
"Furnace, and of the Lions Den; O that it
"might be found to our honour, praise and
"ry, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. In
nean space, even now, let us be par-

s of Christ's Sufferings, and hear him

" from

" from Heaven encouraging us, Be thou faith-" ful unto Death, and I will give thee a Crown
" of Life.

"Touching Prayer, we have this gracious " invitation, Call upon me in the day of trou-" ble, and I will hear thee; the example of " all God's Saints, and of our Saviour in his " agony; to this belong the humble confef-" sion of our Sins, with earnest request of Par-" don; the complaint of our Misery, and Dan-" ger, with request of succour and protection; " we have belides the intercession of our Ad-" vocate, with the Father, the cry of the in-" nocent Blood, that hath been cruelly shed, " and the Lord's own interesting himself in " the cause, so as we may say with the Psal-" mist, Arise, O God: plead thine own cause, " remember how the foolish Man, (yea, the " Man of Sin ) reproacheth thee daily: For-" get not the voice of thine Enemies; the tu-" mult of those that rise against thee, encreas-" eth continually. That Pfalm, and many o-"thers, as the 6, 13, 35, 43, 71, 74, 79, 80, « 88, 92, 94, 102, 115, 123, 130, 140, 142, " do give precedents of Prayers in fuch times " as these; and the Prayer of Daniel, and " Ezra 9. of Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. " 14. and 26. 12. The Stories of David's " flight before Absolom, and Jehoshaphat's " behaviour when the Enemies came against " him, of Hezekiah's, in Sennacherib's In-" vasion, Isa. 37. and the whole Book of Es-" ther, are fit Scriptures now to be read, that " through

" through the patience and comfort of them

" we might have hope.

"Now because we know not how soon we "may be called to sanctify God's Name, by making profession thereof, you may per-

" haps defire to know what to fay in that

" day. You may openly profess your not doubting of any Article of the Catholick

" Faith, shortly laid down in the Creed, or

" more largely laid down in the Holy Scrip-

" tures, but that you consent not to certain "Opinions; which are no points of Faith,

"which have been brought into common be-

" lief, without warrant of Scriptures, on pure

" Antiquity, as namely,

"That it is of necessity to Salvation to be under the Pope.

" That the Scriptures ought not to be read

" of the common people.

"That the Doctrine of Holy Scripture is not sufficient to Salvation.

"That the Service of God ought to be in a Language not understood of the people.

"That the Communion should not be ad-

" ministred to them in both kinds.

"That the Bread in the Lord's Supper, is transubstantiated into his Body.

" That he is there facrificed for the quick

" and the dead.

"That there is any Purgatory besides "Christ's Blood.

"That our good Works can merit Hear wen.

" That

" That the Saints hear our Prayers, and "know our Hearts.

" That Images are to be worshipped,

"That the Pope is Infallible, and can command Angels,

"That we ought to pray to the Dead and

" for the Dead,

"In all these notwithstanding, you may " profess your teachableness, if by sound rea-" fons out of God's Word, you shall be con-" vinced of the truth of them: And because " we know not how far it will please God to " call us to make relistance against fin, whe-"ther unto Blood it felf, or not; it shall be "Wisdom for us to prepare our selves to the " last care of a godly life, which is to die " godly. This the Apostle Paul calleth Sleep, " ing in Jesus, implying thereby our Faith in " him, our being found in his Work, and our " committing our Souls into his Hands with " peace; fuch a sweet and heavenly Sleep " was that of St, Stephen, whose last words " for himself were, Lord Jesus receive my " Spirit, and for his Tormentors, Lord lay " not this sin to their charge; wherewith I " will end this Writing, and wish to end my " Life, when the will of God shall be, to "whose gracious protection (dear Sister) I " do heartily commit you.

November. 23. 1641;

These Advices shew in what temper that holy Man was in this his extremity. They had

had a very good effect on the Lady; for as by reading them over very often, she got to be able to fay them all without Book, so she did that which was much more, the lodged them in her heart, as well as in her memory, While this good Man was now every day waiting for his Crown, the Rebels fent to him, defiring him to dismiss the company that was about him; but he refused to obey their cruel order, and he resolved to live and die with them; and would much more willingly have offered himself to have died for them, than have accepted of any favour for himself, from which they should be shut out. And when they fent him word, That though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received orders from the Council of State at Kilkenny, that had affumed the government of the Rebels, that if he would not put away the people, that had gathered about him, they should take him from them; he faid no more, but in the Words of David and St. Paul, Here I am, the Lord do unto me as feems good to him, the will of the Lord be done: So on the eighteenth of December they came and feized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him, and his two Sons, and Mr. Clogy prisoners to the Castle of Lochwater, the only place of strength in the whole County. It was a little Tower in the midst of a Lake, about a Musquet shot from any par: And though there had been a little Ifland

land about it anciently, yet the water had so gained on it, that there was not a foot of ground above water, but only the Tower it felf. They suffered the Prisoners to carry nothing with them; for the titular Bishop took possession of all that belonged to the Bishop. and faid Mass the next Lord's Day in the Church. They set the Bishop on Horseback. and made the other Prisoners go on foot by him: And thus he was lodged in this Caftle. that was a most miserable dwelling. Castle had been in the hands of one Mr. Cullum. who, as he had the keeping of the Fort trufted to him, so he had a good allowance for a Magazine to be laid up in it, for the defence of the Country: But he had not a pound of Powder, nor one fixt Musquet in it, and he fell under the just punishment of the neglect of his trust, for he was taken the first day of the Rebellion and was himself made a Prisoner here. All but the Bishop were at first clapt into Irons, for the Irish that were perpetually drunk, were afraid lest they should seize both on them and on the Castle. Yet it pleased God so far to abate their fury, that they took off their Irons, and gave them no disturbance in the Worship of God, which was now all the comfort that was left them. The House was extreamly open to the weather, and ruinous: And as the place was bare and exposed, so that Winter was very severe; which was a great addition to the misery of those that the Rebels had stript naked, leaving to many not so much as a garment to cover their nakedness.

ness. But it pleased God to bring another Prisoner to the same Dungeon, that was of great use to them, one Richard Castledine. who had come over a poor Carpenter to Ireland, with nothing but his tools on his back! and was first imployed by one Sir Richard Waldron in the carpentry work of a Castle, that he was building in the Parish of Cavan: But Sir Richard wasting his Estate before he had finished his House, and afterwards leaving Ireland, God had so blest the industry of this Castledine, during thirty years labour, that he bought this Estate, and having only Daughters, he married one of them, out of gratitude, to Sir Richard's youngest Son, to whom he intended to have given the Estate that was his Father's: He was a Man of great virtue, and abounded in good Works, as well as in exemplary Piety: He was so good a Husband that the Irish believed he was very rich; so they preserved him, hoping to draw a great deal of Money from him: He being brought to this miserable Prison, got some tools and old boards, and fitted them up as well as was possible, to keep out the weather. The Keepers of the Prison brought their Prisoners abundance of Provision, but left them to dress it for themselves; which they that knew little what belonged to Cookery were glad to: do in such a manner as might preserve their lives; and were all of them much supported in their spirits. They did not suffer as evil doers, and they were not ashamed of the Cross rist; but rejoiced in God in the midst of

all their Afflictions; and the old Bishop took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, That these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eteraal weight of Glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's Day, he preached to his little flock on the Epistle for the day, which fet before them the pattern of the humility and fufferings of Christ; and on Christmas day he preached on Gal. 4, 4, 5, and administred the Sacrament to the small Congregation about him; their Keepers have ing been so charitable as to furnish them with Bread and Wine. And on the 26th of December, Mr. William Bedell, the Bishop's eldest Son, preached on St. Stephen's last Words, which afforded proper matter for their meditation, who were every day in expectation when they should be put to give such a testimony of their Faith, as that first Martyr had. done: And on the second of January, which was the last Sunday of their imprisonment. Mr. Clogy preached on St. Luke 2. 32, 33, 34. During all their religious exercises, their Keepers never gave them any disturbance; indeed they carried so gently towards them, that their natures seemed to be so much change ed, that it look'd like a fecond stopping the mouths of Lions. They often told the Bishop, that they had no personal quarrel to him, and no other cause to be so severe to him, but because he was an Englishman.

But while he was in this dismal Prison, some of the Scots of that County, that had retired to two Houses, that were strong enough to relift any thing but Cannon, and were commanded by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forker, now Lord Grenard, finding themselves like to suffer more by hunger, than by the Siege that was laid to them, made so resolute a Sally upon the Irish. that they killed feveral, took some Prisoners, and dispersed the rest, so that many Months passed before they offered to beliege them any Among their Prisoners sour were Men more. of confiderable interest; so they treated an exchange of them for the Bishop, with his two Sons and Mr. Clogy; which was concluded. and the Prisoners were delivered on both sides on the 7th of January: But though the Irist promised to suffer the Bishop with the other three to go safe to Dublin, yet they would not let them go out of the Country, but intended to make further advantage by having them still among them; and so they were suffered to go to the House of an Irish Minister, Denis O Shereden, to whom some respect was shewed by reason of his extraction, though he had forfaken their Religion, and had married an English Woman: He continued firm in his Religion, and relieved many in their extremity. Here the Bishop spent the few remains ing days of his Pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view, that he seemed dead to he World and every thing in it, and to be fling for the coming of the Day of God. Dering.

During the last Sabbaths of his life, though there were three Ministers present, he read all the Prayers and Leffons himself, and likewise preached on all those days. On the 9th of Fanuary he preached on the whole 44th Plalm, being the fifst of the Plalms appointed for that day, and very fuitable to the miferies the English were then in, who were killed all day long, as Sheep appointed for Meat. Next Sabbath, which was the 16th, he preached on the 79th Psalm, the first Psalm for the day, which runs much on the like argument. when the Temple was defiled, and Jerusalem was laid on heaps, and the dead bodies of God's servants were given to be meat to the Fowls of Heaven, and their flesh to the Beasts of the Earth, and their blood was shed like water, and there was none to bury them. Their condition being to like one another, it was very proper to put up that Prayer, O remember not against us former iniquities: Let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low. Together with the other. Let the sighing of the Prisoner come before thee, according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die. On the 23d he preached on the last ten Verses of the 71st Plalm, observing the great fitness that was in them to express his present condition, especially in these Words, O God thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wonderous works: now also when I am old, and gray headed, for sake me not. And on the 30th, which was the

last Lord's day in which he had strength enough to preach, he preached on the 144th. Plalm, the first appointed for that day, and when he came to the Words in the seventh Verse, which are also repeated in the eleventh Verse, Send thine band from above, rid me and deliver me out of great Waters, from the hand of strange Children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and whose right-hand is a right-hand of falseboad. He repeated them again and again, with so much real and affection, that it appeared how much he was haftening to the day of God, and that his Heart was crying out, Come Lord Fefus come quickly, how long, how long? and he dwelt to long upon them, with so many Sighs, that all the little affembly about him melted into Tears, and look'd on this as a prefage of his approaching dissoluti-And it proved too true, for the day after, he fickned; which on the second day after appeared to be an Ague, and on the fourth day he apprehending his speedy change, called for his Sons, and his Sons Wives, and spake to them at several times, as near in these Words as their memories could serve them to write them down foon after.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I am going the way of all field, I am mow ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand: Knowing therefore that shortly I must put off this Tabernaele, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me, I know also that if this my earthly house for this Tabernaele were distolved. I have a building

" building of God, an House not made with " Hands, eternal in the Heavens, a fair Mana " fion in the new Jerusalem, which cometh " down out of Heaven from my God. There-" fore to me to live is Christ, and to dye is " Gain; which encreaseth my defire, even now " to depart, and to be with Christ, which is " far better, than to continue here in all the " transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this " world, of which I have feen an end. Hear-" ken therefore unto the last Words of your " dying Father; I am no more in this world, " but ye are in the world; I ascend to my " Father and your Father, to my God and " your God, through the all-sufficient merits " of Jesus Christ my Redeemer; who ever " lives to make intercession for me, who is a " propitiation for all my Sins, and washed me " from them all in his own Blood, who is wor-" thy to receive Glory and Honour, and Pow-" er, who hath created all things, and for " whose pleasure they are and were created. " My witness is in Heaven, and my record " on high, That I have endeavoured to glo-" rifie God on Earth, and in the Ministry of " the Gospel of his dear Son, which was com-" mitted to my Trust; I have finished the "Work, which he gave me to do, as a faith-" ful Embassador of Christ, and Steward of " the mysteries of God. I have preached " Righteousness in the great Congregation: Lo " I have not refrain'd my Lips, O Lord, thou " knowest: I have not hid thy righteouf " ness within my heart, I have declared thy " faith-M 2

" faithfulness, and thy Salvation; I have not se concealed thy loving kindness, and thy " truth from the great Congregation of man-" kind. He is near that justifieth me, That \* I have not concealed the Words of the ho-" ly one; but the Words that he gave to me, " I have given to you, and ye have received I had a defire and refolution to " them. " walk before God (in every station of my " pilgrimage, from my youth up to this day) " in truth and with an upright Heart, and to " do that which was upright in his Eyes, " to the utmost of my power; and what "things were gain to me formerly, these " things I count now loss for Christ; year "doubtless, and I account all things but loss " for the excellency of the knowledge of Je-" sus Christmy Lord; for whom I have suf-" fored the loss of all things, and I account " them but Dung, that I may win Christ, and " be found in him, not having my own righ-" teousness, which is of the Law, but that " which is through the Faith of Christ, the " righteousness which is of God by Faith; " that I may know him, and the power of " his Resurrection, and the fellowship of his "Sufferings, being made conformable unto his " Death, I press therefore towards the mark, " for the prive of the high Calling of God in " Jesus Christ. "Let nothing separate you from the love

" of Christ, neither tribulation nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor eril, nor Sword; though (as ye hear and see)

" see) for his fake we are killed all the day " long, we are counted as Sheep for the flaugh-" ter: Yet in all these things we are more " than conquerors, through him that loved "us: For I am perfwaded, That neither " Death, nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principa-"lities, nor Powers, nor things present, nor " things to come, nor heighth, nor depth, nor " any Creature shall be able to separate me " from the Love of God in Christ Jesu my " Lord. Therefore love not the World; " nor the things of the World; but pre-" pare daily and hourly for death, (that now " befiegeth us on every fide) and be faithful " unto death; that we may meet together " joyfully on the right-hand of Christ at the " last day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever " he goeth, with all those that are cloathed " with white Robes, in fign of innocen-" cy, and Palms in their Hands in fign of vic-" tory; which came out of great tribulation, " and have washed their Robes, and made " them white in the Blood of the Lamb. "They shall hunger no more nor thirst, nei-" ther shall the Sun light on them, or any " heat; for the Lamb, that is in the midst of " the Throne, shall feed them, and shall lead " them unto living Fountains of Waters, and " shall wipe away all Tears from their Eyes. " Chuse rather with Moses to suffer afflic-" tion with the people of God, than to enjoy " the pleasures of sin for a season; which will " be bitterness in the latter end. Look there-" fore for sufferings, and to be daily made Parta-" kers K 3

" kers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that 4 which is behind of the affliction of Christ in " your Flesh, for his body's sake, which is " the Church. What can you look for, but " one woe after another, while the Man of " fin is thus suffer'd to rage, and to make ha-" vock of God's people at his pleasure, while "Men are divided about trifles, that ought to " have been more vigilant over us, and care-" ful of those, whose Blood is precious in "God's Sight, though now fhed every where " like Water. If ye fuffer for righteoulnels, " happy are ye; be not afraid of their ter-" rour, neither be ye troubled; and be in "nothing terrified by your adversaries; " which is to them an evident token of perdi-" tion, but to you of falvation, and that of "God. For to you is given in the behalf, of " Christ, not only to believe on him, but al-" fo to fuffer for his fake. Rejoice therefore " in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's " fufferings, that when his Glory shall be re-" vealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding " joy. And if ye be reproached for the name " of Christ, happy are ye; the Spirit of Glo-" ry, and of Christ resteth on you. On their " part he is evil spoken of, but on your part " he is glorified. "God will furely visit you in due time,

" God will furely visit you in due time,

" and return your captivity as the Rivers of

" the South, and bring you back again into

" your possession in this Land: Though now

" for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness

rough manifold temptations; yet ye shall

" reap

" reap in joy, though now ye fow in Tears:

" all our Losses shall be recompensed with

" abundant advantages, for my God will sup" ply all your need, according to his riches:

" in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do

" exceeding abundantly for us, above all that

" we are able to ask or think.

After that he bleffed his Children, and those that stood about him, in an audible Voice, in these Words. "God of his infinite mercy " bless you all, and present you holy, and un-" blameable, and unreproveable in his fight, " that we may meet together at the right-" Hand of our bleffed Saviour Jefus Christ, " with joy unspeakable and full of glory, " Amen." To which he added these Words. " I have fought a good fight, I have finished " the course of my Ministry and Life toge-"ther, Though grievous Wolves have en-" tered in among us, not sparing the Flock; " yet I trust the great Shepherd of his Flock " will fave and deliver them out of all pla-" ces, where they have been scatter'd in this " cloudy and dark day; that they shall be no " more a prey to the Heather, neither shall " the Beasts of the Land devour them; but " they shall dwell safely, and none shall make " them afraid: O Lord, I have waited for "thy Salvation." And after a little interval, he faid, " I have kept the Faith once given to the Saints; for the which cause I have " also suffered these things; but I am not a-" shamed, for I know whom I have believed, " and I am perswaded that he is able to keep M 4 " that

4 that which I have committed to him against " that day." After this time he spoke little: for as his fickness encreased, his Speech failed. and he flumbered out most of the time, only between hands it appeared that he was chearfully waiting for his change; which at last came about Midnight on the 7th. of February, that he fell asleep in the Lord, and entred into his rest, and obtained his Crown, which in some fort was a Crown of Martyrdom; for no doubt the fad weight of forrow, that lay upon his Mind, and his ill usage in his Imprisonment, had much hastened his death: And he suffered more in his mind by what he had lived to hear and see these last fifteen Weeks of his Life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the Sword, among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish, Friends went about his Burying; and fince that could not be obtained, but by the new intruding Bishop's leave, Mr. Clogy and Mr. Shereden went to ask it, and Mr. Dillon was prevailed with by his Wife, to go and second their defire. They found the Bishop lying in his own Vomit, and faw a fad change in that House, which was before a House of Prayer, and of Good Works; but was now a Den of Thieves, and a Nest of uncleanness. Bishop, when he was awakened out of his Drunkenness, excepted a little to it, and said, The Church-Yard was holy Ground, and was no more to be defiled with Hereticks Bodies; yet he consented to it at last. So on the 9th of

of February he was buried according to the direction himself had given, next his Wife's Coffin. The Irish did him unusual honours at his Burial, for the chief of the Rebels gathered their Forces together, and with them accompanied his Body from Mr. Shereden's house to the Church-yard of Kilmore, in great folemnity, and they defired Mr. Clogy to bury him according to the Office prescrib'd by the Church; but though the Gentlemen were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviscable to provoke the Rabble so much, as perhaps that might have done; so it was past But the Irish discharg'd a Volley of Shot at his Interment, and cryed out in Latin, Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum, May the last of the English rest in peace: For they had often said, That as they esteemed him the best of the English Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

Thus lived and dyed this excellent Bishop; in whom so many of the greatest Characters of a Primitive and Apostolical Bishop did shew themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the World, tho' dead, both for convincing the unjust enemies of that venerable Order, and for the instruction of those that succeed him in it; since great Patterns give the easiest notions of eminent Virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative Discourses can possibly have. And as the Lives of the Primitive Christians were a speaking Apology for their Religion, as well as a direction

direction to those that grew up; so it is to be hoped that the solemn though silent language of so bright an example will have the desired effect both ways: And then my Author will have a noble reward for his Labours. To this I shall add a little of his Character.

He was a tall and graceful person; there was something in his looks and earriage that discovered what was within, and created a He had an unaffected veneration for him. Gravity in his Deportment, and decent fimplicity in his Dress and Apparel. He had a long and broad Beard; for my Author never faw a Razor pass upon his Face. His grey Hairs were a Crown to him, both for Beauty and Honour. His firength continued firm to the last; so that the Week before his last sickness, he walked about as vigorously and nimbly as any of the Company, and leapt over a broad Ditch; fo that his Sons were amazed at it, and could fcarce follow him. His Eyes continued fo good, that he never used Spectacles, nor did he fuffer any decay in any of his natural Powers, only by a fall in his Childhood he had contracted a deafness in his left He had great Strength and Health of Body, except that a few years before his death; he had some severe fits of the Stone, that his fedentary course of life seemed to have brought on him, which he bore with wonderful pati-The best Remedy that he found for it was todig in his Garden till he had very much heated himself, by which he found a mitigation of his Pain. He took much pleasure in a Gara Garden, and having brought over fome curious Instruments out of *Italy*, for Racemation, Engrafting, and Inoculating, he was a

great Master in the use of them.

His Judgment and Memory, as they were very extraordinary, fo they remained with him to the last. He always preached without Notes, but often writ down his Meditations after he had preached them. He did not affect to shew any other learning in his Sermons, but what was proper for opening his Text, and clearing the difficulties in it; which he did by comparing the Originals with the most ancient Verfions. His Stile was clear and full, but plain and fimple; for he abhorred all affectations of pompous Rhetorick in Sermons. as contrary to the simplicity of Christ. Sermons did all drive at the great defign of infusing in the Hearts of his Hearers right apprehensions and warm thoughts of the great things of the Christian Religion; which he did with so much the more authority, because it appeared that he was much moved himself with those things that he delivered to others. He was always at work in his Study, when the affairs of his Function did not lead him In which his chief imployment was out of it. the study of the Text of the Scripture. read the Hebrew and the Septuagint so much, that they were as familiar to him as the Enghis Translation. He read every Morning the Psalms appointed by the Common Prayer for the day in Hebrew; or if his Son, or any other that was skilled in the Hebrew, was preient.

fent, he read one Verse out of the Hebrew. turning it into Latin, and the other read the next, and so by turns till they went through He had gathered a vast heap of critical Expositions of Scripture. All this, with his other Manuscripts, of which there was a great Trunk full, fell into the Hands of the Irish. He had writ very learned Paraphrases and Sermons on all those parts of Scripture that were prescribed to be read in the second Service, but all these are lost. His great Hebrew Manuscript was happily rescued out of the hands of those devourers of all sacred Things, and is to this day preserved in the Library of Emmanuel College: for an Irishman whom he had converted, went among his Country Men and brought out that and a few other Books to him.

Every day after Dinner and Supper, there was a Chapter of the Bible read at his Table, whosoever were present, Protestants or Papists, and Bibles were laid down before every one of the Company, and before himself either the Hebrew or Greek, and in his last years th Irish Translation was laid, and he usually explained the difficulties that occurred. He writ many Books of Controversie; which was chiefly occasioned by the engagements that lay on him, to labour much in the conversion of Perfons of the Roman Communion; and the knowledge he had of that Church, and their way of Worship, by what he had seen and observed while he was at Venice, raised in him great zeal against their Corruptions. He not only

ness

only look'd on that Church as Idolatrous, but as the Antichristian Babylon; concerning which S. John saw all those Visions in the Revelation: And of this the Sermon, out of which I have made some extracts, gives evi-He writ a large Treatise in answer to those two Questions, in which the Missionaries of that Communion triumph so much, Where was our Religion before Luther, and what became of our Ancestors that dyed in Popery. Archbishop Usber press'd him to have printed it, and he had resolved to do it, but that, with all his other Works, was swallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correspondence, not only with the Divines of England, but with many others over Europe; for he writ both Latin and Latin very elegantly. He was very free in his Conversation, but talked feldom of indifferent matters, he expressed a great modefly of Spirit, and a moderation of temper in every thing he spoke, and his Discourse still turned to somewhat that made his company useful and instructing. He spoke his own Thoughts very plainly, and as he bore well with the freedom of others, so he took all the discreet liberty that became a Man of his Age and Station, and did not flick to tell even the Learned and Worthy Primate Ufber, such things as he thought were blameworthy in him, and with the same sincerity he shewed him some critical mistakes that he met with in some of his Works. They were very few, and not of any great importance; but they did not agree with the Primate's exact-

ness in other things, and so he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that kindness and humility that was natural to him. His Habit was decent and grave; he wore no Silk, but plain Stuffs; the Furniture of his House was not pompous nor superfluous, but necessary for common use, and proper. His Table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in the country, but there was no luxury in it. Great refort was made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in house-keeping. Many poor Irish families about him were maintained out of his kitchen: And in the Christmas time he had the poor always eating with him at his own table; and he brought himself to endure both the fight of their rags, and their rudeness: He was not forward to speak, and he expressed himself in very few Words in publick companies. At publick Tables he usually sat silent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's Table, one observed, That while they were all talking, he said nothing. So the Primate answered, Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him; upon which that person proposed a question in Divinity to him, and in answering it the Bishop shewed both his own sufficiency so well, and puzzled the other so much, that all at Table, except the Bishop himself, sell a laughing at the other. The greatness of his Mind, and the undauntedness of his Spirit on all occasins has appeared very evidently in many of passages of his life; but though that ighth of mind is often accompanied with a great

great mixture of Pride, nothing of that appeared in the Bishop. He carried himself towards all people with fuch a gaining humility, that he got into their Hearts: He lived with his Clergy as if they had been his Brethren: When he went his Visitations he would not accept of the Invitations that were made him by the great Men of the Country. but would needs eat with his Brethren in such poor Inns, and of such coarse Fare, as the places afforded. A Person of Quality, that had prepared an entertainment for him during his Visitation, took his refusing it so ill, that whereas the Bishop promised to come and see him after Dinner, as foon as he came near his gate, which was standing open, it was presently shut, on design to affront him, and he was kept half an hour knocking at it: The affront was visible, and when some would have had him go away, he would not do it. but said, They will hear e'er long. At last the Master came out, and received him with many shews of civility, but he made a very short visit, and though the rudeness he met with prevailed not on him, either to resent it, or to go away upon it, yet it appeared that he understood it well enough. He avoided all affedations of flate or greatness in his carriage: He went about always on foot, when he was at Dublin, one servant only attending on him, except on publick occasions, that obliged him to ride in Procession among his Brethren. He never kept a Coach; for his strength contimuch forentire that he was always able to ride

on Horseback: He avoided the affectations of humility as well as of pride; the former often flowing from the greater pride of the two, and amidst all those extraordinary Talents, with which God had bleft him, it never appeared that he over-valued himself, nor defpised others; that he assumed to himself a Dictatorship, or was impatient of contradiction. He took an ingenious Device to put him in mind both of his Obligations to purity and humility: It was a flaming Crucible with this Motto in Hebrew, Take from me all my Tin. The Word in Hebrew that fignifies Tin. was Bedil. This imported that he thought that every thing in himself was but base alloy, and therefore he prayed that God would cleanse him from it. His great humility made the fecreter parts of his goodness, as to his private walking with God, less known, except as they appeared in that best and furest indication of it, which his life and conversation gave; yet if the Rebels had not destroyed all his Papers, there would have been found among them great discoveries of this; for he kept a daily Journal for many years; but of what fort it was, how full, and how particular, is only known to God; fince no Man ever saw it, unless some of the Rebels sound it. Though it is not probable that they would have taken the pains to examine his Papers, it being more likely that they destroyed them all in a heap. He never thought of changing is See, or of rifing up to a more advantageous hoprick, but considered himself as under a

ved. So that when the translating him to a Bishoprick in England was proposed to him, he refused it, and said, he should be as troublesome a Bishop in England, as he had been in Ireland.

It appeared he had a true and generous notion of Religion, and that he did not look upon it so much as a System of Opinions, or a set of Forms, as a Divine Disciple that reforms the Heart and Life; and therefore when fome Men were valued upon their zeal for some lesser matters, he had those Words of St. Augustine's often in his month, It is not Leaves but Fruit that I seek. This was the true principle of his great zeal against Popery: It was not the pecyishness of a party, the fourness of speculative Man, nor the concern of an interested person, that wrought on him: But he confidered the corruptions of that Church, as an effectual course for enervating the true defign of Christianity; and this he not only gathered from speculation, but from what he faw and knew during his long abode. in Italy. His Devotion in his Closet was only known to him, who commanded him to pray in secret. In his Family he prayed always thrice a day, in a fet Form, though he did not read it: This he did in the Morning, and before Dinner, and after Supper: And he never turned over this Duty, or the short Devotions before and after Meat, on his Chaplain, but was always his own Chaplain. look'd upon the Obligation of observing the

Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and considered it as so great an Engine for carrying on the true ends of Religion, that as he would never go into the liberties that many practised on that day; so he was exemplary in his own exact observation of it; preaching always twice, and catechising once; and besides that, he used to go over the Sermons again in his Familia. Iy, and sing Psalms, and concluded all with

Prayer.

As for his Domeflick concerns, he married one of the Family of the L'Estranges, that had been before married to the Recorder of St. Edmondsbury: She proved to be in all respects a very fit Wife for him; she was exemplary for her life, humble and modest in her. habit and behaviour, and was fingular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she payed him; She bore him four Ghildren, three Sons and a Daughter, but one of the Sons and the Daughter died young, so none survived but William and Ambrofe. The just reputation his Wife was in for her Piety and Virtue, made him chuse that for the Text of her Funeral Sermon, A good name is better than ointment. She died of a Lethargy three years before the Rebellion broke out; and he himself preached her Funeral Sermon, with fuch a mixture both

tenderness and moderation, that it touched whole Congregation so much, that there every few dry eyes in the Church all the le. He did not like the burying in the rch: For, as he observed, there was much

both

both of Superfition and Pride in It, so he believed it was a great annoyance to the Living. when there was so much of the steam of dead bodies rifing about them; he was likewife much offended at the rudeness which the crowding the dead bodies in a small parcel of ground occasioned; for the bodies already laid there, and not yet quite rotten, were often raised and mangled; so that he made a Canon in his Synod against burying in Churches, and as he often wish'd that burying-places were removed out of all Towns, so he did chuse the most remote and least frequented place of the Church-yard of Kilmore for his Wife, and by his Will he ordered that he should be laid next her with this bare Inscription.

Depositum Gulielmi quandam Episcopi Kila morensis.

Depositum cannot bear an English Translation, it signifying somewhat given to another in trust, so he considered his burial as a trust lest in the earth till the time that it shall be called on to give up its dead.

The modesty of that Inscription adds to his merit, which those who knew him well, believe exceeds even all that this his zealous and worthy Friend does through my hands convey to the World for his memory, which will outlive the Marble or the Brass, and will make him ever to be reckoned one of the speaking and lasting Glories, not only of the N 2 Epis-

Episcopal Order, but of the Age in which he lived, and of the two Nations, England and Ireland, between whom he was so equally disvided, that it is hard to tell which of them has the greatest share in him. Nor must his Honour stop here, he was a living Apology, both for the Resormed Religion, and the Christian Doctrine: And both he that collected these Memorials of him, and he that copies them out, and publishes them, will think their labours very happily imployed, if the reading them produces any of those good effects that are intended by them.

As for his two Sons, he was satisfied to provide for them in so modest a way, as shewed that he neither aspired to high things on their behalf, nor did he confider the Revenue of the Church as a property of his own, out of which he might raise a great Estate for them. He provided his eldest Son with a Benefice of Eighty Pound a year, in which he laboured with that fidelity that became the Son of fuch a Father; and his second Son, not being a Man of Letters, had a little Estate of 60 La year given him by the Bishop; which was the only purchase that I hear he made; and I am informed, that he gave nothing to his eldest Son but that Benefice, which he so well do-So little advantage did he give to the enemies of the Church; either to those of the Church of Rome, against the marriage of the Clergy, or to the dividers among our

ene fort objecting that a married state

made the Clergy covetous, in order to the raifing their Families, and the others pretending that the Revenues of the Church being converted by Clergymen into Temporal Estates for their Children, it was no Sacrilege to invade that which was generally no less abused by Churchmen, than it could be by Laymen; since these Revenues are trusted to the Clergy as Depositaries, and not given to them as Pro-

prietors.

May the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, so inspire all that are the Overseers of that Flock, which he purchased with his own Blood, that in imitation of all those glorious patterns that are in Church-History, and of this in the last Age, that is inferior to very few that any former Age produced, they may watch over the Flock of Christ, and so feed and govern them, that the mouths of all adversaries may be stopt, that this Apostolical Order recovering its Primitive spirit and vigour, it may be received and obeyed with that same submission and esteem, that was payed to it in former times: and that all differences about lesser matters being laid down, Peace and Truth may again flowrish, and the true ends of Religion and Church-government may be advanced, and that instead of biting, devouring, and confuming one another, as we do, we may all build up one another in our most holy Faith.

Some Papers related to in the former History.

Gulielmus Providentia Divina, Kilmorensis-Episcopus, dilecto in Christo, A. B. Fratri & Synpresbytero salutem.

\* AD Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesia Parochi-alis- de C. nostra Kilmorensis Diacessos jam legitime vacantem, & ad noftram collationem pleno, jure spectantem, prastito per te prius juramento de agnoscenda & defendenda Regia Majestatis suprema potestate in omnibus causis tam Ecclesiasticis quam Civilibus, intra ditiones suas, deque Anglicano ordine, habitu & Lingua pro Virikus in dictam Parochiam introduceudis, juxta formam Statutorum bujus Regni; necnon de perpetua & personali Residentia tua in Vicaria prædicta, quodque nullum aliud Beneficium Ecclesiasticum una cum ea retinebis: deque Canonica obedientia nobis ac Successoribus nostris Episcopis Kilmorens. prastanda, te admittimus, instituimus, & canonicè investimus: Curamque Animarum Parochionarum, ibidem commorantium, tibi committimus, per Presentes. Obtestantes in Domino, & pro obedientia qua summo Pastori teneris injungentes: ut ejus Gregem quem suo Commission acquisivit, tibi commissum, diligenter 3 in fide Catholica instituas, officia ngua à populo intellecta, peragas; ante omnia teipsum præbeas fidelibus 118

in bonis operibus, ut erubescant Adversarii, nibil habentes quod in te reprehendant. Mandantes insuper dilecto Fratri, Thoma Archidiacono Kilmorensi, ut te in realem & actualem possessionem dicta Vicaria de C. inducat, cum effectu, in quorum omnium sidem & testimonium Sigillum nostrum Episcopale Prasentibus apposuimus. Datum septimo die Maii, anno Saa lutis 1640.

Guliel. Kilmorensis.

Decreta prima Synodi Kilmorensis.

In nomine Domini Dei & Salvatoris nostri Je-

**D**Egnante in perpetuum, ac gubernanté Ecclesium suam, eodem Domino nostro Je-Ju Christo, annoque imperii, serenistimi Printipis ac Domini Caroli, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britannia & Hibernia Regis, decimo quarto, cum ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem Kilmorensem. monitu Gulielmi Episcopi convenisset Capitulum totius Diæcefios, ad Synodum Diæcefia: nam celebrandam, post fusas ad Deum Preces pro publica pace, Regisque, & Familia Regia Incolumitate, & peratta sacra Synaxi, verba fecit Episcopus de ejusmodi Synodorum Antiquitate, necessitate & Authoritate, & cum venis-Jet in consultationem, quibus rationibus, & sidei sinceritas, & morum sanctitas, & decor Domus Dei, & Ministrorum libertas conservari A William Colored poffet, Sec p. 62.

posset, nibil conducibilius visum est, quam ut ea que à Patribus bene ac prudenter Antiquitus instituta sunt, quasi possiminii jure revocateutur, atque tractatu internos habito, ad extremum, in hec capitula unanimiter consensum est.

I. Synodum Diecesanam sive Capitulum quotannistertia & quarta seria secunda hebdomada Mensis Septembris in Ecclesia Kilmorensi tenendam, eum diem huic conventui statum, & solennem sore sine ullo mandato; si res poscat in cateris ordinationum temporibus Prosbyterium contrabi, Episcopi mandatum expectandum.

II. In Episcopi absentia aut morbo, Vicarius ejus si Presbyter fuerit, prasidebit, alioqui Archidiaconus gui de jure Vicarius est Episcopi.

III. Vicarius Episcopi in posterum nulus constituatur aut consirmetur qui laicus est, nec quisquam prorsus nisi durante duntaxat bene-

placito.

IV. Ut Archidiaconus de triennio in triennium Diocessin personaliter visitet, singularum Ecclesiarum, Ædiumque mansionalium sarta tacta tueatur, libros & ornamenta in indiculo descriptos habeat, desectus omnes supplendos curet; Episcopalis procurationis dimidium habeat, eo conditione us Episcopus illo Anno nou visitet.

V. Ut secundum pristinam & antiquam hujus Diæcesios Kilmorensis constitutionem in trius regionibus, tres Decani sint, ab ipsis s ejusdem Decanatus eligendi, qui visam & mores cleri jugi circumspettione custodiant, & ad Episcopum referant, ejusque mandata accipiant, & quoties opus erit per apparitorem Decanatus ad Compresbyteros suos transmittant.

VI. In quovis Decanatu, in oppido ejus principali, conventus, sive Capitulum sit Mini-strorum quolibet saltem Mense, ubi lectis plene publicis precibus, concionentur per vices sine longis precibus & proæmiis.

VII. Advocationes Ecclesiarum nondum vacantium que ad collationem Episcopi spectant,

nemini conferantur aut confirmentur.

VIII. Possessiones Ecclesia non alienenturant locentur contra Regni jura, nempe terramum Mensalium nulla sit locatio, nisi quoad Episcopus in Sede aut vita supersit, caterarum in plures annos, quam leges sinunt, aut prioribus locationibus, triennio minus nondum explotis.

IX. Ut Corpora defunctorum deinceps in Ecclesiis non humentur, sed neç intra quintum

pedem à pariete extrorsum.

X. Ut mulieres in Sacrario non sedeant, sed

infra Cancellos, & quidem d viris.

XI. Ut Sacrarium in consistorium non convertatur, aut sacra Mensa Notariis aut Scribis su pro pluteo.

XII. No in funeribus mulieres luctum out

ullulatum facient.

XIII. Ut Offa defunctorum in Cometerits non coacerventur, sed tradantur sepultura.

XIV. Ut Matricula sit, in quam reserantur nomina corum qui ad sacros ordines admissi sunt. funt, aut instituti, aut admissi ad Beneficia, seve curam Animarum coaptati; clericorum item Parochialium & Ludimagistrorum, neque deinceps ad literas testimoniales in visitationibus exhibendas adigatur.

XV: Ne quis Minister Oblationes ad Fune-.ra, Baptismum, Eucharistiam, Nuptias, post puerperium; aut portionem Canonicam cuiquam,

Loceti

XVI. Ne quis ejusmodi oblata acerbe exi-

gat, præsertim à pauperibus.

XVII. Ut fas sit Ministro à sacra Gæna repellere eos qui se ingerunt ad Synaxin, neque nomina sua pridie Parocho significarunt.

. XVIII. Ut pueri saltem à septimo àtatis Anno, donec confirmentur per manuum impositionem, stent inter Catechumenos, factoque Catalogo, singulis dominicis certus eorum numerus sottatur in Ecclesia examinandus.

XIX. Si quis Minister quenquam ex fratribus suis alibi accusaverit priusquam Episcopo denunciet, ab ejus consortio cateri omnes abstinebunt.

XX. Clerici comam ne nutriant, & habitu Clericali prout Synodo Dubliniensi institutum ast, incedant.

- XXI. O Economi Parochiarum provideant ne in Ecclesia tempore cultus divini pueruli difcursent, utque canes arceantur, constitutis ostiariis, vel mulcta imposita, si quis semel atque iterum admonitus canem secum in lisclesiam introduxerit.

Ut nulla Excommunicationis sententia feratur ab uno solo Ministro, sed ab Episcopo, assestententibus quotquot in Capitulo fuerint presentes.

Hec Decreta Synodalia, quoniam ex usubus Diecessos futura credimus, & ipse observabimus, & quantum in nobis est abaliis observanda curabimus, adeoque Manus sue quisque subscriptione corrobored mus.

Septemb. 13. 1628.

Recufatio 24. Articulorum Episcopi Kilmo-

NOram vobis venerabilibus Viris Georgio Riv. Legum Doctore, & Gulielmo Hilton Artium Magistro, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Jacobi providentia divina Armachani Archiepiscopi, totius Hibernia Primatis, nec non Judicis, Prasidis sive Commissarii Curia Regia Prarogativa pro causis Ecclesiasticis & ad facultates in & per totum regnum Hibernie, Regia authoritate legitime constituti, substitutis sive surrogatis, ut vulgo creditur, Ego Gulielmus Kilmorensis Episcopus cum debita vobis reverentia propono, Quod licet ante hoc exceptionem quandam declinatoriam jurisdictionis vestræ in quadam prætensa causa duplicis querela mota à Gulielmo Bayly clerico Diacessos Kilmorensis justis de causis interposuerim, ac nominatim propter incompetentiam fori, per absentiam Reverendissimi Prasidis, & Juspicionem animi vestri in me iniqui, quas etiam coram eodem Reverendissimo Praside, alistve, aquis quis arbitris probandas in me recepi, ac licere etiam pro parte mea, venerabilem virum Edwardum Parry sacra Theologia Prosessorem elegerim ac nominaverim: Vos tamen dieta resusationis mea non modo deserre recusastis, sed navis insuper & pluribus indiciis animum vestrum mobi insensum prodidistis; ea propter ego Episcopus antedictus animo non prorogandi, sed expressus & particularius contra jurisdictionemi & personas vestras excipiendo, dico & allego.

