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Troubles at Frankfort

Edited by Prof. E. Arber





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The Troubles at Frankfort.

1554—1558 A.D.

A Christian Library.

A POPULAR SERIES OF RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

Edited by

Professor EDWARD ARBER, D. Litt. (Oxon), F.S.A.,
Fellow of King's College, London.

In these popular Editions, all Latin, Greek, and learned, Notes are omitted.

1. Dean W. Whittingham. A Brief Discourse of the Troubles of Frankfort. 1554-1558 A.D. - - - - - 5s.

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W.

A Brief Discourse

of the

Troubles at Frankfort.

1554—1558 A.D.

Attributed to

William Whittingham,

Dean of Durham.

1575 A.D.

The ordinary Lord's Day part of the Liturgy, though not faultless, containeth things true and good: and it was a very great and excellent degree of Reformation to make that Book. And the most of all its faults are in the By-Offices, Baptism, Confirmation, and Burial; and the Rubrics.

Richard Baxter, 'English Nonconformity,' p. 226. Ed. 1689.

London.

Elliot Stock. 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

1908.

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A Brief Description

of the

Troubles of Trunking

1834-1835 A.D.

Attributed to

William Whittington

Dean of Exeter

1834 A.D.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been
connected with the office of Dean of Exeter, from the year 1834 to
the present time. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and
the dates of their appointment and death are given. The names of
the persons who have been connected with the office of Dean of Exeter,
from the year 1834 to the present time, are as follows:—

London.

Printed by W. B. Whittington, 1834.

1834.

General Preface.

The central purpose of this Series of Books is not to excite the least ill will or prejudice towards any existing body of Christian men and women whatsoever: but rather to implant and cherish in the hearts of all its Readers a perfect detestation and execration of Compulsion in Religion; and of Persecution for Religious Opinions.

Christian History only too sadly demonstrates the truth of our blessed Lord's saying, 'I came not to send peace; but a sword'; because we mortals will not act upon the Golden Principle of Life that he has given us, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples; if ye have love one to another.'

E.A.

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Introduction.

I.

1. **T**HIS PRACTICALLY lost Chapter of the Religious History of England introduces us to a famous company of Protestant Divines, both Continental and British.

It bears witness to the justly vast influence of the great French Reformer, JEAN CALVIN; the founder of a School of Protestant Thinkers that has embraced millions in the past, and may yet embrace millions in time to come.

It has slighter notices of some other Continental Reformers, as THEODORE DE BÈZE, Latinized as THEODORUS BEZA; HEINRICH BULLINGER; RUDOLPH GUALTER; WOLFGANG MUSCULUS; PIETRO MARTIRE VERMIGLI, herein referred to as Master MARTYR; and PIERRE VIRET.

2. We get in it some glimpses of the life of JOHN KNOX, the Reformer of Scotland; including his own Account of his banishment from Frankfort in 1555.

3. Again, there is a perfect galaxy of Divines of the Church of England: including men who were, or who became, Archbishops, as GRINDAL and SANDYS; Bishops, as BALE, BENTHAM, COVERDALE, COX, HORNE, JEWEL, PARKHURST, PILKINGTON, and SCORY; and Deans, as COLE, HUMPHREYS, NOWELL, SAMPSON, and WHITTINGHAM.

Besides these, we meet with such Protestant Writers as THOMAS BECON, ROBERT CROWLEY, JOHN FOX the Martyrologist, WILLIAM KETHE, and JOHN OLDE.

4. Last of all, may be mentioned Sir FRANCIS KNOLLYS, Queen ELIZABETH'S Puritan Privy Councillor; and NICHOLAS PURFOOT, the London Printer.

Altogether, they were a most distinguished body of men.

II.

We have likewise in this Volume (what apparently exists in no other form whatever) Accounts, by Eye Witnesses, of the Protestant English Exiles on the Continent, during the reign of Queen MARY; as they were scattered through the Cities of Basle, Duisburg, Emden, Frankfort on the Main, Geneva, Strasburg, Wesel afterwards at Aarau, Worms, and Zurich.

Introduction.

After a perusal of this book ; one may wonder that, in those dark days, there was any City of Refuge at all for these fugitive Protestants in any European country whatever. Even at this distance of time, every Reader of this Volume must feel a sense of gratitude to the Magistracy of that day of Frankfort on the Main, for so kindly befriending the French, Flemish, and English, Protestants that found in their City a Sanctuary and a Home : and especially for allowing them to organize themselves into Churches ; which, to Exiles for the sake of Religion, was the most precious privilege on earth.

It is to be hoped that the appearance of this Reprint may stir up some to explore the Archives of the above-mentioned Cities, in order to obtain further information respecting our countrymen in the time of their Dispersion.

III.

But, apart from this Historical Picture of the Exile, this book has a strong present-day interest, in that it records the very beginning of the Rift between the English Conformists and Nonconformists ; or, to put it in other words, the Origin of English Puritanism.

It describes the formation, the continuance, and the destruction, of the first Nonconformist Church in English History. It also discusses, at great length, every essential detail in the organization of a Christian Church on what is called the Voluntary basis : though every Protestant Church is now-a-days a voluntary one.

And the singular thing is, that all this matter was threshed out in the reign of Queen MARY, while Calais was yet an English possession ; and some fifteen years before the rise of the Holy Discipline in 1572.

IV.

And here, in order to make things perfectly clear, we must crave of the indulgent Reader to be allowed to make use of two words of a much later date than this Text.

Calvinist, the earliest example of which that is quoted by my good friend, Dr. J. H. MURRAY, the Editor of the great Oxford 'English Dictionary,' is of the year 1579.

It must be taken here to denote the out and out and extreme adherents of CALVIN ; who regarded, as WHITTINGHAM expresses it, 'the Order of Geneva, the purest Reformed Church in Christendom.' p. 74.

Anglican, of which Doctor MURRAY's earliest example is of the year 1635.

By which we are herein to understand the Prayer Book men : though most of them, like Archbishop EDMUND GRINDAL and Bishop xii.

Introduction.

ROBERT HORNE, were, in ELIZABETH'S reign, regarded as most noted Puritans.

V.

1. While in France, WHITTINGHAM and other Englishmen heard that the Magistracy of Frankfort on the Main had granted, as from April 19 1554, the use of their Church of the White Ladies to the French Protestant Exiles that had come to them.

They then determined to remove to that City; and arrived there on the following June 27th. p. 23.

Of the four leaders of that first English company, only one, EDMUND SUTTON, was a Prayer Book man; the other three being Calvinists. All which was a matter of the purest chance.

The Magistrates having granted the new comers the joint use with the French Exiles of the Church of the White Ladies; the Englishmen organized themselves into a Church, on a Calvinistic basis, on July 29th. p. 25.

There being then no superior Ecclesiastical Authority over the English Protestants; everything was settled in their small communities by the votes of the majority of the Church Members: and we must recollect that their Congregations were always in a state of flux; members were ever coming and going.

This Calvinistic Church probably never numbered more than Fifty Members, p. 61; and among these, there was a vigorous Minority of Prayer Book men.

2. As soon as matters were somewhat settled, they attempted a very noble thing. By their General Letter of August 2nd, they invited all the Englishmen scattered over all Europe, to make their Church the rallying-point of the Exile, by coming to join them: and this might have been accomplished, but for the Dispute over the use of the Prayer Book in Divine Service,

It will be well for us to remember, how very recent this Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. had been. It had only come into use in England on November 1 1552; and some of its Framers were now about to lay down their lives for the defence of the Truths that it represented.

3. The next step of the English Exiled Church at Frankfort was to choose Ministers, of equal authority, for themselves. JAMES HADDON, of Strasburg, having declined to serve: they elected JOHN KNOX, of Geneva, to meet the wishes of the Calvinistic Majority; and THOMAS LEVER, of Zurich, to satisfy the Anglican Minority.

4. Meanwhile, discussions were rife among them as to the use of the Prayer Book. The Exiles at Zurich and Strasburg would have joined them, had that been granted: but it was stiffly denied.

Introduction.

On October 24 1554, DAVID WHITEHEAD (who plays so large a part in this History) arrived with his company, He was a Prayer Book man ; and had refused the Archbishopric of Armagh. He and those that were with him naturally strengthened the Anglican Minority ; and the controversy about the whole, or partial, use of the Prayer Book grew so hot, that the Lord's Supper was not administered in that Church from November 1554, to February 1555, p. 57 ; and 'it was concluded, That no man should need hereafter to subscribe to any Discipline,' p. 73.

At length on February 6 1555, a Truce was established amongst them, with great rejoicings ; whereby a Service (partly taken from the Prayer Book, and partly from other sources) was adopted ; which was to last till April 30 following. pp. 53, 57, 62.

VI.

1. KNOX, WHITTINGHAM, and others, perceiving the constant growth of the Anglican Minority, invoked the aid of CALVIN ; by sending him a scoffing Analysis of the Prayer Book in Latin. pp. 44-49.

We must clearly understand that, with these Calvinists, it was not at all a question as between Extempore Prayer and Read Prayers ; but between the Liturgy of the Churches of Geneva, or, as it is sometimes called, the Liturgy of CALVIN, (which had been printed in English at London in 1550, p. 42) and the Liturgy of England.

It was also a conflict between Silent Prayer and Oral Responses ; on account of which the Litany was as strongly condemned by them as the Surplice. pp. 24, 45, 54, 62, 63. Yet how necessary Oral Responses must always have been in Congregations, most of whom could neither read nor write, needs no argument.

CALVIN, whose Letters in this Volume (all opinions apart) are charming, does not condemn the Prayer Book, even upon the partial representation made of it, as a whole ; but offered some objections to parts of it that delighted the Calvinists at Frankfort. pp. 50-52.

This originated a correspondence between him and the later Anglican Church in that City, pp. 76-80, 87-93 ; in which the Englishmen certainly held their own.

Three hundred and fifty years have now passed away since this great Exile. What are, beyond all question, the four great Literary Monuments of our language ? 1. The Authorized Version of the Bible of 1611. 2. The Book of Common Prayer of 1552. 3. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE's Plays. 4. JOHN MILTON's Poems.

2. Then, amazing as it seems to us, in men who made GOD's Word their sole rule in everything, these Frankfort Calvinists regarded the Public Reading of the Scriptures in Divine Service 'as an irksome and unprofitable Form.' pp. 25, 89.

Introduction.

VII.

1. Before the Truce in the English Church at Frankfort had expired, however, there came about a perfect Transformation Scene.

The Martyr Fires of England began, by the burning of Bishop JOHN HOOPER, on February 9 1555. They naturally quickened the Protestant Exodus out of England. So, on March 3rd, RICHARD COX (who had been Tutor and Almoner to Edward VI.) arrived at Frankfort with his company; which apparently included Bishop JOHN JEWEL.

2. We have two Accounts of the small Revolution that then ensued: WHITTINGHAM's at pp. 54-61; and KNOX's at pp. 62-69.

The trouble began by the new comers making use of Oral Responses; and when they were reproved for it, they said, They would have the face of an English Church.

LEVER broke his Promise to the Calvinistic Church; and aided the new comers. pp. 54, 62, 63.

Then it was, on Sunday, March 17 1555, that KNOX preached his famous Sermon; which greatly angered the Anglicans. pp. 54, 55, 63-65.

On the following Tuesday, the 19th, Cox and his party asked for admittance into the Church; without signing its Discipline.

The Church declined to admit them. pp. 55, 65.

Then KNOX, most unaccountably pleaded (in a most defiant way, p. 66) for their admission: which act was quite against his own interest; and is a perfect mystery. All through these Troubles, he seems to have acted as a perfectly honourable and upright man.

Upon KNOX's intercession, the Church did admit the new comers. That made the Anglican Minority the Majority of the Congregation; and the very first thing they do, is to turn KNOX out of his Ministry.

It may be alleged in extenuation of Cox's action, that he had been one of the Framers of the Book of Common Prayer; and therefore his judgement for the full and perfect use of it, was as determined and resolute as KNOX's was for the non-use of it. Between two such Champions, a compromise was simply an impossibility.

Thus was formed the Anglican Church in the Church of the White Ladies at Frankfort on the Main.

3. There are hints, at pp. 70, 86, of a concerted action on the part of the Anglicans to destroy this nest of Calvinists. Learned men came from all parts for the purpose; so that Cox was able to present to the Magistracy of Frankfort, on March 26th, when he solicited permission to use the Prayer Book, three Doctors of Divinity, and thirteen Bachelors of Divinity, with others. p. 70.

The Senate consented: and with that decision, the Calvinistic Church there may be regarded as destroyed.

Introduction.

Their very reasonable complaints against the new comers are stated at page 85.

VIII.

As KNOX himself tell us, pp. 67, 68, his banishment from Frankfort was not the work of the new Anglican Church as a whole; but entirely the act of two members of it: EDWARD ISAAC, of Kent; and HENRY PARRY, who had been Chancellor of the Cathedral of Salisbury.

They produced to the Frankfort Magistrates one of KNOX's violent books, attacking the Emperor CHARLES V., PHILIP II. of Spain, and Queen MARY.

How KNOX could write such violent books, in such dangerous times, is another mystery in his life.

Whereupon the Magistrates ordered KNOX to leave the City; and he returned to Geneva.

IX.

Then came the counterstroke of the Calvinists.

If COX had had his way, they should not have been suffered to go to any other Church at Frankfort than the Anglican one. p. 70.

However, they sent WHITTINGHAM to Basle and to Geneva; and he obtained the right of having a Church in each City, with great favour.

So they resolved to migrate to those places, in September, 1555. pp. 81-93.

The Frankfort Anglicans called this migration a Schism. In response to which, the Calvinists asked that Arbitrators might be appointed to decide who was to blame.

This, the Anglicans refused. pp. 81-85.

So those two groups of earnest Christians parted company.

X.

The Calvinistic migration evidently brought the Anglican Church into very low water indeed; both as regards men and also funds.

DAVID WHITEHEAD, their Pastor, resigned on January 6 1556. p. 95.

For nearly two months the Pastorship was vacant.

Then enter upon the scene ROBERT HORNE and RICHARD CHAMBERS.

XI.

1. **T**he larger portion of this book, pp. 97-222, has nothing at all to do with the Calvinists; neither was it written, or gathered together, by WHITTINGHAM.

It is the Narrative of a severe struggle within the Anglican Church at Frankfort, between HORNE, CHAMBERS, and other Church Officers on xvi.

Introduction.

the one side, and the Majority of the Congregation on the other side, as to, Whether the Pastor was above the Church; or the Church above the Pastor? or to put it in other words, What was the ultimate authority in a Christian Congregation organized on what is called a Voluntary basis.

WHITTINGHAM says:—

This Controversy, which you have now heard, I find written by the hands of such as are both learned and of credit; but yet, I must needs say, by those that were parties in this broil. p. 215.

2. Here it may be well to take note of three words: *Pastor*, *Ministry*, and *Epistles*.

Pastor. This word is a kind of Protestant Ecclesiastical Shibboleth. The Episcopal Churches, together with the Presbyterian Churches, do not make use of it. It was largely current among the English Nonconformists; but has now mostly given way to, Minister. It is still in use among the French Protestant Churches.

WHITTINGHAM notes with great glee the use of this word, at page 72, when the Frankfort Anglican Church called DAVID WHITEHEAD its 'Bishop, Superintendent, or Pastor.'

The other Church Officers were, the Ministers of the Word or Doctors, the Seniors or Elders, and the Deacons. All these, together with the Pastor, were alike called, *Ministers*; and each of their Offices, a *Ministry*.

Besides these, there were the four Church Nurses, p. 184.

The third word to be noted is *Letters*; which is simply a literal translation of the Latin plural, *Litteræ*, 'an Epistle,'; and very often only means a single Letter, as in the case of EDMUND SUTTON's Letters of Request, at pp. 210-215.

XII.

The Second Part of this Volume comprises two periods:

The Tyranny of ROBERT HORNE and RICHARD CHAMBERLAIN
over the Frankfort Anglican Congregation,
March 1 1556—January 13 1557.

The Controversy that arose out of it.
January 13—September 30 1557.

XIII.

1. HORNE (pp. 78, 94) and CHAMBERS (35-39, 41) had already visited Frankfort.

Introduction.

They were close friends at Zurich, as appears by their joint Letters from there: in one of which, dated February 3 1556, and addressed to the Senate of that City, they state

We should never have suffered ourselves to be torn from you; had we not been invited, and almost compelled as it were, by the two importunate Letters of our countrymen, to relieve the extreme necessity of the now almost ruined Church of our Exiles at Frankfort.

Original Letters, p. 128. Ed. 1846-7. (Parker Society.)

2. HORNE became Pastor; and CHAMBERS practically sole Deacon. Under the circumstances, they might justly expect to have a perfectly free hand; but their rule became a Tyranny: which lasted something over ten months; and was so bitter that it united against them the Majority of the Congregation, that (in the following discussions respecting the Old Discipline and the New Discipline) so scorned and derided them, as to make their utterances, perhaps, one of the earliest *printed* Prose Satires in our language. Their mocking descriptions of Master Purse-Bearer CHAMBERS, and how he ran away with the Church's Bag, make one think of JUDAS ISCARIOT.

3. Now in an exiled community which 'had preferred Religion to Riches,' there was, naturally, a very great deal of poverty: and nobly did the Majority endeavour to grapple with that supreme need of the situation. Under these circumstances, the sole Deacon, who administered the Treasure of the Church, became the pivot of the whole organization; and was the master of the situation.

It shows how these two men played into each other's hands, that through HORNE's procurement, a General Proxy was given to CHAMBERS and his Deputy, to gather alms for the Congregation. pp. 118, 212.

The terms of the General Proxy were extraordinary,

That he alone should receive all; he alone distribute, and be accomptable [*accountable*] to no man; and he alone to be privy to the money. p. 118.

That One have the custody alone, know alone, and distribute the Church money alone, and make accompt [*account*] alone, and to himself alone. p. 168.

What have you, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, done: which, now a great while, have, by your messengers and Letters, stopped all the private alms of all men; and drawn them into your own hands? And that, you, Master HORNE, threatened, out of the pulpit, that you would do;
xviii.

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and that you would make make poor miserable men to eat hay! p. 180.

For these discreet disposers of other men's alms, have, by passing [*caring, stickling*] too much on money, utterly cast away men; yea, both the money and the men. . . . Yea, these gentle and shamefast disposers have, with their odious behaviour, driven many men, of notable good wits and towardness, some to the Printing-house, some to be Serving Men, and some to run into England again, with the peril of body and soul. p. 175.

And the general charge against these two men is thus expressed by the Majority, in the following description of their 'pranks.'

In all this ado, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS go about nothing else but to disquiet the Congregation, that HORNE might rule the roast [*domineer*] over all, CHAMBERS bear the Bag alone; and they two together exercise a most unworthy lordship over the poor, and by them [*over*] all others: and that they might have no certain Discipline, but that their pleasures might be holden for laws: and that nothing should be thought right, or stand in force, but what they do yet hitherto; and the same they go about now. And it seemeth they have utterly determined, either to establish a Tyranny, or to leave no common wealth at all in the Congregation.

Where HORNE and CHAMBERS make rehearsal here of the purging of offences committed by us; they ought justly to have been ashamed to make mention of 'offences': seeing they have never left, for these three or four months [December 1556—April 1557], to lade themselves with wicked doings. And as for occasion of offence and slander given to good and godly men, and to our adversaries and GOD's enemies the Papists' high rejoicing and pleasure: they accuse us thereof so falsely, as they themselves have given the occasion indeed. For they could never abide to have anything amended, nor themselves to be admonished of anything, or to be commoned [*communed, conferred*] withal in any wise. But for the most light, yea, no, causes indeed; they forsook their Ministry straightways: the Pastor forsook the Flock; the Treasurer, the poor; and both forsook the Church, and moved others by their example to do the same.

Neither was it enough for them to give over their own functions; but they must draw other Preachers and Readers

Introduction.

with them also, to the intent the Congregation should, by this means, be destitute of GOD's Word, and [be] utterly scattered: as though it could not possibly stand without them.

And when they had forsaken their own Church; they haunted partly the French Church, and partly the Dewtche [*German*] Churches: and so raised rumours abroad; and spread [the knowledge of] our dissensions, first through this City, and then through other Cities of Germany.

And, last of all, when they would not come to the Church in the Mart time, but by the Magistrates' commandment; neither could they then be quiet, [but] they spread the like rumours almost throughout all Europe. pp. 203, 204.

But yet this they are desirous to bring to pass in the mean time. That, while these gay glorious promises of theirs be looked for, they may, a long time, hinder the peace and quietness of the Church; which their only desire is to have disquieted: and, if it be possible, that they may recover a most intolerable Lordship over the Congregation; or, in case they cannot obtain the chief state in the Congregation, that they may leave the Church in the worst, or in no, state at all; but that they may rend it, and all-to-scatter [*utterly scatter*] it. p. 205.

XIV.

1. In the Controversy which followed, the Anglican Church appears to have contained Sixty-two members, all men: for the women do not appear to have had any official part in the Struggle. p. 133.

Of this number, the Majority numbered from Thirty-three to Forty-two; and HORNE's party from Eighteen to Twenty.

The latter stood up for the Old Discipline, pp. 26, 143-149; 'which permitted all to the Pastor.' p. 200.

The Majority replied,

Where they say, That the Discipline proceeded of so learned men: yet the same that wrote it (were they never so well learned) confess themselves: both that it was gathered in haste; and given to the Congregation as imperfect, only for a time. p. 200.

2. We cannot here follow the details of this Controversy; which is as interesting as a Game of Chess. Only we are struck with the ability, fairness, and moderation, of the Majority; and the malice of HORNE and CHAMBERS.

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3. When the Church had won the victory; HORNE and CHAMBERS suddenly left Frankfort for Strasburg, early in the morning; carrying with them the Church alms, p. 213. CHAMBERS's Letter of defence of his conduct, pp. 216, 217, would not have availed him in a London Police Court.

The money that these two collected at Frankfort; they later distributed to the Churches of Aarau and Geneva. p. 222.

4. Posterity gains a complete insight into the organization and working of that Frankfort English Church, by these discussions as to the Old Discipline and the New Discipline.

XV.

1. RICHARD CHAMBERS is a perfect mystery. He was undoubtedly a good man: yet one finds it hard to believe it.

THOMAS LEVER, writing from Geneva, on April 23 1554, three months earlier than the formation of the English Church at Frankfort, to HEINRICH BULLINGER, says,

I hear that some Englishmen have come to you at Zurich; together that very godly man, RICHARD CHAMBERS For RICHARD CHAMBERS is the person who has actively devoted himself and all his property to provide for the safety of the Ministers during this Persecution.

Original Letters, p. 155. 1846-7. (Parker Society.)

2. While Bishop JEWEL was at Oxford; CHAMBERS allowed him £6 a year for the purchase of Books of Divinity.

3. Dean WHITTINGHAM bears a like testimony:

He was thought of many wise and godly men to be very godly, upright, and honest. p. 216.

4. And yet he was capable of the deeds such as the following:

Some complained that they could have nought at Master CHAMBERS' hands, but after beseeching, and unreasonable long delays; some that they could have nothing without bitter upbraid[ing]s; and some that they could obtain nothing of gift, but only of loan; and other some that they could get nought at all. p. 119.

For Master CHAMBERS, for half a month's space and more, would give nothing to any man that remained in the Church, and followed not Master HORNE and him in departing [*separating*] from the Church.

To certain others also, he would give nothing at all, which were in the Public Ministry, to preach the Word and

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read Lectures, and also in the exercise of Disputing, by his own appointment and the order taken by Master HORNE, always from the time [March 1 1556, see page 96] since they came to our Church: when now they were for their board in debt to their hostesses for four months [December 1556—April 1557]; neither had done any fault, unless it were because they remained in their function of Preaching and Reading Lectures, in which they were placed by Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, lest the Church should be altogether destitute both of Sermons and Lectures.

Only because, in this dissension, they agreed not with them, and took not their parts; and had [not] with them withdrawn themselves from the Church, that it might be utterly scattered: when as, notwithstanding, which is most dishonest, they had promised to give three months' warning before they would forsake them; which notwithstanding, Master CHAMBERS affirmed they would never do, unless it were that they were constrained by extreme necessity. p. 140.

For where CHAMBERS, above eighteen months past [? December 1555] had of Master WHITEHEAD, then Pastor, and the Seniors then, a Letter to receive of one special man £20; and besides, [later,] through HORNE's procurement, a General Proxy to CHAMBERS and his Deputy, to gather the devotions [*alms*] of good men, for the relief of this poor Congregation; which, by their own proceedings here before the Magistrates, their own handwriting testifying the same, and otherwise by our knowledge, we are certain they did put in practice; and received much thereby. Yet CHAMBERS, upon the Accompt [*Account*] here left behind him; neither confessed that he had received the said £20, nor yet any other sum; neither hath he distributed, during all the time he was in Office yet to this day, in this Congregation to any one person, saving to three Scholars that came with him [from Zurich] one penny that he did not receive here in this Congregation and City.

And yet, at his departure hence, he left two of the said Scholars (unto whom nevertheless he promised sufficient provision and finding; and never warned them to the contrary) in debt for their board and for other necessities, almost 20 guilderns [*at 3s. 4d. each*]: which this poor Congregation was forced to pay.

Finally, where good Mistress WILKINSON, of blessed memory, put HORNE and CHAMBERS in trust, with the
xxii.

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devising and making of her Will; whereby she gave to this and other poor Congregations of the poor banished Englishmen, a Christian liberal relief: albeit they have caused some of the Congregations to be paid of the same bequest; yet hitherto would they not make this poor Congregation privy to the sum bequeathed unto it; much less pay it: nor yet, according to the order of our Church's Discipline aforesaid, let the Will be seen; so as the friendless young Gentlewoman, her daughter, should not be defrauded of her right, nor her mother's Will be altered to her loss. pp. 212, 213.

XVI.

In September 1557, some very worshipful persons attempted to appease this Strife; and drew up a Form of Reconciliation for that purpose. But as that Form began by practically whitewashing HORNE and CHAMBERS; the Majority naturally could not agree to that Way of Reconciliation. pp. 206-209.

XVII.

The Third Part of this Work has nothing to do with the Frankfort Troubles. It is a reprint of two friendly Letters to the English Church, on behalf of the Puritan Clergy who objected to the Ministering Apparel that was now being more strictly enforced upon them.

The earlier Letter is from the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; and is dated 28 December 1566. pp. 251-254.

The second Letter is from the Ministers of the Church of Geneva; and its true date is 24 October 1567. pp. 239-250.

WHITTINGHAM's motive in reprinting these Letters was to further the Puritan Movement in England.

XVIII.

The accession of Queen ELIZABETH placed the English Church at Geneva in a quandary. The Exiles intended to return home: but if they did so, they would have to reckon with the English Government, and to put their Church Reformation projects aside. As Sir WILLIAM CECIL wrote to WHITTINGHAM, on December 9 1562,

Neither you, nor any born under this Kingdom, may be permitted to break the bond of Obedience and Uniformity.
p. 7.

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Indeed, the perils of England, at that time, made that quite reasonable: for down to the time of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, the majority of our population were Roman Catholics. During those years, England was governed by a vigorous Protestant minority.

Then again, Liberty of Conscience by law did not, at this early date, exist in any country in Europe whatsoever. It was not till some years later that, out of a sheer necessity, Toleration was born in Holland; and it was not legalized in England till the Act of 1689.

It was under these circumstances that the English Church at Geneva sent out, on December 9 1558, a General Letter to all the English Exiled Churches on the Continent, that, in its outward form, was an Eirenicon; but actually was an invitation to combine at home for the abolition of Ceremonies. pp. 223-225.

2. The Answer to this, of the Frankfort Anglican Church was very sensible. That the reform of Ceremonies at home was a matter for Parliament; and not for them.

And then they hit the weak point in the Puritan argument.

For where as all the Reformed Churches differ among themselves in divers Ceremonies, and yet agree in the unity of Doctrine; we see no inconvenience, if we use some Ceremonies diverse from them, so that we agree in the chief points of our Religion. p. 226.

The Puritans, in their outcry against Ceremonies, forgot that they had them themselves. So we see the sting of their complaints lay in (1) The compulsory use of those ordained; (2) The denial of the use of any others.

3. We confess to possessing a most loving regard for nearly all these men; whatever may have been their opinions as regards Rites and Ceremonies in Divine Worship.

The Reformation was as great an upset to the religious ideas of men, as the Discovery of America had been to their secular ideas. To consider that the vast Roman Catholic system (that had come down in an unbroken succession from the Times of the Apostles) was to be put aside; and that something else was to be adopted as the Rule of Faith and Life, was, indeed, a most protentous change: and one has the greatest possible sympathy for the Generation that had to face that Problem.

XIX.

Putting aside STERNHOLD and HOPKINS' Version of the Psalms; the two Literary Monuments of this English Exile are:

1. 'The Form of Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English Congregation at Geneva; and

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approved by JOHN CALVIN': the Preface of which is dated February 10 1556; and which was printed at Geneva in 1558.

This, later, became 'The Book of Common Order' of the Kirk of Scotland.

2. The Geneva Version of the Bible; which is called from its translation of Genesis iii. 7, the Breeches Bible. This was *the* Bible of Englishmen almost down to the time of the Long Parliament. It had many merits; and largely nurtured the Protestantism of England in those stirring Times.

In both of these Works, WHITTINGHAM undoubtedly had a large share. And yet, notwithstanding, he, in 1574, (as the Puritans always did) pleads, at page 230, for a further Revision of the English Bible: which was at length accomplished by our Authorized Version in 1611.

XX.

Attention may be called to other rare books referred to in this Work; and especially to the statement, at page 75, of Bishop HORNE, who was in a position to know, that Archbishop CRANMER had drawn up a Book of Common Prayer a hundred times more perfect [*from the Puritan point of view*] than the one we now have: but that it could not take place; because he was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Convocation, with other enemies.

Has this draft Prayer Book ever been seen?

2. What a bit of Puritanship was the printing at London of 'The Form of Common Prayers used in the Churches of Geneva,' on 7th June 1550. p. 42.

3. Then reference is made, at p. 77, to 'Bishop J. POYNET's Catechism; and the Articles agreed upon in Convocation in 1552.' London, 1553.

4. Of KNOX's 'Faithful Admonition,' printed 20th July, 1554, pp. 59-61, 66-69, we have already spoken.

5. Lastly, the Frankfort Anglican Church, writing to CALVIN, on 5th April 1555, state, 'Our Liturgy is translated into French, and the Articles [of 1552] abovementioned have very lately been printed at Zurich.' p. 78.

XXI.

P^{assing away from the Book to its Author and Editor; one recognizes at once that WHITTINGHAM was an exceedingly able man: Those twelve years (1550-1563) that he spent in the University and Court Society of France, Germany, and Switzerland, constituted a splendid mental training; and made him exceptionally well}

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acquainted with Continental opinions and affairs: and yet he remained the staunchest of Puritans through it all, and a great lover of the Bible to his dying day. p. 17.

By training and character then he was a Diplomat. It was CALVIN that forced him into the Ministry, p. 3. Therefore he was keenly alive to the importance of Public Documents; and so he carefully preserved all those relating to the Frankfort Troubles, down to time that he left Geneva in June 1560.

2. How he was made Dean of Durham in recognition of his magnificent services as Chaplain to the English Forces in the defence of Havre is told at pp. 4-9.

He therefore brought all the documents reprinted within pp. 21-217 of this Volume, with him to Durham.

3. Then came the Anti-Puritan attacks of 1573 that are described on pp. 21,22: and it was in *defence* of Puritanism, that he wrote this 'Brief Discourse.'

Considering then, how many ways we are unjustly burdened, and brought into hatred, without just cause; I supposed that no godly man would be offended, if, by such lawful means as I might, I sought both to purge myself and the rest of my brethren from such heinous and odious crimes as some would seem to charge us. And that could I not do so well any way, as by the gathering together of this Discourse: wherein the indifferent [*impartial*] Reader shall find, That the Religion which we hold and profess is not only the true and sincere Religion of CHRIST, and the self-same with all the Reformed Churches in Christendom; but also [with] that which this Realm hath established, touching the true Doctrine commonly taught therein.

By this Discourse also, it may be seen, both When, Where, How, and By whom, this Controversy first began: Who continued it, Who was on the suffering side, and Who [was] readiest to forget and forgive, that godly peace and concord might be had.

And therefore (as the Lord of heaven knoweth) that the keeping of these things, almost by the space of these twenty years [1555—1574], in secret, might suffice to witness with me that I had now no great pleasure to utter it: so I wot not how it cometh to pass that (even in the midst of great striving and struggling with myself, what to do) I could not be, by any means, resolved, or see just cause, why I should any longer conceal it. pp. 233-234.

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4. He intended it as the beginning of a History of English Puritanism; which would have told us many things that we do not now know.

As will more and more appear, as this Discourse shall be, from time to time, continued, till it be brought even to this present time; which time, verily, is so extreme as the like hath rarely been heard of. p. 231.

What a loss to our Literature that that History was never written!

4. Doubtless, the incessant attacks made upon him, during his last days, by Archbishop SANDYS, may be safely attributed to his professional resentment at the laying bare, in this book, before the Laity, of the quarrels of the Clergy; quite as much as to its advocacy of the Geneva Ecclesiastical Polity.

XXII.

How then did this dreadful Book, as some would then have regarded it, get into print? No Episcopal Licence could ever be obtained for the printing of it; and without that, no London Printer would dare to touch it. His types, and the constant inspection of his Works by the Wardens of the Stationers Company, would have betrayed him.

So WHITTINGHAM had to get it printed abroad: and that, in such a way as that it could never be legally brought home to him; however sure the Clergy were that he was the Author of it.

2. It was probably produced in this way.

WHITTINGHAM gave the documents he had preserved to a Scrivener to copy; dictating to him, his own part of the History.

We regard all the Side-notes, as written by him, in 1574, on the margin of the Scrivener's Copy; and some of them are caustic enough.

3. Then the Manuscript was sent abroad to be printed: the British Museum Catalogue suggests at Zurich, or Geneva; but Frankfort would be quite as likely. There it was printed in the common German type of that day; with very little English supervision.

The text is distinctly faulty. Words are left out or wrongly spelt; and Sentences are jumbled together: but its excellent diction is sufficient to correct this in most cases. There are, however, some words that nothing can be made of.

4. The Book was then probably stitched together as a pamphlet; and so smuggled into England, to the great delight of the growing Puritan party.

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XXIII.

Our duty (from the point of view of a Protestant layman, and a practical man of the World), as General Editor of this Series, is twofold :

First, to help the present-day Reader to understand the circumstances and the environment in the midst of which these Works originated in those far-off Ages.

Secondly, to ensure absolute Fair Play for everybody. Of which, this present Volume is a good example. For the additional information inserted in the Text between square brackets, [], puts a very different complexion upon many things to that which WHITTINGHAM's honest, but incomplete, History would do.

It may therefore come to pass that the opinions of one Volume in this Series may flatly contradict the opinions of some other Volume in it. That does not concern us. What we want to know is, How our forefathers walked worthy of the Vocation wherewith they were called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love ; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

EDWARD ARBER.

As this Work is, with great probability, attributed to William Whittingham, the following interesting Account of him, by one who personally knew him, will help us to understand him and his life's work better.—E.A.

The Life and Death of Master William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, who departed this life, Anno Domino 1579, June 10.

Written by a Student of the Temple, about 1603.

HE WAS BORN at Westchester [*Chester*]; and descended from WHITTINGHAM, of the House of WHITTINGHAM in Lancashire, near Preston; which WHITTINGHAM did marry the daughter of HAUGHTON, of Haughton Tower, in the same County.

He became a Scholar, in the 16th year of his age [c. 1540], at Oxon; first at Brazenose College; where he was under a Tutor so careful over him to further him in Learning, as he hath been often heard to bemoan that his Tutor lived not till he was able to requite him for his care and love towards him.

From that College, he went to All Souls College; where he was chosen Fellow Probationer in 1545.

From thence, he became a Fellow of Cardinal Wolsey's College [*Christ Church College*] in Oxon: where, after he had remained a few years, he betook himself to travel [in May 1550]; with purpose to travel through France, and so into Italy.

But coming to Lyons in France, in his way to Italy; it pleased GOD to visit him with sickness; which he took to be a warning to cause him to alter his purpose, and to divert his course from that country, from which few return the godlier: and so coming back again, he remained for divers years at Orleans [where he married LOUISE JACQUEMAN], sometimes in Paris; but ever amongst the Students of those Cities.

In Paris, when the Lieger Ambassador for England [Sir WILLIAM PICKERING] was to go to the Court; he ever desired Master WHITTINGHAM to accompany him: for which purpose, he had his courtly apparel and ornaments lying by him, which at his going to Court he used; and at his return, became *ut prius* as a Student.

After some years bestowed in those Universities; he went to the Universities of Germany; and thence to Geneva. And thence, having spent all King EDWARD VI.'s reign [1550-1553] in those transmarine Universities; he returned into England in the very latter end of the said King EDWARD's reign.

Presently, after whose death, Queen MARY being proclaimed, and a taste given of the alteration of Religion; he forthwith resolved to go again beyond the seas; and riding over London Bridge, on his way to Dover and thence to take shipping, he met Master [THOMAS] HARDING; who wrote against [Bishop JOHN] JEWEL, on the Bridge; who, after salutations, asked him, Whither he was going?

Master WHITTINGHAM answered, He was going beyond the seas.

Master HARDING demanding of him the cause; he answered, 'Did you not hear the Proclamation [of August 17th, 1553]; and how the Whore of Rome is again erected amongst us?'

To which Master HARDING replied, 'Happy are you, that go for so good a cause!'

Master WHITTINGHAM and his company coming to Dover at night; whilst they were at supper, the Host of the house told his guests, That, after supper, he must carry [*take*] them before the Magistrate, or Mayor, of the town; to be questioned concerning the cause or errand of their going beyond the sea. For the Magistrate had received strict command from the [Privy] Council for the examination of every passenger: and Master Mayor had as strictly enjoined them (the Inn-keepers) to bring their guests to be examined as aforesaid. Wherein the Host seeming to be more peremptory and precise; it made his news the more distasteful, and in part vexed his guests.

Whilst they were in this anxiety, there being a fair greyhound waiting on the table for relief [*food*]; Master WHITTINGHAM chanced to say, 'Mine Host, you have here a very fair greyhound.'

'I [*Aye*],' said the Host, 'this greyhound is a fair greyhound indeed; and is of the Queen's kind.'

'Queen's kind!' said Master WHITTINGHAM, 'what mean you by that? This is a strange speech! What good subject can endure to hear such words of his Sovereign? to have Her Majesty to be compared in kind with the kind of a dog!': and said that the words were very treasonable, and that he could not see how they could be excused, if they should not go and acquaint the Magistrate with it; and did further so

aggravate the matter, even of purpose, as they did drive the Host into such a fear as he durst not once mention the carrying of *them* before the Magistrate any more; but was glad to be so freed from their encumbrance. By this means, all the company escaping this interruption; they proceeded on their journey.

And Master WHITTINGHAM remained in France till he heard of the coming of sundry English Bishops, Divines, and other good Protestants; who, for Religion, had left their country, and were arrived at Frankfort. Where, after a while, they got licence of the Magistrates to establish a Church there; and, entering into the consideration of the particular Forms and Order of Discipline to be used in that Church, they did so far vary and dissent among themselves as, after long contentions, no accord could be made between them; but they were forced to disjoin: and those to remain at Frankfort that did best like the Forms of the Government of the Church of England in the days of King EDWARD VI.; and those that liked better of the Order and Discipline of the Church of Geneva did go to Geneva, amongst whom Master WHITTINGHAM was one. Of which Controversy, though here be good occasion to particulate; yet because the whole matter of that Controversy is set forth in a large Discourse, in an ancient book printed *anno* [1575] at [?]; I will refer the Reader to that book, that he may better inform his judgement in the state of the differences between them. . .

Soon after the arrival at Geneva of Master WHITTINGHAM and the rest that went from Frankfort; Master J. KNOX (who was a Scotchman; and then the Minister of the English Congregation) was to leave that place, and to return to his own country [Jan. 1559]: so as that place was to become void. And they not being so well provided, for the supply of that place, amongst our countrymen as Master CALVIN (who had the principal care of the Church Government in that City lying upon him) liked of; he moved Master WHITTINGHAM to take the Ministry upon him, and to be made Minister: which, notwithstanding Master CALVIN's many urgencies and pressures, Master WHITTINGHAM refused to do. Alleging that, in his former travels and observations and learning the languages, he had fitted himself for State employments; and had not bended his intentions that way: neither would acknowledge his gifts to be such as to be so worthy as the Calling required. But Master CALVIN resolved not to accept of any refusal: but, by continual importunity and urging his gifts and fitness, did, in the end, rather by conjuring [*adjuring*] him than persuading him, prevail: and so he succeeded Master KNOX in the Ministry of the English Church there. Where, after some two or three years, the Learned that were at Geneva, as Bishop COVERDALE, Master GOODMAN,

Master GILBY, Master SAMPSON, Doctor COLE, and Master WHITTINGHAM, and who else I cannot relate, did undertake the Translation of the Geneva Bible.

Long ere the same was finished, Queen MARY dying; her sister of never-dying memory succeeded: whereupon the banished, as well Bishops as others of the Church of Frankfort, returned to England.

So also did the Church of Geneva; saving some of them only, and not all, that were engaged in the Translation of the Bible: so as Master WHITTINGHAM did tarry in Geneva, for the finishing of that Translation, a year and a half after Queen ELIZABETH began her reign. He also there turned into metre those Psalms of the Geneva Psalms [by THOMAS STERNHOLD and JOHN HOPKINS], which are inscribed with W. W.

And then coming into England [in June 1560]; FRANCIS RUSSELL, Earl of BEDFORD, was sent by Queen ELIZABETH into France [in January—February 1561] to condole the death of [FRANCIS II.] their late deceased King of France: and Master WHITTINGHAM, as well for his perfection in that language as [his] former experience of the French Court, was appointed to attend the said Earl thereto.

After whose return into England; presently the war between France and England began at Newhaven [*Havre*, in 1562]: where for the French, the Rheingraf [PHILIP FRANCIS, Elector Palatine of the Rhine] was General to oppugn [*besiege*] the town; and AMBROSE DUDLEY, Earl of WARWICK, was sent by Queen ELIZABETH, Lieutenant of the English forces, to defend the same.

In which Expedition, the said Earl procured that Master WHITTINGHAM should go with him, and be their Preacher at Newhaven [*Havre*]. Which he did accordingly; and did so there demean himself, both in his function and in the guise of a soldier's employment, as he (after the experience of the alarms coming on the sudden, even in the midst of the Sermons) used to preach in his armour continually: and (as the old Captains and soldiers of Berwick would tell, many years after that) when any alarm came, whilst he was preaching, he would be on the town walls as soon almost as any man.

Nay, if the Writer hereof should set down all that he hath heard reported of him, in his commendation; not only of the Captains and soldiers, but of the most eminent persons, as Sir HENRY SIDNEY, since Lord President of Wales, and even from the Lord Lieutenant himself: not only in his function for his diligence in preaching, and vigilance in discovering a stratagem intended for the surprisal of the town, and the hazard he did daily undergo in going to visit, instruct, and comfort, as need required, so many soldiers dying and dead in one great room at once, of the Plague, the increase whereof caused the loss of that town;

but also for his valour, and shewing himself to be on all occasions as well *tam Marti quam Mercurio*—If, I say, I should so do, I should but fill up too much paper; and might be suspected of too much partiality.

Yet that the truth of that, that is already alleged of the good opinion that was had of him may the better appear; let it be considered that Master WHITTINGHAM got not his preferment to the Deanery of Durham by following the Court; nor by such real gratifications [*delectations*] as are said to be the oil that doth facilitate the way to preferment: but only by the commendation of the Lord Lieutenant to the Queen, by letters from Newhaven [*Havre*]; as by a Letter written from the Earl of LEICESTER, brother to the Lord Lieutenant, from the Court, most plainly appeareth—which letter I have thought good to set down verbatim, for the better manifestation of the truth. It is directed thus:

To my good brother, the Earl of
WARWICK, the Queen's Majesty's
Lientenant at Newhaven.

My good Brother.

I HAVE NOW, at last, gotten Captain READ's bill despatched; and the same being delivered under seal to his man, I thought good likewise to let you understand of that: so of your request of Master WHITTINGHAM for the Deanery of Durham; whereunto the Queen's Majesty hath also condescended [*agreed to*]: which she would not, I assure you, do, neither at my, or

Master Secretary's, suit; but upon the last Letters written on his behalf, Her Highness hath granted it unto him. He is therefore, next unto Her Majesty, to thank you for it. And so, with my most hearty commendations, I bid, as heartily as myself, farewell. At the Court, the 24th of July, 1563,

Your loving brother,

R. DUDLEY.

Postscript.—I pray you, in your next letters, give Her Majesty thanks for the favour she hath shewn Master WHITTINGHAM for your sake: and look well to your health, my dear brother!

By this Letter it appeareth that the said Queen ELIZABETH would not have given the Deanery to Master WHITTINGHAM, neither at the request of the said Earl of LEICESTER, neither of Master Secretary CECIL, then so being; but upon the said Lord Lieutenant's Letters from Newhaven. The cause was, that she had half promised it to one [THOMAS WILSON, LL.D.] who afterwards became one of the Secretaries of State: and (after Master WHITTINGHAM had enjoyed the Deanery sixteen years and died) he obtained it; but died within a year and a half after, so as he [only] for a short while enjoyed it.

Here, before I proceed any further, I think it meet to mention some things which happened at Newhaven; which particularly concern[ed] Master WHITTINGHAM. He, being sent from the Lord Lieutenant with

a message to the Rheingraf [PHILIP FRANCIS], who lay encamped before the town; the Rheingraf, seeing Master WHITTINGHAM coming towards him, spurred his horse, drew his sword or rapier, and came towards Master WHITTINGHAM, in a bravado, at full speed, as though he would have assaulted him: whereupon Master WHITTINGHAM took out one of the pistols he had at his saddle-crutch, and held it out towards the Rheingraf; who asked in French, If he were in earnest?

He answered, No, only attended to answer what he would put him unto.

The Rheingraf put up his rapier; and, after kind respects used, Master WHITTINGHAM having discharged the message, the Rheingraf carried him to his tent, and caused him to dine with him. And the table being full beset with Gentlemen that were Frenchmen; they began to gibe and use broad jests against our nation: which Master WHITTINGHAM did so return upon them, to the touch of the French, that one of them, that sat at the lower end of the table, did rise in great fury, drew his dagger, and would have stabbed Master WHITTINGHAM; if the Waiters, and some Gentlemen rising from the table, had not hindered.

Whereat the Rheingraf, after having shewed great indignation against the Frenchman, caused a great double-gilt bowl to be filled with wine; and drank it off to Master WHITTINGHAM, with these terms, 'Cup and all!'

Master WHITTINGHAM pledged the wine; but restored the bowl: which, when Master WHITTINGHAM would by no means accept of; the Rheingraf sent it after him, with this message, That if he did refuse to take it, and keep it for his sake; he would never esteem of him. So Master WHITTINGHAM took the cup; and left it to his followers, as a monument of the Rheingraf's love, and of the care the Rheingraf had to salve the wrong he had received at his table.

Next, it shall be fit to shew what course and order was taken and used at Newhaven [*Havre*] in the Ecclesiastical Government, by Master WHITTINGHAM; and what cautious Letters were sent to him out of England concerning the same, and his Answer thereunto. Two Letters were sent: the one of caution and reprehension from Master Secretary CECIL; the other of friendly respects and advertisement from him also. The Letters follow.

Master WHITTINGHAM,

I CANNOT BUT, in my small leisure, send my complaint unto you. I hear, by your means, the Queen's subjects there forbear the observation of that manner and

rite of Religion that is here received by Authority in this realm. I can surely love you for your good and virtuous gifts; but in this, if it be true, I must needs blame you. I will not argue with you, for my part is much the

stronger; and on your part small reasons may be made; but upon Singularity, [neither] you, nor any born under this Kingdom, may be permitted to break the bond of Obedience and Uniformity.

The question is not of Doctrine; but of Rites and Ceremonies: and this I write lamentably to you. I have found more lets [*hindrances*] and impediments in the course of the Gospel here, in this Ecclesiastical Government, by certain fond [*foolish*] singularities of some men; than the most malice the Papists can shew. If you knew the crosses I have suffered for the stay [*support*] of

Religion you might pity me; and ought, for GOD's sake, to yield to Conformity.

I am not learned; but I mean well to Learning, and am not unsensible of as much as is usually said in this matter. I conclude this Variety may not, nor must not, be suffered; and therefore I require [you] to think and determine thereon, how it may be amended.

Setting this apart; I acknowledge myself much addicted to love you. *Deus est Deus pacis, non discordiæ.*
9 December 1562.

Your assured,

WILLIAM CECIL.

To which, Master WHITTINGHAM wrote this Answer as followeth.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, through
CHRIST JESUS.

I AM SORRY that, in your great and serious affairs, your Honour should be troubled with the frivolous complaints of certain which shew themselves offended with the manner of Ceremonies used here, as a thing disagreeing from the Order commanded and observed in England; so that they drive me to render a reason of that thing which I thought to have been out of controversy, and, that your Honour, with other godly and learned would easily have approved.

And for mine own part, Saint AUGUSTINE somewhat herein persuaded me; who counselleth, in such things, to accommodate ourselves to the nature of the place where we are conversant.

Next, moved with the opinion of this people [*the Huguenots*] who as they had conceived evil of the infirmity of other Rites and cold proceedings in Religion, so if they should have seen us, but in form

only though not in substance, to use the same, or like, Order in Ceremonies, which the Papists had, a little afore, observed; against whom they now venture goods and body: they would, to their great grief, have suspected our doings as not sincere; and have feared, in time, the loss of that liberty which, after a sort, they have purchased with the bloodshedding of many thousands.

Moreover, as I ever approved this Order best, because it is most agreeable to GOD's Word, the nearest approach to the Form that the godly Fathers used, and best allowed of the learned and godly in these days, and according to the example of the best Reformed Churches: so I perceived that it wrought here a marvellous conjunction of minds between the French and us; and brought a singular comfort to all our people.

Besides this, Master VIRON told me that [EDMUND GRINDAL,] my Lord Bishop of LONDON warned and charged us, That we should use no other Order for Ceremonies than that

which we should find here; which, in my judgement, considering the place and time, is nothing prejudicial to our Orders at home: for reformation whereof, all the godly have their eyes and hearts bent and directed to your Honour, next under GOD and the Queen's Majesty. For, alas! they are far from perfection: though for gain and advantage, they have many patrons; who, as I think, might, with better conscience, sustain the reproach of Singularity, than dissemble the matters of so great importance.

Thus (being fully persuaded of your good affection towards me; and for the discharge of mine own conscience) I am bold to write plainly; trusting your Wisdom will not be offended. For GOD is my Judge, that if I knew as well how to ease you of

so many heavy burdens and manifold crosses which we all acknowledge to lie upon you, as I pity you, I would refuse no pain or travail.

But my earnest and continual prayer to GOD is, That he would send you strength and comfort, long to serve, to the glory of his name; from Whom no discord is to be feared, and without Whom no concord is to be sought; that as you have begun to uphold and advance the Kingdom of his Son JESUS CHRIST so you may by his mercies continue, perfect, and establish, the same to His praise, the Queen's honour, and all our comforts.

From Newhaven, this 20th
December, 1562.

Your Honour's
most humbly to command,
W. WHITTINGHAM.

The second Letter before-mentioned, though it concerns not this Argument; yet that it may shew the respect and interchange between them (and the rather, for that both Master Secretary's Letters were all of his own handwriting), I think it not fit to be omitted. It followeth, with the direction thus.

To my very loving friend,
Master WHITTINGHAM,
Principal Preacher of the Word at
Newhaven [*Havre*].

The Peace of GOD, and war for
him, be with you.

HOW MIGHTY A stroke was towards [*imminent, impending*] is a terrible thought to remember: but to behold his wrathful hand was, of late, here, so fearful; as hitherto I scantily [*scarcely*] have recovered my heart to take the joy of this merciful benefit. This I write of the Queen's danger and delivery [from an attack of small-pox].

Almighty GOD be praised of us

all; and give us grace to remember his intended wrath, and to enjoy his effectual grace and mercy!

Happy were you! for that I think the tidings of her danger were accompanied with the report of her amendment.

Now that my Lord of WARWICK is come; I trust every day will amend another.

I heartily thank you for your gentle Letter: and pray you, as your leisure may serve, to write sometimes to me, which shall be to my comfort; though by my Answer I acquit [*requite*] them not, for lack of leisure.

The fortunate death of the un-

fortunate [ANTOINE DE BOURBON,]
King of Navarre cannot but induce
a great blessing of GOD.

23rd of October 1562.

Your's in CHRIST assured,
W. CECIL.

And so Master WHITTINGHAM, returning from Newhaven [*Havre*], came to Durham, to reside upon his Deanery there, *anno* 1563.

After he had remained there some years; Secretary CECIL was advanced to be Lord Treasurer [July 15, 1572]: in whose place Master WHITTINGHAM was nominated, amongst others, to succeed him in the place of Secretary [of State]; and was thought fit for that place, in respect of his perfection in the French tongue, and of his experience he had gathered in twelve years beyond the seas.

But the Lord BURGHLEY, Lord Treasurer, alleged, That it was [a] pity to call him to such employment; being so well fitted to discharge his place in his function [as Dean]: neither did he think that he would accept thereof, if it were offered him.

Against which, it was alleged, That he having no other Church Living but the Deanery, and it being *sine cura animarum*, as Deaneries are said to be; it was only a dignity belonging to the Church, rather than a place tying one to continual residence: but that took no effect, in respect of the incongruity which it cannot but carry in all men's judgements.

And notwithstanding the contents of Master WHITTINGHAM's former Letter concerning Church Discipline, after he had remained in the Deanery two or three years, and the Order of Vestures being generally established for Churchmen [*the Clergy*], and so pressed, as they, that would not use the same, should not be permitted to exercise their Ministry; he then [in March 1567] submitted himself thereunto: and, being upbraided therewith for so doing, by one that had been with him at Geneva, he answered, That they knew, and had heard Master CALVIN say, That for these external matters of Order, they must not neglect their Ministry; for so should they, for tithing of mint, neglect the greater things of the Law.

And concerning Singing in the Church; Master WHITTINGHAM did so far allow of that, as he was very careful to provide the best Songs and Anthems that could be got out of the Queen's Chapel, to furnish the Quire withal; himself being skilful in music.

[The following Letter to Sir WILLIAM CECIL, printed in STRYPE's 'Parker,' p. 135, Ed. 1711, gives some account of WHITTINGHAM's official labours.

Grace, Mercy and Peace, through
JESUS CHRIST our Lord!

ALBEIT I AM not ignorant how unbeseeing it is, to trouble your Honour with Letters of small importance: yet I could not, in so long time, omit to shew some signification of my special duty; as well to yield unto your Honour most humble thanks, with promise of my service where you shall appoint; as also to certify you of our doings here.

First, in the morning at six of the clock, the Grammar School and Song School, with all the servants of the House, resort to Prayers into the Church: which Exercise continueth almost half an hour.

At nine of the clock, we have our ordinary Service; and likewise at three, after noon. The Wednesdays and Fridays are appointed to a general Fast; with Prayers and Preaching of GOD's Word. The Sundays and Holy Days, before noon

we have Sermons; and at after noon the Catechism is expounded.

Because we lack an able School-master; I bestow daily three or four hours in teaching the Youth, till GOD provide us of some that may better suffice.

The people in the country are very docile, and willing to hear GOD's Word: but the town is very stiff, notwithstanding they be handled with all lenity and gentleness. The best hope I have is that, now of late, they begin to resort more diligently to the Sermons and Service. GOD make us all profitable setters forth of his glory; and preserve long, bless, and direct, your Honour, to his glory and all our comforts! My brother, Master HALLYDAY most humbly saluteth your Honour: so doth Master BENET!

From Durham, this 19th December.

[? 1563]

Your Honour's
most humbly to command,
W. WHITTINGHAM.]

After, when he had lived in the Deanery of Durham five or six years more, the Rebellion in the North, at Durham, growing towards [*imminent, impending*], Master WHITTINGHAM moved the then Bishop [JAMES PILKINGTON], divers weeks before the Rebels broke forth into open act, That he would send for his tenants to come to his Castle at Durham, with their warlike furniture; which, if he would do, he would cause all the tenants of the Church to join likewise with them: which would be a means to awe the collecting Rebels; and be a stay and refuge for many Gentlemen of the country to repair unto, for want whereof many might be drawn to adhere to the Rebels. Which fell out after according; to the utter ruin of many of the Gentlemen and their posterities: and the country, to this day, doth bear the scars of that error.

But the Bishop answered, That he had a great deal of the Queen's money in his hand; and durst not hazard it.

About a week before the Rebels rose, Master WHITTINGHAM rid [*rode*] to Newcastle; and calling the Mayor and Aldermen together, did acquaint them with the then present state of the country, and how

much it concerned them to look to their own safety. For they must needs think that, upon the said rising, they would first attempt to surprise them there, if they could find them unprovided, that they might be lords of their wealth; and that they might be thereby the better enabled to maintain their undertaken enterprise.

