THE LIFE OF WILLIAM BÆDELL, D.D.
Lord Bishop of Killmore in Ireland.

WRITTEN BY GILBERT BURNET, D.D.
Now Lord Bishop of Sarum.

To which are Subjoyned
Certain Letters, which passed betwixt Spain and England in Matter of Religion; concerning the general motives to the Roman Obedience, between Mr. James Wadesworth, a late Pensioner of the Holy Inquisition in Sevil, and the said William Bedell, then a Minister of the Gospel in Suffolk.

LONDON,
THE PREFACE.

The Contests that have been raised in this Age concerning the lawfulness and the usefulness of the Episcopal Government, have engaged so many learned Men to treat that Argument so fully, that as there is very little excuse left for the Ignorance or obstinacy of those who still stand out against the Evidence of a Cause made out so clearly, so there is scarce any thing left to be said by any, whose zeal may set him on to handle...
handle a matter that seems to be now exhausted. There is one sort of Arguments yet remaining, that as they are more within every ones compass to apprehend and apply, so they have a greater force on Mens affections, which commonly give a bias to their understandings. For conviction has an easy access to us when we are already inclined to wish that were true, concerning which we implo[y our enquiries: And in practical matters, such as Government, Arguments fetched from great Patterns do not only prepare us to think well of such Forms, but really give us truer and juster Ideas of them than speculative Discourses can raise in us; which work but coldly on persons unconcerned. An Argument not foreign to this, is used by all the Assertors of Episco-
Episcopacy, in which the force of the reasoning is equal to the truth of the assertion; Which is, that it is not possible to think that a Government can be criminal, under which the World received the Christian Religion, and that in a course of many Ages, in which as all the corners of the Christian Church, so all the parts of it, the sound as well as the unsound, that is the Orthodox as well as the Hereticks and Schismaticks, agreed: the persecutions that lay then so heavy on the Church made it no desireable thing for a Man to be exposed to their first fury, which was always the Bishops portion; and that in a course of many Centuries, in which there was nothing but Poverty and labour to be got by the Employment: There being no Princes to set it on.
on as an Engine of Government, and no Synods of Clergymen gathered to assume that Authority to themselves by joynt designs and endeavours. And can it be imagined that in all that glorious Cloud of Witnesses to the truth of the Christian Religion, who as they planted it with their Labours, so watered it with their Blood, there should not so much as one single person be found, on whom either a love to truth, or an envy at the advancement of others prevailed so far as to declare against such an early and universal corruption. (if it is to be esteemed one.) When all this is complicated together, it is really of so great Authority, that I love not to give the proper name to that temper that can withstand so plain a demonstration. For what
what can a Man, even heated with all the force of imagination, and possessed with all the sharpness of prejudice, except to the inference made from these Premisses, that a Form so soon introduced, and so wonderfully blest, could not be contrary to the Rules of the Gospel: and cannot be ascribed to any other Original, but that the Apostles everywhere established it, as the Fence about the Gospel which they planted, so that our Religion and Government are to be reckoned Twins born at the same time, and both derived from the same Fathers.

But things so remote require more than ordinary knowledge to set them before us in a true light: And their distance from us makes them
them lessen as much to our thoughts, as Objects that are far from us do to our Eyes. Therefore it will be perhaps necessary in order to the giving a fuller and amiable prospect of that Apostolical Constitution, to choose a Scene that lies nearer, and more within all peoples view; that so it may appear, that for the living Arguments in favour of this Government we need not go so far as to the Clement's, the Ignatius's, the Polycarp's, the Irenæus's, the Denys's and the Cyprian's that were the glories of the Golden Ages: Nor to the Athanasius's, the Basil's, the Gregorie's, the Chrysostome's, the Martin's, the Ambrose's and the Austin's, that were the beauties of the Second but Silver Age of Christianity; but that even in this Iron Age, and dregs of time, there have been such Patterns, as perhaps
The PREFACE.

haps can hardly be matched since Miracles ceased.