L Imprimis qued protensa querela dicti Gulielmi Bayly exitur ex sententia quadam in causa correctionis ex officio meo Episcopali, & justu illustrissimi Proregis, in qua si modum excesserim, legitima appellatio erat ad Synodum Pro-

vincia, vel consistorium Archiepiscopale.

II. Quod dictas Bayly à Sententia pradicta judicialiter & viva voce appellavit, unde servato ordine Jurisdictionum ex decreto nuperi Synodi Dublinensis causa cognitio, emisso intermetio Archiepiscopali Consistorio, devolvi non potest ad banc curiam.

111. Quod firmamentum defensionis dicti Bayby nititur facultate quadam ab hac Curia concessa; cum vero nemo sit idoneus judex in propria causa, satis inverecunde vos hic inquiritis.

IV. Quod regie Majestati cognitio abusivarum facultatum in ipsa lege reservatur expressis verbis, ut boc forum vestrum, à quo ejusmodi facultates emanant, buic rei incompetens sit.

V. Quod sub nomine Reverendissimi Primais Armachani delitescentes tenorem Commissiovestra non inseritis citationibus vestris, ut nesciatur nedum quod, aut quatenus vobis come missum sit, sed an omnino ab spso surregati.

VI. Quod jurisdictione vestra non fundata, illad satis scitur, homines vere Laicos in Epifi copos ex executione Episcopalis officii nullamba-

bere petestatem.

VII. Qued litem vestram facitis, dum in citatione vestra, narratis à me gesta in prejudicium jurifdictionis Curia Regia prarogativa, & ad facultates cedere, ejusque contemptum, ex que constat (fatente actore) banc causam ad commodum & bonorem vestrum spectare.

VIII. Qued ut quoque mode processum vestrum defendatis, fingitis causam esse duplicis querele, cum nulla sit bic mutua petitio aut reconventio aut querela, nisi simplex tantum.

IX. Quod nimium favorem & propensitatem ad partem ditti Gulielmi Bayly oftendatis, cum probum virum & disertum appellatis causa nondum discussa; cum accusatorem Episcopi sui, Canones Ecclesiastici, nec laudandum, nec faeile audiendum, & nist causam probaverit, infamem babers volunt.

- X. Quod causa nondum audita in ea pronunciastis, dum dictum Bayly, Vicarium de Dyne appellatis, qua tamen Vicaria se à me spoliatum

conqueritur.

XI. Quod vetus mihi litigium est vobiscum super institutionibus (quas bec Curia usurpavit,) ex quo in admissione Nicolai Prenard ad Vicarium de Kildromferton protestationem interposui, quam tu Gulielme Histon indigne tulisti, caque non obstante, & illum, & mukes alios inftituifti, reclamantibus Epifcopic, quo nomis e

mine ergo, iniqui estis, non mibi tantum, sed

Lque omnibus.

XII. Quod cum nuper de prima Citatione vestra conquestus essem apud illustrissimum Prasidem in qua Majestas lasa videbatur, vos ea de causa, haud dissimulanter iratos habui.

XIII. Quod comparentem ex ea Citatione. ad Tribunal vestrum, expectare & per sesquiboram inambulare, tanquam ex infima plebecu-

la coegistis.

- XIV. Quod cum proximo die jaridico à vobis dimissus essem sub hac formula, quod me non moraremini, quod nibil habuifis mihi objiciendum, tu tamen Gulielme Hilton post paulo dizisti futurum ut denuo citarer, ex quo consiliorum communicationem cum dicto Gulielmo Bay**b**y prodidisti.

XV. Quod cum secunda Citatio minus succederit, perperam facta, sub nomine Episcopi. Lismorensis, tu idem Gulielme Hilton actorem.

admonuisti, ut de integro inciperet.

XVI. Quod cum tertio citatus Recusationem quandam jurisdictionis vestræ, opposuissem propter incompetentiam & suspicionem, quarum causas paratus eram coram arbitris ostendere, vos jam non admisistis ut opertuit, sed in proximum diem juridicum super ea deliberastis.

· XVII. Quod quarto citatum ad audiendum voluntatem vestram super recusatione pradicta cum cerneretis ad Tribunal vestrum appropinquantem, surrexistis illico, & quanquam nec-Auditorio egressi eratis, nec Praco populum. mission fecisset, nec hora effluxerat, renuistis. me Episcopum antedictum comparentem andire,

ut haberetis aliquem colorem me contumacem.

pronunciandi.

XVIII. Quod cum proximo die juridico comparuissem, & contumaciam mihi falso impositam
purgassem, & iterata prædicta Recusatione &
arbitrum probationis pro parte mea reverendum Virum Edwardum Parry sacræ Theologiæ Professorem nominassem, vos hæc admittere recusaftis, sed me ad libellum accipiendum &
Procuratorem constituendum adigere voluistis.

XIX. Quad in Acta Curix referri curastis, me non comparuisse, & in iisdem narratis tamen, me prasentem admonitum suisse de comparendo de die in diem usque ad sinem litis, in altero imperite, in altero inepte, in utroque (sal-

va reverentia vobis debita) injuste.

XX. Quod Sigillum officii curia Regia Prarogativa, Cad facultates, dispensationibus circa Pluralitatem Benesiciorum & Residentiam temerarie profusis, & interdum legi divina repugnantibus apponitis.

XXI. Quod Episcoporum jurisdictionem & ordinariam & excitatam à supremo Magistratu impedire, ipsos ad Tribunal vestrum protrahere, vexare & vilipendere non veremini.

XXII. Quod eorum jura Episcopalia in in-

stitutionibus notorie usurpastis.

XXIII. Quod rescripta conceditis, in quibus multa, quoad sensum inepta, quoad verba incongrua continentur, quibus ideo de jure nulla sides adhibenda sit; cujusmodi sunt qua sub sigillo vestro in hac causa emanarunt.

XXIV. Quod nuper in hac eadem causa, sigillum vestrum literis, in quibus Regia MajesAn Advertisement concerning a Character given by Sir Henry Wotton of F. Paul the Author of the History of the Council of Trent.

Ince there was so particular a mention made. of Father Paul in the former Life, I thought: it would not be unacceptable to the Reader: to fee a Character that was given of him by, Sir Henry Wetton, in a Letter that he writ from. Venue to the Famous and Learned Dr. Collins, ... the King's Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, . which is not printed in his Remains: And therefore I hoped it would be received with the entertainment that is due to every thing. that comes from such a Hand, and is writ on: fuch a Subject. And we may better depend on Characters that are given in private Letters to Friends, than in more studied. Edogies. where the heat either of Friendship or Eloquence is apt to carry a Man too far; but Letters that pass among Friends, are colder andmore careless things, and therefore they ought to be the less suspected.

SIR,

Though my Feet cannot perform that Counsel which I remember from some Translation in Siracides, Teres limen sensati viri; yet I should at least have often visited you with my poer

poor Lines: But on the other side, while I durst not trust mine own conceit in the power of my. present infirmity, and therefore bave seldom written to any; I find my self in the mean time evercharged with divers Letters from you of, singular, kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty peaceful piece: which truly I had not seen before, so as besides the weight of the Subject, it was welcome, even for the Grace of newnels, Tet let me tell you, I could not but. somewhat wonder to find our Spiritual Seneca (you know whom I mean) among these Reconcilers, having read a former Treatise of his. (if my memory fail me not) of a contrary com-plexion. How soever, let him now have his due. praise with the rest, for shewing his Christian Wisdom and Charity. But I fear, as it was anciently said of a Roman General, That Bellum sose alit, so it will prove, though in somesobat a different sense, likewise as true of this Church-warfare, That the very pleasure of contending will foment Contention till the end of all flesh. But let me leave that sacred Business to our well-meaning Fathers.

And now, Sir, baving a fit Messenger, and being not long after the time when love-tokens use to pass between Friends, let me be bold to send you for a New-Tears-Gift, a certain Memorial not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your Roof. namely a true Picture of Padre Paulo the Service, which was first taken by a Painter, mbom I sent unto him from my, House, then neighbouring this Monastery.

\*I have newly added thereimto a Title of mine own conteption, and had sent the Frame withal if it were portable, which is but of plain Deal coloured black like the Habit of his Order. Ton have a luminous Parlor, which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicate Fare, and Freedom (the Prince of Dishes) but above all your own learned Discourse; for to dine with you is to dine with many good Authors. In that Room, I beseech you to allow)

it a favourable place for my fake.

And that you may have somewhat to tell of him more than a bare Image, if any foall ask; as in the Table of Cebes; I am desirous to charatterise a little unto you such part of his Nature, Castoms and Abilities, as I had ocvalion to know by fight or enquiry. He was one of the humblest things that could be feen within the bounds of Humanity, the very Pattern of that Precept, Quanto doction, tanto fubmission; and enough alone to demonstrate that Knowledge welt digested non inflat; excellent in Positive, excellent in Scholastical and Polemical Divinity; a rate Mathematician, even in the most abstruct parts thereof; as in Algebra and the Theoricks; and yet withal so expert in the History of Plants, as if he had never perusad any book but Nature: Lastly, A great Canonist, which was the Title of his ordinary Service with the State: And certainly in the time of the Popes Interdict, they had their principal Light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was

to fit fenced with a Caftle of Paper about his Chair, and over Head; for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's Opinion, That all Air is pradatory, and especially burtful, when the Spirits are most imployed. You will find a sean in his Face, that was from a Roman Assassinate that would have killed him, as be was turned to the Wall near his Convent; and if. there were not a greater Providence about us. it might often have been easily done, especially upon such a weakly and wearish body. He was of a quiet and settled temper, which made him prompt in his counsels and answers, and the same in consultations which Themistocles was in Action, as will appear unto you in a Pafsage between him and the Prince of Gonde; The laid Prince in a voluntary journey toward Rome came to Venice, rubere to give fome went to bis own bumours, he would often direct himself. of his greatness, and after other less laudable curiolities, not long before his departure, a delire took him to visit the famous obscure Servite, to whose Claister coming twice, he was the first time denied to be within; at the second it was intimated. That by reason of his daily admission to their deliberatives in the place, he could not receive the wift of so illustrious a personage, without feart from the Senate, which he would feek to procure. This set a great edge on the Prince, when he faw he should confer with one participant of more than Monhish Speculations: So after leave gotten, he came the third time, and there, besides other voluntary discourse (which it quere a tyranny over you to repeat)

repeat) he assailed with a question, enough to have troubled any Man but himself and him too, if a precedent accident had not eased him. The question was this: He desired to be told by him before his going away, who was the true unmasked Author of the late Tridentine History. You must know; that but newly advertisement was come from Rome, That the Archbishop of Spalato being there arrived from England, in an interview between him and the Cardinal Ludovisio, Nephew to Gregory XV. the faid Cardinal, after a complimental welcoming of him into the Lap of the Church told him by order from the Pope, That his Holine's would expect from him some Recantation in Print, as an antidote against certain Books and Pamphlets, which he had published whilst he stood in re-" volt, namely, his first Manisesto: Item, Two Sermons preached at the Italian Church in Lon-Again, a little Treatise, intituled Scogli. And lastly, His great Volumes about Church Regiment and Controversies: These were all named; for as touching the Tridentine History, his Holiness, saith the Gardinal, will not press you to any disavoument thereof, though you have an Epistle before the Original Edition; because we know well enough that Fryer Paulo is the Father of that Brat. Upon this last Piece of the aforefaid Advertisement the good Father came fairly off; for on a sudden, laying all together, that to disavow the Work was an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to fay nothing, an incivility; he took a middle Evasion, telling the Prince, That he understood

he was going to Rome, where he might learn at ease who was the Author of that Work; as they were freshly intelligenced from thence. Thus without any mercy of your time, I have been led along from one thing to another, while I have taken pleasure to remember that Man whom God appointed and furnished for a proper Instrument to anatomise that Pack of reverend Cheaters. Among whom, I speak of the greater part, Exceptis senioribus, Religion was shifted like a pair of Cards, and the Dice so many years were set upon us.

To many years were set upon us.

And so wishing you very heartily many good years, I will let you breath, till you have open-

ed these inclosed.

) 4

Letters

tas lesa fuerit, apponebatur minus discrete, ne quid gravius dicam, judex tamen indiscretus quoad recusationem iniquo equiparatur.— Has ob causas, quas omnes aut earum plarimas e-go Episcopus antedictus coram equis arbitris verificare paratus sum (adeoque reverendum virum Edwardum Parry, S. Theologia Doctorem, ex parte mea nomino) vestrum Tribunal, absente reverendo Praside, vestrasque personas, tanquam mihi merito in hac causa suspectas, descino & recuso ad quemcunque juris essetum.

Dublin. anno Dom. 1638.

Reverendo in Christo Fratri Eugenio Gulielmus Ecclesiæ Kilmorensis Minister S. P.

PEnigne tu quidem (reverende Frater) qui tua presentia te mihi offers in hoc tumultu prasidio fore. Nec ego in re simili impar tibi in boc charitatis officio deprehenderer. Sed quo minus boc tuo beneficio utar in presentia, multis impedior. In primis loci angustiis, tum calam:tosorum omnis ordinis, sextus, atatis, numero; qui buc tanquam ad Asylum confugi-Accedit quorundam & inter bos Filii. mei invaletudo. Quod caput est, non Religienis inter nos (unica nempe ea est & communis Christiana, quod ego semper & sensi & scriptis professus sum) sed cultus disparitas: nempe in ejusmodi miseriis, lettione Sacrarum Scripturarum, precibus assiduis Lingua Vernacula ad Deum fusis, nos ipsos solamur; 💝 quan-

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# COPIES

**J** F

CERTAIN LETTERS

Which have passed between

SPAIN & ENGLAND

In matter of

# RELIGION.

Concerning the

GENERAL MOTIVES

To the

## ROMAN Obedience,

Between Mr. James Waddesworth, a late Penfioner of the holy Inquisition in Sevil, and W. Bedell, a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Suffolk.

DUBLIN:
Printed by M. RHAMES,
For R. GUNNE, Bookseller in Capel-street.

M DCC XXXVI.

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#### To the Most

## HIGH & EXCELLENT

# PRINCE.

## Prince CHARLES.

Should labour much in my excuse, even to my own Judgment, of the highest boldness, in daring to prefent these Papers to your Highness, if there were not some relieving Circumstances, that give me hope, it shall not be disagreeable to your higher Goodness. There is nothing can see the light, which hath the name of Spain in it, which seems not now properly yours, ever fince it pleased you to honour that Country with your presence. And those very motives to the Roman obedience, which had been represented unto you there, in case you had given way to the propounding them, are in these Letters charitably and calmly examined, between a couple of Friends, bred in the same College (that of the Foundation of Sir Walter Mildway of bleffed Memory, whom with Honour and Thankfulness I name) chosen his Scholars at the same Election, lodged in the same Chamber, after Ministers in the same Dioccas. And that they might be matchable abroad

#### The Epistle Dedicatory.

broad as well as at home, Attendants in the same rank as Chaplains, on two honourable Ambassadors of the Majesty of the King your Father in Foreign parts; the one in Italy, the other in Spain. Where, one of them having changed his Profession, and received a Pention out of the Holy Inquisition-House. and drawn his Wife and Children thither, was lately often in the Eyes of your Highness Very joyful I suppose to see you there, not more I am fure, than the other was folicitous to miss you here. These passages between us I have hitherto forborn to divulge, out of the hope of further answer from Mr. Waddesworth, according to his Promise; though since the receipt of my last (being silent to my self) he excused him in fundry his Letters to others by his lack of Health. Nor should I have changed my resolution, but that I understand that presently after your Highness's departure from Spain, he departed this life. Which News, though it grieve me as it ought in refreet of the loss of my Friend, yet it somewhat contenteth me, not to have been lacking in my endeavour, to the undeceiving a well-meaning Man touching the flate of our differences in Religion; nor as I hope to have feandalized him in the manner of handling them: And conceiving these Copies may be of some publick use, the more being lifted up above their own meanness by so high Patronage, I have adventur'd to prefix your Highness's Name before them. Humbly beseech-សាសាស្រីស្រី ស្រី ស្រី ស្រី ស្រីស្រី ស្រី រាប់

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ing the same, that if these Reasons be too weak to bear up the presumption of this Dedication, it may be charged upon the strong desire some way to express the unspeakable joy for your Highness's happy Return into England, of one among many thousands,

Of your Highness's most bumble

and devoted Servants,

W. Bedell.

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#### THE

# C O P I E S

## Certain Letters

Which have passed between SPAIN and ENGLAND in matter of RELI-GION.

#### Salutem in Crucifixo.

To the Worshipful, my good Friend Mr. William Bedell, &c.

Mr. Bedell,

Y very loving Friend: After the old plain fashion, I salute you heartily, without any new fine compliments or affected Phrases. And by my inquiry, understanding of this Bearer, that after your being at Venice, you had passed to Canstantinople, and were returned to St. Edmundsbury in safety, and with health, I was exceeding glad thereof; for I wish you well as to my self: And he telling me further, that to morrow,

row, God willing, he was to depart from hence to imbark for England, and offering me to deliver my Letters, if I would write unto you, I could not omit by these hasty scribled lines to fignify unto you the continufance of my fingere love, never to be blotted out of my breast (if you kill it not with unkindness, like Mr. Joseph Hall) neither by distance of Place, nor success of time, nor difference of Religion. For (contrary to the flanders raised against all, because of the offences committed by fome) we are not taught by our Catholick Religion, either to diminish our natural obligation to our native Country, or to alter our moral affection to our former friends.

And although for my change becoming Catholick, I did expect of some Revilers to be termed rather than proved an Apostata, yet I never looked for such terms from Mr. Hall, whom I esteemed either my Friend, or a modester Man; whose slanting Epistle I have not answered, because I would not soil my Hands with a poetical railer, more sull with froth of words than substance of matter, and of whom according to his beginning, I could not expect any sound Arguments, but vain shourishes, and so much, I pray, let him know from me, if you please.

Unso your self, my good Friend, who do understand better than Mr. Hall, what the Doctors in Schools do account Apostasy, and wit is more and worse than Heresy, I do thought him and my self, whether I might

The Copies of certain LETTERS. not more probably call him Heretick, than he term me at the first dash Apostata: But I would abstain from such biting Satyrs. if he, or any other, will needs fasten upon me such bitter terms, let them first prove that, In all points of Faith I have fallen totally from Christian Religion, as did Julian the Apostata: For so is Apostasy described and differenced from Herefy. Apostasia est error, hominis baptizati, contrarius Fidei Catholica ex toto: and Haresis est error pertinan, hominis baptizati, contrarius Pidei Catholica ex para So that he should have shewed, first, my errors in matters of Faith; not any error in other Questions, but in decreed matters of Faith (as Protestants use to say) necessary to Salvation. Secondly, That such Errors were maintained with obstinate pertinacy; and pertinacy is, where such errors are defended as gainst the consent and determination of the Catholick Church; and also knowing that the whole Church teacheth the contrary to fuch opinions, yet will perfift in them: And yet further, if there be any doubt, he must manifest unto me which is the Catholick Church. Thirdly, to make it full Apostasy, he should have convinced me to have fwerved and backflidden (as you know the Greek Word fignifies) like Julian renouncing his Baptism, and forsaken totally all Christian Religion: a horrible imputation, though false, nor so easily proved as declaimed: But I thank God daily that I am become Catholick, as all our Ancestors were till of late years, and as the most

of Christendom still be at this present day, with whom I had rather be miscalled a Papist, a Traitor, an Apostata, or Idolater, or what he will, than to remain a Protestant with him still. For in Protestant Religion I could never find Uniformity of a settled Faith, and so no quietness of Conscience, especially for three or four years before my coming away, although by reading, studying, praying, and conferring, I did most carefully and diligently labour to

find it among them.

\* But your contrariety of Sects and Opinions of Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Protestants, Puritans, Cartwrightists, and Brownists, some of them damning each other; many of them avouching their Positions to be matters of Faith (for if they made them but School Questions of Opinion only, they should not have so much disquieted me) and all these being so contrary, yet every one pretending Scriptures, and arrogating the Holy Ghost in his favour. And above all (which did most of all trouble me) about the deciding of these and all other Controversies which might arise, I could not find among all these Sects any certain human external Judge, so infallibly to interpret Scriptures, and by them and by the affiftance of the Holy Ghost so undoubtedly to define questions of Faith, that I could assure my self and my Soul, This Judge is infallible; and to him thou oughtest in Conscience to obey and yield thy understanding in all his determinations of Faith, for he cannot err in those Points. And note that I speak now of an \* II. exter-† III

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 213 external, human, infallible Judge. For I know the Holy Ghost is the Divine internal and principal Judge; and the Scriptures be the Law or Rule, by which that human, external Judge must proceed. the Holy Scriptures being often the Matter of Controversy, and sometime questioned which be Scriptures, and which be not, they alone of themselves cannot be Judges: And for the Holy Ghost likewise every one pretending him to be his Patron, how should I certainly know by whom he speaketh, or not? For to Men we must go to learn, and not to Angels, nor to God himself immediately. The Head of your Church was the Queen (an excellent notable Princess) but a Woman, not to speak, much less to be Judge in the Church; and fince a learned King, like King Henry the Eighth, who was the first temporal Prince that ever made himself Ex Regio jure Head of the Church in Spiritual matters, a new strange Doctrine, and therefore justly condemned by Calvin for monstrous. But suppose he were fuch a Head, yet you all confess that he may err in matters of Faith. And so you acknowledge may your Archbishops and Bishops, and your whole Clergy in their Convocation House, even making Articles and Decrees; yea tho' a Council of all your Lutherans, Calvinists, Protestants, &c. of Germany, France, England, &c. were all joined together, and should agree all (which they never will do) to compound and determine the differences among themselves, yet by the ordinary Doctrine of most Protestants they might in such a Council err.

err, and it were possible in their Decrees to be deceived. But if they may err, how should I know and be fure when and wherein they did, or did not err? For though on the one fide. A posse ad esse non valet semper consequentia. yet aliquando valet; and on the other fide. frustra dicitur potentia, que nunquam ducitur So that if neither in general nor in. particular, in publick nor private, in Head nor Members, jointly nor severally, you have no visible, external, human, infallible Judge, who cannot err, and to whom I might have recourse for decision of doubts in matters of Faith, I pray let Mr. Hall tell me, Where should I have fixed my Foot? For God is my Witness, my Soul was like Noah's Dove. a long time hovering and defirous to discover Land, but seeing nothing but moveable and troublesome deceivable Water, I could find no quiet Center for my Conscience, nor any firm Foundation for my Faith in Protestant Religion. Wherefore hearing a found of Harmony and Confent, That the Catholick Church could not err, and that only in the Catholick Church, as in Noah's Ark, was infallibility, and possibility of salvation: I was so occasioned, and I think had important reason, like Noah's Dove, to feek out, and to enter into this Ark of Noah. \* Hercupon I was occasioned to doubt, Whether the Church of Eng-. land were the true Church, or not? For by consent of all, the true Church cannot err; but the Church of England, Head and Members,

The Copies of certain LETTERS. bers, King, Clergy, and People, as before is faid, yea a whole Council of Protestants, by their own grant may err, ergo, no true Church. If no true Church, no falvation in it; therefore come out of it: But that I was loth to do. Rather I laboured mightily to defend it, both against the Puritans, and against the Car tholicks: But the best Arguments I could use against the Puritans from the Authority of the Church, and of the ancient Doctors interpreting Scriptures against them, when they could not answer them, they would reject them for Popish, and fly to their own arrogant spirit, by which forfooth they must controul others. This I found on the one fide most absurd, and to breed an Anarchy of confusion: And yet when I came to answer the Gatholick Arguments on the other side against Protestants. urging the like Authority and Uniformity of the Church, I perceived the most Protestants did frame evalions, in effect like those of the Puritans, inclining to their private spirit, and other uncertainties.

Next therefore I applied my self to follow their Opinion, who would make the Church of England and the Church of Rome still to be all one in essential Points, and the differences to be accidental; confessing the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though sick, or corrupted, and the Protestants to be derived from it and reformed: And to this end I laboured much to reconcile most of our particular controversies: But in truth, I found such contrarieties, not only betwixt Catholicks and Protestants.

testants but even among Protestants themselves, that I could never fettle my felf fully in this Opinion of some reconciliation, which I know many great Scholars in England did favour. For confidering so many opposite great Points, for which they did excommunicate and put to death each other, and making the Pope to be Antichrist, proper or improper, it could never fink into my brain how these two could be descendent or Members sound nor unsound participant each of other. \* Rather I concluded, that seeing many of the best learned Protestants did grant The Church of Rome to be a true Church, though peradventure faulty in some things: And contrarily, not only the Catholicks, but also the Puritans, Anabattists, Brownists,&c. did all deny the Church of England to be a true Church; therefore it would be more safe and secure to become a Roman Catholick, who have a true Church by consent of both parties, than to remain a Protestant, who do alone plead their own cause, having all the other against them: For the testimony of our felves, and our contraries also, is much more fufficient, and more certain than to justify our selves alone, † Yet I resisted and stood out still; and betook my self again to read over and examine the chiefest Controversies, especially those about the Church, which is cardo negotii, (and herein because the Bearer stays now a day or two longer, I will inlarge my felf more than I purposed) and fo I would needs peruse the Original quotations and Texts of the Councils, Fathers, and Doc-\* V. + VI.

The Copies of certain Letters. 217 Doctors, in the Authors themselves, which were alledged on both parts, to fee if they were truly cited, and according to the meaning of the Authors: a labour of much labour, and of travel sometime to find the Books, wherein I found much fraud committed by the Protestants; and that the Catholicks \* bad far greater and better armies of evident Witnesses on their sides, much more than the Protestants; in so much that the Centurists are fain often to censure and reject the plain testimonies of those Ancients, as if their new cenfure were sufficient to disauthorize the others. ancient Sentences. And fo I remember Danæus in Commentariis super D. Augustin, Exchirid. ad Laurentium. Where S. Augustin plainly avoucheth Purgatory: He rejects S. Augustine's Opinions, saying, bic est nævus Augustini: But I had rather follow S. Augustine's Opinion, than his Censure; for who are they to controul the Fathers?

There are indeed some few places in Authors, which prima facie seem to savour Protestants, as many Hereticks alledge some Texts of Scriptures, whose sound of Words seem to make for their Opinions: But being well examined and interpreted, according to the Analogy of Faith, and according to many other places of the same Authors, where they do more fully explain their Opinions; so they appear to be wrested, and from the

purpose.

In fine, I found my felf evidently conving ced, both by many Authorities, and by many \*VII. Argum

Arguments, which now I do not remember all, nor can here repeat those which I do remember: But only some few Arguments I will relate unto you which prevailed most with me, besides those aforementioned.

\* First, therefore I could never approve the Protestants evasion by Invisibility of their Church: For though sometime it may be diminished and obscured, yet the Catholick Church must ever be visible, set on a Hill, and not as a Light hid under a Bushel; for how should it enlighten and teach her Children, if invisible, or how should Strangers, and Pagans, and others, be converted unto her; or where should any find the Sacraments, if invisible?

Also the true Church in all places and all Ages, ever holds one Uniformity and Concord in all matters of Faith, though not in all matters of Ceremony or Government: But the Protestants Church hath not in all Ages, nor in all Places such uniform concord, no not in one Age, as is manifest to all the World, and as Father Parsons proved against Fox's Martyrs, Wickliffe, Husse, and the rest: Ergo the Protestants Church, not the true Church.

Again, by that faying, Harefes ad originem revocasse est refutasse; and so considering Luther's first rancor against the Dominicans, his disobedience and contempt of his former Superiors, his vow-breaking, and violent courses, even causing rebellion against the Emperor, whom he reviles, and other Princes most

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 219 fhamefully; furely fuch arrogant disobedience, Schism, and Rebellions, had no warrant norvocation of God to plant his Church, but of the Devil to begin a Schism and a Sect. likewise for Cabvin, to say nothing of all that: D. Bollecus brings against him; I do urge only what Mr. Hooker, Dr. Bancroft, and Saravia do prove against him, for his unquietness and ambition, revolving the Commonwealth, and so unjustly expelling and depriving the Bishop of Geneva, and other temporal Lords of their due obedience, and ancient inheritance. Moreover, I refer you to the stirs. broils, sedition, and murthers which Knex and the Geneva-Gospellers caused in Scotland against their lawful Governors, against their Queen, and against our King, even in his Mother's Belly. Nor will I infift upon the paffions which first moved King Henry violently to divorce himself from his lawful Wife, to fall out with the Pope his Friend, to marry the Lady Anne. Bullen, and foon after to behead her, to difinherit Queen Mary, and enable Queen Elizabeth, and presently to difinherit Queen Elizabeth, and to restore Queen Mary; to hang up Catholicks for Traytors. and to burn Protestants for Hereticks, to destroy Monasteries, and to pill Churches: Were these fit beginnings for the Gospel of Christ? I pray was this Man a good Head of God's Church? for my part, I beseech our Lord bless me from being a Member of such a Head, or fuch a Church. I come to France and Holland, where you know by the Hugonots and Gueses,

Gueses all Calvinists, what Civil Wars they have raised, how much Blood they have shed, what Rebellion, Rapine, and Desolations they have occasioned principally for their new Religion, founded in Blood like Draco's Laws: But I would gladly know whether you can approve fuch bloody Broils for Religion, or no? I know Protestants de facte, do justify the Civil Wars of France and Holland for good against their Kings; but I could never understand of them quo jure: If the Hollanders be Rebels (as they are) why did we support them? if they be no Rebels because they fight for the pretended liberty of their ancient Privileges, and for their new Religion; we see it is an eahe matter to pretend Liberties, and also why may not others as well revolt for their old Religion? Or I beseech you, why is that accounted Treason against the State in Catholicks. which is called Reason of State in Protestants? I reduce this Argument to few Words, That Church which is founded and begun in Malice, Disobedience, Passion, Blood and Rebellion, cannot be the true Church: But it is evident to the World. That the Protestant Churches in Germany, France, Holland, Geneva, &c. were so founded, and in Geneva and Holland are still continued in Rebellion: Ergo, \* They are not true Churches.

Furthermore, where is not Succession both of true Pastors and of true Doctrine, there is no true Church: But among Protestants is no succession of true Pastors, (for I omit here to treat of Doctrine) ergo, no true Church. I

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 221 prove the miner: Where is no confectation nor ordination of Bishops and Priests, according to the due Form and right Intention required necessarily by the Church and ancient Councils, there is no succession of true Pastors: But among Protestants the said due form and right intention are not observed, ergo, no succession The faid due form and right of true Pastors. intention are not observed among Protestants in France, Holland, nor Germany, where they have no Bishops, and where Lay-men do intermeddle in the making of their Ministers. And for England, whereas the Councils require the Ordines minores of Subdeacon and the rest, to go before Priesthood; your Ministers are made per saltum without ever being Subdeacons. And whereas the Councils require three Bishops to affift at the Confectation of a Bishop, it is certain that at the Naggs-Head in Cheapside, · where confectation of your first Bishops was attempted, but not effected, (whereabout I remember the controversie you had with one) there was but one Bishop, and I am sure there was fuch a matter: And although I know and have feen the Records themselves, that afterward there was a confecration of Dr. Parker at Lambeth, and three Bishops named, viz. Miles Coverdal of Exeter, one Hodgeskin Suffragan of Bedford, and another whose name I have forgotten, yet it is very doubtful that Coverdal being made Bishop of Exeter in King Edward's time (when all Councils and Church-Canons were little observed ) he was never himself canonically consecrated; and ſо

so if he were no Canonical Bishop, he could not make another Canonical: And the third unnamed, as I remember (but am not fure) was only a Bishop elect, and not consecrated. and so was not sufficient. But hereof I am fure, that they did confecrate Parker by vertue of a Breve from the Queen, as Head of the Church, who indeed being no true Head, and a Woman, I cannot see how they could make a true Confecration grounded on her Authori-Furthermore, making your Ministers, you keep not the right intention; for neither do the Orderer nor the Ordered give nor receive the Orders as a Sacrament; nor with any intention of facrificing. Also they want the Matter and Form with which according to the Councils and Canons of the Church holy Orders should be given; namely for the Matter, Priesthood is given by the delivery of the Patina with Bread, and of the Chalice with Wine: Deaconship by the delivery of the Book of the Gospels; and Subdeaconship by the delivery of the Patina alone. and of the Chalice empty. And in the substantial form of Priesthood you do fail most of all, which Form consists in these Words, Accipe potestatem offerendi Sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis & mortuis, which are neither said nor done by you, and therefore well may you be called Ministers, as also Laymen are, but you are no Priests. Wherefore I conclude, wanting Subdeaconsbip, wanting undoubted Canonical Bishops, wanting right Intention, wanting Matter and due Ferm, and deriving

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 223 even that you feem to have from a Woman the Head of your Church, therefore you have no true Pastors, and consequently no true \* And so to conclude, and not to Church. weary my felf and you too much, being refolved in my understanding, by these and many other Arguments, That the Church of England was not the true Church, but that the Church of Rome was and is the only true Church, because it alone is Ancient, Catholick, and Apostolick, having Succession, Unity, and Visibility, in all Ages, and Places; yet what Agonies I passed with my Will, here I will over-pass. Only I cannot pretermit to tell you, That at last having also mastered and Subdued my will to relent unto my understanding, by means of Prayer, and by God Almighty's Grace principally, I came to break through many tentations and impediments, and from a troubled unquiet Heart, to a fixed and peaceable tranquillity of Mind, for which I do most humbly thank our sweet Lord and Saviour Jesus, before whom with all reverence I do avouch and swear unto you, as I shall answer it in the dreadful Day of Judgment, when all Hearts shall be discovered, That I for look Protestant Religion for very fear of Damnation; and became a Catholick with good hope of Salvation; and that in this hope I do continue and increase daily: And that I would not for all the World become a Protes-And for this which here I have tant again. written unto you in great haste, I know there be many Replies and Rejoynders wherewith I could \* XII.

could never be fatisfied; nor do I desire any further Disputation about them, but rather to spend the rest of my life in Devotion; yet in part to give you, my dear good Friend, some account of my felf, having now so good an occasion, and fit a Messenger, and by you if you please to render a reason of my Faith to Mr. Hall, who in his said printed Epistle, in one place defires to know the Motives thereof, I have thus plainly made relation of some Points among many. Whereunto if Mr. Hall will make any Reply, I do desire it may be direttly, and fully to the Points, and in friendly Terms, upon which condition I do pardon what is past: and of you I know I need not require any fuch circumstances. And so most seriously entreating and praying to our gracious Lord to direct and keep us all and ever in his holy Truth, I commend you unto his heavenly Grace, and my felf unto your friendly love.

Tour very affectionate

Sevil in Spain, April 1. 1615.

and true loving Friend,

James Waddesworth.

To the Worshipful, his respected Friend, Mr. William Bedell, at his House in S. Edmundsbury, or at Horringer, be there delivered in Suffolk.

Kind Mr. Bedell.

Ine old acquaintance and Friend, having heard of your health and worldly welfare, by this Bearer Mr. Austen your Neighbour, and by thin having opportunity to falute you with these few Lines, I could not omit; though some sew Years since I wrote you by one who fince told me certainly he deliver'd my Letters, and that you promised answer, and so you are in my debt, which I do not claim nor urge so much, as I do that in truth and before our Lord I speak it you do owe me love in all mutual amity, for the hearty affectionate love which I have and ever did bear unto you with all fincerity. For though I love not your Religion, (wherein I could never find solid truth, nor firm hope of Salvation, as now I do being a Catholick, and our Lord is my Witness, who shall be my Judge) yet indeed I do love your person, and your ingenuous, honest, good, moral condition, which ever I observed in you: nor do I desire to have altercations with Mr. Joseph Hall (especially if he should proceed as Satyrically as he hath begun with me) nor with any other Man, and much less would I have any debate with your

your self, whom I do esteem and affect as before I have written: Nor would I spend the rest of my life (which I take to be short, for my Lungs are decaying) in any Questions, but rather in Devotion, wherein I do much more desire to be hot and servorous, than in Disputations, beseeching our Lord to forgive my coldness, yea my neglect therein, and to pardon and free me from all sin, and to guide and keep you in all happiness, even as I wish so my own Soul, through the redemption of our sweet Saviour, and by the intercession of his boly Mother, and all Saints, Amen.

Written in bafte from Madrid, April, 14. 1619. Your affured

true Friend,

James Waddesworth.

Received, June 4. 1619.

To the Worshipful my very good Friend, Mr. James Waddesworth at Madrid, deliver, this.

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

He late receipt of your Letters ( good Mafler Waddesworth) did diver fly affect me with joy and shame; and I know not with whether most. I was glad to hear of you, and your rous state, much more to receive a kind Letter

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 227 Letter from you: Ashamed therein to be called upon for debt; who have ever endeavoured to live by that Rule of the Apostle, Owe nothing to any Man. Tet not so much for that which you most urge the debt of Love, sith by that Text it appears, that it can never be so discharged, as there should not be more behind to pay. And your self who challenge this of me, For let me do owe me as much or well more. tell you, I have the advantage of you herein by my Profession, for where your Love is tome as to a Man, or to an honest Man, nor can by your present perswasion go any further, I can and do love you as my dear Brother, and fellow Member in the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ. And from this ground (to his knowledge I do appeal) I do heartily pray for you, and bear with you, and as the Apostle enjoins, Rom. 15. 7, receive you with a true brotherby affection. I am not therefore asbamed of this debt, but do rejoice as much in the owing of it, as in the payment. But my shame grows from the being behind with you in the Office of writing. Wherein yet hear my honest andtrue excuse. Neither will I go about to set off one debt with another. For you may remember, how at our parting you promised to verite to me touching the flate of Religion there, which if we shall make out a perfect reckaning, I account to be a good debt still. this I say, when your Letters of the first of April, 1615. came to my Hands, I purposed to return answer by the same Bearer, who as he told me, was to return about the Midsummer follow-

Jollowing. But I had a sudden and extraordinary journey which came between, and kept me from home till after the Commencement, so as that opportunity was lost. Besides upon the reading of your Letters, I perceived your intention was to have them imparted to Dr. Hall, expecting in a sort some reply from him. bim therefore did I send them. After some Months I received this answer, which tho I had once purposed to conceal, as not willing to be the mean of any exasperation between you, yet now hoping of your wisdom and patience, I send you inclosed, that it may be some evidence of my true excuse. Upon the receipt of it, I began to frame an answer to the points of your Letter according to your desire, full and in friendly terms. I had well-nigh finished it, when I was presented to this Benefice, and thereby entered into a World of Distractions. These, together with the labour of writing it over, and uncertainty of safe conveying my Letters to you, did make me procrastinate my payment, till now to my shame you should need to demand it. And that I may by the more shaming my self obtain a more easy penance from you; I confess to you, I was sometime half in mind, ( having especially deferred it so long ) to suppress it altogether. First out of mine own natural Disposition, who have ever abhorred contention; and whereas in matters of Religion there ought to be the fairest Wars, I could never yet meet with any of that side of so patient a mind, but by opposition he would be unsettled. For your self, though I knew your former.