Whereupon the Mayor caused the gates of the town to be presently shut, the ordnance to be carried to the wall, and such further courses for fortifications to be used as Master WHITTINGHAM (out of his experience in the Siege of Newhaven [*Havre*]) was able to advise them unto. By means whereof, the Rebels never dared the attempt of the Siege of that town; which was then the refuge for the better affected subjects.

Master WHITTINGHAM himself tarried at Durham till the Thursday [November 10] next before the Monday [November 14 1569] that the Rebels rose.

Secret intelligence being brought unto him, if he went not away that night, he could not pass southward; for the bridges would be taken up the next night, to prevent all intercourse and intelligence: so that Master WHITTINGHAM going then into the South; the Rebels entered into his house and spoiled the same, and rent in pieces his books in such sort and abundance as was pitiful to behold.

Master WHITTINGHAM returned, within five weeks, with the Queen's Army, conducted under the government of the aforementioned AMBROSE [DUDLEY,] Earl of WARWICK and [EDWARD DE CLINTON,] the Earl of LINCOLN; but the Rebels, hearing of the Lords' coming, fled: and the Lords, coming no further than to Durham, presently returned.

For eight or nine years after, Master WHITTINGHAM lived in the great love and liking of his neighbours, for his affability, and bountiful hospitality, which was in such a proportion, as it is marvelled even to this day [1603], how the naked Deanery alone, for he had no more, could support his expenses.*

After those years were expired; the Sees of York and of Durham became void, both at one time [in January 1576]: whereupon the Earl of LEICESTER (being a great favourite in Court; and he that had formerly moved the Queen for the Deanery of Durham to be bestowed on Master WHITTINGHAM, as appeareth by the Letter hereinbefore recited) caused Sir EDWARD HORSEY (who was Captain of the Isle of Wight, a great Courtier, and one of Master WHITTINGHAM's Newhaven [*Havre*]'s acquaintance) to write to Master WHITTINGHAM to come to

* It was during this period, that this 'Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany' was

written in England, and printed on the Continent. E.A.

the Court; and he should not fail to have one of those places.

Whereunto Master WHITTINGHAM returned answer by Letter; and sent it to the Writer hereof, he being then of the Temple, to be delivered: but the Letter being delivered and read, the Writer hereof got a sight of it, and found the effect of the Letter to be, That touching the motions contained in his [HORSEY's] Letter; he found himself so declined by age and infirmity, as that he felt himself very unfit to undertake so great a Place with the burden that the good discharge of such a Place required: and that Her Majesty had so graciously and liberally already recompensed his services as he should shew himself unthankful, if he should not seem satisfied with so good a bounty as he had already received. And therefore desired him that he (with all thankfulness and humble acknowledgement in his behalf) would signify to his Honour the deep apprehension he conceived of his love towards him, so effectually demonstrated by his Lordship's message; which should tie him to a perpetual remembrance of him in his prayers; being not able, by any means in his power, otherwise to requite so extraordinary a favour.

Then, after a while, the Archbishopric of York [on EDWIN SANDYS,] and the Bishopric of Durham [on RICHARD BARNES,] were bestowed at one time [January and April 1577]; and both of them preferred by the means of the one and selfsame noble person, as was reported.

The Bishop of DURHAM yielded that the Archbishop should visit the Church of DURHAM; not knowing belike, or not regarding, the right of his own Church; so, after a year or two, the Dean and Prebends of the Church of Durham were cited to appear at the Visitation [in 1577].*

The day appointed being come; the [Arch] bishop came to Durham: and, after the Sermon in the morning, the [Arch] bishop going towards the Chapter House to the Visitation, Master WHITTINGHAM asked the [Arch] bishop, Whether he would visit in his own right?

He answered, In the right of the Archbishop.

Whereunto Master WHITTINGHAM answered, That then he wronged his own jurisdiction, and the Clergy of the country in general; and him and the rest of that Church more especially. For they being sworn to maintain the Liberties of their Church, and by their Statutes having no visitor but the Bishop of DURHAM; if they should yield to be visited in the right of the Archbishop, they should break their oath.

* SANDYS had been one of those who had ousted the Calvinists from the Church at Frankfort in 1555; see page 78: so he and WHITTINGHAM were old antagonists. But the right

of an Archbishop, not being the Bishop of the diocese, to visit the Deanery, simply as Metropolitan, was a *very* debatable point. E.A.

All which notwithstanding, and whatsoever could be alleged by Master DEAN, the Bishop persisted in his former resolution; and, by this time, being come near to the Chapter House door, Master WHITTINGHAM called to the Door-keeper to lock the door, and to give him the keys; which the Door-keeper did forthwith. Which the Bishop hastening to prevent; Master WHITTINGHAM did a little interrupt him, taking hold of his gown: and so the business was concluded. But that accident bred a great indignation, both in the Bishop and Archbishop, against Master WHITTINGHAM.

Yet did that action add, if anything could be added, to the love which the town and country did already bear towards him. Which did the more aggravate the displeasure conceived against him by the Archbishop and Bishop; and so incensed them, as it appeared by many of their speeches and actions, that they took it for a disgrace offered them, and such as could not be laid aside without a revenge.

Hereupon, one of the Prebends (being one alone, and of a singular factious spirit; and, bearing ever a malignity to Master WHITTINGHAM, spying this opportunity to disgorge himself of his long-conceived hatred against him) went to the Bishops; and acquainted them with a plot that he had devised, which, [if] they would pursue, he doubted not but it would eject Master WHITTINGHAM out of his Deanery: which they gladly hearkened to, and did with all forwardness pursue.

The plot was this. That, seeing there was [THOMAS WILSON, LL.D.,] one of the Secretaries of the Privy Council, to whom the Queen had half given the Deanery, before she gave it to Master WHITTINGHAM; and did after alter her purpose by the occasion of Master WHITTINGHAM's preferment thereunto, by Letters of Commendation from Newhaven [*Havre*], as is aforesaid: he doubted not but he would help, by any means he could, to dispossess him of the Deanery; that he might cry quittance with him, and gain the Deanery to himself. And therefore if their Lordships would write, or give leave to him to solicit, that Secretary to procure a Commission from Her Majesty, directed to their Lordships and others, to visit the Church of Durham; he would prefer such Articles against the Dean as would secure his deprivation.

The Bishop, following the track of this device, procured a Commission [May 14 1578], directed to the Lord Archbishop of YORK, [HENRY HASTINGS,] the Earl of HUNTINGDON, then Lord President [of the Council of the North], the Bishop of DURHAM, [JOHN MEY,] the Bishop of CARLISLE, [MATTHEW HUTTON,] the Dean of YORK, Sir THOMAS BOYNTON, Sir ROBERT STAPLETON, Sir WILLIAM MALLORY, Sir

CHRISTOPHER WANDSFORD, both of Yorkshire ; and divers others.

They all came to Durham to the Visitation [about July 8 1578]; where they sat for four days: against when the busy Instrument I spoke of before, had provided more than 50 Articles against Master WHITTINGHAM; and presented them to the Visitors: among whom, there were some that would look to it, that they should want no due examination.

Yet, after four days' sifting, when the rest were found to be frivolous, without proof, and grounded only upon malice, they were all left as idle and vain; save Two:

The one that Master WHITTINGHAM was not capable of the Deanery of Durham, being only a Master of Arts; the Statutes of the House requiring that the Dean should be a Bachelor of Divinity at the least.

The second was that Master WHITTINGHAM was not capable of the Deanery: for that he was not made Minister after the Orders of the Church of England; but after the Form of Geneva. To which point, learned Dean HUTTON, then of York, afterwards Bishop of DURHAM, and lastly Archbishop of YORK, did then say to those that did most urge against it, That the Ministry of Geneva was better than that Ministry which was made with these words, *Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis!*: with which words, it is said the principal Objector was made Priest; and therefore had the less cause to except against the Ministry of Geneva.

But to proceed. Master WHITTINGHAM desired, That because those Two Articles depended upon points of law, that he might by Counsel make his Answer: which though some of the Commissioners would not yield unto, yet it was granted by the greater part; and the Visitation adjourned to York. Against which day [in August 1578] appointed; Master WHITTINGHAM had got Counsel from London, to strengthen him against both those former Objections: whereunto the, *non obstante*, in his Patent sufficed to free him. [*That is, the Deanery was granted to him; anything to the contrary notwithstanding.*]

The Visitation, then at York, being ended, without any certain adjournment; neither any sentence or matter given or done against him: Master WHITTINGHAM went up to the Privy Council, to move that they would call in the Commission; signifying what had been done in the matter already.

But his sure friend, that he had of the Council, as is aforesaid, alleged that the Bishop had more matter to urge against him. Whereupon Letters were sent to the Archbishop, to send some to allege against Master WHITTINGHAM; or else the Commission would be called in.

Whereupon two Doctors of the Civil Law, dependants on the Archbishop, were sent up to object against Master WHITTINGHAM. After

two or three hearings before the Privy Council; one of the Lords asked him, 'If their master had nothing to do but to send such a couple, etc. to object such idle matters against such a man as Master WHITTINGHAM was known to be of the most of that Board?'

And so the Objectors returned as they came, etc.

But still his true friend (seeing him daily to decline more and more in his health and spirits; and being oppressed with so long troubles, great expenses, and tedious delays) did even then move that Master WHITTINGHAM (there being then occasion to send an Ambassador into France) might be sent thither. Whereupon Master WHITTINGHAM asked the said friend of his, If he thought it not sufficient to seek to bereave him of his Living; but of his life also? he seeing him in such weakness and debility, both of body and spirit, altogether unfit for such employment.

But Master WHITTINGHAM, still labouring to get the Commission called in, having stayed there already a quarter of a year [November 1578—February 1579], with eight Serving-men and all their horses, and in winter, to his excessive charge; his true friend had now found out a new colour [*pretext*] of delay, to wit, that after Easter, it being then about Candlemas [Feb. 2 1579], the Bishop would come up to the Parliament: and so Master WHITTINGHAM might now go down, and then come up again to hear what the Bishops themselves would object against him; as though the Bishops could allege more than they had given in instructions to the Doctors, their Proxies.

Thus you may see, how Master WHITTINGHAM was oppressed; though having proved himself innocent, after so many trials: by which heavy hand so carried over him, he was forced to come down [into the country], without obtaining his just request; which he took very grievously.

And though, at his return to Durham, a great many of the better sort of the City and country went to meet him, the bells rung, and the people came running from all parts of the City in such number as the streets were scanty [*scarcely*] passable for the multitude, who, with doubled and trebled acclamations of joy, strived to exhilarate his heart after all his troubles: but yet all was in vain. For, within four days after his return, he betook himself to his bed; and never left it till he departed this life, being nine weeks after.

And now it is requisite that I should mention what happened concerning him in the time of his so long languishing sickness; how he passed it over; and what was the manner of his death.

The Archbishop [SANDYS], whose malice did not cease to pursue him till death, did certify the Lords of the Council, That Master WHITTINGHAM did keep his bed, pretending sickness; and had used some words of vaunting. Whereof the Council, by their Letter dated 3 May, 1579, yet to be shewed, did advertise him.

Whereupon he returning Answer to the Lords; Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, the Principal Secretary, writ to him, as followeth.

AFTER MY HEARTY commendations, I have received your Letters of the 24th of the last; and, according to your desire, presented your Letters to the Lords: who having seen and read them, have willed me to signify unto you, That they take them in good part; allowing so far forth of your Answer to the hard Suggestions made unto them against you, as that they mind to suspend their judgements of the information of the speeches you were said to have uttered, until you repair up hither, to satisfy them more fully

by word of mouth; and the delay of your coming, they have resolved by your said Letter to grow of the great weakness of your body, which they take to be no matter feigned, but a truth. Wishing, if it please GOD, to send as perfect recovery as yourself desireth; and so I bid you heartily, Farewell.

From the Court, the 1st of June, 1579.

Your loving friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

To the Right Worshipful my very loving friend, Master WHITTINGHAM, Dean of Durham.

This Letter, being dated the 1st of June, and he dying the 10th; it preceded his death but nine days: whence it may be observed, by these Letters abovementioned, that the malice of his adversaries did so hotly pursue him, as would not afford him a time of rest from their vexation, to die in.

And yet all this storm grew only of this, as we have heard, for that he made a conscience, to avoid the breach of his Oath; and to maintain the Liberties of the Church whereunto he was sworn. Which case is so strange (That for a matter so good, so just, so conscionable, a man should be so persecuted; and that even by those who, by their functions, are tied to instruct and exhort to virtue, and to such actions as a very good Christian is tied into) as it cannot be paralleled. . .

And having now declared the occasion and process of the crosses which Master WHITTINGHAM sustained in the Cause aforementioned; it is fit and convenient that the manner of his death, and carriage in his long languishing sickness, be also declared.

So soon as he kept his bed; he sent for some of his friends; and, by their advice, he made his Will [on April 18 1579]: which after it was done, he willed those that were about him, that none should henceforth trouble him with any worldly matters.

And though he continued languishing, about nine weeks after, in his bed: he would seldom admit any company to come to him; unless some special friends, and those also rarely.

And being divers times asked of his friends, Why he was so solitary; and would not delight in company which might help to alleviate his sickness? He would answer them, Had he not company enough there? and would take up his Bible, and show it them; which lay by him continually on his bed.

Sometimes, in his sickness, he would call all his servants, which were many, to come into his Chamber; and would exhort them, for an hour together, to the fear of GOD: and privately would call them, by one and by one, and tell them of such faults as he had suspected them to be guilty of, and admonish them to leave them; shewing withal that he had been too indulgent or negligent towards them, in not carrying a stricter hand over them. For this he did now find as great a burden in conscience as for any other sins that he could remember; and did verily think that that negligence towards them, had as much drawn these his late afflictions and crosses upon him as any other his sins whatsoever.

WOOD MS. E. 64, Art. 5, in the Bodleian Library.
Ed. by Mrs. M. A. EVERETT GREEN, in the Camden
Society's Miscellany, VI. 1871.

We must remember that this Biography is the work of a friend: but still, after all the deductions from it that should be made, it is clear that

*Dean William Whittingham was a very brave and true-
hearted Englishman, a Scholar, a Musician,
and a worthy Christian man.—E.A.*

ANNE, the wife of Bishop JOHN HOOPER, whose mother lived about fifteen miles from Antwerp, gives us the following account of the opening of the French Church at Frankfort, on April 19, 1554.

But since the Lord, by my husband's bidding and the advice of my friends, has at length driven me from England, and conducted me safe to Antwerp; I availed myself of an opportunity of accompanying a party every way suitable, and joined my female relative at Frankfort: where now, by the mercy of GOD, the Senate has granted liberty to the Foreign Church, for their whole Ecclesiastical Ministry, both of the Word and Sacraments. On this account, I shall prefer remaining here, in my own hired house, until I shall see how the Lord shall deal with my husband: concerning whom, as I have not yet received any intelligence, I am not a little anxious. . . .

Frankfort, April 20 [1554]; the day after the opening of the Church of the White Virgins to us: when Master VALERANDUS POLLANUS, the husband of my relative and Chief Pastor of the Church, preached a Sermon, and baptized his son in the Rhine.

Original Letters, 110, 111, Ed. 1846-7 (Parker Society).

Other Ministers of the French Church were Monsieur MORELLIO (pp. 23, 24); and Monsieur CECELLES (Original Letters, page 112).

VALERAND POUILLAIN, in Latin VALERANDUS POLLANUS, had been Preacher and Superintendent of the French and Walloon Church at Glastonbury, Somersetshire.

A
Brief Discourse
of the
Troubles begun at Frankfort
in Germany,
anno Domini 1554,
about the
Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies ;
and continued by the Englishmen there
to the end of Queen Mary's reign.

*In the which Discourse, the gentle Reader shall see
the very Original and Beginning of all the
Contention that hath been ;
and what was the Cause of the same.*

*For there is nothing hid that shall not be opened ; neither is there a secret
but that it shall come to light. If any man have ears to hear, let him hear !
Mark iv. [22, 23].*

The Preface.

To the Christian Readers, Grace, Mercy, and Peace,
in CHRIST JESU our Lord.

SUCH AS DO well observe the variety of men's judgments about these matters of Controversy, and the supposed Causes of the same, shall find it a thing more than wonderful to behold; and passing strange to hear. But whoso shall well weigh and consider what extreme calamities and miseries this Broil hath brought with it to many godly persons, which unfeignedly fear GOD; the same must, of force, as I think, if he have but one drop of humanity within him, draw forth deep and sorrowful sighs from the heart, and tears from the eyes.

To pass over sundry, I will note but this one. Where as, in times past, both at Paul's Cross and other places, the sounds which were wont to be so sweet, as might justly have moved the godly hearers to cry out with the Prophet ESAY, 'O, how beautiful are the feet of them, which bring glad tidings of peace, etc.' [Is. lii. 7], are now become, commonly, so sour and unsavoury that, instead of sweetness, is found little or nothing but wormwood and bitter gall. And yet I speak not of such whose cruel scoffing and unbridled natures are too well known so far to exceed as few, discreet and wise indeed, can be much moved with anything almost they either speak or write: but even of those, I mean, whose Wisdom's gravity and learning, as the same claimeth by good right due reverence to the persons, because of those good gifts which GOD hath bestowed upon them; so should it also put them in mind, especially in such places, to use, meseems, some other vein.

And forsomuch as some impute the Cause of all these Troubles to the ambitious heads of certain special persons, who should, as hath been at Paul's Cross By DOCTOR YONGE, both publicly and very furiously declared, in November, stir up this Strife in the Church, for that anno 1573. they could not attain to Bishoprics, when as others enjoyed them; some also imputing it to the strange [*foreign*]

Churches, as well beyond the seas as here among us remaining, thereby to provoke the displeasures of the Magistrates against them; and some supposing, yea, roaring out, that this happened by such fantastical heads as can abide no Platform [*Policy*] but of their own devising: I have, for these and such like considerations, thought good, by a Short and Brief Discourse, to let you see the very Original and Beginning of all this miserable Contention; leaving, nevertheless, to your discreet judgments, who, in these matters, are to be thought innocent, and who most to blame.

And as one, both of credit, learned, and of authority, Master MULLINS, thought it not only meet and expedient, in October, openly at Paul's Cross, in presence of the *anno 1573.* Honourable and Worshipful there, to signify unto them that such a hot Contention about these matters Frankfort the had been; but also noted the place where, place. and the time when: so I, in this Discourse, In Queen MARY'S thought it needful, lest haply that honour- time. able audience might mistake the matter, to set forth by writing the very order, manner, and proceeding, of the same. Following herein the steps of such, PLATINA, whom GOD, of his goodness, hath raised PAULUS JOVIUS, up, at all times and among all nations, to SLEIDAN, FOX; commit things to memory which hath with many others. passed in common-weals: who have, with great freedom and liberty, been suffered to make manifest to the whole World, the ill dealings even of Popes, Cardinals, Emperors, Kings, and Princes; whereas, in this Discourse, the highest that I touch (and that with great grief of heart) are, to my knowledge, but certain Bishops [*i.e.*, RICHARD COX and ROBERT HORNE], and therefore I hope the more to be borne withal.

Beseeching Almighty GOD that as, by these my poor simple travails, my meaning was not (either in contempt or seeking revenge) to provoke the farther displeasures of the meanest: so that (if it be his blessed will) the same may find favour in the eyes of our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and the Right Honourable, whom it hath pleased him to place in high authority; for whose prosperity and welfare it becometh all true and faithful subjects, as they are dutifully bound, most earnestly to pray.

The History.

AFTER that it had pleased the Lord GOD to take away, for our sins, that noble Prince of famous memory, King EDWARD the Sixth, and had placed Queen MARY in his room; sundry godly men, as well strangers [*foreigners*] as of the English nation, fled, for the liberty of their consciences, over the seas; some into France, some into Flanders, and some into the high [*inland*] countries of the Empire: and, in the year of our Lord 1554, and the 27th of June, came EDMUND SUTTON, WILLIAM WILLIAMS, WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, and THOMAS WOOD, with their companies, to the City of Frankfort in Germany; the first Englishmen that there arrived to remain and abide.

The same night, came one, Master VALERAND POUILLAIN, Minister, unto their lodging; and declared how he had obtained a Church there, in the name of all such as should come out of England for the Gospel: but especially from Glastonbury, which were all Frenchmen.

Answer was made him, That as GOD was to be praised, who had moved the Magistrates' hearts to shew the French such favour; even so, for so much as few of them understood the French tongue, it would be small commodity to them, or to such as should come afterward to join themselves to that Church.

The next day, they communed with Master MORELLIO, another Minister of the French Church, and also with Master CASTALIO, a Senior of the same; both of them godly and learned men. By their advice and counsel, it was determined that a Supplication should be drawn out, and offered to the Magistrates, to know, first, Whether they would be contented that, not only the parties before named, but also all other Englishmen that would repair thither for the like cause, might, through their favour, be suffered safely to remain within their City. This Supplication was subscribed, as well by the said SUTTON, WHITTINGHAM, and the rest of the Englishmen as also by MORELLIO, CASTALIO, and one ADRIAN, a citizen there, with whom they lodged.

And within three days after the offering up of their Supplication; they obtained their requests.

The 8th of July following, labour was made, by the counsel and advice of MORELLIO and CASTALIO, (who during their lives shewed themselves Fathers to all Englishmen) to Master JOHANN À GLAUBERG, one of the chiefest Senators, for a place or Church, wherein they and all their countrymen might have GOD's Word truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely ministered, in their natural tongue; who gently promised his furtherance, and that he also would move the whole Senate thereof: the which he did accordingly.

And the 14th day of the same month, it was granted that they should have liberty to Preach, and Minister the Sacraments, in that Church which the Frenchmen had, the French, one day; and the English, another day; and upon the Sunday, to choose also them hours, as they could agree among themselves. But it was with this commandment, That the English should not dissent from the Frenchmen in Doctrine or Ceremonies; lest they should thereby minister occasion of offence.

They willed farther, That, before they entered their Church, they should approve and subscribe the same Confession of Faith that the Frenchmen had then presented, and were about to put in print. To the which all the aforementioned, and others which were by this time come thither, did subscribe.

When the Church was in this sort granted; they consulted among themselves, what Order of Service they should use: for they were not so strictly bound, as was told them, to the Ceremonies of the French, by the Magistrates; but that if the one allowed of the other, it was sufficient.

At length, the English Order [of the Second Prayer Book of EDWARD VI., 1552] was perused; and this, by general consent, was concluded:

That the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used: the Litany, Surplice, and many other things also omitted: for that, in those Reformed Churches, such things would seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Minister, in place of the English Confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also

framed according to the state and time. And the same ended; the people to sing a Psalm in metre in a plain [*simple*] tune; as was, and as is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish, Churches. That done, the Minister to pray for the assistance of GOD's HOLY SPIRIT; and so to proceed to the Sermon.

After the Sermon, a General Prayer for all Estates, and for our country of England, was also devised: at the end of which Prayer, was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearsal of the Articles of our Belief. Which ended, the people to sing another Psalm as afore. Then the Minister pronouncing his blessing, 'The peace of GOD,' etc., or some other of like effect; the people to depart.*

And as touching the Ministration of the Sacraments; sundry things were also, by common consent, omitted, as superstitious and superfluous.

After that the Congregation had thus concluded and agreed, and had chosen their Minister and Deacons to serve for a time; they entered their Church, the 29th of the same month.

Then was it thought good among themselves, that forthwith they should advertise their countrymen and brethren dispersed, of this singular benefit; the like whereof could nowhere else, as yet, be obtained: and to persuade them, all worldly respects put apart, to repair thither, that they might all together, with one mouth and one heart, both lament their former wickedness, and also be thankful to their merciful Father that had given them such a Church in a strange land wherein they might hear GOD's Word truly preached, the Sacraments rightly ministered, and Discipline used; which in their own country could never be obtained.

And to this effect were Letters directed to Strasburg, Zurich, Densborough [*Duisburg*], and Emden, on the 2nd of August.

And for that it was thought the Church could not long

* It will be noticed that in the above Calvinistic Scheme of Public Worship, the Public Reading of the Scriptures has no place. This confirms the statement, at page 89, of the later Anglican Congregation in

that same Church of the White Ladies at Frankfort, that these Calvinists exclaimed against the Public Reading of the Word of GOD 'as an irksome and unprofitable Form.'—E.A.

continue in good order without Discipline; there was also a brief Form devised; declaring the Necessity, the Causes, and the Order thereof*; whereunto all those that were present subscribed; shewing thereby that they were ready and willing to submit themselves to the same, according to the rule prescribed in GOD's holy Word. At the same time, it was determined by the Congregation that all such as should come after, should do the like, before they were admitted as members of that Church.

Here followeth the General Letter sent from the Congregation of Frankfort to Strasburg, Zurich, Wesel, Emden, etc.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace in CHRIST, our LORD, etc.

WE DOUBT NOT, dearly Beloved, but you have heard, as well by Letter as by report, of the excellent graces and mercy which our good GOD and heavenly Father hath shewed unto our little Congregation in this City of Frankfort; for that he hath not only made the Magistrates and Commons very favourable towards us and loving: but also hath given them hearts with much compassion to tender us; insomuch that every man helpeth us, no man is against us; much love, no grudge; glad to please, loath to annoy, us. Yea, and to declare this good will not to be of the mean sort, nor so small as our brethren have felt elsewhere [*elsewhere*]; they have granted that thing which, among others and in other cities, we could not obtain, nor durst almost hope for. For what greater treasure, or sweeter comfort, can a Christian man desire than to have a Church wherein he may serve GOD in purity of faith and integrity of life; which thing if we wish for, let us not refuse it! seeing where we would, we could not there, obtain it. And here yet it is granted in so ample wise: that, (being subject to no blemish, no, nor so much as the evil of suspicion, from the which few Churches are free) we may Preach, Minister, and use Discipline; to the true setting forth of GOD's glory, and good ensample to others. And, for our parts, we have not been negligent as touching the execution of the said benefit granted: for, the 29th of July, we had, GOD be thanked! two Sermons; to our singular comfort, and the great joy of all godly men here.

Wherefore, Brethren, seeing you have endured the pain of Persecution with us, we thought it likewise our duties to make you partakers of our consolation; that all together we may give thanks to our loving Father: who is more tender over us than the mother over

* This was the Old Discipline | reprinted at pp. 143-149. E.A.

her children; neither suffereth us to be tempted above that we may bear, but even to the issue of the tentation [*temptation*] giveth prosperous success [1 Cor. x. 13; Phil. ii.] Trusting, by GOD's grace, that he (which hath given you the gift, not only to believe in CHRIST; but also to suffer for his sake) will so direct your hearts, that, no respect of commodity there, nor yet fear of burden here, may once move you to shrink from your Vocation: which is, in one Faith, one Ministration, one Tongue, and one Consent, to serve GOD in his Church.

What more manifest sign, what plainer declaration, what word more express and lively, can we have of Duty and Vocation; than when GOD speaketh in our hearts by faith, guideth us out of perils through his grace, and now, last of all, offereth us a resting place, of his exceeding mercy.

You remember that, before, we have reasoned together in hope to obtain a Church; and shall we now draw back? as mindful of GOD's Providence, which hath procured us one free from all dregs of superstitious Ceremonies?

What, think you, if the Prophet DAVID had had this offer! who desired to be Porter in the House of GOD; and more esteemed one day so spent than a thousand otherways. [Ps. lxxxiv. 10.] Either what meant he, when he said, One request I demand of the Lord, which I will seek after, that is, that I may dwell in the House of the Lord all the days of my life. [Ps. xxvii. 4.] Had DAVID no experience? or felt he not what grief it was to want the Congregation? And, surely, we must grant that he was far more perfect than we be. For he, being conversant in this World, set his delight wholly in heavenly things; and many of us, we speak it to our shame, as if we had already forgotten the end of our creation, are plunged in earthly affections and worldly respects, so that, through our infirmities, this excellent benefit is like [ly] to be frustrate.

For some doubt who shall be preferred. Others seek increase of Learning. Many follow the commodity [*means*] of living. Certain look for a new Vocation. So that it is a wonder to see the deformity of Man's affections. GOD grant we may learn at their ensamples, which being called to the marriage, came not, [Matt. xxii. 1-10] what it is to esteem, in time, the worthiness of GOD's benefits: lest, by the loss of the same, we do after fall unto unprofitable repentance; seeking again our loss with tears, as the reprobate ESAU, and yet never the neare[r]. [Mal. i. 3; Heb. xi.] We charge no one man, Brethren, nor yet mean all; and on what considerations these excuses were pretended [*alleged*], we suspend our judgments: referring the same to our imperfection and infirmity, whereby the Adversary ceaseth not to batter daily the walls of GOD's Temple.

As touching the point of Preferment, we are persuaded thoroughly that it hath this meaning, That every man thought of himself modestly, humbly submitting himself to all men, unabling [*disenabling*] no man; for so much as you know that he which seeketh Ambition, Glory, Advantage, or such like, is not moved with GOD's Spirit: as witness the instructions that CHRIST our Master gave to his disciples, who, labouring of like disease, were admonished that he which did excel among them, should abase himself to his inferior. [Matt. xxiii. 11] Which malady Saint PAUL, perceiving to infect like a canker, most diligently frameth his style, that he might not seem to prefer himself to others in the course of his Ministry. [Phil. i.; Col. i.]

And as for Learning, as we wish it to all men most abundantly; so we most earnestly require that, comparing the Congregation's necessity with your private commodity [*advantage*], you would rather, for CHRIST's sake, choose the better. Yea, and we assure you of one good advertisement, that, through GOD's grace, when we shall be assembled together, such order will be taken that, besides those things which our nation shall be able to furnish, we have the City most forward to procure others.

If any would pretend [*allege*] the hardness of the country and charges; our experience may sufficiently satisfy them: who, having travelled through most places where the Gospel is preached, have not found so many commodities, nor less charges.

Resteth the time of Calling, which we refer to your consciences: beseeching you, for CHRIST's sake, to descend into yourselves [*deeply to consider*] without all partiality, weighing the gravity of the matter which is GOD's, and the silly excuse which the Flesh ministereth. Consider what GOD would say, 'I have prepared a plentiful and ripe harvest, which standeth in a readiness, and waiteth for the mower; and I have appointed thee thy tax [*?task*]. I have given instruments, and all things fit for the labour. If thou forslow it, the crop is in danger! If thou look for oft warning, thou declarest great negligence!'

This speech, dearly Beloved, or very like, GOD used to NOAH, ABRAHAM, JEREMIAH, etc.; and they thought their Vocation strong. But you, through GOD's benefit, do not only hear GOD thus persuading in your hearts; but also have been, by extern [*external*] Calling confirmed; and according thereunto have walked, to the great glory of GOD and profit of the Congregation. We trust, therefore, Brethren, and in JESUS CHRIST require it, that you would hide your talent no longer; but, having new occasion to employ it, you would put it forth for your Master his advantage and your own discharge. For if you feel in your hearts comfort, as we do which are here assembled, to hear the Word of GOD preached, and the Sacraments ministered; we assure you, you

should sensibly perceive, that which the Prophet speaketh in these terms, 'As the hart chased panteth for greediness of waters; even so, O, Lord! my soul seeketh after thee! My soul burneth for thirst in seeking the Lord; and saith, "Alas! when shall I be able to appear before the face of the living GOD?"' [Ps. xlii., 1, 2.]

What thing then ought we to have in greater recommendation than the Order and Policy [*Polity*] which GOD hath established in his Church? that we may be taught by His Word, that we may worship him and call upon his name with one accord, that we may have the true use of the Sacraments to help us to the same. For these be the means whereby we must be confirmed in the faith, in the fear of GOD, in holiness of conversation, in the contempt of the World, and in the love of life everlasting. And for this consideration, Saint PAUL saith, not that this Order which the LORD hath set in his Church should only be for the rude and simple; but maketh it common to all, excepting no man. 'For He hath ordained,' saith he, 'some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists; others to be Teachers and Instructors; to confirm the godly, and to labour to finish the building of CHRIST'S Body, till we be all brought to one consent in faith, to the knowledge of the Son of GOD, to a perfect man, and finally to the just measure of a ripe Christian age.' [Eph. iv., 11-13.]

Let us all mark, that he saith not, That GOD hath left the Scriptures only, that every one should read it; but also that he hath erected a Policy [*Polity*] and Order that there should be some to teach, and not for one day; but for all the time of our life, even to the death, for that is the time of our perfection.

Wherefore, Brethren, let us submit ourselves, and leave off farther to tempt GOD; seeing that if we will be of the Body of CHRIST, we must obey to this general rule. Let no respect of worldly policy stay us! Let no persuasion blind us! But let us fulfil in ourselves that which ESIAS [Is. lx. 8] forwarneth, that GOD'S children shall be as pigeons, which flee by flocks into their dove-house: which is the place where the Word of GOD is preached, the Sacraments ministered, and Prayer used.

To conclude therefore, dearly Beloved, let every man call his conscience to counsel: and, besides these sweet allurements, let us learn to prevent our adversaries; who, seeking ever to obscure GOD'S glory, may easily cavil at this Dissipation [*Dispersion*]. And would to GOD! the slander were not already, to our great grief, in sundry places scattered; insomuch that in England, many take occasion to remain in their filth [*in the midst of the Roman Catholic Religion*]. And some think they may dissemble until a Church be confirmed: [not] perceiving that this our Scattering augmenteth the grief of [the] Persecution; and

so, through our negligence, we leese [*lose*] them for whom CHRIST died.

Consider, Brethren, it is GOD's cause. He requireth you. It is your duty. Necessity urgeth. Time willeth. Your Father speaketh, Children must obey. Our enemies are diligent; and the Adversary is at hand.

Almighty GOD grant, for his Son's sake, that we may rightly ponder the matter, follow our Calling, serve the turn, hear the Speaker, walk in obedience, and resist our enemies!

We desire you all, take this in good part! seeing we have written nothing but what Charity did indite; and that which we trust and wish, you would have done to us, in case like.

From Frankfort, this 2nd of August, 1554.

Your loving brethren,

JOHN STANTON.	WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM.	MICHAEL GILL.
JOHN MAKEBRAY.	WILLIAM HAMMON.	
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.	THOMAS WOOD.	

SHORTLY AFTER, the Learned Men of Strasburg answered to this General Letter beforementioned, in this sort. That they had considered the contents thereof; and perceived that the effect was no other but to have one or two to take the chief charge and governance of the Congregation. And that in case they might get Doctor POYNET, Master SCORY, Doctor BALE, or Doctor COX, or two of them, they should be well furnished. If not, they would appoint one at Strasburg, and another should come from Zurich, to serve the turn.

At which time, Master GRINDAL wrote to Master SCORY at Emden; persuading him to be Superintendent of this Church of Frankfort; who, in two several letters to his private friends, offered his services to the Congregation. But, before the receipt thereof, the Congregation had written their Letters to Master [JOHN] KNOX at Geneva, to Master [JAMES] HADDON at Strasburg, and Master [THOMAS] LEVER at Zurich; whom they had elected for their Ministers: and advertised Master SCORY, by a General Letter, of the same.

Now when the Answer that came from Strasburg was read, and compared with the Letter written unto them, it did not in any point answer it. For the Congregation wrote not particularly for any certain number; but generally, wishing all men's presence: neither did they require to have any Superintendent to take the chief charge and government; for the choice and election thereof, if such a one had been necessary, ought to have been reserved to the Congregation—which fully determined, at that time, to have the Church governed by two, or three, grave, godly, and learned. Ministers, of like [*equal*] authority; as is accustomed in the best Reformed Churches.

The 13th of October, the Students of Zurich wrote also an Answer to the General Letter aforesaid, in this wise:

The Grace and Peace of GOD the Father, and of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, be with you all! Amen.

AS GOD, BY his singular Providence, hath wonderfully blessed us, as well in moving the hearts of the Senators and Ministers here to lament our state, [and] favour and aid us in our requests; as also in giving happy success for all kinds of provision to our use and behoof: so he well knoweth that we no otherwise esteem the same than may stand with his glory, our Profession, and the comfort of his afflicted Church; but [we] daily labour in the knowledge of his Word, to the intent that when GOD, our merciful Father, shall so think good, we may be both faithful and skilful Dispensers thereof.

And as, running in the sweet race of our Vocation, ye have earnestly written unto us for to repair thither, burdening us so sore with your necessity, that ye think our shrinking back in this behalf should argue want of charity, keep many in England still which else would willingly come forth, and shew ourselves careless of that Congregation whose edifying and winning to CHRIST we only pretend [*endeavour*] to seek. These are great Causes: but, touching us, neither so truly objected, so firmly grounded, nor yet so aptly applied; but that as sound reasons, on our parts, might fully answer the same.

Yet, notwithstanding, inasmuch as you appeal to our consciences, which, in the Day of the LORD, shall accuse, or excuse, us in this thing, and all others; we will not utterly deny your requests: but shew ourselves as ready to seek GOD's glory, and the increase of his Kingdom, either there or elsewhere, to the uttermost of our powers, as ever we did pretend [*intend*] to do. Requiring you all, in the name and fear of GOD, that as we (all respects set apart, and unfeignedly travailing in the necessary knowledge of CHRIST, to the profit of his Church hereafter) refuse not, for your needy comfort, to accomplish your desires: so ye will not interrupt our studies, urge our removing, and bring us thither, feeling here already the exceeding goodness of GOD towards us, unless ye think, and that before GOD, that our absence on the one part should greatly hinder, and our presence on the other side very much further, your godly attempts already begun for the furnishing of that Church so happily obtained, to all our comforts: for the which, in our daily prayers, we give GOD most hearty and humble thanks. If, by this doing, ye give occasion to break our godly fellowship, to hurt our studies, to dissolve our Exercises [*Public Worship*], and utterly to evert [*overturn*] our godly purposes; ye have to answer even unto Him which is a faithful and a just Judge, and will give to every man according to his deeds.

Wherefore, dear Brethren, in consideration that we be all, not only of one nation, but also members of one mystical body in JESUS CHRIST our Head, and ought therefore (especially in this time of exile and most

worthily deserved cross) by all means possible, one to aid and comfort another; beseeching GOD, for his mercy's sake, to assuage his wrath, to give us repenting hearts, and patient continuance to our brethren at home, with pity to behold his vineyard there miserably spoiled and trodden under foot; and to call us home, after his fatherly chastisement, eftsoons [*soon again*] fruitfully to work in the same: we briefly make this Answer.

If, upon the receipt hereof, ye shall (without cloak or forged pretence; but only to seek CHRIST) advertise us, by your Letters, that our being there is so needful as ye have already signified, and that we may all together serve and praise GOD as freely and as uprightly (whereof private Letters received lately from Frankfort make us much to doubt) as the Order last taken [*the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.*] in the Church of England permitteth and prescribeth—for we are fully determined to admit and use no other—then, about Easter next [April 14, 1555], for afore we cannot, GOD prospering us, and no just cause or occasion to the contrary growing in the meantime whereby our intention may be defeated, with one consent we agree to join ourselves to you, and most willingly to do such service there as our poor condition and calling doth permit.

In the mean space, we shall most entirely beseech Almighty GOD so to assist you with his HOLY SPIRIT, that your doings may help to confound Papistry, set forth GOD's glory, and shew such light in the face of the World that both the wicked may be ashamed (having no just cause of reproach), and also our weak brethren confirmed and won to the Truth.

From Zurich, this 13th of October, 1554.

Your loving friends,

ROBERT HORNE.	THOMAS SPENCER.	ROBERT BEAMONT.
RICHARD CHAMBERS.	THOMAS BENTHAM.	LAURENCE HUMPHREY.
THOMAS LEVER.	WILLIAM COLE.	HENRY COCKCRAFT.
NICHOLAS KARVILLE.	JOHN PARKHURST.	JOHN PRETIO.
JOHN MULLINGS.	ROGER KELBE.	

About this time, Letters were received from Master [JAMES] HADDON; wherein he desired, for divers considerations, to be excused from coming to take the charge upon him at Frankfort.

The 24th of October [1554] came Master [DAVID] WHITEHEAD to Frankfort: and, at the request of the Congregation, he took the charge, for a time; and preached upon the Epistle to the Romans.

About the 4th of November [1554], came Master [RICHARD] CHAMBERS to Frankfort, with Letters from Zurich; which were partly an Answer to another Letter written unto them from Frankfort, the 26th of September [1554]; which was as followeth.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, etc.

AFTER LONG HOPE of your Answer to our Letter, we thought it good to put you once again in remembrance: and, as we in our former, so now in this also, in GOD's behalf, most earnestly require you deeply to weigh the matter of GOD's Calling, and the necessity of this Congregation. We have thoroughly learned your estate, and also made you privy to ours: and eftsoons [*again*] wish we might be together, to bewail our sins past; to pray together for our poor brethren that are under Antichrist's captivity; to comfort, instruct, and profit, one another: and, finally, to bestow the time of our Persecution together, and to redeem these days which are so evil. And if any desire of Knowledge stay you; certainly it would not be so little increased here, that you should justly repent. For as touching the company of Learned Men, as you cannot here be without; so that thing which chiefly you can require of Learned Men's judgements and knowledge out of their Works, you may suck most plentifully; whereof, with us, you can lack no store.

We need not, Brethren, to make long discourse in reasoning; for we partly know that GOD's Spirit, which worketh in your hearts, shall prevail with you more than disputing: not doubting but the same HOLY SPIRIT knocketh at the door of your consciences, not only to move you of our behalves, but to admonish you to avoid the inconveniences of talks, and the offences of our poor brethren of England; whose marvelling cannot otherwise be satisfied. Remember, therefore, dearly Beloved, that we write as Brethren to our dear Brethren; who altogether seek our Father's honour, our own discharge, and the comfort of our afflicted countrymen.

The same sweet Father grant, for his CHRIST's sake, that we may assemble together, to the building of this his Temple; to let [*hinder*] the false workmen and underminers, and diligently, in our Vocation, to help to the furnishing of the same till it rise to perfection! Fare ye well in Christ!

From Frankfort, this 26th of September, 1554.

Your loving friends,

as in the Letter afore, so under this, subscribed.

The Answer to them of Frankfort, was as follows.

WE, BEING PLACED here in quietness, with many and great commodities for our studies, tending all to edification of CHRIST's Church, have, unto the earnest request of your Letters unto us, answered in our Letters unto you, that, to discharge all duty in conscience, and to increase and instruct your Congregation at Frankfort with our presence and diligence, we will not deny to remove from hence unto you, so that you, charged of conscience, do constantly affirm that ye have so great need of us as by Letters was signified, and certainly assure us that we, with you, may, and shall, use the same Order of Service concerning Religion which was in England last set forth by King EDWARD.

And now also, for the better understanding of such requests, and charitable performance of duty upon both parts, we have desired and procured Master RICHARD CHAMBERS, our best friend, a man most charitable and careful for the Christian Congregation, to take pains to travel unto you, and with you for us: so that this matter, as it is begun and moved in writing, may be fully debated and concluded by his faithful means and diligence. For we be all agreed, and do purpose, to allow and perform whatsoever he shall say and promise in our names unto you.

Wherefore, we beseech you, in GOD's name, conscionably to consider the estate and condition both of you and us: and if thereupon you conclude with the said Master CHAMBERS, of our coming unto you; then let him not lack your charitable help in necessary provision for our continuance with you.

And thus beseeching GOD that your doings may tend to his glory, and the speedy comfort of his afflicted Church; we wish you all health, and increase of true knowledge in CHRIST our Lord and Saviour.

From Zurich, this 27th of October, *anno* 1554.

Your loving friends,
as in the Letter before.

When Master CHAMBERS had conferred with the Congregation, and saw that they could not assure him the full use of the English Book [of Common Prayer], without the hazarding of their Church [at Frankfort]; he prepared to depart to whence he came: and by this time [November 1554], was Master KNOX come from Geneva; and [was] chosen Minister, upon the receipt of a Letter sent him from the Congregation; which Letter was as followeth:

WE HAVE RECEIVED Letters from our brethren of Strasburg; but not in such sort and ample wise as we looked for. Whereupon we assembled together, in the HOLY GHOST we hope, and have, with one voice and consent, chosen you Mark the Calling so particularly to be one of the Ministers of our of KNOX to the Congregation here, to preach unto us the most lively Pastorship. Word of GOD, according to the gift that GOD hath given you: forasmuch as we have here, through the merciful goodness of GOD, a Church to be congregated together in the name of CHRIST, and be all of one body, and also being of one nation, tongue, and country. And, at this present, having need of such a one as you; we do desire you, and also require you in the name of GOD, not to deny us, nor to refuse these our requests: but that you will aid, help, and assist, us with your presence, in this our good and godly enterprise; which we have taken in hand to the glory of GOD, and the profit of his Congregation, and the poor sheep of CHRIST dispersed abroad, who (with your and like presences) would come hither, and be of One Fold; where as now they wander abroad as lost sheep, without any guide.

We mistrust not, but that you will joyfully accept this Calling.

Fare ye well! From Frankfort, this 24th of September [1554].

Your loving Brethren,

JOHN BALE.	WILLIAM HAMMON.	JOHN GRAY.
EDMUND SUTTON.	THOMAS STEWARD.	MICHAEL GILL.
JOHN MAKEBRAIE.	THOMAS WOOD.	JOHN SAMFORD.
WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM.	JOHN STANTON.	JOHN WOOD.
THOMAS COLE.	WILLIAM WALTON.	THOMAS SORBY.
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.	JASPER SWIFT.	ANTHONY CARIAR.
GEORGE CHIDLEY.	JOHN GEOFFREY.	HUGH ALFORD.

Now to return to the tenor of the Letter which the Congregation of Frankfort wrote, by Master CHAMBERS, to the Students of Zurich.

WE HAVE RECEIVED your two several Letters; the one, dated the 13th of October, sent us from Strasburg, and the other the 27th of the same [month], by the hands of your dear friend, Master CHAMBERS: and have conferred with him at large, touching the contents thereof. And when as, after divers assemblies and long debatings, the said Master CHAMBERS perceived that we could not, in all points, warrant the full use of the Book of Service; which seemeth to be your full scope and mark: and also

weighing in conscience the great benefit that GOD hath in this City offered to our whole nation; he not only rejoiced at the same, but also promised to travail [*labour*] in persuading you to the furtherance thereof.

As touching the effect of the Book, we desire the execution thereof as much as you, so far as GOD's Word doth commend it: but as for the unprofitable Ceremonies, as well by his consent as by ours, are not to be used. And although they were tolerable, as some are not; yet, being in a strange common-wealth, we could not be suffered to put them in ure [*use*]: and better it were, they should never be practised; than they should be the subversion of our Church, which should fall in great hazard by using them.

The matter is not ours more than yours; except any excel others in godly zeal: but we both wish GOD's honour.

If a larger gate be opened there [*at Zurich*] to the same than to us, upon your persuasions, ye shall not find us to draw back. For this is that necessity, Brethren, that may not be neglected, if we wish the comfort and gathering together of our dispersed brethren. If any think that the not using of the Book in all points, should increase our godly fathers' and brethren's bands; or else in anything deface the worthy Ordinances and Laws of our Sovereign Lord of most famous memory, King EDWARD VI.: he seemeth either little to weigh the matter, or else, letted [*hindered*] through ignorance, knoweth not that even they themselves [*the Compilers of the Book of Common Prayer*] have, upon considerations of circumstances, altered heretofore many things as touching the same. And if GOD had not, in these wicked days, otherwise determined, they would hereafter have changed more: yea, and in our case, we doubt not but that they would have done the like.

These few lines concerning both of our communications, we have accordingly written unto you; referring the rest to the discretion of our good friend, Master CHAMBERS: who knoweth that we have shewed ourselves most conformable in all things that standeth in our powers; and [*that we are*] most desirous of your company, according to our former Letters.

The Spirit of GOD move your hearts to do that which shall be most to his glory; and the comfort of your brethren.

At Frankfort, this 15th of November [1554].

Your loving friends, etc.

The 28th of November, Master CHAMBERS came again to Frankfort from Strasburg, and with him Master GRINDAL, with Letters from the Learned Men there, subscribed with sixteen of their hands ; which Letter was as followeth :

WHEN WE DO consider what inward comfort it were for the faithful people of England (now dispersed for the Gospel, and wandering abroad in strange countries as sheep without a Pastor) to be gathered together into one Congregation, that with one mouth, one mind, and one spirit, they might glorify GOD: we have, at all times, and do presently think it our duties, not only in heart to wish that thing ; but also to labour, by all means, so much as in us lieth, to bring the same to pass. And having now perfect intelligence of the good minds which the Magistrates of Frankfort bear towards you and others [of] our scattered countrymen ; and also understanding of a free grant of a Church unto us, wherein we may together serve GOD ; and not doubting of their further friendship in permitting us frankly to use our Religion according to that godly Order set forth and received in England : we both give GOD thanks for so great a benefit ; and also think it not fit to refuse so friendly an offer, or to let slip so good an occasion.

Therefore, neither doubting of their good furtherance hereunto ; nor yet distrusting your good conformity and ready desires in reducing the English Church, now begun there, to its former perfection of the last [Order] had in England, so far as possibly can be attained ; lest by much altering of the same, we should seem to condemn the chief Authors thereof (who, as they now suffer ; so are they most ready to confirm that fact with the price of their blood) ; and should also both give occasion to our adversaries to accuse our doctrine of imperfection and us of mutability ; and the godly to doubt in that Truth wherein before they were persuaded ; and to hinder their coming hither, which before they had purposed.

For the avoiding of these, and the obtaining of the others, moved hereunto in conscience and provoked by your gentle letters ; we have thought it expedient to send over unto you, our beloved brethren, the bringers hereof, to travail with the Magistrates and you concerning the premises ; whose wisdom, learning, and godly zeal, as they be known unto you, so their doings in this shall fully take place [*be confirmed*] by us. And if they obtain that which we trust will not be denied at no hands ; then we intend, GOD willing ! to be with you the 1st of February [1555] next, there to help to set in order and establish that Church accordingly : and so long all together to remain with you as shall be necessary, or until just occasion shall call some of us away.

And we doubt not but that our brethren of Zurich, Emden, Duisburg, etc., will do the same accordingly; as we have prayed them by our Letters: trusting that you, by yours, will make like request. Fare ye well! From Strasburg, this 23rd of November [1554].

Your loving friends,

JAMES HADDON.	JOHN PEDDER.	CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.
EDWIN SANDYS.	THOMAS EATEN.	HUMPHREY ALCOCKSON.
EDMUND GRINDAL.	MICHAEL REYMUGER.	THOMAS LAKIN.
JOHN HUNTINGDON.	AUGUSTINE BRADBRIDGE.	THOMAS CRAFTON.
GUIDO EATEN.	ARTHUR SAUL.	
JOHN GEOFFREY.	THOMAS STEWARD.	

This Letter was read to the Congregation; at which time Master GRINDAL declared the occasion of their coming: which, among other things, was chiefly for the establishing of the Book of England: not that they meant, as he said, to have it so strictly observed but that such Ceremonies and things, which the country [*Germany*] could not bear, might well be omitted; so that they might have the substance and effect thereof.

Masters KNOX and WHITTINGHAM asked them, What they meant by the substance of the Book.

It was answered by the others, That they had no commission to dispute those matters; but they requested that the Congregation would answer certain Interrogatories, which were these:

First, that they might know what parts of the Book they would admit? The Second was for a several [*separate*] Church; and the Third, What assurance they might have for their quiet habitation?

To the First, Answer was made, That what they could prove of that Book to stand with GOD's Word, and that the country would permit, that should be granted to them.

To the Second, which was for a Church; it was told them, That they understood, by the Magistrates, the time served not to move any such matter till the Council brake up at Augsburg [*It broke up on September 25, 1555.*]

To the Third, it was said, That a general grant was made, at their first coming thither, to the whole nation; and the Freedom of the City offered to all such as were desirous of it, in as large and ample manner as they could require: which was to them assurance sufficient.

These Three Questions thus answered; Master CHAMBERS

and Master GRINDAL departed back again, with a Letter from the Congregation; which was as followeth:

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, etc.

AS IT WAS ever most true, so at this present we feel most sensibly, that wheresoever GOD layeth the foundation to build his glory, there he continueth till he bring the same to a present work. All thanks and praise be to him therefore, that [he] hath moved your hearts so as, in no point, ye seem to forslow your diligence to the furtherance of the same. And as the work is of most excellency; so the adversaries cease not most craftily to undermine it, or at the least (through false reports, and defacing of the work begun) to stay the labourers which should travail in the finishing thereof. But Truth ever cleareth itself: and as the sun consumeth the clouds; so misreports, by trial, are confounded.

Our brethren sent from you can certify you at length touching the particulars of your Letter: to whom we have in all things agreed which seemed expedient for the state of this Congregation.

As for certain Ceremonies which the order of the country will not bear, we necessarily omit; with as little alteration as is possible, which in your Letters ye require: so that no adversary is so impudent that dare either blame our doctrine of imperfection, or us of mutability; except he be altogether wilfully ignorant, rather seeking how to find faults than to amend them. Neither do we dissent from them which lie at the ransom of their blood, for the doctrine whereof they have made a most worthy Confession [in the Second Prayer Book of EDWARD VI.].

And yet we think not that any godly man will stand to the death in the defence of Ceremonies; which, as the Book specifieth, upon just causes, may be altered and changed.

And if the not full using of the Book cause the godly to doubt in that Truth wherein before they were persuaded; and to stay their coming hither, according as they proposed: either it signifieth that they were very slenderly taught, which, for breach of a Ceremony, will refuse such a singular benefit; or else that you have heard them misreported by some false brethren, who, to hinder this worthy enterprise, spare not to sow, in every place, store of such poor reasons.

Last of all, it remaineth that ye write that, the 1st of February [1555] next, you will come to help to set in order and establish this Church accordingly; which thing, as we most wish for your company's sake, and for that ye might see our godly Orders here observed: so we put you out of doubt, that for to appoint a journey for the establishing of Ceremonies should be more to your charges than any general profit; except ye were determined to remain with us longer than two months,

1554. The Strasburg Letter of December 13th.

as ye write to our countrymen at Duisburg and Emden: which Letters notwithstanding are now stayed; and, as appeareth, we [are] never the neare[r].

We refer the rest to our brethren, Master CHAMBERS and Master GRINDAL; who, by their diligent inquisition, have learned so far of our state as we wrote unto you in our former Letters, that is, That we have a Church freely granted to preach GOD's Word purely, to minister the Sacraments sincerely, and to execute Discipline truly. And as touching our Book, we will practise it so far as GOD's Word doth assure it, and the state of this country permits. Fare ye well! At Frankfort, this 3rd of December [1554].

Your loving friends,

GEORGE WHETNALL.

THOMAS WOOD.

JOHN MAKEBRAIE.

THOMAS WHETNALL.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

WILLIAM WALTON.

JOHN KNOX.

JOHN STANTON.

MICHAEL GILL.

JOHN BALE.

JOHN SAMFORD.

LAURENCE KENT.

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM.

JOHN FOX.

JOHN HOLLINGHAM.

EDMUND SUTTON.

WILLIAM KETHE.

The Answer to this Letter, from Strasburg, was as followeth.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, etc.

WE HAVE RECEIVED your Letter, and also your Answer in writing concerning certain Articles; and do perceive, as well by the same as by Master CHAMBERS and Master GRINDAL, your state. But forsomuch as your opinion is, That the time doth not presently serve to move the Magistrates in those requests, the obtaining whereof was the principal cause of our sending unto you; we cannot at this present condescend upon [agree to] any general meeting, at any certain time, either to remain with you or otherwise. And, therefore, if you shall certainly perceive a time convenient, that the Magistrates may be travailed withal, as well for the good and quiet habitation of the comers, and especially Students; as also [for] a several [separate] Church, and to know whether the Exercise of the Book shall be used, such we mean as no reasonable man shall justly reprove; and that the certainty of these matters may be known at the Magistrates' hands: then, if you can let us have intelligence, we will further consult what is to be done on our part; trusting [that] GOD shall direct us to do so as may be most to his glory, in the end, howsoever the present time shall judge of it.

From Strasburg, this 13 of December [1554].

Your loving friends, etc.,
as in the Letters before.

WHEN THIS LETTER was read to the Congregation; they requested that (forsomuch as the Learned Men could not condescend upon [*agree to*] any general and certain time of meeting; as now appeared by their Letters) they might conclude upon some certain Order, by common consent, still to continue; and that, without farther delay: and also to have the holy Communion ministered, which the most part earnestly desired.

At length, it was agreed that the Order of Geneva which then was already printed in English,* and some copies there among them, should take place, as an Order most godly, and farthest off from superstition.

But Master KNOX, being spoken unto, as well to put that Order in practice as to minister the Communion, refused to do either the one or the other; affirming that, for many considerations, he could not consent that the same Order should be practised till the Learned Men of Strasburg, Zurich, Emden, etc., were made privy. Neither yet would he minister the Communion by the Book of England; for that there were things in it placed, as he said, 'only by warrant of Man's authority, and no ground in GOD's Word for the same; and had also a long time very superstitiously in the Mass been wickedly abused.'

