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The
Reformers
of
England and Germany
In the Sixteenth Century :

THEIR INTERCOURSE AND CORRESPONDENCE.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY H. HEPPE, D.D., OF MARBURG.

~~~~~  
TRANSLATED, WITH ADDITIONS,

BY THE REVDS. HERMANN SCHMETTAU,  
AND B. HARRIS COWPER.

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PREFACE.

EVERY book has a history, and most readers wish to know it. Authors and editors, therefore, avail themselves of a Preface that they may record the one and so gratify the other.

The history of the present little volume is simply this: At the close of 1857, a committee of gentlemen was formed in London with a view to revive friendly Christian correspondence between England and Germany; in the hope that these two great countries, in other ways so closely allied, might also be allied in the spirit of that "charity which is the bond of perfectness." This was not all: it was desired and anticipated that Christian

men in the two countries might be led to help each other in their endeavours to promote the interests of true religion, both in their own and other lands. A letter from the above committee was addressed to many eminent German divines, from not a few of whom replies of the most friendly character were received: selections from this correspondence have been published under the title of "Letters from Eminent German Divines, on the State of Evangelical Religion in Germany," first and second series. Among these is one from Dr. Heinrich Heppé, professor of Divinity at Marburg, and author of several able works, of which we need only mention the "History of German Protestantism from 1555 to 1581." The letter in question has been since amplified and extended, and printed under the title of "Ecclesiastical Intercourse of England with Evangelical

Germany in the XVIth Century." An early copy of this was kindly forwarded to one of us, with the expression of a wish that it might be translated into English. The volume in the hands of the reader is the result.

An examination of the book showed that besides being admirably adapted to promote the design of those to whose excellent project it owes its existence, it contained much that was new and valuable in relation to our national history. A considerable number of official documents are, for the first time, brought to light. Valuable, however, as these are, it seemed that they would be more generally useful if translated into English. We have, therefore, given an English version of them, and placed the Latin originals in the Appendix. The translation of the German has been effected

with no more freedom than is consistent with fidelity.

Inasmuch, however, as Dr. Heppe's work dealt much more fully with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, than with those of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, it appeared to us not undesirable to make some additions to this part of it. These additions will be found at the end of the first chapter. Among them may be named two letters written in 1536, by Martin Luther and Justus Jonas, discovered in the British Museum, and to our knowledge never before published. Besides these, we have added various notes in the course of the work, illustrative of the text.

We do not wish this volume to be regarded as a complete history of the relations between English and German Protestants in the sixteenth century. It is a contribution to such

a history, and is, as far as we know, the only work of this description extant. It will serve to show of what kind the intercourse and correspondence in question was. We are in possession of additional materials for a fuller record, and if the present publication excites interest in the subject, we shall be happy to make Dr. Heppe's book the basis for a more systematic and detailed account. As it is, we are persuaded that the few glimpses here given of the intercourse carried on by English and German Protestants will be new to not a small number. Nor is this all. Sufficient is given to show how the founders of Protestantism proceeded in their endeavours to promote and establish union; and possibly the thoughtful mind may discover why those laudable endeavours failed. For that they did fail is but too apparent.

It may be long before all the barriers are removed, which were raised three centuries ago. But it is not too much to hope, that what so many so ardently desire, may be speedily accomplished with some, and eventually with all. In the meantime we regard this as a favourable and fitting season for renewing our efforts. When Bishop Burnet dedicated the third volume of his "History of the Reformation" to George I., he expressed a hope that his Majesty was "designed by God to complete the Reformation itself . . . and to establish a confidence and correspondence with the Protestant and Reformed Churches abroad." What would be his language now, when Britain's Queen is the wife of a German Prince, and when Britain's Eldest Daughter is the daughter, the wife, and the mother of German Princes? And then, again, our political

alliances, so intimate and of such long standing!

But there are reasons why *now* we ought to aim to revive a friendly and brotherly correspondence with one another. Our confidence is not in the best of princes and of treaties; and our motives for union are not derived entirely or chiefly from them.

First, then, there is the incessant interchange of religious thought between the master-minds of England and Germany. The biblical scholarship, the critical acumen, and the Christian talent of one is common property, and by these means the two countries continually teach and edify each other. Surely our communion is capable of further and higher development.

Again, zealous Christian men are engaged in the pursuit of many common objects—the spread of evangelical truth, and

the establishment of Protestant institutions. This fact also points to the desirableness of mutual acquaintance and co-operation. Both may learn, and teach, and aid.

Another circumstance worth mentioning is our common dangers. Never, perhaps, since the Reformation, was Popery so manifestly in earnest, and so confident. What efforts it makes to secure the removal of the last and least restrictions in Protestant countries, to gain new privileges and immunities, and to abridge or destroy the liberties of Protestants in countries where it has control! Surely the saying that when bad men conspire good men must combine, is applicable now. Jesuit craft and intrigue are rife, not only in other lands, but in England and Germany, and nothing is so well calculated to defeat them as the alliance in one grand phalanx of the two great Protestant

Churches. Deceive ourselves as we will, recent events fully prove that war is in the hearts of our enemies.

For such a union, moreover, we have a basis in the early history of the Reformation, when good men in both countries were so closely allied, and carried on so fraternal a correspondence.

To this we may add the fact that many are ready for such an alliance, and indeed have already entered upon it to their own pleasure and advantage. And finally, it is most in accordance with the design and spirit of Christianity, and with the practice of the Apostolic age, for Christians of different lands thus to be associated and united in the bond of amity and brotherhood.

Objections may be urged, and difficulties may be raised, but we leave them for others to solve and remove ; hoping that the mani-

fold advantages of so excellent a scheme will enlist the sympathy and co-operation of no small number of faithful and earnest men.

We therefore commend this little work to our dear brethren of England and Germany, in the hope that they will be instructed and encouraged by it.

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THE
REFORMERS
OF
ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

CHAPTER I.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE PROTESTANTS OF
GERMANY AND ENGLAND, FROM THE BE-
GINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE
YEAR 1559.

Martin Luther, in Germany, Ulrich Zwingle, in Switzerland, and many other men of God with them, sounded the first jubilant notes of the glorious liberty of the children of God in Christ. These new and glad tidings were at once borne like a flash of lightning across the sea to England, where the writings of Luther were speedily circulated and read.⁽¹⁾

(1) The figures in the text refer to the additions at the end of the chapters.

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As early as the beginning of 1521, a Papal bull, sent by Leo X. to England, bitterly complained that, in England the hearts of many had been deluded by Luther's writings, and ordered their destruction.⁽³⁾ But the spirit that had awakened these witnesses was more powerful than the Pope's bull. The writings of the German Reformers were more numerous circulated, and more zealously studied; the Reformation movement in England, looked upon the Reformers and the Reformation in Germany, from the very beginning, as its support and proper home. At that time the first English translation of the New Testament was completed, in Wittenberg, by William Tyndal, in the year 1526, and was brought to England especially by German merchants.⁽⁴⁾ It is for this reason, that those pious, learned, and unlearned circles, in which the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and the writings of the German

⁽⁴⁾ Tyndal and Frith visited Marburg in 1528, and there prosecuted their labours upon the translation of the Old Testament.

Reformers, were read and studied, were nicknamed "the Germans."

From 1527, youths and men of advanced age, from England and Scotland, came over to Germany, in order to study the reformed doctrines at Marburg and Wittenberg, and to carry them back to their homes. The noble Patrick Hamilton, who afterwards (1528) was counted worthy of martyrdom in his own country, studied at Marburg.^(b) Among those who had come from England to Wittenberg, to sit at Melancthon's feet, should especially be mentioned Dr. Robert Barnes, who sealed his faith with his blood in England, in the year 1540.^(c)

(b) The life of this first Scottish martyr for the principles of the Reformation, has been admirably written by Professor Lorimer. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

(c) Dr. Barnes warmly espoused the principles of Luther. He was repeatedly in prison; was often in Germany; and attended the meeting of the Smalcald Alliance in 1535.

Dr. Barnes, (says Melchior Adam,) was a friend of Luther's, to whom he had become known in the

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King Henry VIII., who aimed with equal zeal at the glory and pride of being an absolute ruler, and a staunch adherent of Thomas Aquinas, boldly rent the English Church from the dominion of the Pope, but without bringing it nearer to Protestantism. This step of the king, indirectly contributed to strengthen the Evangelical Reformation spirit in England; for by setting aside the spiritual authority of the Papacy, the vital cord of Roman Catholicism was cut asunder, and room was made for the development of the Protestant conscience in the religious life of the nation. Yet, for many years, professors of the Gospel, and adherents to the Pope, were led by turn to the stake. Thus it was, that the intercourse of the king with the Protestant princes of Germany, merely had reference to their common interest in

legation to Wittenberg about the divorce of Henry VIII. It was on this account that after the cruel death of Barnes, Luther published, with a preface, the noble confession made by the martyr when led to the stake.

resisting the pretensions of the Pope.^(d) The first attempt at such intercourse proceeded from Germany, after the formation of the Smalcald Alliance. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse undertook to ask the king to join in this alliance. His plenipotentiary, the Licentiate Meier, arrived in London, in November, 1531, but found Henry very ill disposed for the desired coalition, on account of the unfavourable judgment which the theologians of Wittenberg and Marburg had delivered in the case of his divorce; and he expressed his apprehension in regard to the radical elements, which had been manifested in the German Reformation movement. In the last audience, however, which Meier had with the king, he expressed himself more favourably respecting the cause of Protestantism in Germany. He expressed a desire, that the Protestant princes should

(d) Henry did condescend to consult the Protestant divines of Germany on the subject of his marriage, and their collective reply may be seen in Burnet, vol. 1, p. 94, Appendix.

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obtain the adhesion of more of the electors and influential members of the empire, in order to consolidate the alliance of Smalcald. Meier handed over to the king an apology for the Evangelical Doctrines (written by Erhard Schnepf,^(e) with special reference to the articles concerning the power of the civil ruler, the Anabaptists, and the Holy Communion. In the following year (1532), the king sent Thomas Cranmer and William Paget, his councillor, to Germany, in order to carry on, in his name, the transactions which had been commenced by Meier. Those Protestant princes, who, with the high-minded Landgrave of Hesse, were anxious that the king should be received into the Alliance of Smalcald, proposed the following conditions: That the king should recognize the Augsburg Confession; and that he should grant subsidies for the war. They in return would

(e) Erhard Schnepf was born in 1495, at Heilbronn, and died in 1558. At the time of his death he was Professor of Theology at Jena.

consider him the protector of the Alliance, and would no more assist his enemies with troops. But in consequence of confessional disputes, the negotiations were broken off.⁽³⁾

Some years after (1536), the Landgrave Philip earnestly insisted upon entering afresh into correspondence with Henry, who now most anxiously desired an alliance with the German princes.⁽⁴⁾ It was proposed by the Landgrave, that according to the king's wish, a deputation should be sent to England, consisting of a theologian from Wittenberg, and another from the south of Germany, together with some eminent diplomatists, who should be empowered to conclude a treaty with Henry. For he thought that, though Henry did not quite agree with the Augsburg Confession, they might come to an understanding with him with regard both to the Council of Trent convoked by the Pope, and to the Papal Primate himself. It was agreed that the Elector of Saxony should depute the Prince George of Anhalt,

the Vice-Chancellor Burghard (or Burchard), and the "Theological Orator," Melanchthon; and that the Landgrave should send the Count of Solms, and the divines, Jacob Sturm, Martin Bucer, or Erhard Schnepf. But this plan again, met with great opposition on the part of some members of the Confederation of Smalcald. Instead of the deputation, a letter was sent, which was composed by Melanchthon.^(f) The difference of ecclesiastical views between Henry and the German princes, was so great, that the union seemed quite impossible, even if Henry had been less reliant upon his own changeable mind and humour.^(g)

In consequence of this letter, Henry deputed his counsellor Christopher Mount (Montius) to Germany (in the years 1537

(f) Burnet gives among his "Records," appended to the "History of the Reformation," one entitled "A Letter of Melanchthon's to persuade the King to a further Reformation." This letter is dated from Frankfort, April 1, 1539. See additions to this chapter, No. 6.

and 1539), in order to come to an understanding with the Protestant princes, and to persuade Melanchthon to come to England.⁽⁶⁾ The Landgrave Philip again proposed to send Melanchthon or Bucer to England as a deputation; for he thought that the king might, by proper information, be gained over to the cause of the Gospel. And in fact a legation was sent to London in the year 1538, by the German Protestants,⁽⁶⁾ but the result was so unsatisfactory, that the Landgrave Philip, despairing of the success of his untiring exertions, broke off all negotiations with the king.⁽⁷⁾

When Edward VI. ascended the throne, after the death of Henry VIII. (in 1547), the principles of the German Reformation

(6) A copious document presented by the members of this legation (see additions to this Chapter, No. 7), is given at length by Burnet. It is dated at London, August 5, 1538, and bears the signatures of Francis Burgratus (Burchard) Vicecancellarius; Georgius a Boyneburgh, D. Orator, and Frederickus Myconius, Ecclesiastes

took deep root in the English nation.^(h) After Protestantism had been proclaimed by a Parliament, which was opened Nov. 4, 1547, the dissemination of the Protestant publications, which continued pouring in from Germany, was taken in hand by the Government itself. Cranmer ordered the printing of the "Nuremberg Catechetical Discourses," by Justus Jonas, in Latin, and afterwards in

Gothanus. The King's equally copious answer to this document is also there given. *Vide* Hist. Reform., vol. 1, pp. 332-360.

^(h) "Francis Burgartus (Burchard) Chancellor to the Duke of Saxe, with others from the other princes and cities of the empire, were sent over upon the news of the former king's death, to solicit for aids from the new king toward the carrying on the war with the emperor." (Burnet, vol. 2, p. 119.) This shows that the German Protestants well understood the tendencies of the new government, and were well disposed towards this kingdom, in which they expected to find real sympathy. "The Council ordered Paget to assure them, that within three or four months they should send 50,000 crowns to their assistance." Into the unhappy affairs of Germany at this time, it is not our purpose, however, to inquire.

English, and had them extensively circulated. Many pious men, who, under the former Government, had taken refuge in Germany, and especially in Saxony, where they had lived and learned, now returned to England, and scattered the seed which they had collected.⁽⁸⁾ Then it was that there went to England the German divine, who is to be considered as the real representative of the ecclesiastical union between Protestant England and Germany, as well as the embodiment of the spirit of this union—Martin Bucer, of Strasburg, who had been long known and praised as the eminent advocate of the idea of evangelical union and alliance. Ever since 1535, when his friend Jacob Sturm went to England, Bucer had carried on regular correspondence with English Christians. Moreover, Archbishop Cranmer, the leader of the Reformation movement in England, had frequently asked his counsel. As early as 1547 and 1548, Bucer had been invited to come over to England; and in 1549, when the imperial "Interim," by which his

position and person were threatened, was proclaimed, he readily accepted an appointment as Professor of the New Testament, at Cambridge. The reception, by which Bucer was welcomed in England, proved that he was considered to be a prince of Protestant theology. He was solemnly received on his arrival from Calais by a deputation consisting of Archbishop Cranmer and the most eminent citizens. On his reaching London, the palace at Lambeth was offered him as a residence, until he removed to Cambridge. He was the first theologian, who (by the unanimous resolution of the divines of Cambridge) was made Doctor of Divinity *honoris causa*. Martin Bucer died as early as Sept. 22, 1551; but the position which he had held during these ten years, was Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and the influence which he had exercised, both as an author and as a man of counsel, were, in this decisive period of the English Reformation, of paramount importance. Great is the number of the works which Bucer wrote in

England. The most important among them are: two books on "The Kingdom of Christ;" on "The Power and use of the Holy Ministry;" and "The Exposition of the IV. Chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians." His *Censura* of the English *Liber Sacrorum*, was made much use of at the revision of the English Liturgy, (1552).

After his death, England looked again to Germany. Bucer's chair at Cambridge remained for two years unoccupied, in the hope of its being filled by Philip Melancthon, the "Preceptor of Germany."

The existence of the Low-German Congregation formed in London, by John Laske, commonly called in England John a Lasco,⁽¹⁾ (1550) was a fact which had essential influ-

(1) John a Lasco was by birth a Pole, he died in 1560. "The King's Letters Patents to John a Lasco and the German Congregation," regularly authorising him, and recognising them, may be seen in "Burnet," vol. 2, p. 203, Appendix. This document was given in 1550. The church occupied

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ence. While the constitution of the English Church was still incomplete, this Congregation exhibited a regular organization on Presbyterian principles, and (as was believed) in accordance with the first Apostolic Churches.

When Edward VI. died, July 6, 1553, the terroristic reign of "bloody" Mary commenced. England was forced back into the

by them, is the present Dutch Church in Austin Friars.

John a Lasco came over to England in 1549, at the invitation of Cranmer. In 1553, he sought and obtained leave of Mary to depart with most of his Congregation in two of her ships. He was refused admission at several ports, but was at length received at Embden. The Church was reconstituted at Frankfort. "Cranmer," says Melchior Adam, "invited Bucer, Fagius, a Lasco, Ochinus, Peter Alexander, &c., promising them all love and fidelity. What he promised in word, he performed in deed. He took them into his house, he helped them with his money, he advanced them by his recommendations, and zealously defended them against the insults and injuries of their enemies."

bosom of the Romish Church. The flames of the stake, and the axe of the executioner, were to put an end to Protestantism. Lasky's Congregation had hastily to flee, and eight hundred Englishmen left their country along with them, seeking a new home in Germany and Switzerland.^(*) Many met with a hospitable reception at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where an English community was established, with a Church Government and a Ritual of their own.^(*)

(*) John Knox went to Frankfort in 1553 or 1554, and was for some time Pastor of the English Congregation there, but discord arising among them, he retired. A curious and interesting work may be consulted on this subject, entitled, "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies." Printed in 1575; reprinted, 1642, 1707-8, and 1846.

Additions to Chapter I.

(¹) William Tyndal was one of the first to introduce into England the writings of Luther. He might almost be called the Father of the English Reformation. When in 1524 or 1525, Tyndal set out with ten pounds in his purse for Wittenberg, the writings of Luther, as we shall presently see, had not only entered, but made no small stir in this country. Froude, in his *History of England* (vol. .2, p. 31) says, "Tyndal saw Luther, and under his immediate direction translated the Gospels and Epistles while at Wittenberg."

And this might well have been, we had almost said, must have been not once but often. Tyndal, finding no security in England for the prosecution of his great work, the New Testament in English, first went to Hamburg; afterwards we find him at Cologne, and then at Worms. We meet with him at

Wittenberg, and along with Frith at Antwerp. He was eventually betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and cast into prison at Vilvorde, near Brussels. There he remained for two years, and was at length led forth to the stake on the 6th of October, 1536.

(³) Henry very early set himself against Luther. In May, 1521, he carried into execution the Pope's bull against the Reformer's writings, which were collected and solemnly burned at St. Paul's. The king wrote to the Elector Palatine,—“It is the devil who, by Luther's means, has kindled this immense conflagration. If Luther will not be converted, let him and his writings be burnt together!” This was followed by his “Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther.” This savage and abusive production was by many ascribed to Lee, the king's chaplain, and may really have been the joint production of them both. Leo X. received it with exultation, and for it conferred upon Henry the title of Defender of the Faith, since borne by the kings

of England. Luther was completely roused by it, and replied in a strain in which his daring is far more conspicuous than his prudence; it was one of the most violent and rash of all his writings, yet not without sound argument and wholesome as well as unpalatable truth. We regret that Luther should have followed and outdone Henry in this kind of language; but what shall we say of Sir Thomas More who took up Henry's cause? From one so noble, refined, learned, and amiable, we should look for something different. In vain, however, for he labours hard to excel Luther in insulting terms and violence of language. The reply of the Bishop of Rochester was not in a much gentler strain. Luther does not appear to have answered either of these, but to have treated them with profound contempt. Henry, however, despatched an ambassador to the Elector and Dukes of Saxony, with terrible denunciations of Luther, and earnest exhortations to suppress him and his doctrine. The princes merely referred the King to the

General Council which was approaching. Of course this effectually thwarted the purpose he had in view, and in effect he found himself defeated by the Wittenberg monk. Thus ended this curious episode in the history of the Reformation.

Polydore Vergil, in his life of Henry VIII. says, "He first took care that the Lutheran books should be burned, as a great number of them had come into the hands of his English subjects, and then he bravely composed a book against the new doctrine, and sent it to Pope Leo."

Henry therefore acted in a somewhat illogical manner : he first burned the books of Luther, and afterwards he wrote against them.

It would appear that some three or four years later than the controversy about the Seven Sacraments, measures were taken about 1525 for promoting a more friendly and christian correspondence. Michelet describes this second intercourse as if it had closely followed the former; this, however, can scarcely

have been the case. The account of Luther's correspondence with Henry in 1525, as given by Melchior Adam, is this:—"The King of England in his reply to Luther's letter, among other things, abused him for an incestuous marriage; than which a worse crime can scarcely be mentioned." As Luther was married in 1525, this cannot refer to the book of Henry about the Seven Sacraments, which was first printed in 1521, it must relate to subsequent communications. Soon after, Adam goes on to say, "Luther wrote this year also to the King of England at the particular instance of the exiled King Christiern; and he wrote somewhat meekly an epistle which is extant, as also to Duke George of Saxony, with a view to be restored to their favour. But the king replied with bitterness, taunting him with inconstancy and lightness; he also defended the Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, (archbishop) of York; to which Luther answered, that with how great hatred of Luther he was influenced could be easily perceived. When Luther read the

king's reply in print, he greatly regretted and lamented what he had done ; in so far gratifying his friends, (he said) the same thing had happened to him with Cardinal Cajetan, George Duke of Saxony, and Erasmus of Rotterdam, who had been rather enraged than pacified by his lenity. Henceforth he would not act so foolishly. Cochläeus and Eck in a similar way, insulted this humility of Luther's in a wonderful manner. Luther on the other hand, sent out a writing "Against the execrable (as he called it) and contumelious libel of the King of England."

It is much to be lamented that the correspondence between Henry and the German leaders of the Reformation at this early period was marked by so much asperity, but it was in harmony with the spirit of the times. Men's passions were aroused, and on whichever side they wrote or spoke, it was almost an invariable rule for them to give way to excesses of temper and language which, at this day, we should most justly reprehend and disallow.

(⁵) As soon as time had permitted affairs to assume a new aspect, and Henry began to feel that it would be well, if possible, to be on terms of intimacy with the Reforming princes, negotiations were set on foot.

From Froude (vol. 2, p. 138) we extract the following:—"At the beginning of August (1533) Sir Stephen Vaughan was sent on a tentative mission to the Elector of Saxe, John Frederick, at Weimar. He was the bearer of letters containing a proposal for a resident English Ambassador; and if the Elector gave his consent, he was to proceed with similar offers to the Courts of the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Duke of Lunenberg. Vaughan arrived in due time at the elector's court, was admitted to audience, and delivered his letters. The prince read them, and in the evening of the same day returned for answer a polite but wholly absolute refusal. * * * * The reception which Vaughan met with at Weimar, satisfied him that he need go no further; neither the Landgrave nor the Duke of Lunenberg

would be likely to venture on a course which the elector so obviously feared. He therefore gave up his mission, and returned to England.

“The first overtures in this direction issued in complete failure, nor was the result wholly to be regretted. It taught Henry (or it was a first commencement of the lesson) that so long as he pursued a merely English policy, he might not expect that other nations would embroil themselves in his defence. He must allow the Reformation a wider scope, he must permit it to comprehend within its possible consequences the breaking of the chains by which his subjects’ minds were bound—not merely a change of jailors. Then, perhaps, the German princes might return some other answer.”

The failure of Vaughan’s mission did not deter the friends of union from a second attempt. At the Privy Council which met December 2nd, 1535, says Froude (p. 184), “It was proposed that the attempt to form an alliance with the Lutheran powers should

be renewed on a larger scale ; that certain discreet and grave persons should be appointed to conclude some league or amity with the princes of Germany—that is to say, the King of Poland, the King of Hungary, the Duke of Saxony, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other potentates.” Vaughan’s mission had been merely tentative, and had failed. Yet the offer of a league, offensive and defensive, the immediate and avowed object of which was a general council, at which the Protestants should be represented, might easily succeed, where vague offers of amity had come to nothing. Sir John Wallop was deputed to lay this proposition before the French court, and Henry was inclined himself to entertain it. The French king did not at all favour the idea, and sent an embassy to Henry, to attempt by fair words to soothe his mind and reconcile him to the Romish See.”

(*) Burnet says, “In 1536 the king was in some treaty with the German princes,

not only for a league in temporal concerns, but likewise in matters of religion. The king thought the Germans should have in all things submitted to him ; and the opinion he had of his own learning, which was perhaps heightened a little with his new title of 'Head of the Church,' made him expect that they should in all points comply with him. Gardiner was then his ambassador in France, and dissuaded him much from any religious league with them, as that which would alienate the world abroad, and his people at home from him." It is very certain that many things in Henry's conduct did not satisfy the German Reformers, but they seem to have many of them long entertained the idea that a closer union with England was possible ; and, indeed, it must be admitted that during the reign of Mary, and subsequently, there was far more intercourse with the followers of Calvin and Zwingle than with those of Luther : of this there is abundant evidence.