The Copies of certain LETTERS: 229 mer moderate temper, and (as I remember I wrote to Dr. Hall ) believed you in that which you protest, that out of Conscience you were such as you profess; yet methought I perceived by your quick manner to him, and some passages in the conclusion of your Letter, you were rather desirous to enjoy the quiet possession of your own opinion, than come to any further difputation whose is the right. And in truth the time of that tryal had been proper, before your departure: Nor had you too far engaged your self, and were to justifie by your constancy, the wisdom of your change. Besides, since the sum of the error of that side, as I have ever conceived it, is believing rather too much, than failing in any point necessary to salvation, that notable place of the Apostle, Rom. 14. 1. came to my mind, especially after that I had once occasion to preach of it, where he forbids controversies of disputations with those that are infirm in Faith. Who are thou faith he) that judgest another Man's Servant? he standeth or falleth to his own Master. Why should I grieve you, and perhaps make my Friend mine Enemy (as Saint Paul the Galations) by saying the truth. The World is full enough of contentions Writings, which as by your Letter appears you had feen e're ye resolved. If those had not satisfied you, what could I hope to add to them? These things moved me; but as you say, they did not yet satisfie me. For all Men are interested in the defence of truth, how much more he that is called to be a Preacher of it? All Christians are admonish-R 3

ed by S. Jude. To fight for the faith once gis ven to the Saints; how much more those that are leaders in this Warfare: How could I fay I loved our Lord Jesus Christ, if his honour being questioned I should be silent: How could I approve to mine own Soul, that I loved you, if I suffered you to enjoy your own error, suppose not damnable? Besides that, you and perhaps others also might be confirmed in it, perhaps interpreting my silence for a confession that your Motives were unanswerable. But therein I was not only resolved my self to the contrary. but thought it so easy to resolve any indifferent mind, as methought it was more shame not to bave done it at the first, than praise to do it at the last. As for the success of my endeavour, I was to leave it to God. Many and secret are the ways of his Providence, which ferveth it felf sometimes even of errors, to the safer conduct of us to our final happiness. Some I had known, and heard of more, who being at first carried away with the shews of Unity, Order, Succession, Infallibility, when they found them empty of Truth, and the Cloaks of Pride, Ambition, Covetouincis, joined with an Obstinacy to defend all Corruptions how palpable seeever, by finding the difference of these Hulls from their Fathers Table, had with the Prodigal Son returned home again. To conclude, I accounted my self still in debt, and was I confess to you unwilling to dye in it; and sometimes vowed to God, in the midst of my troubles, if I might once see an end of them, to endeavour to discharge it. And now having by his mercy not only

The Copies of certain LETTERS. bally attained that, but a new occasion presented me presently thereupon, by your calling for satisfaction to pay it, and means offered me to fend it safely: I take this motion to proceed from God, and do humbly destre his Majesty to turn it to Good. It remains therefore, good Mr. Waddesworth, that I do intreat your pardon of that slackness that is past, and gentleness to take it as I shall be able to pay it. My employments both ordinary and extraordinary are many: The bulk of it is too great to convey in one Letter, consisting of sundry Sheets of Paper; and at this present there lies an extraordinary task upon me, so as I cannot presently write it out. I do therefore no more now but acknowledge the debt, and promise speedy payment. Unless I shall add this also, that I do undertake to pay interest for the forbearance; and according as I shall understand by Mr. Austen sball be fittest and safest, to send it in Parts, or all at once. To the conclusion of your last Letter, wherein you prosess your desire to spend the rest of your life rather in the heat of Devotion, than of Disputation, desiring pardon of coldness that way, and of all other your fins, and that it would please God to guide and keep me in all happiness as your self, through the redemption of our fweet Saviour, and by the intercellion of his holy mother and all Saints. I do most thankfully and willings ly subscribe Amen. Returning unto you from my heart your own best wishes. it my purpose to call into Question the solidity of truth, or firmness of the hope of Salvation, - which

which you find in your present way. This only I say: \* Et pro nobis Christus mortuus est. & pro nostra Redemptione Sanguinem suum fudit. Peccatores quidem, sed de ipsius grege sumus, & inter ejus oviculas numeramur: This is my Tenet. And if the Dottrine of the Holy Bible do contain folid truth, and believing in the Name of the Son of God do give firm hope of salvation, according to God's own Record, 1 John 5. 10, 11, 12. we are perfuaded we have both. I will add this more: We know that we are translated from Death to Life, because we love our Brethren. With this Oyl in our Lamps, which we defire may be always in store in our Vessels also our hearts, we attend the coming of the Bridegroom; and Jay chearfully + Etiam veni Domine Jesu. To whose gracious protection I do most heartily commit you, and do rest

Your affured Friend.

. Horning floarth, Aug. 5. 1619.

and loving Brother,

W. Bedell.

† Even so come, Lord Jesus.

<sup>\*</sup> Even for us also hath Christ died, and for our Redemption hath he shed his Blood. Sinners indeed we are, but of his . Flock, and among his poor Sheep are we numbered.

4

To the Worshipful Mr. William Bedell at Horning shearth near St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, these.

## Salutem in Crucifixo.

Worthy Sir,

Was exceeding glad to perceive by your kind, modest, and discreet Letters of the fifth of August last, that you are still permament in your own good nature, and constant in your love to me: Not like Mr. Joseph Hall, neither bitterly reviling, nor flourishing impertinently. Unto whom I pray you return his scotling railing Letter, with these few marginal Notes. I pray God forgive him, and make him a more humble and meeker Man. And I for my part do freely pardon all his foul terms against me. And though in gratitude and justice I am bound, and so do love and respect you more than him, for your greater courtely to me, and for your better value in your self; yet even him I can and do and am bound to love not only as an Enemy, or a Greature of God, as I do you for can honest, moral, good, discreet Man, but even further and beyond that which you feem to understand that we cannot by our Doctrine proceed in love: viz. As Men having Souls, for whom our Sayiour hath died; and so as possible members, though indeed not actual branches

branches of his myftical Body: Yea for fuch as may come to be ingrafted and bear Fruit in him, when we may be withered, cut off, or fallen away. As for your ferious Apolog y and excuse for not answering my first Letters all this while, I do easily admit it, and affure my felf that all the circumstances, impediments, and occasions were such as you affirm: Nor did I expect, nor urge, in my first nor fecond Letters, any answer about Controverses in Religion (for I ever said we could say nothing of substance which before had not been faid) but only gave you by Mr. Hall's occasion some few reasons of my Faith, wherein still I protest I had rather be devout than be troubled to dispute, not for fear or doubt, but because I am so fully resolved in my self, and do think it a very superfluous labour, tosies & melius ab aliis actum agere: So that I defired rather answer of courtely than of controversy, which now by Mr. Außen's means I received, and do much effeem it, and heartily thank you for it. Nevertheless, when your Reply unto my plain and few Reasons come, I will for your fake both read them over, and according to my little health, less leifure, and my poor ability (which is least of all) return you some such short Rejoinder as it shall please almighty God to enable me, being glad to perceive by your last that you do subscribe to our intercession by our blessed Lady, and other hely Saints; which also I hope and wish you would fully extend to our invocation of Saints as Intercesfors, not as Redeemers, for that were BlasThe Copies of certain LETTERS. 235 Blasphemy indeed and Idelatry; from which our sweet Saviour deliver us, and ever keep you, my good dear Friend, as I desire.

Madrid, in haste, Octob. 26. 1619.

James Waddesworth

To the Worshipful my very good Friend, Mr. James Waddesworth, at Madrid, deliver this.

#### Salutem in Christo Jesu.

OUR Letters of the 26th of October (beloved Mr. Waddesworth) were long upon the way, and came not to my hands till the 23d of May. In them I received your courteous acceptation of my excuse for my former filence, and censure of Mr. Hall's Letter, with the profession of your love to me and him, further than I accounted you could by your Doctrine proceed, viz. as redeemed by Christ, and possible Members of his mystical Body. Truly Sir, I will not change Words with you hereabouts, but I account still to be an honest Man, restraineth from that, to be redeemed by our Saviour, since that is as large as human Nature, this is given to fewer, of whom a Man may say as our Lord doth of one in the Gospel, that they are not far from the Kingdom of God' Howsoever, I have still my intention that we out of our Profession may love you better than you can us; since it is more to be an actual, than

than a possible Member of Ghrist; and the Communion of Saints is a straiter Bond, than Redemption by Christ, and possibility of being ingrafted and bearing Fruit in his mystical Body. And I would to Christ, that of all other Controversies this were the vehementest between s, which should love each other most. Wherein although I would strive and do my best to bave the better, yet see how equally I would contend. For both I would acknowledge freely, my self far short of that which I may by my Profession do in this kind, and persuade my self better of your secret affection to us, than you may by your Profession express. I will not easily believe that you can find in your Heart to count that Man a Dog, and out of the Church, and in a state of Damnation, that stedfastly believeth in our Lord Jesus Christ, and by him in the Blessed Trinity; that confesseth all the Doctrine of Holy Scriptures, the sum whereof is in the Creed; that lastly, with a charitable affection embraceth all that hold this Faith, throughout the World, yea even those that hate and persecute him to the death. Wherein I forbear for the present to enlarge, because I speak more of it in my answer to your first Letters; which Mr. Austen gives me hope that himself e're long will consign into your bands. Now by his direction, I send you only advice of the receipt of your last, with hearty thanks for them, desirous not to run further in arrearages with you in this office of writing. This one thing I add, that where you write you eglad I do subscribe to your intercession by

the

The Copies of certain Letters. the Saints, wishing me fully to extend it to invocation of Saints as Interceffors, though not as Redeemers; I should be very glad if I could as well content you in all other points as that one: Coming thus prepared in all controverses. with you, and all Men, to yield whatsoever I may, faving the truth. But as I conceive it. there is great odds between these two. To defire God to grant us this or that good thing by the intercession of the Saints; and, To use invocation of themselves. The one supposeth only that the Saints in glory generally knowing the warfare of those on Earth, are careful for them, and omit not this act of never-failing charity to pray for them. These prayers it hopes, and desires of God may be helpful to us, by the only merit of our Lord Jesus Christ; in the same sort as these of the Saints wheresoever on Earth; as 2 Cor. 1. 10, 11. Ephel. 6. 1. Philem. v. 22. The other, that the Saints departed know our wants, and states in particular, and hear our Prayers, and by consequence know our Hearts; which is flatly contrary to the Scriptures, 2 Chron. 6. 30. Esai. 63. 16. To omit now that you do not only defire them to pray for you, but ask at their hands Grace and Glory, trust in them, vow to them, swear by them, offer and receive the Sacrifice of the New Testament to their honour and glory, and defire it may be accepted by their Patronage. Wherefore as I am glad, to perceive that you do reverse those blasphemies indeed, Salva me, Salvatrix; Redime me, Redemptrix; and will not subscribe to those Words of

Bellarmine, Non erit absurdum si sancti viri Redemptores nostri aliquo modo, id est secundum aliquid, non simpliciter, & largo modo non in rigore verborum esse dicantur: And again, Cur ineptè dicantur Sancti viri aliquo modo passionibus suis delicta nostra posse redimere? So I bope and wish you would do the like for calling upon them, and presenting their Merits unto God; and as ye may more safely and sweetly speak unto our Jesus, who is our Advocate with the Father, entered into the Holy of Holies, to appear before God for us. To his gracious protection I commit you, and de rest

Your affured Friend,

Horningsbearth, June 15. 1620.

and loving Brother,

W. Bedell.

the worthioful his much refo

To the worshipful his much respected Friend Mr. William Bedell, at Horningshearth by S. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, these.

My very good Friend,

R. Bedell, my last unto you was by a Gentleman who went from hence about fix Months since; but I have understood fell sick at Paris, by the way, and so was first

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 239 first hindred there in his Journey, and afterwards again at Bruffels fell to a relapse, which detained him fo long, that although now very lately I hear he is recovered and gone forward into England, yet in so long delays and so often sicknesses, I know not whether he have lost or forgotten my former Letters: Wherefore out of this confideration, and by the opportunity of this Bringer, and by the true hearty affection which I bear you, being delirous to fignify unto you the continuance of my fincere love, I could not pretermit this so good an occasion, though hereby I have nothing else to say nor intreat, but if we have Wars, yet our diffention may be rather in the matter and cases, than betwixt our persons, as discreet Lawyers use to plead vehemently each for his Client's Justice, and yet remain betwixt themselves without breach of amity. and abstaining from opprobrious injury; wherein I have great confidence that you will proceed both more moderately in all the circumstances, and to better purpose in the substance than Mr. Yoseph Hall, unto whose Letter directed to you, and by you fent unto me, I wrote certain Marginal Notes only, and so returned the same by the above named Gentleman, whereof also. (if it return to your, hands). I would intreat you to fend me a Copy both of his Text and my Gloss, for then being in haste I remained with neither. Lord keep you, and guide us all to his truth, and to Heaven. Madrid, June &.

1629.

The Letter of Mr. Dr. Hall, mentioned in the former with Mr. Waddesworth's Marginal Notes.

Good Mafter Bedell,

HAT a forry crabb hath Mr. Waddesworth at last sent us from Sevil? I pity the \* impotent malice of the Man; fure that hot Region, and \* sulphurous Religion are guilty of this his choler. For ought I see he is not only turned Papist but Spaniard too. Ibr vivitur ambitiosa paupertate: The great Man would not foil his Fingers (for that is his Word) with fuch an Adversary as my felf; he should have found this conflict his foiling indeed; but he scorns the match; and what wonder, if he that hath all this while + fat on Father Creswel's Stairs, scorn the unworthiness of him whom an English University scorned not to set in the Chair of Divinity? But whence is this my contempt? fee but two Vices to clear my felf of; Poetry and & Railing; of the latter you shall acquit me if you will but read that my poor Epiftle'

<sup>\*</sup> I pray see within how short a compass he proves himself a Poetical Railer by his Epishers, nor only against me, but reviling a whole Nation, and the Religion of the best part of all Christendom.

<sup>†</sup> This Mock if it were true, yet would I rejoice in it, not only to fit on his Stairs, but to make clean his floors.

<sup>5</sup> I termed him a Poetical Railer, not accusing nor honourging him for a Poet; but taxing him for railing Poetically, using the word as sometimes it is in the work sense, when it is abused; neither condemning Poetry, nor approving him for a Poet, but a Poetical Railer: As he doth himself by that E-wille, and by this bitter Letter.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 141 which he slights thus: Let your Eyes judge whether ever any thing could be written more mildly, more modeftly, more lovingly. Of the former I must acquit my self; Cujus unum est sed magnum vitium Poesis: What were I the worse if I were still a lover of those studies? If he could have had leifure to tend upon any thing besides that Father's Pacquets, he might have seen most of the renowned and holy Fathers of the Church eminent in that Profession for which I am scorned; amongst many others Tertullian, Lattantius, Nazianzen. Prudentius, Fulgentius, Apollinarius, Nonnus, Hilarius, Prosper, and now in the upshot \* devout Bernard, and why should their honour be my disgrace? But the truth is, these were the recreations of my Minority; nunc oblita mihi. And if Poetry were of the deadly fins of their Casuists, I could smart for it in my auμή: Is this a fit scandal to rake up from fo far? What my proficiency hath been in ferious studies, if the University and Church Hath pleased to testify; what need I stand at the inercy of † a fugitive. But if any of || his Masters should undertake me in the cause of God, he should find I had studied Prose. As for these vain flourishes of mine, if he had not taken a very in them, and found it fmart, he had not struck again so & charlistly. Was it

<sup>\*</sup> I willingly pardon all his poetical railing and false Epidents, for that one true word acknowledging St. Bernard to be devout.

<sup>†</sup> Pardon for St. Bernard's fake.

A brate Man at Arms, &.

<sup>-</sup> S Pardon for St. Bernard's fake.

242 The Copies of certain LETTERS. my Letter that is accused of Poetry? There is neither Number nor Rhyme, I nor fiction in it: Would the great Schoolman have had me to have packt up a Letter of Syllogisms? Which of the Fathers (whose high steps I have defired to tread in) have given that example? What were to be expected of a Monitory Ebille which intended only the occasion if he had pleased of a future Discourse? We Islanders & lift not learn to write Letters from beyond the Pyrenees. Howfoever, I am not forry that his scorn hath cast him upon an Adversary more able to convince him; I am allowed only a looker on; therefore I will neither ward nor strike; his hands are too full of you: My only with is, That you could beat him found again; whereof I fear there' is little hope. There was never Adversary that gave more advantage! He might have ferved in these Coleworts nearer home. I profels I do heartily \* pity him; and so if it please you let him know from me. What Apostaly (which is the only hard Word I can be charged with) I + impute to the Roman Church, I have professed to the World in the first Chap-

I I would there were not.

ter

Satis pro imperio.

\* This appears by your railing on him, as he that justified himself from swearing, by loud swearing, By God he did not swear.

This were to prove one abfardity by a greater, and to undertake that some one Text of Scripture is talle or forged, because all the whole Bible is so: Or having called one a Jew or Bastard, &c. to make him amends by telling him all his kindred were such. But that Book and Chapter is indeed pitisully professed: And by it and by insinuating here as offence of no much Charity, may be easily perceived the Substance of it proficiency in Divinity.

The Copies of vertain LITTERS. 149 ter of my Roma irreconciliabilis: If I offend not in too much Charity, there is no fear: Say what you will for me, I have done, and will only pray for him that answers me with contempt: Farewel, and commend me to Mr. Satheby, and your other loving and reverend Society; and know me ever,

Tour truly loving Friend,

Waltane, Jan. 10. 1015.

and fellow Labourer,

Jos. Halli

Good Mr. Bedell, this Letter hath lain thus long by me for want of carriage. I now hear you are fettled at Horning flocarth, whereof I will you much joy. I am appointed to attend the Amballador into France, whither I pray you follow me with your Prayers.

May 15.

To my Reverend and worthy Friend, Mr. Dr. Hall, at Walton, deliver this.

Salutem in Christor

Good Mr. Dr.

HIS Letter of yours, since my receipt of it, hath been a Traveller, further than you or I; which being some Months since returned

turned into England, I return to you, that it may relate what entertainment it bath found in Foreign parts. It is new a Year and more that I received a Letter from Mr. Waddesworth, chaltenging an old debt of me, an answer to his Letters, which occasioned this of I wrote back, and among other things enclosed this your Letter, which he hath censured as you fee. His answer by reason of the sickness of the Gentleman that brought it, first at Paris, and after at Brussels, came not to me till the latter end of May, and now lately another I received from him, wherein he desires 'a Copy both of your Text and his Gloss, as he calls it, as baving reserved none for haste. I have not yet sent him my Answer to his Motives which hath long lain by me for lack of leifure to copy it out, and means safely to convey at, being well towards a quire of Paper. My antient fault, tediousness. But the Gentleman that brought me his former Letter, bath undertaken e'er long to consign it into his Hands. Therein I endeavour to use him with the best respect I can devise, only oppugning the Papacy and Court of Rome. Now, Sir, that which I round entreat of you, is this: You know the Precept of the Apostle touching them that are fallen, lend me your hand to set him in joynt again. And be pleased not only not to reflect upon the weakness of his Gloss, but not so much as upon the strength of his Stomach: Though that - be. also weakness. as S. Augustine well calls it, \* infirmitas animositatis. Write a Letter to him

<sup>\*</sup> The weakness of a flout Heart. 2 Cor. 4. 13.

The Copies of certain LETTER 5. 245 him in the Character Branquiplyor raganaleph. Which shall either go with mine, or be sent shortly after. Who can tell what God may work? Surely, at least we shall heap Coals of Fire upon his Head. Atthough if all be true that I hear, it is not to be despaired but he may be delivered out of the Snare of Error, the rather, because he hath not that reward or comtentment which he expected, He lives now at Madrid with the Persian Ambassador Sir Robert Sherley, and hath good maintenance from him, being as his Steward, or Agent. The kind usage of his ancient Friends, may perhaps bring him in love with his Country again, &c. This for that business. Now, &c.

October 2.

To the Worshipful my very good Friend, Mr. James Waddesworth at Madrid, deliver this.

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Sir,

Received by Mr. Fiston your Letters of the eighth of June, and as I hope e'er this time you understand, the former which I mention in them: To which I wrote an Answer, and delivered the same to Mr. Austen the fifteenth of the same Month. Dottor Hall's Letter with S 3 your

246 The Copies of certain Let TIRS. your Marginal Notes which in your hast you require, I fend you berein enclosed. Though if I may perswade or entreat you both, neither should the Text sor Gloss make you multiply any more words thereabout. Upon the receipt of your Letter I spake with Mr. Austen, who told me, that he held his resolution for Spain, whereupon I resolved also to send by him mine answer to your first: as thinking it better to de it more safely, though a little later, whan sooner, with less safety. And here, Sir, at length you have it. Wherein as to my moderation for the manner, I hope you shall perceive that setting aside our difference in Opinion, I am the same to you that I was when we were either Scholars together in Emmanuel College, or Ministers in Suffolk, For the substance, I do endeavour fill to write to the purpose, omitting nothing material in your Letters. If sometimes I seem overlong, and perhaps to digress somewhat from the principal Point more than was vecefsary, I hope you will pardon it, sith you required a full Answer, and the delay it self had need to bring you some interest for the forbearance. And because you mention the vehemency of discreet Lawyers (although methinks we are rather the Clients themselves, that contend, since our Faith is our own and our best Freehold) let me entreat of you this ingenuity (which I protest in the sight of God I bring my self.) Let us not make bead against evident Reason, for our own Credit, or fastion, and faction's fake, as Lawyers sometimes are vont. Neither let us think we lose the Victory, tory, when Truth overcomes. We shall have part of it rather, and the better part, since error, the common enemy to us both, is to us more dangerous. For Truth is secure and impregnatible; we, if our Error be not conquered, must remain Servants to Corruption. It is the first Praise saith S. Augustine, to hold the true Opinion, the next to forsake the salse. And surely that is no hard mastery to do, when both are set before us, if we will not be either retchless or obstimate. From both which our Lord of his mercy evermore help us, and bring us to his everlasting Kingdom. Amen,

Perninghearth, Octob. 22. 1620.

Your very loving Brother,

W. Bedell,

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#### THE

# COPIES

Certain Letters, &c.

## Salutem in Christo Jesu.

#### CHAP. I

Of the Preamble. The Titles Cotholick, Papift, Traytor, Idolater.

SIR,

Do first return you hearty thanks, for the truth and constancy of your Love, and those best effects of it, your wishing me as well as to your self, and rejoycing in my safe return out of Italy. For indeed surther I was not: Though reported to have been both at Constantinople and Ferusalem, by scason of the nearness of my name to one Mr. William

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is at Aleppo, who visited both those places.

I thank you also, that your ancient love towards me, hath (to use that Word of the Apostle) now flourished again, in that after so many Years you have found opportunity to accomplish your promise of writing to me; Though not as ye undertook of the state of Religion there yet, which I confess I no less defired, the Motives of the forfaking that you had professed here. Whereof fince it hath pleased you, as ye write, now to give me an account, and by me to Mr. Dr. Hall, with forme expectation also as it appears of reply from one of us, I will use the Liberty which you give me, and as directly as I can for the matter, and in Christian terms for the manner, shew you mine opinion of them, wherein I shall endeavour to observe that Precept of the Apostle; another is and any, whether it be to be interpreted, loving fincerely, or feeling truth Neither foothing untruth for the lovingly. dearness of your Person, nor breaking charity for diversity of Opinion. With this entrance, my loving Friend, and if you refuse not that old Catholick name, my dear Brother, I come to your Letter. Wherein, tho' I might well let pass that part which concerns your quarrel with Mr. Dr. Hall, with etatem babet; pet thus much out of the common preinseption of charity, which thinks not evil, give me leave to fay for him, I am verily perswaded he never meant to charge you wish Apostasie in so horrible a sense as you count, ขระ.

The Copies of certain Letters. 25R piz. A total falling from Christian Religion. like that of Julian, an obstinate pertinacy in denying the Principles of the Faith necessary to salvation, or a renouncing your Baptism. Tho term Apostasie, as you know, doth not always found to heinously. A Monk forsaking his Order, or a Clerk his Habit, is in the decretals stiled an Apostata. Granatensis saith not untruly. That every deadly fin is a kind of A-The Apostle S. Paul speaking of Antichrist's time, saith, there must come an Apostalie before Christ's second coming: And how this shall be he shews elsewhere. Men shall give beed to spirits of Error, and Doetrines of Devils, and such as speak falsbood in hypocrifie. Whereby it seems that Antichrist himself shall not professedly renounce Christ and his Baptism, His Kingdom is a mystery of iniquity; a revolt therefore, not from the outward profession, but inward sincerity and power of the Gospel. This kind of Apostasse might be that which Mr. Hall was forry to find in you, whom he thought fallen from the truth, though not in the Principles of Christian Doctrine, yet in sundry Conclufions which the reformed Churches truly out of them maintain. He remembred our common Education in the same College, our common Oath against Popery, our common Calling to the same sacred Function of the Ministry; he could not imagine upon what reasons you should reverse these beginnings. certainly how weighty and fufficient foever they be, we are not taught by our Catholick Reli-

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Religion to revenge our selves, and render reproach for reproach with personal terms; much
less to debase and avile the excellent Gifts of
God, as is Poesie, the honour of David and
Solomon, by the Testimony of the Holy Ghost
himself. These courses are forbidden us when
we are railed upon, and calumniated; how
much more when as S. Peter speaks, We are
beaten for our faults; as it falls out in your case,
if these Motives of yours be weak and insufficient; which we shall anon consider.

You fay, you are become Catholick. you not then so before; The Creed whereinto you were baptized, is it not the Catholick. Faith? The conclusion certes of Athanasius's Creed, which is but a Declaration thereof, faith, \* Hac est Fides Catholica. Or is not he a Catholick that holds the Catholick That which was once answered, Faith? touching the present Church of England, to one in a Stationer's Shop in Venice, that would needs know what was the difference betwixt us and the Catholicks. It was told him none: for we accounted our felves good Catholicks. When he unwilling to be put off in his answer, for lack of due form in his Question, pressed to know what was the difference betwixt us and them there. He was answered. This: That we believed the Catholick Faith, contained in the Creed, but did not believe the Thirteenth Article which the Pope had put to it. When he knew not of any fuch Article; the Extravagance of Pope Boniface was brought,

. \* This is the Catholick Faith.

The Copies of certain Letters. 253 brought, where he defines it to be altogether of necessity to salvation, to every human creature to be under the Bishop of Rome. This thirteenth Article, of the thirteenth Apostle, good Mr. Waddesworth, it seems you have learned; and so are become, as some now speak and write Catholick Roman. That is in true interpretation Universal-particular; which because they cannot be equalled; the one restraining and cutting off from the other, take heed that by straitning your Faith to Rome, you have not altered it, and by becoming Roman lest off to be Catholick.

Thus, if you say, our Ancestors were all till of late Tears. Excuse me, Sir, whether you call our Ancestors the first Christian Inhabitants of this Isle, or the ancient Christians of the Primitive Church; neither those, nor these were Roman Catholicks; Namely, the Fathers of the African Council, and amongst these S. Augustine: And therefore by Pope Boniface his Sentence, be undoubtedly damned, for taking upon them, by the Devil's Instinct (if we believe another \* Pope Boniface) to wax proud against the Church of Rome. Such Catholicks, if ye mean the most of Christendom be at this Day; beware of putting your self upon that Issue. Believe me, either you must frame a new Cosmography, yea, a new World, or else you are gone if it come to most Voices in Christendom, Touching the names of Papist, Traytor, Idolater. The first is no mis-calling you, as comprizing the very Cha\$54 The Copies of certain LETTERS.

Character that differenceth you from all other Catholicks. Neither by our Rhemists advice should you be ashamed of it, sith to be a Papist; by their interpretation \* is nothing edfe, but to be a Christian Man, a Child of the Church; and subject to Christ's Vivar. The wise State of Venice have a little different notion of their Papalines, excluding from sundry their confultations under that same, such of the Nobility as are obliged to the Pope by Ecclesiastical promotions. True it is that they apply it also to Papalines in faction, such as are superstitiously devoted to the maintaining of all the Pope's usurped Authority; in which sense I hope you are no Papist:

A Traitor, I am affored: Mr. Dr. Hall will never call you, unless he know that you have drunk so deep of the Cup of error, as to believe that the Pope may depose your Prince; that you are not bound to obey him? being so deposed; that in that case it is lawful, yea, meritorious to kill him; that they are Martyrs that are executed for plotting to blow him up with Gunpowder, though under posed; hoping it would be no less agreeable to his Holiness, than (that which he desired) to have kept him from coming to the Crown at first If you be thus perfectly a Papist, not only we here in England, but I believe his Catholick Majesty, under whose obedience now re live, when soever he should be that Prince, would account you a Traitor, and punish you accordingly. I hope you are far from these furies. For

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For Idolatry, if to give divine honour to Creatures, deserve that name, consider how you can desend or excuse those Prayers to the Blessed Virgin, Tu nos ab hoste protege, & hora Mortis suscipe. And to the Cross, Auge piis justitiam, reisque dona veniam: I omit to speak of the Pope's Omnipotency. I hope also you keep yourself from this Idolatry.

In Protestant Religion, you say, you could never find Uniformity of a settled Faith. How To? when you had that fame \* One only inmoveable and unreformable Rule of Faith, as Tertulian calls it, every Lord's Day recited in your hearing, if not by your mouth: I mean the Creed, of which Ireneus + faith that be which is able to say much of the Faith exceeds it not, nor he that less, diminisheth; which \* S. Augustine calls the Rule common to great and small; which might well enough have settled and quieted your Conscience, whilft you laboured to find the truth in all doubtful Questions. Whereto how carefully and diligently you used the means of reading, studying, and praying for Three or Four Tears, God and your Conscience best know. For conferring, I cannot yield you any testimony, notwithstanding our familiarity, and that we were not many miles afunder, and you were also privy, that I had to do in these Controversies, with some of that side, and saw some Sample of the Work. I come now to your Motives.

<sup>. \*</sup> De veland. Virg. c. 1. † Lib. 1 c. 3. \*† Epift. ad Dardament.

#### CHAP. II.

Of the contrariety of Sects pretended to be amongst Reformers.

IN the front whereof is the common exception, to our contrariety of Sects and Opinions, &c. First, what are all these to the Church of England, which followeth none but Christ? Then, if it be a fault of the Reformed Churches, that there is strife and divifion amongst them, as who will justifie it; yet let it find pardon, if not for \* Corinth's fake. and the Primitive Churches what time Themiftius was fain to excuse it with an Oration to Valens the Emperor, yet even for Rome's: Where also you cannot but know, that in very many and most important Points, Divines hold one thing, and Canonists another; The French, and lately also the Venetian Divines, resist to his Face, him, that others fay, no Man may be so hardy as to ask, Domine cur ita facis? though he should draw with him innumerable Souls to Hell. Your Spanish Prelates and Divines would never acknowledge in the Council of *Trent* (the Mysteries whereof are come out at last) That Episcopal Authority was derived from him, nor consent to that circumventing Clause, Proponentibus Legatis, &c. were strong that Residence is, de jure Divino;

The Gopies of certain LETTERS. 257 howfocyer they were over-rul'd by the Italiun Faction: Whether they have yet changed their minds, you can better tell than I. The old Faction of the Thomists and Scotists is yet a foot, as L perceive by Rada his Controversies. In the beginning whereof the Cenfor of the Book hath this Sentence. Qua propper audiendi nullatemis sunt, qui has Theologicas contentiones è medio omnino explodendas arbitrantar. There is another lately risen between the Dominicans and the Jesuits; both in as great matters, and purfued with as great vehemency, as those of the Reformed Churches, excepting only a few fiery Spirits of Saxony. But in the Church of England, as Reformation was not brought in by any one Man, but by the joint consent of the whole, so it is vet continued. Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinifis, are not known among us, fave by hearfay. Whereof it is some sign, That your self do not know them well, as it feems, when you distinguish them from Protestants. A name first given to the Princes and free Cities of Germany, that sought Reformation in the Dyet at Spire, Anno 1529, and from them passed to us and other Countries where it was Who are then Protestants, if the effected. Lutherans and Zuinglians be not? For of both these there were in that Dyet: the Helvetians and parts adjoining of Germany, having been reformed at home first by the preaching of Zuinglius; the Saxons, and the remnant of Luther, who much about one time, and without any correspondence, began to oppose the Pope's

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Pore's Indulgences, and differed not for ought that ever I could yet understand, fave in the manner of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist Yea, in that also taught uniformly. That the Body and Blood of our Saviour are prefent; not to the Elements, but to the Receiver. in the use, and without Transubstantiation. As for those whom you call Calvinists, and the test Puritans, Cartwrightists, and Browmiles, tell me in good footh, Mr. Waddefworth, how do they differ from the Reformed Churches, in Helvetia, of the Church of England, fave in the matter of Government only? See then all this contrariety of Sects meetly well reconciled. For Paritans, Cartwrightifts and Braunifis, are in substance of Doctrine all one with Calvinists, and these with Zuinglians, who were of the first Protestants, and differ little of nothing from those whom ye call Latherans. Whereof this may be a sensible proof, that commonly their Adversaries, and your felf after, call them by the same name, The Protestant Churches in Germany, France, Holland, and Geneva. And Pope Leo the Tenth, in his Condemnatory Bull; and likewife Charles the Fifth in his Imperial Edict, do reflect wholly upon Luther and his Followers, without any mention of the other at all. To conclude this matter; as it is undoubtedly a fign of a good mind to dislike contention, and divertities of opinions, and it may have pardon to apprehend fometime more than there is indeed; like to the melancholick old Man in the Comedy, whose suspicion makes

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 259 makes him to multiply on this manner. Qui mihi intromissis in ades quingentos coquos, 10 to muster up empty names, without any real difference, as Puritans, Cartwrightists, Brownists, to make differences in a few opinions about Government or Sacraments, Setts and Contrarieties, hath not the character of ingenuous and sincere dealing, which from you, Mr. Waddesworth, I did and do expect.

But some of these damn each other, avouching their positions to be matters of Faith, not School Questions of Opinion only. Here indeed there is fault on all fides in this Age, that we cannot be content with the bounds which the ancient Church hath set, but every private Opinion must be straightways an Article of Faith. Every decision of a Pope, every decree of a Gouncil. And then as Men are easily enamoured of their own conceits. and as Gerson wisely applies that of the Poet, Qui amant, sibi somnia fingunt; as if the very marrow of Religion confifted in those Points. those that think otherwise are Hereticks, and in a state of Damnation. The Roman Faction goes further, to Fire and Faggot, and all exquisite Torments, as if those things that make against the Papacy, were more severely to be punished than the Blasphemies of the Jews, or Mahometism it self. I do not excuse the Reformers of this bitterness, wherein after your departure out of England, my nameless Adversary that undertook Mr. Alablaster's quarrel, giving me over in three of his demands,

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ran riot in the first, about this point of oppos sition among our selves, and raked together all the vehement speeches of Luther, and some of his followers, against those whom they call the Sacramentaries. Why, who will undertake to defend Luther's Speeches, or all that falls from contentious Pens? But even out of those Testimonies, which himself brings for the worst that he could on the contrary part; it appears this eagerness is not mutual. And in truth, both we in England, and the Helvetians, and French, do maintain a Brotherly affection towards them of Saxony, how spitefully soever some of them write of us. And even of those whom he calls Lutherans, as I perceived while I was at Norimberg, the moderater sorvate alike affected towards us. But as touching the avouching our Opinions to be matters of Faith (which Exception is common to you with him) that which I should have answered him, if I had found in him any thing but spite and scorn, I will say now to you, Verily in some fort even the least conclufions in Divinity are matters of Faith. both Faith hath to do with them, and they are fetched by Discourse, from the first Principles holden by Faith, whence our whole Religion is called by St. Jude, The Faith once delivered to the Saints. And the least error in them, by consequence overthrows the same Principles whence they are deduced. makes some, to move attention in their Readers, to fay, The Questions are not about small. matters, but of the principal Articles of Rehgion.

The Gopies of certain LETTERS. 261 .gion, even about the Foundation. As Cur aus, whom he cites, faith, the question is of two Articles of Faith, First, of that which teacheth that in Christ two natures are united. Secondly, of the Article, He ascended into Heawes. Why do not both fides agree to these? But one side fetches Arguments against Yes. ubiquity from these places, and thereupon faith, the question is about these Articles; perhaps also chargeth the other to deny them. He cites Pappus Writing thus, Agitur inter nos de Omnipotentia Dei, &c. The controversy betwirt us, is about the Omnipotency of God. . The personal Union of the two natures in Christ. · The communication of Properties. The glori-· ous body of our Saviour, &c. Lo again, every -place of Argument or Defence is made the matter of Controversy. Out of these and such · like Confessions on either side, my nameless : Adversary will needs inforce, with great pomp and triumph; What think ye? That such Sanctified Men (this is his scoffing Language) . go not tegether by the Ears for Moon-shine in . the Water. Again, That all those Myrmidonian Fights and bloody Encounters be not de · land Caprina aut de umbra Asini.---- Why, who faid they were? I will fet down here my : Words, that you may judge of the Conscience of this Man, and have withal the substance And what of my Answer to this Objection. if some outragious Spirits on each side, transported with passion in their oppositions, have used most bitter and unbeseeming speeches 262 The Copies of certain Letters.

to their Adversaries, and sometimes have shewed each other small humansty; are you so simple as not to discern between the choler of some few opinionate Men, and the consequence of their Opinions? Have you forgotten St. Hierome and Ruffinus deadly foehood, which was rung over the World? or Epiphanius and Chrysostome's, or Victor's and the Greek Bishops? which proceeded so far about a trifle, that he excommunicated them; which is little less I think than to condemn to the Pit of Hell, And yet if I should put it to your judgment, Lam persuaded you would grant they beld all truth necessary to Salvation. For you must remember Pope Boniface had not yet coined the new Article of the Faith, that I mentioned before. What shall I speak of St. Paul and Barnabas, which grew to fuch bitterness; and that about a very little question of conveniency, that though they were fent out together by the Holy Ghost, they brake off company. These be human passions, which wisdom would we sould pity, when they grow to such extremities, upon so small cause; rather than from their outrage to gather there is just cause to encrease. Do we not see that evenmatural Brethren do sometimes defy one another, and use each other with less respect than strangers? Now from hence would you conclude they be not Brethren; and hearten them on, and say to the one, that sith his half Brother is not so near to him, as he with whom he is thus at odds, he must fall out worse with him. You should well so de-*Serve* 

The Copies of certain LETTERS. ferre the bate of God, for a make-bate between Brethren. These were all my Words set down in answer to his objecting our own contentions, and condemning each other, to prove that therefore we could not hold continuity with the ancient Church of England, from which we diffented much more. I held, as you may perceive, that neither amongst our selves, nor from our Predecessors we disagree in any truth necessary to Salvation. He makes me to say, our dissentions are about Moonsbine, and doumbra alini, & de lana caprina, and trifles, and matters of no consequence. To return to you, good Mr. Waddefworth, let Men avouchras confidently as they will touching their own Positions, Est de Fide. Nibil certius apud Gutholises, and of their contraries cry out, They are Hereticks, renew ancient Herefles, raze the Roundation, deny the Articles of the Creed; God's Omnipotency, &c. all because themselves: by Discourse, can (as they think) fasten such things upon them: A fober Christian must not give heed to all that is faid in this kind. These things must be examined with right judgment, and ever with much charity and patience, remembring that our felves know in part, and prophely in part. In a word, this should not have so much disquieted you.

Nor yet that which you add, That every one pretends Scripture. Best of all, saith \* S. Chrysostome, for if we should say we believe buman reasons, thou mightest with good reason.

264 The Copies of certain LETTERS. be troubled, but when as we receive the Scriptures, and they be simple and true, it will be an easy thing for thee to judge, &c. And to what purpose indeed serves the faculty of reafon perfected and polithed with learning? Wherefore the supernatural light of Faith? Wherefore the Gift of God in us Ministers conferred by the imposition of Hands? But. to try which fide handles the Word of God deceitfully, which fincerely. But here again, Each side arrogates the Holy Ghost in his favour. What then? If we our selves have the ancieting, we shall be able as we are bidden to try the Spirits, whether they be of God. er no? + For we will not believe them, because they say they have the Spirit, or cannot be deceived, but because their Doctrine is confonant to the Principles of Heavenly Truth, which by the Writings inspired by himself, the Holy Ghost hath grayen in our Hearts. Which Writings are well acknowledged by you to be the Law and Rule according where-

unto, in judgment of Religion we must proceed.

: ‡ I John 2, 20, 27. & 4. I.

#### CHAP. III.

Of the want of an Human, External, Infalhble Judge and Interpreter.

S to that you say, did above all trouble you, the want of a certain, human, external, infallible Judge to interpret Scripture, and define Questions of Faith without Error, What if you found not an external human Judge, if you had an internal divine one? And having an infallible Rule by which your human Judge should proceed, why should you trust another Man's applying it, rather than your own, in a matter concerning your own Colvation? But if God have left us no such external Judge, if Antiquity knew none, if Religion need none, it was no just motive to leave us, that you could find none, amongst all those Sects which you mention, and how much less if you have not a whit amended your felf where you are; which we shall confider by and by.