But if he might not be suffered to minister the Sacraments according to his conscience; he then requested that some other might minister the Sacraments; and he would only preach.

If neither could be admitted; he besought them that he might be discharged. But to that, the Congregation would in no wise consent.

* 'The Form of Common Prayers used in the Churches of Geneva,' Translated by WILLIAM HUYCKE,

Printed at London, by EDWARD WHITCHURCH, 7 June, 1550. E.A.

Whiles these things were thus in handling, came Master [THOMAS] LEVER, before elected; who, assembling the Congregation, requested that he might, with their consents, appoint such an Order as should be both godly without respect of the Book of Geneva or any other: requesting farther that forasmuch as that Office was of so great importance, and that he had not been in the like before, that he might, between that and Easter [April 14, 1555], have a trial of them, and they of him; and so, at the end of that term, either take or refuse. Which time of trial, as it was willingly granted him: so when they understood that the Order which he would place and use, was not altogether such as was fit for a right Reformed Church; they would in no wise yield to the same.

KNOX, WHITTINGHAM, and others (perceiving that these beginnings would grow to somewhat, if it were not stayed in time,) drew forth a Plat [*Scheme, Summary*] of the whole Book of England into the Latin tongue; and sent the same to Master CALVIN of Geneva; requesting his judgement therein: and shewing him that some of their countrymen went about to force them to the same, and would admit of no other, saying, That it was an Order most absolute; and that if ever they came into their country, they would do their best to establish it again.

Now followeth the Description.

*A Description of the Liturgy, or Book of Service,
that is used in England.*

FIRST OF ALL, Morning Prayer offereth itself.

The Minister, having put on a white garment, which they call a Surplice, beginneth with some sentence of Holy Scripture, as for ensample, 'If we shall say that we have no sin; we deceive ourselves,' etc.; or some such of like sort.

Then he taketh in hand the Exhortation, which stirreth up to a Confession of Sins; which the Minister pronounceth with a loud voice, the people saying after him.

To this is added an Absolution; and when these things are done, he rehearseth the Lord's Prayer, and afterward, 'Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise. O, GOD! be ready to be my help,' etc.

Then 'Come let us sing unto the Lord,' etc.

By and by [*Immediately*] also there follow three Psalms together: at the end of every one [*the Gloria*].

Then followeth the First Lesson; which containeth a whole Chapter of the Old Testament.

After this Lesson, they say, or sing, 'We praise thee, Lord!'; or 'Blessed be the Lord,' etc.

Then another Lesson, out of the New Testament: unless, peradventure, the solemnization of some high Feast have other set and appointed Lessons. Now, in Cathedral Churches, they utter their Lessons in Plain Song. And then afterward is *Benedictus* added.

Analysis of the Prayer Book.

This Book warneth that they keep this Order throughout the whole year.

Afterwards, the Creed is pronounced by the Minister; all the people in the meantime standing up.

Afterward, falling down upon their knees, the Minister saith, 'The Lord be with you!' They answer, 'And with thy spirit.'

Then, 'Lord, have mercy upon us! CHRIST, have mercy upon us! Lord, have mercy upon us!' etc. 'Our Father,' etc., pronounced out aloud of all, with all boldness.

Then the Minister, when he standeth up, saith, 'O, Lord! shew us thy mercy!'

They answer 'And give unto us thy saving health.

'O, Lord! save the King!

'In the day wherein we shall call upon thee.

'Endue thy Ministers with righteousness;

'And make thy chosen people joyful!

'O, Lord! save thy people;

'And bless thine inheritance!

'Give peace in our time, O Lord!' etc.

At length, three Collects are had, in place of a Conclusion: the First, for the Day; the Second, for Peace; the last is for the obtaining of Grace.

Now, the Evening Prayers are said in a manner as the others are: saving that, after the First Lesson, followeth, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord'; after the Second Lesson, 'Now, Lord!' etc. And, instead of that Collect, 'GOD, which art the Author of peace,' is used 'O, GOD, from whom all holy desires,' etc.

Besides, there is a caution added, That all Ministers shall exercise themselves continually, as well in Morning Prayers as Evening Prayers; except, perhaps, by study in Divinity, or some other business, they be greatly and necessarily let or hindered.

Besides, upon every Sabbath day, Wednesday, and Friday, there is yet in use certain Suffrages, devised of Pope GREGORY, which beginneth after this manner,

'O, GOD! the Father of heaven, have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

'O, GOD, the Son, Redeemer of the world,' etc.

Only leaving out the Invocation of Saints.

Otherwise, we use a certain conjuring [*adjoining*] of GOD, 'By the mystery of his Incarnation, by his holy Nativity and Circumcision, by his Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation, by his Agony and Bloody Sweat,' etc. Yea, it comprehendeth in plain words, a Prayer to be delivered

from sudden death. The people answering to the end of every clause, either, 'Spare us, good Lord!'; or else, 'Good Lord! deliver us!'; or, 'We beseech Thee, to hear us, good Lord!'

'O, Lamb of GOD, that taketh away the sins of the world!' is thrice repeated. Then, 'Lord, have mercy upon us!' thrice: and then the Lord's Prayer; with this Prayer also, 'O, Lord! deal not with us after our sins!' to the same adjoined.

Passing over some things; lest we should seem to sift all those drosses which remain still among us.

Now the manner of the Supper is thus.

The number of Three, at the least, is counted a fit number to communicate: and yet it is permitted, the pestilence or some other common sickness being among the people, the Minister alone may communicate with the sick man in his house.

First, therefore, the Minister must be prepared after this manner, in a white linen garment, as in saying the other Service he is appointed; and must stand at the North side of the Table.

Then is had the Lord's Prayer, after the custom. Then he reciteth the Collect; and after follow in order The Ten Commandments: but so notwithstanding that every one of the people may answer, 'Lord, have mercy upon us; and incline our hearts to keep this law!'

After the rehearsal of the Commandments; the Collect of the Day, as it is called, and another for the King, are had. By and by [*Immediately*] the Epistle and Gospel followeth: to wit, such as the Calendar appointeth for that day.

And there in this place, there is a note, that every Holy Day hath his Collect, Epistle, and Gospel; which fill seventy-three great leaves of the Book, when the rest fill scarce fifty.* For all Holy Days are now in like use, as were among the Papists; only very few excepted.

Then he goeth forth to the Creed; and after that, to the Sermon, if there be any.

Afterwards, the Parish Priest biddeth [*announceth*] the Holy Days and Fasts on their Eves; if there be any that week. And here the Book warneth, That none defraud the Parish Priest of his due or right; specially on those Feast Days that are dedicated to offerings.

Then followeth, A Prayer for the state of the Church Militant; and that not without a long heap and mixture of matters: until they come, after a certain Confession of Sins, to

'Lift up your hearts!'

* The 1552 Edition of the Book | printed in a small Folio size.—E.A.
of Common Prayer were mostly |

Analysis of the Prayer Book.

The people answering, 'We give thanks to the Lord,
'Let us give thanks to our Lord GOD!'

The answer, 'It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty,' etc.

Until they come to that clause, 'O, Lord! holy Father!' etc.: and so the Preface, according to the Feast, is added.

Afterwards, he saith, 'Therefore with Angels and Archangels'; and so endeth with, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord GOD'; till he come to, 'Hosanna in the highest!'

Now the Priest boweth his knee; acknowledging our unworthiness in the name of all that shall receive: and, setting out GOD's mercy, he beseecheth GOD that our body may be made clean by his body, and that our souls may be washed through His blood.

And then he again standeth up, and taketh in hand afresh another Prayer appointed for this purpose; in which are contained the Words of the Institution.

All which being done, he first communicateth: then, by and by, he saith to another kneeling, 'Take and eat this, in remembrance that CHRIST died for thee: and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.'

Now, about the end, the Lord's Prayer is again used, the Minister saying it aloud, and all the people following.

To conclude. They have a giving of thanks in the end; with, 'Glory to GOD in the highest!', as it was used among the Papists.

If it happen that there be no Sermon; only a few things are omitted: but all other things are done in order as aforesaid.

In Baptism, the Godfathers are demanded, in the name of the child, 'Whether they renounce the Devil and all his works, the lusts of the world,' etc.: and they answer, 'I renounce them!'

Then, Whether they believe the Articles of the Faith? Which, being confessed; 'Wilt thou,' saith he, turning to both the witnesses, 'be baptized into this faith?' And they say, 'Yea, I will!'

After a few things rehearsed; he taketh the child, and dippeth it in, 'but warily and discreetly,' as it is in the Book; upon whose forehead also, he shall make a cross: in token, forsooth, that when he is old, he shall not be ashamed to confess the Faith of CHRIST crucified.

Afterward, sending for the Godfathers and Godmothers; he chargeth them that they bring the child to be confirmed of the Bishop, as soon as he can say, The Articles of the Faith, The Lord's Prayer, and The Ten Commandments.

And seeing there be many causes, as the Book saith, which should move them to the Confirmation of Children; this, forsooth, of all others

is the weightiest! That, by Imposition of Hands, they may receive strength and defence against all temptations of sin, and assaults of the World and the Devil: because that, when children come to that age (partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the World and the Devil) they begin to be in danger.

And lest any should think any error to be in this Confirmation; they take a certain pamphlet of a Catechism, which consisteth of the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments: and all this is dispatched in less than two leaves [in the 1552 Folio Edition]!

To these, is joined their manner of Marriage: of which (that we may pass over many petty Ceremonies) these follies, who can suffer?

The Husband layeth down a ring upon the Book; which the Minister taking, he giveth it in his hand, and, biddeth him to put it on the fourth finger of his Wife's left hand. Then he useth this Form of words. 'With this ring,' saith he, 'I thee wed! With my body I thee worship! With all my worldly goods I thee endow! In the name of the Father, the Son, and the HOLY GHOST.

A little after, the Minister saith to the new-married persons, kneeling before the Lord's Table,

'Lord, have mercy upon us!

'Christ, have mercy upon us!

'Lord, have mercy upon us!

'Our Father which art,' etc.

'Lord save Thy servant and Thy handmaid,' etc. And so, a few things being rehearsed: they must be brought to the Lord's Supper.

The Visitation of the Sick is after this manner.

'Peace be to this house!'

The Answer, 'And to all that dwell in the same!'

'Lord, have mercy upon us,' etc.

'Our Father,' etc.

'Lord, save Thy servant,'

Answer, 'Which trusteth in Thee.

'Send forth Thy help from Thy holy hill; and with speed save him': as in the other Prefaces, with Questions and Answers.

Of the Burial.

The Priest, meeteth the corse at the entrance of the Churchyard, either singing or softly pronouncing, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life, etc. I know that my Redeemer liveth.' [Job xix.]

Being come to the grave, it is said, 'Man born of a woman.' [Job ix.]

When the earth is thrown in, 'We commit,' saith he, 'earth to earth, dust to dust, etc. The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken. I heard a voice from heaven, saying, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." Lord, have mercy upon us!'

The Purification of Women in childbed, which they call, Giving of Thanks, is not only, in all things with us, almost common with the Papists: but also with the Jews; because they are commanded, instead of a lamb or dove, to offer money.

Other things, not so much shame itself, as a certain kind of pity, compelleth us to keep close. In the mean season, nothing diminishing the honour due to those reverend men; who (partly being hindered by those Times; and, by the obstinacy and also multitude of adversaries, to whom nothing was ever delightful besides their own corruptions, being as it were overflowed) did always, in their mind, continually, as much as they could, strive to more perfect things.

KNOX and
WHITTINGHAM
ashamed to open
some things.

Note, that this Description is very favourably put down. If ye confer it with the Book of Order in all points; and the usage of the Book in many Churches of this realm [in 1574], you can confess no less. And hereof ye may gather what Master CALVIN would have written; if they had noted all the abuses of the same.

The Answer and Judgement of the famous and excellent learned man, Master John Calvin, the late Pastor of Geneva, touching the Book of England; after that he had perused [the Description of] the same: faithfully translated out of Latin by Master Whittingham.

[As CALVIN died in 1564, this Heading was written after that date.]

To the godly and learned men, Master JOHN KNOX and Master WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, his faithful brethren, at Frankfort, etc.

THIS THING TRULY grieveth me very much, and it is a great shame, that contention should arise among brethren banished and driven out of their country for one Faith, and for that Cause which only ought to have holden you bound together, as it were with a holy band, in this your Dispersion. For what might you do better, in this dolorous and miserable plague, than, being pulled violently from your country, to procure yourselves a Church, which should receive and nourish you, being joined together in minds and language, in her motherly lap. But now for some men to strive, as touching the Form of Prayer and for Ceremonies, as though ye were at rest and prosperity; and to suffer that to be an impediment that ye cannot join into one body of the Church, as I think, it is too much out of season.

Yet, notwithstanding, I allow their constancy, which strive for a just cause; being forced, against their wills, unto contention. I do worthily condemn frowardness; which doth hinder and stay the holy carefulness of reforming the Church.

And as I behave myself gentle and tractable in mean things, as external Ceremonies: so do I not always judge it profitable to give place to their foolish stoutness, which will forsake nothing of their old wonted custom.

Calvin's Letter of January 20th.

In the Liturgy of England, I see that there were many tolerable foolish things. By these words I mean, that there was not that purity which was to be desired. These vices, though they could not, at the first day, be amended; yet, seeing there was no manifest impiety [in them], they were, for a season, to be tolerated. Therefore, it was lawful to begin of such Rudiments, or Abecedaries; but so that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly, Ministers of CHRIST to enterprise farther; and to set forth something more filed from rust, and purer. If godly Religion had flourished till this day in England; there ought to have been a thing better corrected, and many things clean taken away.

Many tolerable foolish things in the Book, by CALVIN'S judgement.

Now, when these principles be overthrown, a Church must be set up in another place; where ye may freely make an Order again, which shall be apparent to be most commodious to the use and edification of the Church. I cannot tell what they mean which so greatly delight in the leavings of Popish dregs. They love the things whereunto they are accustomed. First of all, this is a thing both trifling and childish. Furthermore, this new Order far differeth from a Change.

The Book trifling and childish, by CALVIN'S judgement.

Therefore, as I would not have you fierce over them whose infirmity will not suffer [them] to ascend an higher step; so would I advertise others, that they please not themselves too much in their foolishness; also that, by their frowardness, they do not let [*hinder*] the course [*progress*] of the holy Building. Last of all, lest that foolish vain glory steal them away. For what cause have they to contend, except it be for that they are ashamed to give place to better things. But I speak in vain to them; which, perchance, esteem me not so well as they will vouchsafe to admit the counsel that cometh from such an Author.

If they fear the evil rumour in England, as though they had fallen from that Religion which was the cause of their banishment; they are far deceived. For this true and sincere Religion will rather compel them, that there remain, faithfully to consider into what deep gulf they have fallen. For their downfall shall more grievously wound them, when they perceive your going forward beyond [the] mid-course, from the which they are turned.

Fare ye well, beloved brethren! and faithful servants of CHRIST!
The Lord defend and govern you!

From Geneva, this 20th of January, *anno* 1555.

Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

[The Answer, dated April 5 1555, of the Anglican Church at Frankfort to this Letter will be found on pp. 76-78.]

WHEN THIS LETTER of CALVIN'S was read to them of the Congregation, it so wrought in the hearts of many; that they were not before so stout to maintain all the parts of the Book of England, as afterward they were bent against it.

But now to return. Whiles these things were in doing; the Congregation, as you have heard afore, could not agree upon any certain Order: till, after long debating to and fro, it was concluded, That Master KNOX, Master WHITTINGHAM, Master GILBY, Master FOX, and Master T. COLE, should draw forth some Order meet for their state and time.

Which thing was by them accomplished, and offered to the Congregation; being the same Order of Geneva, which is now in print. [See page 42.]

This Order was very well liked of many; but such as were bent to the Book of England could not abide it. Yea, contention grew at length so hot, and the one party, which sought Sincerity, was so sore charged with Newfangledness and Singularity and to be the stirrers of contention and The humbleness of unquietness; that Master GILBY, with a GILBY, and his godly grief (as well appeared), kneeled down godly zeal. before them, and besought them, with tears, to reform their judgements: solemnly protesting that, in this matter, they sought not themselves; but only the glory of GOD, as he was verily persuaded. Wishing farther that that hand, which he then held up, were stricken off; if, by that, a godly peace and unity might ensue and follow.

In the end, another way was taken by the Congregation; which was that Master KNOX and Master WHITTINGHAM, Master PARRY and Master LEVER, should devise some Order, if it might be, to end all strife and contention.

These four assembled for that purpose. And, first, Master KNOX spake to the rest in this wise. 'Forsomuch,' saith he, 'as I perceive that no end of contention is to be

hoped for, unless the one part something relent; this will I do, for my part, that quietness may ensue. I will shew my judgement how, as I think, it may be best for the edification of this poor Flock: which if ye will not accept nor follow, after that I have discharged my conscience, I will cease; and commit the whole matter to be ordered by you, as you will answer before CHRIST JESUS at the Last Day, and to this his Congregation in this life,' etc.

The modesty of
KNOX.

Whereupon, after some conference, an Order was agreed upon: some part taken forth of the English Book; and other things put to, as the state of that Church required.

And this Order, by the consent of the Congregation, should continue to the last of April following. If any contention should arise in the mean time, the matter then to be determined by these five notable learned men, to wit, CALVIN, MUSCULUS, MARTYR, BULLINGER, and VIRET.

This Order was
taken the 6th of
February [1555].

This Agreement was put in writing. To that, all gave their consents. This day was joyful. Thanks were given to GOD. Brotherly reconciliation followed. Great familiarity used. The former grudges seemed to be forgotten. Yea, the holy Communion was, upon this happy agreement, also ministered. And this friendship continued till the 13th of March following.

Doctor COX with
others come to
Frankfort.

AT WHICH TIME [March 13, 1555], Doctor Cox and others with him, came to Frankfort out of England; who began to break that Order which was agreed upon: first, in answering aloud after the Minister, contrary to the Church's determination; and, being admonished thereof by the Seniors of the Congregation, he, with the rest that came with him, made answer, That they would do as they had done in England; and that they would have the face of an English Church.

And the Sunday following [March 17th], one of his company, without the consent and knowledge of the Congregation, got up suddenly into the pulpit, read the Litany; and Doctor Cox with his company answered aloud: whereby the determination of the Church was broken.

The same Sunday, at afternoon, it came to Master KNOX his turn to preach: who, having passed so far in Genesis, that he was come to NOAH as he lay open in his tent, he spake these words following:

'As divers things,' saith he, 'ought to be kept secret; even so such things as tend to the dishonour of GOD, and disquieting of His Church ought to be disclosed and openly reprov'd!'

The effect
[substance] of
KNOX'S Sermon.

And, thereupon, he shewed how, after long trouble and contention among them, a godly Agreement was made; and how that the same, that day, was ungodly broken: 'which thing became not,' as he said, 'the proudest of them all to have attempted.' Alleging furthermore that like as by the Word of GOD, we must seek our warrant for the establishing of Religion; and, without that, to thrust nothing into any Christian Congregation: so (forasmuch as in the English Book were things both superstitious, unpure, and unperfect; which he offered to prove before all men) he would not consent that, of that Church it should be received—and that, in case men would go about to burden that free Congregation therewith; so oft as he should come in that place, the text

offering occasion, he would not fail to speak against it.

He farther affirmed, That, among many things which provoked GOD's anger against England, slackness to reform Religion, when time and place was granted, was one : and therefore it became them to be circumspect, how they laid their foundation.

And where some men ashamed not to say, That there was no let [*hindrance*] or stop in England, but that Religion might be, and was already, brought to perfection : he proved the contrary,

By the want of Discipline ;

Also by the troubles which Master HOOPER sustained for the Rochet and such like, in the Book commanded and allowed.

And for that one man was permitted to have three, four, or five, benefices ; to the great slander of the Gospel, and defrauding of the Flock of CHRIST of their lively [*spiritual*] food and sustenance.

These were the chief notes of his Sermon : which was so stomached [*resented*] of some (especially Doctor Cox of such as had many Livings in England), sharply rebuked that he was very sharply charged and him. reprov'd, so soon as he came out of the pulpit, for the same.

The Tuesday following [March 19, 1555] was appointed to talk of these things more at large.

When all were assembled ; earnest request was made, That Doctor Cox with his company might be admitted to have voices in the Congregation.

Answer was made by others,

That the matter yet in controversy among them, ought first to be determined.

Secondly, That they should subscribe to the Discipline, as others had done before them : But that, they and farther it was greatly suspected that refused ; they had been, some of them, at Mass in and at length England ; and that others had subscribed overthrew it. to wicked Articles (as one of them, shortly after, even in the pulpit, sorrowfully confessed).

For these considerations, and such like ; the Congregation withstood the admission of Doctor Cox and his company.

KNOX, at last, began to make intreaty that they might

have their voices among the rest. To whose request, when certain had yielded, they then became the greater part [*the majority*]; and so were, by them, admitted as members of the Church.

Master JEWEL.
KNOX put out by
those which
he brought in.

They thus admitted, by [*became*] the most part. Doctor Cox forthwith forbade KNOX to meddle any more in that Congregation.

The next day, being Wednesday [March 20, 1555], WHITTINGHAM went to Master JOHANN à GLAUBERG, who was the chief means in obtaining the Church, and brake the matter unto him; declaring how that certain, now come out of England, had forbidden their Minister appointed, to preach that day, and intended to set up another: which he doubted would not be well taken; and therefore, lest any inconvenience should hap, he thought good to make him privy thereto.

Whereupon, the said Magistrate sent immediately, and gave commandment that there should no Sermon that day.

Afterward he sent for VALERAND [POULLAIN], the French Minister: commanding him that two learned men should be appointed; and that he and they should consult and agree upon some good Order, and to make report unto him accordingly.

Then were appointed Doctor COX and LEVER of the one side, and KNOX and WHITTINGHAM on the other side, to decide the matter. VALERAND was appointed to put down in writing what they should agree upon. But when, in this Conference, they came to the Order of Matins; and that Doctor COX said, *Ego volo habere*: there could be no agreement among them: and so they brake off.

Whereupon the Congregation drew up a Supplication in Latin, and presented it to the said Master à GLAUBERG; requesting him to be a means that the same might be considered of among the Senators: the English whereof was as followeth.

The Supplication to the Senate.

LET IT NOT molest you, most grave and worthy Senators! that your affairs are letted [*hindered*] with a few words; and lest we should trouble you with prolixity, you shall understand the matter briefly.

1555. The Church's Supplication to the Senate.

When your great and unspeakable humanity, through the Providence of GOD, had granted us a Church; we undertook forthwith, as became us, to consult about the Orders of the same, and to set out a Liturgy.

And because we saw that in the prolix and ceremonious Book of the Liturgy of England be many things (that we may speak no worse of it) not most perfect; it seemed best to reduce it to the perfect rule of the Scriptures; and to accommodate ourselves to To wit, the the examples of that Church, wherein we teach, French Church. and to whom we have subscribed.

But when this enterprize offended some of our countrymen, although the greatest number agreed unto us, for that [*because*] we would decline from the decrees of our elders; hereupon there grew to us, for a few months, no small trouble.

At the length, when there appeared no end, for peace and concord's sake, we gave place to their will; and suffered them, at their pleasure, to pick out of their Book the chiefest or best things: upon this condition, that the same should continue without alteration, at the least unto the last day of April [1555]. At the which day, if there should any new contention arise; that then all the matter should be referred to these five notable men: CALVIN, MUSCULUS, MARTYR, BULLINGER, and VIRET.

What needeth many words. This condition was willingly accepted; and the Covenant rated [*ratified*] on both parts. A Writing was also thereof, to testify the Promise made of the one to the other. Moreover, thanks were given to GOD with great joy, and Common Prayers were made: for that [*because*] men thought that day to be the end of discord. Besides this, they received the Communion, as the sure token, or seal, of their mutal agreement: which was omitted before, by the space of three months [November 1554—February 1555]. VALERAND [POULLAIN], the French Minister, was partaker of this Communion, and a furtherer of concord, and a witness of these things.

Now, of late days, certain of our countrymen came to us, who have endeavoured, by all means, to obtrude that huge Volume of Ceremonies upon us; to break the Covenant; and to overthrow the liberty of the Church granted by your benevolence. And, no doubt, this they enterprize and mind to do under the title and name of your defence; whereby they may abuse the authority of your name to satisfy their lust [*desire*].

We are here compelled to omit many things which would make for our Cause, no less rightly than profitably: but we remit these to our brethren for concord's sake.

You have here, most honourable Senators! a Brief Sum of our Case and Contention; whereby you may easily understand what to judge of the whole matter.

What manner of Book this is, for the which they so cruelly contend, ye may consider by the Epistle that CALVIN lately wrote unto us: in the
 The Letter which he hath signified his mind, as well plainly
 a little before. of the Book, as also of the uprightness of our Cause.

We could have pointed out unto you the foolish and fond things of the Book: but, passing over an infinite number of things, this one will we bring for many; the which shall be necessary well to be marked.

Within these three years, arose a great conflict between the
 This Controversy Bishops of the Realm and the Bishop of GLOUCESTER,
 hath been since Master HOOPER, a man worthy of perpetual memory,
 King EDWARD his whom we hear to be burned of late [on February
 reign, as ye see. 9 1555]. This man being made Bishop by King
 EDWARD, there was obtruded by other Bishops of
 the same Order, according to the Book, a Rochet and a Bishop's robe.
 This man, being well learned and a long time nourished and brought
 up in Germany, as soon as he refused these proud things that fools
 marvel at, was cast into prison: and, at length, (by their importunity)
 overcome and relenting, he was compelled, to his shame, to give place
 to their impudency; with the common grief and sorrow of all godly minds.

'But wherefore speak you of these things' will you say, 'that appertaineth nothing to us?'

Yea, verily, we think it toucheth you very much! For if these men, armed by your authority, shall do what they list, this evil shall be in time established by you; and never to be redressed: neither shall there for ever be any end of this Controversy in England. But if it would please your honourable Authority to decree this moderation [*arbitration*] between us, That this whole matter may be referred to the judgements of the five above named: not we alone that are here present; but our whole posterity, yea, our whole English nation and all good men, to the perpetual memory of your names, shall be bound unto you for this great benefit.

We might have used more words in this Narration; for we feared not that we should lack reasons: but rather that time should fail you, letted [*hindered*] with more serious business. Therefore we, by these things, leave the rest to the consideration of your Wisdoms.

The 22nd of March [1555], Master À GLAUBERG came to the English Church, and shewed the Congregation, That it was commanded them, by the Magistrates, (when, by his procurement, the Church was granted) that they should agree with the French Church, both in Doctrine and Ceremonies; and that they understood how the falling from that Order had bred much dissension among them. Therefore, he straitly charged and commanded, that from thenceforth they should not dissent from that Order! If they did, as he had opened the Church door unto them; so would he shut it again! And that such as would not obey thereunto, should not tarry within that City. Willing them to consult together out of hand; and to give him an Answer before he departed.

Doctor COX then spake to the Congregation in this wise. 'I have,' said he, 'read the French Order; and do think it to be both good and godly in all points'; and therefore wished them to obey the Magistrate's commandment. Whereupon the whole Congregation gave consent. So as, before the Magistrate departed the Church; Doctor COX, LEVER, and WHITTINGHAM, made report unto him accordingly.

Doctor COX also, at that present, requested, That it would please him, notwithstanding their ill behaviour, to shew unto them his accustomed favour and goodness: which he most gently and lovingly promised.

At the next meeting of the Congregation, that Order was put in practice; to the comfort and rejoicing of the most part.

Nevertheless, such as would so fain have had the Book of England, left not the matter thus. And for that they saw KNOX to be in such credit with many of the Congregation; they first of all assayed, by a most cruel, barbarous, and bloody, practice, to dispatch him out of the way, to the end they might with more ease attain the thing which they so greedily sought; which was the placing of their Book.

They had among them a book of his, intituled, 'An Admonition to Christians',* written in the English tongue; wherein, by occasion, he spake of the Emperor [CHARLES V.], PHILIP his son, and of MARY, then Queen of England.

* 'A faithful Admonition made by JOHN KNOX unto the Professors of GOD's Truth in England, etc.' The Colophon is 'Imprinted at Kalykow, the 20th day of July, 1554.' E.A.

This book certain of them presented to the Magistrates; who, upon receipt of the same, sent for WHITTINGHAM; and asked him of KNOX their Minister, what manner of man he was?

WHITTINGHAM answered, That such a one there was among them; and, to his knowledge, both a learned, wise, grave, and godly, man.

Then one of the Magistrates said unto him, 'Certain of your countrymen have accused him unto us *Læsæ Majestatis Imperatoriæ*; that is, of High Treason against the Emperor, his son, and the Queen of England. Here is the book, and the places which they have noted: the true and perfect sense, we command you, *sub pœna pacis*, to bring unto us, in the Latin tongue, at one of the clock in the afternoon.'

Knox accused
of treason.

The places in all
were nine [see
page 68].

Which thing he did accordingly. At which time, after certain communication among themselves, they commanded that KNOX should preach no more till their pleasure were further known.

The words concerning the Emperor were these, spoken in the pulpit in a town of Buckinghamshire, in the beginning of Queen MARY'S reign, as by the said book appeareth; where it is said:

'O, England! England! if thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt; that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league, with such Princes as do maintain and advance Idolatry; such as the Emperor, who is no less an enemy to CHRIST than NERO: If for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such Princes, thou return to thine old abominations before used under Papistry: then assuredly, O, England! thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation by the means of those whose favour thou seekest; and by whom thou art procured to fall from CHRIST, and serve Antichrist!'

There were other eight places [see p. 68]; but this was most noted, in that it touched the Emperor.

But it seemed the Magistrates abhorred this bloody, cruel, and outrageous, attempt. For that when as certain of KNOX'S enemies followed hardly the Magistrates, to know what should be done with him: they did not only shew most evident signs of disliking their unnatural suit; but

also sent for Masters WILLIAMS and WHITTINGHAM, willing them that Master KNOX should depart the City. For otherwise, as they said, they should be forced to deliver him, if the Emperor's Council, which then lay at Augsburg, should, upon like information, send for him.

The banishment
of KNOX.

The 25th of March [1555], Master KNOX, being the night before his departure, made a most comfortable Sermon, at his lodging, to fifty persons, or thereabout, then present; which Sermon was of the Death and Resurrection of CHRIST; and of the unspeakable joys which were prepared for GOD's Elect, which, in this life, suffer trouble and persecution for testimony of his blessed name.

The next day, he was brought three or four miles in his way, by some of those unto whom, the night before, he had made that Exhortation: who, with great heaviness of heart and plenty of tears, committed him to the Lord.

[John Knox's Account of his Banishment from Frankfort, in March 1555.

DAVID CALDERWOOD in his 'History of the Kirk of Scotland,' says,

Thus have I, word by word, collected out of a book, entitled, 'A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort,' the troubles of Master KNOX for opponing to [*opposing*] the English Service Book, in the year 1554; that the Reader may perceive what light he had, when light was striving with darkness in Scotland. But because, in this printed book, there is but one place of many which were alleged out of his book, by his Accusers; I have set down more fully that part of the History, as he himself hath set it down with his own hand.

OUR AGREEMENT WAS signified to the Congregation, accepted, and allowed, by the same, to take place to the last day of April; and then, if any contention should arise, that the matter should be referred to the determination of five Learned Men [CALVIN, MUSCULUS, MARTYR, BULLINGER, and VIRET]: as a Writing made upon this Agreement does testify.

Herewith all men seemed pleased. No man did speak against it. Thanks were given to GOD. The Lord's Supper was ministered. The Order by us appointed was used; well liked by many, and by none reproved.

Till some of those that came amongst us, before they desired to be admitted of the Church, did begin to break the Order: whereof they were by the Seniors and others admonished; but no amendment appeared. For they were admonished not to murmur aloud when the Minister prayed: but they would not give place; but quarrelled, and said, They would do as they had done in England; and their Church should have an English face. The Lord grant it to have the face of CHRIST'S Church! which is the only matter that I sought, GOD is my record! And therefore I would have had it agreeable in outward Rites and Ceremonies with Christian Churches Reformed.

But to be short. In the midst of these troubles, Master LEVER (unmindful of his Promise and all our Agreement) uttereth himself to favour their Party. For he, hearing and seeing their open misdemeanours, would never reprove them; nor (being admonished by me and the Seniors, that he should persuade them to cease from the breaking of the Order of the Congregation) did anything esteem our reasons or requests; neither yet the offence of the country: but began to treat [*solicit*] that the Litany, which answered [*had responses*], might be used.

To whom, when it was answered by the Seniors, That it might not be done without breaking of the Decree of Congregation; I said plainly, If any such thing should be done, it should be without my consent. And, furthermore (perceiving Master LEVER not so mindful of his Promise, nor careful for that small number that called him to be Pastor, as, methought, his duty and charge required), I laboured with Monsieur VALERANDUS POLLANUS, a Minister of the French Church, that he should admonish him to keep Promise made to the Congregation; and that he should not serve the affections of Man to the contrair [*contrary*].

Notwithstanding, the Sunday next following [March 17], not consulting with any man that was in Office, to the great grief and trouble of the Congregation, Master LEVER brought in one to preach, who had been at Mass in England, and had subscribed to blasphemous Articles: who read the Litany in the pulpit, the people answering. And so the determination agreed and determined by the whole Church was broken; as appeareth, by [the] subtle undermining of Master LEVER: who ought of the same to have been Patron and Defender, as he was chosen by them Minister and Pastor.

These things done, Orders being broken, and Promises also, in contempt of that Church whereof I was Minister; and certain invectives made by Master LEVER and others against us, who withstood the unprofitable Ceremonies: it coming to my course, the same day, after noon, to preach, I was moved in heart, and desired by divers, to defend the authority of the Church, mine own doctrine, and their doings who were unworthily accused in the selfsame place where the crimes were committed; 'because,' they truly said, 'such public offences ought not by the Preacher to be overpassed.'

Therefore, at the time appointed for the Sermon, by occasion, I began to declare what opinion I had sometime of the English Book; what moved me from the same; and what was my opinion presently [*now*].

'I had once a good opinion of the Book,' I said; 'but even so,' I added, 'like as yours is at the present, that it ought not in all points to be observed. Then afterwards, by the stubbornness of such men as would defend the whole, and the deeper consideration of the damage that might ensue thereof; and by contemplation of our estate, which requireth all our doings to have open defence of the Scriptures, especially in GOD's service to admit nothing without GOD's Word, I was driven away from my first opinion: and now do I tell them plainly, That as, by GOD's Book, they must seek our warrant for Religion; and without that, we must thrust nothing into any Christian Congregation; so, because I do find in the English Book (which they so highly praise and advance above all other Orders) things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect (the which I offered myself ready to prove, and to justify, before any man); therefore I could not agree that their Book should be of our Church received.

And furthermore, I told them, That it became not the proudest of them all to enterprize the breach of any Order within that Church gathered in the name of CHRIST; because he was Head among them: and this I would also justify. At which time also, I put them in remembrance of the Order taken: and added, moreover, That though we had changed countries, GOD had not changed his nature. Wherefore, if we from England brought the same vices that we had in England, and obstinately did continue in the same; his justice must needs here punish us Germany also; and translate us beyond the places of our expectation, as were sometimes the Israelites beyond Babylon.

Among many sins that moved GOD to plague England, I affirmed that slackness to reform Religion, when the time and place was granted, was one; and therefore that it did become us to be circumspect, how we did now lay our foundations, and how we went forward.

And because that some men nothing ashamed to say, and affirm openly, That there was no impediment nor stop in England, but that Religion might go forth and grow to the purity; and that it was already brought to perfection:

I reproved this opinion as fained [*feigned*] and untrue:

By the lack of Discipline; which is not in the Book, neither could in England be obtained.

And by the trouble that Master HOOPER sustained for the Rochet and such trifles; in the Book allowed.

As also, by that which appeared in all men's eyes, That one man was permitted to have [the] power of five Benefices: to the slander of the Gospel, and defraudation of CHRIST'S Flock of their lively [*spiritual*] food and sustenance.

How this Sermon did exasperate the minds of men, by the instigation of some that seemed to be touched therewith; and how I am reported of, for the same: though I keep silence, the common bruit declareth.

Upon my complaint and accusation of Order and Promise broken, was the Congregation, the same night, assembled: wherein Master LEVER and Doctor COX accusing me, I was suffered to say little, for the shortness of the time; and the Tuesday following was appointed for the disputation of the same.

To the which, when we assembled, no mention was made of the principal matter; but request was made, That such as were lately come to the Congregation should be admitted to have voices in the Congregation.

Answer was made:

That the Question depending ought first to be determined.

Secondly. That they should subscribe to [the] Ecclesiastical Discipline, as others their brethren had done before them; and so they should be admitted.

The which two things being denied and refused; it was again required, That such men amongst them as were known to have been at Mass, and to have subscribed to idolatrous Articles, and to have behaved themselves slanderously in CHRIST'S Cause and matters of Religion, should first, of conscience, either purge them[selves], or shew some sign of repentance, before the Congregation.

'Fie! Nay! This was abominable injury!' say they: and, departing twice or thrice, they seemed to be much offended.

The most part of the Congregation denied their admission.

I only [*alone*] made intercession that they should be admitted; and obtained that which I requested.

I said these words, 'I know that your earnest desire to be received, at this instant, within the number of the Congregation is, because that, by the multitude of your voices, you [*may*] justify a Promise-Breaker; and so overthrow my Cause. Howbeit, the matter is so evident, that ye shall not be able to do it. Wherefore, I fear not your judgement; and therefore do I require that ye might be admitted.'

Wherefore I did convict the Promise to be broken or no (because time doth not suffer to prosecute these matters), I partly remit [*refer*] to the conscience of the adversary, partly to their report to whom the Promise was made, to whom then I appealed.

In the end of this matter, I was discharged to preach [*from preaching*]; and that, with [*by the*] authority of Doctor COX and such others as then had no authority in the Congregation: but usurped for their well doing in England.

The days following, the Sermon was delayed [*suspended*] by commandment of the Magistrate; and Doctor COX, Master LEVER, Master WHITTINGHAM, and I, were appointed to consult of some godly Order: which we did, by the space of two days, in the house of VALERANDUS POLLANUS; in the which reasoning, what soberness was found in me, I refer to those notes which Monsieur VALERAND did take in writ[ing] of our argument.

But the third day, when the Order of Matins, to begin always with, *Domine labia, Deus in adjutorium, et Deus laudamus*, and other prescript words, not read in Scripture, was called an Order borrowed of the Papists and Papistical: then began the Tragedy, and our consultation ended. Who was most blame-worthy, GOD shall judge! and if I spake fervently, to GOD was I fervent!

During the time of these our Controversies; one Master [EDWARD] ISAACK, of [Patricksbourn,] of Kent, cometh to my house, to move me to relent from my earnestness against

the Book; and promiseth me favour: if not, he threateneth somewhat to follow.

My answer was, That I could wish my name to perish, so that GOD's Book and his glory might only be sought amongst us.

But, afterwards, this same Master ISAACK, by the counsel of some [Protestant] Priests, who seemed to be sore offended with my Sermon, devised how to have me cast into prison: and he reported, He knew well I should not escape!

So, seeking their old shot-anker [*sheet-anchor*], they cried against me, *Non est amicus Cæsaris!* 'He is not Cæsar's friend!' The which dart the Devil doth ever shoot, by the craft of [the] Priests, against the true Preachers. For when neither doctrine, nor life, can be reproved in CHRIST and his Saints; yet this serveth at all assays! Yea, though they love not the Emperor no more than did the old Pharisees; yet, for hatred of their brethren, they can produce such cautels [*quirks, stratagems*]. O, Lord GOD! open their hearts that they may see their wickedness; and forgive them, for thy manifold mercies! and I forgive them, O, Lord! from the bottom of my heart.

But that thy message, sent by my mouth, should not be slandered; I am compelled to declare the cause of my departing: and so to utter their follies, to their amendment I trust; and the example of others who, in the same banishment, can have so cruel hearts to persecute their brethren.

To be short. The said Master ISAACK, and one PARRY, late Chancellor of [the Cathedral Church of] Salisbury, (by the counsel of Doctor COX, Doctor BALE, [RICHARD] TURNER of Windsor, JEWEL of Oxford, and others) accused me before the Magistrates, in Nine Articles, of High Treason against the Emperor [CHARLES V.]; his son PHILIP, King of Spain; and the Queen of England.

My words are these that follow, in a book, named, 'The Admonition of Christians, concerning the present Troubles of England.'*

First, speaking against Idolators, and how they ought, by the express command of GOD, to be put to death; and yet reserved by GOD's Providence, I said:

* A faithful Admonition made by JOHN KNOX unto the Professors of GOD's Truth in England, etc. The

Colophon is, 'Imprinted at Kalykow, the 20th day of July, 1554.'—E.A.

1. If MARY and her Councillors had been sent to Hell before these days, her cruelty should not have so manifestly appeared to the World.
2. JESABEL never erected half so many gallows in all Israel, as mischievous MARY hath done within London alone.
3. Would any of you have confessed, two years ago, that MARY, your Mirror, had been false, dissembling, inconstant, proud, and a breaker of promise, except such promises as she made to your God the Pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble father?
4. The love of her native country could not move that wicked woman's heart to pity.
5. She declareth herself an open Traitoress to the realm of England: contrary to the just laws of the same, to bring in a stranger, and make a proud Spaniard, King; to the destruction of the Nobility, and subversion of the realm.
6. If GOD had suffered her, for our scourge, and her cruel Council, to come to authority, etc.
7. Under an English name, she beareth a Spaniard's heart.
8. Much trouble in England for the establishing of this wicked Woman's authority; I mean, of her that now reigneth, in GOD's wrath, etc.
9. Marriage ought not to be contracted with those that are maintainers of Idolatry; such as the Emperor, who is no less enemy to CHRIST than was NERO.

These places being noted in my book to the Magistrates, I was commanded by them to stay from Preaching: and yet, being desirous to hear others, I went to the Church the next day; not thinking that my company would have offended any. But, as soon as my Accusers saw me; they, with Doctor COX and others, departed from the Sermon: some of them protesting, with great vehemency, that they could not tarry where I was present.

After a few days, the said ISAACK and the said JEWEL laboured with the Magistrate for sentence and judgement: whereupon they sent for Master WILLIAMS and Master WHITTINGHAM, and commanded them that they should desire me to depart the City.

Thus have ye briefly, the cause of my departure; the cause of my Sermon, and the effect of the same; and all my public matters; without any purgation of myself, or argu-

ment made for my own defence. One day, I do purpose, by the grace of GOD, to handle this matter more at large. [*This was never done.*]

And now, dear Brethren! I do bid you all, Farewell in the Lord, the living GOD! beseeching you to stand fast in that doctrine that ye have of me received; for I taught you not Man, nor Man's fantasies [*fancies, vagaries*]; but, as I learned of the Lord, the true Word of GOD. If I had cast me [*designed*] to please men; I had not been the servant of GOD. If I had been a man-pleaser; men would not have persecuted me: but so little do I repent [*of*] anything that they lay unto my charge, forth of the book, called, 'The Admonition of Christians,' either yet of my Sermon, either of any part of my doctrine or public doings; that, if GOD shall grant time, the World shall know; and so be better able to judge of my whole proceedings there. [*This was never done.*]

DAVID CALDERWOOD'S MS. History; now Add. MS. 4,734, pp. 214-218, in the British Museum. Reprinted in D. LAING'S 'Works of JOHN KNOX,' iv. 41-49. Ed. 1864.]

Many of the
Learned Men were
now come from
all places.

THE VERY SAME day, being the 26th of March, one ADOLPHUS GLAUBERG (a Doctor of Law ; and nephew to Master JOHANN À GLAUBERG, the Senator), whom Doctor COX and the rest had won unto them, sent for WHITTINGHAM, and told him, That there were presented to the Magistrates three Doctors, thirteen Bachelors, of Divinity, besides others ; and that the Magistrates, at their suits, had granted them the full use of the English Book : commanding and charging him therefore not to meddle any more to the contrary ; for, as he said, it was fully concluded that so it should be.

And supposing that WHITTINGHAM would let [*hinder*] it what he might, the next day again [27th March], he sent for him home to his house ; where he gave the like charge : Doctor COX and others being present, by whose procurement the same was done.

This ADOLPHUS
was before this
time, a great
furtherer of the
Church, and the
Orders of the
same ; howsoever
he was turned.

WHITTINGHAM answered, That if it were so concluded, he would willingly obey : not doubting but that it might be lawful for him and others to join themselves to some other Church.

But Doctor COX besought the Lawyer, that it might not so be suffered. Whereto WHITTINGHAM answered, That it would be too great cruelty to force men, contrary to their consciences, to obey all their disorderly doings. Offering that, if it would please the Magistrates to give him and others the hearing ; they would dispute the matter against all the contrary part, and prove that the Order which they sought to establish ought not to take place in any Reformed Church.

The Doctor of Law made a plain Answer, That Disputation there should be none ; using his former words of charging and commanding not to deal further in that matter.

When as the Congregation heard of the cruel, and more than tyrannical, dealings of this Doctor ; Master GILBY, and others with him, were sent to Master JOHANN À GLAUBERG, by whose commandment, as ye heard, they had received the French Order, putting him in remembrance of the same ; and shewing him that certain lately come among them, had sought, as they were credibly informed, to overthrow their Church, by placing the English Book among them.

Mark the placing
of the English
Book ; and of the
rejecting the
other !

To this Master GLAUBERG made answer, That he was informed how both parties were fully agreed and contented ; and that thereupon he had committed the whole matter to the Lawyer his cousin. Then he asked for WHITTINGHAM.

It was answered, That strait charge was given him, that he should meddle no more in that matter.

Mark this
practice !

The Magistrate asked again, Of whom he had that commandment ? And when it was told him, that the Doctor his cousin had given him that charge ; he then began very gently to persuade with Master GILBY and the rest, that they should be contented ; and he would see that nothing should be used but that which should be tolerable.

And so Master GILBY with the rest departed.

THE 28th OF MARCH [1555], Doctor Cox assembled all such as had been Priests and Ministers in England to his lodging; and there declared how the Magistrates had granted them the use of the English Book, and that he thought it requisite that they should consult together, whom they thought At length, they most meet to be Bishop, Superintendent, agreed upon the or Pastor; with the rest of the Officers, name, Pastor! as Seniors, Ministers, and Deacons.

Whereunto Master CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN answered, That his opinion was, That they ought first to agree upon some perfect and godly Order for the Church; and thereto to have the consent of the Congregation: whereby it might appear that they contemned not the rest of their brethren. And farther to proceed to the Election; which he thought also ought not to be attempted without the consent of the whole Church.

To this was answered, That for the Order, it was already determined; and other Order than the Book of England they should not have.

So that the persuasions of GOODMAN nothing at all prevailed; neither in the one thing or the other.*

Yea, the proceedings of sundry persons, which I could name, were such as if there had been neither Orders, Officers, or Church, there before their coming; or any Promise to be kept of their parts after their coming: as may more plainly appear to the Reader by this Letter following, written by Master WHITTINGHAM to a friend of his in England; which Letter is, of his own hand, to be seen.

* This was an Election of the Clergy by the Clergy; in which the Laity had practically no part. The punish-

ment of this act of usurpation came in the Troubles later.—E.A.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, through CHRIST our Lord.

AS YOU REQUIRE a brief Answer to your short Letter; so neither time permitteth, nor I intend, to trouble you farther than the very necessity of the matter asketh. An Answer to a

And, first, for that ye seem to hang in such Letter sent him extreme perplexity: partly because of sundry talks, out of England. and divers Letters of men of good credit, which causeth you not a little to marvel; and partly by reason of the good opinion once conceived, and yet retained, of certain persons both godly and learned, which maketh you to doubt—I think it best, briefly and simply to open a few chief points; upon the which the rest of the matter dependeth.

After certain months that we had lived here in great consolation and quietness; it chanced that, as our number did increase, so some entered in which busily undermined our liberty, and laboured to overthrow our Discipline: which troubles grew at length in so great quantity, that, by the greatest part, it was concluded, That no man should need hereafter to subscribe to any Discipline; forasmuch as they presupposed that none would come hither which should have need thereof. Which done, they altered our Orders in Prayers and other things; thinking to bring in place the full use of the great English Book [*great, because it was printed in Folio*]: which, notwithstanding, by reason of divers imperfections, we could not admit. So that, to grow to a common concord, it was agreed, and the name of GOD invoked, that the whole matter should be referred to Master CALVIN, Master MUSCULUS, Master MARTYR, Master BULLINGER, and Master VIRET: that both parties should draw [up] their Orders; and that to be received which, by the judgements of these five excellent men, should be thought most agreeable to a Reformed Church. In the meantime, every man to stand content with that Order which was then agreed upon.

But, within few days after, this determination was broken. A stranger [was] craftily brought in to preach, who had both been at Mass, and [had] also subscribed to blasphemous Articles. Many taunting bitter Sermons were made, as they thought, to our defacing [*disgrace*]: insomuch that Master KNOX, being desired thereunto of divers, was enforced to purge himself in sundry points; and spake his mind freely in the pulpit, as well in reprovng certain parts of the English Book as declaring the punishment of GOD which partly had light[ed] upon our country for slackness in Religion: so as they seemed to take the matter so to heart that, by their false delation [*accusation*] in accusing him, before the Magistrates, of treason against the Emperor and the Queen, in a certain book of his written to our countrymen of England, he was commanded to depart.

And the Magistrates (understanding their fetches [*tricks*], and greedy searching of their own glory; who seemed to spare no kind of contention to purchase the same) commanded that we should receive the French Order; which is according to the Order of Geneva, the purest Reformed Church in Christendom. Whereupon all agreed; and Doctor Cox with others, commending the same to the Congregation, gave thanks to the Magistrate in all our names.

Here you may note their double faces; who, bearing the Magistrate in hand [*persuading him*] that they received his commandment joyfully, privily practised, and so laboured underhand, that they made this Magistrate unsay: and so obtained their Book. Promising notwithstanding, both to the Magistrate and certain of the Congregation, as well to prove by the Word of GOD so much of the Book as they would use; as also to set forth the same writing; that they, before the foresaid Order should be changed, might judge of the equity thereof. But, preferring the joy of their unhopèd-for victory before their promise, [*they*] did neither the one, because they could not; neither the other, because they durst not. And yet have they not made an end of their triumph. For, beginning in March, not only to neglect all Orders in the Election of their Ministers and other Officers; but also to scoff and taunt others in their daily Sermons: [*they*] do not yet cease, as now appeareth by their slanderous and lying Letters.

But to the end that we might be delivered from this unsupportable yoke, GOD, of his mercy, hath provided better for us; and for this incommodity hath granted us a double benefit: insomuch that, contrary to their hope, he hath not only at Basle moved the Magistrates' hearts towards us in granting us a Church; but also at Geneva, where as GOD'S Word is truly preached, manners best reformed, and in earth the chiefest place of true comfort.

Thus, in few lines, I have gone about to satisfy your request: bearing with time, which hasteth; and also following mine own judgment, which persuadeth me rather to give you a taste of things, which I (moved in conscience) write as most true; than to fill you with the whole Discourse: which, if this may not suffice, you may by continuance have at your commandment.

Pray for us, Brother! in this, our banishment, that the fruits of this uncorruptible Seed may spring most abundantly! as we pray continually, That our heavenly Father would so strengthen you with his spirit of boldness, that you may not only resist, but also triumph over, all your enemies; to the glory of GOD, and the confusion of our adversaries.

Bullinger's opinion of the Prayer Book.

Know, before you judge; and believe not all fleeing tales! Keep one ear open; and report thee the best!

Yours,

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM.

Where as Master WHITTINGHAM, in this his letter, maketh mention of a Church granted them both at Basle and Geneva; it is to be noted, that he himself was the man which the oppressed Congregation required to travail [*labour*] therein; and, through GOD's great mercy, obtained it, with great favour. Who, in his journey, passed by Zurich, to know of Master BULLINGER, What he thought of the Book of England? For that H. (who had reported to Masters WILLIAMS, WHITTINGHAM, GILBY, and others, That CRANMER, Bishop of CANTERBURY, had drawn up a Book of Prayer a hundred times more perfect than this that we now have, the same could not take place; for that [*because*] he was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Convocation, with other enemies); even H, I say, yet stood in this, That BULLINGER did like well of the English Order; and had it in his Study.

But when WHITTINGHAM had demanded that question; BULLINGER told him, That indeed Master H. and Master C. asked his judgement concerning certain points of that Book (as Surplice, Private Baptism, Churching of Women, the Ring in Marriage, with such like), which, as he said, he allowed not: and that he neither could, if he would; neither would, if he might; use the same in his Church, whatsoever had been reported.

WHITTINGHAM PASSING FROM thence to Geneva; Master CALVIN shewed him a Letter sent from Doctor COX and from fourteen [? nine] more of Frankfort; in which Letter, they partly excused themselves that they put Order in their Church without his counsel asked; and partly rejoicing for that they had, as they said, brought the most part that had withstood their doings, to their opinion—which, notwithstanding, was far otherwise.

They wrote also, that they had elected a Pastor [DAVID WHITEHEAD], two Ministers, four Seniors, and two Deacons, etc.: but how partially they proceeded in their Elections (those that were in Office neither discharged, nor yet their consents required), I leave to the consciences of them which saw those disorders.

[We are able to give the text of this Letter.

RICHARD COX and others to JOHN CALVIN.

GREETING. AFTER THAT our very dear brother, THOMAS SAMPSON, had communicated to us, sometime since, the Letter that you wrote to him, touching our common controversy with certain brethren; we considered it a mark of our duty and regard to you, to inform you, as early as possible, of all that has been done, and with what design.

But though it may perhaps seem to you somewhat late to write to you, when the matter is altogether brought to a termination; yet we implore you, by JESUS CHRIST, not to suppose that the delay has arisen from any desire unduly to undervalue your authority. For it both is, and ought to be, most highly esteemed and regarded, not only by ourselves, but by the World at large. But since your Reverence was many days' journey distant from us; and because there was great hope that all that controversy could be settled with less inconvenience between the brethren themselves: we were unwilling to disturb your most important meditations by our trifling and domestic concerns.

But though we are very loath to suspect our brethren of anything that savours of insincerity; we are nevertheless somewhat afraid that the whole affair and case has not been set before you with sufficient explicitness. For neither are we so entirely wedded to our country as not to be able to endure any customs differing from our own; nor is the authority of those Fathers and Martyrs of Christ so much regarded by us, as that we have any scruple in thinking, or acting, in opposition to it. And we have not only very frequently borne witness to this by our assertions; but have, at length, proved it by our actions.

For when the Magistrates lately gave us permission to adopt the Rites of our native country; we freely relinquished all those Ceremonies which were regarded by our brethren as offensive and inconvenient. For we gave up Private Baptisms, Confirmation of Children, Saints Days, Kneeling at the Holy Communion, the Linen Surplices of the Ministers, Crosses, and other things of the like character. And we gave them up, not as being impure and Papistical, which certain of our brethren often charged them with being: but, where as they were in their own nature indifferent, and either ordained, or allowed, by godly Fathers for the edification of our people; we, notwithstanding, chose rather to lay them aside, than to offend the minds, or alienate the affections, of the brethren.

We retain, however, the remainder of the Form of Prayer and of the Administration of the Sacraments, which is prescribed in our Book: and this with the consent of almost the whole Church; the judgement of which, in matters of this sort we did not think should be disregarded.

With the consent likewise of the same Church, there was forthwith appointed One Pastor, Two Preachers, Four Elders, Two Deacons: the greatest care being taken that every one should be at perfect liberty to vote; except only, that, by the command of the Magistrate, before the Election took place, were set forth those Articles published lately,* by the authority of King EDWARD, which contained a Summary of our Doctrine; and which we were, all of us, required to subscribe. 'For what kind of an Election,' they said, 'must be expected; unless the voters shall previously have agreed as to Doctrine?'

Certain parties, who had before manifested some objection, subscribed to these Articles of their own accord. Some few declined doing so; of whose peaceableness, nevertheless, we entertain good hope.

* A short Catechism (by Bishop JOHN POYNET). To this Catechism are adjoined, The Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other

Learned Men, in the last Convocation at London in the year 1552. London, 1553.—E.A.

We have thought fit to write thus fully to your Kindness, that you might ascertain the whole course of our proceedings from ourselves.

Our Liturgy is translated into French; and the Articles above-mentioned have very lately been printed at Zurich.

Did we not suppose that they would easily be met with among you; we would take care that copies should be forwarded [to] you.

But we pray your Kindness not to imagine that we have aimed at anything else, throughout this whole business, (and this we testify before the Lord!) than the purification of our Church; and the avoiding of most grievous stumbling-blocks which otherwise seemed to be hanging over us.

May the Lord JESUS very long preserve your Piety to us, and to his Church! Farewell!

Frankfort, April 5 [1555].

Your Piety's most devoted English exiles,

RICHARD COX.

EDWIN SANDYS.

THOMAS LEVER.

DAVID WHITEHEAD.

EDMUND GRINDAL.

THOMAS SAMPSON.