With regard to the intercourse carried on

about A.D. 1535, and for some time after, we may add that "after he fell out with the Pope, Henry sent legates to the Protestants of Germany desiring the goodwill of the Saxon princes in particular, and informing them there had been a change of religion brought about in England, the principal errors having been abolished by common consent, and that the impostures of the Papacy had been exterminated from his Kingdom as they had been from Saxony. To this end all the counsels and transactions of the king were directed, that he might thenceforward unite all his power and influence with the princes of Germany, if Antichrist should contrive anything against the Reformed Churches." Messages like this coming from such a man seemed almost too much for belief, but then Henry had not only openly quarrelled with the Pope, he had begun to clear out that Augean stable of abuse and corruption, the monasteries; and besides, some of the most earnest friends of the Reformation among his people were his repre-

sentatives. Dr. Barnes, already mentioned, was one; Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, was another; and Nicholas Heath, or Heyth, was a third. Fox died soon after, in 1538; of Barnes, we have already seen the end; of Heath, very little is known to us. They all appear to have been present at the Convention of Smalcald, in 1535, when negotiations were entered into, as already stated, for some kind of coalition between Henry and the German confederacy. Nor was this the first time in which the politico-religious circumstances of his kingdom induced the king to open correspondence with the German divines as well as princes. John Æpinus, as he is called, who is said to have been at one time an inmate of an English Franciscan monastery, but who was a native of Hamburg, embraced the doctrines of Luther, and became a distinguished minister and divine in his native city. When, about 1534, Henry VIII. wishing to ally himself with all the Protestant cities and states, in case of an attack from the partisans of the

Pope, requested an embassy from Hamburg, he is said to have sent a special invitation to Æpinus, who came over in consequence along with the civilians.

The imperious bearing of Henry towards the German princes told very much against him ; yet he persisted in his absurd self-will, and all the while expected that they would endorse his proceedings, and graciously entertain his projects. After the publication of the Papal bull against him, he seems to have felt that he was not beyond danger ; and this feeling of insecurity may have been one reason why, in 1535, he began sincerely to respect the German Reformers, and to endeavour to enlist their sympathies in his favour. " There could be little doubt of the support of the Germans, if they could be once assured that they would not be again trifled with ; and a Protestant league, the steady object of Cromwell's efforts, seemed likely at length to be realized. Different, indeed, would have been the future, both of England and Germany, if such a league had been

possible, if the pressure which compelled this most natural alliance had continued till it had cemented into rock." Froude, (vol. 2, p. 400) who, speaking of the embassy in 1535, says, that "Christopher Mount, in August, and in September, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, were despatched to warn the Lutheran princes against the French intrigues, and to point out the course which the interests of Northern Europe in the existing conjuncture required. The bishop's instructions were drawn by the king." From those instructions—now in the Rolls' House MSS., Froude gives considerable extracts (pp. 401—403), and a very tolerable account of the whole transaction.

It may be observed that Dr. Barnes, Bishop Fox, and Nicholas Heath, received the formal conclusion of the Lutheran divines about the question of the king's marriage.

(⁶) Dr. Heppé's narrative here is not very clear, nor sufficiently full. Not only did Henry send the delegates already named,

and not only did a correspondence commence with Melanchthon, whom the king was very anxious to bring into England, but Justus Jonas and even Martin Luther himself addressed letters to Sir Thomas Cromwell. A letter by each of these distinguished Reformers exists in the British Museum, and copies of them both are here given. For the sake of those who prefer the original, the Latin is printed in the Appendix; and for such as prefer an English version, one has been made, and is here printed. We are not aware that these letters have been before published:—

Letter from Luther to Thomas Cromwell.

Luther to the most illustrious Cromwell,
Counsellor of the most serene King,
greeting,—

Grace and peace in Jesus Christ. [After some excuses about the too late arrival of a letter, Luther thus proceeds.] For your

very friendly and pleasant letters I give the greatest thanks, and would that, by the blessing of Christ, I might be and be found such as your Highness has pictured me. For I think I am far short of those merits for which your Highness thinks me to excel. This one thing I confess to the Lord, that through His grace, I am not without desire and will, but as Paul says, to will is present with me, but to perform I find not in me, nevertheless, He who sees my imperfections is perfect, and will render perfect in His own time for His own good will. Dr. Barnes made me wonderfully glad when he told me of the earnest and ready mind of your Highness in the cause of Christ, especially since with your authority, by which you have very great influence with the most serene king, and in the whole realm, you can render great service.

I pray and I will pray Christ, that to His own glory and the salvation of many, He would happily strengthen His own work which He has begun in your Highness.

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From the account of Dr. Barnes, your Highness will best know what is and is done among us. To the mercy of the Father commends you .

MARTIN LUTHER.

Given at Wittenberg,
on Palm Sunday, 1536.

Letter from Justus Jonas to Sir T. Cromwell.

Justus Jonas, to the noble and most excellent Thomas Cromwell, his revered friend and patron, and Counsellor of the most serene and mighty King of England, greeting,—

Your Highness will learn from their own account all that the most Reverend Lord Edward, Bishop of Hereford, the most Reverend Archdeacon Nicholas, and Dr. Barnes, as the legates of the King's Majesty, accomplished in affairs of religion with the most illustrious Elector, our Prince, and how both publicly and privately they were received among us. All learned and pious men perceive that it is of great importance, in this so great a matter,

as well for repressing and even crushing the intolerable tyranny of the Roman Pontiff, as for bringing in the pure truth, that the most serene and mighty King of England, and the Princes of Germany who favour the Gospel, should be of one accord in mind and will, and aim as much as ever they can *συγκρατιζεῖν* [to act or rule in concert.] If only your learned men and the chief ministers of the Church endeavour that in the principal articles of sound doctrine, we may sufficiently and verily agree; then, as far as I perceive by the grave deliberations of our party, I doubt not we shall the more readily concur in doing and fulfilling what remains in regard to the political alliance. If the affair should be brought to a general synod, the most flourishing kingdom of England would not be without able and learned men. And our age is such, that the very stream of time, like the rush of a river, would interrupt the impious hope and nefarious designs of the Pope. We tender our most ready and devoted aid in this most bitter conflict, for the

defence of the cause of Gospel truth, and we shall endeavour so to cultivate, and by the interchange of mutual correspondence to maintain acquaintance and friendship with the most Reverend Bishop Edward, and the legates of the King's high Majesty, that we hope this will profit both the Church and the State through God's favour. May your Highness deign to commend us and the common cause of letters, to the most serene King. Jesus Christ preserve and enlighten your Highness with His light.

Your Highness' most devoted,

JUSTUS JONAS, DR.

Given at Wittenberg,

the 4th day after Easter, 1536.

These letters and negotiations were certainly not without effect, although the results as it respects the royal and princely persons concerned, were by no means satisfactory. They seem to have wanted confidence in each other, and moreover, were not very

unanimous in their opinions on certain matters of religion. At the same time there was a true and real bond of union between the divines of the Reformation in the two countries, and their intercourse seems to have been by no means unimportant. Unfortunately this truer and more genuine alliance has left the scantiest records, and it is for the most part only by indirect and casual allusions and letters that its deeply interesting character is brought to light.

(*) It may be proper to say a few words here about a letter from Melanchthon to Henry, already referred to in a note.

Melanchthon begins by alluding to the arts of the Popes to stir up the Emperor and the French king against England and Germany; but, says he, "because I hope God will overrule these perils, and defend your peace; I have written, in other letters, of the Reformation of the churches, which, if the times permit, I pray your royal majesty to receive. Afterwards I added this epistle, not moved by want of modesty, but by the

best desire and love of the churches and of yourself." He goes on to speak of the honour which Britain has had in spreading the Gospel, and of the overthrow of Papal tyranny. He desires also the carrying out of what is begun. He rejoices in the king's proclamation about religion, but is sorry for its severity, and desires that wise and good men may not be oppressed; above all, that there should be liberty in things indifferent. Then he takes up the question of the marriage of the clergy, and vows of continency. From this he proceeds to masses, saint and image worship, and other superstitions. He alludes to the Papal persecutions with abhorrence, and urges upon Henry the temperate prosecution of reform, concluding with prayers for the king's preservation and salvation. In the course of the letter he calls the blessing of bells a nefarious imposture, and calls certain popular saints, as George and Christopher, "poetic personages."

The whole of this wise, sober, and christian epistle might have been given; it does equal

credit to the head and heart of Melanchthon, and it cannot be wondered that the king attached great importance to it, and the others alluded to in it.

(7) Frederick Myconius, a zealous promoter of the principles of the Reformation, was sent into England with Francis Burchard, who is described as a man of almost universal attainments. Myconius held a conference with three bishops and four doctors of theology, on the separate heads of Christian doctrine contained in the Augustan or Augsburg Confession, and its Apology. At the same time (1538) the question of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves was considered. As Burnet says, the German delegates, in their theological conferences, insisted much upon granting the use of the cup to the laity; on putting down private masses; on worship in a known tongue; and on the marriage of the clergy. On these different heads a copious memorial was presented by them to the king. The reply to the memorial was from the pen of Tonstal, and in justification of the erro-

neous customs complained of. In reference to this matter Mosheim says, "In 1538, the German Confederates sent an embassy to the King of France, which, however, effected very little; and also three ambassadors to the King of England. They proposed to King Henry to adopt the Augsburg Confession, and consent to be the head and patron of the Protestant Confederacy; they also stated what aid each should afford to the other in case of attack from the enemy. But Henry was not yet prepared to go so far in the Reformation, nor did he wish to embroil himself with the emperor."

The residence in this country of Andreas Hyperius, whose proper name was Andrew Gerard, a native of Ypres, ought not to be overlooked. This eminent man, who was professor at Marburg more than two and twenty years, visited England, where he sought out such as were distinguished as the friends of learning. Here he found a warm admirer in the person of Charles Mantjoy or Mountjoy, the friend of Erasmus. After

repeated conversations with Mountjoy, from whom he received a liberal promise of ample support, he went to reside with him, and remained in his house more than four years. He was taken by his patron to Cambridge in 1540, the year in which Thomas Cromwell, Dr. Barnes, and other promoters of the Reformation were called to suffer. At that time certain decrees were published which perilled the foreigners who were in the country. Hyperius, therefore, made up his mind to go to Germany; and having first paid a visit to Oxford, carried his resolution into effect, much against the will of his liberal and attached protector. He was very kindly received at Marburg by Gerard Noyomagus, at whose death, in 1542, he was appointed his successor. He died at Marburg in 1564.

(*) The general confusion which prevailed in Germany at this time (1547) was an additional reason for the return to England of the Protestant refugees, and others who had found rest and liberty during the reign of

Henry VIII. The same cause led to the willingness with which the continental Reformers made England their home. Among the numerous distinguished divines who came over, some are mentioned by Dr. Heppe in the text, and others might be added. For example, Peter Martyr, in the end of November, 1547, came to England by the invitation which he received from Cranmer in the name of the King. He was joined both in the invitation and on his journey by Bernardinus Ochinus. They were kindly received and entertained by the Archdishop. Ochinus was made a Canon of Canterbury, with certain privileges annexed, and Peter Martyr was appointed to a professorship at Oxford. His eventful career at Oxford is detailed at length by Melchior Adam, and his recent biographer, Dr. Schmidt, to whom the reader is referred for the particulars. Among his friends and admirers he numbered the king, Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Cheke, and many other distinguished men. During his residence in England his wife died, and on the

accession of Mary he was himself deposed from his office, and had to remove from the country. It is well known how the bones of his wife were shamefully exhumed by Cardinal Pole, and cast upon a dunghill, and how they were afterwards honourably re-interred by Elizabeth. In 1556 Jewell was the friend and companion of Martyr at Zurich. Queen Elizabeth wished him to return to England, but he did not see it his duty to comply. Several of his most important works were either written in England or on behalf of the English Protestants. He died in 1562.

Paulius Fagius came over in 1549, and, with his companions, was a guest and sojourner at Lambeth Palace. Fagius was a man of great learning and promise, but prematurely died at Cambridge, November 13th, 1550, greatly lamented. The bones of Fagius were dug up and burnt in the time of Mary, as also were those of Bucer.

Alexander Aless, a Scotchman by birth, was converted in a discussion with Patrick Hamilton. He spent some time in Germany, where he filled a professor's chair. He came to England on the accession of Edward, and became professor of theology: he died 1565.

John Brentius, or Brentz, by birth a Swede, but settled in Germany, was among those who were invited to England by Edward VI. Large promises were made to him, but he did not feel justified in leaving the Continent. He died in 1570, at Stuttgart.

On the whole, it may be said that the correspondence and intercourse between the divines of England, and of Germany, and German speaking countries, during the reign of Edward was most extensive, important, and interesting.

(*) During the reign of Mary many eminent English Protestants found refuge, protection, and friendship among their German

friends, as is attested by the lives of the principal of our Reformers of that unhappy period. The great kindness shown to them by Henry Bullinger at Zurich, deserves to be never forgotten. Through the means of Simon Grynæus, Bullinger had made the acquaintance of Cranmer many years before. Cranmer, by the way, married a German wife, in the person of the niece of Osiander. As early as 1536, Bullinger contracted friendship with three young Englishmen studying at Zurich; of these, John Butler and William Woodroof lodged with Conrad Pellican; and the third, Nicholas Partridge, lived in the house of Bullinger. Soon after, Nicholas Eliot and Bartholomew Traheron came to Zurich. Bullinger's writings also were early translated into English. John Hooper was among his friends and correspondents, and was regarded by him with particular affection. Of his correspondence with the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, it is not needful to say much. Three of her letters to him, full of confidence and affec-

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tion still exist, and have been several times published.* Jane was assisted in her studies, including Greek and Hebrew, by Bullinger, who used the assistance of John of Ulm, who studied in England, and was the tutor of Jane. Bullinger stood very high in this country, as may be gathered, not only from this deeply interesting correspondence, but from the fact, that one of his works was addressed to Henry VIII.; the third and fourth of his "Decades" were dedicated to Edward VI., and the fifth to Henry Grey, father of Lady Jane; he was also known to the Earl of Warwick, and others of the nobility.

Perhaps one of the most important results of the intercourse which had sprung up,

*The best edition of these Letters is that of Zurich, 1840, 4to, with Introductions and Notes. This edition contains a Letter by John of Ulm, in which, amongst others, mention is made of James Haddon, Chaplain of the Duke of Suffolk, who afterwards resided in Germany as a refugee.

more especially with the followers of Zwingle and Calvin, and the appointment at the English universities of professors holding the same principles, was, that when so many left their native land on Mary's accession, preferring voluntary exile to the tyranny of Popery, a considerable portion of them settled in Geneva, including very distinguished men. An English College was founded at Locarno ; and the well-known Genevan-English version of the Bible emanated from the exiles, who were abundantly recompensed for their labours and trials by its extraordinary popularity in this country. It was first published at Geneva in 1560.

We omit for the present many additional evidences of genuine Christian intercourse between the English and German Reformers under Henry, Edward, and Mary.

It would have been gratifying to have added something respecting the relations subsisting between the German and Scottish Reformers prior to the accession of Queen Elizabeth. We are, however, acquainted

with very little beyond what relates to Patrick Hamilton, Alexander Ales, and John Knox. But we have observed, that among the articles preferred against Sir John Borthwick, in 1540, by Cardinal Beaton, this is conspicuous, "That he did read heretical books, and the New Testament in English, and some other treatises written by Melancthon, Ecclampadius, and Erasmus, which he gave likewise unto others," (Spotswood: "History of the Church," p. 70.) Dr. Stuart, in his "History of the Reformation in Scotland," says, "Sir John Borthwick, having been apprized of his danger, fled into England, where he was kindly received by Henry VIII., who employed him in negotiations with the Protestant princes of Germany" (p. 12).

Still earlier than this, in 1535, "several Acts of Parliament were passed (in Scotland) against 'the damnable opinions of the great heretic Martin Luther.'" (Stephen: "History of Church of Scotland," vol. 1, p. 8.) It is also related that many ministers and pro-

fessors of the Gospel fled from persecution in Scotland, and found a refuge in Germany and Geneva, from whence a good number returned in 1558.

CHAPTER II.

THE AFFINITY OF GERMAN AND ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM RECOGNISED BY EVANGELICAL PRINCES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE IN THE YEARS 1561 AND 1562.

On November 17, 1551, the long night of terror which had overshadowed England ended. Mary died on that day. English Protestantism had been baptized in blood. Elizabeth, who was the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, and who had been brought up in the Protestant faith, then ascended the throne. Protestantism was reinstated, and the ecclesiastical intercourse between England and Germany received quite a fresh impulse.

The formation of an alliance of all evangelical countries was one of the ideas which the virgin Queen hoped to realize by the most lively intercourse and correspondence

with the Protestant princes of Germany. As early as 1559, Queen Elizabeth consulted by letters with the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, about this matter. "She wrote that she was resolved to order that the doctrinal truths and usages contained in the Augsburg Confession should be taught, after having been previously made the subject of preaching; and that she highly appreciated the union of evangelical princes, among whom the Landgrave, the friend of her father and of her brother, stood foremost. She asked him at the same time, as a favour, that he would give her on all occasions confidential information about those religious questions which might be of profit to her own kingdom." From this time until his death, the Landgrave carried on an active correspondence with Queen Elizabeth.

The desire of the high-minded queen, which was the result of mature consideration, was strengthened by the Papal Convocation of the Council of Trent. When the queen, therefore, heard of a congress which

the Protestant princes of the German empire had resolved to hold at Naumburg, in January, 1561, in order to take counsel together, with regard to their common ecclesiastical interests, she resolved to prepare the assembled princes for the future realization of her project, by a special embassy. The evangelical princes signed at Naumburg a new preface to the Augsburg Confession, altogether confirming Melancthon's editions of 1540 and 1542 (which the Lutherans named "Variata," and opposed very energetically), together with Melancthon's views on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Congress also took up and discussed the question, whether the Pope's request made to the evangelical princes to send their legates to the Council of Trent, should be accepted. The invitation was unanimously rejected by the assembled princes. On the very day when the Papal legates received the definite reply of the evangelical princes at Naumburg, the Plenipotentiary of Queen Elizabeth, Christo-

pher Mount, appeared before them and reported in the name of the queen as follows: "Whereas the Council, which the Pope is about to assemble at Trent, has evidently for its object the suppression of Protestantism, and the restoration of the Papal power; and whereas, furthermore, the Queen of England professes the same faith as the Protestant princes of Germany, it appears desirable, that in the face of the Council, both parties should take exactly the same stand.

"The queen, therefore, declares herself resolved, in case she should be requested to take part in the Council of Trent, to communicate to the evangelical princes her reply to such request; and expects, that they will, in return, inform her of their decision, should similar application be made to them." She moreover prayed the princes to take pains that all soldiers, which the King of France recruited in Germany, might take an oath, not to enter any engagement against the evangelical Christians of France.

The princes in their answer, which was communicated to the queen's legate on the following day, expressed their sincere satisfaction and joy at this message, distinctly acknowledging, moreover, the community of faith, which united the English Church with their own. The princes informed him of the propositions which had been made to them by the emperor and the Pope, and communicated to him their reply. He received besides a copy of the petition which was laid before the last Imperial Diet, with regard to the convocation of a free Christian Council.

At the same time with the English legate, a letter from France had arrived at Naumburg, in which the evangelical princes of Germany were earnestly requested to intercede with Charles V. in behalf of the persecuted Huguenots. The Congress joyfully responded to the appeal of their brethren in the faith, and issued, on February 7, a letter to the King of France, in which they entreated him most earnestly to protect

those of his subjects who had embraced Protestantism, against any further persecutions, at least, until the ecclesiastical disunion which pervaded all countries had been removed by a legitimate council. The Assembly at the same time sent an address to Henry II., King of Navarre, exhorting him in glowing terms firmly to stand by his evangelical profession. A copy of the Augsburg Confession, signed afresh by the Assembly, was sent to the Kings of France and Navarre.

In accordance with the resolution adopted at Naumburg, the evangelical princes forwarded to Queen Elizabeth their declaration against the Council of Trent, which had been signed by them at a meeting at Fulda, September, 1562.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENERAL EVANGELICAL CONFERENCE AT ERFURT, SEPTEMBER, 1569.

The confessional differences, which had unfortunately appeared in some of the Protestant territories since the "Interim," became of fatal importance in regard to the Anglo-German Church Alliance after 1562. The rumour had widely spread and gained credit, that the Elector Palatine Frederick III, after having reformed the worship in all his churches according to the principles of Calvin, and after having published and introduced as a public school-book the Heidelberg Catechism, had abandoned the Augsburg Confession, and thereby lost the rights granted by the peace of the empire. Many of the princes and divines did not wish to side with an exclusive Lutheranism which arose just at this time, and which did not

even hesitate to disown the authority of Melanchthon and the ecclesiastical and doctrinal traditions of German Protestantism. They therefore began now to view with distrust and anxious suspicion a movement, which at an earlier period had been acknowledged by them to be in perfect accordance with the inalienable liberty of evangelical Protestantism. While Queen Elizabeth expected the German Protestants cordially to recognise her as belonging to the same church communion, and to enlist her co-operation and sympathy in their religious interests, many of the German princes, in a very marked manner, avoided all communication with her, and limited themselves to the discussion of the question, how it was possible for them to revive among themselves a "more intimate correspondence," excluding thereby any relations with foreign evangelical countries.

The only one who understood the queen's generous endeavours, was the Elector Frederick of Heidelberg, whose pious spirit, imbued with the true principles of the Refor-

mation, was grieved at the attitude which the German princes had assumed towards her. While Elizabeth, with deep sorrow, became more and more convinced that all community of faith and ecclesiastical interests in which she felt herself allied to the German princes, was either decried or put aside by them, the magnanimous Elector Frederick resolved to promote, with all his energy, the realisation of the great idea which agitated the queen's breast.

When the civil war, by which France had been devastated, was rekindled after a short interval of peace, Frederick sent his confidential counsellor and legate, who had ever been at his side in settling affairs of war and peace, to Queen Elizabeth. He was instructed to inform her of the reasons why the previous revolution had arisen in France, how it had been carried on, and had at last ended in a false peace.^(*) And since it was

(*) Official information received by the Landgrave Wilhelm, at Cassel, from the Elector Palatine.

publicly known and evident from past actions, and the edicts and compromises which had been published in France, in the Netherlands, and in Germany, that this war had been commenced only for the purpose of annihilating our true Christian religion, and of bringing Her Royal Highness (the Queen of England) and the German nation under the yoke, he was to exhort Her Royal Highness by co-operating in so common and Christian a matter, and by preventing the calamities which threatened, to assist with more energy than ever before, the cause of her afflicted fellow believers, and to help in extinguishing the fire in other countries before it reached her own kingdom. The Elector Frederick, moreover, asked the queen: "what help and comfort the German electors and princes might expect from her, as on account of their common, true Christian religion, they were sore oppressed and molested by the Pope and his partisans." He reminded her also of repeated negotiations, which had formerly

been opened with the German Protestant princes by her ambassadors. Lastly, the elector remarked, "that there was perhaps never a more favourable moment than the present to come to an understanding, and to carry it practically out."

Elizabeth was painfully reminded by this message from the elector of the little good which had resulted from all her former transactions and endeavours to conclude a sincere alliance between herself and the evangelical princes of the empire. She doubted, therefore, very much whether her previous proposals would find a more favourable reception now on the part of the German princes. Yet it seemed to her an important fact, that the first evangelical elector of the empire should fall in so much with her own views, and should request that negotiations in this matter might be reopened. Elizabeth sent, therefore, one of her councillors, Henry Killigrew, to Heidelberg, ordering him to enter into the question proposed by the

elector, to whom he was to deliver her message, the tenor of which was as follows :—^(b) That she had resolved never again to renew her efforts for the conclusion of an alliance between the evangelical princes of the empire and the crown of England, on account of

^(b) The Latin original of Killigrew's Instructions will be found in the Appendix No. 3. A slightly condensed version in English is here given, as follows :—

Summary of the reply which the Legate of the Queen of England presented to the Elector Palatine in reference to his application to her Highness for a Common League :—

The queen, perceiving and foreseeing the imminent perils of the times, and the pernicious and sanguinary plots of certain persons against all the professors of the holy Gospel in every place, not many years since publicly appointed legates to several of the princes of Germany, who profess the Christian religion, to inform them how useful a public and common alliance among all Protestants would be, in which legations, although her Highness showed herself most ready (with due regard to the honour to which God has called her,) with her consent and forces, to contribute with them the greatest aid for the common cause of all—yet, she suffered so many delays and hindrances from many

the small degree of sympathy which her offers had received. But having been expressly requested by the elector at Heidelberg to renew her negotiations with the German princes, she would joyfully enter again into them, under this condition, that all the

of the princes who then professed the same religion with herself, that she determined thenceforth to abstain altogether from all treaties of that nature. But very recently, her Highness has been again applied to on this account by the Elector Palatine; she has now therefore sent me to Germany to communicate her counsels with the aforesaid elector, and other princes of Germany, and to intimate to them how willingly she will listen to all that may be proposed; and that if she finds it good for the interests of religion, and not unsuitable to herself, she will readily concur.