I say then first, That to make this your motive of any moment, it must be shewed, that God hath appointed such a Judge in his Church. Let that appear out of some passage of Holy Scripture. For your conceit or defire that such a Judge there should be, to whom you might in Conscience obey, and yield your self, because he could not err, doth not prove it. You would know the truth, only by

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by the Authority, and fole pronouncing of the Judge's Mouth. A short and easy way, which to most Men is plausible, because it spares the pains of Study and Discourse. To fuch especially, as either out of weakness dare not trust their own Judgment, or account it fhall have the merit of humility, to be led by their Teachers. But what now if God will have you call no Man your Father upon earth? If he will fend you to his Word? and after you have received the Faith by the Church's Testimony out of the easy and plain places thereof, bid you fearch the Scriptures, to find the Truth in the remnant, and pick it out by your own industry. \* The rich Man being in Hell-Torments (in whose words I doubt not but our Saviour doth impersonate and reprefent the conceits of many Men living in this World) presumes that if one were sent from the Dead, his Kinsmen would hearken to him. but he is remitted to Moses and the Prophets. The Jews, as I perceived by Speech with some of them at Venice, make it one of their Motives, that our Lord Jesus is not the Christ. He should not, say they, have come in such a fashion, to leave his own Nation in doubt and suspence; and scandatize so many thousands; but so as all Men might know him to be what he was. Miserable Men! that will give Laws to God. Of which fault be you aware also (good Mr. Waddefworth) and content to take, not to prescribe the means by.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 267 by which you will be brought unto the know-ledge of the Truth: To use what he hath given, not to conjecture and divine what he must give.

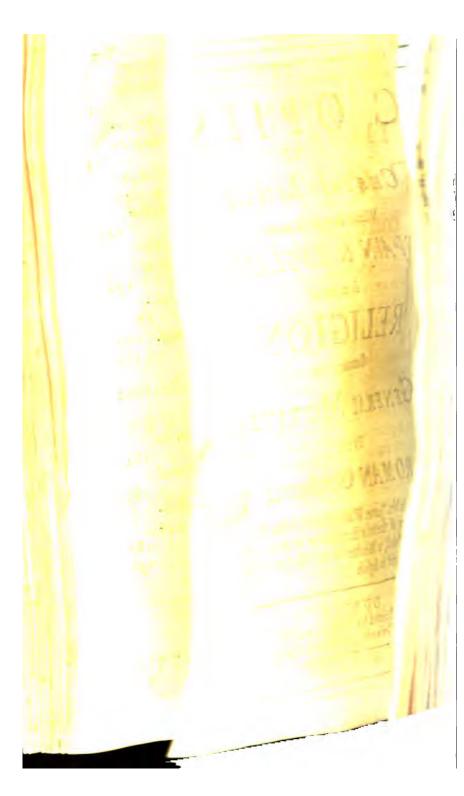
But God fails not his Church in such means Let us therefore confider the as be necessary. necessity of this Judge. Where I beseech you consider (for I am sure you cannot but know it) that all things necessary to Salvation are evidently set down in Holy Scripture? This both the Scriptures themselves do teach, and the Fathers avouch, namely S. Augustine and S. Chrysostome, and others. I forbear to set down their Words, or further to confirm this Lemma, which I proved at large against another Adversary, and shall at all times make good if it be questioned. Besides these Points. there are a great many other though not of fuch necessity, yet evidently laid down also in the same Scriptures, by occasion of them. Many by just Discourse may be cleared from these, and the former. If any thing yet remain in suspence, and unknown, yea or if you will, erred in, so it be not wilfully and obstinately, yet shall it be ever without peril of damnation to him that receiveth what the Holy Ghost hath plainly delivered. "What necessity then of your imaginary Judge? Yes; For Unity is a goodly thing, not only in matters necessary, but universally in all. troversies must not be endless. But how comes it to pass then that your Judge whosoever he be, doth not all this while decide the Question

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tion touching the Conception of the Bleffed Virgin, that is between the Dominicans and Franciscans, nor that between the Dominicans and Jesuits touching Grace and Free-Will, and all other the Points that are controverted in the Schools; to spare contention and time (a precious Commodity among wife Men) and give this honour to Divinity alone. that in it all doubts should be reduced to certainties? Or if it feem no Wisdom to be hasty in deciding fuch Questions, wherein witty and learned Men are ingaged, lest instead of changing their Opinions, they should fall to challenge not only the infallibility, but which were more dangerous, the Authority of their Judge: If it be thought better to leave scope to Opinions, opposition it self profitably serving to the boulting out of the Truth. If Unity in all things be as it feems despaired of, by this your Gellius himself; why are we not content with Unity in things necessary to Salvation, exprelly fet down in Holy Scripture: · And anciently thought to suffice, reserving Infallibility as an honour proper to God speaking there? Why should it not be thought to fuffice, that every Man having imbraced that necessary Truth, which is the Rule of our Faith, thereby try the Spirits whether they be of God or no? If he meet with any that hath not that Doctrine, receive him not to House, nor falute him. If consenting to that, but otherwise infirm or erring, yet charitably

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 269 bear with him. This for every private Man. As for the publick order, and peace of the Church, God hath given Pastors and Teachers, that we should not be carried about with \* every wind of Doctrine, which was the end of Timothy his living at Ephesus, 1 Tim. 1.3. Then, + the Apostles themselves by their example, have commended to the Church the wholesome use of Synods, to determine of fuch controversies as cannot by the former means be composed; but still by the Holy Scriptures, the Law or Rule, as you fay well, by which all these judges must proceed. Which if they do not, then may they be deceived themselves, and deceive others, as experience hath shewed, yet never be able to extinguish the truth.

one thing belonging to Christian Religion, if we consider well, of more importance, than how the purity of the whole may be maintained. The Ancients that write of the rest of Christian Doctrine, is it not a miracle, had they known any such infallible Judge, in whose Oracle the security of all, with the perpetual tranquillity of the Church is contained, they should say nothing of him? There was never any Age wherein there have not been Heresies, and Sects: To which of them was it ever objected that they had no infallible Judge? How soon would they have sought to amend that defect, if it had been a currant Doctrine



The Copies of certain LETTERS. 260 bear with him. This for every private Man. As for the publick order, and peace of the Church, God hath given Pastors and Teachers, that we should not be carried about with \* every wind of Doctrine, which was the end of Timothy his living at Ephesus, 1 Tim. 1.3. Then, † the Apostles themselves by their example, have commended to the Church the wholesome use of Synods, to determine of fuch controversies as cannot by the former means be composed; but still by the Holy Scriptures, the Law or Rule, as you fay well, by which all these judges must proceed. Which if they do not, then may they be deceived themselves, and deceive others, as experience hath shewed, yet never be able to extinguish rhe truth.

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in those times, that the true Church cannot be without such an Officer? The Fathers that dealt with them, why did they not lay aside all disputing, and appeal them only to this Bar? Unless perhaps that were the let which Cardinal Bellarmine tells the Venetians, hindred S. Paul from appealing to S. Peter, Lest \* they should have made their Aversaries to laugh at them for their labour. Well: how→ foever the Cardinal hath found out a merry teason for S. Paul's appealing to Cafar's Judgment, not Peter's, left he should expose himself to the laughter of Pagans: What shall we fay when the Fathers + write professedly to instruct Catholick Men, of the fore-pleadings and advantages to be used against Hereticks, even without descending to Tryal by Scriptures? or of some certain general and ordinary way to discern the Truth of the Catholick Faith from the prophane Novelties of Herefles? | Had they known of this infallible Judge, should we not have heard of him in this so proper a place, and as it were in a cause belonging to his own Court. Nay doth: not the writing it felf of fuch Books thew, that this matter was wholly unknown to Antiquity? For had the Church been in possesfion of so easy and sure a course to discover and discard Herefies, they should not have needed to task themselves to find out any o-But the truth is, infallibility is, and ther. ever:

<sup>\*</sup> Risposta ad una lettera, &c. Tertul. de prascrip, &cc. Vincent. Lyrinens.

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ever hath been accounted proper to Christ's
judgment. And as hath been said, all necessary truth to Salvation he hath delivered us
in his Word. That Word, himself tells us,
shall judge at the last day. Yea, in all true
decisions of Faith, that Word even now judgeth. Christ judgeth, the Apostle sits Judge.
Christ speaks in the Apostle. Thus Anti-

quity.

. Neither are they moved a whit with that Objection: That the Scriptures are often the matter of Controversies. For in that case the remedy was easy which \*St. Augustine shews to have recourse to the plain places, and manifest such as should need no interpreter: For such there be, by which the other may be cleared. The same may be said, if sometimes it be questioned, Which be Scriptures, which not. I think it was never heard of, in the Church, that there was an external infallible Judge, who could determine that question. Arguments may be brought from the consent or diffeat with other Scriptures, from the attestation of Antiquity, and inherent figns of Divine Authority, or human Infirmity: But if the Auditor or Adversary yield not to these, fuch parts of necessity must needs be laid afide. If all Scripture be denied (which is as it were, exceptio in judicem ante litis contestationem) Faith hath no place, only reason remains. To which I think it will scarce seem reasonable, if you should say, Though all Men 272 The Copies of certain LETTERS.

bin thou oughtest in conscience to obey and yield the understanding in all his Determinations, for he cannot err. No not if all Men in the World should say it. Unless you first set down there is a God, and stablish the authority of the Books of Holy Scripture, as his Voice, and then shew if you can; the war-

rant of this Privilege.

Where you affirm, The Scriptures to be the Law and the Rule, but alone of themselves cannot be Judges; If you mean, without being produced, applied, and heard; you say truth. Yet Nicodemus spake not amis, when he demanded, \* Doth our Law judge any Man, untess it hear him first? he meant the same which S. Paul, when he faid of the High Priest, thou fittest to judge me according to the Law: And fo do we when we say the same. Neither do we fend you to Angels, or God himself immediately, but speaking by his Spirit in the Scriptures, and (as I have right now faid) alledged. and by discourse applied to the matters in question. As for Princes, since it pleased you to make an excursion to them, if we should make them infallible Judges, or give them Authority to decree in Religion as they lift, as Gardiner did to King Henry the Eighth, it might well be condemned for monstrous, as it As for the Purpose, Liceré was by Calvin. Regi interdicere populo usum calicis in cana: Quare? Potestas n. summa estapenes Regem; quoth Gardiner. This was to make the King as absolute a Tyrant in the Church, as the Pope \* Joh. 1. 51-

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 273 Pope claimed to be, But that Princes which obey the truth, have Commandment from God, to command good things, and forbid evil, not only in matters pertaining to humane society, but akso the Religion of God, + This is no new strange Doctrine, but Calvin's, and ours, \* and S. Augustine's, in so many words. And this is all the Headship of the Church we give to Kings. Whereof a Queen is as well capable as a King, fince it is an Act of Authority, not Ecclesiastical Ministery; proceeding from eminency of power, not of knowledge, or holiness. Wherein not only a learned King, as ours is; but a good old Woman (as Queen Elizabeth, befides her Princely Dignity, was) may excel, as your selves confess, your infallible Judge himself. But in Power he saith, he is above all: which not to examine for the present, in this Power Princes are above all their Subjects I trow; and S. Augustine saith plainly, to command and forbid, even in the Religion of God, still according to God's Word, which is the touchstone of Good and Evil. Neither was King Henry the Eighth, the first Prince that exercised this Power, witness David and Solomon, and the rest of the Kings of Judah before Christ. And since that Kings were Christians, || The affairs of the Church bave depended upon them, and the greatest Synods have been by their Decree, as Socrates expresly saith. Nor did King Henry claim any new thing in this Land, but restored to the Crown the ancient Right thereof, which fundry his Predecessors

<sup>†</sup> Instit. 1. 4. c. 20. \* August. contr. Crescon. 1 3 c. 51...

274 The Copies of certain LETTERS had exercised, as our Historians and Lawyers with one consent affirm.

The rest of your induction of Archbishops, Bishops, and whole Clergy in their Convocation-House, and a Council of all Lutherans. Calvinists, Protestants, &c. is but a needless pomp of words, striving to win by a form of Discourse, that which gladly shall be yielded at the first demand. They might all err, if they were as many as the Sand on the Sea Shoar, if they did not rightly apply the Rule of Holy Scriptures, by which as you acknowledge the external Judge, which you feek, must proceed. As to your demand therefore, bow you should be sure when, and wherein they did, and did not err; where you should have fixed your foot; to forbear to skirmish with your confirmation (That though, a posse ad esse non valet semper consequentia, yet ali-quando valet: E, frustra dicitur potentia qua nunquam ducitur in actum.) To the former whereof I might tell you, that without queftion, nunquam walet: And to the second, that I can very well allow, that errandi potentia, among Protestants be ever frustra. This I say freely, That if you come with this resolution to learn nothing by discourse, or evidence of Scripture, but only by the meer pronouncing of a human external Judge's Mouth, to whom wou would yield your understanding in all his determinations: If, as the Jesuits teach their Scholars, \* you will wholly deny your own judgment, and resolve, that if this Judge shall say, that is black, which appears to your Eyes white, \* Reguln. 1. & 17.

white, yes will say it is black too; you have posed all the Protestants; they cannot tell how to teach you infallibly. Withat I must tell you thus much, that this preparation of mind in a Scholar, as you are, in a Minister, yea in a Christian, that had but learned his Creed, much more that had from a Child known the Holy Scriptures, that \* are able to make us wife to saboution, through the Faith that is in Christ Jesus, were too great weakness, and, to use the Apostle's Phrase, † chil-

distancis of understanding.

But at length you heard a found of Harmony and Consent, that in the Catholick Church, as in Noah's Ark, was infallibility, and possibility of Saboation; which occasioned you to seek out, and to enter into this Ark of Noah. The found of Consent and Infallibility is most pleafing and harmonious, and undoubtedly ever and only to be found in the Catholick Church, to wit, in the Rule of Faith, and in the Holy Scriptures, and fuch necessary Doctrine as perfeelly concordeth with the same. But as in Song many discords do pass in smaller Notes, without offence of the Ears, so should they in smaller matters of Opinion in the Church, without the offence of judicious and charitable minds. Which yet I speak not to justify them; nay, I am verily of the mind, That this is the thing that hath marred the Church Musick in both kinds, that too much liberty is taken in descant to depart from the Ground, and as one faith, not a minium denigrantur. The fault of the Italians: though they think themselves the only Songsters in the World. But to re276 The Copies of certain LETTERS.

turn to you, tell me, I befeach you (good Mr. Waddesworth ) was this the Harmony that transported you. The Pope himself faith, I cannot err, and to me thou oughtest to have recourse for decision of doubts in matters of And whereas this is not only denyed by Protestants, but hath been ever by the . French, and anciently I am fure by the Spanish, lately by some Italian Divines also, unless he use due means to find the truth; yea, whereas it is the iffue of all the Controversies of this age; in this snare, you fastened your Foot, This was the Center that settled your Conscience, this the solid and firm foundation of your Faith. What? and did it not move you, that some limit this Infallibility of the Pope thus, If he enter Canonically, if he proceed advisedly, and maturely, using that diligence that is fit to find out the truth; that is, (as you faid before) proceeding by the Rule, the Scriptures? Albeit to the Fathers of the African Council it seemed incredible (as they write in their Synodal Epistle to P. Calestine standing for Appeals to himself) that God can inspire the right in tryal to one, denying it to many Bishops in a Council. Tell us then, who made you secure of these things; or did you in truth, never so much as make question of them, but hearing this harmonious found, The Pope is the Infallible Judge, you trufted the new Masters of that side, + Gregory de Valentia, and Bellarmine, that whether the Pape in defining do use diligence or no, if he do define, be shall define infallibly. Alas Sir! if this - t Analysi Fidei Cashad par. 8.

The Commence

The Copies of certain LETTER'S. 277 were the rest you found for the foal of your Foot, instead of moveable Water, you fell upon Mire and Puddle; or rather like to another Dove mentioned in Scripture, Columba seducta habens Cor, \* by the most chaffy shrap that ever was let before the Eyes of winged Fowl. were brought to the door-fall Excuse my Grief, mixed I confess with some indignation; but more love to you, though I thus write. Many things there be in Popery inconvenients and to my conceit weakly and ungroundedly affirmed, to fay no more; but this is so abfurd, and palpable a flattery, as to omit to speak of you, for my part I cannot be perfwaded that Paulus the Fifth believes it himfelf. For confider, I pray, what needed antiently the Christian Emperors, and sometimes at the request of the Bishops of Rome them? felves, to have gathered together for many Bishops from fo divers parts of the World to celebrate Gouncils. If it had been known and believed then, that one Man's Scritence might have cleared all controversies, and put all Herefies to filence? How durft fundry holy, and learned Men have rejected his decisions, whether right or wrong is not now the queftion, unchriftianly out of doubt on their parts, if he had been then holden the infallible Oracle of our Religion; As when Polyerates, with the Bishops of Asia, and Ireneus also yielded not to Victor, excommunicating the Eastern Churches about the celebration of Easter, when S. Cyprian, with the fifst Council of Carthage of eighty fix Bishops had De-**U** 3 creed. # Ofen. 7. 11!

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creed. That fuch as were baptized by Heres ticks, should be rebaptized, and certified Stephanus of this Decree, and he opposed it, and would have nothing innovated, would Corrian after that have refisted and confuted Stephan mus his Letter, had he known him for infallible? And how doth he confute him? erring, writing impertmently, contracy to himself. Yea, let it be observed, that he doth not only not account Stephense infallible, but not so much as a Judge over any Bishop. See the Vote of Cyprian, and note those Words. Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se efle Episcoporum confituit, aut tyrannica terrore ad objequendi necessitatem collegas suos adegit, quando habeat omnis Episcopus pro licentia bibertatis & potestatis sua, arbitrium proprium, tanquam judicari ab alio non possis cum nec iple possit alterum judicare. Sed exspectemus u= niversi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus & solus habet potestatem & praponendi in Ecclesia sua gubernatione, & de actu nostro judicandi. A passage worthy to be noted alio, for the clearing of the independence of Epilcopal Authority from the Pope, which I now let pass. Neither was S. Cyprian herein alone: Firmilianus, and the Laftern Bishops, relisted diephanus no less, as appears by his Epiftle, which in the Roman Edition of Manutius, let forth by the command of Pius the Fourth, with the survey of four Cardinals, whereof one is now a Saint, with exquisite dilice; is wholly left out. And Pamelius saith

The Copies of certain LETTERS: 270 he thinks purposely, for himself is of the mindthat it had been better it had never come forth: But to feture to our purpose. The Fathers of the Council of Africk, and S. Augustine amongst them, relist three Popes succeedings each other Zozimus, Boniface, and Coelestimus, about appeals to Rome; shall we think they would ever have done it, if they had known or imagined them to be the supream and infallible Judges in the Church? I let pass the Schism between the Greek and the Latin Church, which had not happened, if this Doctrine had been anciently received. Nay, it is very plain in Story, that the Bishop of Rome's lifting up himself to be universal Bistop chiefly caused it. To conclude, neither Liberius, nor Honorius, to omit many other Bishops of Rome, had ever been taxed of herefie, if this had anciently been current, that the Pope is infallible. I will not stand now to examine the shameful defence that Belharmine makes for the latter of these, bearing down Fathers, Councils, Stories, Popes themfelves, as all falsified or deceived herein. Wherein because he is learnedly resuted by Dr. Raywolds, I infift not upon it. This I press, that all those Writers and Councils. and amongst them Pope Leo the Second accurfing Honorius, did not then hold that which by Pigbins and the Jesuits is undertaken, that the Pope is infallible. Even the Council of Basil, deposing Eugenius (for ob-Rinately refifting this Truth of the Catholick. Frith, That the Council is above the Pope) as an 180 The Copies of certain Letters.

an Heretick, doth shew the sense of Christens
dom even in these later times, how corrupt soever, both in Rule and Practice.

And because you make this infallible Judge to be also an infallible Interpreter of Holy Scripture, how happens it that Damasus Bishop of Rome confults with Hierome about the meaning of fundry Texts of Scripture, when it feems himself might have taken his Pen, and fet him down quickly, that which should have taught both him and the whole Church, not only without danger but even possibility of error? Sure we are little beholding to the diligence of our Ancestors that have not more carefully registred the Commentaries (or because they have had for fundry Ages small time to write just Commentaries) the Expositions which in their Sermons, or otherwise the Bishops of Rome have made of Holy Scripture. A work, which if this Doctrine were true, were more worth than all the Fathers; and would justifie that blasphemy of the Canon Law, where by a shameful corruption of S. Augustine, + the Decretals of Popes are involled among it the Canonical Scrip-I am already too long in so plain a matter: Yet one proof more which is of all most sensible. Being admonished by this your conceit of an infallible Interpreter, I chanced to turn over the Pope's Decretals, and obser-

the Interpretation of Scriptures. What I say? I find them so lewd, and clean: the Purpose, yea, oftentimes so childish and

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 281 and ridiculous, both in giving the sense, and in the application, that I protest to you in the presence of God, nothing doth more loath me of Popery, than the handling of Holy Scripture by your infallible Interpreter alone. Confider a few of the particulars, and especially fuch as concern the Pope's own Authority. To justify his exacting an Oath of Fealty of an Archbishop, + to whom he grants the Pall. is brought our Lord Jesus Christ, who committing the care of his Sheep to Peter, did put too a condition, laying, Si diligis me, pasce oves meas. Christ said, if thou lovest me; feed my Sheep: Why may not the Pope fay: If you will fwear me fealty, you shall have the Pall. But first he corrupts the Text: Christ said not, If thou lovest me: Then, Christ puts not Peter's love as a condition of Feeding, but Feeding as a proof and effect of his love. And if the feeding of Christ's Sheep were fought, love to him and them might fuffice to be professed, or if he would needs have more than Christ required, to be sworn; what is this to the Oath of Fealty? Straight after to the Objection, that all Oaths are probibited by Christ, nor any such thing can be found appointed by the Apostles after the Lord, or in the Councils, he urges the Words following in the Text,: \* Swear not at all; quod amplius est, à mala est, that is, saith he. Evil compels us by Christ's permission to exact more. Is it not evil to go from the Pope's obedience? to COB-

<sup>†</sup> Significasti de electione. John 21. 15. \* Matt. 5. 34.

sandemn Bishaps without his privity? to translate Bishops by the King's commandment? See the place, and tell me of your Interpreter's Infallibility. Treating of the Translation of Bishops, or such as are elected unto other Sees. he saith, † That since the spiritual Band is firenger than the carnal, it cannot be doubted but Almighty God hath referred the dissolution of the spiritual Marriage that is betwirt a Bir Thop and his Church, to his own judgment ar lane; charging that whom God hath joined; Man sever not. For it is not by human but rather draine power that spiritual marriage is dissolved; when as by translation or cession by the authority of the Bishop if Rome ( whom it is plain to be the Vicar of Jefus Christ) a Bishop is removed from his Churth. An admirable Interpretation of the Text, Ques Deux coniunnit! by which the Pope not only challenges that which is proper to God's judgment only, as he faith, viz. to diffolve the Bond of spiritual Wedlock; but because that is the fironger, of carnal it seems also; when it shall please him.

\* The anointing of a Prince fince Christ's coming is translated from the Head to the Shoulder, by which Principality is stily designed, according to that which is read, Factus est principatus super humerum ejus; for signifying also whereas, Samuel trusted the shoulder to be set before Saul. Who should ever have under

<sup>†</sup> Inter corpor. de translat. Episcopi. Matt. 19. 26. \* De sacra Unitione. Esti 9. 6. 1 Sam. 9. 24.

The Copies of cestain LETTERS 183 understood these Texts, if your infallible Inserpreter had not declared them? But this is nothing yet to the expolition of those Texts, which the Pope interprets in his answer to the Emperor of Confrantinople, as Subditiefote omni bumana Creatura propter Denne, &c. + He tells him that S. Peter wrote that to his own Subjects, to provoke them to the merit of bunility. For if he had meant thereby to lay the yoke of subjection upon Prints, it would follow that every forwant were to rule over them. suce it is faid, Omni humana Greature. ter, It is not harely set dawn, Regipræcellenti, but there is put between, perhaps not without saufe, tenguen: And that which follows, ad vindistam malefactorum, landem verò bos norum, is not to be under fixed that the King or Emperor hath received the power of the Sword upon good and evil Men, fave only those who using the Sword are committed to his parifice. tion according to that which the Truth faith, They which take the Sword shall perish with the Sword, | For no Man ought or can judge another Servant, since the Servant according to the Apolike franceth or falleth to his own Lord. For the Love of God confider this intexpretation, and compare it with S. Chryfosome upon Rom. 13. Nay do but read the Text attentively, and judge of the infallibility of your interpreter. Straight after he tells the Emperor, That he might have understood

<sup>†</sup> Solicita. De majoritate. 1 Pet. 2. 13. \* v. 14. # Matt. 26. 52.

the Prerogative of Priesthood out of that which was faid, not of every Man but of God, not to the King but to the Priest, not to one destending of the Royal Stock, but of the Priestly Lineage of the Priests, to wit, which were in Anathot! \* Behold Ihave fet thee over Nations and Kingdoms, to pull up, and destroy, to build and to plant: See the Prerogative of the Priesthood out of Jeremy's calling to be a Prophet. O if he had been High Priest! This had been a Text for the nonce: But he goes on. said in God's Law also, | Dis non detrahes. & Principem populi tui non maledices. setting Priests before Kings, calls them Gods; and the other, Princes. Compare this expofition with David's and Paul's, Pfal. 82! and Acts 23: 5. and ye shall fee how the Interpreter hath hit the mark. Again, you ought to have known; quod fecit Deus duo magna luminaria. &c. See the exposition, and the difference between the Pope and Kings, both in the Text and Gloss. Now although the Glos-Writer were no excellent Calculator; yet out of Clavius the account may be cleared. Who tells us the Sun exceeds the Moon 6530 times and a fifth. I let pass the collection out of & Pasce oves meas, that he belongs not to Christ's Fold, that doth not acknowledge Peter and his Successors his Masters and

<sup>\*</sup> Jer. 1. 10. † Exod. 22. 28.

If Thou shalt not rail on the Gods, nor curse the Prince of y People. Gen 1. 16.

John 21, 16.

and Pastors: Out of Audounque ligaveris, that nothing is excepted. Indeed the Pope excepts nothing, but looseth Vows, Contracts, Oaths, the Bond of Allegiance and Fealty between Subjects and their Princes: The Commandment of Christ, Drink ye all of this, &c., But our Lord expounds himself, John 20,

Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted, &c.

\* Ex ore sedentis in Throno procedebat gladius bis acutus. This is, faith the Pope, the Sword of Solomon, which cuts an both sides. giving every Man his own. We then who albeit unworthy hold the place of the true Solomon, by the favour of God, do wisely exercise this Sword, when such causes as in our audience are lawfully canvassed, we do with justice determine. This interpretation first corrupts the Text, for it hath not, out of the Mouth of him that sate on the Throne, but that sate on the Horse; next, it perverts it, for it is not the Sword of Justice, but of Christ's Word, which is more piercing than any two-edged Sword that issueth out of his Mouth. § As for that of Justice, he never assumed it, but renounced it rather, when he faid, Man, whe made me a divider to you? Luke 12. 14. To prove that in other Regions besides the patrimony of the Church, the Pope doth cafually exercise temporal Jurisdiction, it is said in Deu-

<sup>| \$</sup> Mat. 16. 19.

\* 3 Ex ore. De his qua finnt, Tit. 11.

\$ Heb. 4. 12.

A Per venerabilem.

Deut. 17. 8.

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Desteronomy, Si difficile st & ambiguum, &c. And because Deuteronomy is by interpretation the second Law, Surely by the force of the Word it is proved, that what is there decreed should be observed in the New Testament. For the place which the Lord did chuse is known to be the Apostolick See. For when as Peter Heeing went out of the City, the Lord minding to call him back to the place he had chosen, being asked of him, Lord whither goest thou? an-Iwered, I go to Rome to be crucified again. The Priests of the Tribe of Levi are the Pope's coadjutors. The High Priest or Judge, he to whom the Lord said in Peter, Quodeunque ligaveris, &c. His Vivar who is a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedeck, appointed by God the Judge of quick and dead. He that contemns the Pope's Sentence is to be excommunicated, for that is the meaning of being commanded to be put to death. Doth not this well follow out of the word Deuteronomy? And Rome is the place that Christ did chuse, because he went, he said, to be crucified there. only there is a scruple of the High Priest, for . as much as he that is High Priest after Melchiledeck's Order, anacciscion that is proving, hath a Priesthood that passes not into another, Heb. He addsthere, that Paul, that he might declare the foliness of power, writing to the Corinthians, saith: Know ye not that ye shall judge the Angels? † How much more the things of the World? Is this then the Pope's Plenireude

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 289 sude of Power, to judge secular things? of was Corinth the Apetolick Sec, and to many Popes there even of the meanest of the Church? What shall we say to that Exposition of the famous Text, | Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram edificabo Ecclefiam meam: The Lord (he faith) taking Peter into the fellowship of the undivided Unity, would have him to be called that, which he was himself, that the building of the eternal Temple might by the marvelous gift of God confist in Peter's firmness. is this undivided Unity? Not of the Trinity. I trow, or natures in Christ. What then? his Office? of which he faid a little before out of the Apostle, that no Man can lay any other foundation but Jesus Christ. Yes, that from Potor as a certain head he should as it were pour abroad his gifts into his whole body. That the Church might fland upon Peter's firmnels. This foundation St. Paul knew not, when he blamed I am of Cepbas, Peter's infirmity cannot bear up the weight of fuch a building, much less (which we must remember the Romanists understand by this Jargon) the Popes his Successors.

\*Such another interpretation is that of Pope Boniface, that makes Unum Ovile & unus Pastor, the Church and the Pope. But it is plain our Saviour alludes to the Prophecies, Ezek 34. 23. and 37. 24. where the Lord calls that one Pastor his fervant David. What Blasphemy is this, thus to usurp Christ's Royal-

|| Mat. 16. 18. Cap fundamenta de Eleff. in 6. † Joh. 10. 16. Engra unum Teffam.

Royalties? What Father, what Gouncil, what Catholick Man ever interpreted this Text on this manner? By which the Pope. while he feeks the name of the Shepherd, shuts himself out of Christ's Fold?

|| Yea the same Pope calls the Church bis Spoule also, and so other Popes since. S. John the Baptist tells them, that he that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom. S. Paul prepared ber to one Husband Christ. If she be the Pope's Spoule with her will, the is a Harlot: if against her will, he is a Ravisher, and our Lord Jesus Christ will deliver her out of his lewd Embracements, crying out of the vio-Jence which she suffers, as it is to be hoped

thortly.

That in the Church's power are true Swords, the spiritual and temporal, we are taught by the Words of the Gospel, saith the same Boniface. For when the Apostles said, Behold, there be two swords here (to wit in the Church) when the Apostles spake thus, \* the Lord an-Iwered not that it was too much, but enough, Certainly, he that denies the temporal Sword to be in Peter's Power, doth ill observe the Speech which our Lord utters, Put up thy Sword into thy sheath. No doubt an infallible Interpretation; by which it should appear that both the Swords that were in our Saviour's company, hung by S. Peter's side, or else that some other had the spiritual, leaving none

t. 4. 9. C. quoniam. De immunitate. . 22 38.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. none to S. Peter, but that which he might not use. The Exposition is S. Bernard's, you will say. But in an Epistle parænetical to the Pope himself; S. Bernard might have leave to use allusions, and after his manner to be liberal of all that the See of Rome challenged, that he might have the more Authority to reform the abuses of it. As to grant Peter the temporal Sword, but so, as he must not use it: Quid tu gladium denuo usurpare tentes, quem semel jussus es ponere in vaginam? and he shews how these two Swords be the Church's. The one to be drawn out for the Church, the other also by the Church. This by the Priests, that by the Soldier's hand, but at the beck of the Priest, and bidding of the Emperor. But the Pope in a Decretal Epistle, pretending to teach the World, in a Point as he pronounces, necessary to Salvation, with fuch an Interpretation as this, argues little reverence to the Word of God, and a very mean Opinion of the Judgments and Consciences of Christian Men, if they could not discern this to be a Stranger's Voice, not Christ's. Besides that, he changes S. Bernard's Words. and clean perverts his meaning. For exerendus; he puts in exercendus. For ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed sane ad nutum saverdetis & justum Imperatoris. Pope Boniface thinking justum too absolute in the Emperor, makes him to be the executioner, and joins him with the Soldier, on this manner. Ille Bacer dotum, is manu Regum & Militum sed ad

nutum & patientiam Sacerdotis. S. Bernara makes the executive power to be in the Soldier; the directive in the Priest, the commanding in the Emperor. Pope Boniface makes the Kings and Soldiers to have only the executive, the directive and permissive to be in the Priest, Yea sword, he saith, must be under fword. For where the Apostle saith, \* There is no power but of God, qua autem funt, à Deo ordinati sunt; more fully in the original Text, the powers that are, are ordained, that is, appointed of God: The Interpreter here dreams of order and subordination, and cites a saying of Dionysius, that the lowest things are reduced to the highest by the middlemost; a conceit that makes nothing to the purpose of the Apostle in that place.

He proceeds and tells us, that of the Church and Power Ecclesiastical, is verified the Prophecy of Jeremy. Behold I have set thee this day over Kings and Kingdoms, &c. Tell me, good Mr. Waddesworth, what is to pervert the Scriptures, if this be not, to apply to the power Ecclesiastical, that which is spoken of the Word and Calling Prophetical? Yet more, The Earthly Power, if it swerve out of the way shall be judged of the Power Spiritual, but if the Spiritual, that is lesser, of that which is superior to it. But if the highest, it may be judged of God only, not of Man, the Apostle witnessing the & Spiritual Man judgeth all things, but himself is judged of none.

<sup>\*</sup> Rom 13 f. || Jer. 1. 10. \$ 1Cor. 2. 15.

We are come at length, as it were to the Fountains of Nilus, to the Original of the Infallibility of your Judge; and if he have here rightly interpreted S. Puul, we learn that no earthly power, no Magistrate is a spiritual Man, unless he be one of the Pope's spiritualty. For these be S. Paul's spiritual Men, that judge all things. Yet this must receive limitation. For no Man may judge the Pope, the Supreme Spiritual Man, for of him is seems S. Paul meant it, his authority, he saith, is not human, but divine, by the divine Mouth given to Peter, and his Successors, when the Lord said to him, Quodeanque ligaveris:

For conclusion, Whospever resists this power thus ordered of God, | resists the Ordinance of God, unless, as Manichæus, he feign two beginnings: Which (saith he) we judge to be false and heretical, sith by Moses record, not in the beginnings, but in the beginning God created Heaven and Earth. ( Who would not acknowledge the divine Authority and Infallibility of your Interpreter, both in confirming his purpose, and convincing herefies from so high a beginning, as this first sentence of Holy Writ? What rests now, but after so many testimonies he infer, Furthermore, to be under the Bishop of Rome we declare, say, define, and pronounce that to every human creature it is altogether of necessity of salvation. Thus faith your infallible Judge and Interpreter of Scripture, the center of your Conscience, and X 2

foundation of your Faith, not as a private Doctor, but as Pope, in his own Law, intending to inform and bind the Church, and that in matters with him of the greatest importance that may be touching his own Authority, and, as he pretends, absolutely necessary to Salvation; to all the Sons of Adam.

I might heap up many more, but these may suffice for a sample. You may (and so do by your self, I beseech you) observe these kind of Interpretations in other points also, and in other the Decretals and Breves of Popes; which, as I hear, are lately come forth in great Volumes. You shall find many Mysteries in your Faith, that perhaps you know not of, as \* That you cannot please God because you are married: for so is that place of the Apostle interpreted, qui in carne vivunt, Dev placere non poffunt. That not only the Wine in the Chalice, but the Water also is transubstantiated first into Wine, then into Christ's Blood. That it was + not watry moisture, but the true element of Water which issued out of Christ's side. You hall find 6 confession of sins to the Priest, proved by the Text, Gorde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem fit confessio ad salutem. || That the good Ground, that received the Seed in the Gospel, is the Religion of the Fryers Minors. this is that pure and immaculate Religion with

Rom. 8, 83 Syricias Epift. 4. 9 Innocent. Ep: 22

<sup>\$</sup> John 19. 34. 6. Inter cunctas. \$ Rom. 10. 10.

<sup>||</sup> Matt. 13. 8. || Jaro. F. 27.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. with God and the Father, which descending from the Father of Lights, delivered, exemplarster & verbaliter, by the Son, to his Apostles, and then inspired by the Holy Ghost, into S. Francis and his Followers, contains in it self the Testimony of the Truity. This is that which 28 S. Paul witnesseth, no Man must be troublesome unto, which Christ hath confirmed with the Prints of his Passion. The Text is, of de catero nemo mihi molestus sit, ego n. sigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto. It is marwel, if S. Paul were not of the Order of S. Francis. That when Christ said, + Ecce ego wobiscum sum omnibus diebus, he meant it of remaining and being with them even by his bodily presence. S. Augustine upon the same Text denies this, and faith, that according to the presence of his Body he is ascended into Hear ven, and is not here, That \* the Father of the Child Christned, and his Godfather's Wife may not marry, because according to the Lord's Word, the Husband and the Wife, are made one flesh by marriage,. That the number of Four, deth well agree to the degrees probibited in corporal marriage, of which the Apostle saith, The Man hath not the power of his grun body, but the Woman; nor the Woman power of her body but the Man, because there are four humours in the body, which consist of the four Elements. For Conclusion, you shall find it

S Gal. 6, 17. † Matt. 28. 20. Lo I am with you, &c. Clem. 3. de Relig. Traff. in 70b. 50.

G. Martinus de cognat. Spirit. 4. Mat. 19. 6...

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be a Lord over the Faith of his Followers, to make his Will a Reason. What would you have him do? to alledge a better he could not, a weak and unsufficient one he was alhamed, he thought it best to resolve the matter into his sole Authority. Whereby he hath proved himself a fallible both Judge and Interpreter, yea a false Witness against God and the Truth; commanding by the Apostle Christian Men to be subject, and to give every Man their dues, fear to whom fear, bonor to whom bonor; and much more (if there be any difference) Allegiance to whom Allegiance.

## CHAP. IV.

Of the state of the Church of England, and whether it may be recontiled with Rome.

Durch of your Interpreter's Infallibility enough. Your next doubt, Whether the Church of England were of the true Church or no, was resolved with a Paralogism, partly by reason of equivocation, and diverse acception of the terms, The Church, and to err, partly by composition and division in the connexton of these by those Verbs [can or may.] Let us examine the several parts of your Syl-

logism.

The Proposition. The true Church cannot err, is confirmed by the confent of all. cafe me, Sir, if I withhold my consent, without fome Declaration and Limitation. first, it must be declared whether you mean the Catholick Church, or a true part of the Catholick Church. For there is not the like reason of these to error, Against the Catholick Church \* Hell Gates shall not prevail; 2gainst particular, when Christ doth remove the Candlestick out of his place, they do. Witness the Churches of Africk, sometimes most Catholick. And thus it seems you must take this term, fince your doubt was, Whether the Church of England be of the true Church or no. Besides I must desire to know, what manner

of Errors you mean; whether even the least, or only deadly, and such as bar from salvation, which the Apostle calls diesoes amunesas, herefies of perdition, 2 Pet. 2. 1. Take now your own choice; for if you speak of every error, the Proposition is false, even of the Cathelick Church, much more of any particular Church. Yea, I add further, not only of the Catholick Church by denomination from the greatest part, or by representation, as the Pastors or Prelates thereof met in a Council, which is still the mixt Church, but even that which is Christ's true body, whereof he is the Saviour, and which shall be with bim for ever. As for deadly and damnable errors, this true and properly called Church. both in the whole and every part of the mixt Church, is yet privileged from them finally: For \* it is kept by the power of God to sabuation, it is not possible the Elect should thus be feduced. Truth it is, That by such errors particular visible assemblies, universally and obstinately defending them, become falfly called Churches, from which we are to separate ourselves. Example in the Synagogue, and in Churches of the Arians.

Now let us see your Assumption. But the Church of England, Head and Members, King, Clergy, and People, yea, a whole Council of Protestants may, err by your own grant. I answer, The Church of England, that is the the Church of England, which only

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The Copies of certain L.E. TERS. 299 are truly called the Church, can never deadly err. This no Protestant will grant ye. The mixt Church of England, Head, Members, King, Clergy, and the residue of the People, and a whole Council of Protestants, may errodamnably, and therefore much more fall into lesser errors. This they grant. And if they shall so err obstinately, they shall deservedly lose the name of a true Church. But they deny that

they err de facto, at all.

What follows in Conclusion? Ergo, No true Church. This shortness in suppressing the Verb, would make a Man think you meant to cover the fault of your Discourse. And indeed you might by that means easily beguile another, but I cannot be persuaded you would willingly beguile your felf. Sure you were beguiled, if you meant it thus. Ergo, it is no true Church. See your Argument in the like: A faithful Witness cannot lie; but Soerates or Aristides may lie by his own grant. Ergo, no faithful Witness. He that stands upright cannot fall: But you, Mr. Waddesworth, by your own grant, may fall: Ergo, Rand not upright. Perhaps your meaning was, Ergq, it may become no true Church, to wit, when it shall so err damnably. But then it follows not, There is now no Salvation in it, and therefore come out of it now. When you shew that, I shall account you have done wifely to go out of it. Shew that in any one point, and take me with you. In the mean while, for

for my part, I shall sooner trust that Chapman that shall say to me, Lo here is a persect Yard, I will measure as truly as I can, and when I have done, take the Yard and measure it your self; than him that shall say, here is thus much, ye shall not need to measure it, but take it on my Word: Yea, though one of his Apprentices should stand by and say, he could not deceive me though he would; as Benedictur à Benedictis tells the present Pope, Volens nolens errare non potes,

Where you relate, your endeavour to defend the Church of England, and tell of the Puritams rejecting those Arguments you could use from the Authority of the Church, and of the unview Doctors interpreting Scriptures against them, flying to their own array ant Spirit: I cannot excuse them for the former, nor subscribe to your accusation in the latter. haps you have met with fome more fanatical Brownists or Anabaptists, whom here you call Paritans. But these that are commonly fo called, which differ from the Church of England about Church Government and Geremonies only, give indeed too little to the Authority of Men, how holy, learned, or ancient foever. Which is their fault, and their great fault, especially in matters of this nature; yet they fly not to their own Spirit as you charge them.