RICHARD ALVEY.

JOHN BALE.

THOMAS BECON.

ROBERT HORNE.

Original Letters, 753-755. Ed 1846-7. (Parker Society.)*]

To this Letter of theirs, the contents whereof are above touched; Master CALVIN answered in this wise.

To the Worshipful my loving Brethren in the Lord, Master RICHARD COX and the rest of the Englishmen which now remain at Frankfort.

PERADVENTURE, I ANSWER your Letter, Worshipful Friends, and Brethren, more slowly than either ye hoped, or looked for: but forsomuch as ye know the ways, for a time, so to be beset with thieves that no messenger almost could pass from hence to you, the excuse of my long delay towards you shall be the easier.

I expressed my mind frankly to our beloved brother, THOMAS SAMPSON, of that whereof I was informed by the Letters of certain men as touching the Contention unluckily stirred up among you. For certain of my friends found themselves grieved that you would so precisely urge the Ceremonies of England; whereby it might appear that ye are more given and addict[ed] to your own country than reason would.

I confess that I heard certain reasons alleged on your behalf, which

* This Letter is signed by two men who became Archbishops, GRINDAL and SANDYS; and by three Bishops, BALE, COX, and HORNE; while WHITEHEAD had refused the Archbishopric of ARMAGH.—E.A.

would not suffer you to depart from the received Order: but they might be soon and easily confuted. Now, as I counselled mine own friends which dissented from you, somewhat to yield, if they might conveniently; so it offended me, that there was nothing granted or relented on your parts. Because there was no man named unto me; I durst not enterprise to meddle with the matter, lest my credit should incur the suspect [*suspicion*] of rashness. Now that ye are more mild and tractable in this Controversy, and that ye have, as ye say, stilled the matter with quietness; I am very glad.

Verily, no man, well instructed, or of a sound judgement, will deny, as I think, that Lights, and Crossings, or such like trifles, sprang, or issued, out of Superstition. Whereupon I am persuaded that they which retain these Ceremonies in a free choice, or when they may otherwise do, they are over-greedy and desirous to drink of the dregs: neither do I see to what purpose it is, to burden the Church with trifling and unprofitable Ceremonies, or as I may term them with their proper name, hurtful and ostensible Ceremonies; when as there is liberty to have a simple and pure Order. But I keep in, and refrain myself; lest I should seem to begin to move a new Contention of that matter which, as you report, is well ended.

All good men will allow the Pastors' and other Ministers' Elections with common voices: so that none [*can*] complain that the other part of the Church was oppressed fraudently, and with crafty practices. For it standeth your Wisdoms in hand to consider, That how much commodity the goodness of the Senate doth deserve; so much envy shall you be guilty of, or charged withal, if you have abused their lenity or gentleness, which were so well affected towards your nation. Yet I would not have this so taken, that I go about to be prejudicial to any man: but I had rather shew plainly what may be said; than to nourish an ill opinion by silence, or in holding my peace. But certainly this one thing I cannot keep secret, that Master KNOX was, in my judgement, neither godly nor brotherly dealt withal. If he were accused by the subtle suggestion of certain; it had been better for them to have tarried still in their own land, than unjustly to have brought into far countries the firebrand of cruelty to set on fire those that would not be kindled. Notwithstanding, because it grieveth me [*even*] to speak slightly of these evils, the remembrance whereof I would wish to be buried in perpetual forgetfulness; therefore I only counsel you, not without a cause, to be wounded [*?minded*] that ye apply yourselves to make them amends for the fault committed.

When I heard that the one party was minded to depart from thence; I earnestly admonished them, as it became me, that They began
if they could not well remain there, that the distance prettily.

of place should not dissipate, or rent in sunder, their brotherly agreement; for I feared much, lest that some privy grudge of the former Contention remained. And certainly nothing could more comfort my heart than to be delivered from this fear. For if any [should] haply come to us; it would grieve me that there should be, as it were, but a suspicion of any secret debate between you.

Therefore, as touching that ye have written of your agreement; I desire that it may be firm and stable: that if it chance the one part to go to another place; yet that you, being so sundered by distance of places, may keep sure the holy band of amity: for the fault already committed is too much, although through discord it creep no further. Wherefore it shall well beseem your Wisdoms, that ye may be friends, to purge diligently whatsoever remaineth of this breach.

Fare ye well, Brethren! The Lord succour you with his aid; and govern you with his Spirit! pour his blessings upon you, and mitigate the sorrow of your exile!

From Geneva, this last of May, *anno* 1555.

Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

[For the Anglican Church at Frankfort's Reply, of September 20, 1555, to this Letter; see pp. 87-93.]

Because that Master CALVIN, in his Letter, maketh mention of Lights; some might gather that he was untruly informed that, in the English Book, Lights were prescribed; the contrary whereof appeareth by the description before: where it is manifest to such as be learned, that he useth the Figure, *Auxesis*; and that this is his argument *à majore ad minus*, Forsomuch as Lights and Crossings be two of the most ancientest Ceremonies, having continued in the Church above thirteen hundred years, are yet, for such causes, abolished: how much more ought all others that have not had the like continuance, and [are] yet abused, be utterly removed!

[But see page 88.]

AND FOR THAT [*because*] Master CALVIN, in his Letter, earnestly wished that all strife should cease; and that if any were minded to depart, their departure might be such as all occasions of offence might be cut off and clean taken away: it was thought good to such as were determined to go away within three weeks after, to follow his counsel; and the rather, for that some, which took themselves to be Learned, had openly termed their departure, a Schism.

Whereupon, they wrote to the Pastor, Ministers, and whole Congregation, this Letter following; and delivered it in the open Congregation.

Forsomuch as, through the benefit of GOD, we have obtained a Church in another place; we thought it good to advertise you of the same. And to the intent that not only slanderous reports may cease, but also if any offence be either taken or given, the same may come to trial; we desire that you, for your part, would appoint Two Arbiters [*Arbitrators*]; and we shall appoint other Two: who, hearing our matters thoroughly opened, may witness where the fault resteth. At which time, we will undertake to defend our departure to be lawful; contrary to the slanderous reports of some, which unlearnedly term it, a Schism.

Thus far, Brethren, we thought good to signify unto you, thinking this to be the only means of our mutual quietness; whereof how desirous we are, our tedious and chargeable journey may be a sufficient proof: being thoroughly persuaded that hereby Strife may be ended, Charity revived, Friendship continued, GOD's glory advanced, and our brethren edified.

Fare ye well, this 27th of August [1555].

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

THOMAS WOOD.

JOHN ESCOT.

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM.

WILLIAM KETHE.

THOMAS CROFTON.

ANTHONY GILBY.

JOHN KELKE.

WILLIAM WALTON.

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.

JOHN HILTON.

LAURENCE KENT.

THOMAS COLE.

CHRISTOPHER SOOTHOUS.

JOHN HOLLINGHAM.

JOHN FOX.

NICHOLAS PURFOOT.

ANTHONY CARIER.

When [DAVID WHITEHEAD,] the Pastor had read this Letter to the Congregation, and was desired to know when they should have an Answer; he said unto them, That so far as he perceived, it required none but that which might be presently made: which was, That they might depart; seeing they were so minded.

It was replied, That forsomuch as it was manifest that they had been slandered, not only by Letters into divers parts, but also by some that then were present, who had affirmed their departure to be a Schism; and farther that they could find no indifferency [*impartiality*] at their hands: it was thought necessary to commit the hearing of that Controversy to learned and indifferent Judges, by both parties to be chosen; whereby the fault might appear where it was indeed; and so they either excused, or found guilty.

Doctor Cox, at length, told them, That their Letter should be considered of; and an Answer should be given them the Friday after.

On Friday, the 30th of August, both parties met.

The Pastor, accompanied with the Ministers and Elders, spake this unto them. 'It seemeth very fond [*foolish*] that Arbiters should be appointed to take up strife that may come hereafter; as your Letter signifieth. And furthermore ye write, "If any offence be taken or given," which seemeth as strange: for this word, *If*, importeth a doubt; so that if ye doubt it, it is but folly to appoint Arbiters. Finally, to excuse your departure; you call them unlearned, which judge it a Schism: 'but,' saith he, 'term it as you list, yet can you not let [*hinder*] men to think! And if Arbiters should pronounce it to be none; yet men's opinions will be divers!

'Now therefore, your Answer shall be, That if any man be offended, either with any private man, or publicly, let him, or them, complain to us! or, if they refuse us, to the Magistrate! As for Arbiters, we will appoint none!'

Then spake WHITTINGHAM, and said, That it was to him no small wonder that men of such learning and wisdom should so shrink in a most equal [*impartial*] request; and so, without all reason, to cavil where no matter was offered.

'For as concerning,' saith he, 'the First Point, it was not unknown to them that, at that time, through their occasion, there was no small Contention; and that, seeing

they had given such offence, it could not be but that men's minds were moved. And therefore, to the end that Contention should grow no farther, Arbiters were very necessary; who needed not to deliberate,' as he said, 'of things to come, which were uncertain: but, as the Letter truly purported, of injuries long ago begun, yet continued, and hereafter not like[ly] to be ended; except some good mean[s] were used to stay their slanderous Letters and false reports, to the utter perishing and loss of men's good names. And where ye seem to be offended that the Letter should call them "unlearned"; which term our departure, a Schism—'

'You omit,' said Doctor Cox, 'the Second Point; which is of no small importance.'

WHITTINGHAM

To whom he answered, That he thought here interrupted. he did them a pleasure in omitting things of so small value; notwithstanding he would obey his will: 'but,' saith he, 'as touching this word "unlearnedly," it was not unadvisedly placed. For either they be without learning, and therefore may be so called indeed; or if they bear the name of learning, yet in this they shewed their unskilfulness; forasmuch as every departure from a Congregation was not a Schism; neither were any that departed for just causes, Schismatics; as we,' saith he, 'will prove unto you, if you will take our reasonable and most equal offer.'

'Nay!' saith the Pastor, 'Arbiters in this point can little avail: for be it, they judge it none; yet men's thoughts are free; and we know that all men be not of one mind in Sacraments and Predestination, should men therefore take Arbiters? Also,' saith he, 'Masters CALVIN and BULLINGER are against you.'

To this was answered, 'That thoughts, if they were not grounded upon GOD's Word, were evil; neither was this Controversy of like force with the matter of the Sacraments and Predestination: notwithstanding, would to GOD! that not only the difference in those Articles, but also in all others which be of weight and importance, might be decided by the authority of GOD's Word, and arbitrement of godly learned men! But men may justly suspect your Cause to be naught; which refuse the judgements of the wise and godly. And where you say, "That CALVIN and BULLINGER are against us"; you abuse yourselves and their names: for we

know both what they and others write, as touching this matter.'

Then the Pastor asked, What *Schisma* was, but a cutting off from the body? And that was CALVIN's definition.

To this, WHITTINGHAM answered, That he would undertake, First, to prove that definition to be false; and Secondly, to be none of CALVIN's definition: 'for if every cutting off from the body should be a Schism, then you and all others which once had sworn to the Pope, and now have refused him, are Schismatics.'

Then the Pastor added, 'From a Church well reformed.'

Answer was made, That a Church well reformed must be builded upon the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles; the unity whereof Saint PAUL comprehendeth in these words, 'One GOD, one Faith, one Baptism' [Eph. iv. 5]; not beggarly Ceremonies and obscurations: although that sundry causes besides, moved them to depart.

Then Master TRAHERON asked, Whether the Donatists were not Schismatics?

'Yes,' said WHITTINGHAM, 'and also heretics: but you are deceived, if you think they separated themselves for Ceremonies.'

'It is manifest,' said TRAHERON, 'that the Churches of Asia were excommunicated as Schismatics, for that they kept not Easter at the same time that the Roman Church did.'

'And it is no less evident,' said WHITTINGHAM, 'that IRÆNEUS and other godly men, as well of that time and since, have sharply reprov'd and condemn'd Pope VICTOR for the same.'

Here Doctor COX put WHITTINGHAM in remembrance, that he had not answered to the faults of the Letter.

WHITTINGHAM told him, That as touching that poor word, *If*, he marvelled how it could minister any cavillation; seeing the text joining thereto was so plain: 'which declareth both the offences by you given, and by us taken. Also your consciences bear you witness, the thing to be most true; except man will be wilfully blind, and find a knot in a rush: so that that word, *If*, meant not that we do doubt who were oppressed with infinite wrongs; but if they would dissemble so far, that they might seem to doubt thereof; yet, at the

least, they would abide the trial thereof before these Arbiters.'

But here, the Disputation brake up with this plain and final answer, That Arbiters they should have none: and that if they found themselves grieved, they should seek remedy where they thought good: and he, the Pastor, with the rest of the Congregation, would answer them.

The next day [Saturday, August 31st, 1555], the Pastor, Doctor COX, Master PARRY, and Master ASHLEY, sent for WHITTINGHAM, THOMAS COLE, JOHN FOX, WILLIAM KETHE, ROGER HART, JOHN HILTON, with certain others; demanding of them, What should be the cause of their departure? WHITTINGHAM made answer, That, the day before, they had declared sufficiently; and yet would farther shew reasons, if they would permit the Controversy to arbitrement. And to the intent they should not counterfeit ignorance; among other, these were some causes:

1. Their breach of Promise; established with invocation of GOD's name.

2. Their orderless thrusting themselves into the Church.

3. Taking away the Order of Discipline established before their coming; and placing no other.

4. The accusation of Master KNOX, their godly Minister, of treason; and seeking his blood.

5. Their overthrowing off the Common Order, taken and commanded by the Magistrate.

6. The displacing of Officers, without any cause alleged.

7. The bringing in of Papistical superstitions and unprofitable Ceremonies: which were burdens, yokes, and clogs.

Besides other things; which, if they would abide the trial, they should hear at large.

When he, and some of the rest, had rendered their reasons for their departure to this effect: certain warm words passed to and fro from the one to the other; and so, in some heat, they departed.

Not many days after, the oppressed Church departed from Frankfort to Basle and Geneva; some staying at Basle, as Master Fox with others.

The rest came to Geneva; where they were received with great favour and much courtesy; both of the Magistrates, Ministers, and people. So soon as they entered their Church; they chose KNOX and GOODMAN for their Pastors, and GILBY was requested to supply the room till KNOX returned out of France.

The Learned Men, which came from all places to Frankfort about this matter, when they had done that which they came for, returned again from whence they came; and some to other places, where they might save charges and not to be either burdened [with], or bound to, the Exercises of the Congregation: so that the Exile (which was to many a poor man full bitter, grievous, and painful) was to some of the greatest Persecutors of their poor brethren, as it were, a pleasant Progress [*Tour*] or recreation.

[The two following Letters give further details of the Story, up to the time that the Calvinists left Frankfort.

DAVID WHITEHEAD and others to JOHN CALVIN.

AS WE WERE awaiting the arrival of certain of our brethren to whom your Letter [at pp. 78-80] seemed especially to apply; we were prevented from answering it, most learned CALVIN, so early as either the case itself required, or as you probably expected. But now, since all hope of their coming to us is taken away, it has seemed good to us who are here, to make at length some reply: partly indeed, lest by our silence we should seem unmindful of our duty to you; and partly, lest we should seem to betray our excellent Cause.

And, first, we desire you to be fully persuaded of this, That we regard you with entire veneration and love; both by reason of your singular godliness, and also of your especial preeminence in the most valuable attainments. But we consider it, as a matter of exceeding regret, that our late Letter [of April 5 1555] was not altogether satisfactory to you, in removing all your scruples. This, however, we must ascribe to those parties, to whom you appeared to be a fit object for them to endeavour to deceive; and one whose authority they might shamelessly abuse, for the purpose of disturbing our Church.

For it seems very evident to us, that they would never have ventured to raise such a disturbance; had you not refrained, in that Letter of yours, from pouring, as it were, cold water on the flame. Your Letter was to them like the Club of HERCULES; by which they easily believed that they could beat down all their opponents. And, indeed, your name ought deservedly to have influence both with us, and with all godly persons.

But if you had been well acquainted with their devices; if you had been sufficiently aware of their boldness and wicked designs: we have no doubt but that you would never have suffered them to come near you; much less to impose upon you, as it were, in so barefaced a manner.

Indeed, we consider it impossible to entertain any doubt of your candour and impartiality, as soon as our Case shall have been clearly

made known to you; and their artifices exposed. But though your Letter is not a little annoying to us; inasmuch as it seems to brand us, and bring us in guilty of such great offences: yet we hope that you have another ear in reserve for our Reply.

Receive, therefore, these few remarks, in answer to your Letter.

These friends of yours complain that 'we are too precise in enforcing the English Ceremonies, and unreasonably partial to our own country.'

These, indeed, we pertinaciously retain, as knowing them to be very godly. This, however, has never been done by us in a precise manner; for we have abandoned some of them, for the sake of your friends, which might at that time have been piously adopted. But we make this concession to the love of our country; to which, forsooth, we are too much inclined! These, your friends, however, are altogether a disgrace to their country: for whatever has been bestowed from Above upon our country, in this respect; with exceeding arrogance, not to say, impudence, they are treading under foot. You must know, that we do not entertain any regard for our country which is not agreeable to GOD's holy Word. Neither, in the mean while, are we so ungrateful to our country, nor have we so cast off every feeling of humanity, as rashly to despise the benefits which GOD has bestowed upon it. Nor have we such a mean opinion of the judgements of our countrymen, who resisted ungodliness even unto blood, as that, by reason of the clamours of individuals possessing no weight whatever, we should brand them with the foulest marks of Papistical impiety.

You 'heard the reasons, which would not allow us to depart from the received Form.'

You heard them, indeed: but not from us; and probably not all of them. And, indeed, we have very little doubt but you would easily refute them; but we are confident that the best reasons of our conduct will stand good before the Judgement Seat of GOD.

You say that 'it offended you that there was no concession or relaxation made to them, on our parts.'

And you might justly have been offended; had no concession been made. But as this is a barefaced and impudent falsehood of theirs; you can judge for yourself, in what light they must have regarded you.

You object to us, 'Lights and Crosses.'

As for Lights, we never had any: and with respect to Crosses, if we ever made use of them, these friends of yours have not imposed upon you. But consider again, what estimation they must have held you, when they presumed to assault you with so many falsehoods.

They also falsely lay it to our charge before you, That we wished 'to burden the Church with trifling and unprofitable Ceremonies.'

Our Ceremonies are very few; and all of them of no little use towards the advancement of godliness. But it is no wonder that our Ceremonies appear redundant, and even burdensome, to those persons who exclaim against the Public Reading of the Word of GOD, as an irksome and unprofitable Form.

But from those words of yours, it is quite evident that you are entirely ignorant of almost all the circumstances of our Case. For we have nothing, we are well assured, which, either in your judgement or in that of any godly man, will appear to be either unprofitable or injurious.

But you are right in restraining yourself; or you would otherwise (as the Mountebanks do) fight to no purpose, against things which have no existence.

We are quite ready to give you an account of the Ceremonies we make use of here, whenever you please: and (whatever our cavillers may have muttered against them) we have more reason, we think, to apprehend the dissatisfaction of many persons, by reason of their fewness, than of their number.

To return now to the other points of your Letter.

'All good men,' you say, 'will allow of the Pastors and other Ministers to be elected by the common voice; so that others do not complain that a part of the Church has been oppressed fraudulently, and with crafty practices.'

This assertion is certainly a stinging one; and would have wounded us severely, had not its point been blunted when it fell upon us. Nay, we allow it to be a thunderbolt: but it has not reached the object at which it was aimed. It is neither a novelty to us, nor a matter of surprise, that men, conscious of being in the wrong, will at length proceed to assert what is untrue. But it certainly turned out contrary to all our expectation, that you should so lend your ears to them, as to incline in some measure to that party.

For what kind of an Election ours was, we call to witness GOD, our conscience, our whole Church, and the very Magistrates themselves! of whose authority and advice we always availed ourselves.

But we will explain to you, at another time, if we are compelled to do so, the means by which others have attempted to undermine the Church, and consequently to overthrow it; what indirect artifices they have made use of, and by what turbulent proceedings they have laboured, after their own exaltation: and, also, what a heavy charge that is, which you seem to insinuate, that we have abused the lenity of the Magistracy.

We wish, however, that those persons, who are filling your ears with these calumnious and slanderous accusations, had never abused our lenity, the kindness of the Magistrates, and your authority which has given them no small encouragement to stir up this Controversy.

GOD forbid that we should abuse any persons whatever! much less those excellent Magistrates who have deserved so well of us! But (if you could bring your mind to believe that we were so lost to shame) how could you possibly think that the Magistrates (discreet and worthy men as they are) would either be so stupid, in regard to our Cause, as not to find out our trickeries; or that they would suffer them, when detected, to go unpunished; and even to regard us with greater kindness than before! In detecting the artifices of your friends (which, nevertheless, they knew how to devise and manage with much more ingenuity than we do), they were of such quick scent, that they immediately smelt them out; and their opinion of them is no secret!

But leaving these things; let us return to the business of KNOX; wherein you greatly desire godliness and brotherly love on the part of those that were implicated in it. We will, therefore, briefly and truly explain to you the history of the whole affair.

There were, at that time, certain parties [*individuals*] in our Church, who (instructed by long practice and experience) were able easily to foresee and conceive beforehand in their minds, the evils that were either already impending over our Church, or might happen to it in future.

These persons understood that KNOX had published a certain Book; which they perceived would supply their enemies with just ground for overturning the whole Church. For there were interspersed in this publication atrocious and horrible calumnies against the Queen of England: whom KNOX called at one time, 'the wicked MARY'; at another time, 'a monster.' And he exasperated King PHILIP also, by language not much less violent.

When these men had read this infamous Libel; attached as they are to true Religion and to our Church, they considered it neither profitable, nor safe to ourselves, that KNOX should be received with favour by our Church.

One of them, therefore, called upon the intimate friend of KNOX [? W. WHITTINGHAM]; and pointed out to him, that it would be most advisable for Knox to leave the Church, and depart to some other place: and this he earnestly recommended him to do.

Not succeeding in this; our friends (having more closely considered the danger which, without doubt, was hanging over them) thought it

right to proceed in a different way. The matter was, at last, brought before the Magistrates; with no other view than that KNOX might be ordered to quit the place.

When the Magistrate was made acquainted with the case, and had also discovered that the Emperor was defamed in that pamphlet: considering that a man of this kind might easily occasion danger, not only to our Church but also to his State; he ordered him to leave the City.

Thus you have the whole affair, as it really took place; nor would we, for the sake of our friends, evade the subject, by holding back anything; or obscure it, by our relation of it.

Something was conceded to KNOX. For our party had observed some other things in him, which we have now purposely forbore to mention; but which induced them to desire his departure. But these clearly were the reasons which drove our friends to this step; and it was altogether in this way, that they got rid of that affair.

But what an occasion for disseminating falsehoods these Authors of Confusion thence laid hold of; what dreadful language they uttered; what disturbance they excited; must be a matter of wonder to everyone who is unacquainted with their character: especially when they even prevailed upon you to write concerning men who were in every respect innocent, that 'it had been better for them to have remained in their own country, than to have brought over to a distant land, the firebrand of unjust severity' [Calvin's words were 'to set on fire those that would not be kindled,' see page 79.]

If those who occasioned KNOX's departure from hence, had been in any way known to you; you would assuredly have dealt more gently with them. For scarce any man living is more remote from cruelty than (by the grace of GOD) those persons both are and have been.

Certainly, when an account of what they had done was demanded of them by [DAVID WHITEHEAD,] our Pastor; they gave such a straightforward statement that (scrupulous as he is in everything else), he had nothing whatever to find fault with.

For you cannot but be aware, how unbecoming it would have been in us impotently to rage in half-muttered abuse against Magistrates; not, perhaps, because they do not deserve it: but because of the Office imposed upon them by GOD.

This we can assure you, That that outrageous pamphlet of KNOX's added much oil to the flame of Persecution in England. For, before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death; but, as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames; to say nothing of how many godly men besides, have been exposed to the

risk of all their property, and even life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession, or of having read it: who were, perhaps, rescued from the Sword at a greater cost and danger of life than the others offered their necks to it.

But enough of these things.

You piously exhort us that, If we perceive that the minds of some parties are wounded, not without cause; we should endeavour to make amends for the injury.

But when you have left no stone unturned to heal those persons who have inflicted their wounds upon themselves; and have nevertheless lost all your pains: what can you possibly do for them?

You say that you have 'diligently admonished those who are minded to leave us, that their departure should not render asunder the agreement of the brethren.'

We wish that your wisdom had foreseen this; and that the authority of your Letter had not given encouragement to the former Quarrel, before you had heard the other side of the Question. We wish that your sagacity had anticipated what was the tendency of their design, namely, to open faction; to say nothing more. For they themselves now presume to write, That they are ready to maintain the lawfulness of their secession from our Church.

We certainly hoped, indeed, when we wrote to you [on April 5th 1555], that our reconciliation would have been lasting: and your friend, WHITTINGHAM, with all the rest of his party except three or four, had given in his adhesion to our Church. But, O, like true PROTEUSES, they now make subterfuges; and shamefully desert us, under I know not what pretence.

We know not whence this change of sentiment has arisen: but we leave you to judge what opinion must be entertained of those persons, who tell you that they leave the Church solely on account of Ceremonies, which even they themselves dare no longer affirm to be ungodly; or can prove to be at variance with the Word of GOD, or in any way unprofitable.

We pray GOD to bestow upon them a better mind, and we earnestly entreat you no longer to mix up yourself in so hateful a business, lest some disparagement should arise to your reputation; which we desire should, at all times, be most honourable and holy. May the Lord JESUS preserve you as an especial ornament to his Church!

[1555.

Whittingham's Letter to Calvin.]

Frankfort, Sept. 20 1555.

Your admirers,

DAVID WHITEHEAD,

THOMAS BECON,

RICHARD ALVEY.

Pastor.

Minister of the

HENRY PARRY.

RICHARD COX.

Word of God.

BARTHOLOMEW TRAHERON.

THOMAS COTTISFORD.

Original Letters, pp. 755-763. 1846-7. (Parker Society.)

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM to JOHN CALVIN.

SUPPOSING THAT THIS Letter will scarcely reach you much sooner than I shall arrive myself; I do not write so fully as the subject itself requires, and as I could wish. For I have sent off all my baggage; and am hastening to you as speedily as possible.

With respect to those that are at Basle; we are in hopes that, after a mutual conference, they, together with us, will enjoy your valuable assistance; and not only rejoice in that divine benefit, but will embrace and cherish it.

I shall, very soon I hope, converse with you in person about your Letter to our friends, and our own departure, and other matters.

Master SAINT ANDREW has zealously conducted himself here; and to the great and common benefit of the Churches.

Master JOHANN À GLAUBERG has made honourable mention of you, as he ought to do; and requests me to salute you most diligently, in his name: as, being at this time especially engaged in a multitude of affairs, he is unable to write to you.

All our friends salute you! reverence, and most deservedly esteem you! May Almighty GOD very long preserve you; both to his own glory, and the common comfort both of ourselves and all others!

Frankfort, September 21 [1555.]

Your disciple,

WHITTINGHAM.

Original Letters, p. 766. Ed. 1846-7. (Parker Society.)]

BUT NOW IT shall be necessary to declare what Order was taken, in this new-erected Congregation, for the prosperous continuance of the same: which thing to do, I cannot by a better means than placing here this Letter following; which Master COLE, late Dean of Sarum, wrote to a friend of his, whiles he yet stayed, behind his company, in Frankfort among them. His letter is yet [1574] to be seen.

The Holy Spirit of GOD, that guideth the children of GOD in truth and godliness, be your comfort, through our mercy's seat, JESUS CHRIST, now and for ever! Amen.

THE tempest of the swelling seas which, in time past, threatened shipwreck to every vessel that sailed with a fair wind and full sails to the port of blessed Truth (which of herself is strong enough, without any bar, or wall, of Man's inventions), are somewhat, the Lord be praised! calmed to me-ward: so that, without farther reasoning, they permit me, to my conscience, as touching their Ceremonies.

The cause, I judge, is not for that [*because*] they bear less love to them than in times past: but that they perceive the sturdy defending of them to work them that they look not for, or rather that which they are loath to see, *viz.*, the decreasing of their Company: yet they labour with policy, what they may or can, to prevent this danger; but yet that which they fear, I suppose will fall upon them, unless GOD give them to repent their old faults, and humble them more to know themselves.

They have set up a University, to repair again their estimation by maintenance of Learning (which, surely, is well done), that was fondly brought in decay by wilful ignorance, in defending of Ceremonies. To which Master HORNE is chosen to be the Reader of the Hebrew Lecture; Master MULLINGS, of the Greek; and Master TRAHERON, when he is strong, shall take the Divinity Lecture in hand. Master WHITEHEAD was appointed thereunto: but because he would escape the labour of the Lecture, for just causes (as he said), he forsook the Pastoral Office also: stoutly, as you know, denying to be in Office any longer. Great hold [*contention, struggle*] there was about this matter in the Congregation;

Whitehead resigns the Pastorship.

insomuch as they hasted to a new Election: and very few, as it seemed, were of a contrary mind [to his resignation]; no, not his own friends, save Master MAKEBRAY and Master SORBY, who desired him to take respite, and the Congregation to give it.

But some, looking for the Office themselves, would not, in such a matter, suffer delay; but again demanded of Master WHITEHEAD, Whether he would keep his Office or no? supposing that he which had so stoutly denied it in word, would not soon be flexible to the contrary.

But he (perceiving that some would have had him out on the one side, and by leaving off it, his estimation was like[ly] to decay on the other side, for many rough words were given him), when occasion of intreaty was offered, [said] *Non respuit conditionem*. [He did not dislike the condition.] By that means, bringing to himself wittily a triple commodity. One, the preventing of them, which looked for the Office. Another, the refusal of the Divinity Lecture. Thirdly, a faster grounding of himself in that Office, which he left in mouth; but, as it seemed, not in heart. Thus ended that Comedy.

But, shortly after, (notwithstanding a vehement Sermon made for the purgation from Man's inventions) the seas began again to swell; so fickle an element is water! For Master KENT, having a child to christen, purposing to have it done simply, without the beautifying of men's traditions, came with his child, according to the French Order which we once received, and one to hold it there, to profess his faith, if it were required: but the Pastor denied the christening; unless the two Godmothers were had, after the Order of the Book. As concerning the Godfather, Master MAKEBRAY, who is now come to that Office, supplied it.

A lucky matter is attained at Wesel in Westphalia, an open Church for our Englishmen: to which, because of nighness [to England], they fear many will go from hence; but more will come out of England to it.

I pray you, commend me to M. Tell him, that Master Wisdom [? D. WHITEHEAD] railed on them, that were gone to G[eneva]; calling them, 'mad heads!' with many pretty names: I will not say, unwisely; but I may say, uncharitably. In which Sermon, he shewed himself an antagonist [*champion*] for the Book of England.

Yours,

THOMAS COLE.

Shortly after these things, to wit, the 6th of January [1556], when as Master WHITEHEAD gave up, of his own good will (as he said), the Pastoral Office; Master HORNE was

in the Election to succeed him: who protested that he would not meddle therewith, till he were cleared of certain suspicions which some had bruited to the discredit of his Ministry. Obtaining his request; he, with the Seniors, entered the Church, the 1st of March, *anno Domini* 1556: where they received all such persons as members of that Church, which were contented to subscribe, and submit themselves to the Orders of the same.

From which time forward, the troubles and contentions were so sore among them, that whoso shall well weigh it with due consideration, I ween [*imagine*] he shall think it to be the just judgement of our righteous GOD, that fell upon them for supplanting a Church there before them in great quietness and of much sincerity.

The
History
of that
Stir and Strife
which was in the
English Church at Frankfort,
January 13—September 30, 1557 A.D.

This Controversy, which you have now heard, . . . I find written by the hands of such as are both learned and of credit; but yet, I must needs say, by those that were parties in this broil.—
W. Whittingham, p. 215.

The History of that Stir and Strife which was in the English Church at Frankfort, from the 13th day of January, Anno Domini 1557, forward.

THERE FELL A certain controversy, the 13th day of January, at supper, between Master HORNE the Pastor and Master ASHLEY; which controversy was handled with somewhat more sharp words than was meet: but yet they so departed, by the industry and labour of some certain persons, that they drank wine one to another; and all that strife and contention was thought to be wholly taken away.

Afterward, to wit, the 16th day of January, at one of the clock in the afternoon, three of the Elders sent for Master ASHLEY into an house of one of the Elders; and they began to debate the matter with him, touching an injury done, not to the Pastor alone, but to all the Elders, as they affirmed, and to their Ministry: which thing Master ASHLEY denied that he ever did, at any time.

The next day, being the 17th of January, after that Public Prayers were ended, Master ASHLEY was, by the Pastor and all the Elders, called into the Church and there, in the name of them all, it was objected unto him, That he had spoken, upon the 13th day of January, in supper-while, certain words tending to the slander of them and their Ministry.

ASHLEY answered, That he perceived and understood that they all were offended, as in their own matter; and that therefore he would not answer before them as competent Judges of the Cause: but would refer the Cause that he had against the Pastor and them, seeing they shewed themselves an adversary party to him, to the whole Church and Ecclesiastical Discipline.

Then the Pastor exhorted him that he would not so proceed: for if he so did, that then they were minded to seek and demand help of the Magistrate against him.

After that, the 24th of January, ASHLEY himself handled his own Cause, in his own name, before the Pastor and Elders;

and then, in the afternoon, he sent two men of the Church, who, in his name, required the Pastors and Elders that they would not proceed against him in that Cause wherein they themselves were a party, and therefore not fit or competent Judges: but to give over the whole matter to eight or ten men, upright in conscience, and inclining to neither party; by whose judgements, if he were found in fault he would willingly submit himself to all Ecclesiastical Discipline.

Answer was made him by the Pastor, in the name of them all [*i.e.*, the Pastor, two Ministers, four Elders, and two Deacons], That they had received their authority from the whole Church; and would retain and keep the same till such time as they, from whom they had received it, would again demand it. And in the mean while, they proposed to proceed thereafter against all such as had offended; and so much the more severely and sharply against Master ASHLEY, by how much it might be more profitable to the whole Church, to make him, being a worshipful man, an ensample to others to take heed and beware by.

ASHLEY, that answer being received the 26th of January, which was a Day of Solemn Prayer, fearing those things which HORNE had said before, threatening him with the Magistrate, when Common Prayer was ended, declared the whole matter to the Church: and desired that the Church would understand of the whole matter between the Pastor and Elders as the one party, and himself as the other.

Whereupon certain men did, in the name of the whole Church, demand of the Pastor and Elders, Whether they were a party against ASHLEY?

The Pastor answered, in all their names, That they were not a party against him; but that ASHLEY had slandered them all.

Again, it was demanded, in the name of the Church, Who were his accusers? To which, when the Pastor answered nothing, neither in his own name, nor in the name of the Seniors: ASHLEY was commanded, by the Church, publicly and openly to read those things which he had comprehended in writing, concerning his Cause.

Afterward, the Pastor and Elders were asked, Whether those things which ASHLEY had read were true?

The Pastor answered, in all their names, That they would not answer, either more largely or any otherwise, to

John Hales summons a Meeting.

any questions than they had erewhile [*formerly*] answered.

And so the Congregation was dismissed without answer; yet not without contempt, as [it] was thought.

The same day, at afternoon, Master HALES, who was absent when these things were done, understanding that this matter tended to more grievous strife and contention, did write his Letter to some certain persons that seemed desirous of the peace of the Church; and desired that they would come together, the next day after, to the Church, to consult and deliberate what were the best way to pacify this trouble and turmoil, before it waxed more strong; or should be more published abroad, and made better known to the Senate or Magistrates.

The very drift and purpose of the Letter; together unto them that were called, as them also which came, to the place appointed, doth appear by the Letter itself: the copy whereof ensueth.

The Superscription.

To his Brethren of the English Church,

Master CRAWLEY,	Master CARELL,	Master BRIKBEKE,
Master RAILTON,	Master KENTE,	Master SUTTON,
Master WARCOPE,	Master KELKE,	Master CHRISTOPHER HALES,
Master FALCONER,	Master DAKIES,	
Master NOWELL,	Master BENTHAM,	

JOHN HALES sendeth greeting in the Lord.

I HEAR, BRETHREN, THAT which is to me greivous to hear, to wit, That strifes are arisen in our Church; which tend either to the dissolution of the Church, or to the hurt and destruction of the poor.

Wherefore, I pray you, whose names are in the Superscription of this Letter, that, if you shall so think good, we may meet to-morrow, in the morning, in our Church: there to consult and take advice what may be the best way to quiet this Stir, to the glory of GOD, and our own quietness. GOD give us his peace!

This 26th of January, 1557.

Your loving Brother,

JOHN HALES.

I pray you, that so many of you as will meet at the time and place appointed, to put down your names; lest some perhaps may come in vain.

Now all those whose names are before rehearsed came; except Master WARCOPE.

AFTER CONSULTATION and advice taken, it seemed best to all them that were called together and met there, that, the next day after [January 27th], one of them, in all their names, should deal with the Pastor and Elders, That sith [*since*] ASHLEY complained, That they were an adversary party unto him; they would suffer the Church, or some such certain persons as the Church would appoint, to take knowledge of the Cause, and to hear first, Whether they were [an] adversary party to ASHLEY? which, if they were not found to be, then the knowledge of the matter should be put back again to them; and that, with the ignominy and shame of him that had appealed from them.

But if they were found to be the adversary party, that then it should seem unjust that they should sit in their own Cause as Judges: but more meet and upright it would be, that then the Church should know and understand of the whole matter.

Whereupon, the next day after, that is to say, the 28th of January, when Prayers were ended; the matter was proposed to the Pastor and Elders, by one appointed for that purpose.

When this counsel was once known, the Minister [*i.e.*, ROBERT HORNE], by the consent of the Elders, drew out of his bosom a Decree which the Magistrate of that City had made; and read it with a loud voice before the whole Church. The Decree being read; he added in grave words, That these our Assemblies and meetings would be very dangerous, not to us only; but to all the Congregations of Strangers: for it was greatly to be feared, lest the Magistrate, being offended with such meetings, did not shut up the gates of our Church alone [*only*]; but also of all the Strange[rs'] Churches. And therefore that he, to the end he might in good season provide for such dangers, would surely, by Ecclesiastical Discipline, handle, according to his desert, Master HALES (who then, by occasion of sickness, was absent), the author

of that Assembly: and that he would pronounce of us generally, that if it were not schismatical; yet that it did, without doubt, tend to Schism, howsoever we excused our minds and purposes. Moreover, he affirmed; That we had done very ill, in that we had excluded and shut out certain which came into the Church, in the time of our consultation and meeting.

Answer was made, in the names of the Church, That that Decree of the Magistrate was by them before both read over thoroughly, and also very diligently weighed; and that they judged that Decree to be most upright, and justly to be feared of wicked and lewd men, such as were Sectaries and factious persons; and that they did assuredly know that the threats of that Decree did nothing at all concern them, who were met together to make peace and unity: and that they, for this deed, did so little fear the anger and displeasure of the Magistrates, that they trusted the Magistrate would praise them for this matter, if perhaps he knew of the thing itself; and that therefore they were assembled and come together that the whole matter might be quietly ended among themselves, and not brought before the Magistrate.

'For where we,' said they, 'were banished men; and had, by the means of a very good Magistrate, received that singular and most excellent benefit of rest and quietness; we should do that which should be most unfit and unseemly for us, if we should, by occasion of our strifes and hurliburlies, trouble the Magistrate, and to render unto that very good Magistrate unquietness, troubles, and stirs: which should be very evil thanks for so great a benefit of quietness and rest as we have received. And we affirmed that we so much the more diligently and willingly laboured in pacifying and ending this controversy; because there were amongst us certain who, rashly and without advice, brought unto the Magistrate all light and small controversies which might easily have been determined and ended among ourselves: herein deserving no favour at all, either at the hands of so good a Magistrate, whom they oftentimes without cause troubled; or of their countrymen, whom they, by these their privy complaints and accusations, did, among strangers, slander as unquiet and troublesome men; and that they had done no less displeasure to the Gospel we profess (which, by occasion of such accusations, is commonly evil spoken of among the adversaries) than to that so good a Magistrate, and to their

own countrymen. And that we therefore (to the end the Magistrate might not be troubled, nor our nation slandered as unquiet and troublesome, nor the Word of GOD through us evil spoken of) met together to take counsel and advice how all the matter might be peaceably ended; and for no other cause or purpose.'

And where it was objected, That, in that Decree of the Magistrate, there was no mention at all made, either of the whole Church, or of the authority of [the] whole Church: 'We answer,' say they, 'that we do not so interpret the Magistrate's Decree; as though it were the Magistrate's mind and pleasure to take from the Church the right and authority due to the Church, and [to] make the whole Church subject to some certain persons. For we both well enough know, by the example of the French Church, in a like controversy; and we have trust that so very good a Magistrate hath very great care of the Church.'

As concerning Master HALES, it was answered, That he was then absent, by reason of his sickness; and not for fear, or that he was guilty to himself of any ill.

And concerning our whole purpose and business, because it was said, Though our minds, perhaps, were upright; yet the deed itself was, if not schismatical, yet verily tending to Schism: Answer was made, in all our names, 'That we would render accompt [*account*], as well of our minds and purpose before GOD as of our deed before the whole Church: and that, under peril and pain of the last punishment that Ecclesiastical Discipline can appoint; or, if the matter so require, before the civil Magistrate on pain of our life.'

And as touching them that were not admitted into the Church to our consultation; it was answered, That we were unjustly accused: for that it was not a public and common Assembly of the whole Church; but a meeting of some certain persons to consult of that which might be profitable; and that therefore they had no greater injury done them, in not being at the consultation to which they were not called or sent for, than if they had not been admitted into some certain private stone [*? room*] or house. For as touching the Church, seeing it was then empty and void of people; it was, as it were, a private house. Neither is every Assembly met there to be counted the Church. For when the Pastor, or some other, readeth there a Lecture, or moderateth the Deputations; it is not then a Church, but a School: and,

therefore, not the place, but the company of men gathered together, did make a Church or Congregation.'

Afterwards, it was scarcely, by many words, obtained of the Pastor and Seniors, That the Church might (without their favour and good will) meet together, for the finishing and taking up of this Controversy; and uprightly determining, Whether the said Pastor and Elders were an adversary party to ASHLEY, Yea, or No? Which thing yet, at the length, the Pastor and Elders granted to the Church. And the Pastor and Elders, being required and desired that they would together be present with us in the Congregation; they answered, That there was no such need; neither that they would, at any hand, hinder us.

The next day after, to wit, the 29th of January, the Pastor and Elders agreeing thereto, as is said before; when the Church was met together, Master HALEs, who then was somewhat better, and was present when they began to take advice and counsel, rose up, and spake to this purpose. 'My brethren,' saith he, 'seeing I am accused of the Pastor, before the whole Church, as the author of Schism, or of a schismatical fact, or at the least tending to Schism; if you also judge of me in like sort, I will depart out of this Company, as one being unmeet to tarry with you in this Assembly.'

This being said; he addressed himself to depart. Afterwards, he was called back by all the men there assembled; and intreated to abide amongst them.

Afterward, he drew forth that Letter by which he had called certain men together to make peace, and end the stir; as is before said: and preferred it to be openly read. Which Letter being read; that his deed was judged, of all them that were present, both honest and most meet for a Christian man: neither that any man that had called others to make peace by their meeting, was, for such a fact, to be accounted a Schismatic.

Then they were all desired, that, seeing they had so judged and determined, they would appoint this their Sentence to be registered and put down in writing: that it might stand instead of a Record and Testimony; not for Master HALEs only, but for all others in the like case: and withal that this new and present upstarting matter might,

by their judgements, be decided and ended; lest it might bring forth and stir up new contentions among them.

Whereupon it was put down in writing to this effect:

If two, four, eight, twelve, or more or less, meet, in the Church (when it was void of people, Prayer, or other Exercises), or else in private houses, to make peace between some members of the Church, or to consult of any other thing profitable for the Church; That that their deed and act should not, in any case, be judged or esteemed unorderly, seditious, schismatical, or tending to Schism. Neither that he which, either by writing or word of mouth, had so called them together should be thought to be the author of any Schism, or a schismatical fact, or tending to Schism and division.

And because now no place of speaking in the Congregation without offence did seem any more to be left to any man; it was ordained, the said 29th of January [1557]

That it should be lawful for any man (having before desired of the Pastor, Elders, and whole Church, licence and liberty to speak) to shew his judgment and opinion in the Church, without any reproach of a disordered deed. therefore: so it be that he did it godly, quietly, and soberly. If he should speak any ungodly thing, that then it was lawful for the Pastor and Seniors, or any of them, forthwith to command him to hold his tongue.

The last day of January, being the Sabbath Day, after Morning Prayer was ended, pardon was offered of all private offences, by the Pastor, in his own name and the name of the Elders, to all the people of the Church; and, in like sort, the people were desired to pardon them: yet in such sort this was done that the Pastor and Elders would reserve to themselves such Causes as concerned their Ministry, to be pursued and followed of them.

It was answered again, in our names of the Church, that we, in like sort, did pardon all private grudges: yet that the Church did, according to their example, reserve unto itself Public Causes belonging to the Church, and the liberty thereof quietly and Christianly to be pursued and followed. Which answer, although it were measured by the rule of that pardon and forgiveness which the Pastor had before offered; yet it did no whit at all please

1557. No one will accuse Thomas Ashley.

him: which thing also, I warrant you, he did not dissemble.

Afterwards, the Pastor and Elders suffered, that same day in the afternoon, the Church should again meet; and should try out and know the matter between them and ASHLEY: to wit, Whether they were an adversary party to ASHLEY, Yea, or No? But the Pastor and Elders, being desired that they also would be present, they would not thereto agree.

Wherefore the Church being gathered together in the afternoon; it was judged by the testimony of some meet men, and by this also that in the whole Church there could no others be found that would accuse ASHLEY but the Pastor and Elders: for it was three times very diligently enquired of, and published among the people, That if there were any in the whole Church which either would, or could, accuse Master ASHLEY, he should then utter it. It was, I say, judged and determined that the Pastor and Elders were an adversary party to Master ASHLEY; and that therefore they were not fit and competent Judges.

Furthermore, it was fully decreed

That the Pastor and Elders in such Causes as in which they were an adversary party, were not fit Arbiters or Judges: but that such Causes did appertain and belong, either to the knowledge of the Congregation, or of such as the Congregation would appoint to that purpose.

And because the Pastor and Elders have been oftentimes desired to be present with us, and yet would not; notwithstanding that they themselves suffered the Congregation to meet together; lest perhaps some deceit might be among many of the Congregation, as though it were not of itself lawful, or to small purpose, to appoint anything without the Pastor and Elders (which thing [was] afterward tried), it was decreed

That if the Pastor and Elders were required to be present at an Assembly, and would not come; that the Assembly was lawful, notwithstanding their absence: and that those things which they decreed should be had and esteemed as a lawful Decree.

These Ecclesiastical Decrees and Ordinances, which even now we rehearsed, were subscribed unto by Master NOWELL the names of Thirty-three persons: which is was the mouth a great deal the bigger part of the Church: for the rest. and, the 2nd of February [1557], were offered up to the

Pastor and Elders, in the name of the whole Church, with this Protestation following.

We present unto you these our Decrees and Ordinances, agreeing with right and reason, and not contrary to the holy Scriptures: desiring to have you know them, and further requiring that you would, with us, consent, yield, and subscribe, to the same. Or if ye will not do so; shew, we pray you, upright reasons and good causes why ye refuse. For we are ready to correct and amend our faults, if they be shewed us, at the monition of any private person; but much more at yours, the Pastor and Elders. For as we desire their wisdoms, to come to perfect truth; so will we not, through stubbornness, defend any error: [it] being shewed unto us to be an error indeed.

Yet notwithstanding, afterward, upon the aforesaid day of February, the Pastor did, in his own name and in the name of the Elders, openly read certain written Letters to which he and the Seniors had before, in the presence of the Church, subscribed their names. The same thereof was this:

Seeing the Church had left unto them a vain Shadow only of Authority, without any other matter; that therefore they did, in our presence, take off from themselves and utterly forsake all Ecclesiastical Ministry and Service to the Church.

Among other things, they added this, That we had given them a cause to complain of us to the Magistrates; but that, for our sakes, they would not do it.

Afterward, some of them departed, and sat down in private men's places: neither would they suffer so much as to be called by the name of Pastor and Elders.

Then one, in the name of the whole [Church], (having fully shewed before that there was no just cause given them by the Church so to forsake their Ministry) did afterward, in the name of the whole Church, very earnestly desire them that they would not, in such [a] manner, forsake and leave the Church, that had deserved no such thing at their hands.

This was, with most earnest and effectual words, required of them three or four times, in the name of the whole Church: but they remained wilful and obstinate in their purpose; not so much as once suffering themselves to be called by the name of Pastor and Elders.

Then, at the length, it was shewed unto them, in the

1557. Horne will answer, when 'ordinarily' asked.

name of the whole Church, That the Church would not admit that their forsaking of their Ministry; but would still take and esteem them for the Pastor and Elders.

And when one, in the name of the Church, did accuse the Pastor and [RICHARD] CHAMBERS to be such as had abused the Church; leaving it and forsaking it in such a manner, without any cause or reason shewed; and did, in the name of the Church, desire them to make answer unto him concerning this their deed: they utterly refused the same. But HORNE, who then was Pastor, hastily taking a pen, wrote to this purpose on a piece of paper, in his own name and in the name of the Elders:

'Whereas we are urged and pressed by one, in the name of the Church, to make Answer; we generally answer, That whensoever we shall be ordinarily demanded before the Church, or them which the Church shall appoint; we will then answer: or if we shall be called before the Civil Magistrate, we will there answer.'

Other answer than this, they would give none to any of the Questions which we had proposed, in all our names of the Church; and they assigned [*authenticated*] this Writing by putting to their names: whereas, indeed, this was not only to answer nothing at all; but also to pretend a cloaked cause of answering nothing at all.

Moreover, they were desired, in the name of the Church, That they would deliver to the Church the Letter signed with their own hands, by which they had shewed their renouncal and denying of the Ministry: or if they would not do that, that then, against a certain day, they would grant and give to the Church a copy thereof. But neither would they give them the Letter which they had in their bosom, neither would they promise any copy to the Church; who most earnestly required the same of them.

At the last, the Pastor and Elders departed; some certain few following them: but the multitude remained, and, so far forth as they could remember, committed to writing the Acts of that day; and the sum of that Letter by which the Pastor and Elders had willingly put themselves from the Ministry; and, for witness, subscribed thereto with Thirty and three names.

The next day after, that is, the 3rd of February [1557], the Pastor and Elders being called of the Church by the

Deacon, to intreat of making peace; they came together and met: but the Pastor and Elders set them down in private places.

Afterwards, the Pastor (because one speaking in the Congregation did not by and by [*immediately*], so soon as he bade him, hold his peace) feigned that he would depart.

But when he perceived that very few followed him, and [was] by some counselled, he returned; and suddenly placed himself in the Pastor's place, and called the Elders to him: which thing before he had refused to do; although he were, by the whole Church, very instantly and earnestly required thereto.

Then he spake to this effect. 'We, indeed,' saith he, 'did displace ourselves from the Ministry: notwithstanding absolutely and fully we did it not; but under this condition only, If you should proceed to deal in such sort as you have done against the Old and received Discipline. Now then, if ye go forward, as you have appointed and proposed; then will we wholly and altogether displace ourselves from our Ministries: but if you will obey the Old Discipline, then will we continue Pastors and Elders as we are.'

Answer was made, That there was nothing at all contained in the Old Discipline, whereby they might meddle with, or proceed against, the Pastor and Elders; if, perhaps, they were found faulty, and in some offence. Moreover, that there was nothing put down concerning such Causes as [that] in which the Pastor and Elders were an adversary party: and therefore it was desired that they would suffer the Discipline, in that behalf, to be amended, and to be made more perfect.

Now the Pastor (being offended, as it should seem, with so free speech) would immediately again have been gone, and ran even to the Church door: but yet seeing but few following him, by the counsel and advice of certain persons, he returned; and sat himself down in the Pastor's place with the Seniors.

And, in like sort, by and by again, upon the sudden, he ran, for the third time: but, within a little while after, he returned, and planted himself in the Pastor's accustomed place.

Afterwards, intreaty was made with the Pastor and Elders, in the name of the Church, That they would suffer ASHLEY'S Cause (in which matter they themselves

1557. Eight men appointed to try Ashley's Cause.

were found, at the length, to be an adversary party), and the hearing thereof, to come before the Church: and that the Church would, if ASHLEY were found faulty, very sharply and severely punish him; and, in this behalf, abundantly satisfy the Pastor and Elders, and all good men.

But the Pastor and Elders would at no hand suffer that. And as concerning the amending of the Discipline, the Pastor said, That he and the Elders, with certain others by the authority of the Church being joined unto them, would, if the Church so thought good, amend the Discipline.

But Answer was made unto both [Proposals], in the name of the Church. First, that it was very unjust that the Church should not be suffered to have judgement and determination: for thereby the authority and right of the Church was wholly, as it were, taken from the Church. To the Second, it was answered that since such Ordinances and Decrees were to be made, as by which the Pastor and Elders should be hereafter detained [*restrained*] in duty; some of them also being already accused: it should be unjust dealing to admit them to the framing and making of such Decrees.

And when they affirmed, they would answer no other thing; and [when] they were desired to suffer those things to be committed to writing which were done already, they would not agree: but the Pastor, saying, He was a-cold, made himself ready to depart; and, going his way, a few following him, he pronounced, That he dissolved the Assembly.

But the company that tarried in the Church wrote the doings of that day by their Decree; and appointed eight men to amend the Discipline, and afterward to offer it [to] the Church, to be seen of them.

They did also appoint other eight men, of which eight three always stuck to the Pastor, Arbiters and Judges to decide the Cause between the Pastor and Elders and ASHLEY. These are their names. Master RAILTON, Master WARCOPE, Master KELKE, Master FAULCONER, Master BENTHAM, Master COCKROFT, Master CARELL, and Master WILSON. Three of these were addicted to the Pastor: but Master BENTHAM and Master KELKE always shewed themselves indifferent [*impartial*] and equal to both sides.

From that time forward, the Pastor and Elders and certain others (being oftentimes called of the Church, by the Deacons and certain others, to intreat of making

peace and agreement) would never appear, or be present.

Moreover, the Pastor, and the Deacons, and certain painful poor men, ceased both from Preaching, and also the Ecclesiastical Lectures, and other ordinary functions and charges which they ought to have executed; neither would they come to solemn and Public Prayers in the Church. Notwithstanding, the Church yet, through GOD's favour, observed both Public Prayers, Sermons, and Ecclesiastical Lectures, and all other things accustomed; and minded to keep them so long as the godly Magistrates should suffer and grant the same.

And no other matter did so much spread abroad throughout the City as the fame and report of our strifes; and as the deed of Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS. For when they, of themselves, had forsaken the Church; and had, by their example, stirred up some others, with their families, to do the like; some of these now frequented and went, partly to the French Church, and partly to the German Churches: the matter now could not any longer be hid and [be] in secret; seeing it was published and known, not through the City alone, but the fame thereof ran to other strangers also. Which matter and business with their brethren, would to GOD! they had chosen rather to have had it ended quietly and peaceably in their own Church; than, in such troublesome sort, to have consulted so greatly both to their own dishonours and ours.

The 4th day of February [1557], which was Thursday, and appointed for Public Prayer; the Pastor, who that day should have preached, and all the Elders, were absent. Now the Pastor (being before by the Deacon desired, in the name of the Church, that either he himself would preach, or would appoint some other in his place) made answer, That neither would he preach himself; nor appoint any other: for that matter did nothing at all belong to him.

After Prayers were ended; some there were that disputed and reasoned in the Pastor's behalf, and said, That that Assembly, which remained after the Pastor's departure (inasmuch as he had authority to call together the Church, and to break up the Assembly; and he, going his way, said, That he brake up that Assembly), was no lawful Assembly.

To whom it was, in the name of the Church, answered, That Master HORNE had put out himself from his Pastoral

1557. The Church earnestly intreat them to act.

duty; and therefore, both for that matter, and many others recited before among the Acts of the 2nd day of February, he had not any authority, or any manner of right, either to gather together, or to break up, the Assembly. And although it were granted that he were their lawful Pastor; yet it was affirmed, That the Church was above the Pastor; and not the Pastor above the Church: and that therefore, though the Pastor departed before the Acts of that day were confirmed, and pronounced that, He brake up the Assembly; yet was the Assembly which remained and tarried behind, a lawful [*justifiable*] Assembly; and had authority to make effectual Decrees, by which they might bind all and every member of the Church without exception. And that this question, Whether the Pope was above the Church, or the Church above the Pope? was stirred up in the Councils of Constance and Basle; and was decided also by the authority of the School of Paris joined thereto. Now they which reasoned in the Pastor's behalf did seem, by the space of certain days after, to approve [of] these two Councils: for they placed the Pastor above the Church. They brought forth openly all the old store and household stuff of PIGHIUS and ECKIUS of the Primacy of the Pope, under the name of the Pastoral Authority, and for the proof thereof.