But still, except the Elector of Saxony, Augustus, and the Dukes of Zweibrücken, Julius of Brunswick and Württemberg, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and the remaining princes in these parts, and certain free towns of Upper Germany, as well as the maritime towns nearest the English coast, should be willing to be included, her Highness will by no means consider such an alliance suitable. And if the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the Dukes

evangelical princes of the empire, as well as the larger imperial towns of Upper and Lower Germany, should join the proposed alliance. She would be glad if the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden, and the Dukes of Holstein, could be induced likewise to

of Holstein, and other princes near to that ocean should be willing to join this alliance, it would be so much the more agreeable to her.

She also desires that this alliance be only defensive—that is, that there should be no war but against those who by most evident force, attempt to disturb any one of the confederates for the sake of religion.

But although her Highness well knows what enemies religion has, yet since her empire is separated from them, and surrounded on every side by the ocean, she can much more easily defend herself with her own forces than other princes on the continent, whose borders lie open and exposed to enemies. And here, those who will look back a little, will easily see with how much less difficulty her Highness might now protect her kingdom (since in all kingdoms round about her, there are now so many who favour and wish well to her because of her religion), than her father Henry VIII. of blessed memory, and Edward VI., her brother,

join it. The Confederacy should only act defensively, but every member should be obliged to take up arms, in case any of the confederates should be attacked on account of the evangelical faith. It was added, that such a confederacy was much more for the interest of the German Protestants, than for those of the Queen of England, who, by the situation of her country, and by her relations with neighbouring states, was more than sufficiently protected against any disturbance.

Before, however, the project which was negotiated between the queen and the

against whom although the greatest tragedies were openly and secretly enacted, on account of their religion, by the Pope of Rome, by Charles V. the Emperor, and the Kings of France, and other princes of the Papal faction at that time, yet it is clear enough, how strong and unbroken by Divine goodness they always maintained themselves and their kingdoms; so that it may be certainly concluded, that it is not much to the interest of her Highness now to form an alliance (which would be an expense and a burden to her), except for the public defence of the Christian religion.

elector could be carried into execution, she had been informed that deputies from all the evangelical princes of the empire were to assemble at Frankfort, in April, 1569, for the purpose, as she supposed, of concerting measures against the execution of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, which Rome was resolved to enforce. Elizabeth ordered her councillor, Henry Killigrew, who was still at Heidelberg, to betake himself, together with her "orator," Dr. Christopher Mount, who resided at Strasburg, to Frankfort-on-the-Maine^(c), and to communicate to the as-

(c) The credentials whereby Queen Elizabeth authorised her two legates, run thus. (For the original see the Appendix No. 4. This translation is slightly abridged.)

Elizabeth, &c., to the Electors of the holy Roman Empire and the States, our very dear cousins and friends, constant increase of happiness! A report has lately reached us from many that a congress of certain princes of the holy Roman empire will be held at Frankfort in this month of April. Since, therefore, by the very little time which remains, we seem to be excluded from sending thither some one with orders to enquire what is the truth

sembled deputies, " that from the beginning she had cared for nothing so much as for the propagation and the protection of the true Christian religion, which she professed. Having been informed, therefore, that the evangelical princes of Germany were at that time assembled for the purpose of securing the evangelical faith against the dangers with which it was threatened by Rome, she had not been able to refrain from sending

of the matter, and to inform us, it has seemed good to commend to your Excellencies now, two who are not far from Frankfort, one of them, Henry Killigrew, our approved and faithful servant, we have sent to your Excellencies, to our very dear cousin the Count Palatine, and cannot hear that he has yet left those parts; the other, our faithful and old servant, Dr. Mount, a man well known in Germany, and acquainted with public affairs, sojourns at Strasburg. Both and each of these we have commanded first to ascertain the truth about the congress, and then, if it be certain, and they can both of them attend in time, to inform your Excellencies, by our desire, generally of those things which seem proper to us who are not fully instructed as to your congress and purpose, but

her legates to assist in the councils of this Christian enterprise."

The queen's legates, however, came too late; the Congress of Deputies was already dissolved when they arrived. They were informed by the Elector Frederick, "that no matters of religious interest had been discussed at the congress. The point principally considered, was how the general

have gathered somewhat by conjecture. We earnestly entreat you all that you would give them, or either of them bringing these letters in our behalf, the same trust and authority as if they had been sent on this account alone, with our full knowledge of your congress and the occasion of it. For the rest, as we shall be informed by them of the state of affairs, so will we impart to your Excellencies as need requires our purpose and advice. May your Excellencies fare well.

Given at our palace of Westminster, 12 April, A.D. 1569, the 11th year of our reign.

Your cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

To the most illustrious, excellent, and mighty Princes, Electors of the holy Roman empire, and the States, our very dear cousins and friends.

peace could be preserved both in the empire, and among the members of the congress in particular; and also how they could best secure themselves against the disturbances, which might arise from the disbanding of the armies in France." It was added, that in future, if in any assembly, any question should be discussed, and any plan resolved upon, that might be of interest to the queen, they would previously inform her of it.

The queen's proposition and project, however, were most zealously taken up by the Elector Frederick. At the same time he perceived that every possible precaution must be employed in carrying it out. Above all, the expression, an "alliance" with the queen, must be avoided. It appeared, at least, to be more prudent to invite the princes to enter into an "agreement" or "understanding" with the queen. Frederick therefore drew up the following particulars: "That the Christian Agreement which was desired with the queen should be resolved upon for no other purpose than

for the protection and safety of the true Christian faith, so that, if one of the parties should be threatened with war, or attacked on account of his religious profession, all the others, when requested, should give him their entire support. England, which was especially rich in money, should render aid in money; while Germany could easily afford a powerful body of soldiers; the German princes therefore on behalf of England, should send an army into the field which England should maintain.^(d)

(d) The details of the proposition were the following:

If England should be invaded by war for the cause of religion, the German electors and princes would endeavour not only to induce the German soldiery to leave the army of the queen's enemies, but also to send, at her request, a number of horsemen and soldiers, which would be paid by her. They, the German electors and princes, would even go so far as to recruit an army of two thousand cavalry and some regiments of infantry for the term of three months, and would bear the whole expense during this time. Should, however, the queen require a greater number, or like to keep the army

In April, 1569, the Elector Frederick sent the queen's proposition, together with the "Articles of Agreement," which he had drawn up, to the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, requesting them to communicate them to the other princes. They all declared their general concurrence with the intentions of the queen and the Elector Frederick. But there was only one, the noble and wise

longer than three months, her Royal Majesty would be obliged to pay the current expenses. At the same time electors and princes would enter into treaties with the maritime towns, in order to obtain for the queen assistance by sea, and to promote her cause in every other way.

If, however, on the other hand, the German electors and princes should be molested and offended by war, on account of the cause above mentioned, England would have to assist them with the sum of about five or six tons of gold. In case this sum could not be raised in specie, which would be the best, the queen should give such obligations as would be a sufficient guarantee for them to form an army. It was a question to be considered, whether these obligations, which the queen had offered to Palatine, would be satisfactory.

Landgrave, Wilhelm of Hesse,^(e) who entered into the matter with more than ordinary energy and cordiality; while most of the other princes rather manifested a scrupulous cautiousness and hesitation. Still, the three electors agreed to convoke a general evangelical Conference, for the purpose of considering the question of concluding a Protestant Alliance, which should include among its members those who were beyond the limits of Germany.

The German princes would request all those attached to the Augsburg Confession, as Denmark and Sweden, and some important imperial cities, to enter into the alliance.

And whereas, the governor of Scotland had already offered to enter likewise into a treaty with the Queen of England for the above-mentioned purpose, this kingdom should be received into the treaty; however, not for offence, but defence.

^(e) The Landgrave Wilhelm, handed to the ambassador of the Palatinate, Dr. Oheim, (who had advocated the propositions of Frederick at the courts of the electors of Saxony, Hesse, and at

Just at this time King Henry of Navarre (who afterwards ascended the French throne as Henry IV.) sent messages to Heidelberg and to other German courts, with a view to induce the evangelical princes of the empire to conclude an alliance with him, and to assist him with an army,

Most of the German princes expressed themselves willing to take part in the general conference. The town of Erfurt, and not Naumburg, which was first thought of, was fixed upon as the place where, on September 5th, the deputies of the princes were to assemble.

Among the instructions which the several princes gave their legates, that of the Land-

other places) the following declaration (dated, Cassel, August 16, 1569): We especially remember that our father, your predecessor, as a wise man, and experienced in this kind of negotiations, always looked with great confidence towards the Queen of England, who, having suffered a good deal for the cause of religion, and having endured all kinds of dangers, should ever be retained in the friendship of the German Protestants.

grave of Hesse (dated Cassel, September 3rd, 1569) is especially to be noted. He knew the confessional exclusiveness which here and there had taken hold of men's minds, and which took offence at the large-heartedness of the pious queen; but he knew also the blessing which would follow to the common cause of evangelical Protestantism, from the establishment of intimate relations between England and the evangelical States of Germany. He therefore ordered his legate to use all his power and influence to prevent the queen's gracious offer from being rejected with levity, and put aside by an "empty answer." If it should be said "that England is Zwinglian," they must answer, "that the Pope did not care whether a person were Zwinglian or Lutheran, for both were equally hated by him; and as the Zwinglians and Lutherans were one on most of the articles of faith, they ought not to care either."

The Conference was opened, September 8th, by the legate of the Elector Palatine, who presided. All the deputies, as well as

the secretaries, then took an oath not to reveal the transactions of the Conference to any one except their prince. After this the whole of the correspondence which had been carried on among the princes about the questions before them, was laid upon the table. In the afternoon the president proposed the three principal questions which the Conference was convened to consider.

1. In what way there could be established "a more intimate correspondence" among the evangelical princes of Germany, and what should be the obligations of every one for the protection of the other.

2. The opinion of the Conference on the queen's proposal of an agreement with the German Protestant princes, and their reply to the queen's letter.

3. The opinion of the Conference on a similar request made by the King of Navarre and his confederates.

At the request of the deputies from Saxony, the discussion of the second point was opened on the morning of September 9.

The legates of the Elector Palatine pointed out the dangers, by which at the present time, the evangelical states of Germany were threatened, and expressed their desire that the proposed confederation between Queen Elizabeth and the evangelical princes might be accepted, inasmuch as the latter ought to be much more interested in such confederation than the Queen of England. But alas! it soon became evident, that the tendency of the majority of the German evangelicals had much changed since the congress at Naumburg. Most of the deputies, headed by those of the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, declared :—that it was not advisable to enter into an alliance with the Queen of England, and that instead of it, a kind letter should be addressed to her. The deputies of Brunswick went so far as to say, that it was impossible for their Duke Julius to join an alliance with the Calvinists. The Assembly agreed, that they could not, for the present, entertain the queen's proposals, but

that a kind address should be signed and sent to the Elector Palatine, through whose hands the queen's proposal had been presented.

It was further considered whether this address should simply be sent to the queen, or whether a deputation should deliver it into her own hands. The deputies of the Elector Palatine proposed, that an address, drawn up by them, should be adopted, and a promise made to the queen, to assist her in case of need with three thousand horsemen and two regiments of soldiers; and that this address should be delivered to the queen by a deputation. The Saxon deputies, however, observed, that their prince altogether objected to enter into an alliance, and desired that only an address should be issued. The Brandenburg deputies stated, that their Elector Joachim could not join in an alliance with the queen, who, it was said, was a disciple of Zwingle.

The other deputies voted for the proposition made by those of Saxony and Brandenburg,

and it was resolved to answer the queen's message by a declaration, accompanied by the protocol (minutes) of the Assembly. This declaration was publicly read in the morning session, on September 10, and then signed. It was stated therein: That they were fully aware of the dangers with which the Protestant princes and nations were threatened; but on the one hand, they considered themselves to be sufficiently protected by existing treaties, and on the other they had reason to hope, that Catholic German princes would never enter into such relations with the Pope, as would prejudice the welfare of their common country. They were, however, rejoiced to see the Queen of England giving repeated proofs of her great zeal for the cause of the Gospel; and though the present circumstances of the empire prevented them from accepting her offer, they expressed their sincerest thanks for the sympathy she manifested towards the evangelical Christians of Germany.

On the same day the second question was

entered into. The King of Navarre had made application to the German evangelical princes for an alliance and aid. The deputies of the Palatinate expressed the hope, that, though an alliance with the king might appear impracticable, they would never forsake their poor Christian fellow Protestants of France. The other deputies, however, anxious to avoid being implicated in the religious war then raging in France, declared that they were unable to do anything for their oppressed brethren, but would use their good offices on behalf of the crown of France, by a letter. The deputies of the Palatinate on the following day expressed their opinion to this effect, that such a letter as was contemplated, might rather prove prejudicial than beneficial to the King of Navarre. It was resolved therefore to drop the question altogether.

With regard to the third point (the organization of a "more intimate correspondence and intercourse" among the evangelical party for mutual defence against the

dangers arising from the Roman Catholics), the deputies of the Palatinate stated, that the Elector Frederick was ready in case of need to stand up for the liberty of his fellow Protestants with all the means at his command, and without any secondary intentions. He, therefore, thought it desirable that it should be considered what obligations the princes would take upon themselves, and what should be the stipulations of the treaty.

However, even on this point, the elector's desire was frustrated. At the request of Saxony and Brandenburg, it was resolved to reject the plan for "a closer intercourse and correspondence" among the German Protestants.

The conference at Erfurt was the last time that the evangelical princes of the empire met for common consultation. Henceforward they ceased to meet together in conference as members of one communion, and as the representatives of common interests.

CHAPTER IV.

THE UNION OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: ITS DESTRUCTION, CAUSED BY THE "UBIQUITARIAN" LUTHERANISM OF THE SO-CALLED *Formula Concordiæ* of 1577.

The resolutions, which had been adopted at the Erfurt Conference of 1569, against the proposals of the Elector Palatine, were the first sure forebodings of the fundamental ecclesiastical revolution, which was to befall German Protestantism within the next ten years. It is true, that Protestantism, even until the death of Melanchthon (1560), had been convulsed by struggles, which often might have led to the formation of parties, opposed to each other by exclusive dogmatic and ecclesiastical differences. The inner development and progress of Protestantism,

however, had hitherto entirely overcome those differences. It seemed just at this time as if the dogmatic dissensions of former years had given way to a godly peace, in which all the professors of evangelical Protestantism stretched out a brother's hand to each other, acknowledging themselves to be one congregation in the Lord. The cordial intercourse which the Reformers themselves had to so great an extent with one another, appeared to avert for ever the danger of an ecclesiastical rupture. Calvin showed his great respect and reverence for Luther (whom he called *primarius Christi servus*—the chief servant of Christ) at every opportunity. He himself repeatedly received from Luther the most unequivocal proofs of sincerest love and veneration. (*)

Melanchthon had most confidential correspondence with Calvin, and Calvin rejoiced to be able to testify before the whole world his perfect agreement with Melanchthon.

(*) Compare Calvin's Letters.

In the same manner, Melanchthon and John Lasky, or John a Lasco, Calvin, and Brentz, had much cordial intercourse with each other. Calvin published a French translation of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*, or Common Places, to the orthodoxy and excellency of which, he expressly gave a distinguished testimony in his preface, where he states, that Melanchthon had taught in his book every point of the article of predestination, which belonged to the doctrine of faith.

Andreas Hyperius,^(b) an excellent reformed divine, Professor at the University of Marburg, lectured on doctrine in harmony with Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*.

When Hieronymus Zanchius entered upon his professorship at the University of Strasburg, in 1553, he declared (March 15) in his inaugural discourse: "*Si quid magis congruens divinæ scripturæ Calvino revelatum fuerit,—taceat Lutherus; porro si magis congruentia Lutheri dicta quam Zwinglii, cedat Zwinglius*

^(b) See additions to Chap. I., p. 38.

Luthero :” (that if anything more in accordance with divine Scripture had been made known to Calvin, Luther should be silent; and moreover, if the sayings of Luther were more in accordance therewith than those of Zwingle, Zwingle must give way to Luther).

At the public conferences which were held after the year 1540, Calvin appeared as deputy from Strasburg, and took part in the affairs of German Protestantism, having previously subscribed to the revised Augsburg Confession. Luther’s writings, and Melanchthon’s books on Christian doctrine, as well as his sermons, were reprinted at Strasburg, for their more convenient circulation in Switzerland. In Hadelers “Church Order,” the following books were enumerated as those “which all pastors ought to possess: the ‘Postilla,’ (a collection of sermons) of Luther and Calvin, the ‘Apology,’ and ‘Common Places’ of Melanchthon, ‘Opera Brentii,’ the works of Brentz, with good expositions of the Catechism of a similar character, and other books by authors who

are free from fanaticism and heresy." Several German princes, for instance, the Landgraves of Hesse, lived in habitual intercourse with the chief Calvinistic theologians.

French, Dutch, and English congregations were kindly received at Strasburg, Aix-la-Chapelle, Wesel, and Frankfort, and were regarded by the German communities as evangelical fellow-believers. When in 1542, the Protestant princes of Germany were induced to assist the persecuted Waldenses, they most decidedly recognized the Confession of the Waldenses as truly evangelical, and expressed this opinion in a letter to the King of France, which Melanchthon had been requested to draw up.

This recognition was repeated by the German princes and their divines, in 1557, when Beza and Farel laid before them the Confession of the Waldenses, together with their own Calvinistic Confession. The German Protestants, therefore, considered it to be their duty to recognise the Waldenses as

their brethren in the faith. The same fraternal interest and sympathy were manifested by the German princes on behalf of the Huguenots; it was stated in a memorial which they addressed to the King of France, that they had examined the Confession of evangelical Christians in France, and had arrived at the conviction that it was entirely in harmony with that of the German Church. In 1559, the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector Palatine again interfered in favour of the Huguenots; the former adjuring the king to refrain from persecuting those who sought edification by means of the Holy Scriptures, and were attached to the doctrines laid down in the Augsburg Confession.

Caspar Olevian, who had been educated in France and Switzerland under the eyes of Calvin, Peter Martyr, Henry Bullinger, and Farel, and who was devotedly attached to Calvin, was appointed pastor at Treves in 1559, and at his examination affirmed on oath that he acknowledged the Augsburg Confession.

The deputies of the German princes, who had been appointed to examine the doctrinal views of Olevian and of his congregation, declared them to be perfectly orthodox.

The deputies of the Princes of Hesse, of the Palatinate of Würtemberg and of Baden, together formed the commission which examined the doctrinal confession of a Calvinistic congregation, which had settled in Aix-la-Chapelle. This confession contained a minute exposition of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper according to Melanchthon's and Calvin's views; and with reference to the Augsburg Confession of 1540, testified to the existence of the union within the German Churches, between the adherents of a Lutheran interpretation of this confession, and those who sided with the interpretation of Melanchthon. Even as far down as 1567, the evangelical princes agreed at a congress at Fulda, to consider the Calvinists in the Netherlands as their fellow-believers, and practically to support them. At the same time, the convocation of a General Evan-

gical Synod was repeatedly taken into consideration by the German princes, at which the evangelical Christians of Germany, France, Holland, Switzerland, England, Denmark, Sweden, &c., were to be represented.

In foreign Protestant countries, it was not known that the professors of Protestantism beyond the limits of the German empire were not acknowledged by the evangelical princes and divines to be true and real brethren in the faith. It was believed, that the evangelical Protestant Churches of all lands were recognized as one communion with a pure doctrinal confession.

Yet the time was fulfilled; the concord which hitherto had reigned among the professors of the Gospel was drawing to an end. It was *modern Lutheranism*, which, as an offshoot of *Flacianism*,^(°) had crept into the

(°) *Flacianism*, so called after Matthias Flacius Illyricus, an able and learned, but violent man. He was a principal author of the famous "Centuriæ

Church; the sworn enemy of Melancthon and Bucer; this arose with its new ubiquitarian Christology, on the foundation of which a new confession was framed—the Formula of Concord—at Closter-Bergen in May, 1577. Beyond the pale of this confession no communion of evangelical faith was to be acknowledged.

Magdeburgenses," one of which was dedicated in 1560 to Queen Elizabeth. Flacius died in 1575.

CHAPTER V.

VAIN EFFORTS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO PREVENT A RUPTURE AMONG THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

Rumours were spreading abroad that they were about to establish in Germany a new confession, which was to separate the German Church from all connexion with *foreign Protestant Churches*, and in this way to disintegrate evangelical Protestantism. When Queen Elizabeth received this sad intelligence, she at once understood that the whole future of Protestantism was at stake, and she became deeply conscious of the danger into which, in the very face of Rome, Protestantism was rushing through such a dismemberment. In May, 1577, therefore, the queen made the first attempt to enter into an alliance, at least with some of the German princes, for the maintenance of communion, and the protection of common interests, be-

tween the various ecclesiastical bodies of Protestantism. Sir Philip Sidney, who was about to be sent by the queen on a confidential mission to the emperor, was instructed by her to visit the Palatine John Casimir, the Elector Ludwig of the Palatinate, and the Landgrave Wilhelm of Hesse, in order to confer with them as to the necessity for a closer union among the evangelical princes, which was required by the threatening efforts which were made by the Pope to suppress the Protestant faith. Sir Philip Sidney was requested especially to state the losses which the evangelical Church had sustained by the Pope's success in oppressing the evangelical faith, and in re-establishing Roman Catholicism in many German territories where Protestantism had already been established. (*)

(*) *Letter of Sir Philip Sidney to the Landgrave William of Hesse.*

[For the Original, see the Appendix, No. 5.]

Most Illustrious Prince, twelve days ago, I met at Heidelberg the Legates of your Highness, to whom I said, that certain things had been com-

The Palatine John Casimir received the queen's message with a truly joyful heart, as it altogether coincided with an idea and plan which he had long entertained. His mind was at this time wholly taken up with the thought of effecting, in opposition to the

manded me by the Queen of England, about which I must treat with your Highness. I was glad of such an opportunity of conversing and becoming acquainted with your Highness, of whose excellence and prudence I have heard much from others. But when I was preparing for this journey, I received letters from the queen, commanding me to hasten my return to England. Therefore being compelled to change my first intention, I send her Majesty's letters to your Highness by Richard Alan, a courtier of her Majesty's chamber.

The commands which I had for your Highness are, that she is anxious to form with your Highness, or rather to maintain that union and friendship which is already formed, which existed between her parent King Henry, of happy memory, and her Majesty and the father of your Highness, endeavouring by mutual offices, and conferring about those things which pertain to the safety of the Christian commonwealth, unitedly to oppose the machinations of the Roman Pontiff, who strives with all his might for

Pseudo-concordia, which had been set up in Saxony, a true united confession, in which the faith of the whole of evangelical Christendom should be recorded. A general as-

the ruin of those who have thrown off the yoke which he imposed on the necks of our ancestors, and who have asserted their liberty to worship God purely and holily, and to consult their own safety. To accomplish what he has in his mind, the Roman Pontiff labours to bring into alliances the kings and princes who yet lean on his tyranny, in order to crush us with their united force, which it seems will not be difficult, except we too combine to repel the injuries which they endeavour to inflict upon us. Nor can any one blame us for this, since it is well, not only to repel injury from ourselves and friends, but to undertake the defence of those who cannot defend themselves from unjust attack. It is plain enough from the wars which have raged for so many years in France and Lower Germany, that the Pope seeks to ruin us all. For although there is no one there who would not be most obedient to his king, provided only liberty were granted him to worship God in purity, yet the Pope has so fascinated the minds of their kings, that for many years they have practised every sort of cruelty against their own subjects, in order to establish his tyranny over themselves and theirs. Nor is it indeed a slight wound, which he has in these last

sembly of all evangelical Churches seemed necessary for the accomplishment of this design. John Casimir, therefore, requested

years inflicted upon certain provinces of Germany, brought back to his tyranny, after having abandoned him and professed a purer religion: by which success, how arrogant they are made who are addicted to him, I hear enough, and the Congress of the Empire, in the past summer at Ratisbon, makes manifest. But I refrain from recalling these odious things, for they are well known to your Highness, and I spoke of them at length not long since, with the most Illustrious Prince and Lord John Casimir, Palatine of the Rhine, and I doubt not he has fully written, or will write to your Highness about them. I entreat your Highness to think well of what I say in good part, and deign so to answer the letters of the queen, that her Majesty may be pleased, and know that your Highness will tread constantly in the steps of his most excellent parent.

I entreat for your Highness, and all your illustrious House, all prosperity, and hope your Highness will ever believe me most anxious to serve when occasion offers.

Your most Illustrious Highness'

Most obedient

PHILIP SIDNEY.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 13th May, 1577.

Sir Philip Sidney to inform the queen of this plan on his return, and to recommend it to her support.

Sir Philip Sidney was just on the point of rendering himself to Cassel, in order to deliver the queen's message to the Landgrave Wilhelm, when he was suddenly recalled by the queen to London. He ordered the Chamberlain Richard Alanus to convey the queen's message in a written document to Cassel. The Landgrave Wilhelm received it with the liveliest and sincerest interest; and the queen was so rejoiced at this, and at the plan which had been set forth by John Casimir, that she sent at once, though privately, another ambassador to Germany, Daniel Rogers, who was instructed, on the one hand, to confer with the Princes Palatine and of Hesse about the formation of an alliance of all evangelical Christians of the Augsburg and reformed confessions, against Rome; and on the other, to counteract the condemnation of the Calvinists, as expressed in the Formula of Concord.