We ought not to deny the Church of Rome the just Praises that belong to some of the Bishops she has produced in this and the last Age, who were burning and shining Lights: and we ought not to wonder if a Church so blemisht all over with the corruptions of her Clergy, and in particular of the Heads of them, covers her self from those deserved Reproaches by the brightness of such great names; and by the exemplary Vertues of the present Pope, which being so unusual a thing, it is not strange to see them magnifie and celebrate it as they do. France has likewise produced in this Age a great many Bishops, of whom it must be said, That as the World
The PREFACE.

World was not worthy of them so that Church, that used them so ill, was much less worthy of them. And though there are not many of that stamp now left, yet Cardinal Grimadly*, the Bishop of Angiers, and the Bishop of Grenoble, may serve to dignifie an Age, as well as a Nation. The Bishop of Angiers was, as, a great and good Man told me, like a living and speaking Gospel.

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

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

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

But now to return to the Subject that led me into this digression, there is nothing that can have a stronger operation to overcome all prejudices against Episcopacy, than the proposing eminent Patterns, whose Lives continue to speak still, though they are dead: Of which my native Country has produced, both in the last and in the present Age, some great and rare Instances, of which very eminent effects appeared, even amidst all that rage of furious Zeal, into which that Nation was transported
The P RE F A C E.

ported against it: And I suppose the Reader will not be ill pleased if I make a second digression to entertain him with some passages concerning them, but will bear with it perhaps better than with the former.

And since my Education and the course of my Life has led me most to know the Affairs of Scotland, I will not enter upon a Province that is Foreign to me, and therefore shall leave to others the giving an account of the great Glories of the Church of England, and will content my self with telling some more eminent things of some of our Scottish Bishops: In which I will say nothing upon flying Reports, but upon very credible, if not certain Information. There was one Patrick Forbes of Aberdeenshire,
The PREFACE.

a Gentleman of Quality and Estate, but much more eminent by his Learning and Piety, than his Birth or Fortune could make him. He had a most terrible Calamity on him in his Family, which needs not be named: I do not know whether that or a more early principle determined him to enter into Orders: He undertook the labour of a private Cure in the Country, upon the most earnest invitations of his Bishop, when he was Forty Eight Years old, and discharged his Duty there so worthily, that within a few Years he was promoted to be Bishop of Aberdeen; in which See he sat about Seventeen Years. It was not easy for King James to persuade him to accept of that Dignity, and many Months past before he could be induced to it, for he had intended
tended to have lived and dyed, in a more obscure corner. It soon appeared how well he deserved his Promotion, and that his unwillingness to it was not feigned, but the real effect of his humility: He was in all things an Apostolical Man, he used to go round his Diocess without noise, and but with one Servant, that so he might be rightly informed of all matters. When he heard reports of the weakness of any of his Clergy, his custom was to go and lodge unknown near their Church on the Saturday Night, and next day, when the Minister was got into the Pulpit, he would come to Church, that so he might observe what his ordinary Sermons were, and accordingly he admonished or encouraged them. He took such
such care of the two Colledges in his Diocess, that they became quickly distinguished from all the rest of Scotland: So that when the troubles in that Church broke out, the Doctors there were the only persons that could maintain the Cause of the Church; as appears by the Papers that past between them and the Covenanters. And though they begun first to manage that Argument in Print, there has nothing appeared since more perfect than what they writ. They were an honour to the Church both by their Lives, and by their Learning, and with that excellent temper they seasoned that whole Diocess, both Clergy and Laity, that it continues to this day very much distinguished from all the rest of Scotland, both for
The PREFACE.

for Learning, Loyalty and Peaceableness; and, since that good Bishop died but three years before the Rebellion broke out, the true source of that advantage they had, is justly due to his Memory: One of these Doctors was his Son John, the Heir of his Vertues and Piety, as well as of his Fortune: But much superior to him in Learning; and he was perhaps inferior to no Man of his Age, which none will dispute, that have read his Instructiones Historico-Theologicae, a Work which if he had finished it, and had been suffered to enjoy the privacies of his Retirement and Study, to give us the Second Volume, had been the greatest Treasure of Theological Learning that perhaps the World has yet seen. He was Divinity
The PREFACE.