The Acts and Disputations of that day were, in testimony, signed and confirmed with Two and thirty names.

The 5th of February [1557], Master HORNE and the Seniors, being required of the Congregation, by a Deacon, to come and treat of reconciliation, would not appear. After this, there were three Messengers sent from the Congregation unto them, of whom one was to be specially revered of all that be of the Congregation, both for his age and gravity; the other two specially well learned: to the intent that they should be moved by these so honest a company of Messengers sent by the Congregation. These men (when they had, in the Church's name, instantly [*urgently*] desired and prayed them that they would come to the Congregation and there common [*commune, confer*], brotherly among themselves for a quiet agreement to be had: so as the matter might not come to the Magistrates' ears; nor be bruited any further abroad, to the great infamy of our nation) could do no good with them at all. For they said, They would not come, unless they were ordinarily called:

as for other Answer, at that present, they would make none.

When this Answer was declared to the Congregation, it was determined, That forasmuch as R. HORNE had openly put himself out of his Pastorship, by writing subscribed with his own hand; and confirmed the same by words and deeds in long abstaining from Preaching and other Pastoral functions, and affirming that such matters were no point of his charge: Inasmuch as now, being called of the Church, he will not appear; and so abstaineth altogether from Public Prayers and all Ecclesiastical Meetings: And forasmuch also as the Seniors come not at the meetings of the Church: lest the Congregation (through the forwardness of the said ROBERT HORNE; and [the] absence of the Seniors), being void and destitute of Common Prayer, Preaching, and Reading the Scriptures, should be utterly dissolved; that certain men should take charge of the Church, and for all things to be done in the Congregation, as it hath, by GOD's goodness, been yet hitherto done.

Other Decrees also, which are specified in the Acts of the 5th day of February, they established. All [of] which every one that was present confirmed by his name subscribed with his own hand: as they were wont to do in other Acts and Decrees. And to the Decrees of that day subscribed Thirty-three hands.

But in this behalf, both Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS and others in their behalf, did find very much fault with us: for that we proceeded 'unordinarily': that is, you must understand, contrary to the Old Discipline. For where they could not justly find fault with those things that the Church had done; they made cavillation at the manner of doing things, as an 'unordinary' manner.

And we answered, as well many other things grew now by occasion of that matter, as this chiefly:

In case Master CHAMBERS, or any other man, either would, or could, shew any ordinary way in the Old Discipline, whereby the Congregation, or any others, might commence matter and proceed against him, or against a Senior or Seniors; being accused: or how we might proceed ordinarily, according to the Old Discipline, in Causes where he and the Seniors were the one party; as they now were proved to be. And if Master HORNE, or any other man, either would, or could, shew the Title [*Section*] or words in the Old Discipline,

wherein this ordinary way is set forth and contained; then we would confess that we had gone amiss out of the ordinary way and Old Discipline. But if neither he, nor any other, would, or could, shew indeed; That they would not be discontent[ed] at us, that reduced the Congregation to their right authority; and amended that Old Discipline as a thing amiss, or filled it up as a thing unperfect; and brought the matter to the hearing of the Church, as it ought to be: and that they would, at length, give over to vaunt themselves so of the Order which they never had; or to blame us hereafter for proceeding unordinarily.

The sum of this Answer, we divided into certain Articles, and sent them privately to Master HORNE to peruse; requiring his Answer to the same: and also we sticked [*stuck*] them upon the Pulpit in the Church; where they remained a great many days. And where it was required, in that same writing, that Master HORNE, or the Seniors, or some other man, should make Answer unto these matters: there is no man yet hitherto that hath made any Answer, either by word or by writing; saving that Master HORNE, falling to his old general Answer, said, He would make Answer; when he were ordinarily called or questioned with. For by this shift, he thinketh he undoeth all doubts at once; whereas indeed to answer after that sort is to answer nothing at all: but to pretend false causes to hold his tongue, when he is able to shew no reason for himself.

For this was his meaning. That he is not ordinarily called, nor questioned withal, nor accused ordinarily; saving only before himself and the Seniors as Judges, whereas they, both in their giving over of their Ministry, and in the principal Cause against Master ASHLEY were the adversary party: so that, by his judgement, there is no ordinary way to meddle against the Pastors and Seniors, except they call themselves to be hearers of their own Cause, and their own Judges themselves. For other 'ordinary way' against the Pastor and Seniors, in that Old Discipline of theirs, neither he nor any other shall be able to shew.

After this, when those eight persons, which were appointed by the Church to hear the variance between Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS on the one side, and Master ASHLEY on the other side, should proceed in the

hearing of that matter; Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, which had absented themselves now eleven days from the Church, were commanded by the Magistrate, the 12th of February, (for that day, they and certain others were seen with the Magistrate) that they should in no wise come at our Church.

When we heard of it, we had marvel. First, that the matter was come to the Magistrate's ear; for Master HORNE and the rest testified, the 2nd of February, by their own handwriting, that they would never open it to the Magistrate: and Secondly, seeing Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS could, by no means, be intreated to come to the Church, it seemed a wonder that it was commanded by the Magistrate that they should not come; as though they had been desirous to come—which, indeed, needed not.

Therefore, the most part thought, That that commandment was obtained by their own suit at the Magistrate's hands: both that such persons as knew not the matter should be persuaded that it was long of [*on account of*] the Magistrate's commandment that they did not their Offices in the Church: whereas, before the commandment was given, they had, of a purposed forwardness [*perversity*], absented themselves now already more than ten days from the Congregation. And also besides, That the Congregation might not proceed against them; seeing that the Magistrate commanded them that they should not appear. And this was the very let [*hindrance*] indeed, why the Congregation proceeded not in hearing and determining of the variance between Masters HORNE and CHAMBERS of the one party, and ASHLEY on the other.

And in this, they burden us maliciously without cause, as though we would have ASHLEY rid from judgement of that matter; and as though that were the only thing which was sought in our contention: whereas indeed it was long of [*on account of*] them that his Cause was not determined.

Wherefore, having knowledge of this matter; for fear lest we should be falsely accused, as though we had uttered it to the Magistrate; and had seemed first to have accused our brethren unto the Magistrate, which we might not abide to do: we assembled together in the Church, the 13th of February [1557]; and there was openly recited in writing this that followeth:

‘Forasmuch as our contention is already bruited abroad, not only through this City but also come to the Magistrate’s ear; for we hear say, That Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS were commanded by the Magistrate, yesterday, that is, the 12th of February, that they should in no wise come at the Congregation till the Magistrate had fuller knowledge of the matter: We profess that neither Master HORNE, nor Master CHAMBERS, nor no man else, was complained upon to the Magistrate by us, or any of us, or by our means: but that we sought rather, by all diligent endeavour, that the matter should not come abroad, but that all matters might have been secretly agreed among ourselves; and that we would all men should [so] understand by this our Writing.’

This done; those that knew themselves to be of an upright conscience in this behalf, were required to set their hands to that Writing: and so there were Thirty-seven hands subscribed; as appeareth in the Acts of the 13th of February.

And where Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS (being so often desired, by all instant [*urgent*] means, of the Congregation, that they would be content to have all matters pacified among us by brotherly communication) did never suffer themselves to be talked withal of any matter; lest they should afterwards allege to such as knew not the matter, that they did it of force, because of the Magistrate’s commandment, which forbad them to come to the Congregation. All the time wherein they absented themselves, and contemned so many desires and intreaties of the Church to have met upon agreement-making, before any commandment was given of the Magistrate (which commandment notwithstanding may seem that they, at length, for the causes before mentioned, procured themselves) was recorded among the Acts of that 13th of February; and confirmed by the testimonies of Thirty-seven names subscribed, as in the Act appeareth more at large.

The 14th of February, those eight men which were appointed the 3rd of February, by the Congregation, to amend the Discipline, presented the Book of Discipline to the Congregation again: and the Congregation allowed it [see pp. 127-128]. And those matters that were altered or augmented in the Discipline were such as specially pertained

to those Causes wherein the Pastor and Seniors were the one party; and how it must be proceeded against the Pastor and Seniors, in case any of them were accused. For concerning these things, there was never a word in the Old Discipline.

And where, in the Old Discipline, there was no certain mention how the Church should be governed; and seeing Master HORNE and others had now utterly forsaken the Congregation; who, in leaving their Offices, had drawn away with them the most part of them that were appointed Preachers; and [also the] disposing of the Church's money; were more largely and more truly set forth and expressed.

For where Master CHAMBERS had authority to gather all godly men's alms for the poor of the Congregation confirmed unto him (as he himself required) in writing, signed by the Pastor and Seniors and certain others of the chief men of the Church with their own hands; and had exercised the same gathering now a year and a half [August 1554-February 1556], that he alone should receive all; he alone distribute, and be accomptable [*accountable*] to no man; and he alone to be privy to the money: that matter, were he never so faithful a man, seemeth very suspicious to him; and hurtful to the Church if he should die suddenly, as the state of Man is casual. And the example also should seem pernicious to the Church; lest perhaps another man, of small fidelity, should, by the same reason, draw all the Church money into his own only [*sole*] hands.

And forasmuch as the Deacons (unto whom the charge of the Church's money seemeth to appertain by the Word of GOD, and by the example of all rightly instituted Churches) in our Congregation had not a mite to bestow. For there were made Deacons honest men indeed; but yet such, as for their poverty, seemed not fit men to whom the common money should be committed; and by that colour [*device, plausibility*] Master CHAMBERS thought he might, without controlling, receive all the common money in his own hands alone. The Congregation thought good to have a Deaconship appointed more uprightly; according to the rule described in the Acts of the Apostles, and the example of other godly-instituted Churches: and to the intent [that] the Church's money might be meddled withal by the Deacons without all suspicion; it is provided in the amending of the Discipline, That such men should be chosen Deacons as be,

not only of a most approved good fidelity ; but also such as were able handsomely to live of their own, without any need of the Church's alms.

And, indeed, this seemed to be now so much the more necessary ; for that many complained : some, that the alms which they received before privately of private friends, was taken up by the way, since Master CHAMBERS began to gather ; as, indeed, Master HORNE, then Pastor, threatened openly, out of the pulpit, in his Sermon, saying, ' That he would stop all men's vents,' as he termed it, ' and receipts.' Again, some complained that they could have nought at Master CHAMBERS' hands, but after beseeching, and unreasonable long delays ; some that they could have nothing without bitter upbraid[ing]s ; and some that they could obtain nothing of gift, but only of loan ; and other some that they could get nought at all. So that now it seemed requisite, of necessity, to seek some remedy for these mischiefs.

All which complaints, we shall be constrained, of extreme necessity, to put into one several piece of work touching the whole matter, and communicating it to good men. And concerning the Discipline—seeing there was no certain express way in the Old Discipline how the Congregation should be governed, neither could any long quietness endure so long as Master HORNE had the government by that Discipline ; and seeing now Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS have utterly forsaken the Church, not only themselves but also have drawn away with them many others, and of them the most part of such as were appointed Preachers and Readers of the Scripture ; so as they might plainly appear to seek nothing else but that the Congregation (being destitute of Preaching and Reading ; as though it could not stand without those men) should be utterly broken up : the Congregation was, of necessity, enforced to devise and provide for some certain Way of Governing the Church ; whereby the Congregation might be set at a firm and a constant quietness.

AFTER, THIS 24th of February [1557], two Preachers of the French and Flemish Churches, and Master VALERAND POUILLAIN, came to the Congregation, with the Magistrate's Edict.

The meaning of the Edict was, That Master HORNE, Master CHAMBERS, Master ISAAC, and the rest of the Seniors should be restored unto their former full authority: and that Master HORNE should do the Office of Pastor, and they of Seniors, in our Church, till the Magistrates might have the hearing and determining of the matter more at large. And it was commanded, That all such men as had anything to say against Master HORNE and the rest, should exhibit the same to the Magistrate in writing.

Master HORNE, the Decree being read, consulting first with some of his complices (as in a new matter that he never knew before), said to this effect, That he was ready to obey the honourable Magistrate, as concerning other functions belonging to the Pastor, that is to say, Consultations with the Seniors and Administration of Discipline: but he would not meddle with Preaching; because [*seeing that*] his Ministry was infamed by some men, he could not do it without the offence of himself and of many.

Answer was made, in the Church's name, For that the honourable Magistrate had sent the Seniors again to the Church, the Church was glad of it: for they were all sorry for their departure; and now were very joyous of their coming again.

Concerning Master HORNE, forsomuch as he refused the chiefest part of the Pastor's Office, wherein he hath behaved himself well, if in anything well, that is, in the Office of Preaching; again, where he would take upon him that part wherein he is justly reprehended, as wanting discretion and soberness therein, that is, the Administration of Ecclesiastical Discipline with the Seniors: he overshooteth himself in both these points. Therefore inasmuch as he exempteth himself from that Office wherein he might profit the Congregation; the Congregation, in like case, will not admit him

Horne and Chambers refuse quietness.

to that Office wherein he hath ill behaved himself before; as the Congregation, if need be, shall declare unto the Magistrates. Wherein likewise the Congregation cannot admit Master CHAMBERS to the Office of Senior, for certain causes.

And for the rest of the Seniors, 'We,' say they, 'give unto the Magistrates right humble thanks.'

This done; those Three men which came unto them with the Magistrates' Edict, did earnestly exhort, first in the Magistrates' name, and eftsoons [*again*] in their own, to fall to a quiet agreement among themselves; for that were most honesty than to accuse one another unto the Congregation: which thing as it is most unworthy of Christian men; so is it unto us specially, that profess ourselves banished for the Gospel's sake.

Answer was made, in the name of the Church, as followeth:

'We wish for a brotherly peace from the bottom of our hearts; praying Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS instantly [*urgently*] to bend their minds unto quietness: and most heartily beseeching these Three men our brethren, and banished for the same Gospel that we are, that they will help with their authority to set a quietness among us; so as the matter should come no more to the Magistrate's ear.'

These Three answered, That they would hear what Answer Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS would make.

Hereto Master HORNE answered, Seeing the matter is already before the Magistrate; the Magistrate shall have the hearing and determining of it! If any had aught against him; let them put it up in writing before the Magistrate! For he was ready to answer all men; and either he would try his innocency, or (being found faulty) suffer punishment for the same.

Master CHAMBERS made like Answer for himself.

Then forasmuch as there could be no other end; the Congregation requested those Three grave and learned Preachers to make report to the Magistrate of their desire and readiness to have agreement.

And so they, as soon as these things were put in writing, departed.

And the Church also made an Act of that day; subscribing with their hands to the same.

The same day, at afternoon, the Magistrates, having more plain intelligence of the matter, commanded, by their Edict subscribed with their hands, that Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS should meddle no more, the one with the Pastorship and the other with the Seniorship, till all the controversies were thoroughly heard and decided. And commandment was given, that the eighth day after, which was the 3rd of March, such as had to say of any party should be present. This matter was grievous to the Church, as may be thought, that things should grow to such extremity.

When they had gathered certain matter, they exhibited it to the Magistrates, when as they came to the English Church; where all the Company were assembled before them, which was the last of February: where the Magistrates made an end, by their own authority, of the controversy; as shall be said hereafter.

The last of February [1557], the Magistrate came to our Temple [*the French word for the edifice of a Church*], a little before ten of the clock; and there, of his authority, reconciled certain of the Congregation that were at variance among themselves, and took order that all former offences should be utterly extinct, and buried in the grave of forgetfulness.

Whereupon, at the commandment, and in the presence, of this Magistrate, the parties joined hands together, in token that they were reconciled, and were good friends and lovers.

Afterwards, the Pastor, Elders, and Deacons, were put from their ecclesiastical functions, by an Edict signed and subscribed with three of the Magistrates' hands; and were all made private men, as the rest of the Congregation. And, by the same Edict of the Magistrates, it was decreed that that Congregation might freely, when they would, choose either them, or other Ministers. Likewise it was permitted and granted that, according to the ability [*to remunerate*] of the Congregation, they might choose one, or many, Ministers of the Word or Doctors. Moreover, order was taken, by the same Edict, that the Treasure or common money of the Congregation should be kept and distributed by the Deacons; and that the Deacons should, at certain appointed times, give up an Account of it, before the Ministers of the Word and Seniors.

The Church thanks Herr Glauberg.

We were licensed, by the same Edict of the Magistrates, to draw out an Ecclesiastical Discipline; whereby the Congregation should be governed.

Afterward, there was thanks given to the Magistrate, in the name of the whole Congregation, for his singular good will and affection to the Congregation; and the Magistrate departed, wishing well, in like sort, to the Company.

But by whose means, the Magistrate came thus unto us, and took such order; or whether the Magistrate, of himself, wrought this device: we cannot certainly say. But that we of the Church were not the cause that any such thing were done; we take GOD, and our consciences, and the Magistrate, who knoweth the whole matter, to witness!

THE MORROW AFTER, which was the 1st of March, the Magistrate gave us counsel, by a few lines that he wrote unto us [see page 142], to draw forth the Ecclesiastical Discipline out of hand [*at once*], while we were as yet all private men, and therefore might best take counsel for that that should be most behovable [*profitable, advantageous*] for the whole Company: lest that if we deferred the doing of it until the Ministers were chosen and appointed, our consultation should be more troublesome; while the Ministers on the one side, and the Congregation on the other, might pluck and force more unto themselves than of right they ought.

This most wholesome and profitable counsel of the Magistrate was, the next day after, which was the 2nd of March, proposed in the Congregation; and it liked and pleased the whole Company: notwithstanding, because that Master HORNE made some matter, for that [*because*] some were absent, the matter was deferred unto the next day.

The 3rd of March, by the advice of that good and godly Magistrate, Eight and thirty of the Congregation chose, by voices, Fifteen men to write Ecclesiastical Laws.

Master HORNE, and Master CHAMBERS, and almost to the number of Fourteen more, sat by; and would give no voices: notwithstanding that we requested and intreated them. But they required they might have leave to put down their minds in writing.

So then, being requested to write down their minds; Master HORNE rose up, and wrote on the paper in these words following, 'My mind is that the Old Discipline be kept still; and not mended.'

Master CHAMBERS and Master ISAAC, and others, to the number of Fourteen, wrote down their minds to the self-same purpose.

Now when we saw, far beyond our expectation and otherwise than we looked for, that there was a new dissension arising between us; being set at one and reconciled

one to the other, not scarce three days before, and in witness thereof had given hands each to other: we could not otherwise do but be grieved and sorrow greatly, to see the groundwork of more troubles and dissensions laid.

And because those Fourteen gave to understand, by their hands put down unto it in writing, That they thought it not good to alter their Old Discipline; to the end that it might evidently appear how many we were, that had consented upon the choice of Fifteen men which should set down in writing a Form of Discipline, according as the Magistrate had commanded: we, on the other side, trusted, that we thought it for the behoof and profit of the Congregation that a Form of Discipline should be made and put down, as the Magistrate had commanded. And to this determination and sentence, being put in writing, we, in number Eight and thirty, subscribed our names: with protestation that we did nothing but that was good and lawful, according to the Magistrate's will and mind; requesting them to give their consent, and to agree with us.

But they, after much debating and many words to and fro for their Old Discipline, that it needed not to be deplaced or altered, came to this pass at the length, That they said, 'We had to consult of [the] *correcting*, but not of *making*, a Discipline': and very instantly [*urgently*] and earnestly urged the same; upon the words of that advice and counsel which the Magistrate had given touching the speedy dispatch of the Discipline of the Church before the Election of the Ministers.

The simple
subtilty of
H[ORNE'S]
factious head.

We therefore, which thought it not much material whether it were termed *a new made*, or *a corrected*, Discipline, to have no occasion of dissension, changed our Copy; and put in, instead of these words, 'Discipline should be made,' 'should be corrected.'

And so those Fourteen, which made a shew before as though they would not suffer any one jot of the Old Discipline to be altered and changed; (calling to mind, I suppose, either the fewness of their number; or the odds of the matter, because that Old Discipline was utterly taken away by the Magistrate's Edict, the last of February, as the chiefest cause of our controversies; or else foreseeing that the Magistrate would be offended with that their dissension) they all jointly together, Master HORNE and

Master CHAMBERS beginning the dance, put their hands to
 HORNE and his ours, for the correction of the Discipline.
 company sub- Then did Master HORNE request, That,
 scribe to the seeing now they had consented unto us, for
 other party. the writing down of the Discipline; he and
 the residue of the Fourteen might freely give their voices
 for the choosing of those Fourteen [HORNE himself being
 the Fifteenth] which they had already appointed, or some
 such others, as they would.

But we (because we had before requested them to give
 their voices, and they refused: considering that those
 Fourteen drew all one line, and were fully bent in all points
 to do one as the other, being all like affected, and, by that
 means, might, of purpose, wholly bestow their voices upon
 some certain, and so overthrow our Election, which they
 knew already) denied to grant and suffer them; and yet we
 said, That if they would, we would not refuse to appoint
 another day to choose the said Fourteen men, or others:
 yet giving Master HORNE, in the meanwhile, to wit [*know*],
 that that matter, which might have been quietly despatched
 in three hours, would scarcely, by his means, be finished in
 three days.

At the length, Master HORNE, after consultation had
 with certain, spake aloud, in the name of the Fourteen, in
 this wise. 'Although,' said he, 'it were meet that we all
 severally give our voices; yet that we may be no longer a
 hindrance, I pronounce, in all their names, that we do all,
 by our voices, choose those Fourteen men, whom you have
 already [with himself] appointed.'

When the residue were asked, Whether they consented
 to this, or no? Master ISAAC answered, That all agreed;
 otherwise if any were contrary minded, he would speak.

And thus, by a general consent of all, not one man
 excepted, Fifteen men were chosen to write Ecclesiastical
 Laws, the 3rd of March [1557].

THE FIFTEEN ELECTED agreed between themselves to assemble and come together the 4th of March, at one of the clock at after noon.

Master HORNE
came not till two.

When they came together there was much ado a great while, Whether the Old Discipline should be corrected; or a new [one] made?

We, of the Church, alleged that all occasions of old controversies, whereof the Old Discipline (being unperfect and naught) was one, were utterly taken away by the Magistrate's Edict.

Some urged that this *corrected*, or *amended*, was in the advice and counsel that the Magistrate gave us for the speedy dispatch of Discipline. 'For,' said they, 'that is not corrected; which is clean taken away.'

At length, the Book of the Old Discipline, and another of the New Discipline [see page 117,] which was corrected in the absence of Master HORNE and others, was read: and so they departed for that day; appointing to meet again the 8th of March, at the same hour.

The Book of
Discipline brought
forth and read.

The 8th of March, the Fifteen men assembled again; and there agreed upon Articles for the making of Discipline, which were set down in a paper, and all subscribed unto them; saving that Master HORNE, and Master CHAMBERS, and Master ISAAC, and Master BENTHAM, would not subscribe to that Article concerning the having of Two Ministers of the Word: and yet, notwithstanding, they all agreed upon this, that it was a matter indifferent, whether there should be one or many Ministers of the Word; for it is not defined in the Scriptures, but left free.

Master HORNE
came at three.

Afterward, Master HALES gave to Master CHAMBERS a Book of Discipline, which was written in the absence of Master HORNE and others, and was of the same Articles as the Congregation had made and agreed upon [see page 117];

that Master HORNE, and he, and Master ISAAC, might read it over; and if they allowed aught therein, that it might be annexed to the Discipline that was in hand.

But, afterward, when Master HORNE, through occasion of talk about the correcting of the Discipline, said, That there had been no other Discipline in the Church but that Old Discipline; and that therefore the Magistrate spake of correcting of that, not of the utter abolishing thereof: and that it was answered, That that same other Book of Discipline (being written when he was absent) might as well be understood to be meant, as that same Old Discipline: both for that there was more equity in it; and also it was subscribed unto of so [*as*] many as well as that Old Discipline, which he so extolled. Then Master HORNE brake out into most spiteful words against all his countrymen that had agreed to that Discipline; which were, at the least, Thirty-six persons: affirming, That all they that had thus conspired together for the establishing of those Articles, according to the shortness of the time wherein they met; that they were, in a certain degree, guilty of treason against the Magistrate, against the Senate, and (to be short) against the whole City.

Then Master HALES (understanding by Master HORNE's words, that nothing was sought but new trouble; and being put in mind also of Master BENTHAM) rehearsed again that Book of Discipline, which, a little before, was offered to Master CHAMBERS: affirming, That he understood, they went about to seek rather an occasion of challenging at the Book by reading of it, than a way of making a new Discipline.

The 11th of March [1557], the Fifteen men met again upon certain Articles; to which, except one which Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS would not subscribe, they all subscribed.

A little before our departure; it was thought profitable that those things, which we had collected and agreed upon, should be brought into a certain form of a Book: adding, either out of the Old Discipline, or by occasion, as we were gathering these things together, such things as might seem profitable: Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS being intreated that they would gather those things in such sort, or else be present to confer with others that read.

Master HORNE answered, That he would not; neither was there any such need.

The 16th day of March [1557], they met again in the Church; and there a certain Bill [*Draft*] (in which were written certain Articles tending to Discipline) was exhibited unto them, that among the Fifteen it might be deliberated upon and debated.

Master ISAAC spake many things very sharply against one Article, as very dangerous and perilous against those good men, through whose liberality the poor of the Church were sustained; and making-wise as though he would know the matter better, he requested the Bill: which, being reached unto him, he putteth it up in his bosom; neither would he give it again. And so, by this means, he took away the matter for us to work upon; since that we had no other copy.

Afterward, the Book (in which those things were written that were agreed upon among the Fifteen; and certain things out of the Old Discipline, and others also, were gathered into some order) was brought out among them to be consulted upon: and being read, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, first of all, complained, That Book was gathered, they not witting thereof; and it had been long beaten upon among certain of them: and therefore it was reason that a copy should be given to them and to Master ISAAC; and a farther time also to deliberate. Master ISAAC affirmed that he needed two months, or one at the least, to consider of that Book.

It was answered, That although Masters HORNE and CHAMBERS complained that they were not admitted to the collecting of the Book: in that, they did us wrong: for being of us thereunto required; they refused it, and left it to others.

In that they required a copy, it seemed unjust; seeing that the Church had decreed that we, the Fifteen, should debate together as concerning the writing of the Discipline: for that thing tended again to a new dissension.

Again, that they required so long a time to deliberate, and especially Master ISAAC; it was most unjust. For seeing the Mart was now at hand; it was profitable, or rather necessary, that our Church should with speed be

established, and our Ministers elected: lest, to our great infamy, men coming hither out of all Europe, they might also see the broils of our Church, and so spread them far abroad among all nations. Moreover, that it would fall out to the great hurt of the poor, if godly men, being offended with our dissensions, being before beneficial to the poor, withdraw now their liberality; and therefore there was need of speedy help in pacifying and quieting the Church before the Mart; being now at hand.

Master HORNE answereth, That he required not too much time. Two or three days should be enough for him to deliberate, notwithstanding that the copy ought to be granted for no less time; seeing many things were contained in that Book, and some also dark and doubtful things, and to him, before that time, unheard of, or at the least unknown: and that therefore he requested that all should be asked, man by man, Whether they thought not this reasonable and just that he required. For if to the most, it should seem reasonable; he would, at any hand [*cost*], have a copy of that Book.

Every man therefore was asked; beginning at Master BENTHAM. He (as well for the causes before alleged; as also that no occasion of wrangling might arise of the Book, and lest the Book should come to the hands of any others before it were brought to the Congregation, and for certain other causes) thought it not meet that any copy should be given to any: but that the Book should be brought forth among them, and all they hearing it (that were appointed of the Congregation), it should be after read, and that time enough should be given to stand upon [*debate, discuss*] every decree and sentence; and more exactly to examine them—and this seemed to him very just and reasonable.

And this judgment is condescended [*agreed*] to of all the rest: and so Master HORNE leaveth off from requesting the copy.

Afterwards, the Book is begun to be read from the beginning; and in examining of every of the Decrees long time is spent, and of some Articles in the beginning much disputation and debating is had. But Master HORNE, Masters CHAMBERS and ISAAC, being asked their judgements, would not answer; no, not in the most plainest matters and known of all men, either to allow or disallow: as, for example, there was one Article.

1557. The Eleven finish the second New Discipline.

We profess the selfsame doctrine which is contained in the Canonical Books of the Holy Scriptures, to wit, in the Books of the Old and New Testament; in which is contained fully all doctrine necessary for our salvation. [See page 152.]

To this and such others, being most plain and manifest, Master HORNE answered, as to all the others, That he would answer nothing, without great deliberation. By which his doings; he gave occasion to all men to wonder.

And so, some other Decrees of that Book being examined; a meeting of the Fifteen was appointed against the next day: and so they departed.

The next day, being the 17th of March; and again the day following, being the 18th; Twelve of the Fifteen met: for Master ISAAC, Masters HORNE and CHAMBERS, came not.

Upon both days, the Discipline was more diligently read and examined; and of Eleven of them which were appointed, allowed and subscribed unto.

If Master HORNE took such deliberation before he would subscribe to that Article: what meaneth this, that poor ignorant men and women must thus subscribe upon the sudden; or else to Newgate!

UPON THE 20th day of March [1557], the Discipline was offered to the whole Congregation; that it might, of them, either in the whole, or in part, be allowed or disallowed: and, the same day, was it twice read over.

After the reading, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS required a copy of the Discipline; that, at their leisure, they might farther deliberate upon it.

It was answered, That it was to be openly read and read again, both to them and others, as often as they would, with time enough given to every man more diligently to examine every Article: but seeing the Magistrate had commanded that we should exhibit to them a copy of the Discipline, turned into Latin, so soon as possibly might be; therefore we durst not scatter any copies before the Magistrate had seen it. Besides, that we feared lest Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS (who were among the Fifteen appointed of the Church for the writing of the Discipline: who might [have] also, when they would, not only hear the Discipline, but also examine the same diligently, and yet would not meet with the others at the appointed time) would request a copy; not so much to know the Discipline as to stir up new broils. Nevertheless, when the Magistrate had once seen it; leave to be given to any man that would, to see it.

With this Answer, they and some others, being offended; at the Second Reading of the Discipline, they departed away; and abstained again, with their whole households, from the Church, from Public Prayers and Sermons: which thing blew up and increased the report of our disagreements and strifes. Neither would they, from that time forward, unless they were commanded by the Magistrate, come to the Church: when as, notwithstanding, they could not shew us any just cause to be given them, why they should so depart from the Church, and refrain [from] the Public Prayers and godly Sermons; as if we had been *Ethnics* [*pagans*] or Publicans.

1557. The Church adopt the second New Discipline.

The 25th day, our Discipline was read the Third time: and the 26th day, it was read the Fourth time, by the commandment of the Magistrate; at the reading whereof, all Englishmen that were of the Church were commanded to be present.

The 30th of March [1557], it was read the Fifth time: and so, at divers times, there subscribed Forty-two, in the good allowance thereof; which was the greater part by a great deal of the Church: for the whole Church, at that present, had not above Sixty-two.

And because now the Mart was at hand; that there might be some better Form of a well-ordered Church, Five were appointed of the Church, the 20th of March, to nominate certain from among whom, according to the Magistrate's Decree, should be chosen the Ministers of the Word, Seniors, and Deacons.

The 21st of March, the names of Twenty men, or thereabouts, were proponed [*proposed*] to those Five appointed of the Church; and it was therewithal declared, That if any would, or could, reprove any of them that were named, either in doctrine or manners; they should shew it the 23rd day after.

Upon the 23rd day, none finding any fault in any of those whose names were propounded; it was again decreed, That yet if they had anything to say against any man; they should declare that, the 24th day following.

The 25th of March, Master CHAMBERS, Master BINKES, Master ADE, Master BRIKBEK, and Master BENTHAM, who were among them that were named, told the Church, That if, peradventure, they should be chosen, for certain causes, they could not serve the Church; and that they signified this to the Church in time, lest the Election were frustrate.

But when no man could object any fault in these or [the] others that were named; the Election of the Ministers was made the 29th of March: and the ordaining of them that were chosen, was appointed of the Church, the day following.

In the mean season, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS and certain others, left not off to sue to the Magistrates that, both our Election might be hindered: and also that it might be lawful for them to be of our Church, and yet not to subscribe to our Discipline; the thing that they themselves, notwithstanding, would never grant to any others.

The 27th of March, after dinner, it began to be muttered of certain, That the Magistrate had forbidden that we should go forward in the Election. The which thing surely grieved us. For, by that means, we saw that we should have no form of a Church before the Mart, and that therefore we should become a reproach to all men; which seemed [*? shame*] should be spread among all nations.

But this rumour was altogether vain. For the 28th of March, which was the day before the Election should be, after the Sermon, the Decree of the Magistrates was openly read in the Church; wherein it was commanded, That we should take in hand and perform the Election of the Ministers in the same order and upon the same day that we had appointed; and that all Englishmen, that were of our Church, should be present the same day, at the Election, and give their voices.

The 29th day of March [1557], after Prayers, the Sermon, and Public Fast; a little before twelve, the Election of the Ministers began to be made; and, when we were in the midst of the Election, Master HORNE, Master CHAMBERS and others, to the number of eighteen men, (who, before, were neither with us at the Sermon, nor at Prayers; but had kept themselves in some houses not far from the Church; being warned of their side that had watched in the Church) came in suddenly, on a troop together, into the Church; and there each one striveth who shall cast in his Bill first upon the table standing in the midst of the Church. All which Bills contained one matter, and written almost with like words, to wit, That they could not give their voices in the same Election; because they could not, of their consciences, allow that Discipline by which the Election was made. And that they might enlarge their number; they brought with them two Bills of those that were absent, and of some others which were never accompted [*accounted*] of the Church. And so (after they had troubled our Election; and after Master HORNE also walking with another, a little while, overthwart [*from side to side*] in the midst of the Church) all in a manner departed again.

Afterwards, the Election was fully ended at one of the clock at afternoon. There were chosen two Ministers of the Word, six Seniors, and four Deacons. Now the Deacons were, besides [*in accordance with*] the wonted custom of our Church, of the number of those who could live of their

own: for that [*because*] the common Treasure might seem, without all suspicion, to be committed to such, rather than to the poorer sort.

Now in that Master HORNE, neither any of the others that were before in the Ministry, except only Master WILFORD, were chosen again to the Ministry, was specially through their own fault.

For Master HORNE never almost ceased, for certain days, to profess openly that he would never exercise again any Ecclesiastical Ministry in that Church; and being before appointed by the Magistrate to preach in our Church, he would never so much as once preach. And Master CHAMBERS, when his name, among the rest to be chosen, was propounded the 25th of March; he professed openly in the Church, all men hearing it, before the Election, That though he were chosen of us to some Ministry; yet that he would never use it: and therefore that we should not, in any case, choose him, unless we would have our Election to be frustrate. Wherefore it is no marvel, if they were not chosen; who, lest they should be chosen, did themselves openly denounce it. And, therefore, in this, they do us great wrong that would seem to bear men in hand [*persuade them*] that they were, at the first, thrust out of their Ministry by us; or long of [*on account of*] us, they were not chosen in again.

Master ISAAC, in like manner, Master BINKS, Master BRICKBEK, and Master ESCOT, openly professed that they would in no wise use any public Ministry in our Church. And, hereupon, it came specially to pass that only Master WILFORD, who had not made any such exception, was, from among them which were before in the Ministry, chosen again.

[There is a Letter to HEINRICH BULLINGER, in 'Original Letters' 764-5, Ed. 1846-7 (Parker Society) that gives the names of some of these new Church Officers, It ends thus,

Dated at Frankfort, September 17, 1557.

Your Piety's most devoted, the Minister, Elders, and Deacons,
of the Church of the English Exiles at Frankfort on the Main.

DAVID WHITEHEAD.	JOHN TAVERNER.	GREGORY RAILTON.
JOHN WILFORD.	JOHN HALES.	EDMUND SUTTON.]
THOMAS SOWERBY.	WILLIAM MASTER.	

THE 3RD OF APRIL [1557], the Magistrate (who desired that these Church dissensions of ours might be pacified and quieted; and he now, because of the Mart, had no leisure to do the same) writeth his Letters to Doctor COX, Doctor SANDYS, and Master BARTUE [*i.e.* RICHARD BERTIE, the husband of CATHERINE BERTIE, Duchess Dowager of SUFFOLK]; in which he exhorteth them, that they, if they could by any convenient means, as Arbiters of some estimation, end this strife among us.

Now when either side was come before them; and all we, in the name of the Church, (for all had granted our controversies to be heard and determined, without any exception at all to them, and to other Arbiters whatsoever, whom they should call unto them) had offered this thing to the Arbiters written, and all our names subscribed to it. Master HORNE, Master CHAMBERS, and others first required, That Master HORNE might be restored to his Office of Pastorship; Master ISAACK, Master CHAMBERS, and others, into their Office of Seniors; and the Old Discipline into his former place and authority: so as they were in the beginning of these controversies. 'For then,' said they, 'will we leave all controversies to the Arbiters.'

When we had refused this, as most unjust and unreasonable; then they requested, That seeing we would not restore the Old Discipline, and them to their former authority; that then we would suffer our Discipline and Ministers to be none otherwise than their Old [Discipline], without all authority, and no Minister at all nor Discipline, to be in our Church: but that the matter should remain in that state and condition that it was in the last of February; when the Magistrate, having put all the Ministers from their Offices, departed from us. And so should the matter be left to Arbiters.

When we remembered what, and how great, travails that Discipline and Election of Ministers had cost us; and saw that, by this means, our Church should be made destitute

of Ministers, and a large window to be opened for new contentions; and had also denied that thing: Master HORNE requested that it might be lawful for him to go a little aside, and to consult with some of his side, about the whole matter.

A little after, returning again, and saying, That they would leave no way unsought after, whereby peace might be gotten; although they yielded much from their right. Then he readeth a certain Bill to those Three appointed of the Magistrate, and to us; written in his own name and the names of others: which I have added hereunder, written word for word; lest any man should think that anything, of purpose, was altered by us.

The Bill of Master HORNE and others.

WE OFFER AND permit with most willing minds (having the licence of the Magistrate, as it may well be for this purpose) that all our controversies and contentions whatsoever which have been sown and brought in among us since the beginning of this breach, and since the first day we began to strive until this present time and hour, to be debated, decided, and determined, by Arbiters; being none of this our Congregation, and yet from among the brethren, our countrymen, equally and indifferently [*impartially*] by the parties disagreeing to be chosen, upon this condition, That not only the Election of Ministers, and besides all other things done by the Order of the said Discipline, stand in suspense: to be allowed, or disallowed, by the determination and judgement of the Arbiters to be chosen as is aforesaid.

Written the 5th of April, Anno 1557.

And that the indifferent [*impartial*] Reader may, by comparing their offer and ours, see which is the most reasonable; we have added ours also, written out, word for word, as we offered it up before the foresaid Master BARTUE [*i.e.* RICHARD BERTIE], Doctor COX, and Doctor SANDYS; and to the dissenting brethren.

The copy whereof is this.

WE SUBMIT OURSELVES, and are contented to commit all manner of controversies that have heretofore risen among us in the Church to such Arbiters as the Magistrate hath appointed, and to all such as they call unto them to the hearing and determining thereof, according to GOD's Word and good

reason. And thus simply and plainly; without any manner of exception or condition.

In witness whereof, we have subscribed our names, the 5th of April, Anno 1557.

Thou mayest see here, gentle Reader, that, Albeit we had our Discipline written and allowed of Eleven, of the Fifteen, men whom the Congregation, by the Magistrate's authority, had appointed, to wit, the Discipline; and thereupon confirmed with the hands of Forty-two men, which was the greatest part of our Church by a great deal; Albeit we had also all Ecclesiastical Ministers, by the Magistrate's decree and the authority of the Congregation, lawfully elected: Yet, for quietness sake, we put all to the Arbiters, wholly; either to be allowed, or disallowed, without any manner of exception.

But Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS and others, seeking more their own will than any quiet agreement, would not, at the first, admit those Three Arbiters appointed of the Magistrates. For Master HORNE made exception against some of them: and afterwards would abide no order or offer, unless we would, with our subscriptions, suffer and commit our Discipline, the Election of Ministers, and all other matters of our Church, *to stand in suspense*, as they called it; so that, by their drift, we should have had no Discipline, no certain Ministry, no Order, and so consequently no Church.

They would that these Arbiters should be chosen
 These three indifferently [*impartially*] from among such
 Arbiters had their as were our countrymen; but not of our
 being out from the Congregation: so that it should be lawful
 English Churches. for them to choose where they list, and
 whom they list.

Now consider with me, whosoever thou art, indifferent [*impartial*] Reader! if we, first, having given and sealed our writing, in the name of the whole Church, had granted our Discipline, Ministers, and all other Orders of our Church *to stand in suspense*, until they should either be allowed, or disallowed, of the Arbiters chosen in such sort: and till Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS (according to their canvassing craftiness, now enough, and more than enough, known unto us) had chosen Arbiters, for their part, out of far places; who either could not, or else would not, meet

together about this matter. Or (which was most certain to come to pass), if Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, wheresoever at length they had chosen Arbiters, had not, for all that, chosen such for their side who, unless things were done according to their own mind, would decree nothing at all: but the Arbiters disagreeing on both sides, the matter should be left undone. What then should have become of our Church, with these their suspensive Ministers, and with the Discipline, and all other things? For the condition offered up of Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS was declared to be this, That so long all should remain in suspense, till they should be allowed, or disallowed, by the Arbiters: so that, if the Arbiters should have been divided equally, as many times it cometh to pass, the Ministers of the Church might determine nothing; but the Discipline and all other things must continually hang in suspense.

Again, the Church, though it were in great peril and danger, yet lest it should leave any way unproved for the obtaining of peace, (because they thought that some of those Three were not meet, whom the Magistrates had appointed for Arbiters) offered up another Bill containing altogether the self same matter, and writ with the same words, That they would stand to the judgement of any other Arbiters whomsoever; being chosen indifferently [*impartially*] by the other party, from among our countrymen; and leave all things to them plainly and simply, without any exception or condition, to be determined and decided.

But they would allow no condition offered of us; unless we would first, by the subscribing of our names, allow that most unjust and unreasonable condition of theirs: and, by our prejudice, condemn our Ministers, our Discipline, and all other things that we had done; and so, by this means, had opened a gap to them, to overthrow our Church.

But when they had thus behaved themselves before Master BARTUE, Doctor COX, and Doctor SANDYS: yet certain of them, when now the Mart was in the chief flower, reported throughout the whole City, That we had rejected their most just and peaceable requests; and that we were altogether troublesome men, and plainly bent to suffer no peace nor quietness. Howbeit, we had rather that they should shew these things that are false of us to others; than that they, together with others, should openly deride our folly; (if we

had yielded to such requests) as they that, with our great toil and travail, had, to the quiet of our Church, established some Church; and now, on a sudden, by the subscription of one Bill [*document*], through headiness and foolish facility, should have overthrown the whole.

But they, when they could not obtain this, went about this [other matter] very busily, that the whole Church might then be dissolved and broken up. For Master CHAMBERS, for half a month's space and more, would give nothing to any man that remained in the Church, and followed not Master HORNE and him in departing [*separating*] from the Church.

To certain others also, he would give nothing at all, which were in the Public Ministry, to preach the Word and read Lectures, and also in the exercise of Disputing, by his own appointment and the order taken by Master HORNE, always from the time [March 1, 1556, see page 96] since they came to our Church: when now they were for their board in debt to their hostesses for four months [December 1556—April 1557]; neither had done any fault, unless it were because they remained in their function of Preaching and Reading Lectures, in which they were placed by Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, lest the Church should be altogether destitute both of Sermons and Lectures.

Only because, in this dissension, they agreed not with them, and took not their parts; and had [not] with them withdrawn themselves from the Church, that it might be utterly scattered: when as, notwithstanding, which is most dishonest, they had promised to give three months' warning before they would forsake them; which notwithstanding, Master CHAMBERS affirmed they would never do, unless it were that they were constrained by extreme necessity.

About the midst of the Mart, or a little after, there began a rumour to be spread of the departure of Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS from the City: but whither they would go, or whether they would at all depart, it was as yet uncertain.

For neither was it likely that Master CHAMBERS, (having gathered so much common money, and that by the authority and in the name of the Church, seeing he had been here so long without making of any Accompt [*Account*] to the Church) would go away in such sort. Neither was it credible

1557. Malicious reports spread during the Mart.

that Master HORNE, who had governed in his Pastoral Office and Charge so long, no reconciliation or pacification being made for so great offences, would so depart; yea, not so much as [to] have taken his leave of the Church.

In the meantime, it is incredible to be spoken, but more shameful to be heard, what reports certain had spread, that Mart-time, secretly; and especially among the richer sort, that were able to help the poor of our Church:

Forsooth! That there were certain traitors among us. That we desired to know the names of those persons that were liberal towards the poor of our Church; to the end to betray them and undo them. That we had cast our Pastor and Ministers out headlong from their Ministries and Offices.

In all which things, they went about nothing else but to stir new brawls and contentions; and that they may alienate the hearts of the wealthy sort from us, and so bring the poor of our Church, first to famine; and then us into deadly hatred of [*by*] them, as though they were by us thrown into these miseries.

But forasmuch as all these things are vain and untrue; and feigned by the secret sleights of those privy whisperers, who dare speak nothing openly; we have thought them rather to be contemned, than to be answered: hoping that, at last, when they are weary of lying, they will be quiet. But if they go forward still to belie us so impudently and outrageously; surely we will not neglect our fame and honest estimation: but we will diligently wipe away all their slanders with one sponge, and therewithal will open to the World their wicked endeavours against our Church.

In the mean time, nothing distrusting the Lord's mercy, howsoever the deceits of men would let [*hinder*] it; hoping that neither living nor food shall ever want to our poor Congregation [through him] who also feedeth the ravens; and that he will always be present by his Spirit to us and to our whole Church continually: which thing that it may please him to bring to pass, we beseech thee, good Reader! whosoever thou art, pray unto GOD, together with us!

and, Farewell!

Here followeth the Exhortation of the Magistrate for the amending and establishing of the Discipline.

The English thus.

WE THINK IT good and profitable, for the establishing of peace and tranquility of your Church, that you all together consult and determine as concerning the amending of Discipline now, whiles ye all be yet private men, and without any Ecclesiastical Ministry. For, whiles none of you doth yet know, whether he shall be a private person, or else shall have any Authority Ecclesiastical; every man will apply his mind and study to that which shall seem most reasonable and profitable, as well for the Congregation as for the Ministers. But after that the Ministers be once elected; it is to be feared lest they will draw somewhat more than reason to themselves; and in like wise, the Congregation to itself: and so your consultation may chance to be somewhat troublous; which we would not should happen.

Wherefore that all things may proceed as well as may be, to the establishing of sure peace; we exhort you that, with all speed, ye take in hand the consultation about the amending of your Discipline, with minds and means most applicable to tranquility: which Almighty GOD grant ye may happily bring to pass.

The 1st of March, 1557.

JOHANN A GLAUBERG.

[See page 124.]

Now followeth the Discipline: both the Old;
and that which was, by the Magistrate's
appointment, corrected.

[See page 26.]

The Order of the Old Discipline in the City of Frankfort.

The Old Discipline.

THERE BE TWO Parts of the Order of Discipline in the Church. The one pertaining to the whole Church. The other pertaining to the Ministers and Elders alone.

OF THE FIRST PART.

IN THE DISCIPLINE pertaining to the whole Church is first to be appointed, The order of receiving men into the Congregation: which is this.

The manner of receiving of all sorts of persons into the said Congregation.

FIRST, EVERYONE, AS well man as woman, which desireth to be received, shall make a Declaration or Confession of their Faith before the Pastor and Seniors: shewing himself fully to consent and agree

with [the] Doctrine of the Church; and submitting themselves to the Discipline of the same.

If any person, so desirous to be received into the Congregation, be notoriously defamed, or noted of any corrupt or evil opinion in Doctrine, or slanderous behaviour in Life: the same may not by the Pastor and Elders be admitted, till he have either purged himself thereof; or else have declared himself to the Pastor and Elders, penitent for the same.

*The good Behaviour and
godly Conversation required
of such as are received.*

SECONDARILY, ALL THE members of the Church, so admitted and received, shall diligently observe and keep all such godly Discipline and Orders appointed within the Church, which tend to the increase of knowledge and godliness of life: as the appointed times of Prayer, Preaching, and hearing of GOD's Word; the Administration of the Sacraments; with submission to all godly Discipline of the Church.

Thirdly, such also as, being in England, after knowledge received, have communicated with the Popish Mass contrary to their consciences, by reason of fear, weakness, or otherwise, may not be received till they have confessed their Fall before the Pastor and Seniors; and have shewed themselves penitent for the same.

This Article I find rased [*crossed out*] in the Copy. What they meant by it, I know not.

*How the Youth shall be
catechized.*

ALSO FOR THE increase of godly knowledge and virtue; all the Youth shall resort to the Church, every Saturday, at two of the clock at afternoon; and, when we have a several [*distinct*] Church, at one of the clock on the Sunday at afternoon; there to be instructed in the Catechism: and not to be admitted to the Communion till they be able to make Profession of their Faith before the whole Congregation; and also to have an honest testimony of towardness [*aptitude*] in godly conversation. And that every member of the Church do not refuse to read a Declaration of their Faith before the Pastor and Elders, whensoever they shall be thereto required.

*The Order of Correction for
private and privy offences.*

FOURTHLY, FORASMUCH as no Charge is so perfect but offences may arise; for the godly and charitable redressing and reformation of such, this Order is to be observed.

First, if any of the Congregation be offensive in manners or doctrine to any of the brethren, so that [the] offence be private, and not publicly known; there can be no better order devised than that which CHRIST himself hath appointed, which is:

First, brotherly to admonish him alone.

If that do not prevail; call one or two witnesses.

If that also do not profit; then to declare it to the Pastor and Elders; to whom the Church hath given authority to take order in such cases; according to the quality and grievousness of the offence and crime.

Of the Order of Correction for public and open crimes.

BUT IF ANY person shall be a notorious known Offender, so as he is offensive to the whole Church; then shall the Pastor and Elders immediately call the Offender before them, and travail with him to reduce him to true repentance, and satisfying of the Congregation: which if he obstinately refuse to do, then the Pastor shall signify his offence and contempt to the whole Congregation; desiring them to pray for him, and further to assign him a day to be denounced Excommunicate before the Church; except in the meantime the Offender submit himself, before the Pastor and Seniors, to the Order of Discipline.

Finally, in case any person of the Congregation be known to be a hinderer, or a defacer [*impugner*] of any of the godly usages now exercised in the same Congregation, either privily or apertly [*openly*], by word, letter, or deed: the same shall acknowledge his offence, with satisfaction to the Church; according to the true Order of Discipline.

THE SECOND PART.

*Of Discipline concerning the
Ministers and Elders; and
their Elections.*

FIRST, FOR THE Election of Ministers and Elders; the qualities of the same are to be examined and considered according to the rule of Saint PAUL, 1 Tim. iii.; whereof this is the sum :

That no man be elected whose Doctrine or Life can be justly reprov'd and condemned.

As concerning the Order and Form of Electing, the same is to be observed which hath already been practised; and is hereunto annexed.

*Of their Offices and
Functions.*

THE PASTOR, ACCORDING to the commandment of the HOLY GHOST in the Scriptures, ought, with all pastoral care, diligently to attend to his Flock, in preaching GOD's Word, in ministering the Sacraments, in example of good life; in exhorting, admonishing, rebuking: and, as the chief mouth of the Church, to open and declare all Orders, taken by him and the Elders, which are to be opened and published; to whom no man may, in the face of the Congregation, reply.

But if any think himself to have cause to speak; let him come before the Elders in the place

appointed for their meeting ; and there to open his mind, and to be heard, with all charity, indifferently [*impartially*].

The Office of Preachers, and such as are learned in the Congregation.

THE OFFICE OF Preachers, and such as are learned in the Church, is to assist the Pastor in Preaching the Word, Ministering the Sacraments, and in all consultations and meetings of him and the Elders, especially in Causes of Doctrine ; and also at other times, when they shall be required.

The Office of Elders.

THE OFFICE OF Elders is to be, as it were, Censors, Overseers of manners and disorders ; and to be with the Pastor in all consultations for the public Order of the Church : and that all corrections and exercises of Discipline be done with their common counsel.

Deacons.

CONSIDERING ALSO THE present state of the Church ; it is thought requisite that the Deacons (besides the special Office appointed in the Acts of the Apostles in caring and providing for the poor) do also visit the sick, and be assistant in catechising the Youth ; if they shall be thereunto required.

The same Order and Form is

to be used for the reformation of offences and crimes in Ministers and Elders, which is described for other Offenders; and to be done towards them rather with more severity.

Now followeth the Discipline Reformed ; and confirmed by the authority of the Church, and Magistrate.

The New Discipline.

1. **I**T IS MOST comely and godly that Christian people resort together in place and time, thereunto by common consent appointed (if the Persecution of the ungodly will suffer the same; and they themselves have no urgent cause to the contrary), there to hear the pure doctrine of GOD's Word taught; and themselves openly, with their presence and voice, to declare the consent of their hearts with the same; and to confess with their mouth agreeably their belief and faith upon GOD and his Holy Word; according to the Scriptures.

2. The Congregation thus assembled is a particular [*distinct*] visible Church; such as may be in divers places of the world very many. And all these particular Churches joined together, not in place (for that is not possible); but by the conjunction of true doctrine and faith in the same, do make one whole Church in this world.

And the Elect of GOD that be in this whole Church and every part thereof, with all the Elect

that hath been from the beginning of the world, and shall be to the end thereof, do all together make that holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, the Spouse of our Saviour CHRIST, which he hath purified to himself in his blood; whereof mention is made in the Creed, 'I believe one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.'

But, at this present, our consideration must be of the visible and particular Church.

3. The Signs and Notes of a visible Church are these:

First. True and godly Doctrine.

Secondly. The right Ministration and use of the Sacraments and Common Prayer.

Thirdly. Honest and godly Life, if not in the whole multitude; yet in many of them.

Fourthly. Discipline, *i.e.*, The correction of vices.

But the Two first Notes are such as, without the which, no Form of any godly visible Church can possibly be. Wherefore they be the principal and chief Notes.

And therefore we define a particular Church visible to be, The Congregation of Christian men, whether they be few or many, assembling together in place and time convenient, to hear Christ's true Doctrine taught; to use his holy Sacraments rightly; and to make their Common Prayer together: in the which there appeareth a study of honest and godly Life; and which hath in it a godly Discipline, that is to say,

Ordinances and Decrees Ecclesiastical for the preservation of comely order, and for the correction of Vices.

*Of the Doctrine of the Church;
which is the First Note.*

4. The Doctrine which we hold and profess in our Church is the same that is taught in the Canonical Books of the Holy Bible; containing the Old Testament and the New: in the which is contained the true and lively Word of GOD; and the Doctrine of health, both as concerning Faith and Godly Life, at full, sufficient for the salvation of all the Faithful that unfeignedly believe therein. The sum of the which, as concerning Faith, is briefly and truly comprehended in the Three Creeds, the common Creed commonly called the Creed of the Apostles, the Nicene Creed, and the Creed of ATHANASIUS; and, as concerning Godly Life, in the Ten Commandments, written in the 20th Chapter of Exodus.

Of the Sacraments and Common Prayer.

The Second Note.

5. We observe and keep the Form and Order of the Ministration of the Sacraments and Common Prayer, as it is set forth, by the authority of the blessed King EDWARD, of famous memory, in the last Book of the English Service [1552]: whereof, notwithstanding, in respect of times and places and other circumstances,

certain Rites and Ceremonies appointed in the said Book, as things indifferent, may be left out ; as we at this present do.

6. The times and hours for the teaching and hearing of GOD's Word, and the Ministration of the Sacraments, and the saying and hearing of the Common Prayer, such as be now used, or shall hereafter by common consent be thought most meet to be used, are to be kept and observed of all men ; not having lawful [*justifiable*] cause to the contrary.

*Of the Ministers of the Word,
Sacraments, and Common
Prayer.*

7. It is thought expedient for the Church, at this present, to have Two Ministers, or Teachers of the Word, elected, of Doctrine and Godly Life ; such as the rule of the Scripture doth require, as much as may be. And that the said Two Ministers and Teachers of the Word shall, in all things and points, be of like authority ; and neither of them superior or inferior to the other.

Now that you have heard both the Old Discipline ; and that which was, by the authority of the Magistrate, devised : order requireth that I place here the Reasons which Master HORNE and the rest of his side, brought against the New Discipline established.

And to the end this Volume should not exceed measure in greatness ; I think it expedient to do here, as I have done already, and mind to do throughout the whole Story ; which is, of a leaf to take, as I might say, a line or two ; as one loath to weary you, since a taste may suffice.

HORNE, ISAAC, CHAMBERS, WILFORD, with divers others.

18 Sept.

To the Article of Two Ministers of like charge and authority; we think we have good Reasons to require, That there be no more in the special burden and charge pastoral than One: to whom the others, joined with him for Preaching of the Word and Ministering of the Sacraments, shall not, in cure and charge, government and pre-eminence, be in all respects co-equal.

The Reasons.