Rogers reported the queen's message to the Elector Ludwig at Heidelberg, and to the Landgrave Wilhelm at Ems, where he at that time stayed; and reminded them both of the duty of all evangelical princes in these troublesome times not to sacrifice their former concord for the sake of a single point of controversy—a proceeding which would lay them open to the arts and intrigues of Rome.

He exhorted them, moreover, to unite the more closely at the present moment, in the hope that existing dissensions might be settled at a Christian conference or council.^(b)

^(b) *Request from Queen Elizabeth of England to the Elector Palatine Ludwig.* (Appendix No. 6.)

Most Illustrious Prince, when the Queen of England thought about sending me into Germany for the transaction of certain business, she desired that among other princes of Germany whom I should visit at her pleasure, I should wait upon your Highness especially, and salute in the name of her Majesty, as well for the great dignity of your house, as for continuing and extending that friendship which existed between her Majesty and your Highness' parent, of happy memory, Frederick

The queen's proposals were not so well received as she had expected. The Elector

the Elector; for the greater the affection she had and cherished towards him while he lived, the more ready is she to cultivate and ratify her friendship with his children. Wherefore, as her Majesty last spring saluted your Highness by Sir Philip Sidney (whom she had sent to his Imperial Majesty), so very recently she determined to wait upon and address you by letters, and for repeating this salutation, your Highness has furnished the opportunity. For when the queen had learned from her aforesaid legate on his return, in how good part your Highness had received and interpreted all that he had proposed on behalf of her Majesty for the preservation of concord between you and the Duke Casimir, your brother, the queen supposed that as what came from her Majesty was formerly most agreeable to the father of your Highness, so also that would not be ungrateful to you, which, whether from her good will towards the Palatine family, or from her zeal for advancing the Christian commonwealth, she might afterwards treat of with you.

From what the queen committed to my care to expound to your Highness, I now select only two things, one of which concerns your Highness privately, the other regards the common tranquility of the republic. As to the first, as on the first of May last past, so now afresh she commends to

Ludwig answered with a courtesy which was intended to elude the question : that he con-

your Highness very earnestly the cultivation of brotherly love with Duke Casimir. And her Majesty is the more urgent upon this the more she cherishes the friendship of your house. For her Majesty greatly fears lest those who are now seeking, from among the Papists and the sworn enemies of the religion of the Gospel, to sow factions among the princes of Germany, should, by the same arts familiar to them, set your Highnesses in opposition to one another. For she is persuaded that this close alliance of two brothers would not only be useful to both, but is necessary, as well for preserving the Palatine dignity, as for maintaining the safety of the Christian commonwealth, which would be perilled by your dissensions, just as it is to be expected it would be confirmed by your concord. The queen hears that the name of Duke Casimir is now great, so that he seems to be as powerful almost for the support of the empire by his military prowess, and the glory which he has gained on very famous expeditions into France, as your Highness avails by the electoral dignity and resources. Therefore, that the union of your Highnesses may both publicly and privately establish affairs, and that your friendship may be firm and enduring, is the desire of the queen, who also now seeks, urges, and exhorts it, because of

sidered the queen's remarks to be perfectly justified, and that he should take part in the

the kind disposition of your Highness, whom it inclines to brotherly love.

Now the other business which the queen commanded me to make known to you, is such as greatly distresses her. For she has learned with no common grief that there are certain divines in Germany, as her Majesty fears, rather studying their own ambition and private advantage, than watchful of Christian charity, who make great efforts to persuade certain princes of Germany to condemn unheard those who in the matter of religion differ not at all from themselves, except in some circumstantial of one article. Her Majesty thinks this preposterous course not only repugnant to Christian principles, but expects it to bring in process of time more prejudice to the condemnations than to the condemners; (Qu. to the condemners than to the condemned—*condemnatoribus quam condemnatis*). For what else is to be expected by the Pope, the Frenchman, the Spaniard, and all Papal princes, but that when the assertors of Gospel truth are enfeebled, they may insult over the rest, and by such example and authority condemn them unheard? But if the Lutherans think that others who embrace the purity of Gospel doctrine are therefore to be condemned, because they abound in Germany, and are in a majority, her Majesty

projected alliance as soon as the other evangelical princes had pronounced themselves

reminds them, should they reckon the Churches scattered over France, Belgium, Poland, and Switzerland, and of those which flourish in England and Scotland, that they will be surpassed in the number of suffrages. Moreover, they have accused the Papists, from whom they have justly seceded, because they have condemned others unheard, and now by their example they animate and exhort them to brandish the same thunderbolt against all pious men. Therefore the queen feels the more deeply this measure of the theologians, because while many will be inconvenienced by it, none will be benefitted except the Papists, the common foes of the Reformed religion, who put Lutherans and Zwinglians on the same level. They feign, indeed, as occasion serves, that they have more esteem for the Lutherans, in order to excite them against the Zwinglians (we are compelled to use these words to express these factions), and to hurl both of them headlong to ruin the more easily when engaged in conflict. And truly the Queen marvels if the princes and rulers of Germany, who profess the evangelical religion, do not perceive these perils, when the Papists daily practise new arts and forge new schemes to overwhelm by their mines the purer religion and its followers. If these aims do not succeed according to the will of our

favourably about it. Even the Landgrave Wilhelm hesitated to give a definite declara-

enemies, it is to be ascribed to no skill or prudence of the princes of Germany who embrace the same religion, but to the civil war, in which, in France and Belgium, the enemies of religion have been involved, and to the expeditions of the Turks, by which they have been diverted and prevented from harassing the Germans and English by war. But greater peril impends over the Reformed Churches from Papal alliances, than for it to be needful to stir up civil wars, and to make ourselves, exhausted by mutual wounds, a mockery to the foe. Nor can the princes of Germany be ignorant what traps the Papists have often set for them. Her Majesty has often admonished them of Papal alliances, and the execution of the Council of Trent against all the followers of evangelical religion; and the design of her Majesty always has been that evangelical monarchs and rulers should render one another aid and counsel for the prevention of those most atrocious wars which have lately in France and Belgium followed to the destruction almost of the Christian world, and were in like manner devised against Germany and England, as plainly appears from many plots invented against both kingdoms. And her Majesty gave these counsels not so much to fortify her own realms and dignity, which, established by a long and happy peace through

tion, observing to the ambassador that he must

righteousness, and by clemency and kindness to all, with security to a very few, she has so confirmed her realms and dominions, that the affairs of England have for many ages scarcely experienced such prosperity, and that neighbouring and surrounding States have been so joined to her by her benefits, that she can, as they say, sleep soundly with both ears. Now she has thought of making an alliance with the Protestants, that all who embrace the pure truths of the Gospel might be defended against the impostures and wiles of the Papists, and that each might be cared for. But her Majesty perceived that the princes of Germany were then opposed to a league of this kind, perhaps because they thought the attempts of the Papists did not regard them, or because they were cajoled by their wheedlings and wiles, and preferred leisure to like affairs. Her Majesty, therefore, began to think less earnestly of this alliance, and commended the issue of impending storms to the great and blessed God. But what that issue was, and what harm accrued to the whole Christian commonwealth from those wars, she believes all at home have seen. But when the queen was informed of new alliances lately framed in France and elsewhere, she would not desist from exhorting those whom she holds dear in Germany forthwith to be on their guard against the attempts of common enemies.

necessarily consult with his brethren, and

For the care with which she aims at the safety of the Christian commonwealth and religion demands this; and that mutual good-will, with which she is animated towards your Highness and the other princes of Germany altogether requires it. The queen begs them not to think that because the Spaniards have left Belgium, therefore no wiles remain to the Papists for the overthrow of religion; for many means are left through which the foundations of their designs may endure to the end (which God avert!) Nay, they seek to involve the professors of a purer religion in dissensions, and by setting them against each other, prepare the way by which they may crush them all. Wherefore the queen from this fact thinks that the German princes, if they make more account of common charity, than of following the ambitious counsels of certain divines, will pass from ordinary to extraordinary remedies on behalf of the Reformed Churches. For it is too presumptuous, and very opposite to Christian charity, that they who have embraced like purity of religion should condemn their brethren unheard. She very highly commends the modesty of those princes who subscribed the Augsburg Confession, and added, when they dissented from others, that *they did not approve* of this or that, employing the word "condemn" only in the graves terrors. Her Majesty judges that

with some of the other princes, to whom he

nothing would be more advisable for the establishment of concord among the professors of the Reformed religion, and the defence of Christian charity, than that the said princes should sedulously take care and avoid that their subjects, whoever they be, by preaching, or writing, or circulating books, should either provoke or promote any strife on those articles of religion, which in the Reformed Churches have been controverted for some years; but should rather put off and defer all such to the calling of a council, at which differences might be friendly discussed and arranged by those who have hitherto involved the said Churches; lest the professors of Gospel truth, being divided into factions, as I admonished above, should afford to the Papists, the common enemies of purer Churches, an opportunity of more easily rending and crushing the Reformed doctrine, and of confirming and propagating their own idolatry. To do this well requires singular moderation, but this the queen has heard on the best authority is, with many other ornaments, peculiar and proper to the Palatine house; she therefore beseeches your Highness to aim with all your zeal to establish this concord, and to deign to endeavour, that if there be any princes of Germany, who, persuaded by the too violent divines, incline to this form of condemnation already spoken of, your Highness, by your moderation, would inter-

was allied by private treaties.^(c) He, however, declared himself fully agreed with them as

cede with them not to transmit to posterity an example pernicious to the Church of God, by condemning their brethren unheard.

There are other affairs which I must propose to your Highness, in the name of her Majesty, before I leave Germany, on account of which, her Majesty earnestly entreats your Highness that ready access may be given me when I approach your Highness again.

DANIEL ROGERS, from the most Serene
the QUEEN OF ENGLAND, legate to
your Illustrious Highness.

(^c) The Landgrave William wrote to Queen Elizabeth as follows (See Appendix, No. 7):—

Baths of Ems,* Sept. 16, 1577.—But since the league of which your Majesty treats with us is of such moment, and of such a kind that we can decide nothing respecting it without the advice of our brothers and the other princes with whom our family is joined by old alliances, we earnestly entreat your Majesty not to take it amiss that we cannot satisfy your expectation now. Yet we do not desist by every way and means to accomplish among our brothers and friends, a thing at once so useful and necessary, &c.

* Or *Bad Ems*, part of Ems in Nassau, famous for warm baths.

to the project, and asked the ambassador to entreat the queen to use her influence with the evangelical princes of Germany, that they might resist the agitation raised by some Lutheran divines against those who were opposed to the Formula of Concord of Closter-Bergen. These divines went so far as to excommunicate, without further consideration, those of a different opinion, and to instigate the princes and authorities against them. He added, that it was this rash zeal of the Lutheran divines which caused the present dissensions in the evangelical church of the empire.^(d)

^(d) Compare the following letter of Daniel Rogers to the Landgrave William, from Frankfort, Oct. 21, 1577 :—

Illustrious Prince, after I left the Baths of Ems and returned to Frankfort, I was most careful to communicate to her Majesty what I had introduced to your Highness in her name. For besides that it was my duty, the greatness of the design which your Highness made known to me, demanded it for its own sake. How willingly her Majesty inclines towards what your Highness exhorted may be in-

Rogers reported to his queen without delay the request of the Landgrave; but, before his letter had reached London, another ambassador from the queen arrived in Germany, Robert Beale, the private secretary,

ferred from this, that before Her Majesty could know your Highness' purpose, she thought to depute Mr. Robert Beale into Germany on that very account. For when the queen had committed to me the discharge of three matters, the first of which was with the Prince of Orange; the second concerned that alliance in regard to which Her Majesty desired to know the mind of your Highness; and the third must be gone over with Duke Casimir. The first business settled, her Majesty readily perceived that the second about the alliance could not be brought to the expected end, except the ardour of the tumultuous divines, who make haste to condemn their brethren, were first thwarted, and of which, after my departure from her Majesty, she was first advised. And since the third affair which remained was of such consequence as to employ and require the whole man, she thought it to be well to depute another to Germany whereby the intercession and authority of her Majesty might avert the peril which threatens from certain theologians. (For the original of this piece see the Appendix, No. 8.)

a well informed and experienced diplomatist. He was instructed to visit the courts of Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Zweibrücken, Cassel, Dresden, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, Dessau, &c. ; and to deliver to the princes letters from the queen, in which she entreated them to resist the Lutheran secession, which was gaining strength in Germany. She communicated to them at the same time her plan of forming a general alliance of all evangelical powers, for the protection of Protestantism against Romanism. The queen declared in the letter, delivered by her ambassador, that she had heard with dismay, that they were about to establish in Germany a new formula of faith, and to have it sanctioned by a synod, about to be held at Magdeburg ; where it was intended (*sub prætextu defensionis Confessionis Augustanae*), under the pretence of guarding the Augsburg Confession, to exclude all those national Churches, which hitherto had believed themselves to be in perfect unison with the German Church, upon all essential

articles of doctrine. Such an invasion, which doubtless had been originated by the secret machinations of the Papists, was calculated to bring the greatest harm not only to the German princes, but to the Protestant Church in general. The present time, she added, was fraught with danger to evangelical Christendom, such as demanded the sincerest union among all confessors of the Lord. The German princes, she observed, should consider how improper it was, to condemn unheard, the evangelical Churches of England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, and Hungary, and the queen herself. They should remember, that in former days they had, in interfering on behalf of the Christians of France, acknowledged them as their brethren in the faith. By establishing a new confession, they would not only declare their former confession to be unsatisfactory and deficient, but would come into contradiction with all the past actions of the evangelical States. The Papists would not fail to make the most ad-

vantage of the confusion, which would necessarily arise from it, and might succeed in completely crushing the evangelical States, which by the exclusion of some German princes from the Peace or Truce of Religion (*Religionsfriede*) were already materially weakened. Not the interests of the German Church, but the welfare of the whole of Protestantism were at stake. If they thought it necessary for the re-establishment of the union, to bring about a new understanding, she would propose a general conference of all the Reformed Churches, at a convenient place. The following propositions were made by the queen, for the formation of an alliance among the evangelical powers, for offence and defence :

1. " All the allied princes and states unite in the resolution not to suffer within their realms either written or verbal controversy, until doctrinal discussions have been settled by a general synod.

2. " The alliance raises a certain capital in money for maintaining an armed force, in

case any member of the alliance should be attacked.

3. "This capital shall be deposited in the hands of respectable merchants.

4. "The interest of the capital shall be applied to the payment of pensions, awarded to German knights, who pledge themselves, by accepting this money, to be in readiness to take the field in case of necessity, for the defence of the evangelical faith, and promise never to enter the service of the Papists.

5. "The members are bound, in case of war, to stand up each one on behalf of all the rest."

Such were the queen's propositions, which Robert Beale delivered into the hands of each of the princes, or sent by special messengers. He delivered to each of the princes a special letter from the queen, in which she recommended her proposal. (*)

(*) *Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Landgrave William of Hesse.*

[For the original, see Appendix, No. 9.]

Elizabeth by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,

But among all the princes, only the Palatine, John Casimir, most energetically entered into the wishes of the queen. All the rest, though they received the ambassador of the mighty queen with distinctions of every kind, either declined her proposals altogether, or endeavoured to hide their disinclination by evasive answers.

&c., to the most Illustrious Prince and lord, the Lord William, Landgrave of Hesse, Count in Catzenellenbogen, Dietz, Zigenhain, and Nidda, our very dear cousin and godson, safety and the happy success of prosperous affairs. Most Illustrious Prince and dearest cousin, by our previous messenger and letters we have endeavoured to inform you of our readiness to promote those things which were your care, and which you showed would ever be, by abundant testimonies. This our servant, Robert Beale, one of the secretaries of our Privy and more solemn Council, whom we now send to you, will attest our anxious care and solicitude for the good of your life and honours. This urges us the more speedily, and almost overcomes us, when we see that the varied and manifold crafts of the common enemy of the Christian name, are either not perceived by our party, or more thoughtlessly despised than is right or practicable, at such a time of evil,

informed that they were about to establish a new doctrinal confession in Germany, and one which was intended to excommunicate all who dissented from it, this rumour was only so far true, that certain articles of faith, which had become the occasion of contro-

tentions to this our servant, who is faithful and dear to us, with that confidence and goodness with which you have deigned to converse with us, but so that you should not leave your dearest wife, much loved by us, and our daughter only dear to us, in any way unsaluted, and unhonoured with the kind offices which we intend. Your Excellency is not unaware with how much zeal and love we regard them, as we can a prince most nearly allied to us, and a mother should her daughter. Since they are our care, so we the more diligently commend them to you, urging your Excellency that what you receive from us to be regarded and maintained, you would always make most diligent account of, since we shall do the same when asked by you. Fare ye well and happily.

Given at our palace at Richmond, August 21,
A.D. 1577, the 19th of our reign.

Your most loving cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

(See the address of the Queen to the Elector of Saxony in the Appendix, No. 10.)

Church from the condemnations contained in the Formula of Concord, and from the Pope's machinations. He further entreated him not to decline an alliance, which, in case of need, would secure in their favour the most powerful support. Ludwig, however, sent the ambassador away with the declaration, that if the queen had been

decrees, let him mark and ponder the views of the Romanists, whether they hold more dear the Augsburg Confession than any other: he will soon see the gravest ordinances, and that the sentence of the great Antichrist is that we must both be taken out of the way. If these things are not fictions, see whether we ought not to rouse up, lest we be crushed, not so much without warning as without sense; and let us see whether it be for the interests of the Gospel that we combine against the Papists. If you think it useful we shall not be wanting. If that does not please, let us each suffer our own calamities, for it cannot be that we should abide safe. But we hope that we shall not come to ruin with the first, because we are further from the fire; yet we prefer to be safe with all of you, than to endure the end of the storm. If this advice of ours shall not seem worthy to be wholly neglected, we pray your Excellency to communicate your in-

informed that they were about to establish a new doctrinal confession in Germany, and one which was intended to excommunicate all who dissented from it, this rumour was only so far true, that certain articles of faith, which had become the occasion of contro-

tentions to this our servant, who is faithful and dear to us, with that confidence and goodness with which you have deigned to converse with us, but so that you should not leave your dearest wife, much loved by us, and our daughter only dear to us, in any way unsaluted, and unhonoured with the kind offices which we intend. Your Excellency is not unaware with how much zeal and love we regard them, as we can a prince most nearly allied to us, and a mother should her daughter. Since they are our care, so we the more diligently commend them to you, urging your Excellency that what you receive from us to be regarded and maintained, you would always make most diligent account of, since we shall do the same when asked by you. Fare ye well and happily.

Given at our palace at Richmond, August 21, A.D. 1577, the 19th of our reign.

Your most loving cousin,

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(See the address of the Queen to the Elector of Saxony in the Appendix, No. 10.)

versy among the divines, were likely to be defined by a doctrinal formula, in accordance with the true meaning of the Augsburg Confession, as it had ever been held by the evangelical States of Germany. And since the carrying out of this object was the common cause of all the Protestant princes of Germany, he would do all in his power to have due consideration given to the remonstrances of her Majesty. As to the proposed alliance, he was convinced that the other princes would come to a resolution upon it, in conformity with the best interests of the empire and of the evangelical Christians.

The Landgrave Wilhelm entirely concurred in the first part of the ambassador's message. In his written reply, he assured Robert Beale that he should continue to protest against the condemnations which had been inserted in the Formula of Concord of Closter-Bergen. In his letter to the queen, he expressed his thankfulness for the zealous care which her Majesty ever mani-

fested for the interests of the Church. At the same time, he states that the formation of an alliance appeared, for the present, impracticable.^(f)

(^f) *Reply of William Landgrave, of Hesse, to the Queen of England: delivered to the legate of her Majesty, Mr. Robert Beale (on his departure from Cassel, December 26, 1577).*

[The original is printed in the Appendix, No. 11].

Those things which in the name and by command of the Queen of England, her legate and royal orator, Robert Beale, set forth in a learned and elegant discourse, to William Landgrave, of Hesse, &c., all attest a mind not only truly loyal, and most constant in religion, but in grateful remembrance and very studious of public peace and quiet. Not only with this age, but with all posterity, they will merit signal praise and eternal recollection.

And whereas the queen has specially shown to his Highness, how anxious she is for his welfare and prosperity, for this he gives her all the thanks he can. And may the giver of gifts and fountain of all recompense, grant that out of adversity, all may turn out well to her Majesty, so that she may long be preserved for the safety of the Christian cause!

As to the first head of the message, which the

The ambassador's message met with the most unfavorable reception on the part of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. The queen had endeavoured to recommend her proposals to the former, by declaring in the letter to the elector, her sincerest recogni-

queen in her wisdom and good intentions towards the Christian commonweal and religion, by learned and solid arguments, earnestly advises and urges upon his Highness and other German princes, professing the Augsburg Confession, that they should not allow foreign Churches which agree with us on most articles of religion which concern our faith and salvation, to have inflicted upon them the anathema of condemnation, by the newly devised formula of religion, but that the said formula should either be wholly suppressed, or if need be to have it published, that we should be careful to retain forms and phrases heretofore received and usual in the Church, in the Augsburg Confession, and its Apology, to prevent occasion of disturbance and division of strength and mind, from which a remedy should be obtained; the prince does not disguise the fact, that through the efforts of certain restless minds in Germany, seeking their own profit and honour rather than the good of the Church, the seeds of dissension have been sown on some

tion of the Augsburg Confession, as one of the most excellent evangelical doctrinal formulas. After this introductory remark, she had entreated the elector to cease supporting the Formula of Concord, and the project of the Magdeburg Conference, but

articles of the Christian faith. In course of time these have so far grown, that the Churches professing the Augsburg Confession have been no little troubled thereby. Therefore, through the advice of some of the German princes, with a view to refute the calumnies of the Papists, whereby through the prejudice arising from dissension, they depress the Churches which follow the Augsburg Confession, they have convened certain friends of public peace and quiet and skilful divines, and ordered them to write a Formula of Concord, not different from the Augsburg Confession, but explaining the same on the controverted articles of religion, and clearing up its true sense and meaning; especially in order that it might be the more evident to posterity, what is the unanimous consent in religion among the princes and States of the Augsburg Confession.

That this is the special duty of princes professing the said Confession, and is not only necessary, but will be useful and profitable to God and the Church,

rather to take steps for convening a general assembly, in which she might be allowed to take part through her representatives.

Moreover, the queen had applied to the King of Denmark to support her request by his influence with the elector; and the

the prince has no doubt the queen will readily understand. Provided only the matter reach a fortunate conclusion, and be approved by the common votes of others, both princes and divines, whose consent and authority is even now requested.

And whereas also, the Formula of Concord and Consent was transmitted to his Highness by the aforesaid princes, and his opinion on the same required, he must conscientiously admit, although the matter was deliberated upon with his divines, and he found most of the heads agreeing with the Augsburg Confession, that he was most restrained by perceiving that Churches differing somewhat from the Augsburg Confession on the article of the Lord's Supper, were smitten with the anathema of condemnation. This was why his Highness admonished the princes, by whose advice the formula had been drawn up, of almost the same perils and inconveniences as the queen foresees. Meantime, he earnestly prays that by such condemnations, the heart and strength of such as agree on all the

King of Denmark had sent him Elizabeth's letter, which was most flattering with regard to the elector. Even the Landgrave Wilhelm had forwarded to the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg the ambassador's remonstrances against the Formula of Con-

articles of the Christian faith, may not be distracted to the ruin of the Church, and so be called upon our heads evils greater than we can heal. This is what his Highness foresees will, without doubt, occur; for he observes that the foundations laid by his fathers and other princes, and made use of by them in rebuking the petty counsels of the Papists, as their common enemies, and the decrees of the Council of Trent in particular, are undermined, and that the anathemas of their enemies are established and confirmed against the true religion; because one party of us in opposition to the other, arrogates to itself both knowledge and judgment, with manifest levity and inconstancy, not to say peril of our religion. For everybody knows that they wish to have those anathemas of theirs, set forth as they are, with a certain knowledge of the case, and by such as glory of a succession in the Church, in some sense protected by the authority of fathers and councils.

What mischief this will bring to the Church,

cord, and had most warmly recommended them to their consideration.

Yet, notwithstanding all these recommendations, the Elector Augustus was very wrath at the whole schème proposed by the queen, because he justly feared that the

every one, not altogether stupid, perceives. But if the usual phrases of the Augsburg Confession be retained, his Highness has thought, not unadvisedly, after the example of his Highness of happy and pious memory, that those very evils and dangers might be guarded against.

Public and private acts attest how he put off, dissuaded, and set aside such condemnations of foreign Churches agreeing with us on the other articles of faith, not only at the Marburg Conference, but in many councils of the empire, and in public and private assemblies. Nor is his Highness unmindful with what diligence and zeal, two days before his death, his Highness, in his earnest desire for religion, very paternally urged and entreated him. This admonition, the prince, treading in his father's footsteps, keeps fresh in memory, and will never let escape. The queen will readily understand that there was no need of exhortation to what his Highness is naturally inclined to, and knows to be his particular duty; but still the legation could not but be very

affair of the Formula of Concord would be much interrupted and disturbed by it. Augustus owned in his letter to the ambassador, that the present condition of the evangelical Church, endangered as it was by the intrigues of Rome, was indeed very pre-

grateful to him, coming from so great a queen, and relating to the public peace and the Christian religion, whereof he perceives, with admiration and delight, her Majesty to be most studious and zealous. If in anything, the prince, by influence or effort, can help the cause of the Church and commonwealth, in that duty he will never fail; and with all due and possible respect he reverently entreats her Majesty to believe this of him.