That which you add, That you perceived the most Protestants did frame the like evasions when you came to answer the Arguments and

The Copies of certain Letters. 30t gainst them on the other side; When you shall shew this in particulars, I shall believe it. In the mean while, I believe you thought so a for commonly mediocrities are aggravated with the hatred, and flandered with the names of both extremes. But in the question between the Popish saction and us, you might easily have discerned why the Argument from bare Authority, is not of such validity. For Ceremonies and matters of order may be ordered by wife Men; and are not the worse but the better if they be ancient, yea if they be common to us with Rome, which Puritans will by no means allow. In Doctrine, if holy Men. yea if an Angel from Heaven shall innovate any thing, we are not to admit it. Now the Controversies between the Romanists and us, are most about Doctrine, and they exceed as much in extelling the Authority of the Ancients in their private Opinions and incommodious and strained Speeches, as the Puritans . in depressing them. We hold the mean, and give as much to the Authority and Testimonies of the Fathers, as may frand with the truth of Holy Scriptures, and as themselves defer to the writing of others, or require to be given to their own.

Next you tell, of your following their Opimion who would make the Church of England, and the Church of Rome fill to be all one in offential Points, and the differences to be accidental. Confessing the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though sick, or corrupted, and the Protostants to be derived from it, and reformed.

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formed. This Opinion is not only as you write, favoured of many great Scholars in England; but is the common Opinion of all the best Divines of the Reformed Churches that are or have been in the World, as I shewed in part of another Work, which as I remember you had a fight of. Wherein yet I fear you mistake the term, accidental, which doth not import that our differences are but flight and of small confideration, but that all those Opinions and Abuses which we reform and cut off, are not of the Faith, but superfluous and foreign, year hurtful and noisome to it, as the Weeds are to the Corn, which overgrow and choak it. And to follow this similitude, the state of the Church under the Roman obedience, and that part which is reformed, is like a Field overgrown all with Weeds, This tles, Tares, Cockle: Some part whereof is weeded and cleanfed, some part remains as it was before; which makes fuch a difference to the view, as if it were not the fame corn. But being better confidered, it will be found all the difference is, from the Weeds, which remain there, and here are taken away. Yet neither here perfectly, nor all where alike, but according to the industry of our Weeders, or conveniency of the Work, with care of the fafety of the good corn. By this Parable you may see what is to be hoped of your labour to researile most of our particular Controversies. For although I doubt not but in some it may be performed, where the difference is rather verbal than real; and in the manner of teach-

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 303 ing, rather than in the substance of Doc-And if moderate Men had the matter in handling, the flame of contention in a great many more might be trodden down and flacked, suppose the sparks not all extinct; yet in some other, it is as possible to make the Weed and Corn Friends, as your and our Opinions; where there is none other remedy but that of our Saviour, Every plant that my beavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out. Neither doth this impossibility arise more out of the nature of the things, than the affection of the persons. For the Pope and the Court of Rome, which are those that domineer on that fide, do no less out of the fear of their own ruine, deadly detest all Reformation, than... the Reformed, out of their present view and former feeling, the tyranny of the Papacy. which they see doth excommunicate, and put to cruel Death all that are of this way. And which is a prodigious thing, where they toterate the blasphemous and professed enemies of Christ, even with allowance of the publick exercise of their Religion, there do they burnt Men professing Christ's Religion, according to the ancient and common Rule thereof, with that uprightness of Conscience, that if they had as many Lives as there be Articles there. of, they would give them all rather than renounce any of them.

As for the Protestants making the Pope Antichrist, I know it is a point, that inrageth much at Rome. But if the Apostle St. Paul, if St. John in the Revelation, describe Anti-ehrist

Christ so, as they that do but look upon the Pope well, must be forced to say as the people did of the blind Man in the Gospel, some, this is be, others, be is very like him; if himself and his flatterers do, and speak such things, as if all others should hold their peace, do in a fort proclaim; I am be; what can the Protestants do with the matter? I will take the liberty here to relate to you, what I saw while I was in Venice, the rather because it is not impertinent to our present purpose. And though perhaps you may have heard some what of it, yet the particulars are I suppose unknown in those parts. And yet it doth more import they were known there than otherwhere, being occasioned .by a subject of the Crown, though of a name and Family whereto it is not much beholding.

In the Year 1608, F. Thomas Maria Carafa, of the Order of the Friers Preachass, Reader of Philosophy in Naples, printed a thousand Theses to be disputed thrice; once at Rome, in the Church of S. Mary super Minervam, twice in S. Dominick's at Naples. Of these, five hundred were in Logick, Natural Philosophy, Metaphysick, and Mathematicks; sive hundred more in Divinity, amongst which that was one. Solus Petrus & successives in totam Ecclesiam illimitatam jurisdictionem habent. These were all included in the form of a Tower, and dedicated with an E-

to the present Pope Paulus the Fifth, to Arms alluding, he faith, Idem Draco qui utrumque polum amplexus imperid leste pomorium touquem ad amonissi-

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 305 mos Hesperidum hortos pervigil excubat, nullius Herculis vim metuens, turris etiam mea ht custos. On the top of this Tower, was this Representation curiously and largely cut. An Altar with two Columns, and their Ornaments, according to the Rules of Architecture. In the midft for the Altar-piece was the Pope's Picture, very lively portrayed to the Breast. Over his Head was the Word, Vultu portendebat imperium. Above on the top of the Front, in three compartiments his Arms thus. On the one fide the Spread-Eagle alone, the Word, Ipfe mihi fert tela pater. On the other a Dragon, and by it, Meliora serve. In the midst both together in one Scutcheon with the Cross Keys and triple Crown in the Crest. On either side of these Columns were depending Crowns and Scepters whereof fix were on the right hand after the Christian fashion. The Imperial above, other underneath, and lowest the Corno of the Duke of Venice, so they call a certain Cap the Prince useth to wear, being of Gold Embroidery, and somewhat resembling a Horn. There were also Turkish Turbans, and Diadems of divers fashions, as many on the left \_fide. By these on either fide of the Columns, were two of the four parts of the World. Eurippe and Africk, on the one, Asia and America on the other, in the Habit of Ladies, fitting upon their proper Beasts couchant, each offering unto him that was above the Altar of their Commodities, Corn, Fruits, Incense, . &c. On the base of the Column on the Christian

tian and European fide, was the Word, Ex erunt Reges nutritit tui. On the other, Vultu in terram demisso pulverem pedum tuorum lingent, 'Esai 49. Agreeable whereto there was made flying over their Heads two Angels, on each fide one with these Sentences in their Hands. That over Europe and Africk: Gens & Regnum qued non servierit illi, in Gladio & in Fame. & in Peste visitabo super gentem illam, ait Dominus, Hier. 27. That over Asia and America: Et dedit ei Dominus potestatem 😸 regnum, & omnes populi ipsi servient : potestas ejus potestas æterna quænon auseretur, & Reg-'num ejus quod non corrumpetur. Dan. 7. Now just underneath the Picture of the Pope, on the forefide of the Altar, was this Inscription, Paulo V. Vice-Deo, Christianæ Reip. Monarchæ Invictissimo Et Pontifi-CIÆ OMNIPOTENCIÆ CONSERVATORI A-The Copies of these Theses were CERRIMO. fent as Novels from Rome, and did the more amuse Men at Venice, because of the Controverfy that State had with the Pope a little before, and their seeing their Duke's Corno hanged up among his Trophies, under all other Princes Crowns. But most of all. The new Title, Vice-Deo, and the addition of Omnipotency, gave matter of wonder. day it was noised about the City, that this was the Picture of Antichrist; for that the Inscription exactly in the numeral Letters the number of Beast in the Revelation 666. What anid shame this was to the Popish Faction,

I leave

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 307 I leave it to you to esteem. But whom could they blame, but themselves, who had suffered so presumptuous and shameless a stattery to come forth, with publick approbation, annexing also so blasphemous an Inscription, as unawares to them by the providence of God, should so plainly characterize Antichrist? But to heal up this matter again, not long after we had fresh news went about, That Antichrist was born in Babylon, had done many miracles, was coming towards Christendom with . an Army. We had an Epistle stampt at Venice, pretended to be written at Rome. An. \$ 592, by the Rever. D. Valentinus Granarensis, touching the birth of Antichrist his Stock, Progeny, Country, Habitation, Power, Marvels, Life, and Death, out of the Holy Scriptures, and Fathers, printed Cum Privilegio. And as for the Title Vice-Deus, as if they would have it in despite of all Men: One Benedictus à Benedictis, a Subject of the Venetian State, setting out a Book against Doctor Whitaker's Polition, de Antichristo, at Bologna, (for at Venice it was not suffered to be printed) revives it with advantage. He dedicates it thus, Paulo Quinto Pontifici Universalis Ecclesia Oecumenico, summo totius Orbis Episcopo atque Monarcha & supremo Vice-Deo. These Titles he heaps upon the Pope again, and again, and that you may judge of his Wit by one place in the conclusion, exhorting Dr. Whitaker to repentance; he tells him, That by his example, his King, and with the fame King James the First, many Englishmen 

convertentur ad Dominum Deum, & ipsius loco ad Vice-Deum confugient. And p. 135. he
faith of Gregory the Great. Totum mundum
quasi Monarcha ac Vice-Deus optime & irreprehensibiliter rexit, &c. He might have learned of him, that his other Title Cecumenicus
Pontifex, is the very name of Antichrist, the
name of Blasphemy, by which he doubts not
to presage that Antichrist was near, and an

Army of Priests ready to attend him. In this, if ever in any thing, it seems your Judge was infallible.

It will be faid here, it is not in the Pope's power what his followers will fay of him, he thiles himself the Servant of God's Servants. \* If the Canonifts. will call him, Our Lord God the Pope, first, it may be denied. Secondly, it may be laid to the over-sight of the Writers or Printers. Thirdly, if it be shewed to be left standing still in the Gloss of the Canon "Law, by them that were appointed to over see - and correct it, what marvel if one word escaped them, through negligense, or weariness, or much business? And yet if they thought the sense of the word not so usual indeed in the ordinary talk of Christians, but not differing from the custom of Scripture was to be allowed . to an ancient Writer, the matter deserves not such outcries. But the Pope, such is his modesty, never usurped this Title full of arrogancy, never heard it with patient ears. To this let it first be considered, that the Censors of fuch things as come to the Press, are not to be imagined

<sup>\*</sup> Apologia pro Garneto, c. 5.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 300 imagined such Babes, as not to know what will please or displease his Holipess. Especially in writings dedicated to himself, a Man may be fure they will allow nothing the fecond time, and after some exception and scandal taken at it, but what shall be justified. How much more in the Pope's own Town of Bologna, and when his Chaplain could not be allowed to print it at home. But to let all these go; we may have a more sensible proof how the Pope taftes these Titles. That which he rewards he approves: Benedictus was shortly after made for his pains Bishop of Caorli. How worthily he deserved it you shall judge by his Book; which at my request vouchsafe to read over, and if there be any merit, you, shall fure get great meed of patience in so doing. That you may not doubt of the Pope's judgment concerning these Titles, you shall further know, that the matter being come to the knowledge of the Protestants in France. and England, made them talk and write of it broadly, namely, the Lord of Plessis, in his Mysterium iniquitatis, and the Bishop of Chichester in his Tortura Torti. This gave occasion to the Cardinal Gieure, to relate in the Officio Santo at Rome of the scandal taken hereat, and to make a motion, De moder andis titulis. It was on foot fundry months. the Pope revoking it to himself, blamed those that had spoken against these Titles, and said, They were no whit greater than the authority of S. Peter's Successor did bear. To return thither whence I have a little digressed. In the Y 3 quel-

question whether the Pope be the Antichrist or no, for my part, I despair of all reconcili-For neither doth there appear any inclination at all in the Pope to reform any thing in Doctrine or Government, nay, he encroacheth daily more and more upon all degrees even among his own fubjects, and refolveth to carry all before him at the breast with his Monarchy and infallibility. On the other side, the Reformers partly emboldned with success, partly enforced by necessity, chiefly tied with band of conscience, and persuasion of truth, are not like to retract what they have affirmed in this behalf, and whatfoever their differences be in other things, in this point they have a marvellous unity amongst them. Those in France having been molested for calling the Pope Antichrist, have been occasioned (as I have heard) some few years since to take it into their Confession, thereby to justify themselves according to the Edicts of Pacification giving them liberty to profess their Religion. In England as you know it is no part of the Doctrine of our Church, yet a commonly received opinion. Howbeit this is so far from hindering, that the reformed Churches and those which heretofore were, or at this present are under the Pope's obedience be one Church, that is, all Members of the Catholick; that the Protestants without this cannot make good the other. For Antichrist must sit in the Temple of God, and that is in the Church, as Chrysoftome and Theophylast interpret it, and God's People could not be commanded to go out of if he had none there. CHAP.

Of the safeness to join to the Roman, being confessed a true Church by her opposites.

UT you concluded hence, that feeing many of the best learned Protestants did grant the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though faulty in some things; and contrarily not only the Romanists, but Puritans, Anabaptists, and Brownists deny the Church of England to be fo, therefore it would be more safe and secure to become a Roman Catholick. &c. This Discourse hath a pretty shew at the first blush, and perhaps was used to you since your coming into Spain, as it was to some there before. At my coming to Venice I fell upon certain Letters and Reports, set forth as it was told me by F. Possevine, and not unlike by his mindfulness, to take all occasions to advance the credit of his Society. Amongst them there is one said to be a true Relation of the manner how M. Pickering Wotton was converted to the Catholick Roman Faith, indited as it is faid, and fubscribed by himself before his death. In which by a certain Father of the Company of Jesus, an Englishman by Nation, the like Discourse was used, as it is said, to him: That he should consider well, that he and other Protestants did not deny that the Catholicks might be faved in their Faith, whereas all the Catholicks that either lived at the present, or ever were, hold it as a most certain Article of Faith, That the Protestants and Y 4 other

other Hereticks cannot be faved out of the Catholick Church; therefore if he should become a Catholick, he should enter into that way which was safe, by the consent of both parts. consideration he saith mov'd him not much then. But after praying to God, as he was also advised by that Father, to direct him into the right way if he were out of it, suddenly he saw a certain Light very clearly before his Eyes in form of a Cross. Whereupon incontinently there was offered unto him such a heap of Reasons and Arguments, by which was skewed that the Catholick Faith is the only way of salvation, and that of the Protestants on the contrary most absurd and abominable, that most evidently be was convinced, without any the least doubt. And these reasons which then offered themselves, to him, were for the most part such as he did not remember that he had ever heard them in all his life. Thereupon with unspeakable joy he called back the Father, told him what had happened, prayed him to hear his Confession, and he examining him upon all the Heads of the Catholick Religion, which he most firmly and entirely believed, heard his Confession, &c. But this Narration deserves little credit. First creating Mr. Wotton for the greater glory of their triumph a Baron; unless the Fathers in Spain, or Possevine in Italy have a faculty to create Barons. Next it is a very improbable thing that Mr. Wotton dying of a Calenture, should have so good a memory, as to indite so exact and artificial a Narration, with such formality, and enforcements in fit places, as any Rea-

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 313 der of understanding must needs perceive, came out of a diligent Forge, and needed more hammering and filing than fo. But that of all others is most Legend-like, that howsoever this motive of yours is used, yet it is not made the effectual inducement, but a heap of reafons in the twinkling of an eye, and causing him not only to believe in the gross, but to be able to give account of all the Heads of the Catholick Religion (that is all the points of controverfy at this day, between the Romanists and the reformed Churches) in a fit of an Ague, in the twinkling of an eye? Excuse me; This is beyond the blind beggar that recovered his fight at S. Albans, that could tell the names of all colours as foon as he saw them. then? Was not Mr. Wotton reconciled? and faw he not a light in form of a cros? Yes: And this your motive was used to him also, and perhaps moved him more than all the heap But shall I tell you here of Reasons besides. what I have heard from the mouth of one that was himself then in Spain, that both could know the truth of this matter, and had no reason to tell me a lie, sith what he said, came freely from himself, without fear, or hope, or almost enquiry. The Gentleman being sick, and weak in his brain, the Father that Pos sevine tells of, brought under his Gown a Pieture, and upon a fudden presented it before him: This might be the light in form of a Cross (perhaps a very Image of Christ crucified) which together with the lightness of his fancy, occasioned that your motive, though itlelf

itself also very light, might carry him: as a little weight is able to sway much, where the beam itself is false. If this be true (as I take the living God to record, I feign nothing, but do relate what hath been told me) as on the one fide I doubt not, but God in his mercy did interpret of the Gentleman's Religion, according to his right judgment and persuasion in his health, and not according to the erroneous apprehensions of his fancy in his sickness (which even in his best health was ever very ftrong in his fleep) as some that have conversed with him have told me: So on the other fide, they shall bear their Judgment whatsoever they were, that would with so cruel a craftinets take advantage of his infirmity, and make his story after a stale to draw on others. As for the heap of Arguments to convince the Protestants Faith to be absurd (that must be by the way the Articles of the Creed) Possevine's Catholick Hyperboles are well enough known in Venice, and he hath been there told to his Head, \* That if in things past, whereof be might have been informed, he proves a most lying Historian, it might more easily fall out, that he should prove a most false and ridiculous Prophet in things to come.

And in truth he hath proved so hitherto. Wherefore, I reckon these garnishments of Mr. Wotton's perversion, to be like the rest of his News touching the Conquest of Moscovia by Demetrius that Impostor, whom he boasteth in a manner to have been the Scholar of

<sup>\*</sup>Auvertimento al P. Ant. Possevino, p. 7. & 14.

The Copies of certain. LETTERS. 315 his Society. Where he tells the World, that the Army cried out often: God and the Prayers of our Fathers (the Jesuites) have subdued the Hearts of our Enemies, and inclined them under our noble Prince Demetrius. That Demetrius turning to the Priests of the Company of Jesus, was beard to say, [Lo that which you foretold me, O Fathers, in the time of that forrowful flight of ours, is now come to pass, to wit, that as the Lord God had afflicted me much, so on the contrary he would much comfort me, and that therefore I (bould not doubt of a full Victory. These Words Possevine stamps in his former Relation in Capital Letters. But when this bold enterprise was overthrown, and this suborned fugitive slain, and shamefully dragged up and down the streets of Mosco, then lo the reports were, That a light was seen over his body in the night time, &c. Let them that walk in darkness follow such lights as these be. We are no Children of the Night, nor of Darkness. Leaving therefore. those unheard of Arguments, which Possevine hath not only cunningly drawn a veil over, that we may not see them, but exempted by privilege of a miracle that we may not try them, this which he hath shewed us, let us bring it a little to the clear day-light.

And even at the first view it is apparent, that this Argument is meerly foreign; not drawn from any thing, à parte rei, as what the true Church is, what it teacheth, or such like, but from opinion and testimony. What Men say of that of Rome, and of the

formed Churches, &c. Now Opinions are no certain grounds of Truth, no not in natural and civil matters, much less in Religion. this Argument at the most is but topical and probable. Let us fee the parts of it. And first that ground: The testimony of our selves and of our contraries is much more sufficient and certain than to justify our selves alone. Surely neither the one nor the other is sufficient, or certain. It is true, that if other proof fail, and we will follow conjectures, he is in probability an honester Man, that others beside him felf fay well of, than he that alone testifieth of himself. And yet according to truth, this latter may be a right honest Man, and dwell, as we fay, by ill neighbours, or where he is not known, or requires not the testimony of other Men: Whereas the other being indeed a knave, is either cunning to conceal it, or hath suborned other like himself to say for him, or dwells by honest Men that judge and fay the best. And in this very kind, our Saviour attributes fo little to testimony, as he pronounces a woe to them \* that all Men speak well of. So in our case it is more probable, I grant, if there were no other Argument to clear it, but Opinion, and most Voices, that you have the true Church, and are in the way of salvation, than we, because we give you a better testimony than you do us, But it is possible we are both deceived in our Opinions, each of other; we through too much charity, and you and others through Kno-

\* Luk. 6. 26.

ignorance or malice. Herein undoubtedly we have the advantage of you and the rest, and do take that course which is more sase and sure to avoid sin, that if we do sail of the truth, yet we be deceived with the error of Love, which, as the Apostle saith, hopeth all things, and is not puffed up. We avoid at the least that gulph of rash judgment, which, methinks, if the case be not too clear, we should all fear, \* With what judgment you judge, you shall be judged. Thou that judgest another,

con demnest thy self.

But that you may a little better confider the weakness of this Discourse, if the testimony of our felves and our contraries were fufficient and certain to make truth, and ever more fafe and secure to follow that side which hath that testimony, it had been better to have become a Jewish Proselyte, in the Apostles times than a Christian: For the Christians acknowledged the Jews to be the people of God, beirs of the promises, and of Christ, and stiled them Brethren, notwithstanding their zeal to the Ceremonies, and Traditions, of their Fathers, excused their ignorance, bare with them, laboured to give them content in all things. Whereas they to the contrary called those that professed Christ, Hereticks and Sectaries, accursed them, drew them out of their Synagogues, scourged them, cast them in Prison, compelled them to blaspheme: As you do now Protestants to abjure, though in other cruelties I confess you go far beyond them. By like reafon

<sup>\*</sup> Matt. 7. 6. Rom. 2. 1.

fon a Pagan in St. Augustine's time, should rather have made himself a Christian among the Donatists, than with the Catholicks. For the Catholicks granted the Donatists Baptism to be true, accounted them Brethren. The Donatists to the contrary renounced their Brotherhood and Baptism both; re-baptized such as sell to their side, used these forms to their Friends, Save thy Soul, become a Christian: \* like to those used by your Reconcilers at this day.

. Lastly consider, if this ground of the testimony of our contraries for our part, and their lack of ours for theirs, be fure; you have juftified the cause of the Protestants in the main question. Which is the better Religion? For whatsoever a Protestant holds, as of Faith, you cannot deny to be good and Catholick, nor any Christian Man else. For he binds "him to his Creed, to the Holy Scriptures; and goes no further: And in these he hath your testimony for him. But he denies many things which you believe, and accounts them foreign, yea repugnant to Faith, as the Pope's Infallibility, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Worshipping of Images, Invocation of Saints. all these you speak only for your selves, in some of these you have not us only, but all other Christians your opposites, to say nothing of the Jews and Turks, whom I might as well chock you withal, as you do the Protestants

Anabaptists. So by this reason our Prois more safe and secure, and questionless

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 319 less is more Catholick than yours. have we in this discourse the Argument only as you see very appliable and favourable to us, but (which I would entreat you by the way to observe) the conclusion it self often granted by moderate and fober Men of your own fide, viz. \* That our course is in fundry things more safe than yours. As in making no Image of God. In trusting only in the merits of Christ. In worshipping none but the Trinity. In directing our Prayers to our Lord Tesus Christ alone. In allowing Ministers to marry. In divers other Points also many of your fide fay the same with the Protestants, and defend us from the imputations which others of you lay upon us, as is shewed in the Catholick Apology, by the reverend Bishop of Chefter.

This to the Proposition. Let us come to the Assumption, where you mince too much the Protestants Opinion touching the Church of Rome, when you make them say, It is peradventure faulty in some things: Nay without peradventure, they say, It is corrupt in Doctrine, superstitious and idolatrous in Resigion, tyrannical in Government, defiled in Manners, from the crown of the head to the soal of the soot no soundness in it, as the Prophet saith of another like it; † yet the vital parts not perished, ready to die, yet not dead. A true Church though neither the Catholiok Church, nor yet a sound Member of the same.

† Isai. 1, 6. D. Raynolds Thef. 4.

<sup>\*</sup> Abulensis, Bellarmine, Faber, Erasmus, Cassander, Hosmeister, Æneas Sylvius.

That also is fasse in the Assumption, that the Puritans deny the Church of England to be a true Church. Unless the Puritans and Brownists be with you all one, which you have made diverse Sects above, and then are you to blame as to multiply names (whereof I have told you) before, so now again to consound them.

What is now the Conclusion? It would be more safe and secure to become a Roman Cathelick. But the Proposition will not infer thus much simply, but only in this respect. For topical arguments (as you know) hold only cateris paribus. We must then inquire if there be no other intrinsical arguments by which it may be discerned, whether cause be the better, whether pretence to the Church and Truth, more just, more evident. Whether it may be warranted to return to Babel, because God hath some people there, when as he commands those that are there to come out of it. How fafe it may be willingly to join with that part of the Church, which is more coraupt in Doctrine and Manners, when we may continue with that which is reformed. points were to have been scanned, eire you concluded and executed as you did.

And such Arguments there want not. Christ our Lord hath given us amongst others, two infallible Notes to know his Church. My Sheep (taith he) hear my Voice: \* And again, By

fooll all Men know that you are my Difi, if you love one another. What shall we stand

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 321 Rand upon conjectural Arguments from that which Men say? We are partial to our selves, malignant to our opposites. Let Christ be heard who be his, who not. And for the hearing of his Voice, O that it might be the issue! But I see you decline it. Therefore I leave it also for the present. That other is that which now I stand upon: the Badge of Christ's Sheep. Not a likelyhood, but a certain token, whereby every Man may know them. By this, saith he, shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Charity one towards another. Thanks be to God: This mark of our Saviour is in us, which you with our Schismaticks, and other enemies As Solomon found the true Mother by her natural affection, that chose rather to yield to her adversary's plea, claiming her Child, than endure it should be cut in pieces; so may it soon be found at this day, whether is the right Mother. Ours that faith, give her the living Child, and kill him not; or yours, that if she may not have it, is content it be killed, rather than want of her will. Alas, faith ours, even of those that leave her, these be my Children, I have born them to Christ in Baptism, I have nourished them as I could with mine own Breasts his Testaments. I would have brought them up to Man's estate, as their free Birth and Parentage deserves. Whether it be their lightness or discontent, or her enticing words and gay shews they leave me, they have found a better Mother. Let them live yet, though in Bondage. I shall have patience; I permit the care

care of them to their Father; I beseech him to keep them that they do none evil; if they make their peace with him, I am satisfied, they have not hurt me at all. Nay but, faith yours, I \* sit alone as Queen and Mistress of Christ's Family; he that hath not me for his Mother, cannot have God for his Father. Mine therefore are these, either born or adopted: And if they will not be mine, they shall be none. So without expecting Christ's Sentence, she cuts in pieces with the Temporal Sword, hangs, burns, draws those that she perceives inclined to leave her, or have left her already. So she kills with the Spiritual Sword, those that subject not to her, yea thousands of Souls that not only have no means fo to do, but many which never so much as have heard whether there be a Pope of Rome or no. Let our Solomon be Judge between them: Yea, judge you (Mr. Waddesworth) more seriously and maturely, not by gueffes, but by the very mark of Christ, which wanting your selves. you have unawares discovered in us, judge I fay without passion, and partiality, according to Christ's Word; which is his Flock, which is his Church.

<sup>\*</sup> Rev. 18. 7.

#### CHAP. VI.

Of Fraud and Corruption in alledging Councils, Fathers and Doctors.

OUR next motive was, That in examining the Questions, especially about the Church, where you laboured to peruse the Original Quotations and Texts of the Councils, Fathers and Doctors, you found, as you say, much fraud committed by the Protestants. This imputation of Fraud is very usual and common to both fides; and verily I believe fome on both fides are faulty. For whether out of human infirmity, mistaking the meaning of Authors, or flips of memory, trust of other Mens Quotations, who tie not themselves to the words, but give the sense they conceive; how easily may testimonies be alledged clean besides the Authors minds? He that hath strongly conceited any thing, findeth it in all that ever he readeth, or falleth upon. much heat in contention, and defire of Victory, blindeth the Judgment, and maketh a Man heedlesly lay hold upon any thing, that he thinks may serve his turn. As we see sometimes in the Writings of the Fathers, which had to deal with ancient Hereticks alledging the Scriptures themselves besides the purpose. Sometimes haste and defire of contracting makes one cut off some words, and explain and press those that make for him; and perhaps leave out fomething material: Presently the other side cries out clipping, forgery,

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gery, falsification, and what not? But although all this may be called fraud in respect of the Reader, who is by this means deceived in his Evidence, and therefore if he be not aware may pronounce amiss, yet is it nothing to that kind, when with an evil Conscience and of set purpose Falsbood is set forth, and Truth out-faced. Wherein I cannot tell what you have found. I could have defired, and do yet If your leifure may serve, you would shew the patticulars. I do profess here to you, that I have feen and even felt with my Fingers such dealing in the Romish Faction, as I cannot resolve whether I should account them more thameful Slanderers, and false Accusers of others, of fraudulent handling; or bold and thameless in the practiting of it themselves. When the Lord of Pleffis his book of the Satrament came out, how was it calumniated in this kind, with falsification? Du Puy in a publick Chartel offered, that of 306 passages in the Preface, he would shew as clear as the Sun at noon day, 183 were fallified, corrupted, and mangled, and the rest of no importance. The Bishop of Eureux, after Cardinal, undertook to shew in the Book it self five hundred enormous falsities by tale, and without hyperbole. The matter was brought to a tryal, before the King of France, and nine places examined of this number. And, as was beforehand promised the Popes Nuncio, the business Should be so carried that the advantage should remain on the part of the Church of Rome, and the Pope receive contentment, and in these very Words\_

The Copies of certain Letters. 325 Words, The lye should rest with the Hereticks. The King's Letters Morney was born down. to the Duke of Espernon of this Victory, were blown over France, fent to Rome, printed with a Discourse thereabout, set forth at Antwerp, and translated into English, with some alteration and Turkeling by F. Parlons, Wherein he faith, A French Jesuit, Fronto discovered in it at last a thousand falsboods for his part. He accused Bishop Jewel, and Mr. Fox, of the like crime; he faith that in two only leaves of his Book, a certain learned Scholar did discover thirty wilful and voluntary corruptions and fallifications that cannot be excused, and himself besides these thirty, noted so many other plain salfhoods and manifest wilful lies, as might well double the former number. And by Arithmetick he multiplies this Number with the Number of the Leaves, the number he saith will rife to thirty thousand, by which John Fox his Book will as much exceed John Seleidan's Story in number of lies (in which were found only eleven thousand) as it doth in bulk and bigness. This manner of writing of these Men, brings to my mind that which Sir Thomas More writes of Tindal's New Testament, wherein he faith, \* Were founden and noted wrong and falsely translated above a thousand Texts by tale. The Language is like, and the cause Men were loth these Books is the same. The substance of them was Ihould be read. fuch as could not be controlled; The next re-Z 3

medy was to forestal the Readers minds with a prejudice of falfification, that so they might not regard them, but cast them out of their Hands of their own accord. The Vulgar fort would be brought out of conceit at the first hearing, with vehement accufation. wife Men would suppose, though there should not be any thing near so many wilful faults, yet furely there must needs be a very great number, and that could not happen but with a very bad meaning; this admitted, who would youchfafe them the reading? And in truth among those that favour the reformed part, I have met with some that out of this buz of falsification in the Lord of Plessis Book, cared not for reading it; whereby may be thought in what account it should be with all those who esteem all F. Parsons Libels to be Oracles. But shortly: Sith neither the Cardinal Perone, nor F. Parsons have had the means, or will, to decypher those hundreds and thousands of falsifications in Sleidan, Bishop Jewel, Mr. Fox, or Pless, in these so many years, as have run fince they wrote; and as for the last, he hath fet forth the Book again, with all the Authorities at large in the Margent, in the Authors own Words, and hath answered all those that bayed at it, till they are silent: What remains but that we count this multiplying of F. Parsons, may be joined with Aquivocation, to make up the art of Falfbood; wherein he and his Faction may justly claim to be the worthiest Professors in the World. But without any multiplication or other Arithmetick,

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 327 rithmetick, in the fifth Page of that Relation of his in the seven first Lines are four notorious, I will not say, lies, or falsifications, but falshoods by tale. The First: That the trial being begun upon the first place, that was found The French Discourse printed at Antfalle. zwerp, Cum privilegio, and approbation of the Visitor of Books, saith: And as to the faid first Article, nothing was judged thereabout by the Said Commissioners, nor pronounced by my said Lord the Chancellor, and the King said that it should be remitted to another time to deliberate thereabout. The Second: He (that is Pless' would have passed to the second, but the Bishop refused so to do, except the Ministers and Protestants there present would first subscribe and testifie that this first place was falsified. He said in the Page before, that Plessis appeared at last with some four or five Ministers on his side. There were no Ministers appeared with him on his side. No Protestants, no creature did subscribe, or was required so to do. The third: Which at length they did. viz. subscribe, this place was falsified. An utter Whereof there is not a Word in the · untruth. faid printed Narration. The fourth: As well in this as in all the rest. There was no fubscription, as I said, at all. The Commissioners were all of the Roman profession, saving Cafaubon; and he no Minister. They never pronounced, much less subscribed that any of those places examined were falsified. Of the. first place of &otus they pronounced nothing. Of the second, of Durand, That the opposition

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of Durand was alledged for the resolution. And this they would have remitted also as the former to another time, save that the Bishop inlifted, faying, it was in vain to dispute if they would not judge; Addressing his Speech divers times to the King, to the intent he should signific his pleasure to the Commissioners; and then his Majesty drawing near to them, they gave their Opinions upon that Article as before. This was that which F. Parfons stumbled at when he wrote, The Ministers and Protestants there present subscribed and testified, that it was fallified, and so all the rest, For being overjoyed with this News which he did not well understand (to think the charitablest of him) he thought the Commissioners had been part at least Protestants, and Ministers: And had subscribed, whereas they pronounced their Sentence viva voce, by the Mouth of the Chancellor, never using the term falsification; yea in some of the rest they acquitted the Lord of Plessis, as in the passage of P. Crinitus, though they said Crinitus was deceived, In that of Bernard, that it had been good to distinguish the two passages of S. Bernard out of the same Book with an & cætera. Not to stand now upon that, that in the rest of the places he hath a reasonable and just defence with indifferent Men, for the omissions he was charged with in Chrysostome, Hierome, Bernard, and Theodoret: And in that of Cyril, the King himself said aloud, that both sides had reason. But F. Parsons not having, as it appears, received perfect information

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 329 formation of the particularities of this affair, was so hasty to write according to the partial intelligence he received at Rome, that he faults himself in the same kind, that he imputes to another. And if he should meet with some severe Adversary, that would multiply his falshoods by his leaves and lines, as he dealeth with Mr. Fox, and then extend by proportion his Pamphlet to the bigness of Mr. Fox his Book of Martyrs, he would find, that he provides very ill for himself that is too rigorous and censorious to other Men.

But I leave him, and come to the fidelity of the Popilh Faction, whereof I shall defire you to take a tafte in one of the questions which you name about the Church, even that which is indeed cardo negotii, as you say, the controversie of the Pope's authority. For the establishing whereof: First, the Epistles of the ancient Bisbops of Rome, for the space of about three hundred Tears after Christ are counterfeited. The Barbarous not Latine but lead of the stile, and the likeness of them all one to another, the deep filence of Antiquity concerning them; the Scriptures alledged after Hierom's translation, do convince them of Falfhood, and by whose practice and procurement we cannot doubt, if we ask but as Cassus was wont, cui bono? For at every bout the Authority of the Pope, and the privileges of the Roman See are extolled and magnified.

Next, the Donation of Constantine is a senseless forgery; \* and so blazed by some of the learnedest of the Roman Church. Read it ad-\* Dift 96. c. Constantinus. visedly.

wisedly, either in Gratian, or in the Decrees of Sylvefter, with the Confession, and Legend of Constantine's Baptism, and say out of your own judgment if ever any thing can be more fraudulent, more sottish. And because I have mentioned Gratian, his whole compilation is full of falsification, and corruption of Antiquity: Take an Example or two in the matter we have in hand. || The Milevitane, and after the African Councils under pain of excommunication prohibit Appeals beyond the + Which Canons were made purposely to meet with the usurpations of the Bishops of Rome, of which I have spoken somewhat before. Now in the citing this Canon, Gratian adds this goodly explication; nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverint; thus excepting that abuse which these Councils directly sought to. prohibit. Again, S. Augustine ||| to inform. a Christian Man what Scriptures he should hold for Canonical, bids him follow the Authority of the greater part of the Catholick Church, amongst which are those, que Aposto-'licas sedes habere, & Epistolas accipere meruerunt, which had the honour to have the Apostles sit in them, and to receive Epistles from them. Gratian fits it thus, inter quas (Scripturas ) sane illa sunt quas Apostolica sedes habere, & ab ea alsi meruerunt accipere Epistolas: And accordingly, the title of that Canon is; Inter Canonicas, The Decretal Epifiles are numbred amonst the Canonical Scriptures. True įŲ

<sup>. ||</sup> Council. Milev. s. 72. + Council. Afric. c. 12. \$ c. placuit. qu. 9 6. ||| De Destrina. Chr. l. 2.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 331 it is, that in the end of the next Canon, Gratian adds a good limitation, and worth the remembring, that this must be understood of such Decrees, in which there is nothing found contrary to the Decrees of the Fathers foregoing, nor the Precepts of the Gospel. Belike even in Gratian's time it was not holden impossible, That in the Sanctions and Decretals of Popes, something might be decreed contrary to the Gospel, which may be added to your Judge's Infallibility, which hath been touched before.

But these be old tricks of the Champions of the Bapacy. At this day perhaps it is better: Yes, and that shall ye understand by the words of the Children of the Church of Rome themselves, the Venetians. But first ye are to know, that among certain Propositions set forth in defence of that State, there was one, the fourth in number of eight, That the Authority promised by our Saviour Christ to S. Peter, under the metaphor of the Keys, is merely Spiritual. For confirmation whereof after other proof was faid, That the Authority of the highest Bihop is over Sin and over Souls only; according to the words of that Prayer of the Church about St. Peter—— qui B. Petro animas ligandi atque solvendi Pontificium tradidisti. Catdinal Bellarmine undertook to answer these Propositions, and coming to this place he saith, That peradventure God's providence to take away such deceits, whereby the Author of these Propositions would deceive the simple, with the words of the holy Church mifunderstood, inspir-

ed into the Reformers of the Breviary that they bould take out of that Prayer the word (animas) as anciently it was not there, nor ought to be; because that Prayer was formed out of the Words of the Gospel, Quodcunque ligaveris, & quodeunque solveris. Now mark the Rejoinder that is made to him by Johannes Maralius, who numbering up his errors in the defence of every Proposition, roundly tells him, Erra XIV. perche dice, &c. He errs in the fourteenth place, for that he faith, That those which have taken out of the Breviary the word (animas) were inspired by the Holy Ghost, I know not whether the Holy Ghost be the Author of Discord. This I know well, that one of his Gifts and of his Fruits is Peace. Those which made that Prayer had this intention, to explain the words Quodcunque ligaveris, with the word (animas) by that Text which explaineth them, quorum remiseritis peccata; sins being in the Soul and not in the body, lest any should believe that the Pope were Dominus in temporalibus & spiritualibus, of Goods, of Bedies, and of Souls, and that he might loofe and bind every thing, as it feems the L. Cardinal believeth. And they explained them with the Word animas, by which explication a remedy is put unto all those discords which may arise between the Pope and Princes de meo & tuo. Whereas those which have lately taken it away out of the Breviary, have anew stirred up occasion of discords and contentions. sides that it is a thing known of all Men, that in the Books of the Councils, of the Canons; of ether

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 333 other Doctors, in a word, even in the very Breviaries and Missals there have been and are taken away those things which are in favour of Princes of the Laity, to see if at length there might be established the opinion de illimitata Potestate Pontificis in temporalibus. that compares together the Books printed in the year 30, in 50, and those at this day, as well of the Councils as others, evidently perceives the vintage, that marvel it is, that we post vindemiam, bave found some few Chusters for the defence of our gracious Prince. This is a means if it go on further, to make all writings to lose. their credit, and to ruine the Church of God. Be it spoken by the occasion that the Lord Cardinal hath given me thereof, and for Charity's fake, and for the desire that these writings be no more touched; which be also said with all bumility and reverence.