Professor at Aberdeen, an endowment raised by his Father: But was driven out by the Covenant, and forced to fly beyond Sea. One memorable thing of his Father ought not to be left unmentioned; he had Synods twice a year of his Clergy, and before they went upon their other business, he always began with a short discourse, excusing his own infirmities and charging them that, if they knew or observed any thing amiss in him, they would use all freedom with him, and either come and warn him in secret of secret errors, or if they were publick, that they would speak of them there in publick; and upon that he withdrew to leave them to the freedom of Speech. This condescension of his was never abused but by one petulant
The PREFACE.

Tuliant Man, to whom all others were very severe for his insolence, only the Bishop bore it gently and as became him.

One of the Doctors of Aberdeen bred in his time and of his name William Forbes, was promoted by the late King, while he was in Scotland in the Year one thousand six hundred thirty and three, to the Bishoprick of Edinburgh, that was then founded by him, so that that glorious King said on good grounds, that he had found out a Bishop that deserved that a See should be made for him; he was a grave and eminent Divine; my Father, that knew him long, and being of Council for him in his Law-matters, had occasion to know him.
The PREFACE.

him well, has often told me, That he never saw him but he thought his Heart was in Heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a Commentary on these Words of the Apostles, Did not our Hearts burn within us, while he yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures? He preached with a zeal and vehemence, that made him often forget all the measures of time, two or three Hours was no extraordinary thing for him; those Sermons wasted his Strength so fast, and his ascetical course of life was such, that he supplied it so scantily that he dyed within a Year after his Promotion; so he only appeared there long enough to be known, but not long enough to do what might have been other-
wife expected from so great a Prelate. That little remnant of his that is in Print shews how Learned he was. I do not deny but his earnest desire of a general Peace and Union among all Christians has made him too favour-able to many of the Corruptions in the Church of Rome: but tho' a Charity that is not well ballanced, may carry one to very indiscreet things; yet the Principle from whence they flowed in him was so truly good, that the errors to which it carried him ought to be either excused, or at least to be very gently censured.

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

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

The if I enlarged upon it, as if I named them. the person here meant, is dead since this was put in the Press; but both his Name and a more particular account of him, as it well deserves a Book by itself, so will perhaps be given on another occasion.

But of one that is dead I may be allowed to say somewhat; with whom the See of Aberdeen was as happy in this Age, as it was in his worthy Predecessor Forbes in the last; both in the number of the Years, for he sat seventeen Years in that Chair, and in the rare qualities that dignified them both almost equally. He also saw his Son fill the Divinity Chair, as the other had done; but here was the fatal difference, that he only lived long enough to raise the greatest expectation that I ever knew upon any of that Nation of his standing; for when all hoped to see in him a second Dr. Forbes, or to bring it nearer home, another Bishop Scougal, for that
that was his Fathers name, he dyed very young. The endearing gentleness of the Father to all that differed from him, his great strictness in giving Orders, his most unaffected humility and contempt of the World, were things so singular in him, that they deserved to be much more admired than his other Talents, which were also extraordinary, a wonderful strength of Judgment, a dexterity in the conduct of Affairs, which he employed chiefly in the making up of Differences, and a Discretion in his whole deportment. For he had a way of Familiarity, by which he gave every body all sort of freedom with him, and in which at the same time he inspired them with a veneration for him, and by that he gained so much on their affections, that he was considered as the common Father of his
The PREFACE.

his whole Diocess, and the Diffenters themselves seemed to esteem him no less than the Conformists did. He took great pleasure in discoursing often with young Divines, and set himself to frame in them right and generous Notions of the Christian Religion, and of the Pastoral Care; so that a Set of Men grew up under his Labors, that carry still on them clear Characters of his Spirit and temper.