As to the other head of the legation, about an alliance between the queen and the princes of the Augsburg Confession, for defence, the prince doubts not the queen knows his mind sufficiently from her legate, Daniel Rogers.* And since the reasons for it then brought still subsist, and the troubles of

* "Daniel Rogers, the son of John Rogers, the proto-martyr in Queen Mary's reign. He is said by the writer of the *Athenae Oxonienses* to have been 'the most accomplished gentleman at that time, and a very good man, and excellently learned.' He was sent to the Prince of Orange in the year 1576, when the queen had declined to assist him and the Netherlands against the violence of Spain. See Strype, *Ann.* III. 1. 392, 394."—Zurich Letters, p. 517.

carious. On the other hand, he thought that he must object to the remonstrances presented against the Formula of Concord, as it was not a question of establishing a new doctrine, but of defining some controverted doctrinal articles in accordance with the true meaning of the Augsburg Confession, as it had ever been recognized by all evangelical Christians. He would leave the objected expression, "condemnamus," to the

the time prevented him from learning the disposition of his brothers and the confederate princes, he earnestly desires the queen to excuse him herein, being persuaded that whatever be determined by the common suffrage of the princes, he shall not fail of his duty, nor neglect, as occasion serves, by promoting her Majesty's designs, to act with the fidelity and zeal which becomes a real friend, and which he also expects from her Majesty.

And this is what seems to his Highness proper to reply to the royal legate of the queen; earnestly entreating him to convey the same to the queen in his name, and commending himself very obediently to her.

Signed at Cassel, Dec. 26, 1577.

WILLIAM, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.

Rogers reported to his queen without delay the request of the Landgrave ; but, before his letter had reached London, another ambassador from the queen arrived in Germany, Robert Beale, the private secretary,

ferred from this, that before Her Majesty could know your Highness' purpose, she thought to depute Mr. Robert Beale into Germany on that very account. For when the queen had committed to me the discharge of three matters, the first of which was with the Prince of Orange ; the second concerned that alliance in regard to which Her Majesty desired to know the mind of your Highness ; and the third must be gone over with Duke Casimir. The first business settled, her Majesty readily perceived that the second about the alliance could not be brought to the expected end, except the ardour of the tumultuous divines, who make haste to condemn their brethren, were first thwarted, and of which, after my departure from her Majesty, she was first advised. And since the third affair which remained was of such consequence as to employ and require the whole man, she thought it to be well to depute another to Germany whereby the intercession and authority of her Majesty might avert the peril which threatens from certain theologians. (For the original of this piece see the Appendix, No. 8.)

a well informed and experienced diplomatist. He was instructed to visit the courts of Heidelberg, Stuttgart, Zweibrücken, Cassel, Dresden, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, Dessau, &c. ; and to deliver to the princes letters from the queen, in which she entreated them to resist the Lutheran secession, which was gaining strength in Germany. She communicated to them at the same time her plan of forming a general alliance of all evangelical powers, for the protection of Protestantism against Romanism. The queen declared in the letter, delivered by her ambassador, that she had heard with dismay, that they were about to establish in Germany a new formula of faith, and to have it sanctioned by a synod, about to be held at Magdeburg ; where it was intended (*sub pretextu defensionis Confessionis Augustanae*), under the pretence of guarding the Augsburg Confession, to exclude all those national Churches, which hitherto had believed themselves to be in perfect unison with the German Church, upon all essential

articles of doctrine. Such an invasion, which doubtless had been originated by the secret machinations of the Papists, was calculated to bring the greatest harm not only to the German princes, but to the Protestant Church in general. The present time, she added, was fraught with danger to evangelical Christendom, such as demanded the sincerest union among all confessors of the Lord. The German princes, she observed, should consider how improper it was, to condemn unheard, the evangelical Churches of England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, and Hungary, and the queen herself. They should remember, that in former days they had, in interfering on behalf of the Christians of France, acknowledged them as their brethren in the faith. By establishing a new confession, they would not only declare their former confession to be unsatisfactory and deficient, but would come into contradiction with all the past actions of the evangelical States. The Papists would not fail to make the most ad-

vantage of the confusion, which would necessarily arise from it, and might succeed in completely crushing the evangelical States, which by the exclusion of some German princes from the Peace or Truce of Religion (*Religionsfriede*) were already materially weakened. Not the interests of the German Church, but the welfare of the whole of Protestantism were at stake. If they thought it necessary for the re-establishment of the union, to bring about a new understanding, she would propose a general conference of all the Reformed Churches, at a convenient place. The following propositions were made by the queen, for the formation of an alliance among the evangelical powers, for offence and defence :

1. " All the allied princes and states unite in the resolution not to suffer within their realms either written or verbal controversy, until doctrinal discussions have been settled by a general synod.

2. " The alliance raises a certain capital in money for maintaining an armed force, in

entirely misinformed as to the object and character of the Formula of Concord. He very much regretted that by such missions the

creed of the Augsburg Confession might be restored to the true and genuine sense in which it was first written and set forth to the emperor. This was to be so done that nothing should be changed in the Augsburg Confession, by the addition or removal of a word, but that a godly and true explanation for a few articles which are called in question should be prescribed from the very authors of the Confession, that all occasion of wrangling might be cut off from contentious men, and peace and concord be restored to the Churches by the explanation of sound doctrine. But since this struggle had sprung up within the confines of Germany, and to prevent the suspicion that it had affected foreign Churches, it was thought that peaceable Churches out of Germany ought not to be involved in these dissensions, and that it would be enough if those only took up the matter, among whom contention had begun, and the whole affair were arranged after the example of pious antiquity. For when the need of separate provinces so requires, national synods are often gathered, so that scarcely nine general councils are to be counted in all Church History. From all this the Duke of Saxony, thinks the pious and prudent Queen of England will see that the Papists desire

queen did not promote the interests of the Church, but injure them, by turning away

nothing less than that this salutary concord among the German divines and princes should coalesce; for if it were constituted, the calumnies of enemies must cease, whereby the spread of sound doctrine has been hitherto much impeded; and the zeal of the German princes embracing the same confession, distracted hitherto, would be again united by this indissoluble league of salutary concord; and heart and forces thenceforth combined, they could, if needful, oppose the attempts of the wicked. And because the chief aim of this most Christian Council is, that the truth and certainty of doctrine (which is impossible so long as altercation and wrangling continue) might be transmitted to a pious posterity for the salvation of many souls, and so all things tend to the glory of God, and pursue the course so greatly commended by our Saviour to Christian men, that of concord, which as it is most excellent, and to be sought and promoted in every place and time, nor can ever be gainsaid or blamed, so nothing is more cheering or beneficial to Churches professing Gospel truth in this sorrowful age, nor anything more sad and calamitous for their Popish enemies; because the Churches recover from the fatal plague of contentions, but the Papists learn that not only is

the hearts of the princes from a cause which could only prosper by the co-operation of all.

the unanimous consent of the German princes opposed to their violent counsels, but what seemed a plain and easy means of oppressing the godly, is beyond their reach, and they may prove to their own ruin, that the German Churches have met again after intestine discord for the final abolition and overthrow of Papal superstitions.

And whereas, it is certain that nothing new is determined in doctrine, the elector does not see what reason there is for making so salutary a design a ground of danger to any of the German princes, who may hold to the true meaning of the Augsburg Confession. Hence, too, with reference to the article to which the queen's Highness excepts (and which by the very name of "New Covenant" alone, to say nothing of the thing itself, obtains a foremost place among the mysteries of the Christian faith), nothing is now done but what is already determined from the Word of God in the Augsburg Confession, so that the Papists can draw hence no just excuse for their tyranny. And when Christian concord is established in the German Churches, it may take away from the enemies of the pious, though against their will, all the calumnies which they have heretofore mis-employed to the maligning of evangelical doctrine, and the

It was ridiculous to think of the possibility of uniting with the Calvinists. Should it,

crushing of innocent and holy men, its professors ; who, they cry out, ought not to be tolerated, because of their doctrine, which is divided by contrary opinions. Therefore, the Duke of Saxony understands the mind of the queen to be, that if anything be done to allay discord which has arisen as to the true sense of the Augsburg Confession, (and something is done), she only requires the removal of the word "condemnation" and the use of ordinary expressions, his Highness therefore does not wholly blame this pious zeal for Christian concord, but fondly hopes that what has been so far set forth in good faith, will not be wholly ungrateful, because it proceeds from the best intention ; yet his Highness seeks not to take on himself alone the common cause of all who adhere to the Augsburg Confession, nor would have his opinion go further than others ; but herein he shows his respect for her Highness, and hopes she may be relieved from that care and anxiety with which he perceives her to be at this time troubled. If anything further remains in which her Highness is not fully satisfied, since it is of such a nature that it can be explained and cleared up only by taking counsel of all who adhere to the Augsburg Confession, his Highness entreats her Majesty kindly

however, be thought desirable to come to a good understanding with them, the evan-

to acquiesce, until by a common decision, that is determined which may be for the profit and well-being of the Churches professing Gospel truth.

Moreover, since the queen, not less prudently than faithfully, gives warning of the violent designs of the Papists, and kindly offers to render aid in providing means of defence, the singular kindness and goodwill of her Highness to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession is manifest. And as the elector never doubted that the champions of the Pope, and the Pope, are moved by no less hostility towards the Churches of Germany which assert the truth of the Gospel, than towards others who abhor Romish errors, they should be the more ready to repel force unjustly applied to them. Wherefore he thanks the queen for her faithful warning, and for the declaration of her willingness to render aid. But since this matter pertains to all who are attached to the Augsburg Confession, it might be best determined, in course of time, at some common convention. In the meantime the elector earnestly begs that the queen will not allow her zeal and good will for the evangelical princes to diminish; and on his part promises everything which can be justly expected from princes most friendly to England. And his Highness requests of the ambassador, to whom, for his rare excellence, he

gical Christians of Germany ought first to be united among themselves. It was their first duty to effect this union and to maintain it.^(h)

kindly wishes well, that he would, in the name and words of his Highness, communicate the expression of his singular good will towards her royal Highness.*

From the Castle of Dippoldiswalde,
Nov. 8, 1577.

(h) The Elector wrote thus to the Landgrave, from Dresden, Nov. 17, 1577:— Although we are

* Robert Beale was Clerk of the Queen's Council, and often employed in private missions to the Protestant princes of Germany, an account of which, written by himself to the Lord Treasurer, is given by Strype, Ann. iv., 117. Mr. Beale is said to have been a man of great learning and piety, and was for many years engaged on public affairs at home and abroad. The following notice of him appears in "*Notes and Queries*," vii., 149:—

"Robert Beale was a descendant of the family of Beale of Woodbridge in Suffolk, and by marriage related to Sir Francis Walsingham, under whose patronage he first appeared at court, and was appointed Secretary for the northern parts, and Clerk of the Privy Council. As a bitter enemy to the Romanists, he was chosen to convey to Fotheringhay the warrant for the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots. He read that fatal instrument on the scaffold, and was a witness to its execution. In 1600, he was one of the Commissioners at the treaty of Boulogne, which was his last public service."—*Lodge's Illustrations*, ii., 264; and *Strickland's Queens of Scotland*, vii., chap. lxii.

The Elector of Brandenburg, to whom Beale sent the queen's propositions through a special messenger, was just as little inclined

not displeased with her royal Majesty's kind opinion and disposition towards us, we would humbly ask whether her mission might not mislead some of the States of the Augsburg Confession, inducing them to be less diligent in promoting this work of the "Concordia," or even to render it more difficult, and to protract it. He should think that the common interests of the Churches and States of the Augsburg Confession would thereby be more injured than promoted, and that the Pope's blood-thirsty plans would be advanced; and that quite contrary to her Majesty's intentions, such proceedings would facilitate the carrying out of the Pope's hostile designs. For it is not probable, that the States holding to the Augsburg Confession, whose religious disputes are now raging, should be induced by the queen's propositions to lay them aside, and cordially to unite, as it becomes true Christians. Nothing would result from it but offence, divisions within in the Churches, distrust and opposition. All this would of course be welcome to the Pope, and to his adherents. With regard to the proposition of the queen to convene a General Assembly, of the States holding the Augsburg Confession, and the Calvinistic divines,

to entertain them. He objected to the expunging of the condemnations from the Formula of Concord, because if this were done,

no thinking, reflecting politician could agree with it, as there is very little hope of an understanding between the Calvinistic and the evangelical divines, and experience teaches how little good in former days has been produced by such meetings. It is certain that, should no good understanding be come to at such an assembly, controversy and dispute would re-commence much more violently, and the fire, at present hidden in the ashes, would blaze up more furiously than before. This would greatly encourage the Pope and his partisans in their dangerous designs. And if, notwithstanding all these objections, a General Assembly could be convened, it would be most necessary that the Churches attached to the Augsburg Confession should first be united among themselves, before entering into a discussion about points of controversy with the Calvinistic Churches, so as to prevent the repetition of what had happened at former meetings, which had remained without any result on account of the above-mentioned causes.

Therefore it is our opinion that we should continue earnestly at the necessary work of Christian union, and promote it with Christian zeal, and not be misled and hindered in it, as we understand your Highness' mind is inclined.

the Calvinists would reintroduce themselves into the Church. He did not expect much good from the confederacy, as experience had taught him that this kind of combination was only calculated to damage the Church. He therefore desired, with regard to the Queen of England, to adhere to the resolutions adopted at Erfurt in 1569, and merely to preserve alive a good understanding with her majesty.⁽¹⁾

With regard to your remonstrances about the word *Condemnamus* (as this and other the like points mentioned in the English propositions are theological questions,) it appears desirable and necessary that we should act in concert with the views of pious, impartial and learned divines. Personally we shall do everything as far as it can be done without burdening our conscience, that to the glory and honour of God Almighty, not only the propagation of pure doctrine may be promoted, but also that glorious union which is the sign of true Christians.

(1) The Elector of Brandenburg wrote from Grimnitz, Oct. 2nd, 1577, to the Landgrave William of Hesse, as follows :—

With regard to the English message, the ambassador has not come personally to us, but has

The Duke of Würtemberg addressed a similar answer to the queen. He wrote to the queen, on December 23, 1577, that he must very decidedly protest against the assertion, that the Formula of Concord had been established at the secret instigation of the Papists, or with any hostile feeling to-

sent us the kind letters of her Majesty and yourself, and has informed us by a special document from his own hand, of the object of the message, and of the state of affairs. We find that a distinct objection is made by the Queen of England to the word *Condemnamus*, in our common religious Concordia, and that a general *Fadus defensionis* of all the Lutherans against the Papists is aimed at.

With regard to the first point, though we personally believe (without throwing any reproach on those who object), that Christian means and ways may be devised to settle this word; yet we apprehend that the Calvinists aim, under the plea of a word, at something dangerous and too much. If the word *Condemnamus* be left out of the Formula of Concord, the Calvinists might think that we approved their erroneous doctrine *de Casa Domini*, and this would do more harm than good to our Churches and Schools. You know, besides, what evil and danger has at all times been caused by

wards the foreign Reformed Churches, or that it was a new Confession ; but he affirmed that it had become necessary on account of doctrinal differences among the divines, and its object was, on all the articles of doctrine, to ascertain and to require the true meaning of the Augsburg Confession. With regard to the formation of a general Protestant alliance, there appeared to him to be no necessity for it, because nothing was to be feared at the present moment on the part of the Papists. Besides, the

such confederations with France and other countries ; and I would especially remind you of what happened with regard to English proposals in the year 1569, at Naumburg ; and of the resolutions unanimously adopted there, and we abide by them now, especially since we live still in peace with the Papists. Yet we think it in every way desirable, that we should keep up with England and other neighbouring countries, mutual confidence and correspondence. And whatever good can be done for promoting general peace in our Churches, and for the advancement of true religion, we shall diligently and zealously endeavour to do.

consideration of such a plan, was the province of the Imperial Diet.

Mr. Beale did not meet with more success at the court of Julius, Duke of Brunswick, who received the queen's messenger, it is true, with royal honours, and gave him a numerous and splendid suite to accompany him while travelling through the country. With regard to the queen's propositions, he entrusted him with a reply, in which he circumstantially explained the tendency and the origin of the Formula of Concord, stating, that it was evident that the queen had been totally misinformed about the character of it. For it was not a new Confession which they had endeavoured to establish in this new formula, in reference to which they had acted with the greatest circumspection, and after mature consideration; but their object rather was, to enforce the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession in opposition to error and heresy. The queen declared that she differed from the evangelical States of the empire only on one point, viz.,

on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and she desired that this difference might not be regarded as essential. Yet the doctrine was of the greatest importance, because it concerned the Testament of the Lord. It would be impossible for them to acknowledge themselves agreed with the queen. There was no reason to declare that the Formula of Concord was the cause or occasion of disunion in the empire, nor that it pronounced its anathemas against the foreign Protestant Churches. For most of the evangelical princes had already recognized the Formula; and the condemnations referred to were cautiously expressed, without mentioning the names of those who were the originators of erroneous doctrines, or of those who were attached to them. It was not true that the Formula of Concord had been compiled secretly by a few divines; it was the common work of many illustrious princes and theologians. A conference of all the Evangelical Churches would be most desirable; but it appeared impossible at the present

time. The Formula of Concord was not intended to exercise any authority over foreign Churches, nor were there any new and uncommon phrases used in it. He, therefore, on his part could not alter anything in it, as it not only concerned him, but all the States. As to the proposed alliance, he knew, as a man with some experience, that such confederations had never led to any good results. Besides, being already privately allied to several other princes, he could not enter into additional treaties without their consent. Yet he would take counsel with them, and inform the queen of his resolution.

Sad in heart, Robert Beale, after having recommended his message to the princes of Anhalt, and to the imperial city of Magdeburg, went by way of Cassel to Frankfort, in order to return from thence to his distant home, and to report to his queen, that in Germany there was little hope left for the old evangelical Protestantism. The opposition to the queen's message had been in-

deed carried to the extreme. A conference of Lutheran theologians from Saxony, Brandenburg, and some other countries (among these divines were Jacob Andreas, Nicholas Schnecker, Andreas Musculus, Cornerus, Coelestin, Chytræus, and Martin Chemnitz) had been held in March, 1578, at Tangermünde, in order to consider among other questions the queen's message. They openly declared, that the object of the message was to promote Calvinism by removing its condemnation. They could, therefore, not advise the princes to enter into an alliance with the queen against the Pope. That the Calvinists only thought of establishing alliances, was a sufficient proof "that their faith was not founded on the Word of God, but on human power."

Even then the noble queen did not give up the hope of securing the future of Protestantism by the formation of a General Protestant Alliance. An event which occurred in 1578 seemed to raise her expectations and hopes anew. At a conference held

at Langensalza in the spring of 1578, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse had agreed to convoke a General Assembly of all the evangelical states of Germany, which was to be opened June 7, 1578, at Smalcald. Invitations were to be issued by the three evangelical electors (Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate) and the Landgrave of Hesse. "The deputies were to be sworn only upon the Holy Scriptures, and to be exhorted to consider of everything according to their Christian consciences." The Queen of England (such was the decided motion of the Landgrave of Hesse) was to be invited to attend the conference. John Casimir, the Palatine, was requested by the Landgrave to inform the queen of the proposed Ecclesiastical Diet of Smalcald, through the English ambassador, Daniel Rogers, who was just on his way to England. As soon as the letter of invitation was signed by the electors, it was to be sent on to the Landgrave, who offered to forward it directly to the queen. As, how-

ever, at the very end of April the letter of invitation had not arrived, the Landgrave wrote (April 28) to the Queen's Privy Counsellor, Dr. Robert Beale, that he doubted whether the General Assembly would be convened for June 7, and for this reason he had not dared to invite the queen to take part in it. That he knew now how cautiously he ought to proceed, since with regard to former English legations the rumour had gone abroad in Germany, that they had been planned at Cassel. At the same time Antonius des Traos wrote to Robert Beale and explained to him the true character of the question which was now so violently disputed, and informed him of the proper intention and object of the recent ubiquitous Lutheranism. He expressed his astonishment that the writ of invitation from the elector, so long expected, had not yet arrived at Cassel.

The queen learnt with great regret that the General Assembly at Smalcald, which was to have been attended by deputies

of the Reformed Churches in France, Scotland, and Switzerland, would for the present not take place. But she resolved, notwithstanding this unfavourable news, to send deputies to Germany, in order that they might take part in the conference in case it should yet be held. The legation consisted of the well-known English ambassador, Daniel Rogers, a lawyer, and two theologians, and they started, in the spring of 1578, for Germany, furnished with detailed instructions. The deputies were directed, in case the General Conference should be held, urgently to insist upon the maintenance of the union and communion of the Churches, and to request the conference to abstain from useless dogmatical disputes. They were openly to state the doctrinal views of the Church of England with regard to the two controverted dogmas of the person of Christ, and of the Lord's Supper, and to show that the authors of the Formula of Concord had no right whatever to inflict excommunication upon the Church of England, in consequence

of her Scriptural doctrine. They were further instructed to point out the danger of establishing a new Confession, seeing the menacing aspect of the times; and to state that it did not behove the evangelical Church to found her faith upon human authority, by canonizing the writings of even Luther himself. They were to caution the conference against giving definitive sanction to the new so-called Formula of Concord; but should that sanction be nevertheless given, they were to protest against it.

For several months the deputation anticipated in vain the convocation of the General Conference. The queen, therefore, communicated to the evangelical princes the contents of the instructions which her deputies had received from her, in order that the said princes might once more be informed of her sentiments with regard to the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST CONFERENCE OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS OF ALL NATIONS, SEPTEMBER, 1577, AT FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAINE.

Queen Elizabeth, in 1577, was diligently employed upon negotiations which related to the necessities of the Church; and at the same time, the Palatine, John Casimir, was unremitting in his efforts to carry out his own projects, which had been fully approved by the queen. During the whole summer of 1577 the Palatine was in communication with the leaders of the Reformed Churches of France, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. He had invited them to send deputies to Frankfort in the month of September, and to assist in taking counsel about the present condition and necessities of the Protestant Church. On all sides the Palatine had been assured

that they would most readily comply with his invitation, and almost all the Churches promised to send deputies to Frankfort.

On September the 27th, the Assembly, the like of which had not been seen in the history of the modern Church, was opened in the name of the Palatine, by his Counsellor, Wenceslaus Zuleger.^(*)

Deputations had arrived from the French Churches, from the Queen of England, the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, and from the Churches of Poland, Hungary, and the Netherlands. Letters were sent by the Bohemian and Helvetic Churches, explaining the reason for not having sent deputies, and declared that they were ready to approve and to promote any measure which would contribute to the strengthening of the union of the Church.

Wenceslaus Zuleger informed the assem-

(*) For the minutes and acts of the Conference, *vide* Blondel, "*Actes authentiques des églises réformées touchant la paix :*" Amsterdam, 1655, p. 59.

bled deputies, in the first place, of what had been done by the Palatine, his master, in making arrangements for the business of the Conference, and of the object for which it had been convened. John Casimir had perceived that they were about to establish in Germany a new *Corpus doctrinae* (Body of doctrine), which, for appearance sake, was founded on the Augsburg Confession, but, in truth, destined to introduce into the Church the entirely new and monstrous dogma of Ubiquity ;^(b) and to condemn as heretics, and to exclude from the Religious Peace and Evangelical Church Communion, all those who wished to remain faithful to the old Confession. It was, therefore, proposed that the Conference should consider the following questions :—

(b) Meaning that the body of Christ was everywhere present. Those who held this opinion were the Ubiquitarians. The intelligent reader will remember the violence of the controversy carried on on this matter long after the period mentioned in the text.

1. "In what way and by what means the condemnation of the foreign Churches, as intended by the Neo-Lutherans (Ubiquitarians) in their new *Corpus doctrinæ* (Body of doctrine) might be prevented?"

2. "Whether it be proper to establish a common Confession of all evangelical Churches, and if so, what plan could be devised by which this could be effected?"

3. "To whom the drawing up of such Confession should be entrusted, and how it should be submitted to approval and rectification by the several Churches?"

After the president had finished his report, the French, Polish, and Hungarian deputies declared, that though they had been deputed by their respective Churches only for the consideration of the establishment of a new united Confession, they were quite ready to take into consideration the measures to be adopted, in order to prevent the condemnations pronounced in the Ubiquitarian Formula of Concord. The first session was then closed.