1. First, the Scripture, speaking or treating of the Office of a Bishop or Minister, so speaketh, as it were to be presupposed and as an Order received, that One should in cure and charge be burdened above others; and in government, for order sake, in pre-eminence.

2. Item, the Expositions of all ancient Authors and Writers upon the Scriptures that toucheth that matter, do altogether, as they seem to gather out of the Text, conclude, declare, and teach, One Minister or Pastor, in respects aforesaid, preferred and charged above others. And thus do the new [Authors, etc.] also.

3. Item, this Order of One in cure, charge, and government, preferred, have all the Churches to be read of, planted by the Apostles and all others in the Primitive Church observed; whose examples of us are not to be neglected.

4. Item, like as good reason of itself forceth and concludeth; so all good Authors, both new and old, do freely teach, That, for conservation of unity and concord and for [the] avoiding of schisms and discord, it is requisite and necessary that a prerogative and pre-eminence for cure, charge, and government, be committed and given to some One; to be, as it is aforesaid, charged above others.

5. Item, all the Reformed Churches of Germany, for the most part, be of that judgement; and therefore observe that Order.

6. Item, if the Nicene Council decreed and ordered, for good order sake, that One Bishop, and not Many, should be appointed to every one City; how much more is it of necessity, for order sake, that one little Flock should be content with One?

7. Item, who is ignorant of this? That, for the most part, where not One, but rather Two, must have the especial cure and charge: there, commonly, things be most negligently done; and not so much regarded and cared for as otherwise they would be.

*The Answer of the Church, touching this Seventh Article,
to the Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren.*

HALES, WHITEHEAD, NOWELL, MULLINS, WATTS, CROWLEY,
BEASLEY, PEDDER, PARRY, WILSON, SORBY, BEDELL, FAUCONER,
RAILTON, CRAWLEY, ASHLEY, SUTTON, RAULINGS, BEST, and
divers others.

The second New Discipline.

To the 1st. We see not, by the Scriptures, that any authority is given to any One above others; but rather the contrary.

To the 2nd, 3rd, 4th. As concerning old Writers; we know that JEROME expressly declareth, That, in the beginning, the Church was ruled equally by Many.

But after, when schisms began to spring, the chief authority was given to One for authority's sake; and by Man's ordinance, rather than by divine authority. Wherefore we conclude that, as for Schisms the first order of Many was left, and One chief appointed: so now, for the avoiding of Tyranny, a worse evil in the Church than Schisms, which (as appeareth by the Bishop of Rome) is grounded upon One, we think it good to return to the first order of Two, or more, equal Ministers; according to the institution of the Apostles, as Saint JEROME teacheth.

And that those [old] Learned Men, who do most earnestly maintain the government of One, confess that, until the time of DIONYSIUS, who was after CHRIST 300 years and more, the regiment [*rule*] was equally committed to Many.

And as for the new [Authors], there be examples of the best Churches to the contrary: and Master CALVIN, in the Eighth Chapter of his 'Institutions,' the 42nd and 52nd divisions, declareth expressly, That there were, from the beginning, more Ministers of the Word; and that it is but of Man's ordinance that One was afterward made chief.

To the 5th. That [which] is alleged of the Reformed Churches in Germany the multitude ought to serve no more for One, than the best Reformed Churches, for Two, Ministers of the Word.

To the 6th. As concerning the Nicene Council, it is before answered; and in that they decreed there should be but One, it consequently followeth that, before the said Decree, there were Many.

And if those godly Fathers were now living, and did see how Antichrist is established upon One: they would more gladly return to the first order of Many Equal, for the avoiding of that most horrible mischief; as they then did, for the avoiding of Schisms, appoint every City One.

To the 7th. Negligence is no more in Two than One. Ability of well-doing things is more in Two than in One. And sickness being so rife in this City; it is as much as Two can well do: and one may be sick. And one may wilfully and suddenly leave his Flock.

Wherefore Two be necessary: else in the sudden sickness of One only Minister, when many others be sick also, due Visitation of the Sick is not well seen to; and Preaching is omitted: as it hath chanced in our Church; yea, and although we

Yea; but though he did so then; he will not do so now, I warrant you! [Because HORNE, in 1574, was Bishop of WINCHESTER.]

have Many [Preachers]. And therefore reason telleth us, That it is expedient to have Two rather than One.

8. Item, that the said Two Ministers shall, by themselves, or by fit persons (by them and the Seniors, in the name of the whole Congregation, to be appointed, when necessary cause shall so require), preach the ordinary Sermons on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays before noon; and instruct and hear the examination of the Youth in the Catechism on Sunday in the afternoon, at the hour accustomed.

And shall by themselves, or [by] other appointed persons as is aforesaid, Minister the Sacraments duly, say the Common Prayers distinctly, visit and comfort the sick, specially at their last time and hour of death, bury the dead comely, and observe all other comely rites and usages in the Church: directing all their behaviour, acts, and life, according to the rule of their Vocation set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

HORNE, etc., upon the Eighth Article.

Item, where it is provided that the Ministers shall by themselves, or their Deputies, discharge the Sermons and other their duties, when necessary cause shall so require: we say, It is superfluous. For a necessary cause needeth not to be provided for by law: besides that the allowing of Deputies by law made for that purpose, openeth a window of negligence to the Ministers in the executing of their Office.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

A law doth well provide that such may be in a readiness which shall serve in necessity. It is provided in many Cities by a law that, in dread of fire, every man have a bucket of water at his door; which is a thing necessary: and, universally, the multitude of good laws be grounded upon causes necessary. Wherefore we think that position, 'that necessary causes need not be provided for by a law,' ought to be

taken for no law. And where it is alleged, That it openeth a window of negligence to the Ministers; it is not so: for the appointment of those Deputies appertaineth more to the Seniors than to the Ministers, by our Discipline.

9. Item, that Six, either fewer or more as the ability of the Church will bear, such as be godly and have need of the help of the Church, be appointed by the Ministers and Seniors, in the name of the whole Congregation.

Whereof Four to be well learned, who shall read and expound the Chapters, and shall help the Two Ministers of the Word, when need shall require, in the Doctrine of the Word, Catechising of Youth, Ministering of the Sacraments, and saying of Common Prayer.

And the other Two or more shall aid also the said Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons, in visiting of the sick, and seeing to strangers, and in calling of the Congregation when need shall be, and in all other necessary and comely things and rites to be done in the Church.

Notwithstanding, any other godly and learned men, which live of themselves and be not burdenous to the Church, may help the Ministers of the Word in the above-named ecclesiastical functions, if they themselves so will, and [they] be thereunto called by the said Ministers and Seniors.

10. Item, for the further instruction of Youth and Servants, it is thought good that, besides the Examination of Children in the Catechism ordinarily used, the said Children and Servants with

the whole Congregation, should be all present at our ordinary Sermon, to be made purposely for them on Sundays at afternoon, so learnedly that it be yet, for their capacity, most plain, and with all possible perspicuity. And that one tenor of Christian Doctrine, from the beginning to the end, be observed and kept in the said Sermon: of the which no better form, in our judgement, can be, than CALVIN'S Catechism, received in so many Churches, and translated into so many languages.

It is thought good therefore that the Preacher of said Catechising Sermon follow the good order of that Catechism in his Sermons; and confirm the godly doctrine of the same by the Scriptures.

And after the same Sermon, the Common Prayer and Service to be exercised and finished, as at other times.

HORNE, etc. Article Ten.

Item, in the Article of Catechism, we think it is superfluous and tedious to have Two Catechisms in one afternoon: and also think that Master CALVIN'S Catechism ought to be used no otherwise with us, than it is in CALVIN'S Church, that alloweth and useth the same.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

The first Catechism is only ordered for the Children; and is but an examination and opposing [*questioning*] of them. The other is not only for Children; but for all the Congregation, etc.

Now forsomuch as the Reasons and Answers are very long; and yet some of them repeated in Master HORNE'S Objections to the Discipline, which he offered up to the Magistrate; I will here pass them over; and come to the said Objections, and the Answers of the Church to the same.

HORNE and the rest of his side, to the Magistrate.

We come to that now, Right Honourable S[enator], which we were charged to do by your commandment and appointment, That forasmuch as, for the appeasing and final putting away of the contention between us and our brethren, we should shew, Why we dissent from them, and cannot proceed in the same passage and way that they do? We shall so open unto you our defence and cause; even as we desire to be justified, both in our consciences and before GOD. Howbeit, we are very sorry that your Honour hath limited us [to] so short a time; so as in a Cause which, for the weightiness and difficulty of it, ought to be debated upon with more leisure, and very many things be weighed to and fro; we must, of force, in a manner, hold our peace, and say nothing.

But our trust is, that your Honour will hereafter remedy this displeasure, in granting us longer time, that we may more amply hereafter confirm our Cause; which we are forced to set forth naked and without any defence at all: which we will most gladly do, and desire that we may freely be permitted to do.

This is the thing that we often sought for, when we consulted among our brethren for the correcting and amending of our Discipline, That, as long as the matter and cause was in consultation, we might so long polish and finish more at large that [which] was alleged; to add unto all our sentences before the sentences brought in, and to strike out and take away from them, if aught seemed worthy to be taken away, albeit anything were put in as firm and established by our subscription. Which thing, we now eftsoons [again] desire most earnestly at your Honour's hands, That forasmuch as nothing is yet concluded and determined by your Honour; there be no such prejudice objected unto our Cause: but that we may confirm all our allegations with firm and available arguments.

And, indeed, seeing we must now intreat in order of those things which we reprehend and condemn in our brethren's made Discipline; this we first reprehend universally, That any other alteration or innovation of things should be in our affairs than such as serve only to the correcting and amending of that Discipline, which hath been heretofore received and used in our Church. Wherein we will seem also somewhat to satisfy our brethren's curious minds. This we say; because there is almost nothing that we think is to be innovated with such post-haste; and, indeed, there are many and weighty causes which do altogether pull us back from these innovations, and bid us stick still to our Old Discipline; and not, for the pleasure of some men, and contrary also to your commandment (given for the *amending* the, and *not* for the *making* of any *new*, Discipline) to contemn and cast away that which so many have allowed.

WHITEHEAD and the rest of that side, answer in this wise.

We had purposed, Right Honourable and righteous Magistrates, as we also signified unto your Honours, to have made no answer at all unto these unbrotherly reproaches of Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS; for they are the only Authors thereof: inasmuch as they be unworthy to be answered unto; seeing they have no sure grounds, but bare assertions only, which are as easily denied as affirmed.

And besides that Master HORNE said openly, in the hearing of all his complices, before Master BARTUE [*i.e.*, RICHARD BERTIE] Doctor Cox, and Doctor SANDYS, Arbiters appointed by your authority, That he was not desirous that we should answer: wherein, indeed, he was not altogether a fool. For he knew well enough what fond gear [*foolish stuff*] he had written; and would bear away this brag the while: not as though we would not, but could not, answer so light accusations.

Which petty brag, wherein he so much delighteth, we would have been content to have spared him; had not your authority, who thought it meet for us in any wise to make Answer, come between: and in case Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS shall read some things here in our Answer, that they would not; let them remember that they have driven us to it, in that they have blustered out in writing so unworthy matters, and that so falsely, of such a multitude of their banished countrymen.

For they, forgetting all humanity and good manners, object before the Magistrate, and that often, Poverty to a great many of ours now in exile, as a most high reproach. What then? Are they banished and poor willingly, or perforce? Were they not, and might they not, if they [had] set more by goods than godliness, be richer? And whence have they this poverty which ye, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, cast so tauntingly in their teeth? And whence have ye this plenty, whereby ye look so high against your brethren?

Surely, you ought to have advised yourselves, seeing ye carry the common Purse, before ye had so rashly and indiscreetly published these words unto the Right Honourable Magistrate, with the reproach of yourselves and of your countrymen. Indeed, we would have suffered these, as common reproaches, to be buried in perpetual silence, if it seemed not otherwise meet to the Right Honourable Magistrate, whose authority we obeying, as it becometh us, [we] shall answer particularly unto all the particular Chapters of your Assertions.

To the Preface.

Where Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS desire licence to say and unsay, to put to and take from, to subscribe and revoke, to do and undo all, as they think good themselves, they seem to require their own right; for they desire no other than that they have been used hitherto to do: as it is most evidently known almost to all the whole

Congregation notwithstanding this, albeit it is against Saint PAUL's rule, who denieth it to be his property to say, Yea, and Nay.

Neither have we any more marvel that the same Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS think the Old Discipline is to be retained still; as a thing that both hath permitted them free liberty to do yet hitherto, what they would at their own pleasure; and sheweth no way how to amend those matters, that they have done amiss a great while. And yet, because we have provided, by the authority both of the Magistrate and of the Congregation, that the like shall not happen hereafter; they accuse us of Innovation, forsooth!

Where they make cavillation about Discipline to be *amended*, and not to be *new made*; and accuse us, as though we have done against the Magistrate's commandment: We answer, That all occasions of our old controversies were taken away, by the Magistrate's commandment, the last of February: but the Old Discipline, as a thing not perfect nor indifferent [*impartial*], hath been the special cause of our controversies indeed. Therefore, we affirm, That it was taken away by that commandment; and power given to the Congregation to make another as it is declared in the plain words of the same commandment.

Furthermore, forasmuch as we have kept still the greatest part of the Old Discipline, which seemed indifferent [*impartial*], as it appeareth evidently in the Book of our Discipline; let them call it, seeing it so pleaseth them, the *amending* of the Old Discipline: inasmuch as to *amend* is nothing else than to correct that which is amiss, to put out that is evil, and to put in that is wanting. Therefore, whether they call it our *new-made* Discipline, or the Old *amended*; we will not strive with them about that matter: seeing we give them leave to speak at their pleasure. Only we declare that we have done nothing against the Magistrate's commandment in that behalf.

Objection to the Title of the Discipline.

HORNE, etc.

In the Title and Entrance unto their Discipline; we reprove this as plain false, in that they say, The Book of their Discipline was collected by Fifteen men appointed to do the same by the Congregation and the authority of the Magistrate: and so exhibited afterwards unto our Congregation by the same Fifteen men. For it was both collected before the matter was committed unto them; and confirmed beforehand by many men's hands subscribed.

Yet old blind Father LIDFORD, being an alms-man, was forced, by the B[ishop] of L[? ONDON], to subscribe to the Book of Prayer, among others more blind than he.

Touching the Forty-two which approved this Discipline, and confirmed it by subscribing; this we
1 Whittingham

may allege, There are Twenty-four of them, which live of other men's liberality and alms; so as they may seem rather to follow other men's wills, and to be inclined to their pleasures: especially seeing so large and ample promises, as well to live at liberty as to have their slender living relieved, have been made to this intent.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS deny the Book of Discipline to be collected by the Fifteen men; because they, being appointed of the Fifteen, have laboured, by all means, that nothing should be done for the setting of the Congregation at a quiet stay: and when they perceived that they could not hinder it, they came not with the rest the two last days, according to appointment; so as, by that means, some of the just number of Fifteen men should be wanting.

Was not the Book therefore both lawfully collected, and lawfully exhibited to the Congregation; because two or three of the appointed men withdrew themselves, against right and equity? What should be determined in any affairs, if the matter should tarry till all together, not one except[ed], should agree thoroughly in all points?

Where they say, The Book was collected before this matter was committed to the Fifteen men; it is a plain slander.

Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS might be justly ashamed to cast poverty in our brethren's teeth, now in exile; and that before the Magistrate; and to lie so openly, That Twenty-four of our company that subscribed live of other men's alms. And if so many poor men have forsaken Master Purse-Bearer CHAMBERS, is it not a plain matter, that they have been evil-intreated at CHAMBERS's hand, beforetime?

But where they gather, That the poor men seem to have followed other men's minds in subscribing to the Discipline, rather than their own; it is fondly [*foolishly*] gathered: inasmuch as, on the contrary part, it is most true that they which, were they poor men, followed not CHAMBERS, when he ran away with the bag, regarded their conscience more than the [ir] living: forasmuch as both they and all others might be certainly assured that they should most grievously offend, not only the Purse-Bearer CHAMBERS, but also two or three others of the richer sort of our Congregation.

But how much more justly might we return this accusation, which they falsely bend against ours, upon Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, and many others of their number, which have followed CHAMBERS in running away from the Congregation; because he carried, and showed them, a well-stuffed Pouch, as it were a standard to follow. For neither Master CHAMBERS, nor Master HORNE, durst ever have departed from the Congregation as they have done, but upon trust of

the Pouch; which the one hath always borne, and the other hath been ever an unseparable waiter upon, wheresoever it were carried: and yet, in the mean while, this gay fellow, HORNE, from aloft, contemneth so great a company of his countrymen as beggars and caitiffs in comparison of himself.

But in case there be so many among us that live of other men's alms, as Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS do reason; and seeing Master CHAMBERS took upon him especially, at the intreaty of Master HORNE, the charge of gathering godly men's alms publicly, in the name of the Church, for the relief of the poor of our Congregation; as it is already known unto many, and shall hereafter, by the whole matter severally set forth, be most evidently known to more. What mercy and pity is this of theirs towards their brethren, to leave so many miserable people behind them, contrary to their promise made to the Congregation; and to run away, not only from the Congregation, but also out of the City, snapping away the Bag with them: which contained many men's alms gathered for the poor, in the name of the Congregation, and to leave them all destitute! and also to leave certain Preachers, appointed by them, (which have served the Church a year and more, and to whom they promised that they should lack nothing) in a great deal of debt to other men for their necessary board!

And where they play such pranks; they cast our brethren in the teeth still with poverty, by the way of reproach, before the Magistrate. Let them go to therefore, seeing their pleasure is such, and number their own company! and leave out their servants, their boys, and such as depend upon CHAMBERS'S Purse (for he hath made it his own; and dedicated it to his own property) and let them tell us then, How many there be left on their part? if they be not ashamed to tell how many there be.

Where we did comfort our poor brethren, to our power, whom CHAMBERS'S running away with the Bag had made astonished, and would have had them utterly discouraged; they lay it to our charge as evil done. What is their manifest declaration else but that the poor of our Congregation should be utterly destitute, not only of relief; but also of all hope of relief, which hath ever been the uttermost comfort of such as be in misery.

In the Discipline itself an Objection.

HORNE, etc.

The next thing now wherein we agree not is, that which is spoken of the Two new Ministers. This they treat upon in the Seventh Article. This we defend, That the Scripture doth lean and incline rather unto One than unto Two; which One, as he must not be above the rest by lordship, so yet ought he to be above others in charge and in burden,

inasmuch as he must needs give a greater account [account] than the rest, for the Flock committed unto him and to his charge.

These we are able to prove. First, by the circumstances of the places of Scripture considered. Secondly, by the interpretations of ancient Fathers, and the best Learned Men of our time or latter days. Thirdly, in the examples of the Churches instituted by the Apostles, and most holy men after their time. Fourthly, this new Order of Two Ministers or more, hath been (as all the wisest men have always reasoned) the seed and fountain of all dissensions and contentions. And like as, for order sake and for conservation of the Churches in peace, our elders [forefathers] thought that One should necessarily be above the rest; so also, in this our remembrance, the greatest learned men, as CALVIN, BRENTIUS, and many others, do think. Of these matters, the best instituted and Reformed Churches in Germany can also be the best witnesses.

These, we profess that we both can, and will, more largely shew, as farther occasion shall hereafter serve: which we cannot do now, for that [because] we be limited to so short a time.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

As concerning the Two Ministers of the Word; we affirm that it is lawful [right], by the Word of GOD, to have either Two or more.

Where these men say, The Scriptures do lean rather to One; that is to affirm only, and to prove nothing: where as PAUL, almost in all his Epistles, writeth always as unto More, of equal authority, in every Church; and not as unto One principal.

Where they allege the ancient Doctors; JEROME, which is the most diligent in History matters, reporteth most plainly, That in the beginning, there were Many; and afterward, for the avoiding of dissensions, the chief authority was committed unto One, as the chief. But yet, saith he, that was done rather by the statute of men than by the authority of GOD.

Where they speak so much of the mischief of Contention in the Church, we confess it is a great evil, but that Tyranny is a more pestiferous destruction to the Church: and that Tyranny crept into the Church by One, the Bishop of Rome, may teach us at large.

Therefore, forasmuch as both ways, either by One or by More, evils may happen; we thought good to beware more diligently of the greater evil.

Where they bring in CALVIN for One; we marvel with what face they can do that! seeing it is out of all doubt, that he, upon one day and in one hour, instituted Two Ministers [CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN

and ANTHONY GILBY; see page 86], of equal authority in all things, in the English Congregation which is at Geneva. And also seeing that, in the Eighth Chapter and 42 and 52 divisions of his 'Christian Institution,' he declareth openly, That there were, from the beginning, more Ministers of the Word, of equal authority, in the Church of Christ.

Where they allege the examples of the Churches of Germany; we also want not examples, of the Dutch Church at Emden, wherein there be Three Ministers of the Word, of equal authority; and of the French Church of this City; and of the English Church of Geneva. Yea, and CALVIN himself is counted superior to his fellows, not by authority of Office, but in respect of his learning and merits.

Therefore, inasmuch as it is also permitted unto us, by the Magistrates' appointment, to choose One or More; let them leave their wrangling for a thing indifferent, as though it were for life and land!

Where they profess that they will make large proof of this matter at leisure; let them profess these gay glorious promises so long as they will! so [that] they know, The longer they labour in this matter; so much less shall they both shew and bring to pass.

The Objection to the Eighth Article.

HORNE, etc.

In the Eighth Article, Ministers commit and assign the burden and cure, wherewith they are charged, unto others, with over-much facility. We demand also this, which appeareth not plainly enough in their Discipline, To whom pertaineth it, to allow their allegations and excuses; when they will leave their charges to others? [See also page 156.]

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

What inhumanity is it, not to be content, that the Ministers of the Word, upon weighty causes, as sickness, or urgent business of importance, should be eased of their burdens? as though they, that find fault at this now, permitted not the same to themselves before! rough against others, and over favourable to themselves.

And where they demand, Unto whom it pertaineth to allow their lawful causes? We wonder, that they neither read jointly, in the same place, the name of Seniors, to whom the matter is committed; nor remember that general point in the Thirty-seventh Article, That the government of the whole Church is committed to the Ministers and Seniors. [See page 185.]

11. Item, that the one Preacher being sick; the other shall do, or see done by other fit persons, as is

before said, all the duty and duties to the other, so sick, belonging.

12. Item, that a Lecture of Divinity, and Disputations for the exercise of Students, if it may be, be maintained ; or else that Prophecy [*the discussion of Texts of Scripture*] be used every fortnight in the English tongue, for the exercise of the said Students, and edifying of the Congregation : or both Disputations and Prophecy also ; if it so shall seem good unto the Ministers and Seniors.

13. Item, that such as shall thereunto seem most meet of the Congregation, shall be appointed to translate into English some such books as shall be profitable, either for the instruction, or for the comfort, of our country [men], in this our exile, and affliction of our country.

The Objection to the Thirteenth Article.

HORNE, etc.

We allow the translating of books. But that so open a law should be made for that matter ; that is the thing we find fault with. For it both containeth that which is a pestilent matter to our Congregation, by means of danger of such as are wont to travel as strangers up hither unto us out of England ; as also it may be reprehended in that it seemeth to smell and tend openly to the private commodity [*advantage*] of some men [in so common a profit].

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Where it is signified that certain books godly and fit either to instruct, or comfort, our countrymen in this calamity of ours, and of our country, should be translated into our tongue ; than the which there can be nothing more profitable or necessary ; they say, It is a pestilent matter, forsooth, because it is so openly mentioned ; as though by speaking nothing, it might be persuaded that we do nothing here but sleep.

The second New Discipline.

For where they add, touching 'the private commodity of some [men] in so common a profit'; we cannot guess what that meaneth: inasmuch as all men that have, in these miserable days, yet hitherto caused books to be set forth in our tongue, have rather lost, than won, by them.

14. Item, that the common books or Library of the Church be, at the appointment of the Ministers and Seniors, in such place as all the students may most conveniently come unto.

*The Third Note,
that is
Christian Life and Good
Works; the fruits of Godly
Doctrine.*

15. Item, we teach that such Good Works are to be done as are commanded by GOD's Word in the Scriptures; and such evil deeds to be avoided as are forbidden by the same.

16. And where as concerning the fruits of Godly Doctrine none is more commanded in the Scriptures than the Relieving of the Poor; which either is done privately by every person; or else by the Common Treasury of the Church. For the good and right use and order of the same; it appeareth, as well by GOD's Word as by the examples of Churches rightly reformed, that both the keeping, and also the distribution, of the Treasure of the Church appertaineth to the Deacons: who be so necessary Ministers in the Church of CHRIST that without them, it cannot well be. For CHRIST saith, You shall have always poor men among you,

[Matt. xxvi., 11]. Wherefore they ought to be honoured of all men: and they themselves ought to have this opinion, That they highly please GOD in that Ministry.

The Objection to the Sixteenth Article.

HORNE, etc.

In the Sixteenth Article, the custody of the Treasure of the Church pertaineth not necessarily to the Deacons, by the Word of GOD. And, at this day, many Reformed Churches do not observe it: and, moreover, it seemeth more profitable unto our Congregation to have it otherwise. Fourthly, the most part of the ancientest Churches keep a plain other custom.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

If they be able to shew so plain a place in all the whole Scripture for any others that ought to have the custody of the Treasure of the Church, as is in the 6th of the Acts of the Apostles, for the Deacons; we yield unto them.

Yea, and CALVIN shall yield also! whose name they oftentimes wondrous confidently and falsely allege; who, in the Eighth Chapter of the 'Institution of the Christian Religion,' in the 55th Division, thinketh plainly as we do, as well concerning the custody, as the distribution, of all Church money; and uttereth the same in plain words. 'In the Primitive Church,' saith he, 'the Deacons received, even as it was under the Apostles, faithful people's daily oblations, and the yearly revenues of the Church; to the intent they should bestow them upon true uses.' We desire them now to shew us more plainly, unto what other men that charge doth rather belong, than to the Deacons, etc.

But they say, Many Reformed Churches observe not this; and that it will be more profitable for our Congregation to have it otherwise. And that the most part of the ancientest Churches keep still another custom. This, as we said before, is only to affirm, and prove nothing: but thus they do almost always.

But where they speak of 'the ancientest Churches'; we believe they mean the Popish Churches, but would not, for shame, utter it: or else let them shew us what ancient Churches those be! Yet this we may not overpass, how that they affirm that it will be profitable for our Church to have it otherwise: that is, that One, as it is now, have the custody alone, know alone, and distribute the Church money alone, and make accompt [*account*] alone, and to himself alone. But we are ready to prove, either to the Magistrate, or to the World (in case the

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Magistrate so permit it), both by testimonies, reasons, and matters indeed, that this is not only not profitable; but also that it hath [been], and is, utterly pernicious; and to the plain undoing of our Church.

17. Wherefore we think it expedient for the Church, that Four men, of special gravity, authority, and credit, in the Church, such as of themselves be able to live; and will do this godly Office rather for CHRIST's sake, and the love they bear to him and his Flock, than for any their own necessity or worldly reward, be chosen to be Deacons: which Four Deacons shall have the custody of the Treasure, and [the] distribution of the same, and other alms of the Church remaining in their hands and keeping, in such sort as it shall seem good to the Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons, for the most safety of the said Treasure.

The Objection to the Seventeenth Article.

HORNE, etc.

We find fault that the Election of the Deacons is not free enough. For the rich men must be always taken. Also in that they ought to depend upon the will and counsel of the Elders; where now a great part of the Elders both live and depend upon the Deacons' Purse. Their mouth therefore seemeth to be stopped; so as they dare never reprove and over-sore correct the Deacons, when they offend.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

There was never man, that was in his right wits, which denied it to be most profitable for the Church to have such men chosen to be Deacons, as the least suspicion can be had in.

Where HORNE and CHAMBERS affirm that a great part of the Elders live and depend upon the Deacons' Purse; it is a plain slanderous report.

But admit there be one or two among them of the poorer sort, that shall perhaps have need, now and then, of some relief of the Church moncy. Do not you, HORNE and CHAMBERS! know that they have been

richer in times past; and, except they prefer Religion to Riches, may be richer, when they will? And now, as they are become willingly banished men; so are they willingly poor men, for the same Religion's sake that ye will seem to profess! Wherefore then had ye rather enviously to reprehend poverty in such a one, than gently to commend so great a virtue; but that ye are driven hereto by the grief of your stomachs, through malice.

What! Doth PAUL require wealth in Elders, as ye do; or virtue? Go to! and shew us out of PAUL that this your Purse Wealth is so necessary to an Elder? We dare affirm that such a one should have been of more authority with PAUL, as also with all men that be godly, and more worthy to be an Elder, by reason of his poverty; for the which he is so contemned at your hand.

But poor Elders dare not, ye must understand, reprove offending Deacons! Do not you, HORNE and CHAMBERS! know that, in the Primitive Church, Bishops themselves had their appointed living out of the Treasure of the Church; which was in the Deacons' hands: and yet the Deacons, in case they did amiss, were never the less sharply corrected of them! And yet these men, that require such ruffling [*swaggering*] rich Elders, would have Deacons of the poorer sort! But by what example? and by what reason? Why cannot ye, being Christians, be content, in exile, as well with poor Elders as with poor Deacons?

We remember that one of you said, in our hearing, and in the hearing of many others, That you could not, with your conscience, be under such Ministers and such Seniors as our Church hath now chosen. If ye can find no other fault in them than wilful [*voluntary*] poverty; the Congregation also cannot repent them yet of the Ministers and Seniors whom they have chosen: and as for this pure conscience of yours, we pass [*care*] not for it!

But we think, if wealth be to [*be*] respected in any that is in Ecclesiastical Ministry, it is to be respected chiefly in Deacons; that they meddle with the Church money without sinister suspicion. Indeed, about four months past [*? December 1556*], ye had Deacons, surely honest men, we say not, Nay!: but yet such as, for their slender ability, ye made such underlings, that ye brought, not only the honest good men; but also the Ministry of Deacons, to the great injury of the Apostles' Ordinance, into very much contempt. And in case we have thought good to beware, by all means, of that evil; ye ought not to have been grieved at it: but rather to have rejoiced in the Church's behalf. But herein there is one great sin, That this is not done by you; but rather against your minds: seeing ye think nothing to be right, nor any thing to stand in force; unless it proceed of you.

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18. Item, that although the Deacons have in their custody the Treasure of the Church: yet the Ministers and Seniors shall have knowledge of the whole sum of the said Treasure.

The Objection against the Eighteenth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The Ministers shall be privy how much money there is; but not how it is bestowed. This is against the custom of the ancientest and best instituted Churches; and contrary to the judgement of the greatest Learned that be in these days, as CALVIN and others; which as they permit the distribution unto the Deacons; even so will they have it done at the arbitrement and appointment of the Elders.

If CALVIN be so in your judgement; I hope you will allow his two letters before [pp. 50-51, 78-80].

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

'The Ministers,' say they, 'shall be privy how much money there is; but not how it is bestowed.' Where find you in our Book these words 'but not how it is bestowed'? And yet, when he hath added it, of his own, Lord! how he triumpheth here, of 'the custom of the most ancientest Churches,' of 'the minds of the greatest Learned Men, namely, Master CALVIN,' etc.

In this matter, the man truly seemeth not to have wanted space and time, whereof he had too much to write so fond [*foolish*] vanities; but that he lacked his eyesight, and somewhat else besides!

19. Provided always that neither the said Four Deacons, Ministers, Seniors, of any of them, shall have any knowledge, or make any inquisition, of the giver, or givers, of any alms to the poor of the said Church, otherwise than the messenger or bringer of the said alms shall, of himself, declare to whom, and as he hath commission from the givers so to do: but that the gift be received and known; and the giver's and givers' names be unknown, and kept close with all possible secrecy.

The Objection against the Nineteenth Article.

HORNE, etc.

Albeit they would cover the matter; yet by making of laws, they make all openly known. For they disclose thus much, That we send out our gatherers to bring other men's liberality unto us: which thing shall bring great danger to many; inasmuch as the enemies of our Religion will easily conjecture from whom this so great liberality cometh.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

There is a great foresight in these men, that they can reprehend that thing in us, which they themselves have done now already these three years [1555-1557]: but it is [*is it not as*] well known that they send out their gatherers, no more than it is that we be at Frankfort.

And then he addeth, That the enemies may easily conjecture from whom this so great liberality cometh.

We wonder what he meaneth! or how much it is, that he called 'so great'! Doth CHAMBERS, at unawares, mean the greatness of his Purse? For, as for us, we have yet hitherto sent out nobody to gather; much less have received anything by any gatherer.

20. Item, that the said Deacons, once in a month, that is, the last day of every month, shall make their accompts [*accounts*], before the Ministers and Seniors, how the said Treasure be bestowed: and that all the said company so appointed to make the accompt, shall note the remains of the said Treasure at the day and year in the which every accompt shall be taken.

21. Item, we think good, and do decree, That there being a School in the said Church (seeing the said School is a member of the said Church, as of the whole body), the Treasure for its maintenance, and for the maintenance of the other poor also, be all one and joined together: that neither in the procuring of the said Treasure,

or in the distribution thereof, any occasion of division, emulation, or contention, do happen among them; who ought to live like brethren, and members of one body, in all concord, conjunction, and unity. Otherwise the School, which is of itself so worthy a member of the body, may, by abuse, cause not only the hindrance, but also the destruction, of the whole body.

The Objection against the Twenty-first Article.

HORNE, etc.

We wot [*know*] not what they mean by the School: but howsoever the matter is, it shall annoy us very much, if they build up so many things with so solemn a Profession; and shall bring our adversaries into such a suspicion that we receive much more of other men than cometh to our hands indeed. And this shall come of it, that very many shall, for our sakes, be most straitly handled and examined.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

What if two or three Papists list to lie, That we receive many thousands! shall this breed great danger to us and others? and shall many be most straitly handled and examined therefore?

They may feign dangers out of everything, if they will!

But he thinketh it would not be known that here are Students, Lectures, and Disputations; if we had spoken nothing of the School in our Discipline. For it was not [*was it not*] known that there was a College of Students at Zurich before? It is a world to see how circumspect these men be in words; when they are minded to speak anything against this our foolish simplicity! For what madness is it to think that those things which be, every day, open before men's eyes, are the more known by one sentence written in a Book, which very few shall look in!

22. Item, that, in the distribution of the said Treasure, a special regard be had of the said Students that be poor: first, for that they be poor; and again, for that they be destinate to be Workmen in the Lord's Vineyard, and so [*are*]

worthy members in the body. And that as they be studious, of the Scriptures specially; and yet withal of other Liberal Arts also, as ministers and handmaids to the setting forth of GOD's Word: so they may be liberally handled; and receive GOD's blessing, which is the liberality of the godly, without the shame and abashment; as the gift of GOD, who giveth to all men, and upbraideth no man.

23. Item, it is decreed, and also the whole Congregation desireth, the Deacons monthly to visit and speak privately with the said Students that be poor; and other poor also: and to examine their states friendly and charitably, and, according to every man's necessity, as the Treasure of the Church will bear, to offer to every one of them; with obtestation [*calling God to witness*] to them, That if they have no need thereof, they receive it not: for that were nothing else but to rob the needy.

For so shall both the shamefastness of the honest and liberal natures be saved; and the Treasure of the Church willingly spared.

For he (that, upon such obtestation, will not refrain to receive that is offered, when he hath no need) will not be ashamed to beg and crave, when he hath no need; and that, not only [with] lying, but also with perjury, if need be.

24. Item, if any, by evident proofs, such as cannot be gainsaid, be found to have taken, or used, the Treasure of the Church,

having no need thereof: that then, not only he be exempted from any more partaking of the said Treasure till it appear that he have evident need; but also that he do make therefore public satisfaction, before he be admitted to the Communion.

*The Objection to the Twenty-second, Twenty-third,
and Twenty-fourth Articles.*

HORNE, etc.

The shamefastness of many is unshamefast enough; and to be often diligently examined. And we think it necessary that nothing be done, in this behalf, without consent of the Elders: who as they best know the state of every man; so they can, and ought to, make an Exhortation, at the distributing, apt and fit for every man's disposition.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

The shamefastness of some is almost so far attempted of some shameless men, that their heart is clean cast down. For these discreet disposers of other men's alms, have, by passing too much on money, utterly cast away men; yea, both together the money and men. And yet, in the meanwhile, these (that, without all shame, reason of shamefastness, forsooth!) whom rather than those that have any spark of honest shamefastness left, would go unto; they would almost die! Yea, these gentle and shamefast disposers have, with their odious behaviour, driven many men, of notable good wits and towardness, some to the Printing-house, some to be Serving Men, and some to run into England again, with the peril both of body and soul.

But of this case of evil handling [*treatment*]; we shall commence matter against these men (if GOD will, and the Magistrate give us leave), to the intent that good men may be the more wary henceforth that they commit not their liberal alms so easily to any One man's fidelity hereafter.

25. Item, that the Seniors and Deacons see that the poor of the Congregation be not idle; but diligent in well doing.

26. Item, that if there be any of the poor, sick; that then forth-

with one of the Deacons resort to them, and presently succour their necessity: and that the needy strangers of our nation be holpen [*helped*] towards their travel and journey; if the Treasure of the Church will bear it.

The Objection against the Twenty-sixth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The law ordained for those that travel by the way, shall call unto us all such as be the most idle persons and the veriest unthrifths; and also Papists, which will feign themselves to be religious that they may be holpen, as we have learned by experience.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

The traveller of our nation, having need by the way to be holpen on his journey, if the Treasure of the Church will bear it; please not these men. They say, they have learned by experience that idle persons and unthrifths, and also Papists, are called hither by this means. By what experience? we beseech you! before this law was made, or since? If they were called hither before this law was made; they were not called by occasion of this law. Let them cease therefore to impute unto a law, that provideth only for those that be godly and needy, [not for] those things that naughty packs [*good for nothing fellows*] have ever hitherto done, and will do still hereafter.

27. Item, that in case the Treasure of the Church do fail, or wax thin; that then such as be of the wealthy sort of the Congregation shall quarterly contribute, according to their ability and godly devotion, for the maintenance of the Ministry, Poor, and Students, of the Congregation. And the same, at every Quarter Day, to be delivered into the hands of the Deacons.

The Objection to the Twenty-seventh Article.

HORNE, etc.

It is not an alms; but a compulsion. Besides this, of these that are found to be the setters forth of these laws, there are not past seventeen

or eighteen which have competence enough to live upon, and to sustain themselves: and of them, there would but only five give heretofore, when collections were made; and the sum of all their distributions [*contributions*] came never to 13 Dalers [= *Thalers*, at 3s each]; they gave so sparingly and so slenderly. And, perhaps, there is somewhat herein to keep back and fray [*frighten*] away all such as be of the richer sort from us, that they came not hither, when they shall see so few rich dwell among so many poor; which, nevertheless, shall be compelled to sustain and bear very great charges, at sundry contributions.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

It is not a compulsion; but an alms. For no man is constrained, otherwise than his own good will and ability is; and that, that is of good will, is no compulsion. And there shall no man of the richer sort, that is godly, be frayed [*frightened*] from us by this means: inasmuch as such as be godly seek, of their own accord, whom they may do good unto.

And where they object unto us again, the small number of ours which have competence enough to live upon themselves: these should be some men of mighty ability, that would have the Magistrate persuaded that others are but beggars in comparison of them. Peradventure, HORNE, which is the deviser hereof, is admitted, underhand, into the fellowship of the Purse with CHAMBERS; and thereof it cometh his so great swelling! such loftiness and contempt of others!

And where he addeth, That there were but five that gave at the Collections before time; and the sum of that they gave came scarce to 13 Dalers: it is a matter worthy to be known. For about half a year past and more [November 1556—April 1557], when HORNE and CHAMBERS had given warning openly, for certain things that they were offended at, we wot not what, that they would give over their Ecclesiastical Ministries; which is no novelty for them to do now: afterward they went about to gather every man's alms, to the intent that they might seem, at their departure from their Ministries, like good husbands [*stewards*] of other men's liberality, to have left something unto the Church. But seeing they gathered to this end, and that it was perfectly known to all men that their gathering was for this cause; we marvel that there was so much as one that would give anything, or that the sum which they gave, grewed [*grew*] to so much as 13, not Dalers; but Hallers or Pfennings. But CHAMBERS and HORNE were not so evil known at that time. Now, if they list to assay [*try*]; they shall perceive that there is not one that will put them in trust with so much as a mite.

And yet, since they departed from the Congregation, there hath been more given, by the grace of GOD, unto the poor than HORNE and CHAMBERS have given of their own, all the days of their life.

28. Item, we think good that declaration be made by the Preachers of GOD's Word divers times, as just occasion will serve, How comely and profitable for CHRIST's Church, that all men's liberality towards the poor, do come to the hands of the said Four Deacons; by them publicly, in the name of the whole Church, to be ministered to the poor.

For, by this rule, 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth' [Matt. vi. 3], may best be observed; and the blowing of the trumpet before the alms-giver, and all worldly reward of vain commendation may best be avoided: and so our heavenly Father, who seeth in secret, will reward every man more abundantly in the Day of the Revelation of the thoughts of all men.

29. Item, we think good that certain Letters in the same sense be written; with an Exhortation and hearty prayer to all such as will relieve the poor of our Congregation with their godly liberality, That they will deliver, or send, their charitable relief to the said Four Deacons, commonly to be bestowed of them upon all the poor, whether they be Students or others, according to every man's necessity; which the said Deacons and the Church here present can best know and judge; rather than to commit the alms to any one

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person's hand, to any private use; for the avoiding of sundry suspicions and many other inconveniences that may, both presently and hereafter, arise and ensue of the same.

And the said Letters, subscribed with as many hands of the Congregation as shall seem good, with a general Superscription [*Address*] to all such as will charitably relieve the poor of our Congregation, without any naming of any persons; to be sent where the Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons, or the more [*majority*] of them, shall think good; by a most faithful and discreet messenger, to all places where such good men, by whose liberality the Church is relieved, do, or may, resort: that the said Letters may, by the said messenger, be shewed, as a testimony of credit, to the said godly men, in places and at times most convenient. [See an example of this, in EDMUND SUTTON'S Letters of Request at pp. 210-215.]

The Objections against the Twenty-ninth Article.

HORNE, etc.

This law hath these discommodities:

That First, it discloseth the thing overmuch that those (which were wont to be liberal unto us) are most desirous to keep close.

Secondly, it is prejudicial to private men, which have felt many men's private beneficence.

Thirdly, it nippeth and thwitteth [*whittleth*] away a great deal of that liberality which might come to us; in that we so appoint a strange Collector, and unknown to the givers.

Fourthly, it doth wondrous suspiciously import the infamy of certain that have used these labours.

Fifthly, it shall strike a fear and a terror unto the giver, when he must see so many hands subscribed to Public Letters: and by this reason, they shall be eloigned [*keep aloof*] from us, that would gladly succour the poor.

Sixthly, it shall be exceedingly hurtful to other Congregations; and a loss to all other banished men, wheresoever they are dispersed.

Finally, these so openly ordained laws shall signify unto our Queen, that we nourish and sustain our Congregation by her subjects: and that shall, of necessity, cause that they which were wont to give us somewhat, shall be most diligently sought out; to their undoing, and our most pestilent plague.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Here is a manifold finding of fault, as in a matter of most weighty importance; and wherewith Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS are wonderfully rubbed on the gall.

But passing over the First Member as vain, and mingled with others; we will first speak of the Second. If this be to the prejudice of private men, what have you, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS, done; which, now a great while, have, by your messengers and Letters, stopped all the private alms of all men; and drawn them into your own hands? And that, you, Master HORNE, threatened, out of the pulpit, that you would do; and that you would make poor miserable men to eat hay!

Where they speak of an unknown Collector; we answer, that the less he shall be commonly known, the less danger shall he cause to them that he shall have to do withal. For those Collectors of yours are now, by this your diligence in gathering (Would to GOD ye were as liberal in distributing!), and by these your close and most discreet means, so known; that no man dare bid them 'God speed!', much less talk with them. Therefore, it is wondrous fine, that Master HORNE hath forged here concerning an unknown Collector.

Where he saith that 'a fear and a terror shall be stricken into such as shall see many names subscribed': we understand not how that can be. It seemeth he would say, That our messengers will show, not our names; but the messengers' names subscribed. Furthermore, we demand of CHAMBERS and HORNE, Why they have done the same, now these three years [1554-1557]; and compelled men to subscribe, A small fault in against their wills. In them, this is a godly matter! these days! [1574]. in us, a horrible abomination!

Where he saith, That this will be exceedingly hurtful to other Congregations; certainly, it hath been almost an undoing, both to

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our Congregation and others, that [which] Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS have, in this behalf, done yet hitherto. For one while, they say, They have gathered alonely [*only*] for this Congregation; when anybody of another Church, ye must understand, craved aught of them. Another while they boast, That they have a great deal for other Congregations: that is, when they be offended with us: as they are now most grievously. For now, we believe, they will say plainly, They have nothing for our poor. Therefore though they speak it not; yet they show it openly by their deeds, That they have all to themselves, and keep all to themselves.

Where he saith, The Queen shall understand by this means that our Congregation is nourished by her subjects. How so? Do we name Englishmen, or, universally, all good men; by whose liberality the poor of our Congregation be nourished? But the Queen will suspect something of her subjects. O, fine witty men! She suspected nothing, forsooth! before we wrote this Discipline!

That, that he hath in the Fourth place set, as it were in the middle rank in safety, we saw not [*overlooked*]; therefore we will speak of it last.

But this is the grievous matter of all; and that which alone tormenteth these men indeed: for [the] other causes are pretended. But this is the very thing whence, as the man saith, cometh all this anguish and anger too. Forsooth, it will be suspected, saith he, if some others collect in the name of the Congregation, that we like not CHAMBERS's collection, nor HORNE's and his distribution.

Hereof will all these weighty discommodities grow, that they two, ye must understand, may not be in so great authority with all men, nor be such buggards [*bug-bears*] to the poor, if they may not bear the Bag alone. O, grievous and intolerable evils that will grow of these suspicions! Indeed, they make an end of all this place with plain tragical terms. This gear, saith he, shall cause undoing, and a most pestilent plague, unto the Congregation! We wonder that he cried not out also, 'O, heaven! O, earth! O, NEPTUNE's seas!'

But where they fear themselves so much of suspicions; we believe they may be out of [them], peradventure, in a while. For all men will, within a short time, as far as we see, give over to *suspect* what manner of men HORNE and CHAMBERS be.

Finally, what fault soever they find with us, in all this ado, touching the messenger to be sent; they themselves have utterly forced us, by extremity and violence, to attempt it. For seeing CHAMBERS would give nothing, being present, but unto certain of his own [party]; and is now run away with the Purse: we are utterly constrained to take this way, that our poor perish not for famine.

*This Article, following the
Twenty-ninth,
I also find in the Copy.*

30. Item, as concerning the relief to be had at strangers' hands, who be not of our Church; such order is to be taken as shall seem most expedient to the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments.

It seemeth that this Article was put in, in place of the former, which they could not agree upon.

31. Item, we think it expedient that the said Four Deacons be charged, neither with the helping of the Ministers in the Preaching of the Word, neither in the Catechising of the Youth, neither in Ministering of Sacraments, or Saying of Common Prayer, or specially the visiting of the sick, other than the poor for the relieving of their necessity, as with things pertaining to the Office of Deaconship, nor with any other Offices other than is expressly declared in GOD's Word [to] appertain to the Deacons; according to the rule of the which, they shall, by all means possible, direct their doings. The sum whereof is, diligently to receive and keep all, and all manner of, public and private alms; and the same faithfully to bestow upon the poor of CHRIST's Church, according as every man's necessity shall require: and, by all means possible, as well by word as by writing, to procure the maintenance of the said Treasure of the Church, so to their credit committed. Notwithstanding, it is not meant hereby,

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but that any of the said Deacons, being learned, when good occasion shall thereto serve, may preach, or instruct the Youth in the Catechism, or do any other godly function, whereunto they shall be called.

The Objection against the Thirty-first Article.

HORNE, etc.

This is amiss, that the Deacons are bounden to visit the poor, only to know if they need; seeing it is chiefly required that they may exhort, that they may comfort, that they may relieve such consciences as be sick and burdened with sins. A man may ask them, Where it appeareth, by plain words of the Scriptures, that it is the Deacons' Office to receive and keep the Treasures of the Church; and that they *alone* ought to execute and accomplish this Office?

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Let the Deacons visit all sick persons universally, if they will; and exhort them and comfort them. We forbid them not. Only we shew that they are bounden, by reason of their Office, peculiarly to have charge of the poor.

Where they say, It is chiefly required that Deacons should exhort and comfort the sick consciences of them that are diseased. If they say they be bound to do that, by reason of their Office; let them prove it! [so] that they do not only *say* all things: but if they respect [*refer to*] Christian pity towards their brethren; neither do we exempt from the Deacons, that which is the common duty of all Christians.

But forasmuch as they have burdened the Deacons before, with unnecessary charges [*responsibilities*] as concerning the Office of Deacons; by reason whereof they frayed [*frightened*] many from that right godly Office of Deacons: we have thought good to declare what things they be, which properly appertain to the Deaconship; and what be the common duties of all Christians. And lest these men might justly complain, as touching the lack of exhorting and comforting the sick: that matter is sufficiently provided for by the Ministers of the Word, unto whom that charge doth chiefly appertain; and by other learned men also.

And to that question that they harp upon again; it is thoroughly answered in the Fourth Article. [? page 168.]

In that they require plain words of Scripture of us; we cannot

marvel enough; seeing they neither prove, or shew anything, either by plain words or obscure words: but, as though we were scholars and they Schoolmasters of PYTHAGORAS's rule, they only say and affirm all things; and confirm nothing. But they promise they will do it at leisure, and God before! And that is enough, we trow.

32. Item, that where [as] there is no godlier act than to succour such as be both sick and poor; for that their burden is most heavy: we think good, if the ability of the Church will extend thereunto, That there be Four grave and honest Women, either Widows or Wives, such as have need of the help of the Church, appointed and chosen, with the consent of their husbands, to keep the poor when they be sick; and to watch with them, by course, one after another: and that they have therefore, out of the Treasure of the Church, a certain stipend quarterly paid unto them.

*Of the Discipline of the
Church; which is
the Fourth and Last Note.*

33. First, in all matters touching Conscience, GOD's Word is the perfect rule; as well for those things which Christian men ought to do, as for such things as they are bound to abstain from.

34. Item, in all Controversies Civil, the Civil, or Municipal, Law of the country, or City, where the Church is, is a sufficient rule to be obeyed.

35. Item, all matters touching the Congregation, or the members of the same, directly

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appertaining to neither of the Two former Parts; Ecclesiastical Ordinance and Discipline of the Church, ought by all members of the same to be obeyed.

36. Item, although this word Discipline generally doth contain all Ecclesiastical Orders and Ordinances: yet, in this place, it is properly taken for the rule of outward honest orders and manners; and of the punishment and correction of vices.

37. Item, for the execution of the which Discipline to the maintaining of all comely order and virtue in the Church, and correction of disorder and vice; it is agreed that Six men, of special gravity, authority, and wisdom, such as the rule of the holy Scriptures doth set forth, as much as may be, shall be chosen to be Seniors: which Six Seniors, with the Two Ministers of the Word, shall have the execution of the Discipline and Government of the Church; and shall be revered, and (in all things godly and reasonable) obeyed and revered, of all persons in the Congregation, under pain of most sharp Discipline. *

38. Provided always, That the said Ministers and Seniors, severally and jointly, shall have no authority to make any manner of Decrees or Ordinances to bind the Congregation, or any member thereof: but shall execute such Ordinances and Decrees as shall be made by the Congregation, and to them delivered.

*Of the Election of all
Ministers.*

39. Item, it is agreed that all Seniors, Deacons, and all other Ministers, whatsoever they be (the Two Teachers and Ministers of the Word only excepted), shall once a year, that is, the First day of March, take an end of their Ministry, whatsoever it be. And they, from that date till a new Election be made, which shall be within one fortnight after the said 1st day of March, unless some great causes incident do let [*hinder*] the same, shall be all private persons, as other members of the Congregation, and so continue still, till they be new elected to the same, or other, Ministry or Office: every one of them yet notwithstanding, in the meantime, from the said 1st day of March till new Ministers be elected, doing the duty and duties to their Office belonging.

The Objection to the Thirty-ninth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The time is ill appointed. It were a great deal better after the Mart; for the avoiding of rumour, and blowing [*reporting*] of dissensions which may arise; as it is now in example.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

The time is appointed well enough. For these dissensions are not to be imputed to times, but to men. And we trust that we shall, by the grace of GOD, have henceforth good men; that shall quietly govern the Church in the true fear of GOD, and love to their brethren.

40. Item, that Public Prayer and Fast be made before, and at, the Election of all Ministers; in time

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and continuance, as to the Congregation shall seem good.

41. Item, that before the Election of the Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons; the places of the Scriptures for that purpose most fit, be openly read; and a Sermon to be made upon the same, as for the present purpose, shall be most convenient.

42. Item, that Election be made by Bills [*Voting Papers*]: every man bringing, on a little Bill rolled up, the names of such persons appointed, as they shall think most meet for the Office, whereunto the Election is then made.

43. Item, that Imposition of Hands, with Prayer, be used at the Institution of the said Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons; according to the doctrine and examples of the Scriptures.

Of the calling and assembling of the Congregation.

44. Item, that the Ministers and Seniors, thus elect[ed], have now authority, as the principal members of the Congregation, to govern the said Congregation, according to GOD's Word and the Discipline of the Church, as is aforesaid: and also to call together and assemble the said Congregation, for causes, and at times, as shall to them seem expedient.

Provided always, That if any dissension shall happen between the Ministers and the Seniors, or the more part [*majority*] of them, and the Body of the Congregation, or the more part of it; and that

the said Ministers and Seniors, in such controversy, being desired thereto, will not assemble the Congregation: that then the Congregation may, of itself, come together, and consult and determine as concerning the said controversy or controversies; and the said Assembly to be a lawful Congregation, and that which they, [or] the more part of them, so assembling, shall judge or decree, the same to be a lawful Decree and Ordinance of sufficient force to bind the whole Congregation, and every member of the same.

The Objection against the Forty-fourth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The Forty-fourth Article speaketh manifestly against the Edict of the Senate; for there it is specified, by these clear and manifest words:

‘Furthermore, the Senate of this honourable City hath decreed, That if there arise any dissension or contentions among the Strangers, concerning Religion or their Discipline; they be set at one with all diligence by the Ministers and Seniors: specially for this cause, lest those which profess themselves to be banished out of their country for true Religion’s sake, utter an evil token [of] what their mind is, by reason of such controversies and debates. And in case the matter cannot be appeased before the Ministers and Elders; let them know that the Senate of this City will take order therein: who, as reason is, will look most sharply upon the Authors of such troubles.’

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

It is not against the meaning of the Edict, as it was declared by the Magistrates themselves in our Church, before all the Congregation, the last of February [1557], by the mouth of Master VALERAND POUILLAIN; and the said Magistrates, seeing the Sentence pronounced by the said Master VALERAND, and written out by us, allowed it: according whereunto, this Decree is altogether set forth.

45. Item, that no man, being summoned or warned (either by the Ministers and Seniors, or in

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the name of the Congregation, so as afore is said assembled) to appear in the Congregation, shall absent himself but upon a lawful cause, under pain of Discipline. And that none shall depart out of the said Congregation so assembled, till it be broken up; without licence of the whole, or the more part remaining; upon pain of Discipline before the whole Congregation therefore.

46. Item, in case some do depart; that yet notwithstanding those which still remain, if they be the greater part, to be a lawful Congregation: and that which they, or the more part of them, shall decree, to be a lawful Decree, of force to bind the whole body; Ministers, Seniors, Deacons, and every other member or members thereof, without exception.

The Objection against the Forty-sixth Article.

HORNE, etc.

This law doth not sufficiently foresee and provide for the quietness of the Congregation, unless in this greater part the Pastor and Seniors be included; whose authority men ought not to bring into such contempt, that we would so easily reject them. The multitude is, of their own disposition, overmuch licentious and grudging at every Superior Power: and this law is also against the Edict of the Senate.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

If the Ministers and Elders will be present, no man warneth them: if they will not, who will force them against their wills? It is impertinent, that he saith, They be easily reject[ed]: which will not come, when they be desired; or when they be present, depart upon their own will. Where he saith, 'That this Decree is also contrary to the Edict of the Senate', it is not enough; except he prove it.

47. Item, that no checking, or taunting, be used in the said

Congregation, by any persons, under pain of Discipline: and that in speaking, all others shall hold their peace and keep silence, abstaining also from private talk; that all things may be done comely and in order.

48. Item, that it shall be lawful that every member of the Congregation (making protestation of licence before, to the Ministers, Seniors, and the whole Congregation) may speak his mind in the Congregation, so he speak quietly and not against GOD's truth: for, in case he speak ungodly, that then it shall be lawful for the Ministers, Seniors, or any of them, to command him silence by and by [*immediately*].

The manner of receiving all sorts of persons into the said Congregation.