He errs in the fifteenth place, for that he faith that in the ancient Breviaries there was not the word animas. And I have seen Breviaries written with pen above 200 years ago, and printed above an hundred; in them is the word animas, and if it were not, yet ought it to be put in, to take away the occasions of dis-

cords.

Thus he there: As for the Prayer corrected, or corrupted rather; if you look the old Breviaries, yea even that fet forth by Pius the Fifth, printed by Plantine, with the Privilege of the Pope, and his Catholick Majesty, Anno 77. \* upon the nine and twentieth of June,

June, ye shall find it to run thus. Deus qui B. Petro Apostolo tuo collatis clavibus regni Cælestis animas ligandi atque solvendi Pontiscium tradidisti, concede ut intercessionis ejus auxilio peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur. Per Dominum.— Now in the late correction, Animas is lest out, and we understand the Reason.

In the end of the sameBook there is an Advertisement to the Reader, the beginning whereof I will not stick to set down verbatim; it is this. Because in this defence I have often said, that Authors are made to recant, and that out of their Books many things are taken away sincerely said in favour of the power of Temporal Princes, to establish by these means the Opinion, De suprema authoritate Papæ in temporalibus; I have thought good to advise the Reader, that the quotations by me brought, are taken, ad verbum, out of those Books which are incorrupt, and contain the opinion of the Authors sincerely. And that the more ancient the Copies be, and further from these our times, so much the better they be. And in particular I desire that he be advertised, that the Cap. Novit de judiciis, printed in Rome the year 1575, by Joseph de Angelis, with licence of Superiors, is the text which was followed by the Author of the eight Positions, and by me; which contains sincerely the opinion of Navarrus, and of the Parisians. Which in the Books printed since, is changed in such manner as it is no more the same, but is become the contrary, to wit that of Cajetane, &c. / Tell

The Copies of Certain LETTERS. 335. Tell me, good Mr. Waddesworth, in the fight of God, what is fraud, if this be not? And thus not only the Authors of this Age any way inclining to reformation, as Erasmus, Rhenanus, Cassander, Ferus; but Vives, Faber, Gajetane, Pol. Virgil, Guicciardine, Petrarch, Dante, yea Authors of six or seven hundred years old, are fet to school to learn the Roman Language, and agree with the Trent Faith. For it is not the Authority and Monarchy of the Pope alone that is fought, though that be summa summarum, whereunto all comes at last, but no voice must be heard diffenting from that which he teaches. Therefore it is, that Bertramus Presbyter is appointed by your Spanish Index printed at Madrid, to be wholly abolished. The former had catechized him to fay instead of visibiliter, invifibiliter, with many other pretty explications, as where he faith, the Elements in the Lord's Supper, Secundum creaturarum substantiam, quod prius fuerant, ante consecrationem boc & post consistant, the explication is, secundum externas species Sacramenti. But the surest way was to take him clean away: And so indeed in the Bibliotheca Patrum he is, and that purposely, as Marguerinus de la Bigne confesfeth in his Preface.

The Ancient Fathers are perhaps free. For the Council of Trent appointed, that in the writings of the ancient Catholicks nothing should be changed, save whereby the fraud of Hereticks, a manifest error is crept in. But who shall be the Judge of that? the Inquisitors and Cen-

Censors themselves. For my part, I cannot say that I have spent many hours in the tryal of this point, nor have I had ancient Copies thereto requisite. But I will intreat you to confider with me one example, or rather two or three in one Father, and in the matter that I named, whereby you may guess at the rest. In St. Cyprian's Works imprinted at Rome, by P. Manutius, sent for to Venice by Pius the Fourth, to set forth the Fathers, as himself faith, most perfectly cleansed from all spots, the Epistle of Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea, beginning, Accepimus per Rogatianum, is wholly left out; and Pamelius thinks purposely, and adds, perhaps it had been more wisdom it had been never fet out at all. S. Cyprian was not of that mind, who translated it into Latin, as the stile it self witnesses, and Pamelius also is enforced to confess. The matter is, it is too quick and vehement against Stephanus Bishop of Rome. He saith he is moved with just indignation, at the manifest folly of Ste-phanus, that boasting so much of the place of his Bishoprick, and that he bath the succession of Peter, upon whom the foundations of the Church were set, brings in many other Rocks, &c. He saith he hath stirred up contentions and discords throughout the Churches of the whole World. Bids him not deceive himself, he hath made himself a Schismatick, by separating himself from the Communion of the Ecclesiastical Unity, for while he thinks he can separate all from his Communion, he hath separated himself only from all. He taxes him for calling

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 337 valling S. Cyprian a false Christ, a false Apostle, and a deceitful workman, which being privy to himself that these were his own due, preventingly he objected to another! No marvel if this gear could not pass the Press at Rome.

In S. Cyprian's Epistle, De unitate Ecclesia, these Words, & Primatus Petro datur, &c. and after, Unam Cathedram constituit: and again, Et Cathedra una, are foifted into the Text in that Roman Edition. In that of Pamelius also besides these, another clause is added, forfooth, out of Gratian, and a Copy of the Cambron Abby Qui Cathedram Petri super quam fundata est Ecclesia deserit. These patches being all left out, the sense is nevertheless compleat and perfect: And for the last, which speaks most for the Pope's Chair, the Supervisors themselves of the Canon Law, by the Commandment, of Gregory the Thirteenth, acknowledge, that in eight Copies of Cyprian entire, in the Vatican Library this Sentence is not found: But besides these there is one wherein his opuscula alone are contained, and another at S. Saviours in Bologna, in which it is found. But what account they make of it appears by this, that supplying the whole sentence in another place of Gratian, they leave it out. Wherein as their Conscience is to be commended, and Manutius his modesty, or theirs who surveyed that Edition, that would not follow one Copy against eight; so is Pamelius's boldness to be corrected, that out of one, and that not fully agreeing with Gratian,

on, neither shames not (as himself says, veriti non sumus) to farce in this reading into the Text, against all the rest Printed and Manufeript, which he used above twenty in number, as he fets them down in a Catalogue in the beginning of his Edition. It is now little more than two hundred years ago, that Frier Thomas of Walden wrote against Witcleff. He in the second Book of his first Tome, the first Article, and second Chapter, eites this very place of Cyprian, and cites it to fortify Witcleff's affertion of his own mind. For having recited Witcleff's words, he concludes them thus; Hac ibi, and then proceeds: Addamus Unos quod Cyprianus dicit, omnes Apostolos pares fuisse & potestate & bonore. Addamus quod Hieronymus dicit, super omnes Apostolos ex aquo fortitudo solidatur Ecclesia, &c. Yet neither in that Chapter, nor in that whole difcourse doth he once mention these words, now conveyed into Cyprian, nor any where else that I can find in all his Work, though he cite this Tractate often under the name of Liber contra Hereticos & Schismaticos. How fit had it been to answer the objection out of Cyprian by Cyprian, if he had not found that Gratian after his manner had been too bold or negligent in this passage. The same Author in his third Tome De Sacramentalibus, Doct. 10. cites a long place out of this same Treatise beginning at those words, An esse sibi cum Christo videtur qui adversum Sacerdotem Christi facit, Cc. Again Cap. 81. two places; one immettely before the Sentences charged with those former

The Copies of certain LETTER 6. 339 former words, another after. The one beginning, Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico quia tu es Petrus, &c. The other, Unitatem tenere sirmiter & vendicare debemas, &c. Certainly unless Waldensis meant by faintpleading to betray the cause he undertook, he would never have omitted so pregnant passages as these be, for Peter's Primary, and the Pope's Chair, had they been extant in Cyprian's work. when he wrote. But we cannot doubt of his good affection to the See of Rome, either for his order's fake, or his dedicating that work to Pope Martin the Fifth, or his, approbation of the two first Tomes, which he faith, be caused to be seen and examined, per selennes viros, and testifieth of to be commended of all, encouraging him to write the third. It remains therefore that Cyprian hath receiyed this garnishment since Walden's time. And here with this occasion of his filence about those things which are thrust into Cyprian, I will, though besides my purpose, use his Testimony about a certain sentence of the Author of the imperfect work upon Matthew, ascribed to St. Chryfastome, which the Romish faction will needs raze out. It is in the eleventh Homily. about the middle. The words are these, Si enim vala lanttificata ad privatos ulus transferre peccatum est & periculum, sicut docet Balthafar qui bibens in calicibus sacris, de regno depositus est & de vita. Si ergo bæc vasa ad privatos usus transferre sic periculum est sin quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed myster rium corporis ejus confinetur quanto magis wasa. Aa 2

vasa corporis nostri, que sibi Deus ad habitaculum praparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in iis que vult. In this Sentence the words that I have enclosed from the rest are inserted, saith Bellarmine, by some Scholar of Berengarius,\* for they are not in all Copies. No marvel. That is more mar-vel that they are in any, fince the Canonizing of Transubstantiation. But in Walden's time, and before, the words were thus read; for in his third Tome, Cap. 30. they are thus cited; fave that by the error of the print ministerium is put for mysterium, and he adds there, Hanc tanti viri sententiam cum magistrum suum Witcleff vident libro de sermone Domini in monte Cap. 37. assumere tanquam sacram, qualiter prædones Lollardi audent, &c. But saith Bellarmine, These words make not to the matter in hand, for the Author of the Homily spoke of the holy vessels of Solomon's Temple, which Balthasar prophaned; and in those vessels, neither was the Lord's true Body, nor yet the mystery thereof. Well, if they be not to the purpose, if they speak of the vessels of Solomon's Temple, let them stand in the Text still What need ye purge them out of the newer editions at Antwerp, and Paris? Belike Father John Matthews saw surther into this matter than Bellarmine, for he casts out this sentence with the dregs of the Arians, although there be no Arianism in it that I can perceive. The truth is, the Author speaks of the vessels used in the Lord's Supper in his own time. For

.. \* De Sacram. Euch. l. 2. c.32....

The Copies of certain Letters. 341 those words, surt docet Balthasar, &c. are brought in by the way, for a confirmation from a like example, the sense hanging in the mean while, which is resumed again when he goes on, Si ergo hac vasa, as any indifferent Reader may perceive. Yea, take away these words, and the sinews of the sentence are cut, for the force of the argument lies in the comparison of the prophaning of the holy vessels, and of our bodies: That is a sin, yet Christ's body is not contained in them, but the mystery thereof: but God himself dwells in these.

These Examples, to omit some other, do make me think, that howseever the corrupting of the texts of the Fathers, is not now perhaps so usual, as of other Writers, and good reason why, they know that many look parrowly to their fingers, neither is there any place almost, that is of special pith, that liath not been observed and urged in the handling of the controversies of this age, by some or other; yet where there is any colour of differing Copies, or any advantage to be taken that way, it is not flipped. And who knows not, that sometimes the change of a letter, yea, of a point or accent, maketh the whole sentence of another meaning? As for example, that of \* S. Augustine, Qui fecit te sine te, non justisicat te sine te. Read it interrogatively, and it is as strong for Soto and the Dominicans, as if it be read affertively, for Catharine and the · Fesuits.

And in very deed when I consider the eagerness of these men, to win their purposes, and
The verbis Domini, serm 15 c. 11. A a 3 their

their fearful boldness with the holy Word of God, I know not how a Man should look for conscience or respect at their hands in the writings of Men. For to omit that the Trent Fathers have canonized the Vulgar Latin Edition, which fo many times departeth from the original inspired by the Holy Ghost, adding, detracting, changing, often to a diverse, sometimes to a contrary sense. To let pass also how Sixtus V. and Clemens VIII. do tyrannize over and delude the Faith of their followers, about that Edition, binding them unto two diverse Copies, and sometimes flat contradictory; and so, as the form of each must be inviolably observed, without the least particle of the text added, changed, or detracted. The former derogating all faith and authority from what sever Bibles hand-written, or printed, of the Vulgar Edition, which did not agree with that which he set forth ad verbum & ad lite-The latter, telling, that when the same Pope endeavoured to fet it out, he perceived not a few things to have crept into the holy Bible. through the fault of the Press, and that it needed a second care; whereupon he decreed to bring the whole work again to the Anvil, had he not been prevented by death; so derogating all Faith from the former. Whereas the truth is, Sixtus did not only endeavour to fet out his Bible, but prefixed his Bull before it ad perpetuam rei memoriam, and sent one of the Copies to the State of Venice (as I heard at my being there) howfoever fince it was cunningly recovered again, fet it to fale publickly, and faith

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 347 faith in his Bull, that he corrected the faults of the Press with his own hand, and (which most of all convinceth Pope Clemens's Preface of falshood) the difference of these Editions is not in fault of the Prints, but in that the one follows the old erroneous reading, the latter the reading of other manuscripts according with the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, or the Latin edition of the Catholick King's Bible, observed by the industry of the Divines of Lovaine. But to forbear to urge this contradiction in the very foundation of belief, which some Man peradventure would press so far, as to infer, that the Romanists have no faith (for he that believes contradictories, believes nothing). shall we say of that impiety, to corrupt the original text according to the vulgar Latin? See an example hereof in the first promise of the Gospel, Gen. 3. where the Serpent is threatned, that the feed of the Woman shall crush his head. The vulgar edition leaving here the Hebrew, the Seventy, and S. Hierome himself, as appears by his questions upon Genesis, translates Ipla, she shall bruise thy head. So it stands now in the authentical Scripture of the Church of Rome, and herein Sixtus and Clemens are of accord. The Divines of Lovain observe, that two Manuscript Copies have Ipse. That the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek, have it so like-Why then did not either Sixtus or Clemens, or they themselves having Copies for it, correct it, and make it so in the authentical text? I will tell you by colour of this corruption, the Devil envying Christ's glory, like an ob-

Aintate

finate enemy rather yielding himself to any than his true Conqueror, hath given this honour to the Virgin Mary. To her it is attributed in that work which I think to be the most ungodly and blasphemous that ever saw the Sun, The Lady's Platter, wherein that which is spoken of God by the Spirit of God, is wreathed to her. In the 51 Pfalm, Quid gloriaris in malitia, ô maligne serpens, &c. Why boallest then in malice, o thou malignant ferpent and infernal Dragon? Submit thy bead to the Roman, by whose valour they shalt be drowned in the deep. Grulb him of Lady, with the foct of thy valour, arife and scatter his malice, &c. And in the 52, speaking to the same serpent. Noli extelli, &c. Be not lifted up for the fall of the IVoman, for a Woman (balicrush thy head, &c. So that in that Anthem; Hag est mulier virtutis que contrivit caput serpentis. Yea which I write with grief and shame to her doth good Bernard apply it, Hom. 2. luter Misses, and which is more strange, expounds it, not of her bearing our Saviour, but It a proculaubio, &c. She doubtless crushed that poijonful head, which brought to naught all manner of suggestion of that wicked one, both of temptation of the flesh, and of pride of mind. To her doth the learned and devout Chancellor of Paris apply it. \* Has pestes universas dicimus membra serpentis antiqui, cujus caput ipla virgo contrivit. And what marvel in thole times, when the plain text of the Scripture ran so in the seminine gender, of a Woman, and few or none had any skill of the Greek or \* Som de Nativitate Mar, l'irgini:

The Copies of certain LETTER'S. 345 Hebrew? Who should that SHE be, but she that is bleffed among Women? Now although that thanks be to God, it is known that this is a corrupt place, out of the Fountains, yea out of the Rivers also, the testimonies of the Fathers, referring this to Christ, as Irenaus, Justine, Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hierome, yea Pope Lee himself, yet because no error of the Church of Rome may be acknowledged, how palpable soever; they have cast how to shadow this corruption, and fet some colour upon it, that howsoever this reading cannot be true, yet it may be made like to truth. Lo, in the Interlinear Bible fet forth by the authority of King Philip, the Father of his Majesty that now reigns with you, \* the Hebrew Text is reformed according to the Latin IPSA. There was some opportunity hereunto, by reason that the letters of the text without pricks would bear both readings. For הוא may be read הוא bu, or אות biu. And this felf same word for the letters the base of reading, is so pointed in this Chapter, verf, 19. and applied to Ene She is the Mother of all living. And so elsewhere, as Gen. 28. 1. and 21, Hereunto perhaps was added, that the pricks are a late invention of the Rabbines, as many think, and no part of the Hebrew text. And that not only Leo Castro, and such as accuse the prefent Hebrew Copies as falsified, but those that defend them also, do many of them confess. Hereupon it was refolved, as it feems, to point this place win bin. For it was not by mistaking, but purposely done, Franciscus Lucas in his \* See D. Reynolds. Conf. with Hart. c, 6, 5 2,

Annotations upon the place doth affure us ; and faith it was Guido Fabricius his deed. And indeed other things there be in that work, which favour not of the learning and integrity of Arius Montanus, as for example, the Etymology of Missa from the word non But as Boldness is not always as provident, as Ignorance or Malice is bold, these Correctors marked not, that the gender of the Verb, and the affix of the Noun following, are both Mascu-So although the Orthography would be framed to confent, yet the Syntax doth cry out against this Sacrilege. And yet our Rhemists, as I am informed, in their lately let-forth Bible, with a long note upon this place, defend the applying of this text to the Bleffed Virgin, and the old reading Ipfa. What should a Man say? Necessity makes Men desperate, and as the Apostle saith, \* Evil men and deceivers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived.

These be frauds indeed, in the strictest fense, wilfully corrupting the texts of good Authors, wilfully maintaining them so corrupted; not abstaining from the holy Scriptures themselves. For as to that other kind, depraying the sense, retaining the words; it were endless to cite examples. Bellarmine alone, as I believe, passeth any two Protestants that ever set pen to paper, perhaps all of them put together.

<sup>💌 2.</sup> Tim. 3, 13.

#### CHAP. VII.

Of the Armies of evident Witnesses for the Romanists.

Here you add, That you found the Catholicks had far greater and better Armies of evident Witnesses than the Protes tants, it might perhaps feem so to you, as your mind was prepared, when you had met with such cunning Muster-Masters as the Romanists are: Who fometimes bring into the Field to make their number seem more, after the old stratagem of War, a fort of Pages and Lackies, unworthy to hold any rank in the Host of God, under the names of the Fathers. Sometimes to confirm their part, give out a Voice confidently, that all the Forces which they see aloof in the Field are on their side. whereas when it comes to the Battle, they shall find that they will turn their Arms against them. Sometimes they change the Quarrel it self: in which case how easy is it to bring Armies, as you tay, into the Field, to fight against No-body and evident Witnesses, to prove that which no Man denies? For the purpose, that the Bilhop of Rome hath had a primacy of Honour and Authority; when as the question is about a Monarchy, and infallible Judgment, an uncontroulable Jurisdiction. Herein if you please, see how Bellarmine alledges the Fathers, Greek and Latin, in the 15 and 16 Chapters of his First Book, de summo Pontifice. So for proof of the verity of Christ's Body

dy and Blood in the Lord's Supper, he spends a whole Book only in citing the Testimonies of the Fathers. To what purpole? When the question is not of the truth of the Presence. but of the manner; whether it be to the Teeth and Belly, or Soul and Faith of the Receiver. Sometimes they will bear down the unexpert Soldier their Reader, that he fees the Fathers fight for them; as Pighius and Bellarmine come in often with their Vides in the end and application of a Testimony. Whereby it comes to pass that the Scholar, if he be of a pliable disposition, or loth to be counted dim-fighted, yields himself to his Teacher, and sees in the Fathers that which they never dreamed of. But furely, Sir, had you given that honour to the holy Scriptures, which of the Jews was given to them, and our Lord Jesus Christ allows it in them; and then employed as much travel in the fearching and looking into them, as you profess to have done in the perusing the Councils and Fathers, perhaps God had opened your Eyes, as those of Elisba his Servant, to have feen, that there are more on our side than against us, Horses indeed and Chariots of Fire, able to put to flight and scatter never fo great Armies of human Authorities and Opinions. But this place of the Scriptures hath no place amongst all your Motives.

As touching that which you say of the Centurists often censuring and rejecting the plain testimonies of the Ancients. It is true, that in the title De Doctrina, they note apart, The singular and incommodious Opinious, the Stub-

ble

The Copies of certain LETTERS: 348 ble and Errors of the Doctors. Wherein to tell you my fancy, if they commit any fault, it is. That they are too rigid and strick referring into this Catalogue, every improper and excessive Speech, which being severed from the rest of the discourse, may often seem abfurd: As it may also seem strange that our Saviour should teach a Man to bate his Father and Mother, or pull out his Eyes, or give him his Cloak that hath bereaved him of his Coat. Whereas these and the like have in the place where they stand, admirable force and grace, being taken with an equal and commodious interpretation. But it is as clear as the Noon day, that fundry fuch errors and fingular Opinions there be in the Fathers, as cannot be jus-They speak not always to your own minds, not only prima facie, and in sound of Words, but being never fo well examined and falved. Witness Sixtus Senensis in the fifth and fixth Books of his Bibliotheca. Witness Pamelius Medina (though blamed for confesfing so much by Bellarmine;) yea witness Bellarmine himself. Wherefore if the bare Authority of the Fathers must bind us, undergo the same Law ye give; if, as your Belgick Index confesseth, you bear in them with many errors, extenuate them, excuse them, by devising some shift, often deny them, and give them a commodious sense, when they are opposed in Disputations, give the liberty ye take. (as we think) these be base courses and unbeseeming the ingenuity of true Christian minds. acknowledge this honour as proper to the

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Scriptures, to be without controverfy received, examine by the true touchstone of Divine Authority all human Writings, how holy soever their Authors have been. Try all things, as the Apostle commands, hold fast that which is good.

Your instance in Daneus his Commentaries. Super D. Aug. Enchiridion ad Laurentium, was not all the best chosen. For neither doth St. Augustine in that Book treating professedly of Purgatory, avouch it plainly, or yet obscurely. Nor doth Danaus reject his Opinion with those Words, Hic est navus Augustini, or the The Heads of S. Augustine's Discourse are these. I. That whereas some thought that fuch as are baptized and hold the Faith of Christ, though they live and die never so wickedly, shall be saved, and punished with a long but not eternal fire, he thinks them to be deceiwed, out of a certain human pity; for this Opinion is flatly contrary to other Scriptures. II. He interprets the place of S. Paul, touching the trying of every Man's Work by fire, of the fire of tribulation, through which as well he that builds Gold and Silver, that is, minds the things of God, as he that builds Hay and Stubble, that is, too much minds the things of this life, must pass. III. He saith, that it is not incredible, that some such thing is done after this life also; and whether it be so or not, may be enquired of. IV. But whether it be found or no, that fome faithful people, according as they have more or less, loved these perishing things, are later or sooner saved; yet not such as of whom it is said, that

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 35% that they shall not possess the Kingdom of God, unless repenting as they ought, they obtain forgiveness; as for the purpose, be fruitful in Alms; which yet will not serve to purchase a licence to commit sin. V. That the daily and lighter sins, without which we are never in this life, are blotted out by the Lord's Prayer. And fo the greater also, if a Man leave them, and forgive others his enemies; which is a worth kind of Alms: But the best of all is a sunner's amending of his life. Lo how plainly S. Augustine avoucheth Purgatory, of which he doubts whether any fuch thing can be found or no: Expounds that Scripture that seems most strong for it, all otherwise, and so as it cannot agree thereunto. If it be found, is fure it will not serve for greater fins. And for lesser defects, yea the greatest, shews another a furer Remedy, which in truth makes Purgatory superfluous. In this Doctrine, Danaus is so far from controling S. Augustine, that he applauds him; and faith, That declaring his own Opinion of Purgatory, he pronounceth plainly, that the whole defining of this matter is uncertain, doubtful and rash; which since that Augustine wrote being now an old Man, certainly it cannot be doubted but that he did altogether reject Purgatory: Yea and he shews this fire it self to be unprofitable. Thus Daneus there. But the censure that was in your mind, I believe, is that upon another passage of S. Augustine in the same Book, where he treats, whether the Souls of the Dead are eased by the Piety of their Friends that are living.

And thus he determines it. That when the Sacrifices either of the Altar, or of whatsoever Alms are offered for all such as are deceased after Baptism, for such as are very good folk, they are thanksgivings; for such as are not very evil, they are Propitiations: For those that are very evil, though they be no helps to the Dead, yet they are Consolations, such as they be, to the Living. And to such as they are profitable unto, it is either that they may have full semission, or that their very damnation may be more tolerable. Upon this Chapter thus faith Daneus. Hoc totum caput continet anuessoyiar Augustini, and after he adds, Itaque his tænum & stipulam ædificat vir pius & magnus. But you, ye fay, had rather follow S. Augustine's Opinion than his Censure. Perhaps, as one faith, rather err with Plato, than hold the truth with others. If that be your resolution, what should we use any more words? Believe then if you please, that the Commemoration of Christ's Sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, or the oblations of the faithful, are to be made for all that decease after Baptism, the attempting of whatfoever fin they die, yea suppose in final impenitence of any deadly crime. That such as be damned may thereby have their damnation made more tolerable. Believe that without any impropriety of Speech, the same form of Words may be a thanksgiving for one, and an appeafing of God's wrath for another. Believe also (if you can believe what you will) that S. Tecla delivered the Soul of Falconilla out of Hell, and S. Gregory the Soul

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 353 Soul of Trajan, and that as may feem faying Mass for him, sith he was forbidden thence forth to offer any Host for any wicked Man. Believe that Macarius continually praying for the Dead, and very defirous to know whether his Prayers did them any good, had anfwer by miracle from the scull of a dead Many an Idolater, that by chance was tumbled in the way. O Macarius, when thou offerest Prayers for the Dead, we feel some ease for the time. Believe that on Easter Even all the damned Spirits in Hell keep Holy-day, and are free: from their torments. St. Augustine, such is his modesty, will give you leave to believe this, as well as Purgatory; if you please, as he is: not unwilling to give as large scope to other Mens Opinions as may be, so they reverse not the plain and certain grounds of Holy Scrip-1 ture. In all these you may if you please follow Authors also; as S. Damascene, Paladius, Prudentius, Sigebert, and others. But give the same liberty to others that ye take. Compel no Man to follow your Opinion, if he had; rather follow Danaus's reasons. For my self, I would fooner with S. Augustize himself, whose words touching S. Cyprian, Danaus here borrowed, confess this to be, navum candidissimi pectoris coopertum ubere Charitatis, than be bound to justify his conceit touching the commemoration of the Dead in the Lord's Supper. And as he faith of S. Cyprian, so would I add, Ego hujus libri Authoritate non teneor, quia literas Augustini non ut Canonicas habeo, sed eas ex Canonicis considero; & quod in iis divi-. narnn

norma Soffwarem anthoritati congruit cum sende ett, sectio, and non congruit cum pace TETEL Waich words I do the rather economic that they may be Lather's justificerim and against \* F. Parsons, who thinks the hair laid fore to his charge, when he citesver ilenir as Epitte ad Equitem Germ. Anmy Lymin 1521. where he faith, He was tyex an ice dizionan of no Father, though never is ser, if se were not approved by the Judgmens a cour 2 17: ure. Surely this is not to deme and contemn, as he calls it, or as you, to control the Fathers, to account them subject to human infimities, which themselves acknowledge. But the contrary is to beast exercit the True, to keek to fore-judge it with their mittakings, which needs not fo main as require their tellimonies.

I will serbear to multiply words about that, whether the telementes of Antiquity which factor the Protestats be many or few: whether they do mixed in, or only seem, prima facine; whether they be wrested, or to the purpose; whether all this may not by juster reason be assumed of the passages cited by the Romanists out of Antiquity, setting aside matters of ceremony and government (which your selfconsels by and by may be divers, without impeaching unity in Faith) and opinions, ever to be subjected to the trial of Scriptures, by their own free consent and desire. Judge by an instance or two, that this matter may not be a meer skirmish of generalities. Tertullian in

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 355 his latter times, whether as S. Hierome writes through the envy and reproach of the Roman Clergy, or out of the too much admiring chaffity and fasting, became a Montanist, and wrote a Book de Pudicitia, blaming the reconciling of Adulterers and Fornicators. the very entrance almost thereof, he hath these words. Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, & quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scil. Maximus Episcopus Episcoporum dicit, Ego & mæchiæ & fornicationis delicta pænitentia functis dimitto. Pamelius in his note upon this place, writes thus, Bene habet, & annotatu dignum guod etiam jam in hæresi constitutus, & adversus Ecclesiam scribens, Pontificem Romanum Episcopum Episcoporum nuncupet; & infra Cap. 13. bonum pastorem, & benedictum Papam, & Cap. 21. Apostolicum. Pamelius; and presently lanches forth into the privileges of the Sec of Rome, and brings a number of testimonies for that forgery of Constantine's donation. The like note he hath in the life of Tertullian, where he maketh the Pope thus fet forth the former Edict to have been Zephyrinus's; quem, saith he, Pontisicem Maximum etiam jam hæreticus Episcopum Episcoporum appellat. Baronius also makes no small account of this place, and saith, The title of the Pope is here to be noted. And indeed, prima facie (as you fay) they have reason. But he that shall well examine the whole web of Tertullian's discourse, shall find that he speaks by a most bitter and scornful Irony, as Elias doth of Baal, when he faith, B b 2

he faith, he is a God. The word scilicet might have taught them thus much. Yea, the title Pontifex Maximus, which in those days, and almost two Ages after, was a Pagan term, never attributed to a Christian Bishop, first laid down by Gratian the Emperor, as Baronius also notes, in the year of our Lord 383. because it sayoured of Heathenish superstition, though it had been, as a title of Royalty used. by the former Christian Emperors, till that time. This title, I say, might have made them perceive Tertullian's meaning; unless the immoderate defire of exalting the Papacy did fo blind their eyes, that seeing, they saw, and yet perceived not. In the same character, though with more mildness and moderation, is the fame title for the other part of it, used by S. Cyprian, in his Vote in the Council of Carthage. Neque n. quisquam nostrum se esse Episcopum Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem Collegas suos Bellarmine saith, he speaks here of, those Bishops that were in the Council of Carthage; and that the Bishop of Rome is not included in that sentence, who is indeed Bishop of Bishops. What! and doth hetyrannously inforce his Colleagues to obedience also? For it is plain that Cyprian joins these together, the one as the prefumptuous title, the other as the injurious act answering thereto, which he calls plain tyranny. And as plain it is out of Firmilianus's Epistle, which I vouched before, that Stephanus Bishop of Rome, heard ill for his arrogancy and prefuming upon the place of his Bi-

The Copies of certain LETTERS. Bishopriek, Peter's Chair, to sever himself from so many Churches, and break the bond of peace, now with the Churches of the East in Asia, now of the South in Africk. And he was in as ill conceit with Cyprian for his breaking good order, and communicating with Basilides and Martialis justly deprived in Spain; as S. Cyprian was with him, when he stiled him, a false Christ, and a false Apostle. But that holy Martyr was of a more patient and calm spirit, than to be moved with such reproaches; nay, he took occasion, as it should feem, thereby to write of patience. From this mildness it was, that he so closely taxed the presumption of him, that made himself Bishop of Bishops, and by terror (which what it was, Firmilianus's Epistle shews, threatning Excommunication) would compel his Colleagues to his own opinion. None of us, faith he, doth thus. As the Apostle, we preach not our selves; we commend not our selves; we are not as many, that adulterate the Word of God, &c. Bellarmine takes the first kindly. No marvel, faith he, for this is the Bishop of Rome's due. But they go together, he must be content to take both, or leave both.

Such another place there is in S. Augustine, Epist. 86. the words are, Petrus etiam inquit Apostolorum Caput, cæli janitor, & Ecclesiæ fundamentum. Where in the margin the Divines of Lovaine, the overseers of Plantine's edition, set this note, Petrus Ecclesiæ fundamentum. Why might they not? The words ye will say of the Text. But these words of

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the Text be not S. Augustine's, whose Opinion is well enough known, That it is Christ confessed by Peter, that is the foundation of the Church; but they are the words of an indifcreet railer \* of the City of Rome, against whom S. Augustine in all that Epistle most vehemently enveighs. This arrogant Author endeavours so to defend the Roman custom of fasting on the Saturday, as he reproaches all other Churches that used otherwise. And that we may fee with what spirit he was led, he brings the fame Text that is brought in Pope Siricius, and Innocentius's Epistles, against the marriage of Clergymen, qui in carne funt Deo placere non possunt, and many other Scriptures wrested, and far from the purpose; at last comes the Authority of Peter, and his tradition very Pope-like alledged, Peter, he faith, the head of the Apostles, porter of Heaven, and foundation of the Church, having overcome Simon the forcerer, who was a figure of the Devil, not to be overcome but by fasting, thus taught the Romans, whose faith is famous in the whole world. I remit you to S. Augustine's answer to this tradition. This I note, that where your Cenfors do raze out of the margins of former editions, such notes as do express the very opinions of the Ancients, and in their own words, here they can allow and authorize such marginal Notes, as are directly contrary to their meaning, yea which are earnestly oppugned by them, when feem to make for the Authority of the Pope. Good Sir, examine well this dealing, and judge \* Urbici eujusdam.

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Judge if this be not wrefting the Fathers, and applying them clean from their purpose

applying them clean from their purpose. In fine, you found your self, you say, evidently convinced. Perswaded, I believe, rather than convinced. Else if the force and evidence of the Arguments, and not the pliableness of your mind were the cause of your yielding, methinks they should work like effect in others, no less seriously seeking for truth, and setting all worldly respects aside, earnestly minding their own salvation, than your self. Which I well know they do not, neither those which hitherto have been examined, nor those which yet remain to be considered in the reward.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Of the Invisibility of the Church, said to be an evasion of Protestants.

Potestants evasion, as you call it, by the invisibility of their Church. Give me leave here to tell you plainly, you seem to me not to understand the Protestants doctrine in this point. Else ye would have spared all that, The Catholick Church must ever be visible, as a City set on a hill, otherwise how should she teach her children, convert Pagans, dispense Sacraments? All this is yielded with both hands. The Congregations of which the Catholick Church doth consist are visible. But the promise made to this Church, of victory against B b 4

the gates of Hell, the titles, of the house of God, the base and pillar of Truth, (an allusion, as I take it, to the bases and pillars that held up the veil or curtains in the Tabernacle) the Body of Christ, his Dove, his undefiled, are not verified of this Church in the whole visible bulk of it, but in those that are called according to God's purpose, given to Christ, and kept by him to be raised up to life at the last day. This doctrine is Saint Augustine's in many places, which it would be too tedious to fet down at large. In his third book, De doctrina Christiana, among the Rules of Tychonius, there is one which he corrects a little for the terms. De Domini corpore bipartito; which he saith ought not to have been called so, for in truth that is not the Lord's body, which shall not be with him for ever, but he should have said of the Lord's true body and mixt, or true and feigned, or some such thing. Because not only for ever, but even now, hypocrites are not to be (aid to be with him, though they feem to be in bis Church. Consider those resemblances taken out of the holy Scripture, wherein that godly Father is frequent, of chaff and wheat in the Lord's floor, of good and bad fishes in the net, of spots and light in the Moon. Church carnal and spiritual, of the wicked multitudes of the Church, yet not to be accounted in Of the Lilly and the Thorns; the Church. those that are marked which mourn for the sins of God's people, and the rest which perish, which vet bear his Sacraments. Consider the last ter of the book, De Unitate Ecclesia, and

The Copies of certain Letters. 361 and that large Treatife which he hath of that matter, Epist. 48. The place is long, which deserves to be read, for the objection of the Universality of Arianism (like to that of Papism in these last ages) which Saint Augustine arrivers in the fifth book, De Baptismo centra Donatistas cap. 27. That number of the just, who are called according to Gods purpose, of whom it is said, The Lord knoweth who are his, is the inclosed Garden, the sealed fountain the well of living waters, the orchard with Apples, &c. The like he hath. 1. 5. 6. 3. & 23. he concludes, that because such are built upon the Rock, as hear the word of God and do it, and the rest upon the sand: now the Church is built upon the Rock, all therefore that hear the word of God and do it not, are out of question without the Church. In the seventh book, cap. 51. Quibus omnibus consideratis.-Read and mark the whole Chapter. these and many more like places, which I forbear to mention, it appears, that albeit the true Catholick Church is fuch as cannot be hid, yet confidering that it confids of two forts of people, the one, which is the greater part, who do not indeed properly belong to it: the other, the fewer, truly and properly so called, to whom all the glorious things spoken of the Church do agree. \* The face therefore of the mixt Church may be over-run with scandals, as in all times almost. The greatest number may sometime be Idolaters, as in the Kingdom of Israel under Achab. The principalest

De Unitate Eccl. c. 24. Everraț. in Psal. 103. Conc. 1.

cipalest in authority may be false teachers, as the Priests and Prophets in Jeremy's time: the fons of pestilence may sit in Moses Chair. as they did in Christ's time. Yet still the Church is the ground and pillar of truth in the Elect: Ipsa est prædestinata columna & firmamentum veritatis. The Sheep hear not Seducers, Joh. 10. 8. to wit, finally, and in any damnable point. Thus was it before Christ, thus fince, thus in the Church of England, before, yea, and fince it was reformed. Thus in that of Rome it self at this day. There is a distinction of Thomas, of those that be in the Church, which rightly interpreted agrees fully herewith. There are some, De Ecclesia numero tantum, Some, numero & merito. The former are such as have only fidem informem, the latter formatam. Now though the perfons of fuch, as be in the Church be visible. vet the Faith and Charity of Men we fee not, and to argue from the Privileges of the Church, numero & merito, to the Church. mero tantum, is a perpetual, but a palpable paralogism of the Romish Faction: which is groffer yet, when they argue to the Church representative; and groffest of all, when one Man is made the Church, and he (as themselves grant may fall out) a Devil incamate.

#### CHAP. IX.

Of lack of Uniformity in mattters of Faith, in all Ages and Places.

ND this felf same Paralogism you were beguiled with, in the next point of Uniformity and Concord in matters of Faith. The true Church, ye say, ever holds such Uniformity. It is utterly false in the visible and mixt Church, both before Christ and since. It is false in the Church of Rame it self; whose new-coined Faith, patched to the Creed, by Pius the Fourth, came in piece-meal out of private Opinions and corrupt usages, nor ever was in any Age uniformly holden, or taught as matter of Faith, even in it, as it is at this day. So by your own Discourse it should be no true Church. And taking matters of Faith, so largely as it seems you do, in opposition to such things as be Ceremonies or of Government; it is untrue also of the Church of the Elect, or properly so called. For though the Faith in the Principles thereof be ever the same, yet many Conclusions of Faith have sometimes lain unsearched out, and like some parts of the World unknown, till by the industry of God's Servants, occasioned also by the importunity and opposition of Hereticks, they were discovered. Sundry common errors also there have been, which in succeeding Ages have been cleared and reformed: As, the Chiliasts: That Angels have Bodies: That Children af-

ter they be baptized are to be communicated:

That Hereticks are to be rebaptized.

To the Assumption. First, The Protestants challenge not to themselves any Church as their own; which I must advertise you of here, because formerly also you do use this Phrase; The Church is Christ's, both the vifible and invisible. Next, taking matters of Faith for foundations, or Articles of Faith necessary to Salvation, the Church of Christ hath in all Ages had Uniform Concord with the Protestants at this day in such matters, as appeareth by the Common Rule of Faith the Creed; and so hath also the Church under the Pope's tyranny, As to the Trent Additions they are foreign to the Faith, as neither Principles nor Conclusions thereof: Neither can your felves shew uniform consent and concord in them (and namely, in the 11 of them) in any one Age, especially as matters of Salpation, as now they are canonized. How much less can ye shew it in all other conclusions of Faith; whereabout there have been among you, as are now among us, and ever will be differences of Opinions, without any prejudice for all that unto the unity of the Faith of the Church, and title to the name of it. As for Witcleff, Has, and the rest, if they have any of them born record to the Truth, and relisted any innovation of corrupt Teachers in their times, even to Blood, they are justly to be termed Martyrs, yea albeit they saw not all corruptions, but in some were themselves carried away with the stream of error, Else, if because they

The Copies of certain Letters. 365 they erred in some things, they be no Martyrs, or because we dissent from them in some things, we are not of the same Church, both you and we must quit all claim to S. Cyprian, Justin Martyr, and many more whom we count our Ancients, and Predecessors, and bereave them also of the honour of Martyrdom, which so long they have enjoyed: You see, I hope, by this time, the weakness of your Argument.

#### CHAP.X.

Of the Original of Reformation in Luther, Calvin; Scotland, England, &c.