In the second session, on the afternoon of September 27th, the Assembly was occupied with the first proposition of the president. The English ambassador, who informed the Assembly that the Queen of England was just about to address the evangelical princes of Germany on this point through her private secretary, Robert Beale, proposed a resolution with regard to the first proposition, which was unanimously adopted by the deputies. It was resolved accordingly, that the legate of Queen Elizabeth, Robert Beale, should be accompanied on his mission by Dr. Paul Knibbius, as the delegate of the Conference, who, in its name, should propose and support the proposal of the English ambassador, by laying before the princes an "admonitory address" (*Admonitionschrift*), and that Hubert Languet should be requested to draw it up. The resolutions of the princes were then to be sent by Knibbius to the Palatine John Casimir, who would forward them to the several Churches. Copies of this admonitory address were to be com-

paper: They had been much grieved by learning, that they were endeavouring in Germany to have a new Confession signed, by which the foreign evangelical Churches were condemned. The princes, however, might consider that the adherents to the Augsburg Confession were not less intensely hated by the Papists than the foreign Protestants, and that the most efficient means of resisting the machinations of Rome, would be the closest fraternization of the evangelical States of the empire with foreign Protestants, and a general synod, at which all the disputed points and questions might easily be settled by pious and peace-loving divines of both parties. Arbitrary condemnation of the foreign Churches would damage the cause of the whole of Protestantism, and all the more, that there was no cause whatever for such a proceeding. For, without any reason, the foreign Churches were reproached with recognising the Augsburg Confession; when, the fact was, that they only differed from their opponents in the explanation of

the meaning of the Augsburg Confession, as they understood it in the sense of the editions revised by Luther and Melanchthon in the years 1540 and 1542.^(d) They would there-

(d) A great wrong is, however, done to us by those who say that we reject the Augsburg Confession. We do this by no means; but only differ in regard to some of the chapters. Moreover, since the Augsburg Confession was presented to the Emperor Charles V., when the Church in Germany was just in its infancy, no wrong is done to anybody, if some of its chapters be said to have been explained afterwards more lucidly by Luther and other excellent men, who lived after it had been presented. This appears sufficiently from the amended Confessions, which were edited at Wittenberg in 1540, and afterwards, in 1542, by Luther and Melanchthon. [Porro nobis magna fit iniuria ab iis, qui dicunt, nos rélicere confessionem Augustanam. Nequaquam enim id facimus, sed de eius sententia tantum in aliquibus capitibus disceptamus. Ac cum confessio Augustana exhibita fuerit Carolo Imperatori sub initium fere nascentis ecclesiæ in Germania, nemini fit iniuria, si dicantur quaedam eius capita fuisse dilucidius postea explicata a Luthero et aliis præstantibus viris, qui post eam exhibitam vixerunt, quod satis apparet ex emendatis illis confessionibus, quæ a. Domini 1540 et postea 1542 a Luthero et Melanchthone editæ fuerunt Witteburgæ.]

fore request the princes to abstain from any unjustifiable condemnation of the foreign Churches, and rather to make it the object of their efforts to establish more firmly the union and communion of all evangelical Christians.

Paul Knibbius, deputed by the Conference, visited, with Robert Beale, the courts of the princes, and submitted to them the admonition. Yet the reception with which the English ambassador met was equally unfavourable with that of the admonition; and the resolutions of this first Conference of evangelical Christians of all countries remained without essential consequence for the development of Protestantism. The Assembly, however, was a testimony to the genuine evangelical spirit which was still prevailing in the great Protestant Churches. It was a foreshadowing of the future. (e)

(e) The project of the Frankfort Conference was most joyfully hailed in France. The Synod of the Reformed Congregations of the kingdom assembled

in 1578 at Sainte-Foi, received the communication of the resolutions adopted at Frankfort, from the French deputy, Ernard, who had attended it, and entered fully into the idea of an alliance which should comprise evangelical Christians of all countries. The Synod drew up a project of union among all the Reformed and Protestant Churches of the Christian world, [Projet de reunion entre toutes les eglises reformées et protestantes du monde chretien] in which the former General Conference at Frankfort was expressly recognised as one in which there had been proposed several very practical means, and very proper and efficient remedies for closely uniting the Reformed Churches of the Christian world; and also for extinguishing and terminating all the differences and disputes which our enemies had raised among them, and to prevent certain fanatical and bigoted theologians from condemning the greater and sounder part of the foreign Reformed Churches, as they have threatened to do. [Dans laquelle on avait proposé plusieurs moiens très-expediens et des remedes très-propres et très-efficaces pour unir étroitement toutes les églises reformées du Monde chrétien, et aussi pour étoufer et terminer tous les differens et contestations, que nos ennemis font naître parmi eux et pour empêcher quelques théologiens fanatiques et bigots de condamner, comme ils ont menacé et protesté de vouloir condamner et anathématiser la plus grande

et la plus saine partie des églises réformées, qui sont éloignées.

Still, in 1583, the King Henry of Navarre applied to the King of Sweden, and to the more important among the Lutheran princes of the German Empire, most urgently insisting upon the formation of an evangelical alliance. But, scornfully, the latter answered, that the *Concord* which he suggested was already established among them, and that it was only required to receive their confession in order to be admitted a member of the "Evangelical Concord." (E. Staehelin, the Perversion of King Henry VI. of France, to the Roman Catholic Church, page 763, seqq.)

While, therefore, the Reformed Churches and their princely and theological advocates pointed ever and anon to the want, the practicability, and the necessity of a union of all bodies of Protestants, and repeatedly offered a fraternal hand to their Lutheran brethren, notwithstanding the reiterated repulses which they experienced; the Lutheran theology and Church, proudly looking upon their pretended purity of Confession, appeared perfectly satisfied, and gloried in being the only House of the Lord, outside of which God could not be truly honoured and adored.

It is, likewise, a sad truth, that with the commencement of the Lutheran secession *in montem sacrum* of Closter-Bergen, thousands and thousands of Protestant congregations, in all parts of Ger-

many, which might have been strengthened by the formation of an Evangelical Protestant Alliance, were overwhelmed by the Romish Church, after long and violent resistance, and were forced back into her bosom.

During the thirty-years' war, when the memory of the highminded and pious exertions of Queen Elizabeth had long been extinguished, the noble Scottish divine, John Dury, came to Germany for the purpose of attempting again the formation of a great Evangelical Church Alliance. The Reformed princes and divines alone received his propositions with enthusiasm; the Lutherans proved to him that they neither could nor would have any communion with the Reformed. Among the numerous writings of English divines which were published in support of Dury's mission, the book of Bishop Davenant is especially worth noticing: *Ad fraternam communionem inter evangelicas ecclesias restaurandam adhortatio, in eo fundata, quod non dissentiant in ullo fundamentali catholice fidei articulo* (per reverendum in Christo patrem Joh. Davenantium, episcopum Salisburiensem. Cui preafixa est eiusdem de pace itidem ecclesiastica commentatio Johanni Duraeo non ita pridem missa. Cantabrigae, 1640. (Exhortation to the restoration of fraternal communion among the evangelical Churches based on this, that they do not disagree on any fundamental articles of the Christian faith. By the reverend father

in Christ, John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, To which is prefixed, Observations by the same, upon the Peace of the Church, addressed to John Dury. Cambridge 1640.)

* * John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, mentioned in the preceding note, was a native of London. He was a theologian of very liberal sentiments; and he zealously endeavoured to reunite Christians of different communions. He was a man of learning, modesty, and penetration. He was deputed to attend the Synod of Dort, with other English divines, in 1618. His death occurred in Cambridge in 1640.—*L'Avocat*.

We may add the following short notice of Dury, from the "Scottish Biography."

"John Dury or Durie, in Latin Duræus, a learned divine of the seventeenth century, was born and educated in Scotland, and was for some time minister of Dalmeny. In 1624 he went to Oxford for the sake of the public library, but being zealously bent on effecting a union between the Lutherans and Calvinists, he published his plan in 1634, and obtained the approbation and recommendation of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Bishops of Kilmore and Exeter, and others. The same year he appeared at a famous assembly of the evangelical Churches in Germany, at Frankfurt, and afterwards negotiated with the divines of

Sweden and Denmark. In 1641 we find him in London as one of the members of the Assembly of Divines, and he was also one of the preachers before the Long Parliament. He afterwards quitted the Presbyterian party, and joined that of the Independents. Travelling into Germany for the advancement of his scheme, he obtained from the divines of Utrecht an authentic testimony of their good intentions, which he annexed to a Latin work, published in 1662 at Amsterdam, under the title of "*Johannis Duraei Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus*," &c. The discouragements he encountered in endeavouring to serve the Church by the plan he had hitherto advocated, induced him to have recourse to another expedient of a still more impracticable nature, namely, by attempting to re-unite all sects of Christians by means of "*A New Explication of the Apocalypse*," which he published at Frankfort in 1674. At this time he resided in Hesse, where the Princess Hedwig Sophia, then Regent of that country, had assigned him a free house and well-furnished table, with free postage for his letters. The time of his death is unknown, but is supposed to have been about 1675. He was the author of a great many publications, relating principally to his two grand schemes for bringing about an accommodation and union between the Protestant Churches."

Two other very different men of the same name

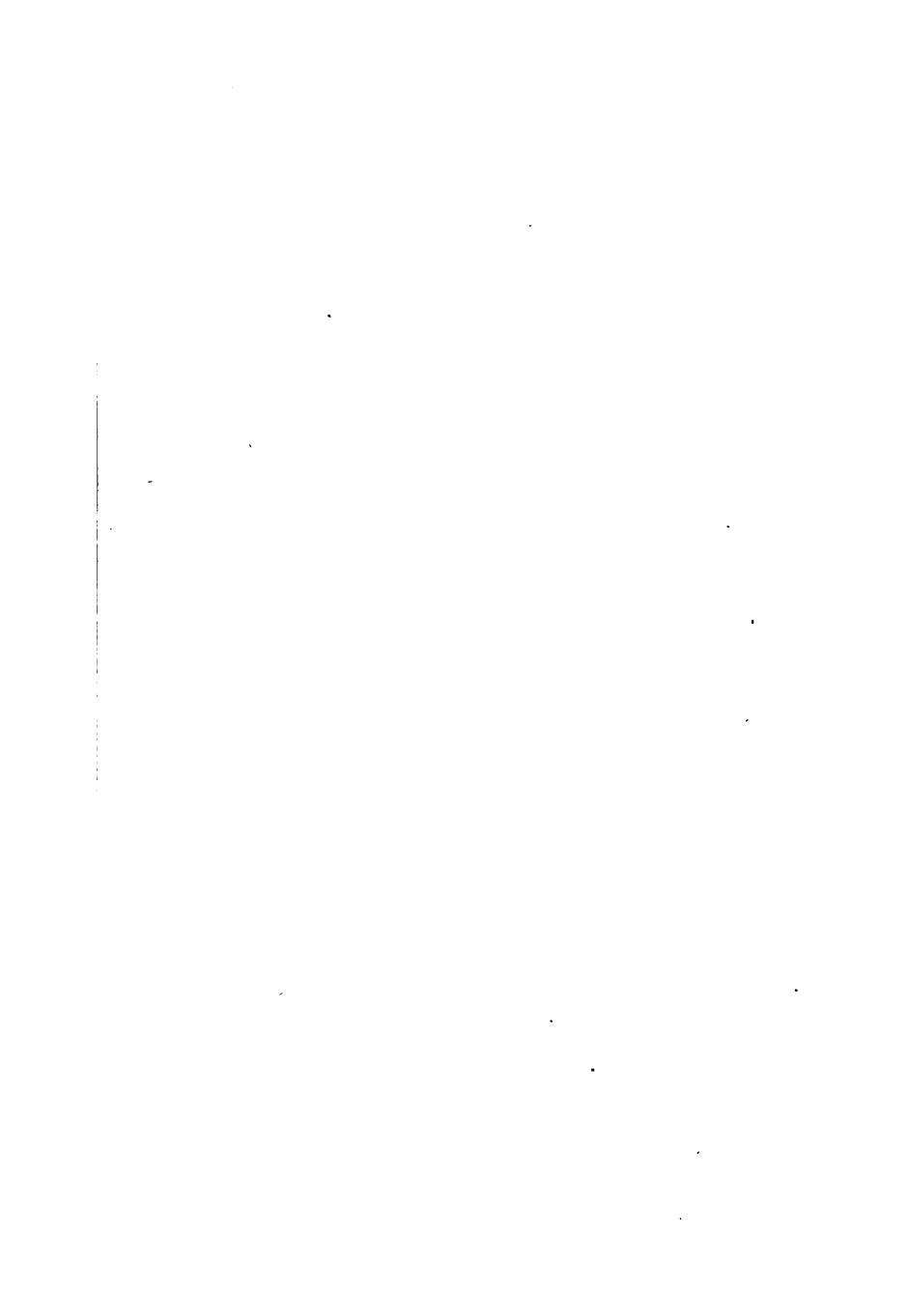
flourished in the sixteenth century; the one a Jesuit, and the other a Scottish Protestant minister.

Hubert Languet (see p. 149) was born at Vitteaux in Bourgogne, in 1518. He was converted by reading the "Loci Communes" of Melanchthon. The following notice of him is from the Zurich Letters:—

"Hubert Languet had been Minister of State to Augustus, Elector of Saxony, from whose service he retired in consequence of the controversy between the Lutherans and Zwinglians about the Eucharist, on his taking part with the latter. He afterwards accepted an invitation to Antwerp from the Prince of Orange. He was the intimate friend of Melanchthon, Thuanus, and Du Plessis, by the last of whom his character is thus described: 'Is fuit quales multi videri volunt; is vixit qualiter optimi mori cupiunt.' He died at Antwerp, Sept. 20, 1581. His correspondence with Sir P. Sidney has been lately translated by the Rev. Steuart A. Pears."

Rudolf Gualter (see p. 150) was a native of Zurich, where he was born about 1519. He was a man of considerable learning and ability, and filled the pastoral office in his native city for more than forty years, with great fidelity, diligence, and honour. His published works are numerous. He visited England in company with Nicolas Partridge, of Lenham, in 1537. One of his works

was translated into English about 1556. He corresponded with not a few distinguished Englishmen for many years, or from about the time of his visit to this country down to his death in 1586. He had a son of the same name who came over to study at Cambridge, in 1571, and was maintained at the cost of Bishop Parkhurst. From Cambridge he went to Oxford, where he received the most honourable testimonials, but he was prematurely cut off in 1578. The elder Gualter was held in much reputation in this country, and his advice was sought on several important occasions. We may add that he was the son-in-law of Henry Bullinger.



APPENDIX.

I.

Letter of Martin Luther to Thomas Cromwell.
(See p. 30)

Lutherus illustrissimo viro Cromwello Serenissimi
Regis consiliario S.

Gratiam et pacem in Jesu Christo. [After some excuses about his letter arriving too late, he thus proceeds:] Pro tuis vero amicissimis et suavissimis literis maximas ago gratias, et utinam, benedicente, Christo, talis essem et invenirer qualem Dignitas Tua me depinxerit. Longe enim inferiorem me puto istis meritis, quibus me putat D. T. praestare, Unum hoc confiteor Domino, quod ipsius gratia, studium et voluntas mihi non deest, sed, ut Paulus loquitur, velle mihi adjacet, perficere vero in me non invenio. Tamen ille qui imperfectum meum videt, perfectus est, et perficiet tandem suo tempore pro bona voluntate sua. Mirifice vero me laetum fecit Dr. Barnes, cum mihi narraret Dignitatis Tuae seriam et propensam in causa Christi voluntatem, praesertim cum pro autoritate tua, qua apud serenissimum regem, et in toto regno plurimum vales multum prodesse possis. Ego oro et orabo Christum ut opus suum quod in Dignitate Tua coepit, feliciter confirmet in gloriam suam et multorum

salutem Ex Dr. Barnes narratione quae apud nos sunt et aguntur optime cognosces Dignitas Tua, quam in misericordiam Patris commendat.

MARTINUS LUTHERUS, DR.

Datae Wittenbergae,
die Palmarum, 1536. (i. e., April 11th, 1536.)

II.

Letter of Justus Jonas to Thomas Cromwell. (See p. 32.)

Justus Jonas Magnifico et praestantissimo viro Thomae Cromwello serenissimi et potentissimi regis Angliae consiliario, amico et patrono reverendo S.

Omnia quae Reverendissimus Dominus Eduardus Episcopus Herevordtensis, reverendissimus archidiaconus Nicolaus, et Dr. Barnes, in negotiis religionis cum illustrissimo Electore principe nostro ut regiae Majestatis Legati egerunt, et quomodo publice et privatim apud nos accepti sunt, magnifice domine, intelliget magnificentia tua ex ipsorum narratione. Magni referre reipublicae, ut in hac causa tanta ad reprimendam etiam frangendam intolerabilem Romani pontificis tyrannidem, et afferendam puram veritatem, serenissimus et potentissimus rex Angliae, et principes Germaniae Evangelio faventes, concordibus sint voluntatibus et animis, et ut studeant quantum omnino possint, hoc tam difficili tempore *εὐεργετικῶν* docti et pii omnes vident. Si modo vestri eruditi et ecclesiae praecipui ministri dent operam, ut in praecipuis sanae doctrinae articulis satis et vere congruamus; tunc quantum animadverti in deliberationibus gravibus nostrorum, non dubito

futurum esse, ut ad facienda et perficienda reliqua politici foederis, eo facilius conspiremus. Si res ad synodum generalem deducta fuerit, Angliæ regnum florentissimum non destituitur ingenuis et doctis viris. Et nostrum sæculum ejusmodi est, ut ipsorum temporum cursus, quasi impetus fluminis, sit interrupturus spem impiam et consilia nefaria papæ. Nostram operam ad tuendam in hoc acerrimo certamine causam evangelicæ veritatis promptissimam et deditissimam offerimus, et notitiam ac amicitiam cum reverendissimo episcopo Eduardo, et Magnificis Regiæ Majestatis legatis, ita colere, et officio mutue scriptiois conservare studebimus, ut speremus utrinque et Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ, Deo dante, hoc profuturum. Tua Magnificentiâ nos serenissimo regi et communem pietatis et literarum causam commendare dignetur. Jesus Christus Magnificentiam tuam diu conservet, et lumine suo illustret.

Magnificentiæ tuæ deditissimus,

JUSTUS JONAS, DR.

Datæ Wittenburgæ,

4ta die post Pascharum, 1536.

(i.e. April 20th, 1536.)

III.

Summary of Henry Killigrew's Instructions. (See p. 59.)

Summa eorum quæ legatus serenissimæ Angliæ reginæ responderat illustrissimo comiti-palatino-electori de ipsius ad serenitatem suam postulatis pro communi foedere:

Serenissima domina mea regina perspicuens atque praevidens imminencia temporum pericula et perniciosas atque sanguinarias quorundam machinationes contra universos omnibus in locis sacrosancti evangelii professores non ante multos annos palam in totius orbis conspectu diversos legavit nuntios ad plerosque Germaniae principes, qui religionem professi sunt christianam, quo illis innotesceret, quam utile foret inter omnes protestantes foedus publicum et commune, in quibus legationibus licet serenitas sua se paratissimam ostendit (honoris, ad quem Deus opt. ma. maiestatem suam vocaverat ratione habita,) cum consensu et copiis suis, summam pro communi omnium causa, praestare una cum illis operam, tamen tot tantasque sustulit serenitas sua moras et dilationes a plerisque eorum principum, qui tunc temporis eandem cum sua maiestate profitebantur religionem, ut exinde serenitas sua decreverit, ab omni id genus tractatione deinceps penitus abstinere. Verum quandoquidem postea nuperrime serenitas sua, hac de re rursus fuerat sollicitata per illustrissimum electorem-comitem-palatinum, ideo sua serenitas me impraesentiarum huc in Germaniam misit, non solum ut maiestatis suae hoc de negotio consilia communicarem cum praedicto electore-palatino caeterisque Germaniae principibus, sed etiam ut illis significarem, quam lubenter sua serenitas esset auditura omnes, quae propositae forent hac in parte rationes et conditiones, quas si sua serenitas inveniret causae religionis commodas et sibi non inidoneas, minime est recusatura.

Porro autem nisi in hoc foedere comprehendi velint illustrissimus Saxoniae elector Augustus nec non et praeclarissimi duces Bipontinus, Julius Brunswicensis et Wirtenbergensis et illustrissimi Hassiae Landgravii ceterisque praepotentiores in istis regionibus primates, atque una cum illis civitates aliquot liberae non solum quae superioris

sunt Germaniae, sed etiam maritimae et Anglico littori vicinae, neutiquam sibi aequum fore foedus illud serenitas sua iudicabit. Quod si in hac etiam confoederatione haberi vellent potentissimi Daniae et Sueciae reges, et nobilissimi Holsatiae duces, atque etiam alii magni nominis principes oceano illi confines, tanto magis serenitati suae gratum illud foret.

Cupit etiam sua serenitas, ut foedus hoc solummodo defensivum sit, videlicet ut bellum non fiat nisi in eos, qui manifestissima vi conabuntur ex confoederatis aliquem religionis causa deturbare.

Licet autem satis constat suae serenitati, quot quantosque habeat religionis causa inimicos, tamen quum serenitatis suae imperium sit ab illis oceano undique seclusum et separatum, multo facilius se potest sua serenitas defendere cum propriis viribus et copiis, quam alii principes qui in continenti ditiones suas habent hostibus expositas et apertas. Atque hac in parte qui ad elapsum tempus paulo altius respiciet, facillime videbit quanta minus cum difficultate possit serenitas sua regnum suum hodierna die tueri (quum in omnibus regionibus serenitatis suae circumvicinis tot reperiuntur nunc millia, qui suae maiestati propter religionem favent et bene volunt,) quam poterant serenitatis suae, felicissimae memoriae, pater Henricus octavus rex, et Edwardus sextus frater, quibus licet maximas moverunt religionis ergo tragoedias et clanculum et aperte pontifex Romanus, Carolus quintus, Caesar et Galliae reges, caeterique in illa tempestate papisticae factionis principes, satis tamen est manifestum quam valide et integre se suaque regna divino beneficio semper conservarint, adeo ut optime concludi possit, serenitatis suae non admodum interesse tale hoc tempore foedus facere, quod sibi oneri et sumptui foret, nisi propter publicam christianae religionis defensionem.

IV.

*Credentials of the two Envoys of Queen Elizabeth.**(See p. 63.)*

Elisabetha, Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae regina, fidei defensor etc. illustrissimis excellentissimis, amplissimisque principibus s. r, imperii electoribus ac statibus consanguineis et amicis nostris carissimis salutem et in rebus gerendis optatos successus et felicitatis assidua incrementa! Illustrissimi, excellentissimi principes, amici et consanguinei nostri carissimi, perlatum nuper est ad nos fama multorum, conventum s. r. imperii certorum principum Francofurti hoc Aprili mense celebratum iri. Quoniam igitur angustius temporis, quod iam nunc appetit, exclusae esse videmur, quominus aliquem e nostris istuc cum mandatis mitteremus, qui quid esset in hac re certi exploraret et ad nos referret, visum fuit, ut duos ex nostris, qui in vicinis regionibus a Francofurto prope absunt, vestris Excellentissimis in hoc tempore commendaremus. Quorum alterum Henricum Killigrew et probum et spectatae in nos fidei servitorem nostrum domesticum ad Excellentias vestras Comitis Palatini consanguinei nobis carissimi legavimus, nec vero adhuc ab illis locis excessisse audire potuimus; alter vero fidelis et pervetus noster servitor Dr. Montius, homo probe notus in Germania et rerum usu et doctrina peritus Argentinae commoratur. Horum nos igitur et utrique coniunctim et alterutrim separatim mandavimus, primum ut certum explorarent de conventu, tum siquidem illis certe sit futurus possintque hi nostri aut eorum alteruter in tempore interesse, de nostra voluntate vestris excellentissimis ea generatim significant, quae nobis vestri conventus et consilii causam non plane scientibus

sed tamen nonnihil coniectura suspicantibus visa fuerint oportuna. Maiorem in modum nos omnes rogamus, ut quam fidem et auctoritatem istis nostris delaturi essetis, si a nobis et conventum vestrum et conventus causam intelligentibus hoc solum nomine missi essent, eandem illis aut illorum alteri has literas afferenti in nostram gratiam tribuatis. De reliquo, uti nos de rerum statu ab illis factae erimus certiores, ita Excellentias vestras, per illos et animi et consilii nostri participes pro re nata faciemus. Bene valeant Excellentiae vestrae.—Datum ex Regia nostra Westmonasterii, XII. Aprilis a.D. MDLXIX, regni vero nostri undecimo.

Vestra consanguinea

Elisabetha R.

Illustrissimis, excellentissimis amplissimisque principibus s. r. imperii electoribus ac statibus consanguineis et amicis nostris clarissimis.

V.

Letter of Sir Philip Sidney to the Landgrave William of Hesse. (See p. 88.)

Illustrissime Princeps. Ante dies duodecim incidi Heidelbergae in legatos vestrae Celsitudinis, quibus dixi, mihi demandata esse quaedam a Serenissima Angliae Regina Domina mea Clementissima, de quibus cum v. Cel.^{no} mihi agendum esset. Mihi quidem admodum gratum erat, quod se mihi offerret huiusmodi occasio colloquendi et contrahendi noticiam cum v. Cel.^{no} de cuius virtute et prudentia plurima ex alijs audivi. Sed cum me ad iter istud accingerem, accepi literas a Serenissima Regina, quibus jubet me reditum meum in Angliam accel-

erare. Coactus itaque illud prius meum institutum mutare mitto literas ipsius Maiestatis ad vestram Cel.^{nem} per hunc nobilem virum D. Richardum Alanum suae Ma^{is} de Camera Aulicum.