One thing more I will add, which may afford a more general Instruction. Several years ago he observ'd a great heat in some young Minds, that, as he believed, had very good intentions, but were too forward, and complained much of abuses, calling loudly, and not very decently, for a Reformation of them: upon which he told them, the noise made about reforming abuses was the likeliest way
The PREFACE.

way to keep them up; for that would raise Heats and Disputes, and would be ascribed to envy and faction in them; and ill-minded Men, that loved the abuses for the advantages they made by them, would blast and misrepresent those that went about to correct them, by which they would fall under the jealoufie of being ill affected to the Church; and they being once loaded with this prejudice, would be disabled from doing the good, of which they might otherwise be the Instruments: Therefore he thought a Reformation of Abuses ought to be carried on by every one in his station, with no other noise than what the things themselves must necessarily produce, and then the silent way of conviction that is raised by great Patterns would speak louder, and would recommend such Practices more
more strongly, as well as more modestly. Discourses work but upon speculative people; and it has been so long the method of fa-
ctious and ill designing Men, to accuse publick Errors, that he wished those, to whom he addre-
sed his advice, would give over all thoughts of mending the world, which was grown too old in wick-
edness to be easily corrected; and would only set themselves to do what good they could, with less noise; and so to give less occasion to angry people to quarrel with them; and to justifie those abuses which are by such indiscreet oppo-
sition kept in some credit, and pre-
served; whereas without that they must have fallen under so general an Odium, that few could have the face to excuse them.

And now I have done with this digression; which not being at all foreign
The PREFACE.

foreign to my design of raising the credit due to that venerable Order. I shall make no Apology for it; but shall come next to the subject of the following Book. I had a great Collection of Memorials put in my hands by a worthy and learned Divine, Mr. Clogy, who as he lived long in this Bishops House, so being afterwards Minister at Cavan, had occasion to know him well: And as he had a great zeal to see the Justice done to his Memory and the Service done to the World, which the putting these in order, and the publishing them must needs produce; so he judged it would come better from another hand than his, that was so much obliged by him, that it might be thought affection and gratitude had biased him too much. I confess my part in this was so small, that I can scarce al-
The PREFACE.

fume any thing to my self, but the copying out what was put in my hands. Lives must be written with the strictness of a severe Historian, and not helped up with Rhetorick and Invention. But there are two great Imperfections that must be pardoned in this account: The one is, That there is so little said of him gathered from any of his own Writings, which would raise his Character much higher than any thing that others, though of his most intimate Acquaintance, could preserve in their Memories: The other is, That such Journals as perhaps some that intended to give a full representation of him to Posterity, might have writ, were all lost in the same common Shipwrack of the Irish Rebellion: In which though our Bishops Works were swallowed up, yet he himself met with a most distinguished
The PREFACE.
guished Fate, more suitable to his own rare merit, than to the enraged fury of those Cannibals. And it was so unlike their deportment in all other places, and to all other persons, that it ought rather to be ascribed to a tender and watchful Providence, and to be reckoned among its Miracles, than to any impressions that his worth made on those Barbarians, who seemed to be as incapable of all the tendernesses of Humane Nature, and as regardless of Religion and Virtue, as Bears or Wolves are: Or if there was any difference, it lay in this, that the one are satiated with Blood and Prey, whereas these burnt with a thirst of Blood that seemed unsatisfiable: And their cruel tempers being excited by the Priests of a Religion whose proper character is Blood, as their Element is Fire, no wonder if they made
made havock of all that fell in their way: The greatest Wonder was, how one that had so just a title to the rage of their Priests, that is chiefly founded on extraordinary Worth and great zeal for the Truth, should have been so preserved among them, when he fell into their Hands, and so honoured by them at his Death: By which it appeared that the same mighty Power that saved Daniel's three Friends from the violence of the Fire, and himself from the rage of the Lions, is not yet exhausted.

The Memorials here put in order, are nothing but what the memory of that good Man could afford, together with some few Remnants of the Bishops own Pen, gathered up like Boards after a Shipwrack. But in them we may find all that is Great in a Man, in a Christian, and in a Bishop:
The PREFACE.

Bishop: And that in so eminent a manner, that if the fame of the person were not so great, and if the usage he met with among the Irish, were not a Testimony beyond exception, I could scarce hope to be believed. I will give only a bare and simple Relation of his Life, and will avoid the bestowing on him or his Actions such Epithets and Praisers as they deserve: But will leave that to the Reader: For in writing of Lives all big Words are to be left to those who dress up Legends, and Make Lives rather than Write them: the things themselves must praise the Person, otherwise all the good Words that the Writer bestows on him, will only shew his own great kindness to his Memory, but will not perswade others: On the con-
The PREFACE.

trary it will incline them to sus-
pect his partiality, and make
them look on him as an Author
rather than a Writer.
Letters inserted in the Life of Bishop Bedell.