N your next Motive taken from the Original of Reformation, before I come to aniwer your Argument shortly couch'd in form, I must endeavour to reform your judgment in fundry points of Story, wherein partly you. are misled and abused by Parsons and others of that Spirit, partly you have mistaken some particulars, and out of a false imagination framed a like discourse. First for Luther, it was not his rancor against the Dominicans that flirred him up against the Pope, but the shameful merchandize of Indulgences, set to fale in Germany, to the advantage of Magdalen, fifter to Pope Lee the Tenth. Believe herein if not Skeidan, yet Guicciardine I. 13. And of all that mention those Affairs, it is acknowledged, that at the first, and for a good

time he shewed all obedience, and reverence to the Pope. The new History of the Council of Trent, written by an Italian, a Subject and part of the Church of Rome, as should appear by the Epistle Dedicatory of the Reverend and Learned Archbishop of Spalato, prefixed to his Majesty, speaketh thus of the matter. Questo diede occasione, &c. This gave occasion to Martin, to pass from Indulgences to the Authority of the Pope, which being by others proclaimed for the highest in the Church, by him was made subject to a General Council lawfully celebrated. Whereof he said that there was need in that instant, and urgent necessity. And as the heat of disputation continued, by how much the more the Pope's power was by others exalted, so much the more was it by him abased, yet so. as Martin contained himself within the terms of speaking modestly of the person of Leo, and saving sometimes his judgment. \* Again, after his departure from the presence of Cardinal Cajetan, at Augusta, he faith, he wrote a Letter to the Cardinal, confessing that he had been too vehement, and excusing himself by the importunity of the Pardoners, and of those that bad written against him, promising to use more modesty in time to come, to satisfy the Pope, and not to speak any more of Indulgences, provided that his adversaries would do the like. was Luther's manner at the first, till the Bull of Pope Leo came out, dated the ninth of November 1518. Wherein he declared the validity of Indulgences, and that he as Peter's Successor.

The Copies of certain Letters. 367. ceffor and Christ's Vicar had power to grans them for the quick and dead; that this is the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Mother and Mistress of all Christians, and ought to be received of all that would be in the Communion of the Church. From this time forward Luther began to change his stile, † And (saith he) as before he had for the most part reserved the Person and Judgment of the Pope, so after this Bull he resolved to resuse it, and therewoon put forth an Appeal to the Council, &c. You see then how submissively Luther at first carried himself. But extream tyranny overcomes often a well prepared patience.

· Touching his causing Rebellion also against the Emperor, ye are mis-informed: His advice was asked about the Association of the Protestants of Smalcald, he said plainly, \* Hecould not fee how it could be lawful, further than for their own defence. Joh. Bodin, in his second Book de Repub. cap. 5. hath these Words. We read also that the Protestant Princes of Almain before they took Arms against the Emperor, demanded of Martin Luther if it. were lawful. He answered freely that it was not lawful, what sever tyranny, or impiety were pretended. He was not believed; so the end thereof was miserable, and drew after it the ruin of great and illustrious Houses of Germany. As for the war in Germany, it began not till after Luther's Death, neither was it a Rebellion of the Protestants; the truth is, they stood for their Lives. The Emperor, with

with the help of the Pope's both Money and Arms, intended to root them out; and altho' at the first the Emperor did not avow his raising Arms against them to be for Religion, yet the Pope in his Jubilee published upon this occasion, did not let to declare to the World, that himself and Cassar had concluded a League to reduce the Hereticks by force of Arms to the obedience of the Church, and therefore all should

pray for the good success of the War.

That Luther ever reviled the Emperor, I did never till now hear or read, and therefore would defire to know what Authors you have for it. Touching other Princes, namely, King Henry the Eighth, I will not defend him, who condemned himself thereof. It is true that he was a Man of a bold and high stomach, and specially fitted thereby through the Providence of God, to work upon the heavy and dull disposition of the Almains, and in so general a Lethargy, as the World then was in, he carried himself (as fell out sometimes) very boisterously. But Arrogancy, Schism, Rebellion, was as far from him, as the intention it self to plant a Charch.

As to his Vow-breaking lastly, if that Vow were soolishly made and sinfully kept, it was justly broken: Perhaps also charitably, if he would by his own example reform such, as lived in Whoredom, and other Uncleanness, and induce them to use the Remedy that God hath appointed for the avoiding of them, to wit, honourable Marriage. All this matter touching Lasther, unless I be deceived, you

The Copies of certain LETTERS, 369 bave taken from Mr. Harding; that at least touching his rancor against the Dominicans. for it is his very Phrase. But Mr. Harding both in this, and many things else discovereth his passion, and lack of true information in this affair. When with one Breath he affirmeth, that, first, it was a Rardon of a Croisade against the Turks which was preached: Whereas it was an Indulgence to those that should put their helping hands for the building of S. Peter's Church at Rome, as the Articles of this Pardon printed in English, one of the Copies whereof I have my felf, do shew. Secondly, next he faith, the preaching hereof was granted to Fryer John Tetzet. It was Fryer John Thecel, or Tecel. Thirdly, he faith, The Elector of Mentz, Albert, granted this to Thecel and the Dominicans, whereby Luther was bereft of the gain he expected. The truth is, it was Aremboldus, a Bishop living at the Court of Rome, whom (having before been a Merchant of Genoa) Magdalen the Pope's Sifter, put in trust with this Merchandize, that appointed the Dominicans to be the Retailers of these Pardons. The Archbishop of Menta had nothing to do with it, otherwise than to allow and suffer it, which occasioned Luther to write to him, as to the Bishop of Branden= burgh, and to Leo himself, to repress the impudence of the Pardoners. And Luther faith further in one place, that the Archbishop undertook to give countenance to this business, with , that condition, that the half of the prey should go to the Pope, and himself might have the other Сe

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other half to pay for his Pall. By thele En rors heaped together it may appear what credit it is like Mr. Harding's Tale be worthy of, touching the tempant, that of rancor and malice against the Dominicans, and because he was bereaved of that sweet Morsel; which in bope he had almost fwilliowed down. Lather made this flir. A hard thing methinks it is, for any that lived at that day to let down what was in Luther's Heart, what were his hopes, his defires, rancor, and spleen; much more for Mr. Harding, most of all for you and me. When the Actions of Men have an appearance of good, Charity would hope the Best, Piety would referve the Judgment of the intention to God. ·

Let us come to Calvin, touching whom I marvel not much that you say nothing of all that which Bolfeck brings against him, who being by his means chased out of Geneva, discovereth as I remember in the very entrance, that he was requested by some of his good Mas-Vers to write against him. I once saw the Book while I lived in Cambridge; it hath no Thew of probability that Calvin would go about to work a miracle to confirm his Doc-Trine, who teacheth that miracles are no fure and sufficient proof of Doctrine. I marvel rather that even in reading Dr. Bancroft, Mr. Hooker, and Saravia, all Opposites to Calvin in the Question of Church-Discipline, and therefore not all the fittest to testify of him or is actions, all late Writers, and Strangers to Estate and Affairs of Geneva: of whom

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The Copies of certain LETTERS. 371 therefore, besides their bare Word, sufficient proof were to be required of what they fay, you not only receive whatfoever they bring, but more than they bring. You fay, they prove what never came in their minds; and which is not only utterly untrue, but even impossible. As that Calvin by his unquietness and ambition revolved the State of Geneva, so unjustly expelling and depriving the Bishop of Geneva, and other Temporal Lords, of their due obedience and antient inheritance. When as the Bishop and Clergy of Geneva, upon the throwing down Images there by popular tumult, departed in an anger, seven years e're ever Calvin fet foot within the Gates of that City. A thing not only clear in Story, by the Writers of that time, and fince, Sleidan, Bodine, Calvin's Episties, and Life, but set down by those whom ye cite. Mr. Hooker in his Preface speaking of Cahvin. He fell at length upon Geneva, which City the Bishop and Clergy thereof, had a little before, as some do affirm, for saken, being of likelihood frighted with the peoples sudden attempt for the Abolishment of Popiso Religion. And a little after, At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day, &c. Dr. Bancroft. The same year that Geneva was assaulted, (viz. by the Duke of Savey, and the Bishop, as he had said before, pag 13.) which was Anno 1536, Mr. Calvin came thither. If Calvin at his coming found the Form of the Government Popular; If he came thither the same year that the Bishop Cc 2 made

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made War upon Geneva to recover his Audi thority, being indeed either affrighted, or having forfaken the Town before, how could Calvin expel him? And in truth Bodine in his second Book, De Repub. Chap. 6. affirmeth, That the same Tear Genoa was established in a State Aristocratical, which was, he saith, Anno 1528. Geneva was changed from a Monarchy Pontifical, into an Estate Popular, governed Aristocratically, although that long before the Town pretended to be free, against the. Earl and against the Bishop, &c. What Saravia hath written touching this point I cannot tell, as not having his Book. But in Beza his answer to him, there is no touch upon. any fuch thing: He joins with his complaint, of the sacrilegious usurping Ecclesiaflical goods, in answer to his Proeme. He diffents in that Saravia accounts the Seniors of the reformed Churches like to that kind which S. Ambrose speaks of, brought in out of wisdom only, to rule. the disorderly. Beza faith, they were not mtraducti, but reducti, Cap. 12. For the rest in all that answer there is nothing of Calvin, or any fuch revolving of the State as you accuse him of. Which makes me think, that herein your memory deceived you. It may be that in your younger time, falling upon these Authors, by occasion of the question of Discipline, which was then much tossed, e'er ever your judgment were ripened, you form-

in your mind a false impression of that h they say of Calvin. You conceited out of your zeal in the cause, to say more

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 373 more than they do, and thus possibly unawares received the feeds of diflike of the doctrine of Calvin, as well as his discipline, which have fince taken root in you. But you shall do well to remember, the difference you put a little before of these two. Christian doctrine is uniform and ever the same; government is changeable in many circumstances, according to the exigence of times and persons. even the same Men that write somewhat eagerly against Mr. Calvin, yet give him the praise of wisdom, to see what for that time and state was necessary. Master Hooker saith of him, That he thinks him incomparably the wifest Man that ever the French Church did enjoy since the hour it enjoyed him: and of his platform of discipline, after he hath laid down the sum of it; This device I see not how the wifest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present state of Geneva did then require. But be it (and for my part I think no less) that herein he was mistaken, to account this to be the true form of Church-policy, by which all other Churches, and at all times ought to be governed; let his error rest with him, year let him answer it unto his Judge; but to accuse him of ambition, and fedition, and that falfly, and from thence to fet that brand upon the Reformation, whereof he was a worthy Instrument, (though not the first either there, or any where else) as if it could not be from God, being so founded; for my part I am afraid you can never be able to answer it, at the same Barr; Cc 3

no, nor even that of your own Conscience, or

of reasonable and equal Men.

For the firs, broils, seditions, and murthers in Scotland, which you impute to Knox and the Geneva-Gospellers, they might be occasioned perhaps by the Reformers there, as the broils which our Lord Jesus Christ saith he came to fet in the World by the Gospel. Possible also, that good Men out of inconsiderate zeal, should do some things rashly: And like enough the multitude which followed them, as being fore-prepared with just hatred of the tyranny of their Prelates, and provoked by the opposition of the adverse Faction, and emboldened by fuccess, ran a great deal further than either wise Men could foresee, or tell how to restrain them. Which was applauded and fomented by some politick Men, who took advantage of those motions to their own ends. And as it happens in natural Bodies, that all ill humours run to the part affected, so in civil, all discontented people when there is any Sorance run to one or other side; and under the shew of common Griefs, pursue their own, Of all which distempers, there is no reason to lay the blame upon the seekers of Reformation, more than upon the Physicians, of such accidents as happen to the corrupted Bodies which they have in cure. The particulars of those affairs are as I believe alike unknown to us both, and fince you name none, I can anfwer to none. For as for the pursuing our King even before his birth, that which his Majesty speaks of some Puritans, is over-boldly

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 375 by you referred to Master Knox and the Mir. nisters, that were Authors of Reformation in Scotland. Briefly, consider and survey your own thoughts, and see if you have not come by these degrees: First, from the inconsiderate courses of some to plant the pretended Discipline in Scotland, to conceive amis of the Doctrine also. Then to draw to the encreating of your ill conceit thereof, what you find reported of any of the Puritans, a Faction no less opposed by his Majesty in Scarland than with us in England. So when we speak of Religion (though that indeed be all one) you divide us into Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Protestants, Brownists, Puritans and Cartwrightists, whensoever any disorder of all this number can be accused, then lo are we all one, and the fault of any Faction is the slander of all, yea of the Gospel it felf, and of Reformation. Judge now up, rightly if this be indifferent dealing.

From Scotland you come to England, where because you could find nothing done by popular tumult, nothing but by the whole State in Parliament, and Clergy in Convocation, you fall upon King Henry's Passions, you will not insist upon them, you say, and yet you do, as long as upon any one member of your induction; though it matters little whether you do or no, since Father Parsons will needs aver that he lived and died of your Religion. Here first you mention, his violent divorcing bimself from his lawful Wise. We will not now debate the Question, How his Brother's

Wife could be his lawful Wife? You must now fay fo. Whatfoever the Scriptures, Councils, almost all Universities of Christendom determined: Yet methinks it should move you that Pope Clement himself had consigned to Cardinal Campegius a Breve formed to sentence for the King, in as ample manner as could be, howfoever upon the fuccess of the Emperor's Affairs in Italy, and his own occasions, he sent a special Messenger to him to burn it. what violence was this that you speak of? the matter was orderly and judiciously by the Archbishop of Canterbury with the affistance of the learnedest of the Clergy according to the ancient Canons of the Church, and Laws of the Realm, heard and determined. indeed is more to be marvelled at, What moved him to fall out with the Pope his Friend, in whose quarrel he had so far engaged himself, as to write against Luther, of whom also he was fo rudely handled as you mention before; having received also for some part of recompence, the title of The Defender of the Faith, having been so chargeably thankful to the Pope for it. All these things considered, it must be faid, this unkindness and slippery dealing of *Clement* with him was from the Lord, that he might have an occasion against the Pope, and that it might appear that it was not human counsel, but Divine Providence, that brought about the banishment of the Pope's Tyranny from among us. riage with the Lady Anne Bullen, her death, and the rest which you mention of the abling

The Copies of certain Letters. 377 or disabling her Issue to inherit the Crown, I' see not what it makes to our purpose. suppression of the Monasteries, was not his sole Act, but of the whole State, with the consent also of the Clergy, and taken out of Cardinal Wolsey his example, yea, founded upon the Pope's Authority granted to him, To diffolve the smaller Houses of Religion, on pretence to defray the charges of his sumptuous Buildings at Oxford and Ip(wich, wherein if it pity) you (as I confess it hath sometimes me) that fuch goodly Buildings are defaced and ruined, we must remember what God did to Shiloh, yea to Jerusalem it self, and his Temple there. And that Oracle, Every tree that beareth not good Fruit, shall be cut down, and cast' into the fire.

You demand, If this Man, King Henry, were a good Head of God's Church? What if I should demand the same touching Alexander the Sixth, Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, or twenty more of the Catalogue of Popes, in respect of whom King Henry might be canonized for a Saint? But there is a Story in Tully's Offices of one Lucatius, that laid a Wager that he was (bonus vir), a good Man; and would be judged by one Fimbria, a Man of Consular Dignity. He, when he understood the case, said, He would never judge that matter, lest either he should diminish the reputation of a Man well esteemed of, or set down that any Man was a good Man; which he accounted to confist in an innumerable fort of Excellen-

lencies and Praises. That which he said of a good Man, with much more reason may I say of a good King, one of whose highest excellencies is to be a good Head of the Church. And therefore it is a question which I will never take upon me to answer, Whether King Hen-Ty were such or no? unless you will beforehand interpret this Word as favourably, as \* Guicciardine doth tell us Men are wont to do in the censuring your heads of the Church. For Popes, he faith, now-a-days are praised for their goodness, when they exceed not the wickedness of other Men. After this description of a good head of the Church, or if ye will that of Cominaus, which faith he, is to be counted a good King, whose virtues exceed his vices. I will not doubt to say King Henry may be enrolled among the number of good Kings. In special, for his executing that highest duty of a good King, the employing his Authority in his Kingdom, to command good things, and forbid evil, not only concerning the civil Estate of Men, but the Religion also of God. Witness his authorizing the Scriptures to te had and read in Churches in our Vulgar Tongue, enjoining the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Ten Commandments to be taught the people in English, abolishing superfluous Holydays, pulling down those juggling Idols, whereby the people were seduced, namely, the Road of Grace, whose Eyes and Lips were moved with Wires, openly shewed at Paul's Cross, and pulled afunder by the people. Above all,

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 379 the abolishing of the Pope's Tyranny, and Merchandise of Indulgences, and such like chaser out of England. Which Acts of his whosoever shall unpartially consider of, may well esteem him a better Head to the Church of England, than any Pope these thousand

years.

In the last place you come to the Hugenots and Gueses of France and Holland. You lay to their charge the raising of Civil Wars, shedding of Blood, occasioning Rebellion, Rapine, Desolations, principally for their new Religion. In the latter part you write, I confess, somewhat refervedly, when you say, occasioning, not causing, and principally, not only and wholly, for Religion. But the Words going before, and the exigence of your Argument require, that your meaning should be, they were the causers of these disorders. You bring to my mind a Story, whether of the same Fimbria that I mention'd before, or another, which having caused Quintus Scavola to be stabled (as Father Paulo was, while I was at Venice) after he understood that he escaped with his Life, brought his Action against him, for not having received the Weapon wholly into his Body. These poor people having endured fuch barbarous cruelties, Massacres and Martyrdoms, as scarce the like can be shewed in all Stories, are now accused by you as the Authors of all they suffered. No, no, Mr. Waddesworth, they be the Laws of the Roman Religion, that are written in Blood. It is the bloody Inquisition, and the perfidious vio-

lating of the Edicts of Pacification, that have fet France and Flanders in combustion. An evident Argument whereof may be, for Flanders, that those Gueses that you mention, were not all Calvinists (as you are misinformed) the chief of them were Roman Catholicks; as namely, Count Egmond, and Horne, who loft their heads for standing, and yet only by Retition, against the new Impositions and the Inquisition, which was sought to be brought in upon those Countries. The which when the Vice-Roy of Naples, \* D. Petro de Toleda would have once brought in there also, the people would by no means abide, but rose up in Arms to the number of fifty thousand, which sedition could not be appealed, but by delivering them of that fear. The like Relistance, tho' more quietly carried hwas made when the fame Inquisition should have been put upon Millaine, sixteen years after. Yet these people were neither Gueses nor Calvinists. great means to alienate the minds of the people of the Low-Countries from the obedience of the Catholick Majesty, hath been the feverity of his Deputies there, one of which leaving the Government after he had in a few years put to death | 18000 persons, it is reported to have been faid, The Country was lost with too much lenity. This Speech Meursins concludes his Belgick History withal. And as for France, the first broils there, were not for Religion, but for preferring the House of

<sup>\*</sup> Ann 15. 47. - † 1563.

The Gopies of certain LETTERS: 384 Guise, and disgracing the Princes of the Blood. True it is that each fide advantaged themselves by the colour of Religion, and under pretence of zeal to the Roman, the Guisians murthered the Protestants (being in the exercise of their Religion assembled together) against the King's Edict, against all Laws and common Humanity, and tell me in good footh, Mr. Waddefeworth, do you approve such barbarous Cruelty? do you allow the Butchery at Paris? Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their fellow Subiccts, or to their Princes at their mere Wills against their own Laws and Edicts? Youwould know, quo jure, the Protestants Wars in France and Holland are justified, First, the Law of Nature, which not only alloweth, but inclineth and enforceth every living thing, to defend it self from violence. Secondly, that of Nations, which permitteth those that are in the protection of others, to whom they owe no more but an honourable acknowledgment. in case they go about to make themselves abfolute Sovereigns, and usurp their Liberty, to resist and stand for the same, And if a lawful Prince (which is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods) shall attempt to despoil them of the same, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion after all humble Remonstrances, they may stand upon their own guard, and being affailed, repel Force with Force, as did the Macchabees under Antiochus. In which case, notwithstanding the

person of the Prince himself, ought always to

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be facred and inviolable, as was Saul's to Dai vid. Lastly, if the inraged Minister of a law-ful Prince will abuse his Authority against the fundamental Laws of the Country, it is no rebellion to desend themselves against Force, reserving still their obedience to their Sovereign inviolate. These are the Rules of which the Protestants that have born Arms in France and Flanders, and the Papists also both there and elsewhere, as in Naples, that have stood for the desence of their Liberties, have served themselves. How truly I esteem it hard for you and me to determine, unless we were more truly acquainted with the Laws and Customs of those Countries, than I for my part am.

For the Low-Countries, the World knows that the Dukes of Burgundy were not Kings or absolute Lords of them, which are holden partly of the Crown of France, and partly of the Empire. And of Holland in particular they were but Earls, and whether that Title carries with it fuch a Sovereignty, as to be able to give new Laws, without their confents, to impose Tributes, to bring in Garisons of Strangers, to build Forts, to assube their Honours and Lives to the dangerous tryal of a new Court, proceeding without form or sigure of Justice, any reasonable Man may well doubt; themselves doutterly deny it.

Yet you say boldly they are Rebels, and ask why we did support them? It seems to some, that his Catholick Majesty doth absolve them in the Treaty of the Truce, An. 1608. of all

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The Copies of certain LETTERS. 381 Imputation of Rebellion. And if they were Rebels, especially for Herely, why did the most Christian King support them? As for Queen Elizabeth, if the were alive, the would answer your question with another. Why did Spain concur in Practice, and promise Aid to that detestable Conspiracy that was plotted apainst her by Pius V. as you may see at large In his Life, written by Girolamo Gatena? It is, you say, an easy matter to pretend Privileges. But it is no hard matter to discern pretended Privileges from true, and Treason from Reason of State, and old corruptions from old Religion. But to take Arms to change the Laws by the whole Estate established, is Treason, whatsoever the cause or colour be: and therefore it was Treason in the Rebels of Lincoinsbire and Yorksbire in King Henry's days, and in the Earls of the North in Queen Elizabeth's, though they pretended their old Religion: And the same must be said of all Assassinates attempted against the Persons of Princes, as Parry's, Somerville's, Squire's, against Queen Elizabeth, and the late Powder-Plot, the eternal Shame of Popery, against King James.

To your Argument therefore in form, admitting that it is no true Church, which is founded and begun in Malice, Disobedience, Passion, Blood, and Rebellion, no, nor yet a true Reformation of a Church (for in truth the Protestants pretend not to have founded any.) The Assumption is denied in every

184 The Copies of certain LETTER ST part of it. And here I must needs say your have not done unwifely to leave out the Church of England, as against which you had no pretence, all things having been carried or derly, and by publick Counsel. But you have wronged those which you name, and either lightly believed, or unjustly furmised your felf, touching Luther, Calvin, Knox, the French and the Hollanders, when you make them' the raisers of Rebellion and shedders of Blood: Whose Blood hath been shed like Water in all parts of those Countries, against all Laws of God and Man, against the Edicts, and publick Faith, till necessity enforced them to stand for their Lives. Yet you presume that all this is evident to the World, whereas it is so false and improbable, yea, in some parts, impessible, as I wonder how your heart could asfure your hand to write it.

Give me here leave to set down, by occafion of this your Motive, that which I profels next to the evidence of those Corruptions which the Court and Faction of Rome maintains, hath long moved my felf. And thus I would enlarge your Proposition. That Monarchy (as now without lisping it calls it self) which was founded, supported, enlarged, and is yet maintained by Pride, Ambition, Rebellion, Treason, murthering of Princes, Wars, dispensing with Perjury, and incestuous Marriages, Spoils and Robbery of Churches and Kingdoms, worldly Policy, Force and Falfhood, Forgery, Lying, and Hypocrify, is not نَ عام الله

The Copies of certain LETTERS, 383 not the Church of Christ, and his Kingdom, but the Tyranny of Antichrift. The Papacy falfly calling it self the Church of Rome is fuch, Ergo. The Affumption shall be proved in every part of it, and in truth is already by the learned and truly noble Lord of Plessis in his Mysterium Iniquitatis, But his Book I suppose you cannot view, and it would require a just volume to shew it, though but shortly. It shall be therefore, if you will, the task of another time. And yet, because I do not love to leave things wholly at random, consider a few Instances in some of these. Pope Boniface III. obtained that proud and ambitious title of Oecumenical, so much detested by S. Gregory. Pope Constantine and Gregory II, revolted Italy from the Greek Emperors Obedience, forbidding to pay Tribute or obey them, Pope Zachary animated Pipine High Steward of France, to depose Chilperick his Lord, and dispensed with the Oaths of his Subjects. Pope Stephen II. most treacherously and unjustly persuaded the same Pipine not to restore the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Emperor, after he had recovered it from Aftulfus King of Lombards, but to give it to him. Pope Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. parted the Prey with the Normans in Galabria, and Apulia, creating them Dukes there of, to hold the \* Emperor of Constantinople's Country in Vasfalage of them. This latter also was the first, as all Historians accord, that ever attempted to depose the Emperor, a-D d gainit

gainst whom he most impiously stirred up his own Children, which most lamentably brought him to his end. Pope Paschal II. would not fuffer (for the full accomplishment of this Tragedy) his Son to bury him. Pope Adrian IV. demanded Homage of the Emperor Frederick. Alexander III. trod on his neck. Celestine III. crowned Henry VI. with his Feet. Innocent IV. stirred up Frederick II. his own Servants to poison him, practised with the Sultan of Agypt to break with him. This is that Innocent, of whose Extortions Matthew Paris relates so much in our Story; whom the learned, zealous, and Holy Bishop of Lincoln, on his Death-bed, proved to be Antichrist, and in a Vision stroke so with his Crosier-staff that he died. Boniface VIII. challenged both Swords, pretended to be superior to the Kingof France in Temporal things also. Clement V. would in the vacancy of the Empire, thatall the Cities and Countries thereof, should be under his disposition, made the Duke of Venice, Dandalus, couch under his Table with a Chain on his neck like a Dog, e'er he would grant peace to the Venetians. This Clement V. commanded the Angels to carry their Souls to Heaven, that should take the Cross to fight for the Holy Land.

What shall I say more? I am weary with writing thus much, and yet in all this, I do not insist upon private and personal Faults, Blasphemies, Perjuries, Necromancies, Murthers, barbarous Cruelties, eyen upon one and other,

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 387 other, alive and dead, nor on Whoredoms, Incests, Sodomies, open Pillages, besides the perpetual Abuse of the Censures of the Church. I infift not upon these, more than you did upon King Henry's Passions. I tell you not of him that called the Gospel a Fable, or another that instituted his Agnus Dei's, to strangle Sin like Christ's Blood. Of him that difpensed with one to marry his own Sister, for the Uncle to marry with the Niece, or a Woman to marry two Brothers, a Man two Sifters by dispensation, is no rare thing at this day.) The Faculty to use Sodomy, the Story of Pope Joan, are almost incredible, and yet they have Authors of better credit than Bolfeck. It may be faid-that John XXII. called a Devil incarnate, that Alexander VI, the Poifoner of his Cardinals, the Adulterer of his Son-in-Law's Bed, inceftuous Defiler of his own Daughter, and Rival in that villany to his Son, finned as Men, which empeacheth not the Credit of their Office. That Paulus «V. Vice-deus takes too much upon him, when he will be *Pope-almighty*, but the Chair is without Error. Wherein, not to infift for the present, but admitting it as true, that wickedness of Mens Persons doth not impeach the Holiness of their Functions, which they have received of God, nor make God's Ordinances, as his Word and Sacraments, of none But tell me for God's love, Master Waddesworth, is it likely that this Monarchy thus fought, thus gotten, thus kept, thus exercised,

ercised is of God? Are these Men, that wholly forfaking the feeding of the Flock of God, dream of nothing now but Crowns and Scepters, serve the Church to no use in the World, unless it be to break the ancient Canons, and oppress with their power, all that shall but utter a free Word against their Ambition and Tyranny; are they, I will not fay with you, good Heads of God's Church, but Members of it, and not rather Limbs of Satan? Consider those Texts: My Kingdom is not of this World, Vos autem non sic. der the Charge which S. Peter gives to his fellow Presbyters, 1 Pet, 5, 2, 3, 4, Now I beseech our Lord deliver his Church from this Tyranny, and bless you from being a Member of fuch a Head.

#### CHAP. XL

Of lack of Succession, Bishops, true Ordination ons, Orders, Priesthood.

Come now to your Motive from Succession: Where I marvel first, that leaving the Succession of Doctrine, which is far more proper and intrinsical to the Church's being, you stand upon that of Persons and Offices. and about them too, immediately pass from that which is of Effence, to the external Formalities in Consecration and Ordination, according to the ancient Councils. Have you forgotten what you faid right now, that matters of Ceremony and Government are changeable? Yea, but in France, Holland, and Germany, they have no Bishops. First, what if I should defend they have? because a Bishop and a Presbyter are all one, as S. Jerom maintains, and proves out of holy Scripture, and the use of Antiquity. Of which Judgment, as Medina confesseth, are fundry of the ancient Fathers, both Greek and Latin; S. Ambrofe, Augustine, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and Theophylact: which point I have largely treated of in another place. against him that undertook Master Alablas ter's Quarrel. Besides, those Churches in Germany have those whom they call Superintendents, and General Superintendents, as out of \* Doctor Bancroft by the testimony of Zan-Dd 3 chius,

chius, and fundry German Divines, you might perceive. Yea, and where these are not, as in Geneva, and the French Churches, yet there ere, saith Zauchius, usually certain chief Men, that do in a manner bear all the sway, as if order it self and necessity led them to this course. And what are these but Bishops indeed, unless we shall wrangle about names, which for reason of state, those Churches were to abstain from. As for that you say Laymen intermedale there with the making of their Miwifters, if you mean the election of them, they have reason; for anciently the people had always a right therein, as S. Cyprian writes to the Churches of Leon and Astorga there in Spain, Plebs ipsa maxime habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recufandi; and in fundry places of Italy this usage doth continue to this day. If ye mean it in Ordination, ye are deceived, and wrong these Churches, as Bellarmine himself will teach you, lib. De Clericis, Cap. 3. For among ft the Latherans and Calvinists also, saith he, which base taken away almost all Ecclesiastical Rites, they only lay on hands, and make Pastors and Ministers, who though they be not Pasters and Bisbops indeed, would be so accounted and called.

In England, you miss first the lesser orders, and say, we are made Ministers per saltum, as if all that are made Priests among you were Psalmists, Sextons, Readers, Exorcists, Torchbeavers, Subdeacons, and Deacons before. Re-

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The Copies of certain LETTERS. 391 member, I pray, what the Master of the Sentences faith of Deaconship and Priesthood, Hos solas primitiva Ecclesia legitur habuisse, & de his solis praceptum Apostoli habemus. He means in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus: Again, Subdiaconos vero & Acolythos procedente tempore Ecclesia sibi constituit. What? and were the Primitive and Apostolick Churches no true Churches? or need we to be ashamed to be like them? Besides, those Councils that you speak of, it should seem were of no great either Antiquity or Authority, when not only Presbyters, without passing through any order, but Bishops, without being so much as baptized, were ordained. As Nectarius of Constantinople, Synesius of Cyrene, Ambrose of Millaine, Constantine II, of Rome it self. This therefore is a very slight Exception.

Your next is well worse, touching the Ordin nation at the Nags-head, where the Confecration of our first Bishops, as you say, was attempted, but not effected. It is certain, you say, and you are sure there was such a matter, although you know, and have seen the Records themselves, that afterward there was a Confecration of Doctor Parker at Lambeth. Alas, Master Waddesworth, if you be resolved to believe Lies, not only against publick Acts, and your own eye-fight, but against all Probability, who can help it? I had well hoped to have found that ingenuity in you, that I might have used your Testimony unto others of that fide, touching the vanity of this Fable, Dd4

ble, as having shewed you the Copy of the Record of Doctor Parker's Confecration, which I had procured to be transcribed out of the Acts, which your felf also at your return from London, told me you saw in a Black Book. Now I perceive by your perplexed Writing, and enterlining in this part of your Letter, you would fain discharge your Conscience, and yet uphold this Lie, perhaps, as loth to offend that fide where you now are: and therefore you have devised this Temper, that the one was attempted, the other effected. But it will not be. For first of all, if that at the Nags-head were but attempted, what is that to the purpose of our Ordinations, which are not derived from it, but from the other, which, as you fay, was effetted at Lambeth? And are you fure there was such a matter? How are you fure? Were you present there in Perfon, or have you heard it of those that were present? Neither of both I suppose: but if it were so, that some body pretending to have been there present, told you so much, how are you fure that he lied not in faying so: much more when you have it but at the third or fourth hand, perhaps the thirtieth or fortieth? But consider a little, is it probable that Men of that fort, in an action of that Importance, and at the beginning of the Queen's Reign, when especially it concerned both them and her to provide, that all things should be done with Reputation, would be so hasty and heedless, as to take a Tayern for a Church? Why

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 393 Why might they not have gone to the next Church as well? They thought to make the old Catholick Bishop drunken. Thus the Wishich and Framyngham Priests were wont to tell the tale. Is it likely that they would not forethink that possible this good old Man would not drink so freely as to be drunken, and if he were, yet would not be in the humour to do as they would have him? who can make any Foundation upon what another would do in his Cups? What a fcom would this be to them? Men are not always so provident in their Actions. True, but such Men are not to be imagined fo fottish, as to attempt so solemn an Action, and joined com--monly with some great Feast, and as you observed well out of the Acts, with the Queen's Mandate for the Action to be done, and hang all upon a drunken fit of an old Man. Befides, how comes it to pass that we could nover understand the names of the old Bishop. or of those whom he should have consecrated, or which confecrated themselves, when he refuled to do it. For so do your Men give it out; howfoever you fay, it was not there effetted. And in all the space of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, wherein so many set themselves against the Reformation by her established, is it possible we should never have heard word. of it, of all the English on that side the Seas, if it had been any other than a flying Tale?

After forty five years, there is found at last

an \* Irisb Jesuit that dares put it in print; to prove by it as now you do, that the Parliamentary Pastors lack holy Orders. relates fundry particulars, and brings his Proofs. For the purpose, this ordainer or consecrater, he saith, was Laudasensis Episcopus homo senex & simplex. His Name? Nay, that ye must pardon him. But of what City or Diocess was he Bishop? For we have none of that title. Here I thought once, that by error it had been put for Landaffensis of Landaff in Wales, save that three times in that Narration it is written Laudasensis; which notwithstanding, I continued to be of the same mind, because . I found Bishop Bonner's name twice alike false written Bomerus. But lo in the Margin a direction to the Book, De Schismate fol. 166, where he faith this matter is touched, and it is directly affirmed, that they performed the Office of Bishops, without any Episcopal Consecration. Again, that great labour was used with an Irish Archbishop in Prison at London to ordain them, but he could by no means be brought thereto. So it seems we must pass out of Wales into Ireland, to find the See of this Bishop or Archbishop. But I believe we may fail from thence to Virginia to feek him; for in *Ireland* we shall not find him. come to those that he should have ordained, what were their names? Candidati, if that will content you, more you get not. Why they might have been remembred as well as the

<sup>\*</sup> Christophorus à Sacrobosco Dubliniensis.

The Copies of certain LETTER'S. 395 the Nays-head, as well as Bonner's name, and his See, and that he was Dean of the Bishops. he means of the Archbishoprick, sede vacante, and that he fent his Chaplain (his name also is unknown) to forbid the Ordination. At least their Sees. To cut the matter short. Quid plura? Scoraus Monachus post Herefordensis pseudo-episcopus cateris, ex cateris, quidam Scoreo manus imponunt: fiuntque sine patre filit, S pater à filiis prosreatur, res seculis omnibus inaudita. Here is at length some certainty; fome truth mingled among, to give the better grace, and to be as it were the Vehiculum of a lie. For John Scory, in King Edward his times. Bishop of Chichester, and after of Hereford, was one of those that ordained Doctor Parker, and preached at his Ordination. But that was the Ordination effected as you call it: We are now in that which was not effected, but attempted only. And here we feek again. who were thele quidams that laid Hands on Scory? We may go look them with Laudasensis the Archbishop of Ireland. Well; hear the proofs. Master Thomas Neale, Hebrew Reader of Oxford, which was present, told thus much to the ancient Confessors, they to F. Halywood. This proof by Tradition, as you know, is of little credit with Protestants, and no marvel: For experience shews that reports fuffer strange alterations in the carriage, even when the Reporters are interested. \* Irenaus relates from the ancient Confessors, which had [ĕen

feen John the Disciple, and the other Apostles of the Lord, and heard it from them, That Christ our Saviour was between forty and fifty years of Age before his Passion. I do not think you are fure it was fo. For my part, I had rather believe Irenaus and those Ancients he mentions, and the Apostles; than Father Habywood and his Confessors, and Master Neale. But possible it is, Mr. Neale said, be was prefent at Matthew Parker's Ordination by John Scory. These Confessors being before impress fed, as you are, with the buz of the Ordination at the Nags-head made up that Tale: and put it upon him for their Author. Perhaps Mr. Neale did efteem John Scory to be no Bishop, and so was scandalized though causelelly, at that action. Perhaps Mr. Neale nover faid any fuch Word at all. To help to make good this matter, he faith, It was after enacted in Parliament, That these Parliamentary Bishops should be holden for lawful. Iooked for something of the Nag's-head Bishops, and the Legend of their Ordination. But the lawfulness that the Parliament provides for, is (according to the Authority the Parliament hath) civil, that is, according to The Parliament nethe Laws of the Land. ver intended to justify any thing as lawful, jure divino, which was not so; as by the Preamble it self of the Statute may appear. which it is faid, \* That divers questions had grown upon the making and consecrating of

The Copies of certain LETTERS, 397 Archbishops and Bishops, within this Realm, whether the same were, and be duly and orderly done according to the Law or not, &c. And shortly to cut off Father Habywood's surmises, the case was this, as may be gathered by the body of the Statute. Whereas in the five and twentieth of Henry the Eighth, an Act was made for the Electing and Confecrating of Bishops within this Realm: And another in the third of Edward the Sixth, For the Ordering and Consecrating of them, and all other Ecclesiastical Ministers, according to such form as by fix Prelates, and fix other learned Men in God's Law, to be appointed by the King, should be devised, and set forth, under the Great Seal of England: Which Form in the fifth of the same King's Reign, was annexed to the Book of Common-Prayer, then explained and perfected; and both confirmed by the Authority of Parliament. All these Acts were 1 Marie, & 1 & 2 Philippi & Marie repealed; together with another Statute of 35 Henry 8. touching the Style of Supreme Head to be used in all Letters Patents and Commissions, &c. These Acts of Repeal in the 1 Elizabeth were again repealed, and the Act of 25 Henry 8 revived specially. That of 3 Edward 6, only concerning the Book of Common Prayer, &c. without any particular mention of the Book or Form of Ordering Ministers and Bishops. Hence grew one doubt, whether Ordinations and Confecrations according to that Form were good in Law or no. Another

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other was, Queen Elizabeth in her Letters Patents touching fuch Confecrations, Ordinations had not used as may seem, besides other general Words importing the highest Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, the title of Supreme Head, as King Henry and King Edward in their like Letters Patents were wont to do: And that notwithstanding the A& of 35 Henry 8. after the repeal of the former repeal might feem, (though never specially) revived. This as I guess was another exception, to those that by vertue of those Patents were confecrated. Whereupon the Parliament declares, First, That the Book of Common Prayer, and such Order and Form for Confecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. as was let forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, and added thereto, and authorized by Parliament, shall stand in force and be obferved. Secondly, That all Acts done by any Person about any Consecration, Confirmation, or investing of any elect to the Office or Dignity of Archbishop or Bishop, by vertue of the Queen's Letters Patents or Commission, since the beginning of her Reign be good. Thirdly, That all that have been Ordered or Consecrated Arobbishops, Bishops, Priests, &c. after the faid Form and Order, be rightly made, ordered, and consecrated, any Statute, Law, Canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. These were the Reasons of that Act; which as you fee doth not make good the Nags-head Ordination as F, Halywood pretends, unless thq

.The Copies of certain LETTERS. 399 the same were according to the Form in Edward the Sixth's days. His next proof is, That Bonner Bishop of London while he lived, always (et light by the Statutes of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, alledging that there rvanted Bishops, without whose consent by the Laws of the Realm there can no firm Statute be made. That Bonner despised and set not a straw by the Acts of Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's time. I hold it not impossible, and yet there is no other proof thereof, but his bare Word, and the ancient Confessors tradition, of which we heard before. Admitting this for certain, there might be other reasons thereof, besides the Ordination at the Nagsbead. The stiffness of that Man was no less in King Edward's time than Queen Elizabeth's. And indeed the want also of Bishops might be the cause, why he little regarded the Acts of her first Parliament. For both much about the time of Queen Mary's death, died also Cardinal Poole, and sundry other Bifhops: And of the rest some for their contemptuous behaviour in denying to perform their duty in the Coronation of the Queen were committed to Prison, others absented themselves willingly. So as it is commonly reported to this day, there was none or very few there. For, as for Doctor Parker and the rest, they were not ordained till December 1550, the Parliament was dissolved in the May before. So not to stand now to refute Bonner's conceit, that according to our Laws there

there could be no Statutes made in Parliament without Bishops (wherein our Parliament Men will rectify his Judgment.) F. Halywood was in this report twice deceived, or would deceive his reader. First, that he would make that exception which Bonner laid against the First Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's time, to be true of all the rest. Then, that he accounts Bishop Bonner to have excepted against this Parliament, because the Bishops there were no Bishops, as not canonically ordained: Where it was, because there was no Bishop true or false there at all. His last proof is. That Doctor Bancroft being demanded of Mr. Alablaster, whence their first Bishops received their Orders? answered, that he boped a Bishop might be ordained of a Presbyter in time of necessity. Silently granting. That they were not ordained by any Bisbop: And therefore, saith he, the Parliamentary Bishops are without Order Episcopal, and their Ministers also na Priests. For Priests are not made but of Bin sbops; whence Hierome, Quid facit, &c. What deth a Bishop, saving Ordination, which a Presbyter doth not? I have not the means to demand of Dr. Alablaster, whether this be true or not. Nor yet whether this be all the answer he had of Dr. Bancroft, That I affirm, that if it were, yet it follows not that Dr. Bancroft filently granted they had no Orders of Bishops. Unless he that in a false Difcourie, where both Propositions be untrue, denies the Major, doth filently grant the Mi-

The Copies of certain LITTERS. 401 nor. Rather he jested at the sutility of this Argument, which admitting all this lying Legend of the Nags-head, and more too; suppose no Ordination by any Bishops had been ever effected, notwithstanding shews no sufficient reason why there might not be a true consecration, and true Ministers made, and consequently a true Church in England. deed necessity dispenses with God's own positive Laws, as our Saviour shews in the Gospel; \* much more then with Man's: And fuch by Hierom's Opinion are the Laws of the Church, touching the difference of Bishops and Presbyters, and consequently touching their Ordination by Bishops only. Whereof I have treated more at large in another place, for the justification of other reformed Churches, albeit the Church of England needs it not. To confirm this Argument, it pleaseth F. Halywood to add, That King Edward the Sixth took away the Catholick Rite of Ordaining, and inflead of it, substituted a few Calvinistical Prayers: Whom Queen Elizabeth followed. &c. And this is in effect the same thing which you say when you add, That Coverdale being made Bishop of Exeter in King Edward's time, when all Councils and Church Canons were little observed, it is very doubtful he was never himself canonically consecrated, and so if he were no canonical Bishop, he could not make another canonical. To F. Halywood I would answer, That King Edward took not away Еe the

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ADT The Copies of certain LETTERS. the Catholick Rite of Ordaining, but purged: it from a number of idle and superstitious Rites prescribed by the Popish Pontifical. And the Prayers which he scoffs at if they were Calvinistical, sure it was by Prophecy, for Calvin never faw them till Queen Mary's time; when by certain of our English Exiles, the Book of Common Prayer was translated and shewed him; if he faw them then. Some of them. as the Litany, and the Hymn Veni Creator, &c. I hope were none of Calvin's devising. To you, if you name what Councils and Church Canons you mean, and make any certain exception, either against Bishop Coverdale, or any of the rest as not Canonical Bishops, I will endeavour to satisfy you. Mean while remember I beseech you, That both Law, and Reason, and Religion should induce you in doubtful things to follow the most favourable sentence, and not rashly out of light furmifes to pronounce against a publick and folemn Ordination, against the Orders conferred fucceffively from it, against a whole Church. Wherein I cannot but commend Doctor Carrier's modesty, whose Words are these. \* I will not determine against the sucession of the Clergy in England, because it is to me very doubtful. And the discretion of 6 Cudsemius the Jesuit, which denies the English Nation to be Hereticks, because they remain in a perpetual succession of Bishops. And tio

<sup>\*</sup> Page 7.