49. First, for the avoiding of all heresies and sects in our Churches; every one, as well men as women, which desire to be received, shall make a Declaration, or Confession, of their Faith before the Ministers and Elders: shewing himself fully to consent and agree with the Doctrine of the Church, and submitting themselves to the Discipline of the same; and the same to testify by subscribing thereto, if they can write.

The Objection against the Forty-ninth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The Subscribing is over hardly and constrainedly done; specially in so often alteration and innovation of laws, as they speak of.

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The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

This Subscribing is not over hardly nor constrainedly done: but so much the less hardly and constrainedly, in that there is an easy way shewed to redress; if anything be done amiss: where these men would have their Decrees to be reputed for holy sacred Canons, which may not be moved.

And as for this Subscribing, which they say is so constrained and hard; besides that it is provided for by the Edict of the Senate, it is required also in their Old Discipline and Institution [see page 143].

50. Item, if any person, so desirous to be received into the Congregation, be notoriously defamed; or noted of any corrupt behaviour, or evil opinion in Doctrine, or slanderous behaviour in Life: the same may not by the Ministers and Seniors be admitted, till he have either purged himself thereof; or else have declared himself to the Ministers and Elders penitent for the same.

*Of Admission to the Holy
Communion.*

51. Item, that none of the Youth be admitted to the Communion till they be able to make Profession of their Faith before the whole Congregation; and also to have an honest testimony of towardness [*aptitude, promise*] in godly conversation.

52. Item, that none openly noted as a Heretic, Sectary, Idolator, or other notorious Offender, shall be admitted to the Communion; before he either purge, or reconcile, himself publicly before the whole Congregation. And that every member of the Congregation do not refuse to render a Declaration of their Faith

before the Ministers and Elders; whensoever they shall by them be thereunto required.

The Order of Proceeding to the execution of the Discipline and correction of Offences.

53. Forasmuch as no Church is so perfect, but offences may rise; for godly and charitable redressing and reforming of such, this Order is to be observed:

First, if any of the Congregation be offensive in manners or doctrine to any of the brethren, so that the offence be private and not publicly known; there can be no better Order devised than that which CHRIST himself hath appointed; which is

First, brotherly to admonish him alone.

If that do not prevail; to call one or two witnesses.

If that also do not profit; then to declare it to the Ministers and Elders; to whom the Congregation hath given authority to take order in such cases, according to the Discipline of the Church.

54. Item, that it may be the better known what is meant by this word, Discipline or Correction of Vice; we think that there be Three Degrees of Ecclesiastical Discipline.

The First, that the Offender acknowledge his fault, and shew himself penitent, before the Ministers and the Seniors.

The Second, that if he will not so do; as well his original

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crime as also his contempt of the Ministers and Elders who have the authority of the Church, be openly declared, by one of the Ministers, before the whole Congregation: and that he therefore make satisfaction, both for his original crime and also for his contempt of the Ministers, before the whole Congregation; and that he be not admitted to the Communion before he have satisfied.

The Third, that if he remain still obstinate before the whole Congregation, after a time to him by the whole Congregation limited to repent in; he then shall be openly denounced Excommunicate: which Excommunication, seeing it is the uttermost penalty of Ecclesiastical Power, shall not therefore be executed until the matter be heard by the whole Church, or such as it shall specially appoint thereunto.

The Objection against the Fifty-fourth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The authority of the Pastor and Seniors is all wiped away: for everything is referred to the confused multitude of the Congregation.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Except the matter be used, as we have provided in the Discipline; both the authority and liberty of the Congregation is wiped away, and a mere Tyranny established.

Where he saith, all things is referred to the confused multitude, it is manifestly false: for it is always added, 'by such as the Congregation shall appoint thereto'; as it is also, in the Fifty-fourth Article added in plain words.

55. Item, if any person shall be a notorious known Offender, so as he is offensive to the whole

Congregation : then shall the Ministers and Elders immediately call the Offender before them ; and travail [*labour*] with him, to reduce him to true repentance, and [the] satisfying of the Congregation. Which, if he obstinately refuse to do, then one of the Ministers shall signify his offence and contempt to the whole Congregation : desiring them to pray for him ; and further to assign him a day to be denounced Excommunicate, before the Congregation ; except, in the meantime, the Offender submit himself, before the whole Congregation, to the Order of the Discipline.

56. Item, that neither the Seniors and Ministers, nor the whole Congregation, shall meddle in any Civil Matters, as Judges or Determiners of the same : but only as Arbiters for peace making, that the Magistrates be troubled as little as may be, with our controversies. But in case the Seniors first, and afterwards the Congregation, or such as the Congregation shall appoint, can make no peaceable end by way of Arbitrement ; then the judgement of the said matters is to be referred to the Magistrates of the City, and there to be ended.

57. Item, we think good (for our quietness' sake, and for the conserving of the good report of our nation) that all matters and controversies among ourselves (if they cannot privately be pacified, which first ought to be attempted) be brought before the Seniors and Ministers ; and there to be heard.

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And, in case they cannot end them; then afterward to be referred to the whole Congregation, or such as the Congregation shall appoint to the hearing and determining thereof, if they can.

And that no matter be brought unto the Magistrate, or Senate, to hinder, derogate, or let, the authority of the Church or the Discipline thereof, before these ways be proved; under pain of the Discipline before the Congregation: unless the thing appertain directly to the state of the City; or is an offence against the Laws, Senate, or Magistrate, of the same; in which case every man may and ought forthwith to complain to the Magistrates.

The Objection against the Fifty-seventh Article.

HORNE, etc.

This Law is contrary to the Edict of the Senate.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

This should not be said; but shewed.

58. Item, where as the best way of Christian reconciliation is, That the parties privately between themselves agree; and the next, That agreement be made by mediation of some peaceable and godly men: We decree that in case two, four, six, more or less, do consult among themselves, or travail with the parties, for peace-making, quietly and charitably; then the said parties, in so doing, do nothing against good Order of Discipline; but according to the duty and office of Christian and peaceable men.

The Objection to the Fifty-eighth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The assembly of four, six, eight, or ten is troublously done, and without order; and will stir up new tumults daily in the Congregation. Such laws as this, condemn the authority and counsel of the Elders.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

HORNE and CHAMBERS condemn the assembly of four, six, eight, or ten, men for peace-making: where they have, almost every day, these three months [February-April 1557], gathered corner-creeping assemblies, to disturb the peace of the Church.

59. Item, that the Ministers and Seniors shall have authority to hear and determine, on behalf of the whole Church, all offences (determinable by the Congregation) committed by any person in the Congregation: unless the party called before them, have just occasion to take exceptions to the said Ministers and Seniors; or to appeal from them, as not competent Judges.

The Objection against the Fifty-ninth Article.

HORNE, etc.

The Fifty-ninth Article is manifestly repugnant to the Fifty-sixth Article.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

The Fifty-ninth [Article] is not repugnant against the Fifty-sixth Article: for there is intreated of Civil Controversies; and here of others.

60. Item, if any have just occasion to take exception to *some* of the Ministers and Seniors, and not to the more part [*majority*] of them; then those of the Ministers and Seniors to whom the exception is made, in this case shall not be Judges; but, in this case, for the time, [be] removed from the Ministry: and that the rest of the

Ministers and Seniors to whom no exception shall be made, with as many of the Congregation joined to them, as they be in number which shall be excepted, shall be Arbiters and Judges in the said Causes. And that the said persons so to be joined to the Ministers and Seniors shall be appointed by the Congregation; the Ministers and Seniors not excepted, giving their voices as others of the Congregation.

61. Item, if exception be taken to the *more part* [*majority*] of the Ministry and Seniors; that then the Church shall appoint Six more to be Judges with the rest of the Ministers against whom exception is not made: the same rest of the Ministers having their voices in the Election of the Six as other members of the Church.

62. Item, if *all* the Ministers and Seniors be suspected, or found parties [*partizans*], or if any Appeal be made from them [,as not competent Judges]; that then such Appeal shall be made to the body of the Congregation; the Ministers, Seniors, and parties excepted. And that the body of the Congregation may appoint so many of the Congregation to hear and determine the said matter or matters, as it shall seem good to the Congregation.

63. Item, if any person do unjustly take exceptions to any of the Ministers, or [unjustly] appeals from the whole Ministry: that then such persons, besides the punishment for the principal cause; shall also be punished as

a contemner of the Ministry, and a disturber of the Church.

The Objection against the Sixty-third Article.

HORNE, etc.

This law also is against the Edict of the Senate.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

It is not against the meaning of the Edict; as it is declared in the Answer to the Fifteenth Article [? the Forty-fourth Article, at page 188]. For it was declared by the Right Honourable and godly Magistrates openly, in our Church, that they thought of nothing less than to impeach the lawful authority of the Congregation.

And except the Congregation, which giveth authority to Ministers, be superior to the Ministers; they are not now Ministers, but lords of the Congregation—as to add no further.

64. Item, if all the Ministers and Seniors, from whom it shall be appealed as is aforesaid, shall say and challenge the more part of the Congregation, as not indifferent [*impartial*] Judges; that then they may appeal from the Congregation to the Magistrate, Provided that if any Minister or Senior so appeal to the Magistrate; and be found to have done it without just cause: that then, by that fact, he shall be removed from his Ministry; and shall never after be admitted in the Ministry before he hath made public satisfaction for the same.

65. Item, that the Ministers and Seniors, and every of them, be subject to Ecclesiastical Discipline and correction, as other private members of the Church be. And that in case any person or persons accuse *any* of the Ministers or Elders, or *the more part* of them, or them *all*, of any crime or

crimes: the same Order of Proceeding in all points [is to] be used as it is heretofore particularly expressed, in the making the exception to *some*, or *the more part*, or *all*, the said Ministers, as parties [*partizans*], or otherwise incompetent Arbiters. [See Articles 60-62.]

66. Item, that no accusation against any of the Ministers and Seniors be admitted under two witnesses at the least. And that if any do unjustly accuse the Ministers and Seniors, or any of them; that he, or they, shall therefore be most sharply disciplined, as a contemner and defacer of the Ministry, and a disturber of the whole Church.

67. Item, if any controversy be upon the doubtful meaning of any word or words in the Discipline; that first it be referred to the Ministers and Seniors: and if they cannot agree thereupon, then the thing [is] to be brought and referred to the whole Congregation.

68. Item, for the avoiding of the occasion of contention hereafter, That Books of Discipline concerning this Church heretofore made, be of no effect hereafter; but [are] void and cancelled.

The Objection to the Sixty-eighth Article.

HORNE, etc.

In this place, we desire that our Old Discipline may be looked upon, that we may see, Whether it be to be so lightly cast away; seeing it proceeded of so learned men; and shall, with a mean [*moderate*] amending, be far perfecter than this New Discipline.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Where they desire that the Old Discipline may be looked upon; we answer, The more they shall look upon it, the more evidently shall the naughtiness [*worthlessness*] and imperfection of it appear. And it shall also more plainly appear, how much the Congregation hath been beholden to them that have retained such an unperfect Discipline so long in the Church; only because it permitteth all to the Pastor!

Where they say, That the Discipline proceeded of so learned men: yet the same that wrote it (were they never so well learned) confess themselves: both that it was gathered in haste; and given to the Congregation as imperfect, only for a time.

Where they speak of the amending of that Discipline; we marvel that it never came into their mind before.

69. Item, that all Books and Writings of Record concerning Acts and Orders of this Church be delivered to, and remain in the custody of, the Ministers and Elders for the time being.

70. Item, that a Register Book be kept by the Ministers and Seniors, of all such names [of persons] as be in the Congregation; and [the names of] such as shall be hereafter admitted, to be written in the same.

71. Item, that Marriages, Christenings, and Burials, with the day and year thereof, be registered in the same Book.

72. Item, for the avoiding [of] all controversies that hereafter may happen, it is Ordained, That all Testaments and Wills by any of our nation dying in this Congregation, shall be brought forth, and exhibited to the Seniors of this Congregation for the time being; for a perpetual testimony of the truth in that behalf.

The Objection against the Seventy-second Article.

HORNE, etc.

That concerning Testaments in this dangerous World, is a pernicious Law.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

We cannot tell what serpent the law concerning Testaments hath lurking under the herb. They say, It 'is a pernicious Law'; and they only say so. But we say, It is very wholesome and profitable against the fraud of falsaries [*falsifiers, forgers*], and to the succour of the Fatherless and Widows.

73. Item, that because all men's doings be uncertain and changeable; the Discipline and Orders of the Church shall be read openly once every Quarter; and warning thereof before, shall be given to the whole Congregation: both that every member thereof may know their duty; and that every man may, with liberty, quietly speak his mind for the changing and amending of it, or any part thereof, according to GOD's Word; and the same [to be] exhibited in writing, with the arguments and reasons of that his request.

The Objection to the Seventy-third Article.

HORNE, etc.

Quietness is not sufficiently provided for by this means: inasmuch as it is commanded, as it were, that every one should look and study for an innovation.

The Answer.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Quietness is provided for sufficiently: inasmuch as the matter must pass quietly and peaceable; and also by writings.

Men's consciences are also necessarily provided for: that in case anything be found in the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, ungodly or disagreeing, or else unprofitable for the Church, it may be changed straightways: so as men's pleasures be not holden for holy, sacred, and unmoveable, [laws]; as the Papists would.

*The Names of such as subscribed to this Discipline ;
and were of the Church.*

THOMAS CRAWLEY.	DAVID WHITEHEAD.	ROBERT CROWLEY.
CHRISTOPHER HALES.	JOHN MULLINS.	WILLIAM MASTER.
THOMAS ASHLEY.	JOHN PEDDER.	LAURENCE KENT.
EDMUND OLDSWORTH.	JOHN HALES.	THOMAS KNOLL [YS].
EDMUND SUTTON.	GREGORY RAILTON.	PETER SADE.
THOMAS ACWORTH.	ALEXANDER NOWELL.	JOHN VATES.
RICHARD ALVAY.	JOHN WILFORD.	WILLIAM RAULINGS.
WALTER FRANCK.	JOHN FAUCONER.	THOMAS WATER.
RICHARD LETLER.	THOMAS SERBIS.	THOMAS WILLOBIE.
RICHARD MASON.	THOMAS WILSON.	EDMUND TOMSON.
RICHARD BEESLEY.	JOHN BEDELL.	RICHARD LUDDINGTON.
RICHARD NAGORS.	JOHN OLDE.	THOMAS OLDSWORTH.
ROBERT BEST.	JAMES PEERS.	EDMUND HARRIES.
HENRY REIGNOLDS.	THOMAS SANDES.	PHILIP ADISHE.
PERCIVAL HARRINGTON.	EDWARD PARPOINT.	GAWEN DIXSON.
RICHARD PORTER.	THOMAS WALKER.	JOHN GEOFFRIE.
MAGNUS ELYOT.	JOHN KELKE.	ANTHONY DONNINGS.
HENRY PERRYUS.	THOMAS WATTS.	EDWARD COLTON.
JOHN BROWNE.	LEONARD PARRY.	JOHN TURPIN.

The 21st of December, 1557.

These were added to the Church.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLL [Y] S.	ROBERT JOYNER.	ROBERT HODGSTON.
EDWARD BOYES.	HENRY WOOD.	JOHN PENTENY.
JOHN BROWNE.	RICHARD LYNBROUGHT.	MICHAEL COKE.
FRANCIS WILFORD.	RALPH SELYE.	THOMAS TODCHAMBER.
THOMAS KNOT.	HENRY KNOLL [Y] S.	ALEXANDER NOWELL.
THOMAS DONNELL.	THOMAS WILFORD.	JOHN ADE.
ARTHUR SAULE.	WILLIAM DAVAGE.	THOMAS BAGSTER.
RICHARD SANDELL.	REIGNOLD BAKER.	DANIEL ROGERS.

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The Objectors' Conclusion.

HORNE, etc.

In all this ado; we say this, for a Conclusion, That there be three things, which they only seek:

The Innovation of Ministers;

A Purse and Treasure, I wot not what; and

The Purging of their own offences, before committed.

Now have we alleged as much as we handsomely could bring; considering the time. We would also have alleged very many other things, so as it should plainly appear, That our brethren have, in ordaining their Discipline, respected neither so great weighty reasons; nor so great commodities of our Congregation: but have, in the mean while, given that that shall be offensive and slanderous to all good men; and to our adversaries and GOD's enemies the Papists, high rejoicing and pleasure.

The Book of the Old Discipline, with a very little and small correction and amending, would cause many more plentiful fruits of Christian hearts to be brought forth; and would settle a great deal more constant and more durable quietness among us.

The Answer to the Conclusion.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

In all this ado, Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS go about nothing else but to disquiet the Congregation, that HORNE might rule the roast [*domineer*] over all, CHAMBERS bear the Bag alone; and they two together exercise a most unworthy lordship over the poor, and by them [over] all others: and that they might have no certain Discipline, but that their pleasures might be holden for laws; and that nothing should be thought right, or stand in force, but what they do yet hitherto; and the same they go about now. And it seemeth they have utterly determined, either to establish a Tyranny, or to leave no common wealth at all in the Congregation.

Where HORNE and CHAMBERS make rehearsal here of the purging of offences committed by us; they ought justly to have been ashamed to make mention of 'offences': seeing they have never left, for these three or four months [December 1556—April 1557], to lade themselves with wicked doings. And as for occasion of offence and slander given to good and godly men and to our adversaries and GOD's enemies the Papists' high rejoicing and pleasure: they accuse us thereof so falsely, as they themselves have given the occasion indeed. For they could never abide to have anything amended, nor themselves to be admonished of anything, or to be commoned [*communed, conferred*] withal in any

wise. But for the most light, yea, no, causes indeed; they forsook their Ministry straightways: the Pastor forsook the Flock; the Treasurer, the poor; and both forsook the Church, and moved others by their example to do the same.

Neither was it enough for them to give over their own functions; but they must draw other Preachers and Readers with them also, to the intent the Congregation should, by this means, be destitute of GOD's Word, and [be] utterly scattered: as though it could not possibly stand without them.

And when they had forsaken their own Chnrch; they haunted partly the French Church, and partly the Dewtche [*German*] Churches: and so raised rumours abroad; and spread [the knowledge of] our dissensions, first through this City, and then through other Cities of Germany.

And, last of all, when they would not come to the Church in the Mart time, but by the Magistrates' commandment; neither could they then be quiet, [but] they spread the like rumours almost throughout all Europe.

And when they have played these pranks themselves, they charge
Then I hope it us with their own faults; and go about to lay the
may now spread infamy upon us, which they themselves have stirred
again without up. If you shall cry out that old matters are
offence; all things rehearsed by these means; you ought to have
well weighed. abstained from provoking us hereunto; neither to
have mentioned, offences committed, old subscriptions, nor yet to have
called us back thus to the Old Discipline, the fountain of all contentions.

*The Names subscribed to the Objections;
with a Postscript.*

ROBERT HORNE.	ANTHONY MATHEW.	JOHN BINKES.
EDWARD ISAAC.	RICHARD DAVIDS.	JOHN ESCOT.
RICHARD CHAMBERS.	CUTHBERT WARCOPE.	NICHOLAS CARVILE.
CHRISTOPHER BRICKBECK.	ROBERT HARRINGTON.	JOHN MACHET.

HORNE, etc.

The rest of our consenting brethren, we could not call together unto this Subscribing; by reason of the shortness of time: whose names shall be put afterwards; having your Honours' licences thereto.

The Answer to the Postscript.

WHITEHEAD, etc.

Where they complain of shortness of time in the end, as they did in the beginning; and that they could not, by reason thereof, call their

consenting brethren together to the subscribing: what meaneth that? For where they have set to the names of them which dwell most far asunder, and have left out almost none but the names of their own servants, whom they have always at a beck; yet they could not call the rest of their brethren together, forsooth! to the intent they might, by this shift, make a show to such as know not the matter, of some multitude of men of some estimation which are left out.

And they desire also, as in a matter of weight, that they may set to the names of the others afterwards.

And as, here in the end, they vaunt a certain show of some great multitude that will subscribe; even so, in the beginning and in many other places of their book, they make a great brag, as though they would exhibit some notable matter to the Magistrate; so they may have time enough given them to bethink themselves. But Master HORNE and Master CHAMBERS shall (with these their mighty and great promises, both of Subscriptions, Declarations, and, Confirmations) bring to pass as good as nothing!

But yet this they are desirous to bring to pass in the mean time. That, while these gay glorious promises of theirs be looked for, they may, a long time, hinder the peace and quietness of the Church; which their only desire is to have disquieted: and, if it be possible, that they may recover a most intolerable Lordship over the Congregation; or, in case they cannot obtain the chief state in the Congregation, that they may leave the Church in the worst, or in no, state at all; but that they may rend it, and all-to-scatter [*utterly scatter*] it.

These be the devices of HORNE and CHAMBERS! These be their fetches [*tricks*], Right Honourable and most righteous Magistrates! And yet we have no distrust that Almighty GOD, for his mercy's sake towards our most afflicted Church, and that your authority for your equity's sake and singular benevolence towards us, will withstand the same.

And forasmuch as we have proved, That none of these things, which they have reprehended in our Discipline, be either against GOD's Word, or against good reason; and forasmuch also as we are ready to prove that all things contained in our Discipline are taken out of, either GOD's Word, or of the Edict of the Senate and Magistrate; either out of their own Old Discipline which they stick so fast unto, or else of the judgement of good reason: we humbly beseech the Right Honourable and righteous Magistrates that they will vouchsafe to confirm it with their authority.

WHERE AS BOTH parties gave consent that certain others, very Worshipful, should also deal in this Controversy between them, to appease, if it might be, the same; I have here following placed the order which they took for their quietness.

*To the Ministry and Body of the Congregation
of the English Church at Frankfort.*

FORASMUCH AS, AT the request of all our brethren and countrymen of this Church of Frankfort, we have undertaken to endeavour ourselves to make an end of this sorrowful Controversy which so grievously, so long time, hath vexed this Congregation, slandered Religion, and infamed the name of all Englishmen; we thought we could neither satisfy the duty of Christian charity, nor the office of loving countrymen, if we did omit anything which, by any probable conjecture, might seem to bring to effect our honest enterprise in this behalf.

Whereupon we have thought good to offer unto you our brethren, on both parties, such a Form of Agreement touching certain points of your Discipline as had seemed unto us, upon conference between certain chosen persons on both sides before us, most convenient: so to satisfy all men, that every man might willingly and cheerfully submit himself unto the obedience thereof. Desiring you all, as ye hope to have favour at GOD's hands in the blood of JESUS CHRIST, so to apply your favourable minds each to other, that, all strife and contention set apart, you may join together in a blessed Christian and happy society, peace, and concord.

And the thing whereunto we wish both the parties should agree to, is as followeth:

The Form of Reconciliation.

FIRST, where as, in this whole Treaty of Reconciliation and Alteration of Discipline, some things might happen to seem to tend to the condemnation of some party or person; we do all freely pronounce and testify, each part of other, that neither of us do condemn

1557. The attempted Reconciliation in September.

either party, or any person, as those which have done anything contrary to GOD's Word, or probability of reason, in this matter of Discipline: but friendly and lovingly every man doth embrace all men, omitting all rehearsal and disputation of things past, with common and hearty prayer unto GOD that from henceforth we may remain and live together in brotherly love, to the glory of GOD and comfort of us all.

1. Concerning the Article for Exercise of Learning. That there be no mention made of the same in the Book of Discipline: but that forsomuch as Learned Men remain in the Congregation that the Ministry shall, for the furtherance of Learning, labour to put in ure [*use*] such Exercise of Learning as the Learned can perform, and the ability of the Church bear.

2. Concerning the receiving and distributing of the Treasure of the Church. The receiving and distributing thereof doth appertain to the Deacons; yet not so that they do it without the knowledge and consent of the Ministers and Seniors. Concerning the keeping of the said Treasure, it may very well appertain to the Deacons: yet is it not of such necessity, but that the rest of the Ministry may otherwise set order for the custody thereof, as time and occasion shall serve.

3. Concerning the Article of Contribution, when the Treasure of the Church faileth; it pertaineth to the Ministers and Deacons to travail [*labour*], by way of exhortation, to the rich to help in that need, without any further compulsion.

4. Concerning the Article of sending of Common Letters for the relief of the Congregation. That there be no mention made of any part thereof in the Book of Discipline: but that the Ministry, with all possible secrecy, use such policies and means as may best serve to the relief and maintenance of the Congregation.

5. Concerning the Article of making laws. That they be made by the Ministry and Body of the Congregation; being called together for that purpose. And if the Ministry, or any of them, refuse to be present, being by the Body of the Congregation required thereunto; without just cause by them, or him, alleged: That then, after a due time given for the hearing of the cause, if they bring not in good reason and just cause of such refusal; then to be deprived, by the same, from their, or his, Ministry: and new to be chosen.

6. Concerning the Article of the Election of Ministers. That a Scrutiny be had, every year, of the time of Election, for the examination of the Ministers of the Word: wherein shall be, by the appointment of the Congregation, six, or eight, grave and wise men, which shall hear what fault be alleged against the same Minister. And if the faults be weighty and worthy of open correction, to signify the same to the Congregation, that the offenders, or offender, may be corrected, or deprived,

accordingly. If the offences be lesser than that they ought to be published ; then the same Ministers, or Minister, offending, to be [ad]monished of his fault, according to the discretion of the Scrutineers.

7. Concerning the Article of Testaments. That no man, by order, in this Congregation, shall be forced to register his Testament: but that there be eight, or ten, grave, wise, substantial, and honest, men, chosen by the Congregation ; out of which number, the Testator shall have his choice, or if he omit the thing, his Executors shall have the choice, to take two of the said eight or ten, besides such as are made Witnesses, whom the Executors, within a month after the death of the Testator, shall make privy to the Testament. And that the said two, being required thereunto, shall faithfully declare unto every party comprehended in the Will, so much of the Will as shall particularly appertain to every of them ; and shall keep secret all the rest of the Will or Testament, as they shall protest before GOD and the Congregation upon their consciences, at the time of their Election.

And now, in case it shall seem good unto all your Wisdoms, as well of the Ministry and Body of the Congregation of the one part as of the Dissenting Brethren of the other part, That we shall, by our mediation, proceed any further, according unto this Form of Reconciliation, which is here described ; We do heartily require you, That, signifying your minds unto us with as convenient speed as ye may, ye will also appoint out, on either party, Two discreet and sober persons, lovers of peace and concord ; which, by conference with other Two of us, whom we shall appoint, may draw these Articles afore written into such a form as they may be conveniently annexed to the rest of your Discipline.

The 29th of September 1557.

Your loving brethren and countrymen,

THOMAS WROTHER.	HENRY KNOLLYS.	EDWIN SANDYS.
FRANCIS KNOLLYS.	JOHN BROWNE.	THOMAS EATON.
ROGER PARKER.	FRANCIS WILFORD.	RICHARD SPRINGHAM.
JOHN ABELL.	JOHN TURNER.	

*The Answer of the Church to this Offer,
or the effect of the same.*

WE CANNOT ALLOW this Way of Reconciliation offered to our Church by our countrymen: forasmuch as we should condemn ourselves, as evil-doers, and our doings as ungodly and unreasonable: but we are assured that we have not done, in our Discipline, anything contrary to GOD's Word, and good reason.

The last of September [1557].

DAVID WHITEHEAD.

HENRY PARRY.

WILLIAM RAWLINGS.

JOHN HALES.

RICHARD BEESLEY.

ROBERT BEST.

THOMAS SORBY.

ROBERT CROWLEY.

RICHARD LUDDINGTON.

JOHN PEDDER.

THOMAS WATTS.

EDMUND HARRIES.

THOMAS ASHLEY.

RICHARD ROGERS.

The Copy of the Letters of Request
sent forth for the relief of the poor,
by Master [Edmund] Sutton,
25 July 1557.

To all them that bear an unfeigned reverence and zeal unto the eternal Testament of JESUS CHRIST, joined with the charitable and sincere bowels of mercy towards the poor ; Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from GOD the Father, by the same our Lord JESUS CHRIST his Son, the common and only Saviour of the World.

IT IS NOT like[ly] that the bruit of the Controversy, which hath now, at the end of six months [13 January-25 July 1557], continued in this English Church at Frankfort, is unknown to strangers. It is more like [ly] that, so many being privy thereto, it is carried and spread too far abroad ; and most like [ly] by the fruits springing thereof, that it hath been untruly reported by the wilful authors and stubborn maintainers of it : not only to the infamy, reproach, and discredit, of the Body of this Church, and to the intent to stop all relief from the poor members of the same ; but also that their uncharitable and lewd behaviours should not come to light.

For it is well known that divers charitable men (albeit their persons and names be neither known, nor desired to be known) were, before the beginning of this Controversy, very liberal in sending their charity to the use of the whole Congregation universally, and some were beneficial to sundry members of the same particularly : which, since that time, to our knowledge, they have left undone utterly.

We, the Ministers of the Church, (hoping that these men, the authors and maintainers of this Controversy, would, in time, have known their faults ; and made satisfaction to the Church, as became Christian men to do) did, not only with patience suffer their slanderous talk and unquiet demeanour ; but also bear with their unjust dealing, and, as much as in us lay, studied to cover their faulty doings.

Nevertheless, seeing no likelihood of their amendment, but most manifest proofs of their malice (this poor Congregation rather daily

increasing than in any part abating; and thereby the poverty thereof continually augmenting); we thought it our bounden duty in conscience no longer to hide the matter; but thus (of necessity constrained) to disclose it: so as, seeing they will not be as they ought to be, they may at least be known as they be.

And thus we do, not for any malice that we bear to any man's person (as GOD, the searcher of all hearts, knoweth!) but that, the truth being known, such good people, as through untrue report, have been persuaded to withdraw their good minds and favour from this poor Congregation; might understand that, without just cause, they have so long done it, and hereafter be the more willing to renew their charity in the relieving of this poor Church of CHRIST.

And to come to the matter, ye shall understand that after Master HORNE, late Pastor, and the Seniors that were joined in the Ministry with him, had, by a Writing subscribed with their own hands, openly, before the Congregation, surrendered and given over their Offices (retaining nevertheless the Writing of their Surrender in their own hands): and yet, being desired by the Congregation not to leave their Ministries, but still to exercise the same, they would, in no wise, do it; whereby the Church was, divers days, destitute of the Preaching of GOD's Word. Whereupon, the more part of the Congregation (minding to have the Church kept in good order; and to redress those things that were a great occasion of the former contention: so that after there might be a perpetual quietness and concord among us) went earnestly about the same.

But it happened, contrary to our expectation, the former grudges continuing, and new business daily increasing; which came at length to the Magistrate's ear, contrary to our minds and determination. For then we thought that it should, without any further bruit, amongst ourselves, have been pacified and ended, as we would to GOD it had been!

Whereupon the godly Magistrates, lamenting much our dissension and desiring our quietness, came into our Church; and there first made us to promise one to another that from thenceforth no mention should be made of any former grudge or contention between us; but that all things past should be clean forgotten.

Afterwards (for the better continuance of love amongst us; and good order in the Church), with the consent of Master HORNE the Pastor and the Seniors; [they] discharged him and them of their Offices: and willed the Church to choose new Ministers; and to make a New Discipline (for by reason of the unperfectness of the Old Discipline, a great part of the former controversy was), as if there had been never any Church here before.

Whereupon the Church divers times assembling; at length, the most part of the Church thought [it] most reasonable that, among others, an Order should be in this Church (like as it was in the Primitive Church, and is now in all well-reformed Churches), that the Treasure should be in the custody of all the Deacons; and not of any one man alone.

Master HORNE, with certain of the Seniors and a few others, would in no wise agree unto it; but, to their uttermost, resisted it: which gave us occasion of farther just suspicion that the Treasure of the Church, in time past, had not been Christianly used.

And where as also we had devised another Order, That forsomuch as the Magistrate doth permit us to use the customs and manners of making of Wills that be used in England, that (for the more surety of our friends that were here or elsewhere, if we were disposed, by our Wills, to give unto them any of that little substance that GOD hath left us; if we should die here) our Wills should be seen and exemplified [*an attested Copy made of each*] by the Seniors; and so to be out of all danger of counterfeiting [*forgery*] at any time.

HORNE and CHAMBERS, only upon fond will [*solely from foolish wilfulness*], without any just consideration or good reason, cavilled [*frivolously objected*] against said Order: only affirming it to be pernicious.

These things we find manifestly, at length, not to proceed of any good mind or purpose; but of contentious frowardness, grounded upon self-love and gain: that, under a colour [*pretence, pretext*] of the Church, they might gather good men's devotions [*alms*]: and never distribute any penny thereof, or at the least to none (had they never so great need), unless they would either fawn, and hang, on them; or else sustain uncharitable taunts and reproaches at their hands.

For where CHAMBERS, above eighteen months past [? December 1555], had of Master WHITEHEAD, then Pastor, and the Seniors then, a Letter to receive of one special man £20; and besides, [later,] through HORNE's procurement, a General Proxy to CHAMBERS and his Deputy, to gather the devotions [*alms*] of good men, for the relief of this poor Congregation; which, by their own proceedings here before the Magistrates, their own handwriting testifying the same, and otherwise by our knowledge, we are certain they did put in practice; and received much thereby. Yet CHAMBERS, upon the Accompt [*Account*] here left behind him; neither confesseth that he [had] received the said £20, nor yet any other sum; neither hath he distributed, during all the time he was in Office yet to this day, in this Congregation to any one person, saving to three Scholars that came with him [from Zurich], one penny that he did not receive here in this Congregation and City.

And yet, at his departure hence, he left two of the said Scholars (unto whom nevertheless he promised sufficient provision and finding; and never warned them to the contrary) in debt for their board and for other necessities, almost 20 guilderns [*at 3s. 4d. each*]: which this poor Congregation was forced to pay.

Finally, where good Mistress WILKINSON, of blessed memory, put HORNE and CHAMBERS in trust, with the devising and making of her Will; whereby she gave to this and other poor Congregations of the poor banished Englishmen, a Christian liberal relief: albeit they have caused some of the Congregations to be paid of the same bequest; yet hitherto would they not make this poor Congregation privy to the sum bequeathed unto it, much less pay it: nor yet, according to the order of our Church's Discipline aforesaid, let the Will be seen; so as the friendless young Gentlewoman, her daughter, should not be defrauded of her right, nor her mother's Will be altered to her loss.

Furthermore, Master CHAMBERS (understanding that we were minded, according to our duties, to require an Accompt [*Account*] of him, for the use of his Proxy) getteth him [*away*] suddenly hence, accompanied with Master HORNE, early in a morning: without the consent, or leave-taking, of the Congregation or the Ministry thereof; and contrary to his own openly-made promise, That he would not depart till he had answered all that any man could charge him with.

And, at his going away, he left behind him an Accompt; which (by cutting out the leaves, and new written) seemeth not to be now at the last as it was at the first: albeit it was never so perfect as Christian fidelity would have required it to be.

And moreover, albeit we have twice written unto him charitably, exhorting and requiring him to come hither, and [*to*] discharge himself of those things that shall be said unto him in the behalf of this Congregation, and to the intent he should restore unto it the Proxy he received, and no longer, by himself or his Deputy, exercise it in the name of this poor Church, as we are informed he doth: he neither cometh, nor yet maketh answer to our Letters [*see pp. 216, 217*]. Whereby we cannot but think, that he meaneth not only craft and subtilty, much unworthy the integrity and fidelity that he pretendeth: but also to hinder, and, as much as in him lieth, to undo, this poor Congregation; not only of that he hath already received and carried away (as he hath heretofore dealt with the Company of poor Students at Zurich): but also through untrue reports of all good men's devotions [*alms*] and liberality that hereafter would else be bestowed.

Their reports (which, among many other untruths, to hinder this poor Congregation) they slanderously bruit abroad, are chiefly these:

First, that the poor of this Church be so well provided for, that the worst hath after the rate of Two shillings by the week.

Secondly, that some of the poor here be so stout, that they disdain to ask relief in their need.

So that our poor seem, either not to need, or not to be worthy of help.

And Thirdly, that men here seek to know the names of the givers to this Congregation, to their great peril and utter undoing.

Which reports be all utterly untrue: but the truth is, That for lack, many poor men have been driven, both to depart hence to seek their living in other places; and some forced to go for relief into England.

These specialities, besides much more that we have thought good and very necessary that good godly men should know; both that they should not conceive any evil opinion of this Congregation by false report: and also that (minding to relieve the poor and miserably afflicted members of CHRIST, their brethren in this Church) they should (when GOD shall move them to depart [*part with*] anything to that use) so deliver it, as it may safely come, and justly be distributed where they would have it bestowed.

And, therefore, we (considering the state of our fellow-exiles living here with us in need and poverty; and fed by the only good Providence of GOD) desire all Christian men, for the love of our Saviour, JESUS CHRIST, to consider how pleasant a sacrifice, how sweet a savour, the relieving of the poor, for his sake, is before the face of our heavenly Father. A good man's life is almost nothing else than a continual exercise of mercy. All the day long, he hath mercy and pity, saith the Prophet DAVID.

Give alms of thy goods, saith the holy man, TOBIT; and turn never thy face from the poor: and so shall it come to pass that the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from thee. Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to do that little: for so gatherest thou thyself a good reward in the day of necessity. For alms delivereth from death; and suffereth not the Soul to come into darkness. A great comfort is alms, before the high GOD unto all them that do it.

Blessed is he that considereth the poor, saith the Prophet DAVID the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble, etc. The good man, saith DAVID, hath distributed abroad, and given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever, his horn shall be exalted with honour.

He that giveth to the poor shall not lack, saith the Wise Man in the Proverbs.

As water quencheth burning fire, so doth mercy reconcile sins; which GOD shall reward and not forget, and the doer shall find a stay to keep him up when he falleth, saith JESUS, the son of SIRACH.

Break unto the hungry thy bread, saith the Prophet ESAY; and bring the poor fatherless into thy house. When thou seest the naked, cover him; and hide not thy face from thine own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning; and thy health flourish right shortly. Thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall embrace thee. Then if thou callest, the Lord shall answer thee: if thou criest, he shall say, 'Here I am.'

'Lay ye not up treasures in earth, where the rust and moth may destroy it; and thieves may dig it out and steal it,' saith CHRIST, 'but lay up your treasures in heaven. Give alms of that ye have; and behold,' saith CHRIST, 'all is clean unto you. What ye give to one of these little ones,' saith he, 'ye give it unto me!' Also he said 'Blessed are the merciful; for they shall find mercy!'

When the idolatrous King NEBUCHADNEZAR should be converted unto GOD, what said the Prophet DANIEL unto him? 'Redeem thy sins with alms; and thy wickedness with mercy on the poor: so perhaps GOD will pardon thy sins! Think ye that GOD forgot ABDIAS [*Obadiah*] that preserved the hundred Prophets in caves, and fed them there?'

PAUL, and the other Apostles, diligently, both with words and writing, did labour for the relief of the poor brethren that were at Jerusalem, and elsewhere.

And we hope that GOD will open your hearts and minds to consider our state; and, by these sayings and examples, move you to have pity on your poor brethren: which if it shall please his mercy to grant you cheerfully to do, it is not to be doubted but, albeit he suffer you to slide and fall for a time; yet will he heave you up, when it shall be his good pleasure, and preserve you so as, at the length, ye may be partakers of the joyful Kingdom of GOD, which our Saviour JESUS CHRIST hath purchased for his Elect, with the price of his blood.

The HOLY SPIRIT of GOD be always with you! Amen.

This Controversy, which you have now heard, from the 13th of January hitherto [*i.e.*, to 30th September 1557; see page 210], I find written by the hands of such as are both learned and of credit; but yet, I must needs say, by those that were parties in this broil.

AND FORSOMUCH AS Master CHAMBERS, in this Controversy, is very sore charged, among the rest; who yet was thought of many wise and godly men, to be very godly, upright, and honest (and so, no doubt, he took his leave of this life): I have therefore thought good to place a Letter which is yet of his own hand to be seen, writing the same in his own defence touching these matters; so as the Reader, weighing both the one and the other, may use his judgement with discretion.

The Copy of the Letter.

To the Worshipful Master JOHN HALES, Master THOMAS CRAWLEY, Master JOHN WILFORD; and to Master WHITEHEAD, THOMAS SORSBY, WILLIAM MAISTER, and JOHN OLDE; at Frankfort.

IMMANUEL.

I WISH UNTO YOU the peace of God; with my commendations. The tenor of your demand hath caused me to defer answering to your Letters until this time: not of purpose to give you no Answer; but that I then, upon the sudden, wanted sure knowledge in that thing whereby you chiefly charge me.

At my coming from Zurich to Frankfort; I was entreated by certain men to continue my travails in gathering the alms and liberalities of godly men, to relieve therewith such poor dispersed English brethren, as I should think most meet to be relieved: even as before time I had done.

This request put in writing, subscribed by certain, was delivered unto me, not as Letters Testimonial of authority; which as I needed not, or I required them not: neither yet that I should, by force of them, gather for the Church of Frankfort only, or specially, which I purposed not; but that I might be the rather moved to do as before I had done. And they then required (which was after promise made to further my doings with all faithful secrecy, in such sort as I should, from time to time, devise and require) to bestow such sums of money, as should hereafter come to my hands; to such uses and purposes as I thought good. [But see pp. 118 and 213.]

Therefore, as by force of those Letters I gathered not: so the gathering for the Frankfort Church hath not been, nor is in, my hands, nor of any other at my appointment; as ye do write.

Wherefore, as I might, so I did (and that by the advice of many

honest, grave, and godly, men) depart from thence; without making that Accompt [*Account*], to which I am not bound; nor leaving for the relief of the poor, of whom such have had their portion in this blessing, for the time, as I thought meet to be relieved. Unto the Students, whom I never placed there, I have performed whatsoever I promised [see pp. 212, 213.]

The Accompt of Receipts, Payments, and Remains, which ye require; I intend not to make unto you. But I shall be ready, at all times and in all places, to make a just Accompt of my whole dealings in this behalf; unto them which have authority to demand it of me. In the mean time as I shall, by GOD's help, truly do my endeavour to relieve the poor; as I shall have wherewith, and find them meet to receive it: so shall I keep the names and sums secret, as I am bound, till by them which have just authority to loose me, I be otherwise appointed.

Thus I commit you to the Grace of Almighty GOD.

From Strasburg, this 20th of June, *anno* 1557.

RICHARD CHAMBERS.

After I had written this Answer to your first Letter, retaining it in my hand until I might have a convenient carrier; I received your second Letter.

The principal matters therein are answered before.

To the rest that be anything material, thus I say. As touching the delay of mine Answer, you call contempt more uncharitably than truly; as unto godly wise men is well known.

As my departure was not, so my return to Frankfort may not be, at your appointment.

Your general accusations of misbehaviours and contempts, in the which you say I am faulty; I admit not. If you can justly charge me with particulars; I shall make answer, to the contentation of all godly minds.

Where the Discipline of CHRIST is used in just causes, it is to be regarded: but your unorderly abusing of it, and against me, that am not of your Church; I esteem not.

If you use Civil Proofs against me; I shall be as ready to answer the Cause as you to enter the Suit. As for your displaying of me to our dispersed brethren, to my undeserved dispraise in this matter, cannot be such but that I shall easily purge myself; as GOD knoweth! Who with his HOLY SPIRIT mollify your hearts; and give you the unfeigned true sight of yourselves! Amen.

From Strasburg, the 30th of June 1557.

RICHARD CHAMBERS.

Delivered the 20th of July, to Master JOHN HALES, by JOHN ESCOT.

NOW WHILES THESE sharp and grievous contentions grew more and more at Frankfort, as ye have heard; many things happened in other places, which may in this place be shortly touched, to the glory of GOD, I hope; and also to the great comfort of the godly: who may, by the same, behold most evidently the marvellous Providence of GOD towards his poor afflicted and dispersed Church.

After that Master BARTUE [RICHARD BERTIE] and [CATHARINE BERTIE,] the Duchess [Dowager] of SUFFOLK were safely arrived at Wesel in Westphalia; the bruit thereof was the cause that more English people, in short time, resorted thither.

It please GOD also that Master COVERDALE, after that he had been with the King of Denmark, should come to the same town: who preached there no long time, till he was sent for by WOLFGANG, Duke of BIPONT, to take the Pastoral Charge of Bergzabern, one of his towns of Germany.

At whose coming to the Duke, he made it known, both M. COVERDALE to himself and to other Noblemen about sent [for] by the him, of Master BARTUE and the Duchess Duke of BIPONT. being in the Low Countries.

They (understanding the danger that might come unto them in those parts; as also calling to remembrance what great courtesy strangers had found in England at the Duchess's hands) made offer that, if they were forced to

The courtesy of the Noblemen of Germany to Master BARTUE and the Duchess of SUFFOLK.	remove, or otherwise if it pleased them, they should have the Castle of Weinheim, by Heidelberg, within the Liberties of OTTO HENRICUS the Palsgrave, and a godly Prince; who most gladly, as well appeared, gave consent to the same.
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Master BARTUE and the Duchess, accepting this offer, left Wesel, and came up to the said Castle; and there continued till, leaving Germany, they travelled towards the land of Poland.

1557. The English Church at Wesel remove to Aarau.

The Congregation that was at Wesel, wanting among them, partly the comfort which many of them had by Master BARTUE and my Lady being there, and partly also other reasonable considerations moving them; they left Wesel, and followed after.

But passing by Frankfort, and perceiving the Contention to be among them so boiling hot, that it ran over on both sides, and yet no fire quenched; many had small pleasure to tarry there, but went to Basle and other places: while Master LEVER made suit to the Lords of Berne for a Church within their dominions; whose Letters he obtained, with great favour, to all their subjects, for the friendly entertainment of the English nation.

These letters obtained, Master LEVER, Master BOYES, Master WILFORD, Master POWNALL, and T. UPCHAIR, came to Geneva, to have the advice of that Church, what was best to be done, touching the erection of a new Church.

They of Geneva gave GOD thanks, for that it had pleased him so to incline the hearts of the Lords of Berne towards them; and gave encouragement that they should not let slip so good an occasion.

Master J. BODLIEGH (who was no small stay, as well to that Church as to others) and W. KETHE, travelled with them. And passing through many parts of the Lords of Berne's dominions in Savoy and Switzerland; they found such favour, in all places where they came, as verily may be to the great condemnation of all such Englishmen as use the godly stranger (I mean those who come for Religion) so uncourteously.

Master LEVER and the company at length chose Aarau for their resting place: where the Congregation lived together in godly quietness among themselves, with great favour of the people, among whom, for a time, they were planted.

Englishmen placed at Aarau.

[The following two Letters give further details about the English exiles at Wesel, and their removal to Aarau.]

THOMAS LEVER to HEINRICH BULLINGER,

4th January 1556.

MUCH HEALTH in CHRIST JESUS! While I was so engaged at Geneva, both in my private studies, and in hearing the discourses of the Preachers in the public Congregation, as that nothing at that time seemed to be more desirable, both for my own individual improvement, and the edifying of the Church: some of my fellow-countrymen, who were banished from England on account of Religion, and had settled at Wesel, sent a Letter to me; wherein it was stated that, by the majority of their votes, and by the common and united consent of all, in a free election, I had been chosen as their Pastor.

They therefore earnestly entreated me by Letter, and implored me in CHRIST, that I would neither decline the Charge which GOD (in answer to their prayers and overruling their votes) had imposed upon me; nor delay my journey to them, who were anxiously expecting me. For since their late Pastor had already left them of his own accord; and the Magistrates had forbidden them the use of the Sacraments: they hoped to be enabled, by my arrival, both to have a Minister, and re-obtain the permission of the Magistrates for the free use of the Sacraments; or, at least, that they should receive some useful and necessary counsel.

Having therefore perused their Letter to this effect, and with prayer to GOD; after consulting Master CALVIN and my pious and learned brother Ministers of the Church of England: I am now on my road from Geneva to Wesel; entertaining such a view both of their state and condition and of my own slender abilities, as that I am persuaded that I ought neither to undertake the Office of their Minister, nor yet to refuse any diligence or labour of instructing them.

For the Ministerial Office neither seems to myself, nor to others whom I have consulted, to be capable of being exercised either with, or among those, to whom the Ministry of the Sacraments is forbidden: and, indeed, I do not as yet find in myself those qualities, which the Word of GOD declares should exist in a Minister. Whatever gifts of GOD I may discover in myself; I shall never refuse, by GOD's help, to impart all of them freely and diligently to my brethren in CHRIST, at their request

Strasburgh, on my journey, January 4 [1556].

Yours faithfully in CHRIST,

THOMAS LEVER.

Original Letters, pp. 160-161. Ed. 1846-7. (Parker Society)

[1557. The English Church at Wesel remove to Aarau.]

THOMAS LEVER to RODOLPH GUALTER.

11 August 1557.

AFTER A LONG and wearisome tossing about; I, at length, seem to myself to have arrived, with some of my friends, at Aarau, as at a harbour of refuge. For we have explored the whole Bernese territory, both in Germany and Savoy: and found in each country one place especially (namely Aarau in Germany or rather in Switzerland, and Vevay in Savoy,) that was both able and willing to afford a comfortable home to the English exiles for the sake of Religion; and in these two towns, we found the inhabitants favourable to us, beyond all expectation.

But the people of Aarau, by reason of their confined situation, are unable, at present, to supply and accommodate us with more than seven houses*: and the people of Vevay, though, in a short time, they will be able and willing to receive the whole twenty-five families, are yet a great way off, and difficult of access. Wherefore we have judged it far better and more practicable, that some few persons, here in this neighbourhood, commencing with a small number, should gradually advance from small beginnings, and daily increase by fresh additions; than that all of them should contend at once, with great expense and labour and peril, for the attainment of their object. As many persons therefore as the seven houses which Aarau supplies us with, can contain, are now established with their wives and children. The remainder (wishing rather to join us here, than to remove as far as Vevay) are lingering in other places; hoping and desiring an opportunity of coming hither.

And thus we English, driven from our country by Popery, and from Wesel by Lutheranism, are now, most of us (by our mutual wishes, counsels, and assistance) tending to one spot; where it is still permitted us freely, sincerely, and openly, to acknowledge and worship CHRIST.

Original Letters, 166-169. Ed. 1846-7. (Parker Society).]

* A Letter from YOUNG to BULLINGER, dated, Basle, August 5 1557, states that 'A large portion of the English are remaining here. The rest will go to Aarau; unless more eligible terms are offered them at Vevay. I went up to Aarau with them, last week; and easily obtained leave of residence for them among the citizens themselves; but we could

not meet with suitable houses and apartments for more than seven families. The Church of St Ursula is appropriated to them; and licence to engage in the manufacture of wool, in spite of the opposition of some of the more wealthy of the inhabitants. GOD be praised!' 'Original Letters,' as above.—E.A.

Not long after this, Master HORNE and Master
HORNE and CHAMBERS came by Aarau to Geneva;
CHAMBERS come seeming, at that time, to like very well
to Geneva. of those Congregations, as the Church
of Frankfort then did, as appeareth by their Letters afore:
insomuch that the said Masters HORNE and CHAMBERS did
distribute largely to the necessity of those Churches. So
that it appeared that the old grudge, which had been
between the Churches of Frankfort and Geneva, had been
clean forgotten.

IT CAME TO PASS, not many days after, that the Lord began to shew mercy unto England, in removing Queen MARY by death; and placing the Queen's Majesty that now is, whom GOD long preserve! in the seat [*on the throne*].

The news whereof, as it was joyful to all such as were in exile, so it appeared that the English] Church of Geneva was not behind the rest. Who, after that they had given GOD hearty thanks for his great goodness, consulted among themselves, and concluded, That, forsomuch as there had been jars between them and other Churches, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies; it was now expedient and necessary, not only that unfeigned reconciliation should be between them, but also that they might so join together in matters of Religion and Ceremonies, that no Papist, or other enemy, should take hold, or [take] advantage, by a farther dissension in their own country; which might arise in time to come, if it were not in time forseen and prevented.

To this end was WILLIAM KETHE, one of the Congregation, chosen, to do [*perform*] this message to them of Aarau, Basle, Strasburg, Worms, Frankfort, etc.

KETHE sent into Germany and Helvetia.

And to them of Aarau and Frankfort, this Letter was written which followeth; and subscribed by the Ministry, in the name of the whole Congregation.

*The Copy of the Letter,
written the 15th of December [1558].*

The Father of mercies and GOD of all consolation confirm and increase you in the love of his son JESUS CHRIST; that, being in the conduct of the Lion of the Tribe of JUDAH, ye may be victorious against SATAN and Antichrist, to the overthrowing of Papistry and error, and establishing of CHRIST's glorious Kingdom.

AFTER THAT WE heard, dearly Beloved! of the joyful tidings of GOD's favour and grace restored unto us, by the preferment of the most virtuous and gracious Queen ELIZABETH; we lifted up our hearts and voices to our heavenly Father: who hath, not only by his due Providence nourished us in our banishment, preserved us and as it were carried us in his wings; but also heard our prayers, granted our requests, pitied our country, and restored his Word. So that the greatness of this marvellous benefit overcometh our judgements and thoughts, how to be able worthily to receive it, and to give thanks for the same.

And when we had, with great comfort, weighed the matter, to the intent that we might, at the least, shew ourselves mindful of this most wonderful and undeserved grace; we thought, among other things, how we might best serve to GOD's glory in this work and vocation of furthering the Gospel of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

And because [*in order that*] all impediments and cavillations of adversaries might be removed; it seemed good to have your godly counsel and brotherly conference herein, which we desire to learn by this bearer, our loving brother KETHE: that we might all join hearts and hands together in this great work; wherein, no doubt, we shall find many adversaries and stays [*hindrances*]. Yet if we (whose suffrance and persecutions are certain signs of our sound doctrine) hold fast together, it is most certain that the enemies shall have less power; offences shall sooner be taken away; and Religion best proceed and flourish.

For what can the Papist wish more than that we should dissent one from another; and, instead of Preaching JESUS CHRIST and profitable doctrine, to contend one against another, either for superfluous Ceremonies, or other like trifles; from the which, GOD, of his mercy, hath delivered us.

Therefore, dear Brethren! we beseech you (as we doubt not but your godly judgements will think it so best) that whatsoever offence hath been, heretofore, either taken or given; it may so cease and be forgotten that hereafter GOD lay it not to our charges, if thereby his blessed Word should be anything hindered.

And as we, for our parts, freely remit all offences, and most entirely embrace you, our dear Brethren! so we beseech you in the Lord that unfeignedly you will do the like on our behalf: whereof albeit we assure ourselves as both by good experience we have proved, and also have received by your Letters: yet (to cut off all occasions from Papists and other cavillers) we thought it best to renew the same amity, and to confirm it by these Letters.

Most earnestly desiring you, that we may together reach and

1559. The Reply of the Frankfort Anglican Church.

practise the true knowledge of GOD's Word ; which we have learned in this our banishment, and by GOD's merciful Providence seen in the best Reformed Churches, That (considering our negligence in times past ; and GOD's punishment for the same) we may, with zeal and diligence, endeavour to recompense it: that GOD, in all our doings, may be glorified ; our consciences discharged ; and the members of JESUS CHRIST relieved and comforted. The which thing the Lord GOD (who hath mercifully visited and restored us) grant and perform. To whom be all honour, praise, and glory, for ever and ever.

Your loving friends,
and in the name of the whole Church,

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.	WILLIAM WILLIAMS.	JOHN PULLAIN.
MILES COVERDALE.	ANTHONY GILBY.	WILLIAM BEVOYES.
JOHN KNOX.	FRANCIS WITHERS.	WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM.
JOHN BODLIEGH.	WILLIAM FULLER.	

*The Answer returned from Frankfort,
by W. Kethe.*

The Grace of GOD and the assistance of the HOLY GHOST lighten and strengthen you, to the understanding and constant retaining of his Truth, to the furtherance of his honour and glory, and to the edifying and maintenance of his Church in CHRIST JESU our Lord.

DEARLY BELOVED! as your Letters were most welcome unto us, both for that ye rejoyce at the preferment of our godly Queen; and also that ye study how to promote the glory of GOD: so are we right sorry that they came not afore the departure of such as ye seek a charitable reconciliation withal. For where as ye require that all such offences as have been given and taken between you and us may be forgotten hereafter: there be not here past four left which were then present when ye dwelt here [in 1554—1555] ; and not one of the learned sort, saving Master BEESLEY. Yet we doubt not but, as they promised in their former Letters, to forget all displeasures afore conceived ; so they will perform the same, and esteem you as their brethren.

As for our parts, as we have had no contention with you at all afore time ; so we purpose not, as we trust there shall be no cause, to enter into contention with you hereafter. For Ceremonies to contend (where it shall lie neither in your hands or ours to appoint what they shall be; but in such men's wisdoms as shall be appointed to the devising of the same, and which shall be received by [the] common consent of the

1 Whittingham.

Parliament), it shall be to small purpose. But we trust that both true Religion shall be restored; and that we shall not be burdened with unprofitable Ceremonies. And therefore, as we purpose to submit ourselves to such Orders as shall be established by Authority, being not of themselves wicked; so we would wish you willingly to do the same.