1. A Letter of Sir Henry Wotton to K. Charles I. concerning Bishop Bedell. pag. 31

2. A Letter of Bishop Bedells upon his being invited to go over to Ireland. p. 34.

3. A Letter of B. Bedells to Archbishop Laud concerning the state of the Clergy, and other particulars relating to his Diocese. p. 45

4. A Letter of B. Bedells to Archbishop Usher, against Pluralities. p. 52

5. A Letter of B. Bedells to Archbishop Laud, setting forth the insolence of the Irish Priests. p. 69

6,7. Two Letters of B. Bedells to Archbishop Usher concerning the abuses of the Spiritual Courts, and of the Lay Chancellours. p. 94, 96

8. A Letter of B. Bedells to Archbishop Usher, justifying himself in several particulars. p. 126

9. A Letter of B. Bedells to the E. of Strafford, concerning the Translation of the Bible into the Irish Tongue. p. 131

10. A
10. A part of a Sermon of B. Bedells concerning brotherly love and moderation in the managing of Controversies. p. 148

11. A part of a Sermon of B. Bedells, excusing some well meaning persons that were in the Church of Rome. p. 156

12. The Conclusion of that Sermon, exhorting to a more entire Reformation of abuses. p. 166

13. The Remonstrance of the Rebels in the County of Cavan setting forth the Grievances that had provoked them to the Rebellion. p. 185

14. A Letter of B. Bedells to the Popish Bishop of Kilmore when he was beset by the Rebels. p. 188

15. A Letter containing Christian directions in time of Persecution, writ by B. Bedells for a Lady that desir'd them. p. 192


At the end of the Life there are added some Papers in Latine.

1. B. Bedells form of Institution to Benefices. p. 235

2. The Decrees of a Diocesan Synod that he held at Kilmore. p. 237

3. B. Bedells Declinator of Archbishop Ushers Lay Chancellour upon an Appeal. p. 243

4. His Letter to Bishop Swiney. p. 251

THE
THE
LIFE
OF
WILLIAM BEDELL, D.D.
Bishop of
KILMORE
IN
IRELAND.

WILLIAM BEDELL
was born at Black
Notley in Essex, in the
year 1570. He was the
younger Son of an
ancient and good Family, and of no in-
considerable Estate, which has now
descended to his Son (his elder Brother
dying without Issue): After he had
past through the common education at
Schools, he was sent to Emmanuel Col-
dedge in Cambridge, and put under
Dr. Chadderton's care, the famous and
long-
long-liv'd Head of that House; and here all those extraordinary things, that rendered him afterwards so conspicuous, began to shew themselves in such a manner, that he came to have a very eminent Character both for Learning and Piety: so that Appeals were oft made to him, as Differences or Controversies arose in the University. He was put in Holy Orders by the Bishop Suffragan of Colchester. Till I met with this passage, I did not think these Suffragans had been continued so long in England: How they came to be put down, I do not know; it is probable they did ordain all that desired Orders, so promiscuously, that the Bishops found it necessary to let them fall. For complaints were made of this Suffragan, upon which he was threatened with the taking his Commission from him: for though they could do nothing but by a Delegation from the Bishop, yet the Orders they gave were still valid, even when they transgressed in conferring them: Upon that the Suffragan said a thing that was as insolent in him, as it was honourable for Mr. Bedell, That he had ordained a better Man than any the Bishop had ever ordained, naming Bedell. He was chosen Fellow of the Colledge
Colledge in 1593, and took his Degree of Batchelour of Divinity in the year 1599.