<sup>💲</sup> De desperata Calvini cansa, c. 11.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 403 to take away all doubt from you, that some of these Ordainers were only Bisbops elect, and unconsecrated; besides Miles Coverdale, in King Edward's time Bishop of Exeter, cast in Prison by Queen Mary, and released and fent over Sea to the King of Denmark; know that William Barlow was another; in King Edward's days Bishop of Bath and Wells, in Queen Mary's beyond the Seas in the company of the Dutchess of Suffolk and Mr. Bertie her Husband; at the time of Dr. Parker's Ordination elect of Chichester: A third was John Scory, in King Edward's time Bishop of Chichester, and at the time of the said Ordination Elect of Hereford. A fourth was 70hm Hodgeskin, Suffragan of Bedford. And these four, if they were all ordained according to the Form ratified in King Edward's days, were presented by two Bishops at least to the Archbishop, and of him and them received Impolition of Hands, as in the faid Form is appointed.

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One Scruple yet remains which you have, in That these Men did consecrate Dottor Parker, by vertue of a Breve from the Queen as Head of the Church, who being no true Head, and a Woman, you see not how they could make a true Consecration grounded on her Authority. But to clear you in this also, you must understand the Queen's Mandate served not to give power to ordain (which those Bishops had before intrinsically annexed to their Office) but Leave and Warrant to apply that power

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to the person named in that Mandate. thing, unless I have been deceived by reports, used in other Countries, yea in the Kingdoms. of his Catholick Majesty himself. Sure I am by the Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church, as you may see in the Ecclesiastical Histories, and namely in the Ordination of Nettarius, that I spake of before. Yea, which is more, in the Confectation of the Bishops of Rome, as of Leo the Eighth, whose Decree, with the Synod at Rome, touching this matter, is fet down by Grating, Dift. 63. 6. 23. taken from the example of Hadrian, and another Council, which gave to Charles the Great, Jus & potestatem eligendi Pontificem. & ordinandi Apostolicam Sedem, as you may fee in the Chapter next before. fame Diff. c. 16, & 17, & 18. and you shall find, that when one was chosen Bishon of Reate + within the Pope's own Province, by the Clergy and People, and, fent to him by Guido the Count to be confecrated, the Pope durst not do it till the Emperor's Licence were obtained. Yea, that he writes to the Emperor for Colonus, || That receiving his Licence he might consecrate him either there. or in the Church of Tusculum, which accordingly upon the Emperor's bidding he performed.

Net another Exception you take, to the making our Ministers, That we keep not the right intention. First, because we neither give

<sup>\*</sup> C. Lectis. † C. Reatina.

II C. Nobis.

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 405 nor take Orders as a Sacrament. By that reafon we should have no true Marriages amongst us neither, because we count not Matrimony a Sacrament. This Controversy depends upon the definition of a Sacrament, which if it be put to be a fign of a holy thing, these be both so, and a many more than seven. If a Seal of the New Testument, so are there but those two, which we properly call Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. \* In which last, as to the Intention of sacrificing, surely, if ye allow the Doctrine of the Master of the Sentences, That it is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, which is effered and consecrated by the Priest, because it is a Memory and Representation of the true Sacrifice and holy Immolation made on the Altar of the Cross. And that Christ once dyed on the Gross, and there was offered up in bimself, but is daily offered up in a Sacrament, because in the Sacrament there is a remembrance of that which was once done; which he there confirms by the Authorities of the Fathers, cited by Gratian in the Capon Law. & If this Doctrine, I say, may yet pass for good, and this be the Church's Intention, + we want not this Intention of facrifi-Add to this the Confession of Melchior Canus, who faith, the Lutherans do not wholly deny the Sacrifice, but grant a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, which they call the | Eucharist: Еe

<sup>\*</sup> Lib, 4, dift 12e \$ De Consecrat, dift, 2.

<sup>+</sup> Loc. Theol. lib. 12- c. 12.

f. Eucharisticum.

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they will have none for sin which they call pro-

pitiatory. If he had put hereto, unless it be a Mystery, he had rightly expressed the Opi-

nion of the Protestants.

Thirdly, You object, We want the Matter and Form with which Orders should be given: Namely, for the matter in Priesthood the delivery of the Patina with Bread, the Chalice with Wine: In Deaconship the delivery of the Book of the Gospel &c. which reason the seven first Deacons had no true Ordination, for then there was no Gospel written to be delivered them. Nor those Priests whom the Pope shall make by his sole Word, faying, Efto Sacerdos. Whom notwithstanding sundry famous Canonists hold to be well and lawfully ordained; and Innocentius himself saith, That if these Forms of Ordination were not found out, any other Ordainer might in like manner make Priests, with those Words, or the like: For asm uch as these Forms were in process of time appointed by the Church. And if we lift to feek for these metaphysical Notions of Matter and Form, in Ordination, which at the most can be but by Analogy, how much better might we affign the persons deputed to sacred Functions to be the matter fas those that contract are by your felves made the matter in Matrimony) and the imposing of Hands, with the expressing the Authority and Office given to be the Form? In Dionysus though fairly called the Areopagite, yet an ancient Author,

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 407 you shall find nothing else; nor, which I may

tell you by the way, any other Orders, save

Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

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And to come to that wherein you fay we fail most of all, the substantial Form of Priesthood, tell me ingenuously, good Master Waddesworth, how do you know that our Lord Jesus Christ made his Apostles, or they other Priests with this Form, which hath no mention or footstep in the Gospels, or otherwhere in holy Scripture! Nor fo much as in the Council of Carthage; that from whence the manner of giving other Orders is fetched; nor in Gratian, nor in any other ancient Author that I can find, fave in the Pontifical only. And is the present Pontifical of such Authority with you, as the Form of Priesthood, the substantial Form, can subsist in no other Words than those that be there expressed? To omit the late turkeling whereof, consider what Augustinus Patritius writes in his Preface before that which at Pope Innocent the Eighth his commandment he patched together: That there were scarce two or three Books found that delivered the same thing: Quot libri tot varietates. Ille deficit, hic superabundat, alius nihilomnino de ed re habet, raro aut nunquam conveniunt; sape obscuri, împlicati, S Librariorum vitio plerumque mendosi. And in truth in this your essential Form of Priestbood, the old Pontificals before that which he fet forth, either had other Words at the giv-

ing of the Chalice and Patin as may feem; or wanted both that Form and the Matter also together. The Master of the Sentences declaring the manner of the Ordination of Priests. and the reason why they have the Chalice with Wine, and Patin with Hosts given unto them, saith it is, Ut per bog sciant se accepisse potestatem placabiles Deo hostias offerendi. Huge in like manner, Accipiunt & Calicem cum vino, & Patinam cum Hostia de manu Episcopi, quatenus potestatem se accepisse cognoscant, placabiles Deo Hostias offerendi. Stephanus Eduensis Episcopus, in the same Words: Datur eis Calix cum Vino, & Patina cum Hosția, in quo traditur iis potestas ad offerendum Deo placabiles Hestias. So Johannes Januenfis in his Sum, entitled Catholicon, verbo Presbyter. If you ascend to the higher times of Rabanus, Alcuinus, Isidarus, you shall find that they mention no fuch matter, of delivering Chalice or Patin, or Words used at the delivery; and no marvel, for in the Canons of the fourth Council of Carthage they found none. Dionysius falfly called Areopagita, whom I mentioned before, fetting down the manner of Ordaining in his time. The Priest upon both his knees before the Altar, with the Bishop's right Hand upon his Head is on this manner sanctified by bis Consecrator with holy Invocations. Here is all, fave that he faith, after he hath described that also which pertains unto the Deacon, that every one of them 15

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 409 is figned with the Cross when the Bishap blesseth them, and proclaimed, and saluted by the Consecrator himself, and every one of that sacred Order that is present. The Greek Scholiast very lively shews the meaning and manner of this proclaiming. He faith, The Ordainer pronounceth sy name when he signeth him, Loegyiseras o Sava and πρεσβυτέρε els Επίσκοπον, έκ oromati के जबरहों, में कि धेर में कि बेर्गार कार्या मती कि. opolos में के spec Butépe, n' Sianove. Such a Man is consecrated from being Presbyter to be a Bishop in the name of the Father, &c. and so in the Presbyter and Deacon. Clemens Romanus (if F. Turrian and the rest of the Romish Faction deceive us not, or be not deceived themselves, in attributing to him the eight Books of the Apostolick Constitutions that bear his name) cuts the matter yet more short, and without either erossing or proclaiming, appoints the Bishop to lay his Hands upon him, in the presence of the Presbytery and the Deacons, using a Prayer, which you may see at length in him; for the increase of the Church, and of the number of them that by Word and Work may edify it: For the party eletted unto the Office of Priestbood, that being filled with the operations of Healing and Word of Dottrine, be may instruct God's People with meekness, and serve him sincerely with a pure mind, and willing heart, and perform holy Services without spot for bis people through his Christ, to whom, &c. These last Words which are in the Greek, if tas vitig कर तक ispupyias auduns exlerii Sta के प्रशाह एक. Carolus

lus Bovius Bishop of Ostuna interprets, & Sacrificia pro populo tuo immaculata perficiat. Marvel that he added not, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. Sure if S. Paul, Rom. 15. 16. had not added the Word evaryeriar, he had sacrificed also. This was the ancient and Apostolick manner of Ordination, if the Author be worthy of credit. But that ye may perceive what tampering there hath been to bring Ordinations to the Form which the prefent Pontifical prescribes, consider with me the Words of Amalarius Bishop of Triers in his second Book de Ecclesiast. Officies, where in the Office of the Subdeacon he thus writes. Miror quá de re sumptus usus in Ecclesia, &c. I marvel whence the use was taken in our Church, that very often the Subdeacon should read the Lesson at Mass, since this is not found committed unto him, by the Ministry given him in Consecration, nor by the Canonical Writings, nor by his name. And streight after, Nam primavo tempore; for in ancient time the Deacon read not the Gospel which was not yet written; but after it was enacted by our Fathers, That the Deacons should read the Gospel, they appointed also that the Subdeacon should read the Epistle or Lesson. It appears then that in Amalarius's time, who lived with Charles the Great and Lewis his Son, that ridiculous Form was not in the Pontifical, where the Book of the Epistles is given to the Subdeacons, and power to read them in the

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 411 boly Church of God as well for the Quick as the Dead. The same Author, coming to speak of Deacons, telleth of their confecration by Prayer, and imposition of Hands, and confuteth that in the present Pontifical (which he faith he found in a little Book of Holy Orders) made he knows not by what Author, That the Bishop alone should lay Hands on the Deacon. At last he adds, There is one Miwistry added to the Deacon, viz. to read the Gospel, which he faith, doth well befit him, quia Minister est. But of the delivery of the Book of the Gospels, with Authority to read the Gospel for the Quick and Dead, not one Word. In the next Chapter of Presbyters he expounds their name, and faith further, bunc morem tenent Episcopi nostri. Our Bishops have this fashion, they anoint the Hands of Presbyters with Oil, which Ceremony he declares; touching imposition of Hand upon them, he remits us to that he said before in the Deacon. Then he shews out of Ambrole and Hierom, That thefe are all one Order with Bishops, and ought to govern the Church'in common, like Moses with the seventy Elders: As for delivery of Chalice and Wine, or Patin and Host, with power to sacrifice so well for the quick as the Dead, he makes no mention. Judge you whether these were thought to be the matter and essential form of Priesthood in his time. Yet one Author more will I name in this matter, not only because he is a fa-

a famous Schoolman, and one of Lather's firm Adversaries, and therefore ought to be of more account with that fide, but because he professeth the end of his writing to be, circa Sacramentum ordinis cautos reddere, ne pertis nan quisquam aut levis sit circa modum tradendi aut recipiendi ordines. It is Cardinal Cajetan, in the second Tome of his Opuscula, Tit. De modo tradendi seu recipiendi Ordines. Read the whole, where these things I observe for our present purpose. 1. If all be gatheredtogether which the Pontificals, or which Reafor or Authority bath delivered, the nature of all the rest of the Orders except Priesthood onby, will appear very uncertain. 2. The leffer Orders and Subdeacon ship according to the Mafter of the Sentences, were instituted by the Church. 3. The Deacons instituted by the Apastles, Acts 6. were not Deacons of the Altar, but of the Tables and Widows. 4. In Deaconsbip there seems to be no certain Form; for according to the old Pontificals, the laying of Hands upon the Deacon bath no certain Form of Words, but that Prayer; Emitte quæsumus in eos S. Sanctum: Which according to the new Pontificals is to be said after the imposition of Hands. For the giving of the Book of the Gospels, hath indeed a form of Words, but that impresseth not the Character, for before any Gospel was written, the Apostles ordained Deacons by Imposition of Hands, 5. In the Subdeaconship also there

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 413 is no Pontifical which bath not the matter without Form, viz. the delivery of the empty Chalice, &c. These things with more which he there sets down, He would have to serve to the infruction of the learned touching the uncertainty of this whole matter, to teach Men to be wife to fobriety, that is, every Man to be. content with the accustomed Pontifical of the Church wherein he is ordained. And if ought be emitted of those things which be added out. of the new Pontificals, as for example, That the Book of the Epistles was not given, with those Words [Take Authority to read the Epiftles as well for the Quick as the Dead there is no need of supplying this omission by a new Ordination, for such new additions make no new Law. Learn then of your own Cajetan. that the new additions of delivery of the Chalice with Wine, and Patin with Hosts, and authority to offer sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, make no new Law. Learn to be content with the Pontifical of the Church, wherein you were ordained. Wherein first is verbatim all that which your Pontificals had well taken out of the holy Words of our Saviour, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseris peccata remittuntur eis, &, quorum retinueris retenta sunt. Which methinks you should rather account to contain the effential Form of Priesthood than the former, both because they are Christ's own Words, and joined with that Ceremony of laying

laying on Hands, which anciently denominated this whole Action, and do express the worthieft and principallest part of your Commission, which the Apostle calls the Ministry of Reconciliation, 2 Cot. 5. 18, 19. Then, because this Office is not only deputed to consecrate the Lord's Body, but also to preach and baptize (which in your Pontifical is wholly omitted) in a larger and more convenient Form is added out of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 4. 1. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God and of his holy Sacraments. In the Name of the Father, &c.

As to that you add, That we offer no Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, and therefore well may be called Ministers, as all Laymen are, but are no Priests: I have met with fundry that pull this Rope as strongly the other way, and affirm that because by the very Form of your Ordination you are appointed Sacrificers for the Quick and the Dead, well may ye be Mass-Priests as ye are called, but Ministers of the New Testament, after St. Paul's Phrase, ye are none. For that Office Rands principally in Preaching the Word; whereof in your Ordination there is no Word faid. And as little there is in Scripture of your Sacrifice, which makes Christ not to be a Priest after the Order of Melchisedeck, &c. with much more to this purpose. Where my Defence for your Ministry hath been this That

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 415 That the Form, Receive the Hoby Ghost, whose fins ye remit they are remitted, &c. doth sufficiently comprehend the Authority of preaching the Gospel. Use you the same equity towards us, and tell those hot Spirits among you, that stand so much upon formalities of Words, That to be a Dispenser of the Word of God and his holy Sacraments, is all the duty of Priesthod. And to you I add further, that if you consider well the Words of the Master of the Sentences which I vouched before, how that which is consecrated of the Priest is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, because it is a Memorial and Representation of the true Sacrifice and holy Offering made on the Altar of the Cross, and join thereto that of the Apostle, \* that by that one Offering Christ hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, and as he faith in another place, through that Blood of his Cross reconciled unto God all things whether in Earth or in Heaven; you shall perceive, that we do offer Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, remembring, representing, mystically offering that sole Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, by the which all their fins are meritoriously expiated, and desiring that by the same, we and all the Church may obtain remission of sins, and all other Benefits of Christ's Passion.

To the *Epilogue* therefore of this your last Motive, I say in short. Sith we have no need of *Subdeaconship*, more than the Churches in

the Apostles times, and in truth those whom we call Clerks and Sextons perform what is necessary in this behalf. Sith we have Canonical Bishops, and lawful Succession. Sith we neither want due intention, to depute Men to Ecclesiastical Functions, nor Matter or Form in giving Priesblood; deriving from no Man or Woman the Authority of Ordination, but from Christ the Idead of the Church; you have alledged no sufficient Cause, why we should not have true Pastors, and consequently a true Church in England.

#### CHAP, XII,

Of the Conclusion. Mr. Waddesworth's Agonies and Protestation, &c.

ET by these (you say) and many other Arguments, you were resolved in your understanding, to the contrary. It may well be that your Understanding out of its own heedless haste, as that of our first Parents, while it was at the perfecteft, was induced into error, by refolving too foon out of seeming Arguments, and granting too forward affent. For furely, these which you have mentioned, could not convince it, if it would have taken the pains to examine them thoroughly, and had the patience to give unpartial hearing to the Motives on the other fide, But as if you triumphed in your own conquest and captivity, you add that which pasfeth yet all that hitherto you have fet down, viz. That the Church of Rome was and is the only true Church, because it alone is Ancient, Catholick and Apostolick, having Succession, Unity and Visibility in all Ages and Places. Is it only Ancient? To omit Jerusalem, are not that of Antioch, where the Disciples were first called Christians, and Alexandria, Ephefus, Corinth, and the rest mentioned in the Scriptures, ancient also? and of Antioch ancienter than Rome, Is it Catholick and Apoftolice

tolick only? Do not these and many more hold the Catholick Faith received from the Apoltles, as well as the Church of Rome? For that it should be the Universal Church, is all one as ye would fay the part is the whole, one City the World. Hath it only Succession? Where to set aside the enquiry of Doctrine, so many Simoniacks, and Intruders have ruled. as about fifty of your Popes together, were by your own Mens confession Apostatical, rather than Apostolical? Or Unity, where there have been thirty Schisms, and one of them which endured fifty years long, and at last grew into three Heads, as if they would share among them the triple Crown? And as for diffentions in Doctrine, I remit you to Master Doctor Hall's Peace of Rome, wherein he scores above three hundred mentioned in Bellarmine alone; above threescore in one only head of Penance out of Navarrus. to that addition, in all Ages and Places; I know not what to make of it, nor where to refer it. Consider, I beseech you, with your wonted moderation, what you fay; for fure unless you were beguiled, I had almost said bewitched, you could never have resolved to believe and profess, that which all the World knows to be as false, I had (well nigh) said as God is true, touching the extent of the Romish Church to all Ages and Places.

Concerning the Agonies you passed, I will say only thus much, if being tesolved though

The Copies of certain LETTERS 419 erroneously that was truth, you were withholden from professing it with worldly respects, you did well to break through them all. But if besides these, there were doubt of the contrary (as methinks needs must be) unless you could fatisfy your felf touching those many and known Exceptions against the Court of Rome, (which you could not be ignorant of) take heed, lest the rest insuing these Agonies were not like Sampson's fleeping on Dalilah's knees, while the Locks of his Strength were shaven, whereupon (the Lord departing from him) he was taken by the Philistines, had his Eyes put out, and was made to grind in the Prison. But I do not despair but your former resolutions shall grow again. And as I do believe your religious affeveration, that for very fear of damnation .you forfook us (which makes me to have the better hope and opinion of you, for that I fee you do so seriously mind that which is the end of our whole life; ) so I desire from my heart the good hope of salvation you have in your present way may be as happy, as your fear I am persuaded was causeless.

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For my part, I call God to record against mine own Soul, that both before my going into Italy, and since, I have still endeavoured to find and sollow the truth in the points controverted between us, without any carthly respect in the World. Neither wanted I sair opportunity had I seen it on that side, casily,

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and with hope of good entertainment to have adjoined my self to the Church of Rome, after your example. But (to use your words) as I shall answer at the dreadful day of judgment, Inever saw, heard, or read any thing. which did convince me: nay, which did not finally confirm me daily more and more, in the persuasion, that in these differences it rests on our part. Wherein I have not followed byman conjectures from foreign and outward things (as by your leave methinks you do in these your motives, whereby I protest to you in the fight of God, I am also much comforted and assured in the possession of the truth) but the undoubted Voice of God in his Word, which is more to my Conscience than a thoufand Topical Arguments. In regard whereof I am no less assured, that if I should forsake it I should be renounced by our Saviour, before God and his Angels, than in the holding it be acknowledged and faved; which makes me resolve, not only for no hope, if it were of ten thousand Worlds, but by the gracious affiltance of God, without whom I know I am able to do nothing, for no terror or torment ever to become a Papist.

You see what a large distance there is between us in Opinion. Yet for my part, I do not take upon me to sore-judge you, or any other that doth not with an evil Mind and self-condemning Conscience only to maintain a Faction, differ from that which I am per-

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The Copies of certain LETTERS 421 fuaded is the right. I account we hold one and the same Faith in our Lord and Saviour Tefus Christ, and by him in the Blessed Trinity. To his Judgment we frand or fall. Incomparably more and of more importance are those things wherein we agree; than those wherein we diffent. Let us follow therefore the things of peace, and of mutual edification. If any be otherwise minded than he ought, God shall reveal that also to him. If any be weak or fallen, God is able to raise him up. And of you good Mr. Waddesworth, and the rest of my Masters and Brethren of that side. one thing I would again defire, that according to the Apostle's profession of himself, you would forbear \* to be Lords over our Faith. nor straightway condemn of Hezefy, our ignorance or lack of perfualion concerning fuch things as we cannot perceive to be founded in holy Scripture. Enjoy your own Opinions, but make them not Articles of our Faith: the analogy whereof is broken as well by Addition as Substraction. And this self same equity we defire to find in positive Laws, Orders and Ceremonies. Wherein as every Church hath full right to prescribe that which is decent and to edification, and to reform abuse; fo those that are Members of each are to follow what is enjoined, till by the same Authority it be reversed.

And now to close up this Account of yours, whereof you would have Dr. Hall and me to be 2s it were Examiners and Auditors. Whether -it be perfect and allowable or no. look you to it. I have here told you mine opinion of it, as directly, plainly, and freely as I can; and as you required fully, if not tediously. .lift not to contend with you about it. , fy your own Conscience, and our common Lord and Master, and you shall easily satis-. fy me. Once yet by my advice review it, and cast it over again. And if in the particulars you find you have taken many nullities for Signifying Numbers, many smaller signifiers If you find for greater; correct the total. , namely that out of defire of Unity, and dislike of contention, you have apprehended our diversities to be more than they are: conceived .a necessity of an external infallible Judge, where there was none: attributed the privilege of the Church properly called, to that which is visible and mext. If you find the reformed Churches more charitable, the pro-: per note of Christ's Sheep: The Roman Faction more fraudulent, and that by publick -counsel, and of politick purpose, in framing not only all-later Writers, but some ancient. yea the Holy Scriptures for their advantage: If you find you have mistaken the Protestants Doctrine, touching invisibility, your own also touching uniformity in matters of Faith: you have been mininformed and too hafty of credit

The Copies of certain LETTERS. 423 credit touching the imputations laid to the beginners of Reformation: For as touching the want of Succession and the fabulous Ordination at the Nags-head, I hope you will not be stiff, and perfift in your error, but confess and condemn it in your felf: If (as I began to fay) you find those things to be thus; give Glory to God, that hath heard your Prayer, entreating direction in his holy Truth; and withhold not that Truth of his in unrighteousness. Unto him that is able to restore and establish you, yea to confummate and perfect you according to his almighty power and unspeakable goodness, towards his elect in Christ Jefus, I do from my heart commend you: and rest you,

Your very loving Brother,

in Christ Jesus,

W. Bedell.

F I N I S.

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## **ABSTRACT**

OF THE

## N U M B E R

OF

## PROTESTANT and POPISH

FAMILIES

In the Several

Counties and Provinces

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# IRELAND,

Taken from the

RETURNS made by the Hearthmoney Collectors, to the Hearthmoney Office in DUBLIN, in the Years 1732 and 1733. Those being reckon'd Protestant and Popish Families, where the HEADS of Families are either Protestants of Papists. With OBSERVATIONS.

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## PROVINCE

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## ULSTER

COUNTIES.	Protestant Families.	Popisb Families.	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families,
Antrim Down	14899 14069 6064 5543 5587 8751 2913 2838 1969	3461 5210 3279 4144 6123 2782 2127 5096 6237	as 4 <sup>‡</sup> to I as 3 to I as 2 to I as 11 to 8 near Equal above 3 to I near 3 to 2 near 3 to 5 near I to 3
Total	62624	38459	above 3 to 2

### PROVINCE

OF

## LEINSTER.

COUNTIES.	Protestant Families.	Popifs Families.	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families.
Dublin City County	882g	4110	above 2 to 1
	1928	6336	near I to 3
Kilkenny	970	9785	as 1 to 9
Kildare	656	7614.	near I to IB,
King's County	1237	6677	1 to 5
Longford	819	3742	as 1 to 42
Lowth	897	5136	near 1 to 6.
Meath	<b>1</b> 691	14416	as 1 to 81
Queen's County -	1355	7313	as 1 to 5
Carlow	1000	4079	as I to 4
Westmeath	1139	7120	as. 1. to 6
Wexford	2193	10837	as I to 5
Wicklow	2533	5260	as 1 to 2
Total	25241	92434	As I to 32

## PROVINCE

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# MUNSTER

COUNTIES:	Protestant Families.	Popisb Families.	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families.
Waterford	827	10165	as I to 12
Cork County -	-2569	5398	as I to 2
County -	4520	86938	as. 1 to 8
Limerick 1-	2056	14820.	as 1, to 7
Kerry	1073	13273	as 1 to 12
Tipperary :	1627	16465	as 1 to 10
Clare	665	9348	as. 1 to 14
- Total	13337	100407	as I to 8.

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## PROVINCE

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# CONNAUGHT

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COUNTIES.	Protestant Families.	Popish Families:	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families
Galway	91 t	15912	as 1 to 17
Mayo =	697	11466	as i to 17
Roscommon	7903	7312	as 1 to 9
ligo' - '	1166	. 5007-	65 1 60 A
Leitrim – – –	735	4344	as I to 6
Total -	4299	44101	as 1 to 10.
Provinces.	Protestant Families.	Popifo Families.	Total of both.
JLSTER	62624	38459	101083
LEINSTER	25241	92434	117675
MUNSTER -	13337	106407	119744
CO NNAUG HA	4299	44101	48400
Total	105501	281401	386902

As Three to Eight.

### **OBSERVATIONS**

On the Foregoing

### ABSTRACT.

HIS Abstract contains the Number of Families Reported by the Hearthmoney Collectors, to be found in their respective Districts throughout the Kingdom, in the Year 1732. And the it appears from their Returns, that there were 386902 Families, yet we must take Notice, that all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom are not taken into the Account : for neither Soldiers or their Families, nor those who live in Colleges, Hospitals, and Poor-Houles, nor above 2000 Certificate-Houses (as those are called which by Reason of their Poverty are excused. from paying Hearthmoney) are included in that Number: The former Articles not having been within the Course of Enquiry of said Collectors, and the last omitted by some of them in their Roturns.

From the Number of Families we may find the Number of Inhabitants of the Kingdom, by allowing fuch a Number of Souls to each Family, as they reasonably may be supposed to contain one with another at a Medium.

In order to find out such Medium; several Gentlemen have had the Curiosity to take an exact Account of the Number of Men, Women and Children in every House in several large Districts in the Country, and in great Towns, and sound upon Trial, in some Parts of the Open Country but sour and a third, and sour and a half in a House; in other Parts, where Manusactures were carried on, sour and three quarters and sive in a Family, but is large Towns and Cities, 5, 6, 7, or 8, and particularly in Dublin, near 10 Souls to a House one with another.

This Inequality of Numbers in Country and City Houses, seems to arise from hence, that the lower fort of People, who are generally very poor and make the Bulk of the Nation, have few or no Servants in their Houses, but on the contrary send out their Children to wealthier Families, and furnish them with Servants and Apprentices, whereby their own Families are diminish'd, and those of

the Rich are increased.

From what has been faid, we may reasonably allow five to a Family throughout the Kingdom, confidering that the Largeness of Families in Cities and great Towns will make up the Deficien-

cies in the Country.

If there be 386,002 Families in the Kingdom, and if we allow 5 to a Family, then those Families will contain One Million Nine Hundred Thirty Four Thousand Five Hundred and Ten Souls, and if we add to them the 12000 Soldiers and their Families, and all such who live in Colleges, Hoppitals, Poor-Houses, and the unreturn'd Certificate Houses above mention'd, none of which are included in the aforesaid Number of Families return'd by the Hearthmoney Collectors, we may ve-

ry well conclude that there are very near Two

Millions of Inhabitants in the Kingdom.

It appears by the Abstract that there are 105501 Protestant Families, and 281401 Popish Families in the Kingdom, which are in Proportion to one another as 3 to 8, that is, supposing the whole to be divided into 11 Parts, the Pro-

testants make 3 of them, and the Papists 8.

If we take into the Account the 12000 Soldiers and their Families, and all those who live in Colleges, Hospitals, and Poor-Houses, and many Servants from Great-Brittsin, who have settled among us, who are all Protestants, and not included in the Number of Protestant Families before mention'd, and reckon them equal to 7000 Families, as we may reasonably do, and add them to the said 105501 Families, then the Number of Protestant Families being 112561, will be in Proportion to the Popish Families exactly as One to Two and a half.

If the Number of Protestant Families be to those of Papists, as One to Two and a half, or as One to Two and Two Thirds, it may be asked what Proportion do Protestants bear to Papists with re-

spect to their Numbers in general.

To this 'tis answer'd, that what Proportion soever there is between Protestants and Papists, with respect to the Number of their Families, the same Proportion will hold good also with respect to the Number of Protestants and Papist in or belonging to those Families; for though the Families of Protestants, who have most of the Estates and Wealth of the Kingdom in their Hands, are generally much larger, and have more Servants than those of Papists, and though it be allowed that there are great Numbers of Popish Servants in Protestant Families, and few or no Protestant

testant Servants in Popish Families, yet if we als low an equal Number of Souls, 5 for Instance, to every Family, as well Popils as Protestant. throughout the Kingdom, then every Papift and Protestant will be taken into the Account, whether they live in their own or other Families.-A Family properly speaking is made up of a Man. his Wife and Children, and whatever Difference there is between Families with respect to their Largeness, the same arises from the Number of Servants more or less in those Families; the Families of the Rich are increas'd by taking in Servants from the Poor; and the Families of the Poor are lessen'd by that means.— Protestant Fax milies are furnished with Servants both from Protestant and Popis Families of the lower fort, and if they are inlarged by taking in Populo Servants, of Confequence Popilo Families, from whence such Servants are taken, must be diminish'd in the same Proportion.

Suppose Three Families, one Protestant and two Popils, each originally consisting of five Persons, and that a Servant is taken from each of the Popifs Families into the Protestant one, then there will be Seven Persons in the Protestant Family, and Four in each of the Popist Families. In this Case, as the Proportion of Families is Two to One, so the Proportion of Individuals, or of Papists to Protestants, originally belonging to those Families, is also Two to One. From hence it follows, that the there be many Popish Servants in Protestant Families, yet if we suppose all Families to contain an equal Number of Souls, they will be all taken into Account as much as if they had still remain'd in their own Families, or had been separately reckon'd in the Families where they live.

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This may seve as a Rule in Political Arithmetick. that when we know the Number of Families in any Country, we may find the Number of Inhabisants, by allowing five Souls, or any other Number, as: a. proper Medium to each Family: and by knowing of what Persuasion or Religion the Heads of these Families are, we may also find the Number of Persons of each Persuasion nearly; for that Number will be in Proportion to the Number of their respective Families: Provided however and upon this Supposition, that they are equal Breeders, and that the Members of each Family pontinue to be of the Religion of the Head of the Family, and that there be no Accordion of People to either Side from other Countries; for in such Cases the Proportions may vary a dittle. not well be supposed but that the Women of the Teme Country are equal Brooders, except that the poor have generally more Children than the rich; but as to the other Cases, it must be allowed, that many Protestants: come yearly into Ireland from England, Scotland, and Wales, and feetle with us; but no Papists come into Ireland but such as before went from thence; and many Servants taken From Repift Eamilies, and others, become Protestants, and continue for 'Tistrue that many Proreferents have of late Years left the Kingdom to sende in America, and itis no less costain that maay Pepifis do yearly go abroad, either to enter inno foreign Service, or to make their Fortunes, who nevor return again; this may make a Diminution of the Stack of People in the Nacion, or in some measure lessen their Increase, but will make little for no Variation in the Proportion between Protest it onts and Papilis, the Durralelon both Sides, on Account thereof, being very near in Proportion to their whole Numbers.

This Abstract confirms another fort of Computation, made use of to shew, that there are not Three Papists to One Protestant in Ireland, which Computation was grounded on the following Suppositions, which are generally allowed to be true.

1st. That the Province of Ulfter contains more than the fourth Part of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom.

adly, That there are as many Protestants in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, as there are Papists in Uster; and therefore supposing all in Uster to be Protestants, and all in the other three Provinces to be Papists; the Consequence must be, that there are not Three Papists to One Protestant; now it appears by the Abstract, that Uster contains more than a fourth Part of the Families of the whole Kingdom, and that the Protestants of theother three Provinces are more in Number than the Papists in Uster, and consequently the Protestants must be more than a fourth Part of the Whole.

Sir William Petty, in his Political Survey of Ireland, Page 8, publish'd in 1672, computed that there were then in Ireland Three Protestants to Eight Papists; it does not appear upon what Grounds he made this Computation; but this is certain, that whatever was the Disproportion in Number between Protestants and Papists in 1672, the present Disproportion must be much less, considering the great Numbers of Protestants, who soon after the Revolution, and ever since have come over from Great Brittain into Ireland, and settled among us.

Most of the Computations concerning the Number of Protestants and Papists in Ireland have hitherto been made without any good or probable Foundation; the general Notion was, that the Disproportion between Papists and Protestants was much greater than what appears by this Abstract; but this very probably was owing to this, That fuch Gentlemen who took particular Notice of the great Number of Papifts in some Parts of the Kingdom, did not make proper Allowances for other Parts, where the Protestants are more numerous. But now that we have a distinct Account of all the Protestant and Popish Families in the Kingdom, Return'd by the Hearthmoney Collectors, who could with Ease make a true Return of the Heads of Families, whether they were Protestants or Papists, and we prefume have done it with some tolerable Exactness, pursuant to the Directions they receiv'd from the Commissioners of the Revenue for that Purpose; we may reasonably be-lieve the same is near the Truth: And tho' there may be Mistakes in some of the Returns, yet as fuch Mistakes may be on both Sides, there may be little or no Difference in the whole. And if there should be a Mistake of a 1000 or 2000 Families on either Side, this will make but an inconfiderable Variation in the Proportion which they bear to one another, when taken all together.

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As the Bills of Mortality for the City of Dublin, give some Light to that Part of the Abstract which relates to the said City, I shall here observe, that it appears from the Accounts of Burials and Christenings of Dublin, for 7 Years, ending the 25th of March 1735, publish'd by William Mulhallen, Register, that at a Medium yearly for said 7 Years, 2519 Persons were buried in Dublin, and 1578 christen'd; so that the Christenings were near two

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Thirds of the Burials; but no Account being taken of the Number of Children born yearly in that Time, we may supply that Defect by taking Notice, that it is found by many Observations, that in very large Cities the Burials exceed the Births, but in the Country the Births exceed the Burials.— We will however suppose and allow the Births and Burials to be equal in Dublin, viz. 2510 each: Now we must take Notice that the Burials mention'd in the Bills of Mortality for Dublin comprehend those of all Persuasions who are buried in Dublin, viz. Conformists, Dissenters, and Papists, but the Number of these christen'd or baptized, comprehends the Children of Conformists only, who are reported by the Clerks of the respective Parishes to be christen'd therein, exclusive of the Children of Diffenters and Papists; so that the Children of Conformists alone, which amount to 1578, are very near two Thirds of all the Births which are 2519; and if we add to them the Children of Disserters, they will both together make up considerably more than two Thirds of all the Births, which agrees very well with the Return of the Hearthmoney Collectors, which makes the Proportion of Protestant to Pepish Families in Dublin as Nine to Four.

Tis true that many who die in Dublin, are buried in some adjoining Burying-Places in the Gountry, and are therefore omitted in the Bills of Mortality, so that the Number of Deaths are more than the Burials.— And it is no less certain, that many Children of Conformists are omitted in the Number of those christen'd; but as these Omissions on both Sides may be nearly in Proportion to their respective Numbers, there may be little or

no Difference in the Whole,

From hence we may easily account for that great Inequality which constantly appears between Burials and Christenings in all the Bills of Mortality for Loudon and Dublin; the Christenings in London not being more than three Fourths of the Burisis, and in Dublin not quite two Thirds; when at the same time in Paris and other Places, the Births are commonly more than the Burials, or very near equal to them. But this is owing to the different manner of keeping their Accounts of the Bills of Mortality; for in Paris they keep an Account of all Burials and Births, but in London and Dublin only of Burials and Christenings; and in the Article of Christenings none are included but the Children of those of the Establish'd Church.

This Abstract is published for the Satisfaction of those who are curious in Political Arithmetick, which has been often of Service to rectify Mistakes, clear up difficult Points, and furnish useful Hints

for the Advantage of the Publick.

FINIS.

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