For where as all the Reformed Churches differ among themselves in divers Ceremonies, and yet agree in the unity of Doctrine; we see no inconvenience, if we use some Ceremonies diverse from them, so that we agree in the chief points of our Religion. Notwithstanding, if any shall be intruded that shall be offensive; we, upon just conference and deliberation upon the same, at our meeting with you in England, which we trust by GOD's grace will be shortly, will brotherly join with you to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of the same.

In the mean season, let us, with one heart and mind, call to the Almighty GOD, that of his infinite mercy he will finish and establish that work that he hath begun in our country; and that we may all lovingly consent together in the earnest setting forth of his Truth: that GOD may be known and exalted, and his Church perfectly builded up, through CHRIST our Lord.

From Frankfort, this 3rd of January 1559.

Your loving friends,

in the name of the rest of the Church,

JAMES PILKINGTON.	JOHN BROWNE.	RICHARD BEESLEY.
JOHN MULLINGS.	HENRY KNOLL[Y]S.	JOHN GRAY.
HENRY CAROWE.	FRANCIS WILFORD.	CHRISTOPHER BRICKBATE.
EDMUND ISAAC.	ALEXANDER NOWELL.	

*An Answer brought from the Congregation of Aarau,
by W. Kethe.*

The Father of mercies and GOD of all consolation confirm, increase, and continue, you always in the love of his son JESUS CHRIST our Lord.

PRAISED BE GOD, through our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which pulled down MARY that did persecute, and hath set up the godly Lady ELIZABETH, Queen of England, to restore and maintain there the pure preaching of his Word.

And for that it hath pleased GOD to move your good hearts, for the furtherance of the same, with godly zeal and charitable desire, by your Letters, to shew unto us your advice and purpose; and also to require ours to be returned and sent to you, by our brother KETHE. We do,

1559. The Reply of the Anglican Church at Aarau.

with most hearty thanks, unfeignedly afore GOD, certify you, That to your counsel and conference with us, we do consent willingly concerning your most godly request: for that we acknowledge that the same shall be to the advancement of his glory and quietness of his Church.

Also we desire you that, as oft as we may find hereafter any occasion to consult and confer, by word or writing, that then both you and we so take and seek the same as may be most to our unity in minds, and diligence to do good in the Lord's work.

And, farthermore, for the forgetting and putting away all occasions of offences; we do likewise consent unto your good ensample and request.

And so, finally, for the Preaching and Professing of sincere Doctrine, so as we have seen and learned [it] in the best Reformed Churches, we do gladly hear your advice to be so agreeable to our purpose, that we beseech you to pray with us, that you and all we together that be faithful, may continue, proceed, and prosper, in godly zeal, charitable concord, and earnest diligence to honour and serve GOD; and to comfort and edify his Elect [at] all times and in every place, and especially now in England.

O, Lord! not unto us; but unto thy name be honour and praise for ever!

From Aarau, this 16th day of January 1559.

Your loving friends of the Ministry,
in the name, and by the consent, of the whole Church,

THOMAS LEVER.

RICHARD LANGHORNE.

THOMAS TURPIN.

ROBERT POWNALL.

NOW WHEN AS W. KETHE was returned to Geneva, with the Answers from the Congregations and Companies that were dispersed in sundry places of Germany and Helvetia [*Switzerland*]; the Congregation, after that they had rendered their humble thanks to the Magistrates for their great goodness towards them, prepared themselves to depart: saving certain which remained behind the rest, to wit, to finish the Bible and the Psalms both in metre and prose: which were already begun, at the charges of such as were of most [financial] ability in that Congregation. And with what success these Works were finished, especially the Bible, I must leave it to the judgements of the godly learned; who should best judge of the same.

But if that Bible be such, as no enemy of GOD could justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a Work (being so profitable) should find so small favour as not to be printed again.* If it be not faithfully translated, then let it still find as little favour as it doth, because of the inconveniences that a false translation brings with it.

The Ministers of Geneva, in an Epistle which they wrote before the New Testament [published at Geneva, 10th June 1557; and translated by WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM], have these words.

There is nothing more requisite to attain the right and absolute knowledge of the Doctrine of Salvation, whereby to resist all heresy and falsehood, than to have the text of the Scriptures faithfully and truly translated.

The consideration whereof moved them, with one assent, as they say in that Epistle, to request two of their brethren, to wit, CALVIN and BEZA, eftsoons [*again*] to peruse the same; notwithstanding their former travails.

* Up to the date of this 'Brief Discourse,' 1575, only three Editions of the Geneva, or Breeches, English Bible had appeared; in 1560, 1562, and 1570: all of them printed at

Geneva. It was not till 1576, that CHRISTOPHER BARKER printed the first of the many London Editions of that Version.—E. A.

BEZA also, in his Epistle to the Prince of CONDÉ and [the] Nobles of France, hath these words:

Seeing then all these Controversies must be discussed by GOD's Word; I suppose that this thing ought chiefly to be provided for, That seeing all cannot have the knowledge to understand the Word of GOD in these peculiar [*particular*] languages, the Hebrew and the Greek, which were to be wished; that there should be some true and apt Translation of the Old and New Testament made: the which divers have already laboured to bring to pass; but yet no man hath hitherto sufficiently performed it. For the Old Translation [*of the Latin Vulgate*], whosoever it is, although it ought not to be condemned: yet is it found both obscure, unperfect, and superfluous, and also false in many places; to speak nothing of an infinite variety [*variation*] of the copies. The which Text therefore many learned and godly men have laboured to amend; but not with like success. And yet how necessary a thing this is, whosoever shall read those most learned Writers of the Grecians, and shall compare their interpretations, which are many times far from the purpose, with the Hebrew verity; he shall confess it with great sorrow.

And the same evil was not only hurtful among the Latin Writers; but also the ignorance of the Greek tongue wherewith many of them were troubled, whiles they did depend of the common Translation [*the Vulgate*], they oft times seek 'a knot in a rush,' according to the old Proverb, and fell into most foul errors.

This cause therefore hath moved me to compare most diligently the diversity of copies; and to weigh the sentences and judgements of the most part of the Learned Men: specially of them that this Age hath brought forth, skilful in the languages; who are more in number, doubtless, and better learned, than the Church hath had since the time of the Apostles, and so ease them somewhat, that desire a more pure interpretation.

And that it might be done with more profit; I have also added Annotations: in the which I have also compared together the diversity of interpretations; and, as much as I could, I have laboured to make plain and evident the sense and meaning of all the dark places, etc.

Thus far BEZA; by whose judgement and the rest, ye see that to have the Holy Scriptures truly and faithfully translated is a matter of no small importance.

Here might I touch a thing perhaps worth the hearing, if hope [there] were of redress; which is, That if the Learned were but one half so earnest, zealous, and careful,

to see that the Holy Scriptures in this realm might be faithfully translated and truly corrected, as they are, many times, about matters nothing so necessary; I would not doubt to say, that they should do unto GOD an excellent piece of service.

For the most part of our English Bibles are so ill translated, as the Learned report; and so falsely printed, as the simple may find: that such had need to be very well acquainted with Scripture, as, in many places, should get out the true meaning and sense. And it is high time to look unto this, considering that [in 1574], in most parts of this realm, Preachers ye have none; nor any that can, or will, preach, very few excepted: saving certain wanderers, amongst whom, and especially in some shires, are such ruffianly rake-hells and common cozeners [*cheats*] permitted and suffered; by whose preachings the Word of Truth is become odious in the eyes of the people. Seeing then, I say, that, in most places, the Ministry doth stand [*not progress*]; and consists of old Popish Priests, tolerated Readers, and many new-made Ministers whose readings [of the Homilies] are such that the people cannot be edified (especially where one is tolerated to serve two or three Churches), and turning their backs to the people: I leave to the consideration of such who have to deal in this matter, what great and intolerable mischiefs may come more and more, by suffering such corrupted Bibles in Churches and elsewhere, to the poor simple Flock of CHRIST.

BUT NOW TO draw to an end. Ye see, Brethren, by this Brief and Short Discourse, that the Grudge, whereupon this dissension hangeth, is past the age of a child; and therefore may (without offence, I hope) be called an old Grudge; which, as it seemeth, was never yet thoroughly healed: as will more and more appear, as this Discourse shall be, from time to time, continued, till it be brought even to this present time; which time, verily, is so extreme as the like hath rarely been heard of.

For it is come to pass that if any should, with a godly grief, bewail the imperfections that remain and crave for redress, yea, but suspected [of such]; or should, by the malice of an Atheist, a Papist, or an Epicure, be presented: such are not only reviled and taunted, scoffed at, and termed by these odious names of, Precisian, Puritan, Contentious, Seditious, Rebel, Traitor; and what not. But also if he come once into the presence of the Bishops, and subscribe not to whatsoever they will; then, if he have a Living, to be deprived: or, whether he have a Living or not, be he learned or unlearned, be he man or woman, halt or blind; to prison he must, without all redemption!

I will not say that, in the mean time, such as are turn-coats, and can change with all seasons, subscribing to whatsoever, and can cap it, can cope it, and curry for advantage, that such, I say, (how ignorant, how vicious, and ungodly, soever they be) live at their ease, in all pleasure; and in some places are thought to be most meet men for the Ministry. But this I may be bold to affirm, That although in very deed I neither do, nor dare, condemn certain godly persons, who (of infirmity; but yet with sorrowful and heavy hearts, as hath well appeared by their most lamentable protestations, with plenty of tears, to their Congregations) have yielded to more than expedient it were they should; praying the Lord to let them see it in time: yet it may not only be said; but proved, That neither is Subscribing always a sure note of [a] good subject; nor yet

the refusal, due proof of a Rebel.

The greatest traitors and rebels that godly King EDWARD had in the West parts were Priests, and such as had subscribed to the Book [of Common Prayer], or whatsoever, by law, was then in force: but, for all their subscribings, there was no skirmish where some of those Subscribers left not their carcasses in the field, against GOD and their Prince.

PLUMTREE and his fellow-Priests of the North, I doubt not, but they were conformable and applicable to all Orders, and never staggered at Subscriptions: but for all that, time tried their traitorous hearts!

But in all the Stirs which have happened since the Queen's Majesty came to the crown, or before, I have not heard of so much as one, Minister or others, that hath lifted up his hand against Her Majesty or [the] State; whom it pleaseth the envious and malicious man to term, Precisian, and Puritan, in great despite and contempt.

Indeed, this have I found and learned, That even such as must be content to patiently bear those odious names of Puritan, Precisian, Traitor, and Rebel, have yet been the men who most faithfully, in their calling, have served the Queen's Majesty and their country, both within the realm and without the realm, in garrison and in field [of battle] hazarding their bodies against harquebus and cannon: when as those who now so furiously charge them, both out of pulpits and other places, durst not, or at least would not, in any such service of the Prince and country be seen.

For proof hereof, if you call to remembrance who hazarded his life with that old Honourable [JOHN RUSSELL,] Earl of BEDFORD, when as he was sent to subdue the Popish rebels of the West [in 1549]; you shall find that none of the Clergy were hasty to take that service in hand, but only old Father COVERDALE.

When most likelihood was of danger between the Scots and us; the Preacher to the soldiers was first Master [THOMAS] SAMPSON, and afterwards Master GRESHOPP; when as the Right Honourable [FRANCIS RUSSELL,] the Earl of BEDFORD that now is, had there the charge.

[AMBROSE DUDLEY,] The Earl of WARWICK, at his being at Newhaven [*Havre*, in 1562—1563] had indeed with him

certain Ministers for a time: but, after that the cannon came and began to roar, and the plague of Pestilence so terribly to rage, then, I ween, [there was] not a Minister there left but Master KETHE alone. [WHITTINGHAM says nothing at all about himself; but see pp. 4-9.] And when as means were made to have more Ministers over, to aid the said KETHE (who had so much to do, what with Preaching, and visiting the poor sick soldiers which were in no small numbers); there could not be found (as that Right Noble Earl can, upon his honour, testify) so much as one which could be brought to so much Conformity as to subscribe to any such service of the Queen's Majesty.

When Sir HENRY SIDNEY had to do with the Popish rebels of Ireland; Master CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN shewed his faithful diligence in that service.

When [AMBROSE DUDLEY,] the Earl of WARWICK was sent to subdue the Popish rebels in the north parts [in the Rebellion of the North in 1569]; the Preachers of the Queen's Majesty's Army were KETHE, TEMES, and STANDON; who offered themselves in that service voluntarily, without all constraint.

And thus it is evident that these, with a number more (who are now so ill thought of, as if they were Traitors and Rebels), have yet been so far from being seditious, that they have, at all times, adventured there lives against seditious persons and rebels: when as such as now so hardily charge them both by word and writing have been right heartily well content to take their ease, and rest at home.

Considering then, how many ways we are unjustly burdened, and brought into hatred, without just cause; I supposed that no godly man would be offended, if, by such lawful means as I might, I sought both to purge myself and the rest of my brethren from such heinous and odious crimes as some would seem to charge us. And that could I not do so well any way, as by the gathering together of this Discourse: wherein the indifferent [*impartial*] Reader shall find, That the Religion which we hold and profess is not only the true and sincere Religion of CHRIST, and the self-same with all the Reformed Churches in Christendom; but also [with] that which this Realm hath established, touching the true Doctrine commonly taught therein.

By this Discourse also, it may be seen, both When, Where, How, and By whom, this Controversy first began : Who continued it, Who was on the suffering side, and Who [was] readiest to forget and forgive, that godly peace and concord might be had.

Now, if any shall seem to be offended with this that I have done ; I do most humbly beseech them to weigh well and expend [*consider, deliberate*] with themselves, first, Whether I have given them any just cause ?

If it be for that [*because*] I have, in this Discourse, brought to light some things that might have been kept secret (the Contention being among brethren), to the end the common enemy should not have cause to triumph, let this satisfy them !

First, that the wicked and common enemy cannot (for his heart) more triumph over the godly than he doth already ; and that throughout this whole realm.

Again, the cruelty of CAIN to ABEL, of ISHMAEL to ISAAC, of ESAU to JACOB, of the Patriarchs to their brother JOSEPH, the hot contention between PAUL and BARNABAS, and PAUL and PETER, etc. : all these, being known to the World, hath turned notwithstanding to the great glory of GOD ; as my assured hope is, that even this will also, in the end.

And therefore (as the Lord of heaven knoweth) that the keeping of these things, almost by the space of these twenty years [1555—1574], in secret, might suffice to witness with me that I had now no great pleasure to utter it : so I wot not how it cometh to pass that (even in the midst of great striving and struggling with myself, what to do) I could not be, by any means, resolved, or see just cause, why I should any longer conceal it.

If any should think that I have not with indifferency [*impartiality*] penned the Story ; I refer me, to satisfy such, to the judgements and consciences of those persons who were the Players of this Tragedy ; of both Parties many [are] yet living : assuring myself that neither Party shall be able justly to charge me ; except it be for that [*because*], in very deed, I have sought rather how to cover many things than to lay them wide open to the World, as I nothing doubt to prove, if I might be but heard indifferently ; insomuch as, in this Discourse, I have, as much as I could,

1574. The Author's purpose in writing this Discourse.

passed over the names of all, where credit might seem to have been impaired thereby, saving only of such as were, of very necessity, to be noted, for the better understanding of the History.

To conclude. Against the offences which some may take at these my travails [*labours*]; I have set the great profit that this may bring to GOD's Church, and to the posterity: who, being taught by other men's harms, if they be happy, will learn to beware. The hope whereof had greater force to push my pen forward to the finishing of this Work than the displeasures of certain (arising so far as I see, of no ground) could be to withdraw me from the same.

Beseeching Almighty GOD so to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that what troubles or trials soever shall, by the Lord GOD's Providence, happen to me hereby; he will vouchsafe to give me a contented mind quietly and with patience to bear it. Before whom I protest, that, in writing this Discourse, I have had respect to his glory; the defence of his sacred Truth; the clearing, so far as I might, of so many excellent Learned Men, on whose necks this Stir is laid as Authors of the same: and not that I have willingly sought the hurt, hindrance, or discredit, of any man.

And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge, and in all judgement, that ye may discern things that differ one from another, that ye may be pure without offence until the day of CHRIST.—Phil. i. 8, 9. Geneva Version.

Keep the true pattern of the wholesome words, which thou hast heard of me in faith and love which is in CHRIST JESU.—2 Tim. i. 13. Geneva Version.

Study to shew thyself approved unto GOD, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, dividing the Word of Truth aright.—2 Tim. ii. 15. Geneva Version.

*A Letter from the Ministers
of the Church of Geneva,
24 October 1567.*

*A Letter from the General Assembly
of the Kirk of Scotland,
28 December 1566.*

[These Letters have nothing to do with the Frankfort Controversies :
but may be regarded as an Appendix to them ; being Arguments in favour
of the Geneva Liturgy and Discipline.]

The Answer of the Ministers of Geneva
to certain of the
Brethren of the Church of England ;
concerning some Controversy
in the Ecclesiastical Policy.
[24th October 1567.]

BEING RIGHT EARNESTLY and often required, by certain dear brethren of the Church of England, that we would, in their miserable state, give them some kind of counsel, whereon their consciences might be stayed, the judgement of many being therein divers; we did long defer the satisfying of their requests, upon weighty causes. And we assure the Reader that, even now, also we most gladly would hold our peace; were it not a matter of conscience to reject the suit of the brethren so often enforced, and with most grievous groanings renewed.

Of which stiffened silence of ours, these were the causes :

First, as, on the one part, we doubt not of the credit of the brethren, as though they had not sincerely described the state of the Cause unto us: so, on the other side, it is most hard for to suspect such things, so clean besides all Office of Bishops; much less persuade ourselves [of] the same, by such Personages done.

And farther, What men are we, that we should determine upon such Causes! Also if it were lawful for us, either by authority, or else by consent, or request, of either party, to give sentence hereupon; yet were it a matter most wrongful; if either party [be] not heard, or not present to determine.

Last of all, fear mistrusted lest so great a mischief should, by this our counsel, how simple soever it is, rather become raw than skinned: it being a sore of so desperate

a nature, as that it seemeth to be, that prayers and patience can only salve the same.

Seeing then that, by the sundry requests of the brethren, we are so hardly persuaded, that, of force, we ought to give them some kind of advice; We do openly protest that we so give the same herein, as those that will not in any wise prejudice the other party; much less challenge to us a Justicier's room over any. And all those men, into whose hands these do come, We do in the Lord desire, that they be not herewith offended: but do persuade themselves that these Contents are both simply and faithfully written of us, as upon a questioned Cause granted; that the consciences of the brethren which desire it, might some way be better appeased: which to set altogether at nought were a deed wholly void of charity.

Therefore, the Cause standing as we are informed; We profess, plainly and in good faith, that our judgements over these Questions are thus:

It is demanded, Whether we can approve this disorder in calling of men to the function of the Ministry? which is, That the multitude of those which sue for Order[s], shall be enrolled in the Ministry; both without the voices of the Elders, and also no certain Cure appointed them, [and] but lightly examined of their lives and behaviour: to whom also, at the lust [*will*] of the Bishop, shall liberty be given afterwards to preach the Word of GOD for a time prescribed; otherwise to rehearse only the Church Service.

We answer, That such Callings of Ministers (whether we answer them by the rule of GOD's express Word; or else by force of Canons that are best tried and allowed) are holden and esteemed of us altogether unlawful: albeit we know that it is better to have half a loaf than no bread. But we beseech GOD, with our whole hearts, that it also will please him to bestow upon the Kingdom of England also the same, that is, a lawful and ordinary Calling of men to the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. For it being either kept out, or hindered; the benefit of the Doctrine of Truth must, of force, by and by, vanish away; or else be held up by some means that are strange, yea, altogether ghostly and supernatural.

Furthermore, We do, in GOD's most holy name, most humbly sue to the Prince's Sovereign Majesty, that, with the whole force of her mind, she endeavour the correction of this point: wherein the whole ground and stay of the Church of England, and therefore of the Realm also, doth stand and persist.

And, thirdly, We do, with tears, beseech both those high Personages that are of Her Majesty's Honourable Council, and those which have succeeded in the place of the Popish Bishops (undoubtedly through the special mercy of the high and good GOD), that, out of the self-same place where Overthrow and Destruction did issue, they should utterly destroy that Tyranny which hath thus cast down headlong the very Christian Church: and We crave of them, in the dreadful name of GOD, before whose redoubted Throne of Judgement we all shall be arrested [*judged*], that (with all consideration and mindfulness of the years past; and conscience of their duty and charge) they will not slack to vow and betroth their whole diligence, as well in ordering the means that may accomplish this thing as in persuading the Queen's Majesty thereto: and that they cease not at all this thing, being unachieved; chiefly, seeing GOD hath bestowed upon them the Princely Majesty of so singular a Mistress, as from whose hands they cannot but hope for all princely and excellent things; unless they list, in their own case, to fail themselves.

But some will ask, How shall we do in this point, until then? Verily, if the case were ours; we would not receive this Ministry upon these conditions, if it were proffered. A great deal less would we sue for it. Notwithstanding, we exhort these men to whom GOD hath, by this way, made entrance to the enlarging of the glory of his Kingdom, that, in the fear of GOD, they do courageously abide therein: yet with the condition that it may be lawful for them holily and religiously to exercise all their whole Ministry; and therefore may also propound and urge those things in their Cures which do always appertain to the advancement of the better estate therein.

For otherwise, if they be forced of this liberty, and so willed to wink at manifest abuses, that they should also approve these things which doubtless ought to be redressed: what thing else can we persuade them, than that they should retire from this, to their private, life; rather than,

without conscience, to nourish that mischief which doth, of force, draw with it the whole wasting and decay of all the Congregation.

Yet we hope that the Queen's Highness, and so many honourable and good men, will, in such sort, plant their diligence, that rather privilege of liberty may be granted to the consciences of so many godly and learned brethren, than that these horrible evils should follow, to wit:

That the Pastors of the Flocks should be constrained, either, against the soundness of their consciences, to do that which is evil, and so to be chained in other men's sins; or else to resign their Ministry. For that third necessity that will ensue this, which is, that, against the Prince's and Bishops' wills, they should exercise their Office; We do so much the more tremble at, because of those reasons which, of themselves, are plain enough; albeit we do not utter them.

It is also desired of us to answer plainly and truly, Whether we do allow the distinction ordained in the wearing of Copes and garments, as well for the common use, as for the Ministry?

We therefore do flatly answer, the Cause standing as we do understand [it], That those men that are authors hereof do deserve most evil of the Church; and shall answer at the dreadful Bar of CHRIST his Judgement. For although that we think that that politic [*prudent*] Order, whereby not citizens alone, but also the degrees of functions, are marked and noted, is not to be discommended wholly at all: yet we are of opinion that not every Mark and Note is straightway to be used. For put the case, that the Ministers were commanded to wear the pied [*party-coloured*] coat of a Fool, or the garment of a Vice in a Play; were it not manifest scorning of the Ministry so to do. And those that use these other garments and apparel commanded, do seem verily to us, to trespass somewhat worse than so: because that the Lord hath not only reared and set us this Priest-like Apparel as a toy to be laughed at, even of many of the Papists themselves: but it is also certain that the same is polluted and defiled with infinite superstition.

But some men will plead the antiquity thereof. Surely, they are old: and yet the Apostolic simplicity, wherein the Church did flourish, is a great deal more ancient than this.

1567. Ministering Apparel originally the people's dress.

Also, if it please him to wade yet further to search about these matters; it shall be easy enough to shew, That these things, which, after that, did serve for the Note and Mark of the Ministry, were first usual among the people and common: and therefore whence cometh it, things being altered after so long a season, that this foreign and strange guise should be retained? Doth it not come of a zeal both evil and unprofitable?

But some man will say, These things, for all that, are things of the middle sort and indifferent. We grant indeed that they are such, if you will consider them simply and in their own nature, and apart from all circumstances: but who are they that will so weigh and consider them? For these men that are yet Papists, what purpose soever this Civil Law doth pretend, aré surely, by these means, established deeper in this superstition which hath so overgrown them. And these men that began so earnestly to abhor superstition, that they now did detest the monuments and relics thereof; how much are they offended and wounded herein? As for those which are further and better learned; what fruit reap they thereof? And, farther, is this Difference and Mark of the functions of such importance that therefore the consciences of so many should be troubled? especially seeing the reason and purpose thereof newly set abroche [*set on foot*] is but drawn, even from those that are themselves the manifest sworn enemies to Sound Doctrine. What meaneth it also, that, of those also, that are termed to be ecclesiastically brought up and are in the Ministry, not the smallest part [*but*] are said to have their Papistry in their breasts about with them? Is this the good hour wherein they shall better profit by the restoring of this Attire? or shall they not rather vaunt [*display*] their crests, as in hope to have Popery restored again?

If any shall object the circumcising of TIMOTHY, and other like examples; we right earnestly pray him to consider what PAUL would have said, if any man should have made this law, That every man that is in the Ministry of the Gospel shall be constrained to wear the garments of the Pharisees; or that they, in the apparel of prophane [*the heathen*] Priests, should preach the Gospel, and administer the Sacraments; and not only [*simply*] circumcise their children: notwithstanding that, under some colour [*pretext*]

of reason, this Civil Commandment might set forth the same.

Yea, to what end are these things brought in? For howsoever they might, at the first, be tolerated till that, by little and little, they might be taken away: yet being once removed out of the Churches, we see not with what commodity they can be restored to their possession again.

Therefore we do oftsoons [*again*] repeat that we before said, That we cannot allow this device; not yet hope for any good to issue thereof. Notwithstanding, we will gladly give over this opinion; if we shall learn better reason therefore.

‘What then,’ will the brethren say, on whom these things are so thrown, ‘judge you, what we ought to do herein?’

We answer, That there needeth in this Answer a distinction. For the case of the Ministers, and the case of the people, are not all one herein. Furthermore, many things may, yea, and ought to, be borne and tolerated; which are, notwithstanding, not justly commanded.

First, therefore, we answer, That albeit these things, as we judge, are not rightly restored to their possession in the Congregations; yet, seeing that they are not of those kinds of things which are of their own nature impious and ungodly, they seem to us not to be of such weight that the Shepherds should rather give over their functions, than receive the Apparel; or that the Flock should refuse the public Food of the Soul, rather than to receive the same from the Shepherds that are apparelled herein. Only that, as well the Shepherds as their Flocks, may not sin against their consciences, so that the Purity of Doctrine itself remain untouched, we do persuade the Ministers, after they have, both before the Queen’s Highness and also before the Bishops, set their consciences at liberty, by modest Protestation (as doth appertain to such Christians as seek not sedition and tumult) and yet grave (according to the importance of the Cause); that they do indeed openly, in their parish, still beat upon those things that may serve to the utter taking away of the stumbling-block. And that, as GOD shall give occasion, they will wholly give themselves, both wisely and meekly, to correct all those abuses: but yet to bear those things which they cannot straightway change; rather than,

forsaking their Congregation, they should give occasion to SATAN, that seeketh nothing else to stir up greater and more perilous mischiefs than these.

As for the people, the Doctrine being unhurt; we exhort them, That, for [*in spite of*] all these things, they will diligently hear the same; to use the Sacraments religiously; and so long to groan to GOD, with earnest amendment of life, until they obtain of them, that which doth appertain to the full redress and amendment of the Church.

But again if that the Minister be commanded, not only to tolerate these things; but also that they shall, with their Subscriptions, allow them as lawful; or else by their stillness foster them?

What can we else persuade them to do: but that, having witnessed their innocency, and, in the fear of the Lord, tried all means, they should give over their functions to open wrong. But our hearts betide [*augur to*] us of England much better things than these extremities.

It is demanded of us, What do we judge of the trolling [*repeating*] and descanting [*warbling*] of [the singing of] the Psalms? Crossing of those babes that shall be baptized, and of the Demands in Baptism? also of the round unleavened Wafer Cake, and Kneeling, in the Lord's Supper?

We answer, That kind of singeth seemeth to be the corruption of the pure ancient Church Service and glorifying of GOD therein.

And as for Crossing of babes, whatsoever practice there hath been thereof in time of old, yet is it most certain that it is truly, in these days, through so late greenness of the superstition, so most abominable as that we judge those men to have done assuredly well that have once driven this Rite out of the Congregation: whereof also we see not what the profit is.

And we doubt not but the Demands in Baptism have crept into the Church upon this occasion: because that, through the negligence of the Bishops, the same Form of Baptizing Children was retained, which, at the first rearing of the Primitive Church, was to be used at the baptizing of those that, being of years [of discretion], did enter the

Profession of Christ. This thing also we may perceive, by many the like yet in use in the Popish Baptism. Wherefore, even as the Cream [*Chrism*] and Charm used in Baptism are, by GOD's law, abolished ; although they were ancient : so wish we also these Demandings, being not only vain but foolish, should be also passed over ; albeit that Saint AUGUSTINE himself doth seem, in an Epistle of his, to sustain it by certain devised construction.

The bread, whether it ought to be made with Leaven, or without, we think it not greatly to be striven for : although we judge it more fit and consonant with CHRIST's Institution to have the bread at the Communion which is used at the common table. For why did the Lord use unleavened bread ? Because that, in that hour, wherein he thought good to institute his holy Supper, not one man in all Jewry used any other. Therefore, it behoveth us to restore the Jewish Feast of Unleavened Bread ; or else must it be granted that it is better to use the common and accustomed bread of all tables, according to the example of CHRIST : notwithstanding that the bread that he then took was unleavened. For of the practice of the Primitive Church, which the Greek Church doth yet in this behalf retain, we overpass to write of.

Furthermore, Kneeling at the very receipt of the Sacrament hath in it a show of godly and Christian reverence ; and might therefore, in times past, be used with profit : yet for all that, because out of this fountain the detestable use of Bread-Worship did follow, and doth yet, in these days, stick in many minds, it seemeth to us that it was justly abolished out from the Congregations. Therefore we do beseech the most good and great GOD, that it would please him to instruct both the Queen's Majesty's Highness, and also the Bishops, with such device as shall be most needful for the perfect doing out of these filths ; and that at once.

In the meantime, because these things also are not such as are, in their own nature, idolatrous ; we do judge that they ought so to be dealt with, as we have advised in the things going next before.

It is demanded of us, Whether we allow that Baptism which is administered by Midwives ?

We answer, That not only we disallow the Baptism, as

the rest of [the] things before spoken: but that we do judge it also intolerable. For it is a thing that hath risen as well of ignorance of the very use of Baptism, as [of] the public Ministry of the Church. We judge therefore, That the Ministers are bound sharply to rebuke this abuse; much less ought they to hold this false baptism, for good and firm. The reason Why, the Learned on our side have often declared; and we are also ready, when it shall be needful, to declare [it].

It is also reported unto us, That the Keys of Binding and Loosing are practised in certain Courts of the Bishops; neither by the sentences and judgements of Elders (which Office that Church hath not yet received), nor according to the Word of GOD: but by the authority of certain Lawyers and other like, which is more oftentimes by the authority of some one man; and that also for such kinds of Actions as are pure money matters, even as the misuse of the same was in Popery.

Whereto we answer, That it seemeth to us almost incredible that any such customs and examples, being most perverse, should be used in that Kingdom, where as purity and soundness of Doctrine is. For the right of Excommunication and Binding of the Offender shall be found never to have been, before the time of the Papists, in the power and hand of one sole person; but did appertain to all the whole Eldership; from which also the people themselves were not rashly shut out.

Because [of] this also, the lawyer-like hearing of Suits that appertain to Livings did fall to the Bishops' charge altogether through abuse. For that place wherein the Apostle talketh of Days-men [*Reconcilers*], Umpires, at Corinth, is to no purpose where as the Magistrate is a Christian; nor did the Apostle ever think to burden the Eldership with the hearing of such mere Civil Causes. And it is most certain that the Bishops of the Elder Age of the Church have had the determining of such Controversies: not for any authority that they had therein; but through the importunity of Suitors; and that, as Householders, Umpires, and Daysmen. Also, notwithstanding, among those men where this were shewed unto, those did most wisely govern themselves, which chose rather to follow the example of CHRIST our Saviour, who refused to be the

Umpire in dividing of the patrimony [Luke xii. 14], or else Judge in the matter of Adultery [John viii. 1-11]; when both the same were proffered unto him.

Therefore, if, in England, anything be done, contrary to this; surely, we ought to think that, by such sentences and judgements, there is not any man, before GOD, any more bound than by the Popish Excommunications. And we wish that this Torment House of Consciences, and loathsome profanation of the Ecclesiastical and mere Spiritual Jurisdiction, might, by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, out of hand, be abolished: [it being] no otherwise than the marring of the very Doctrine itself. And that Eldership and Deacons may be restored and set up, according to the Word of GOD and Canons of the pure Church: which thing, if it be not done, verily, we are sore afraid that this only thing will be the beginning of many calamities; which we would that GOD would turn away from us. For it is most certain that the Son of GOD will, one day, from heaven, roughly revenge these manifest abuses, wherewith the consciences of our brethren are troubled; except speedy redress be had therein.

In the mean while, the things which are not well done by the one party, may be well enough tolerated, as we think, by those men which bear the thing which they cannot change. Yet thus far, as that they allow not the thing itself for good; but do only redeem their unjust disquieting by patience. But if so be that they shall be forced, not only to tolerate this fashion, but also to approve this Excommunication as lawful [*justifiable*]; and be constrained to ask unlawful absolution to assent to this manifest abuse: we then exhort them that they will rather suffer any kind of trouble, than to do herein against their consciences.

But to what end is all this? For, verily, we do promise ourselves much better things; yea, of all things the best, even at this pinch; especially of that Realm in which the Restoring of [the] Christian Religion hath been sealed and confirmed with the blood of so many excellent Martyrs also. Only we fear this, lest that which hath befallen so many countries, should happen to England: to wit, lest because the due fruits of repentance are not brought forth, the angry GOD should double our darkness; the light of his Gospel being first taken from us.

1567. Suffer, so long as Purity of Doctrine remains.

Of this content [*purport, tenor*] are our daily preachings in our Congregations; and, verily, we think the same ought to be done of all Ministers of GOD's Word, especially in these our days: that they chiefly set forwards this principle of the Gospel which doth appertain to earnest Amendment of Life. For this point achieved; undoubtedly the Lord shall give both counsel and zeal and all things else which do necessarily appertain to the accomplishment of the Reparation of the Church already begun.

And, before all, we do require, and with tears humbly crave, that our good and right worshipful in the Lord the brethren of the English Churches, all bitterness of mind set apart (which we surely fear, after what sort it hath, on either side, forced this evil), would patiently bear and suffer each other, so long as Purity of Christian Doctrine itself and Soundness of Conscience do remain; willing to obey the Queen's Majesty who is full of compassion, and all other Prelates. And, finally, that, with all concord [of] minds in the Lord, they man[ful]ly set against SATAN; who seeketh all occasion of tumult and infinite calamities. Yea, although they have not like judgement of all sorts of Prelates at the first. For this our writing, GOD is our witness! doth not tend to this purpose, that either party should use it against the other; as that we should send it to you as an Apple of Contention.

Although we have, concerning these matters declared our judgements, even simply, as upon a supposed Case, GOD is our witness!; being overcome with the continual suit of our brethren. And we join our daily prayers to the groanings of all the godly on that side of the seas, that it may please the most merciful GOD, having compassion on Man's frailty, to direct the Queen's Highness, and all the Nobles of the realm of England, also every Prelate, and finally each workman of this Spiritual Building, with his HOLY SPIRIT most effectuously! so as the work of the Lord, so often begun and so often stayed, may luckily be set forward, to the great quietness and concord of all men: that not only the old stains in the Doctrine itself, and Ecclesiastical Discipline also, being at length utterly done [*put*] out; but also all monstrosousness of errors, which SATAN newly seeketh to bring into the Church again [be] driven away.

Which vouchsafe to bring to pass, through his HOLY SPIRIT, the most kind Father, in JESUS CHRIST his very Son, eternal and consubstantial with him ! in which Persons ; we profess One GOD, and not divers, ought to be worshipped for ever ! Amen.

From Geneva, the 24th October, 1547.*

Your brethren in CHRIST,
to all your Godliness most assured,

THEODORUS BEZA, etc.

REMUNDUS CALVETUS.

NICOLAUS COLADONUS.

JOHANNES GAIAGNÆZIUS.

JOHANNES TREMLERUS.

JOHANNES PINALDUS.

GE. FAVERGIUS.

CAR. P.

ÆGIDIUS CAUSEUS.

JOHANNES PARNILIUS.

KUDS FAVERIUS.

URBANUS CALVETUS.

SIMON GOLERLIUS.

PETRUS CARPENTERUS.

FRANCISCUS PORTUS.

CORNELIUS BARLIERDUS.

HENRICUS S.

ABDEN. DUPLEUS.

* This most friendly and moderate statement of the views of the Church of Geneva is clearly wrongly dated. For (1) it was written in Queen ELIZABETH's reign ; (2) it largely relates to

the Ministering Apparel Controversy of 1566 ; and (3) it is not signed by JEAN CALVIN, who died in 1564. The real date of it then is 1567 ; and not 1547.—E.A.

A Copy of the Letter sent to the Bishops and
Pastors of England, who hath renounced
the Roman Antichrist, and profess
the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

The Superintendent Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges within the Realm of Scotland, To their brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England; who hath renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess, with them, the Lord JESUS in sincerity, desire the perpetual increase of the HOLY SPIRIT!

BY WORD AND WRIT, it is come to our knowledge, Reverend Pastors! that divers of our dearest brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that Realm, are deprived from ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you that they are stayed [*hindered*] to promote the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST; because their consciences will not suffer them to take upon them, at the commandment of the Authority, such garments as Idolators, in time of blindes [*blindness*], have used in their idolatry: which bruit cannot be but most dolorous to our hearts; mindful of that sentence of the Apostle, saying 'If ye bite and devour one another; take heed lest ye be consumed one of another!' [Gal. v. 15.]

We purpose not, at this present, to enter into the ground of that Question which we hear; of either party to be agitated with greater vehemency than well liketh us, to wit, Whether that such Apparel is to be counted among things that are simply indifferent, or not? But in the bowels of the Lord JESUS, we crave that Christian charity may so prevail in you, in you, we say, the Pastors and Leaders of the Flock within that Realm, that ye do not to others, that which you would not others should do to you.

Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the Conscience of Man is. All that have knowledge are not alike persuaded. Your consciences reclaims [*trouble*] not at the wearing of such garments: but many thousands, both godly and learned, are otherwise persuaded; whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences. What hath CHRIST JESUS to do with BELIAL? What fellowship is there betwixt darkness and light? If Surplice, Corner Cap, and Tippet, have been badges of Idolators, in the very act of their idolatry; what have the Preachers of Christian Liberty, and the open Rebukers of all Superstition, to do with the the dregs of the Romish Beast?

Our brethren that, of conscience, refuse that unprofitable Apparel, do neither damn [*condemn*] you, nor molest you, that use such vain trifles. If ye shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please GOD; and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded with the extremity which is used against those godly and our beloved brethren.

Colour [*Plausibility*] of Rhetoric, or manly persuasion, we will use none: but charitably we desire you to call that sentence of pity to mind. Feed the Flock of GOD which is committed to your charge, not by constraint; but willingly: not as though ye were Lords over GOD's heritage; but that ye may be examples to the Flock. [1 Pet. v. 2, 3.] And farther also, we desire you to meditate that sentence of the Apostle, saying, Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Grecians, nor to the Church of GOD! [1 Cor. x. 32.]

In what condition of time, ye and we both travail in the promoting of CHRIST's Kingdom; we suppose you not to be ignorant. And, therefore, we are [the] more bold to exhort you to walk more circumspectly, than that (for such vanities) the godly should be troubled. For all things that may seem lawful, edify not. [1 Cor. x. 23.] If the commandment of Authority urge the conscience of your and our brethren more than they can bear; we unfeignedly crave of you that ye remember that ye are called the Light of the World and [of] the Earth.

All Civil Authority hath not the Light of GOD always shining before their eyes in the statutes and commandments: but their affections oftentimes savour too much of the earth, and of worldly wisdom. And, therefore, we think

that ye should boldly oppone [*oppose*] yourselves to all Power that will, or dare, extol itself, not only against GOD; but also against all such as do burden the consciences of the Faithful farther than GOD has burdened them by his own Word.

But herein, we confess our offence in that we have entered farther in reasoning than we purposed; and promised at the beginning. And therefore we shortly return to our former humble Supplication, which is, That our brethren who, amongst you, refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, the Prelates, such favours as our Head and Master commands every one of his members to shew one to another. Which we look to receive of your gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend GOD's Majesty in troubling of your brethren for such vain trifles; but also because ye will not refuse the humble requests of us, your brethren and fellow-Preachers of CHRIST JESUS: in whom, albeit there appear no great worldly pomp; yet we suppose that you will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the number of those that fight against that Roman Antichrist; and travail that the Kingdom of CHRIST JESUS universally may be maintained and advanced. The days are evil. Iniquity abounds, Christian charity, alas, is waxing cold. And therefore we ought the more diligently to watch. For the hour is uncertain when the Lord JESUS shall appear; before whom, we your brethren, and ye, may give an account of our administration.

And thus, in conclusion, we once again crave favour to our brethren: which granted, ye, in the Lord, shall command us in things of double more importance.

The Lord JESUS rule your hearts in his true fear to the end; and give unto you, and unto us, victory over that conjured [*sworn*] enemy of all true Religion, to wit, over that Roman Antichrist; whose wounded head SATAN, by all means, labours to cure again: but to destruction shall he and his maintainers go, by the power of the Lord JESUS. To whose mighty power and protection, we heartily commit you!

Subscribed by the hands of [the] Superintendents on [the] part of [the] Ministers; and scribed in our General

Assembly, and the Fourth Session thereof.

At Edinburgh, the 28th day of December 1566.

Your loving Brethren,
and fellow-Preachers in CHRIST JESUS,
JOHN CRAIG. JOHN ROW.
JACOB. MAILVIL. DAVID LYNDESAY.
ROBERT PONT. JOHN ERSKINE.
GUILIELMUS GISLISONUS. JOHN WIRAM.
NICHOLAS SPITTALL. JOHN SPOTTISWOOD.

THUS HAVE YOU heard, in these Two Letters, the Judgements of those excellent Churches of the French and Scotch, touching the things in controversy.

Now if to these, I should add all others which are of the same judgement, and of their opinion; the number of Churches would be so many, that the adversaries should evidently see and perceive what small cause they have to charge us with Singularity: as though we were post alone, and none to be of our opinion.

And it may here also be noted, that the most ancientest Fathers of this our own country, as Master COVERDALE, Master Doctor [WILLIAM] TURNER, Master [DAVID] WHITEHEAD, and many others, some dead, some yet living, from whose mouths and pens, the Urgers of these [things] received first the Light of the Gospel, could never be brought to yield, or consent, unto such things as are now forced with so great extremity.

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There is something, I say, in this punishment more dreadful and terrible than the Wheel: for they are *upon the point of death*, and yet they are not put to death; and the Executioners never give over striking till they be weary, and out of breath; and are forced to send the Sufferers to the Hospital. Who could forbear trembling, and being deeply affected, at the sight of so amazing a spectacle! Who could believe that such as bear the name of Christians could harden their bowels to that degree, as to inflict such horrible torments!

The same Letter of October the 16th, acquaints us

As to particulars, I must tell you, with unspeakable grief, that all the Galleys almost have been severely treated; except the 'Old Réale' appointed for the disabled Slaves, and some others: and that they have cruelly butchered all those who would not put off the Cap; insomuch that in some Galleys six or seven Slaves, or more, of the same Galley, have been stretched on the rack [*i.e. the Gangway*] and struck 50, 100, and 120 times, with a rope in many places done over with pitch and tar, and dipped in the sea: and that they have inflicted twice, thrice, four times, or more, this cruel punishment on them till they had promised to put the Cap off, or that the Tormenters had been forced to send them to the Hospital.

They add to it, That Monsieur MAURIN underwent the same torment three, and I think four, times: and he was, last Monday, shut up in one of the Dungeons of the Hospital. That Monsieur CARRIÈRE and Monsieur LOSTALET have been twice most cruelly abused; having received, at one and the same time, six score blows each; so that they have been forced to send them away very sick, raw, and bruised, to the Hospital. Monsieur LOSTALET hath been, all along, constant and steady, as well as Monsieur SERRES, MAURIN, GRANGE, and PELEVIER; and are all now in the Hospital, very sick with the blows they received. They add, That Monsieur LOSTALET was exposed to so great sufferings that he is not able to stir out of his bed, but by the help of some ropes hanging down from the ceiling, and of some men besides.

The Major declared, to-day, That they would be let alone till they are recovered: and then they should be racked [*flogged*] again and again, till they should either die, or promise to put their Caps off to the Host.

CHAPTER II.

Of Wisdom, Learning, and Understanding.

Aristotle.

UNDERSTANDING IS a light, which GOD poureth into Man's Soul.

Wisdom is the knowledge of divine things ; and is the head of all other Sciences.

Socrates.

Wisdom is Life ; and Ignorance is Death. Wherefore the wise man liveth, for why [*because*] he understandeth what he doeth : but the ignorant is dead ; because he doth he knoweth not what.

Plato.

Of all the gifts of GOD, Wisdom is chiefest. Wisdom ordereth the mind. She directeth the life, and ruleth the works thereof ; teaching what ought to be done, and what to be left undone : without which no man may be safe.

Wisdom teacheth to do, as well as to speak.

Of all the gifts of GOD, Wisdom is [the] most excellent. She giveth goodness to the good ; and forgiveth the wicked their wickedness.

To men of low degree, Wisdom is an honour ; and Foolishness is a shame to men of high degree.

Wisdom garnisheth [*adorneth*] Riches ; and shadoweth [*casteth into the shadow*] Poverty.

Wisdom is the defence of the Soul, and the mirror of Reason ; and therefore blessed is he that travaileth [*labours*] to get her : for she is the ground and root of all noble deeds. By her, we obtain the Chief Good, that is, Eternal Felicity.

Seneca.

Prudence is the guide of all other good Virtues.

Intelligence is King both of heaven and earth. Hermes.

Hermes.

Of all the good gifts of GOD, Wisdom is the purest. She giveth goodness to good people; and obtaineth for the wicked pardon for their wickedness. She maketh the poor rich; and the rich honourable: and such as unfeignedly embrace her, she maketh like to GOD.

Wisdom and Justice are honourable, both to GOD and man.

Intelligence is King both of heaven and earth.

Wisdom is the messenger of Reason.

Pythagoras.

Wisdom, at the beginning, seemeth a great wonder.

Wisdom is like a thing fallen into the water; which no man can find, except he search [for] it at the bottom.

Wisdom thoroughly learned, will never be forgotten.

Science is got by diligence; but Discretion and Wisdom cometh of GOD.

Socrates.

In the company of Wise Men is rest; but in the fellowship of Fools is nothing but labour.

A wise man ought not to sorrow for his losses; but to be careful to keep the rest of his goods.

A wise man is known by two points. He will not lightly [*easily*] be angry for the wrong that is done him: neither is [he] proud, when he is praised.

He that seeketh Wisdom the right way, findeth her: but many err, because they seek her not duly; and blame her without cause.

Isocrates.

A wise man is known by three points. In making his enemies his friends: in making the rude learned: and in reforming the evil-disposed unto goodness.

He is wise that acknowledgeth his ignorance: and he is ignorant that knoweth not himself.

Seneca.

There is none happy, but the wise man.

Wise men, for the Truth's sake, ought to contrary [*oppose*] one another; that, by their contention, the Truth may the better be known.

Plato.

It is better to be wise, and not to seem so; than to

Hermes. Wisdom teacheth Man to know his Creator.

seem wise, and not to be so: yet men, for the most part, desire the contrary.

A wise man understandeth both the things that are above him; and those also that are beneath him. He knoweth the things that are above him, by the benefits which he receiveth thereby; and [the] things beneath him, by the use and profit that he hath by them.

Hermes.

Wisdom teacheth Man to know his Creator.

Seneca.

A perfect wise man mortifieth his worldly desires; by means whereof he subdueth both his Soul and body.

He that desireth Wisdom, desireth the most high and divine estate.

He that findeth Wisdom, findeth Life; both in this world, and in the world to come.

It is not possible for him to be wise, that desireth not to be good.

Aristotle.

A young man cannot be perfectly wise. For Wisdom requireth Experience; which, for lack of time, young men may not have.

A wise man ought to repute his error great; and his goodness small.

Seneca.

The wise man, and not the rich, is void of misery.

He shall be wise, that enhaunteth [*frequenteth*] wise men's company.

It is not uncomely, for Wisdom's sake, for a man to be in subjection, to whomsoever it be.

A wise man is known by silence; and a fool, by much babbling.

Learning maketh young men sober. It comforteth old men. It is riches to the poor; and it garnisheth [*adorns*] the rich.

It is a shame for a wise man to say, 'I thought not so much!'

Pythagoras.

Much babbling is [a] sign of small knowledge.

Knowledge is better in Youth than in Age.

Learning is Study's sister.

Plato.

The best kind of Learning is to unlearn our evils.

No man may refrain from doing amiss ; but a wise man, by one peril, will avoid another.

Plato.

Wisdom in the heart of a Fool is like a flying thing, that cannot long continue in one place.

A man of perfect wisdom cannot die ; and a man of good understanding cannot be poor.

Learning is Study's sister.

Wisdom is a tree which springeth in the heart ; and beareth fruit in the tongue.

Without study of Wisdom, the mind is sick.

Early rising and much watching are profitable to keep a man in health ; and to increase his riches and wisdom.

A man without Science is like a realm without a King.

Aristotle.

Science, separate from Justice and Virtue, is not Wisdom ; but Subtilty.

Nothing becometh a wise man so much as Temperance.

He that is worshipped for wisdom, is angry with them that despise it.

Seneca.

Of all things, the least quantity is easiest to be borne ; save of Knowledge and Science : of which the more that a man hath, the better he may bear it.

A wise man knoweth what Ignorance is ; because he himself, before time, hath been ignorant : but the ignorant [man] was never wise ; and therefore he knoweth not what Wisdom is.

The true lovers of Wisdom shall see GOD !

Power and Might is in young men ; but Wisdom and Prudence is in the aged.

Socrates.

‘Be gentle and loving to everybody!’

Whatsoever thou wilt speak; before thou shew it to another, shew it secretly to thyself!

Whatsoever thou wilt have kept secret; shew it to nobody!

Search forth the Cause of every deed!

Let not thy thoughts depart from the Truth!

Promise, with consideration; and perform faithfully!

Praise little; but dispraise less!

Let not the authority of the speaker persuade thee; nor regard thou his person that speaketh: but mark well what it is that is spoken!

Perform more fully, than thou hast promised!

Such things as thou hast, use thou as thine own! and keep them not, as if they were another body's!

Be gentle and loving to everybody!

Flatter none!

Be familiar with few!

Be indifferent [*impartial*] and equal towards every man!

Be slow to wrath! swift to mercy and pity!

Be constant and patient in adversity; and in prosperity wary and lowly!

Worship gentleness; and hate cruelty!

Flee and eschew [*avoid*] thine own vices; and be not curious to search out other men's!

Be not busy to upbraid men with their faults; for so shalt thou be hated of everybody!

Sometimes, among earnest things, use merry conceits; but measurably!

Live with thine underlings, as thou wouldest thy betters should live with thee: and do to all men, as thou wouldest be done by!

Think not thyself to be that, which thou art not; nor desire to seem greater than thou art indeed!

Think [that] all things may be suffered; save filthiness and vice!

Eat rather for hunger; than for pleasure and delight.

Solon.

Be apt to learn Wisdom; and diligent to teach it!

Be merry, without laughter!

Thou shalt be loved of GOD, if thou follow him in this point! In desire to do good to all men; and to hurt nobody.

him, which was that he should drink poison, could not be revoked.

The King had a ship, freighted with sacrifices, which he offered to his idols; which then was abroad: and he would never give any Sentence upon a man’s death, before it came [back] to Athens.

Wherefore one of SOCRATES’s friends, called, INCITTES, counselled him to give a certain sum of money to the Keepers, to let him [e]scape away secretly; and so to go to Rome.

But SOCRATES said, He had not so much.

Then said INCITTES, ‘I and my friends have so much; which we will gladly give, to save thy life.’

To which SOCRATES answered, ‘I thank you and my friends! but since this City, wherein I must suffer my death, is the natural place of my birth; I had rather die here than elsewhere. For if I die here in my country, without deserving [it]: only because I reprove their wickedness, and their worshipping of vain idols; and would have them worship the true GOD. If these men, of mine own nation, persecute me for saying and maintaining Truth; even so will strangers wheresoever I be come; for I will never spare to say the Truth. And, surely, strangers would have less mercy on me, than mine own countryfolks!’

Being thus minded; he continued still in prison, teaching his Scholars, which resorted to him, many things; both of the composition of the Elements, and also of the Soul. But [he] would write nothing. For he said, That Wisdom ought to be written in men’s hearts; and not on beasts’ skins. Nevertheless, his disciple, PLATO, wrote well nigh all that he taught.

A little before he should be put to death; he desired that he might bathe himself and say his Orations [*Prayers*]; which he did: and [then] called his Wife and children, and gave them good instruction.

And when he went toward the place where he should finish his life; his Wife went after him, crying, ‘Alas! my Husband dieth guiltless!’ To whom he said, ‘Why, woman! wouldest thou have me die otherwise?’, and sent her away.

So when the Cup of Poison was delivered him to drink,

Similitudes.

As Plants, measurably watered, grow the better ; but watered too much are drowned and die : so the Mind, with moderate labour, is refreshed ; but, with over much, is utterly dulled.

As empty vessels make the loudest sound : they that have least wit are the greatest babblers.

Like as a Ship, that hath a sure Anchor, may lie safely in any place : right so the Mind, that is ruled by perfect Reason, is quiet everywhere.

Like as narrow-mouthed Vessels, which are longest in filling, keep their liquor the better : so Wits, that are slow in taking, are best of all to retain that they learn.

As Iron and Brass are the brighter for the wearing : so the Wit is most ready that is most occupied.

Like as the Chameleon hath all colours, save white : so hath a Flatterer all points, save Honesty.

As a precious Stone in a gold ring ; so shineth a Heart that is settled in virtuousness.

Like as a Field (although it be fertile) can bring forth no good fruit ; except it be first tilled : so the Mind (although it be apt of itself) cannot, without Learning, bring forth any goodness.

As the Plough rooteth out from the earth all brambles and thistles : even so Wisdom rooteth out all vices from the mind.

As the Shadow followeth the body ; so Praise followeth Virtue. And as the Shadow goeth sometimes before, and sometimes behind ; so doth Praise also to Virtue : but the later that it cometh, the greater it is ; and the more of value.

As a man appeareth more in a mist than in clear weather : so appeareth his vice more when he is angry, than when he is at quiet.

Like as the Fire wasteth the firebrand : so doth Scornfulness waste love between friends.

As men, for their bodily health, do abstain from evil meats : so ought they to abstain from sin, for the salvation of their Souls.

As Health preserveth the body ; so Wisdom conserveth the Soul.

As a Captain is the Director of a whole host : so Reason joined with Knowledge is the Guide of Life.

Like as a hand is no part of [a] man, except it can do the office of a hand : so is Wisdom no part of a wise man,

Similitudes.

except it be occupied [*made use of*] as it should be.

As a golden Bridle, although it garnish [*adorn*] a horse; yet maketh him never the better: so although Riches garnish a man; yet can they not make him good.

Like as Age followeth Youth; even so Death followeth Age.

As to the good, their goodness is a reward: so to the wicked, their wickedness is a punishment.

Like as Grief is the disease of the body: so is Malice a sickness of the Soul.

As a man, in a dark cave, may not see his own proper figure; so the Soul, that is not clean and pure, cannot perceive the true and perfect goodness of Almighty GOD.

As GOD surmounteth all other creatures: so the remembrance of him surmounteth all other imaginations.

As Liberality maketh friends of enemies; so Pride maketh enemies of friends.

Like as bees, out of Flowers, suck forth the sweetest; so should men, out of Sciences, learn that [which] is best.

As Ivy, in every place, findeth somewhat to cleave to: so Love is never lightly [*easily*] without a subject.

Like as rain may not profit the corn that is sown upon dry stones; so neither Teaching, nor Study, may profit a Fool to learn Wisdom.

As Fire and Heat are inseparable; so are the hearts of faithful Friends.

Like as the body is an instrument of the Soul; so is the Soul an instrument of GOD.

Like as they which bring up horses well, teach them first to follow the bridle: so they that teach children should first teach them to give ear to that which is spoken.

As a Looking Glass representeth everything that is [over] against it: even so doth a Flatterer.

Where as is no Light, there is no Shadow; and where as is no Wealth, there is no Envy.

Like as an Adamant draweth, by little and little, the heavy iron until, at the last, it be joined with it: so Virtue and Wisdom join men unto them.

As he which, in a Game Place, runneth swiftest, and continueth still his pace, obtaineth the crown for his labour: so all that diligently learn, and earnestly follow, Wisdom and Virtue shall be crowned with Everlasting Glory.

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HECCLE.

Author Whittingham, William.

W.

Title Troubles at Frankfort.

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