From the University he was removed to the Town of S. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, where he served long in the Gospel, and with great success, he and his Colleague being of such different characters, that whereas it was said of him that he made the difficultest places of Scripture appear plain, it was said, That his Colleague made the plainest places appear difficult; the opening of dark passages, and the comparing of many Texts of Scripture, together with a serious and practical application of them, being the chief subject of His Sermons: Which method several other great Men at that time followed, such as Bishop Usher, Dr. Jackson, and Mr. Mede. He had an occasion given him not long after his settlement in this charge, to shew his courage, and how little he either courted ferment, or was afraid of falling under the displeasure of great Men: For when the Bishop of Norwich proposed some things to a meeting of his Clergy, with which they were generally dissatisfied, though they had not resolution enough to oppose them; He took
took that hard Province upon himself, and did it with so much strength of reason, as well as discretion, that many of those things were let fall: upon which when his Brethren came and magnified him for it, he checkt them and said, He desired not the praises of Men. His reputation was so great and so well establisshed both in the University and in Suffolk, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton to be his Ambassadour at Venice, at the time of the Interdict; he was recommended as the fittest Man to go Chaplain in so critical a conjuncture. This Employment proved much happier and more honourable for him than that of his fellow Student and Chamber-fellow Mr. Wadsworth, who was at that time beneficed in the same Diocesse with him, and was about that time sent into Spain, and was afterwards appointed to teach the Infanta the English Tongue, when the match between the late King and her was believed concluded: for Wadsworth was prevailed on to change his Religion and abandon his Countrey, as if in them those Words of our Saviour had been to be verified, There shall be two in one Bed, the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. For
as the one of these was wrought on to forfake his Religion, the other was very near the being an Instrument of a great and happy change in the Republick of Venice. I need not say much of a thing so well known as were the quarrels of Pope Paul the V. and that Republick; especially since the History of them is written so particularly by him that knew the matter best, P. Paulo. Some Laws made by the Senate, not unlike our Statutes of Mortmain, restraining the excessive Donations, extorted from superstitious Men, and the imprisoning two lewd Fryers, in order to the executing Justice on them, were the grounds of the quarrel; and upon those pretences, the Ecclesiastical Immunity from the Secular Tribunals was asserted to such a degree, that after that high spirited Pope had tried what the spiritual Sword could do, but without success, (his Interdict not being observed by any, but the Jesuites, the Capucins and Theatines, who were upon that banished the State, for the age of the Anselms and the Becketts could not be now recalled) he resolved to try the Temporal Sword next, according to the advice Cardinal Baronius gave him; who told him in the Consistory, That
there were two things said to S. Peter, the first was, *Feed my Sheep*, the other was, *Arise and kill*; and therefore since he had already executed the first part of S. Peter's duty, *in feeding the Flock*, by Exhortations, Admonitions, and Censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but to *arise and kill*; and that not being an Age in which Croisades could pass upon the World; and the Pope not finding any other Prince that would execute his Bulls, he resolved to make War upon them himself, hoping to find assistance from the Crown of *Spain*, who, he believed, would be willing to enlarge their Dominions on that side: but when all help failed him, and he saw that his Censures had not created any distractions in the Republick, and found their Treasure and Force like to prove a match too hard to the Apostolical Chamber, and to such Forces as he could levy and pay, he was at last willing to accept of a mediation, in which the Senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate Fryers, yet asserted their Right, and maintained their Laws, notwithstanding all his threatnings; nor would they so much as ask pardon, or crave absolution. But without
without going further into matters so generally known, I shall only mention those things in which Mr. Bedell had some share.

P. Paulo was then the Divine of the State, a man equally eminent for vast learning and a most consummated prudence; and was at once one of the greatest Divines, and of the wisest Men of his Age. But to commend the celebrated Historian of the Council of Trent, is a thing so needless that I may well stop; yet it must needs raise the Character of Bedell much, that an Italian, who, besides the caution that is natural to the Countrey, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the World, was tyed up by the strictness of that Government to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very Soul; and, as Sir Henry Wotton assured the late King, He communicated to him the inwardest thoughts of his Heart, and professed that he had learnt more from him in all the parts of Divinity, whether Speculative or Practical, than from any he had ever conversed with in his whole life. So great an intimacy with so extraordinary a person is enough to raise
a Character, were there no more to be added. P. Paulo went further, for he assisted him in acquiring the Italian Tongue, in which Bedell became such a Master, that he spoke it as one born in Italy, and penned all the Sermons he then preached, either in Italian or Latin; in this last it will appear by the productions of his Pen yet remaining, that he had a true Roman Stile, inferior to none of the Modern Writers, if not equal to the Ancients. In requital of the Instruction he received from P. Paulo in the Italian Tongue, he drew a Grammar of the English Tongue for his use, and for some others that desired to learn it, that so they might be able to understand our Books of Divinity, and he also translated the English Common-prayer Book into Italian; and P. Paulo and the seven Divines that during the Interdict were commanded by the Senate both to preach and write against the Popes authority, liked it so well, that they resolved to have made it their pattern, in case the differences between the Pope and them had produced the effect which they hoped and longed for.