Mandata vero, quae ad vestram Cel^{situdinem} habui, sunt: Serenissimam Reginam cupidissimam esse contrahendi cum vestra Cel.^{ne} vel potius conservandi iam contractam illam coniunctionem et amicitiam, quae ipsius parenti Regi Henrico foelicissimae memoriae ac etiam ipsius Maiestati intercessit cum v. Cel.^{is} patre praestantissimo Principe, et certandi mutuis officijs, ac conferendi consilia de ijs, quae ad salutem reipublicae Christianae pertineant: quo possitis conjunctis animas occurrere machinationibus pontificis Romani: qui toto conatu incumbit in perniciem eorum, qui excusso iugo, quod maiorum nostrorum cervicibus imposuerat, se in libertatem vindicarunt, quo Deum purè et sanctè colere possent ac suae saluti consulere. Ut autem id, quod habet in animo Pontifex perficiat, dat operam, ut Reges ac principes, qui eius tyrannidi sunt adhuc obnixi, coniungat foederibus, quo possint coniunctis viribus nos opprimere, quod videtur ipsis tandem non fore difficile, nisi etiam nos coniunxerimus ad propulsandum iniurias si quas nobis inferre conabuntur. Nec sane id nobis quisquam improbare poterit, cum bonum officium sit, non solum a se et suis repellere iniuriam sed etiam suscipere defensionem eorum, qui adversus iniustam vim se tueri non possunt. Pontificem autem id agere ut nos omnes perdat, cuivis satis constat ex bellis quibus per tot annos ardent regna Galliae et inferior Germania. Nam cum nemo ibi sit, qui non suo regi esse obsequentissimus, modo ipsi Deum pure invocare concedatur, ita tamen istorum regum animos fascinavit pontifex, ut per multos annos omne genus crudelitatis in suos subditos exercuerint, quo possint eius tyrannidem in se et suos stabilire. Nec

sane lene est vulnus, quod his proximis annis infixit Germaniae reductis sub suam tyrannidem aliquot provincijs, quae dudum ab eo defecerant, et purior religionem erant professae, quo eius successu quam arrogantes facti sint ii qui ei sint addicti satis audio, conventus imperij superiore aestate Ratisbonae peractus ostendit. Sed haec quae sunt odiosa commemorare desinam cum sint notissima v. Cel.ⁿⁱ ac etiam de ijs pluribus verbis nuper egerim cum Illustrissimo principe Domino Johanne Casimiro Palatino Rheni atque quem de ijs rebus ad v. Celsitudinem copiose scripsisse aut scripturum non dubito. Peto autem a v. Cel.^{no}, ut haec quae a me bono animo dicta sunt, boni consulat et dignetur ad Ser.^{mae} Reginae literas ita respondere, ut ipsius Maiestas ex ea re voluptatem capiat, et intelligat v. Cel.^{nem} praestantissimi sui parentis vestigijs constanter insistere velle.

Ego v. Celsitudini ac toti illustrissimae v. familiae omnia fausta precor et peto a vestra Cel.^{no} ut sibi persuadeat me semper fore cupidissimum ipsi inserviendi quandocunque se eius rei offeret occasio. Francofurti ad Moenum, 13^o Maij 1577.

Vestrae Illustrissimae Celsitudinis
observantissimus
Philippus Sidneius.

VI.

Request of Queen Elisabeth to the Elector Palatine Ludwig, presented by Daniel Rogers. (See p. 93.)

Illustrissime ac potentissime Princeps
Domine observandissime.

Cum Serenissima Regina Angliae, Domina eam clementissima de me in Germaniam ablegando ad negocia quaedam istis expedienda cogitaret, voluit

ut inter alios Germaniae principes, quos de voluntate sua convenirem, vestram Cels. imprimis adirem, ac nomine M.^{ts} suae compellarem, cum ob familiae vestrae eminentissimam dignitatem, tum ad amicitiam illam continuandam et amplificandam, quae Serenissimae M.^{ti} suae cum Illustrissimo Heroe beatissimae memoriae Domino Friderico Electore Cels. V. parente intercesserit; quo enim maiori affectu Heroem illum laudatissimum, dum in vivis esset, observavit ac prosecuta est, tanto pronior est ad amicitiam cum Illustrissimis eius liberis alendam et confirmandam. Quare, quemadmodum Ser.^{ma} sua M.^{tas} adulto vere per D. Philippum Sydnaeum (quem ad Caes. Ma.^{tem} ablegarat) V.^{am} C.^{em} salutavit, ita in praesentiarum fermè eandem C.^m V.^m literis et colloquio visere constituit, cui salutationi terandae occasionem praebuit Ill.^{ma} Celsitudo Vestra. Cum enim Ser.^{ma} Regina ex praefato legato reduce intellexisset, quam bonam in partem ea omnia C. V.^s accepisset, ac interpretata fuisset, quae de voluntate M.^{ts} suae ad tuendam concordiam inter Cels. V.^m ac Ducem Casimirum fratrem ille proposuisset, in eam cogitationem Serenissima Regina descendit, ut quemadmodum antea Cels.^{nis} V. patri gratissima semper fuere, quae a parte M.^{ts} suae proficiscerentur, sic et V.^{ae} C. non ingrata futura, quae in posterum aut ex benevolentia sua erga Palatinam familiam, aut studio Christianam Remp. promovendi, cum V. Cels. tractatura esset.

Ex ijs ergo, quae Serenissima Regina meae curae ut Cels. vestrae explicarem mandavit, duo tantum in praesenti proponam, quorum alterum Cels. Vestram privatim spectat, alterum communem Reip. tranquillitatem respicit. Quod ad prius attinet veluti Kalendis Maij ultimo praeteriti, sic nunc denuo Cels.ⁿⁱ Vestrae amicitiae fraternae cura cum Domino Duce Casimiro fouenda, iterum atque iterum commendat. Ac tanto quidem impensiori studio

sua M.^{tas} hoc agit, quo maiori affectu Vestram familiam prosequitur. Singulariter enim metuit Sua M.^{tas} ne qui hodie ex Pontificijs et iuratis Religionis Evangelicæ hostibus factionibus inter Ill.^{mos} Germaniæ Proceres serendis student, ne illi ipsadem artibus ipsis usitatis Ill.^{mas} Vestras Celsitudines inter se committant. Sic autem statuit, hanc duorum fratrum unanimem coniunctionem non tantum utilem utrique futuram, sed et necessariam planè, cum ad conservationem Palatinæ dignitatis, tum ad salutem Christianæ Reipubl. perpetuandam, quæ ex dissidio Celsitudinum Vestrarum periclitaretur, quemadmodum eorundem Concordia stabiliat unice, est expectandum. Magnum esse audit Ser.^{ma} Regina hodie Ducis Casimiri nomen, ut quantum Vestra Celsitudo Electorali dignitate et opibus ad Imperij dignitatem fulciendam valet, tantum ille fermè militia peritia eaque quam ex celeberrimis in Galliam expeditionibus reportavit gloria posse videatur. Ut igitur Celsitudinum vestrarum coniunctio et unio publice et privatim res stabiliat unice, ut coalescat et perduret amicitia inter vos, exoptat, quæ cum hoc tempore Ser.^{ma} Regina repetit ex benevolentiae Celsitudinis V. abundantia inclinantes easdem ad fraternam amicitiam porrò excitat et hortatur.

Alterum autem quod Cels.^{ai} Vestrae Illustrissimæ Serenissima Regina declararem, mandavit, tale est, ut vehementer M.^{tem} suam torserit. Intellexit enim non vulgari cum dolore, esse quosdam per Germaniam Theologos, magis quidem ut M.^{tas} sua veretur ambitioni et privatis commodis studentes, quam charitati Christianæ invigilantes, qui magnis conatibus id agunt, ut quibusdam Germaniæ Principibus persuadeant, eos, qui in Religionis negotiis nullatenus exceptis unici articuli circumstantijs quibusdam ab ipsis differant, non auditos etiam condemnent, quam præpos-

teram rationem Ser. sua Mtas. non tantum cum Christianis institutis pugnare censat, sed temporis quoque successu gravius condemnationibus quam condemnatoribus (P) praeiudicium allaturum autumat. Quid enim aliud expectandum Papae, Gallo, Hispano, Pontificijs denique Principibus omnibus, quam ut Euangelicae veritatis assertoribus debilitatis, reliquijs illi insultent, ac simili exemplo et iure non auditos condemnent? Quod si verò Lutherani caeteros Euangelicae doctrinae puritatem amplectentes ideo condemnandos putant, quod per Germaniam abundant et numero plures sint, admonet eos Mtas sua, existiment Ecclesias per Galliam, Belgium, Poloniam, Helvetios sparsas, tum illas qui per Angliam et Scotiam florent, suffragiorum multitudine superaturos. Quin ipsi Pontificios, a quibus iure defecerunt criminati dudum sint, quod alios inaudita causa condemnarunt, quos nunc exemplis suis ad idem fulmen in pios omnes evibrandum animant et hortantur. Ideo autem Serenissima Regina grauius de hoc Theologorum instituto sentit quod cum multi incommoda hinc experturi sint, nulli commoda sint relaturi praeter Pontificios communes reformatae religionis hostes, qui Lutheranos et Zwinglianos eodem loco habent. Fingunt illi quidem pro re nata se Lutheranos in maioribus delicijs habere. ut has contra Zwinglianos (quibus vocabulis ad has factiones exprimendas uti cogimur) incitent ac bello commissos ad ruinam utrosque tanto facilius praecipitent: ac miratur sane Ser.^{ma} Regina, si haec pericula Germaniae Principes ac Proceres religionem Euangelicam profitentes non videant, cum quotidie Pontificij novas artes ineant ac technas cudant, ut Religionem puriorum eiusque sectatores ducti cuniculis subruant. Quae vota si ex animi sententia hostibus non successerunt, nulli hoc solertiae aut prudentiae Principum Germanicorum eandem Religionem amplect-

tentium est adscribendum, sed bellis civilibus, quibus per Galliam et Belgium hostes Religionis impliciti fuere, deinde Turcicis expeditionibus, unde eorum conatus à lacessendis Germanis et Anglis bello reuocati et impediti fuere. Maius autem periculum à Pontificiorum initis foederibus, Ecclesijs reformatis imminet, quam ut necesse sit, intestina bella excitare, ac nosmet ipsos mutuis uulneribus confectos, hosti deridendos prebere. Nec ignorare possunt Germaniae Principes, quas insidias Pontificij contra eos saepe struxerint, Ser.^{ma} sua Mtas saepe illos de foederibus Pontificijs atque Tridentini Concilij in omnes Religionis Euangelicae sectatores executione admonuit, semperque ipsius M.^{ti} hoc fuit consilium ut Euangelici Monarchae atque Proceres sua quoque auxilia et consilia mutuo communicarent ad impedienda atrocissima illa bella quae postmodum in Gallia et Belgio in perniciosam fermè Christiani orbis consecuta sunt, et pariter in Germaniam et Angliam machinata fuere, quemadmodum ex multis in utramque provinciam machinationibus excogitatis liquidò apparuit: Atque illa quidem consilia non eotantum nomine Serenissima sua Mtas proposuit, ut suam dignitatem suaque regna inde muniret, quae diuturna et prospera pace iustitiae medio stabilita, deinde clementia et benignitate in omnes, securitate in paucissimos sua regna at dominia sic confirmavit, ut res Angliae multis seculis pari foelicitate vix usae fuerint. Adde quod vicinas et circumiacentes regiones suis beneficijs ita sibi devinxerit, ut in utramque aurem, quod dicitur, securius dormire possit. Ideo autem foedus protestantibus ineundum consuluit, ut universi puram Euangelij veritatem amplectentes contra imposturas et pontificiorum machinationes munirentur, ac singulis praecaveretur. Animadvertit vero S. Mtas, ab istius modi foedere Germaniae Principes

tum abhorruisse, fortassis quod conatus Pontificios nihil ad se spectare existimarent, vel quod blanditijs et technis eorum essent deliniti, otium similibus negocijs praetulerint. Remissius igitur Serenissima Regina de hoc foedere cogitare coepit, exitumque imminentium tempestatum Deo Opt: Max: commendavit. Quis autem ille fuerit, quantumque damni ex illis bellis toto Respubl: Christiana acceperit, omnes domi suae perspexisse credit. Cum verò Serenissima Regina de novis Pontificiorum foederibus nuper in Gallijs ac alibi initis certior fieret, non voluit praetermittere quin quos haberet in Germania charos, hortaretur ab hostium communium conatibus sibi proinde praecaverent. Hoc enim cura, qva Reip. Christianae et Religionis salutem prosequitur, postulat, mutuaeque illa benevolentia, qua erga V. C. aliosque Germaniae Principes fertur, omnino requirit: Petit igitur Serenissima Regina ne quod Hispani egressi Belgio sint, ideo nullas Pontificijs artes relictas esse ad religionem labefactandam, arbitrentur; plurima enim ipsis restant media, quibus iacta suorum consiliorum fundamenta ad finem (quem Deus avertat), perducere queant. Quin imo iam id agunt, ut dissensionibus professores purioris religionis involvant, hosque ipsos committendo, viam sibi ad omnes opprimendos struant. Quare Ser. Regina ex re, Illustrissimos Germaniae Procerae facturos existimat, si communis charitatis tuendae maiorem rationem habeant, quam ambitiosa quorundam Theologorum consilia sequendo extraordinaria, ordinarijs neglectis, remedia in Ecclesijs reformatiores inferant. Nimis enim hoc insolens est, cumque Christiana charitate valde pugnat, ut qui eandem puritatem religionis amplectuntur, fratres suos nec auditos condemnent. Maiorem autem in modum modestiam eorum Principum celebrat, qui Confessioni Augustanae subscribentes

cum ab alijs dissentirent Non Probare se illa vel illa adiecerunt: condemnandi vocabulum tantum in gravissimis erroribus usurpantes: Nihil autem consultius Serenissima sua M^{tas}. iudicat, ad concordiam inter reformatæ religionis professores stabilendam atque christianam charitatem muniendam, quam si dicti Principes sedulò caveant et prospiciant, ne subditi eorum quicumque illi tandem sint, vel concionando vel scribendo, vel libros disseminando lites ullas ob ea religionis capita, quæ in reformatis Ecclesijs aliquot iam annos controversa mansere aut moveant aut nota foveant, quin potius istiusmodi singula ad synodi convocationem reiciant et differant, qua occasione amicè disceptari et componi dissidia queant, qui dictas Ecclesias hactenus involuerunt, ne Evangelicæ veritatis professores factionibus (ut supra monui) divisi, Pontificijs communibus puriorum Ecclesiarum hostibus occasionem præbeant reformatiorem doctrinam facilius cum conuellendi et opprimendi, tum Idololatriam suam confirmandi et propagandi. Quæ ut ritè peragantur singularem moderationem adhibere conuenit, quam cum Serenissima Regina ex gravissimorum virorum relatu inter alia decora, illustrissimæ familie Palatinæ peculiarem et quasi propriam inesse audierit, imprimis V.^m C. obtestatur ut omni studio in hanc concordiam stabilendam incumbat, operamque dare dignetur, ut si qui sint Germaniæ Principes à vehementioribus nempe Theologis persuasi qui in hanc condemnationis formam de qua dictum est, inclinent, Vestrae Cels: moderatione sua apud hos intercedat, ne fratres non auditos condemnando perniciosum Ecclesiæ Dei exemplum ad posteritatem transmittat.

Alia porrò sunt, quæ antequam ex Germania discedam V.^{ro} C. nomine M.^{ts} Serenissimæ proponenda mihi erunt, quorum nomine deinceps accessuro ad Cels: V: ut facilius aditus mihi

concedatur Serenissima sua Mtas V Celsitudinem etiam atque etiam rogat.

Daniel Rogers à Serenissima Regina
Angliae ad Illustrissimam Vestram
Celsitud: ablegatus.

VII.

From a Letter by the Landgrave William to Queen Elizabeth. (See p. 102.)

Thermis Empsensibus XVI. die Septembris a. 1577: Cum vero confederatio de qua nobiscum S. V. M. agit, sit res maximi momenti et eiusmodi, ut de ea nihil constituere possimus sine consilio fratrum nostrorum et aliorum principum, quibus nostra familia antiquis quidem foederibus est coniuncta, obnixe petimus a. S. V. M., ne aegre ferat, quod suae expectationi iam satisfacere non possimus. Non desistemus tamen omni via et ratione hanc rem tam utilem et necessariam apud fratres et amicos nostros agere etc.

VIII.

Letter of Daniel Rogers to the Landgrave William. (See p. 103.)

S. P. Postquam, illustrissime princeps, thermis Empsensibus relictis, a Vestra Celsitudine Francofurtum rediissem, nihil mihi tam curae fuit, quam ut prima quaque occasione, quae apud Vestram Cels. nomine serenissimae reginae instituissem, ad suam Maiestatem perscriberem. Praeterquam enim, quod hoc mei muneris esset, consilii eius, quod Cels. Vestra mecum communicavit, magnitudo

id suo merito postulabat. Quam propenso autem studio sua Maiestas in eam partem inclinēt, ad quam Vestra Cels. adhortabatur, vel hinc Vestra Cels. collegerit, quod antequam sua Maiestas Celsitudinis Vestrae consilium posset cognoscere, D. Robertum Belum eo ipso nomine ablegandum in Germaniam existimaret. Cum enim tria serenissima regina nihi expedienda demandasset, quorum primum cum principe Aurasino conficiendum erat, alterum foedus illud concerneret, de quo consilium Celsitudinis Vestrae Maiestas sua scire percupiit, tertium vero apud illustrissimum ducem Casimirum peragi debuit: priori negotio expedito, pro sua prudentia Maiestas sua facile consideravit, alterum illud de foedere ad expectatum finem perducere non posse, nisi hoc tumultuosorum theologorum, qui fratres suos condemnare festinant, studium prius impediretur, de quo post meum a Maiestate sua discessum, primum admonebatur. Cumque tertium, quod mihi restabat, eius momenti esset, ut totum hominem occuparet ac requireret, consultum esse existimavit, alium in Germaniam ablegare, qui imminens illud a theologis quibusdam periculum Maiestatis suae interoessione ac auctoritate averteret.

IX.

Letter from Queen Elisabeth to the Landgrave William. (See p. 108.)

ELISABETHA Dei gratia Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Regina, fidei defensor etc. Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino D. Wilhelmo Hassiae Landgravo, Comiti in Catzenelbogen, Dietz, Zigenhain et Nidda, consanguineo et compatri nostro charissimo etc. salutem et rerum prosperarum foelicissimos successus! Ill.^{mo} Princeps et Consanguinee cha-

rissime! Superioribus nostris, et nuncio et literis, id egimus, ut animi nostri propensionem ad ea promovenda vobis significarem, quae vobis antea curae erant et perpetuo fore locupletissimis testibus consignastis. Hic noster famulus Robertus Belus, secretioris et sanctioris consilii nostri secretariorum alter, quem in praesentiarum ad vos mittimus, curam et sollicitudinem nostram, de vitae honorumque vestrorum bono anxiam testificabitur. Quae eo nos apprimat celerius et penè conficit, quo videmus varias et multiplices communis Christiani nominis hostis insidias aut non animadverti a nostris, aut incogitantius contemni, quam pro nostrorum temporum malo, et periculorum tempestatibus, quae orbi Christiano imminet, par est aut esse queat. Habent hostes nostri crebra sua consilia, conspirationes ineunt solennes ad nos opprimendos, easdemque sacris suis sanciant et resanciant in horas, in momenta; nos interea, quasi optima nobis vellent, et non damnosa, salutem et non interitum, segnescimus, singuli nostra curamus, imo vero parati sumus gladios nostros in viscera nostra stringere, quo facilius patefaciamus viam impotenti hosti opprimendi nos. Huc enim pertinebit Synodus, quae instituetur Magdeburgi, (uti ad nos adfertur) ni malè ominamur, quam ut omnino aut rescindi curetis, ut tempori incommodam, vel in aliud tempus proferri, tanquam rebus nostris afflictis damnosam, etiam atque etiam excellentiam tuam rogamus. Si quisquam enim nostrum sit, qui non intelligit, discordes nostras voluntates ruinam parituras ecclesiae Christi et Kyangelio, inspiciat pontificiorum decreta, videat et perpendat Romanensium studia, eequid chariorem habent Augustanam confessionem, quam aliam quamcunque, iam videbit senatusconsulta gravissima in utrosque sententiam magni Antichristi hanc esse, tollendum esse utrumque nostrum. Haec si non

ficta sunt, videte annon sit nobis expurgandum, ne non incauti sed inepti opprimamur, videamus, fueritne ex re Evangelij ut dexteram iungamus contra Pontificios; vos si utile putaveritis, nos non erimus defuturæ. Id si non placuerit, singuli sua mala patiamur, ut enim salvi stemus, fieri non potest; nos autem non inter primos ruituras nos speramus, quia remotiores ab igne sumus, malumus tamen cum vobis omnibus salvæ permanere, quam procellæ finem sustinere. Hoc si consilium nostrum non videbitur prorsus negligendum, rogamus, communicet ex.^a vr.^a consilia sua cum fidei et nobis charo præsentis famulo nostro, cum ea fide et benevolentia, quo nobiscum dignaremini conferre sermones, sed ita tamen ut charissimam vestram conjugem plurimum nobis dilectam, et filiollam nostram unice nobis charam nullo modo insalutatas, et quibus volumus officijs inhonoratas prætermittat. Quas tanto prosequimur amore et studio, quanto coniunctissimam nobis Principem possumus, et matrem debere filiam Vra. exa. non ignorat. Quæ ut nobis curæ sunt, ita diligentius vobis commendamus, id ex.^{mo} vr.^{mo} fidei iniungentes, ut præ procuranda et tutanda a nobis accipitis, eorum diligentissimam rationem semper habeatis, eadem sarta tecta restituti, quando a vobis repetemus. Bene et foeliciter valeas. Datum e Regia nostra Richmondia 21. die Augusti Ano. domini 1577 Regni vero nostri 19.

Vestra Amantissima Cognataque
Elizabeth B.

X.

Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Augustus, Elector of Saxony. (Referred to at p. 112.)

ELIZABETHA Angliæ, Franciæ et Hybernæ Regina, fidei Defensor etc. Illustrissimo Principi

D. Augusto, Duci ac Electori Saxoniae, Marchioni Misniae, Landgrauio Thuringiae, sacri Imperij Romani Archimarisalco, Consanguineo nostro charissimo salutem et rerum prosperarum foelices successus. Illustrissime Princeps et consanguinee charissime, Quoties de foelici rerumstrarum statu cogitamus (cogitamus autem saepissime) toties et studii erga vos nostri monemur, et quantum in nobis est, ut eadem res vestrae florentes permanent, pro nostro in vos amore, ut operam demus, gravissimis de causis permovemur. Non enim ignara sumus, quam invitae videmus infortunium vel abiectissimi cuiusvis hominis, quoniam hominatae sumus, principum vero eorumque Christianorum afflictae res ita nos angunt imminentes, ut labantes et ruentes aegerrime laturas nos certissime nobis persuadeamus.

Quod autem salui adhuc statis, summi Dei miserentis infinita elementia est, hostes fidei publicae iam sublato et extincto vos voluisse, non est incertum. Neque vero id voluisse solum, sed velle dicendum est, praesertim in ijs, quorum animi non desierunt, sed in dies singulos progrediuntur caedem et sanguinem vestrum spirare, nulla re alia, quam innocentissimorum Principum Dei veritatem in Evangelio profitentium sanguine satiandi. Ad eam rem efficiendam, post omnes insidiarum et perfidiae modos tentatos, nullum faciliorem inveniunt, quam ut nos inter nos committant, discordes animorum nostrorum sensus, in quibusdam rebus leuioribus ad maiores inimicitias efficiendo ut erumpant, illi interea invictissimis inter se animis, nescimus quot sancitis et repetitis foederibus confirmati, nostram cladem et ruinam nostris inter nos dissidijs adiuti, conficiant, cumulent. Id vero quomodo? Vide, obsecramus, ingenium serpentis. Est in magno nomine apud vos, et meritò, Augustana Confessio, leges habent Imperij nullam aliam sinendam,

praeter Pontificiam. Quam rem ille libenter par-
titur, hoc autem obtendit: Nova alia suborta est,
quae multos motus concitavit in Imperio, quae nisi
exterminetur, actum est de pace et quiete Imperij.
Videt Excellentia vestra, quorsum isti laquei ten-
dunt et tenduntur, scilicet, ut vestris sententijs
(eiectis et condemnatis alijs) in eam quae hodie
Augustana et revera Augusta est, liberius Pontificij
saeviant. Quid ergo? Celebretur conuentus Mag-
deburgi, in eo decernatur de rei summa, cuius
consilij decretis qui non steterit, exul ex Imperio,
exul ex Ecclesia, exul a fide fiat: quibus nudatus
praesidijs obiiciatur libidini inimici hominis. Quid
inde? qui corpus suum uno pede privat, deterius in
acie consistit. Huic malo in tempore medendum
est. Morbus cum praevaluerit, et radices in cor-
pore egerit, vel sanatur nunquam vel mira difficul-
tate, et maximo cum dolore idque non syncere
curatur. Una ratio nobis videtur promptissima, ut
comitia ista omnino abrumpantur propter iniqui-
tatem temporum, quae saniora consilia desiderant.