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

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

A passage fell out during the Interdict, that made greater noise than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to: but it was suited to the Italian
Italian Genius. There came a Jesuite to Venice, Thomas Maria Caraffa, who printed a Thousand Theses of Philo-

sophy and Divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant Inscrip-
tion, PAULO V. VICE-DEO Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictissimo, & Pontificæ Omnipotentis conservatores accerrimos. To Paul the U the Vice-Sod, the most invincible Ma-
narch of the Christian Common-

wealth, and the most zealous avenger of the Papal Omnipotency.

All people were amazed at the impudence of this Title, but when Mr. Bedell observed that the numeral Letters of the first Words, PAU-

LO V. VICE-DEO being put to-

gether, made exactly 666. the number of the Beast in the Revelation, he com-
municated this to P. Paulo and the Se-

ven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate: it was enter-
tained almost as if it had come from Heaven, and it was publickly preached over all their Territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichrist: And it is like this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the Italians, than that they could build much upon it; though
though it was as strong as the like computation from the Greek Word ἀλήθεια, upon which some of the Ancients laid some weight. This flew so over Italy, that lest it should take too much among the people, the Pope caused his Emisaries to give it out every where, That Antichrist was now born in Babylon, and was descended of the Tribe of Dan; and that he was gathering a vast Army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendome: and therefore all Christian Princes were exhorted to prepare all their Forces for resisting so great an Invasion. And with this piece of false news that was given out very confidently, the other conceit was choaked. But though Mr. Bedell makes use of it in his Book against Wadsworth, yet he was too modest a Man to claim the discovery of it to himself, but Sir Henry Wotton assured King James, That he first observed it.