Id si a nobis concedi vobis non vult saltem reiici-
antur in aliud tempus, quò et nos quoque, quae
membrum sumus eiusdem Ecclesiae, cuius et nos
Deputatos nostros eo mittamus, qui, quae Reipubl.
Christianae fausta et foelicia futura sunt, in com-
mune conferant: Ne non permissae causam nostram
in consessu vestro dicere de iniuria longè maxima
nobis illata conqueri cogamur, vestris sententijs
condemnatae. Quam autem viam tenendam pu-
tabitis, si dignabimini cum hoc famulo nostro
Roberto Belo in sanctiori et secretiori nostro Con-
silio Secretariore altero, multum nobis fido et
charo consilia vestra conferre, quid nos animi
habemus, Vestrae Excellentissimae pluribus verbis
palàm faciet. Cui propterea ut eam fidem adhi-
beatis, quam nobis ipsis adhiberetis, Vestram
Ex.^{am} impensissime rogamus. Bene et feliciter

valeas. Datum e Regia nostra Richmondise 21 die
Augusti A.D. 1577 Regni vero nostri Decimo nono.

Vestra Amantissima Cognataque
ELIZABETHA R.

[TRANSLATION.]

*From Queen Elizabeth to the Elector Augustus
of Saxony.*

Elizabeth, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to the Illustrious Prince, The Lord Augustus, Duke and Elector of Saxony, Marquis of Misnia, Landgrave of Thuringia, Chief Marshal of the holy Roman empire, our very dear cousin, greeting, and the happy success of prosperous affairs. Most Illustrious Prince, and our very dear cousin, as often as we think of the happy state of your affairs (and we think of them very often), we are reminded of our zeal for you, and moved by very weighty causes for our love toward you, to do our endeavour, as as far as in us lies, that your affairs may continue to flourish. For we certainly see very unwillingly, the misfortune of the most abject, for we are ourselves human, but the imminent afflictions of Christian princes so trouble us, that we could ill bear the decay or ruin of their estate. Your continued safety is due to the infinite kindness of the supreme and merciful God, for assuredly the enemies of public faith have already wished your ruin and destruction. They not only have wished, but do wish it, specially those who have not ceased, but every day go on to pant for your slaughter and blood, only in order to satiate themselves with the blood of most innocent princes who profess the truth of God in the Gospel. For doing this, after trying every means of treachery and perfidy, they

discover no easier way than provoking enmity among us, and striving that our different opinions on some minor matters may break out into greater enmity. Meantime, they in concord, strengthened by we know not how many solemn and repeated alliances, and aided by our divisions, bring upon us ruin and destruction. And why so? Mark the craft of the serpent. The Augsburg Confession is deservedly in great esteem among you, and the laws of the empire permit no other except the Papal. He takes his portion willingly, but insinuates this: another new one has sprung up, which has caused many commotions in the empire, and except it be suppressed, there is an end to peace and quiet. Your Excellency sees the object of these snares, that through your decisions (others being rejected and condemned), the Papists may rage the more freely against what is now Augustan* and truly august. What then? Let a convention be held at Magdeburg; there let the whole affair be decided, and let him that will not abide by the decisions of the conference be cast out of the empire, the church, and the faith. By making known such measures the lust of the enemy may be resisted. What then? He who deprives his body of a foot, makes the worse stand in fight. This evil must be cured in time. When a disease has prevailed, and struck its roots into the body, it is either never healed, or with wonderful difficulty, and then the cure is painful and imperfect. One course seems very plain: that those meetings should be wholly broken off, owing to the disorder of our times, which require more wholesome counsels. If you do not concede this, let them be at least postponed; and then we too, who are a member of the same

* The Augsburg Confession is in Latin called *Augustana*.

church with you, will send our legates thither to confer in common about that which is to the profit and advantage of the Christian Commonwealth. Let us not, without permission to plead our cause in your assembly, be driven to complain of by far the greatest wrong yet done to us, that by your decisions we are condemned.

But if you will state what way you think ought to be followed, to this our Servant, Robert Beale, one of the Secretaries of our more privy and solemn council, he will more fully explain to your Excellency what our opinions are. We therefore earnestly entreat your Excellency to have the same confidence in him as you have in us. Fare ye well and happily.

Given from our palace at Richmond, August 21st, A.D. 1577, the 19th of our reign.

Your very dear cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

XI.

William of Hesse, to Queen Elizabeth; delivered to Mr. Robert Beale on his departure from Cassel, December 26, 1577. (See p. 114.)

RESPONSUM.

Illustrissimi Principis Wilhelmj Hassiae Landgrauij ad Serenissimam Angliae Reginam Traditum Serenissimae Maiestatis suae Legato D. Roberto Belo.

Quae Serenissimae Reginae Angliae nomine et ex mandato eiusdem Legatus et Orator Regius Robertus Belus, Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino, D. Wilhelmo Landgrauio Hassiae, Comiti in Katzenelnbogen, Diets, Ziegenhain et Nidda et erudita

et eleganti exposuit oratione, ea omnia non modo animum verè Regium et in Religione constantissimum sed et pacis et quietis, publicae studiosissimum pergrata recordatione testantur. Adedque etiam non apud praesens tantum seculum, sed et omnem posteritatem egregiam sane laudem at aeternam promerentur memoriam.

Et cum imprimis Serenissima Regina Celsitudini suae ostenderit, quam sollicita de eius integra fuerit valetudine, rerumque omnium successu prospero: pro eo quidem eas quas debet et potest Maiestati suae agit gratias maximas. Et faxit largitor ille munerum et omnis retributionis fons largissimus Deus Opt. Max. ut ex adverso Regiae suae Maiestati, omnia et fausta et auspicata ita eveniant, ut in salutem rei Christianae in aeternam aquilae senectam quam florentissimam incolumis conservetur.

Quod vero ad primum Legationis caput attinet, in quo Serenissima Regina pro ingenij sui dextertate et animi candore in Remp. et Religionem Christianam Celsitudinem suam unà cum alijs Germaniae Principibus Augustanam profitentibus Confessionem eruditissimis sane firmissimisque Argumentis et rationibus in unum quasi collectis fasciculum pio praemonet et hortatur affectu, ne in nova illa attentata Religionis formula Ecclesias externas in plerisque Religionis Christianae articulis fidem et salutem nostram concernentibus nobiscum consentientes, condemnationis anathemate feriri patiamur, sed vel eandem penitus formulam supprimi, vel si necessitas eam in publicum edi postulat, receptas hactenus et in Ecclesia et Augustana confessione eiusdemque adiuncta Apologia usitatas et phrasas et formulas retineri curemus, ne inde turbationum et distractionum tam virium quam animorum occasio oriatur, unde medicinam postulare oportebat. Non equidem diffitetur Princeps Illustrissimus quorundam irrequietorum in Germania nostra ingeniorum

suum potius et commodum et honorem quam Ecclesiae utilitatem querentium, et opera et studio, in quibusdam fidei Christianae articulis dissensionum semina iacta esse: quae temporis denique progressu eo etiam suppulurunt, ut Ecclesiae Augustanum profitentes confessionem ex eo non parum fuerint turbatae: ac proinde etiam aliquorum Germaniae Principum consilio factum esse, ut pro infringendis Pontificiorum calumnijs, quibus Ecclesias, Augustanam confessionem sectantes, dissensionum praecudio praegravant, aliquot et pacis et quietis publicae amantes, et rerum peritos Theologos convocarent, iisdemque concordiae formulam, non quidem ab Augustana confessione dissentientem, sed eandem potius in controversis Religionis articulis declarantem et veram eiusdem et intellectum et sensum explicantem conscribere mandarint, idque eo potissimum consilio, ut exinde posteritati de unanimi religionis consensu inter Augustanae confessionis et Principes et status eo liquidius constare possit.

Quae res sane, ut Principum eandem confessionem profitentium officium maximè spectat, ita et Deo et Ecclesiae, non modò necessariam sed et imprimis proficuum et utilem futuram esse, quin Regina Serenissima, pro ingenij sui dexteritate, intelleget, nihil equidem dubitat Princeps Illustrissimus: modo salutare res ipsa sortistat euentus, et eorum et consensus et auctoritas ea in re iam nunc requiritur, votis approbetur.

Et cum eadem etiam Concordiae et consensus formula Celsitudinis a praememoratis Germaniae Principibus fuerit transmissa, eiusdemque desuper iudicium requisitum: non potest equidem non consensu teste Celsitudo sua fateri, etsi re cum Theologis suis deliberata, pleraque Religionis capita cum Augustana confessione consentientia offenderit, nihil usque adeo Celsitudinem suam remoratum esse,

quam quod Ecclesiæ ab Augustana confessione in Articulo coenæ aliqua ex parte dissentientes condemnationis Anathemate peti animadvertit, quod et ipsæ Cels. suæ causæ fuit, ut fermè eorundem et periculorum et incommodorum, quæ et Serenissima Regina pro ingenij sui sagacitate ex altissima quasi specula prospicit, principes illos, quorum consilio formula illa conscripta fuit, admonuerit: subnixè interim et quam officiosissime deprecata, ne istiusmodi condemnationibus eorum et animi et vires, qui aliàs in omnibus fidei articulis salutem concernentibus inter se consentiant, in perniciem et Ecclesiæ et reipublicæ distrahantur, et maiora inde capitibus nostris accersantur mala, quibus deinde medicari non possumus, id quod procul dubio ex eo etiam futurum prospicit Princeps illustrissimus, quod et predecessorum et suorum et aliorum Principum fundamenta, quibus in reprobandis Pontificiorum tanquam communium hostium conciliabulis, præsertim vero Tridentini concilij Decretis, usi sunt, in eo quod pars in partem contra omnia tam divina quam humana iura sibi arrogat, et cognitionem et iudicium non sine magna et levitatis et inconstantia nota nedum Religionis nostræ periculo, labefactari, neque labefactari tantum sed et ex adverso eorundem adversariorum communium anathemata in veram Religionem Christianam stabiliri et confirmari animadverterit: quippe cum nemini non notum sit, quod illa ipsa anathemata non modo cum aliquali causæ cognitione sed et ab alijs qui de successione in Ecclesia gloriantur, profecta, et præterea etiam et patrum et conciliorum autoritate quodammodo munita esse velint: quod equidem in quantum Ecclesiæ perniciem sit redundaturum ut quis non plane stupidus et rerum imperitus facile animadvertit: Ita et si receptæ in Augustana confessione phrasæ retineantur, precaveri ea ipsa et mala et pericula posse Cels. sua non imprudenter

Illustrissimi Cels. suae parentis foelicis, ac piae memoriae exemplo est arbitrata.

Quam enim is ipse non modo in colloquio Marburgensi sed et in plerisque Imperij concilijs et publicis et privatis Augustanam confessionem profitentium Principum conuentibus id genus condemnationis in exteras nobiscum in reliquis fidei articulis consentientes Ecclesias averterit, dissuaserit, amouerit, id tum acta publica tum privata perquam liquido testantur: Nec ignorat Cel. sua, quanta et diligentia et studio biduum ante obitum idem et Celsitudini suae pro sua in Religionem et observantia et propenso studio perquam paternè iniunxerit et demandarit, quam equidem monitionem, cum patris vestigia secutus Illustrissimus Princeps in recenti adhuc teneat memoria, nec ullo unquam tempore eandem elabi sit passura: etsi facile intelligit Serenissima Regina; nulla prorsus apud Cels. suam, eam rem ad quam alioqui sua natura propendet, et quam sui officij imprimis esse novit, opus fuisse exhortatione, non potuit tamen non Cels. suae Legatio illa esse longè gratissima tum quod a tanta Regina profecta tum vero quod et causa per se sit talis, quae et tranquillitatem publicam et religionem nostram verè Christianam concernit: quorum omnium Maiestatem suam Regiam studiosissimam et faventissimam esse summa cum animi admiratione et voluptate animadvertit: Et si qua in re suo vel favore vel studio illustrissimus princeps causam ipsam in utilitatem Ecclesiae et salutem Reip. iuuare poterit, in eo officio suo nunquam est defuturus: id quod Regia sua Maiestas ut persuasissimum de se habeat, ea qua debet et potest observantia reverenter petit.

Quod verò ad alterum Legationis caput de foedere inter Serenissimam Reginam et Augustanae confessionis Principes defensionis ergò ineundo attinet, nihil equidem ambigit Princeps Illus-

trissimus, quin Serenissima Regina ex internuncio suo Daniele Rogerio, Celsitudinis suae, ea de re animum satis superque intellexerit: Et cum rationes in eam rem id temporis adductae, adhuc hodie subsistant, neque hactenus ob temporis angustiam illustrissimorum et fratrum et confederatorum Principum et voluntatem et mentem resciscere potuerit, id saltem Mtem. S. R.^{am} quam obnixissime obtestatam vult, sese hac in re excusatum habere velit, id interim sibi persuasum habens, quicquid ea in re communi omnium Principum voto statutum fuerit, in eo sese non defuturum officio, ut nec alias intermittet, pro re nata Reg.^{ae} suae M. secundos sufflando ventos eam praestare et fidem et operam, quae amicum vere fidelem decent, et quam eandem etiam a Regia sua Maiestate expectat.

Et haec sunt, quae Regio Legato Celsitudo sua ad Serenissimae Reginae postulata respondere nunc libuit: obnixè rogans, ut eadem Serenissimae Reginae Celsitudinis suae nomine deferat, seseque eidem quam obsequiosissime commendet.

Signatum Cassellis 26, Decembris 1577.

Wilhelmus Hassiae Landgravius.

XII.

Augustus of Saxony to Queen Elisabeth; delivered to Mr. Beale, November 8, 1577. (See p. 122.)

RESPONSUM.

Quod ad mandata Serenissimae ac Potentissimae Principis ac Dominae Dominae Elisabethae, Angliae, Franciae et Hyberniae Reginae, defensoris fidei, dominae nostrae clementissimae per serenitatis eius Regiae Legatum, dominum Robertum Belum exposita, Illustrissimus princeps ac dominus Augustus, dux Saxoniae Sacri Romani Imperij Archimarescalus et Elector, Landgravius Thuringiae, Marchio Misniae et Burgrauius Magdeburgensis dedit et scripto comprehendit iussit.

Cuiusmodi sint mandata Serenissimae et Potentissimae Principis ac Dominae, dominae Elisabethae

Angliae, Franciae, Hyberniae Reginae Defensoris fidei, dominae nostrae clementissimae, quae Clarissimo et Ornatissimo viro, domino Roberto Belo, Serenitati suae Regiae à Secretis et Legato dignissimo ad Illustrissimum principem ac dominum, dominum Augustum ducem Saxoniae, Sacri Romani Imperij Archimarescalcum et Electorem, Landgravium Thuringiae, Marchionem Misniae et Burggravium Magdeburgensem, dominum nostrum elementissimum perferenda dedit, Illustrissima Excelsitas eius probè intellexit. Et quamvis excusatio illa, qua S.^{tas} Regia de omisso haecenus literarum et legationum officio ad Excelsitatem eius utitur, minime erit necessaria: tamen quia cum singularis cuiusdam benevolentiae et humanitatis significatione est coniuncta, non potest non excelsitati eius esse gratissima. Ac licet Illustrissimus Saxoniae dux Elector de praeclara Serenitatis eius Regiae voluntate erga se plane non dubitet: tamen more magis suo, quam quod res ipsa postulare videatur, etiam atque etiam officiose rogat, ut Serenitas eius Regia egregium hunc erga se animum perpetuò retineat, sibi quoque certo persuadeat, nihil unquam praetermissuram esse Excelsitatem eius, quod vel ad amicitiam, quae potentissimo Angliarum Regno cum familia Saxonica multis retro annis intercessit, porro etiam tuendam et conservandam, vel ad Ecclesiae ac Reip: Christianae incrementum et salutem promovendam conducere poterit.

Cumque Serenissima Angliarum Regina in ijs, quae per Dominum Legatum oratione eleganti exponi curavit, multa in religionis negotio fideliter et amanter moneat, quae ad amolendum uiolenta consilia aduersariorum et Euangelicae puritatis hostium non parum profuturae videntur, non potest non Illustrissimae Excelsitati eius fidele et vere Regium hoc studium probari, neque dubium est, siquidem Serenitas eius Regis recte edocta fuerit de ijs, quae

pari cura et sollicitudine hoc tempore aguntur à Germanis Proceribus, qui Augustanae Confessioni nomen dederunt, quin pro insigni aequitate, prudentia et pietate sua, mitius sit de tota hac re iudicatura, et non reprehensura eas rationes, quae pro conservanda puritate doctrinae coelestis et ad principum huic addictorum animos inter se unanimi veritatis professione conglutinandos faciunt.

Nam quod S.^{mo} eius Regia ex incertis, ut apparent, indicijs veretur initium harum tractationum a technis Pontificijs profectum esse, idque nunc in Germania agi, ut nova quaedam à Confessionis Augustanae sensu aliena dogmata cudantur, hoc profecto longè aliter se habet. Ac notum quidem est universo orbi christiano: Cum primum praepotenti Deo, pro immensa erga genus humanum misericordia sua visum esset, ut veritatis suae lucem inter densissimas Pontificiorum errorum tenebras excitaret: et à Principibus pietatis Christianae studiosis divo Carolo quinto Imperatori in comitijs Augustanis Anno Salvatoris nati millesimo quingentesimo et trigesimo exhibita esset summa doctrinae coelestis, hanc deinceps in Ecclesijs puritatem Evangelicam profitentibus instar Symboli cuiusdam eodem plane sensu quo tradita fuerat, habitam fuisse, donec post obitum Viri Dei Martini Lutheri pieae memoriae, quidam male feriatii homines scripta et dicta quorundam privatorum suggillarent, ne bene meritis etiam de genere humano Scholis parcerent, ac libris in vulgus editis, perniciosas et periculosas contentiones sererent: in quibus alij alios de corruptelis sanae doctrinae accusarent: ac studium contentionis eousque progrediretur, ut non modo nova et inaudita antea factionum vocabula nascerentur, sed et Principum animi hoc quasi disensionum grassantium contagio infecti disiungerentur: Pontificijs interim veritatis hostibus, quod in his tantis turbis omnium luctuosissimum erat, laetissimo

tianam ecclesijs redderet, cumque haec certamina intra fines Germaniae orta essent, neque Ecclesias exteras corripuisse putarentur, existimatum fuit Ecclesias extra Germaniam quietas his dissidijs involvendas non esse, ac sufficere, si ad tractationem hanc adhiberentur ij tantum, inter quos lis primum mota fuisset, et tota res ad exempla Piae Antiquitatis componeretur: ubi necessitate singularum Provinciarum sic exigente non raro Nationales Synodi coactae sunt, sit ut ex tota Ecclesiastica historia vix novem oecumenica concilia numerentur. Ex quibus omnibus existimat Illustrissimus Saxoniae dux Elector, Serenissimam Angliarum Reginam pro singulari pietate sua cum pari prudentia coniuncta facile perspecturam esse nihil minus cupere Pontificios, quam ut salutaris haec Concordia inter Germanos Theologos et Proceres coeat, qua constituta et adversariorum calumnias cessare necesse est, quibus doctrinae coelestis propagatio hactenus veluti remora iniecta plurimum impedita fuit, et studia Germanorum Procerum eandem Confessionem amplectentium hactenus distracta, hoc salutaris Concordiae quasi foedere indissolubili denuo coalescere oportet, ut coniunctis deinceps animis et viribus, si necessitas ingruat, obviam ire impiorum conatibus possint: et quod huius Christianissimi concilij caput est, doctrinae veritas ac certitudo, quae perpetuo durantibus altercationibus ac rixis nulla esse potest, ad piam posteritatem in aeternam salutem multarum animarum transmittatur, adeoque omnia ad gloriam praepotentis Dei vergant, et ad viam tantopere à Salvatore nostro Christiani nominis hominibus commendatam dirigantur Concordiam quae uti optima est ita omni loco et tempore expetenda et promovenda est, neque unquam ulla de causa intempestiva dici aut reprehendi merito potest, quae equidem nihil laetius et salubrius Ecclesijs veritatem Evangelicam profitentibus in hoc aerumnoso saeculo ac-

cidere, nihil contra Pontificijs hostibus tristius et calamitosius evenire quicquam potest, cum illae à gravissima perniciosarum contentionum peste quasi reviviscant, hi vero intelligant non modo Germanorum Procerum unanimem consensum ipsorum violentis consilijs ita opponi, ut quae eis antea ad opprimendum Pios videbantur obuia et expedita, iam omnia reddantur nimia et difficiliora, sed et cum magno suo malo experiantur, Ecclesias Germanicas ab intestinis discordijs in Pontificiarum superstitionum extremam abolitionem et interitum denuo convenisse.

Cumque certum sit, plane nihil novi in dogmatibus constitui, non equidem videt Illustrissimus Saxoniae dux Elector, quae causa sit, cur tam salutari instituto cuiquam Germanorum Principum periculum creetur, modo sinceram Augustanae Confessionis sententiam amplectatur. Ex his autem etiam illud porro conficitur, quod de Articulo quem Ser.^{tas} Regia excipit, quique vel solo novi testamenti nomine ut interim de re ipsa non dicatur, inter Christianae fidei mysteria praecipuum aliquem locum obtinet, nihil hoc tempore facit aliud, quam quod ex verbo Dei in Augustana Confessione iam dudum est constitutum, unde nec ullam iustam excusationem Pontificij habent, quam tyrannidi suae praetexant. Cum exadverso Christiana illa Concordia in Ecclesijs Germanicis confirmata piorum hostibus omnes potius calumnias invitis etiam extorqueat, quibus hactenus non modo abusi sunt ad deformandum doctrinam Euangelicam, sed ad obtinendam etiam huius professores homines pios et innocentes, quos ob doctrinam, quae tot diversis opinionibus discerpere tolerandos non esse vociferabantur.

Quae cum ita sint et Illustrissimus Saxoniae dux Elector Serenissimae Angliarum Reginae eam esse mentem intelligat, si quid agatur (quemadmo-

dum agitur) ut dissidia quae orta sunt, de vero Augustanae Confessionis sensu et intellectu componentur, nihil à S^{to} eius Regia requiri amplius, quam ut abolitis condemnationis vocabulis consuetae voces usurpentur, videt nimirum Illustrissima Excelsitas eius, pium hoc Concordiae Christianae studium Serenitati Regiae eius non penitus improbari. Quamobrem in optima spe est, quae de toto negotio hucusque bona fide exposita sunt, Serenitati eius Regiae, ut quae ab optimo proficiscuntur animo, minime ingrata fore, quamvis Excelsitas eius communem omnium Augustanae Confessionis ordinum causam in se sola propterea non suscipere, neque prae reliquis suam sententiam valere ac potius erga Serenitatem Regiam observantiam suam eo ipso declarare studeat, quod hac commemoratione Serenitatem eius ea cura et sollicitudine, qua ipsam hoc tempore valde affici animadvertit, nonnihil levare posse existimet. Ac siquid porro restat, in quo forte Serenitati eius Regiae abunde satisfactum non est, cum id sit eiusmodi, ut nonnisi communicato omnium Augustanam Confessionem amplectentium Ordinum consilio explicari et expediri possit, rogat Illustrissima eius Excelsitas studiose, ut Serenitas eius Regia hactenus amanter acquiescat, donec ex communi sententia statuatur id, quod ad commodum et salutem Ecclesiarum Veritatem Evangelicam profitentium pertinere videbitur.

Quod porro Serenissima Angliarum Regina de Pontificiorum violentis Consilijs non minus prudenter quam fideliter monet et se ad inundandas necessarias ad defensionem rationes amanter offert, sane ex hac quoque parte Serenitatis suae Regiae angularis benevolentia et propensio erga Ordines Augustanae Confessionis addictos se ostendit. Ac veluti Illustrissimo Saxoniae duci Electori dubium nunquam fuit, Pontificem Romanum et eius propugnatores nihilò minus erga Ecclesias Gormaniae

Euangelicam Veritatem asserentes quam erga reliquas à Romanis erroribus abhorrentes, hostiliter animatos esse, ut paratiores sint ad propulsandam vim sibi iniuste illatam. Quamobrem Serenissimæ Angliarum Reginae tam pro fideli commonefactione quam pro declaratione Regij animi ad ferendum subsidium promptissimi, gratias studiose agit. Cumque tota hæc res ad omnes ex æquo Confessioni Augustanae addictos ordines pertinet, de ea sane tum rectissime statui poterit, cum progressu temporis communis aliquando conuentus instituetur. Interea ut Serenissima Angliarum Regina de sua erga Euangelicas proceres benevolentia atque studio nihil imminui patiatur, sibi que contra ab his polliceatur omnia, quae ab Anglici Nominis amantissimis Principibus expectari par est, Illustrissimus Saxoniae dux Elector iterum atque iterum vehementer rogat.

Atque hæc ut Serenissimæ Angliarum Reginae dominus legatus nomine et uerbis Illustrissimi Saxoniae ducis Electoris cum significatione Excel-sitatis eius erga Serenitatem Regiam obseruantiae singularis renunciet, Illustrissima eius Celsitudo à Domino Legato, cui propter virtutem eximiam benignissime cupit, clementer postulat.

Ex Arce Dipoldiswaldensi VIII Nouembris
ANNO MDLXXVII.

ERRATUM.

Page 12, line 7—10, read "He was solemnly received
at Calais by a deputation *from* Archbishop Cranmer and
the most eminent citizens."