Here I must add a passage, concerning which I am in doubt whether it reflected more on the sincerity, or on the understanding of the English Ambassador. The breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Crisis; so that it was expected a total separation, not only from the Court,
Court, but the Church of Rome, was like to follow upon it. It was let on by P. Paulo and the Seven Divines with much zeal, and was very prudently conducted by them. In order to the advancing of it, King James ordered his Ambassador to offer all possible assistance to them, and to accuse the Pope and the Papacy as the chief Authors of all the mischiefs of Christendome. The Prince and Senate answered this in words full of respect to King James, and said, That they knew things were not so bad as some endeavoured to make the World believe, on design to sow discord between Christian Princes: and when the Popes Nuncio objected, That King James was not a Catholick, and so was not to be relied on; The Duke answered, The King of England believed in Jesus Christ, but he did not know in whom some others believed. Upon which P. Paulo and the Seven Divines pressed Mr. Bedell to move the Ambassador to present King James's Premonition to all Christian Princes and States, then put in Latine, to the Senate, and they were confident it would produce a great effect. But the Ambassador could not be prevailed on to do it at that time, and pretended that since
since S. James's day was not far off, it would be more proper to do it on that day. If this was only for the sake of a Speech that he had made on the conceit of S. James's Day and K. James's Book, with which he had intended to present it, that was a weakness never to be excused. But if this was only a pretence, and that there was a design under it, it was a crime not to be forgiven. All that Bedell could say or do to persuade him not to put off a thing of such importance was in vain; and indeed I can hardly think that Wotton was so weak a Man as to have acted sincerely in this matter. Before S. James's day came, which I suppose was the First of May, and not the Twenty fifth of July, the difference was made up, and that happy opportunity was lost: so that when he had his audience on that Day, in which he presented the Book, all the answer he got, was, That they thanked the King of England for his good will, but they were now reconciled to the Pope, and that therefore they were resolved not to admit of any change in their Religion, according to their agreement with the Court of Rome.
It may be easily imagined what a Wound this was to his Chaplain, but much more to those who were more immediately concerned in that matter; I mean P. Paulo with the Seven Divines, and many others, who were weary of the corruptions of their Worship, and were groaning for a Reformation. But now the reconciliation with Rome was concluded: the Senate carried the matter with all the dignity and Majesty that became that most serene Republick, as to all civil things: for they would not ask Absolution: but the Nuncio, to save the Popes credit, came into the Senate-House, before the Duke was come, and crossed his Cushion, and absolved him. Yet upon this they would not suffer any publick signs of joy to be made; nor would they recal the Jesuites. But in all these things greater regard was had to the dignity of their State, than to the interest of Religion; so that P. Paulo was out of all hopes of bringing things ever back to so promising a conjuncture; upon which he wish'd he could have left Venice and come over to England with Mr. Bedell: but he was so much esteemed by the Senate for his great Wisdom, that he was consulted by them as an Oracle, and trusted
ed with their most important Secrets: so that he saw it was impossible for him to obtain his Congé; and therefore he made a shift to comply as far as he could with the established way of their Worship; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great measure rather quieted than satisfied his Conscience. In saying of Mass, he past over many parts of the Canon, and in particular those Prayers, in which that Sacrifice was offered up to the honour of Saints: He never prayed to Saints, nor joyned in those parts of the Offices that went against his Conscience; and in private Confessions and Discourses, he took people off from those abuses, and gave them right Notions of the purity of the Christian Religion; so he hoped he was sowing Seeds that might be fruitful in another Age: and thus he believed he might live innocent in a Church that he thought so defiled. And when one preft him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an Idolatrous Church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, by which means others that depended much on his example would be likewise encouraged to continue in it: All the answer he made to
to this was, That God had not given him the Spirit of Luther. He expressed great tenderness and concern for Bedell, when he parted with him; and said that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their power: but that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him his Picture, with an Hebrew Bible without Points, and a little Hebrew Psalter, in which he wrote some Sentences expressing his esteem and friendship for him; and with these he gave him the invaluable Manuscript of the History of the Council of Trent, together with the History of the Interdict and of the Inquisition; the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief pattern after which all, that intend to succeed well in writing History, must copy. But among other Papers that P. Paulo gave him, some that were of great importance are lost: for in a Letter of Mr Bedells to Dr. Ward, he mentions a Collection of Letters that were sent him Weekly from Rome during the contests between the Jesu-Item and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of Grace; of which P. Paulo gave him the Originals; and in his Letter to Dr. Ward he mentions his having sent them to him.

These,
These, very probably, contained a more particular relation of that matter than the World has yet seen, since they were writ to so curious and so inquisitive a Man; but it seems he did not allow Bedell to print them, and so I am afraid, they are now irrecoverably lost.

When Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbishop of Spalata, and one Despotine a Physician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman Worship; and so chose a freer air. The latter lived near him in S. Edmundsbury, and was by his means introduced into much Practice, which he maintained so well, that he became eminent in his Profession, and continued to his death to keep up a constant correspondence with him. As for the Archbishop of Spalata his Story, it is too well known to need to be much enlarged on. He was an ambitious Man, and set too great a value on himself, and expressed it so indecently, that he sunk much in the estimation of the English Clergy, by whom he was at first received with all possible respect; but after he had stayed some years in England, upon the promotion of Pope Gregory the XIV. that had been his School-fellow, and old acquaintance, he was
was made believe that the Pope intended to give him a Cardinals Hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs; so that he fancied that he should be the instrument of a great Reformation in the Church: his Pride made him too easy to flatter himself with these vain Hopes, and the distaste some of the English Clergy had taken at him for his ambition and covetousness, gave Gun-damor the Spanish Ambassador great advantages in the conduct of that matter: for his mind that was blown up with vanity, and sharpened with resentment, was easily wrought on, so that he, believing that the Promises made him would not only be performed, but that he might be the instrument of bringing about a great change, even at Rome, went thither. He was at first well received by the Pope himself: But he happened to say of Cardinal Bellarmine, that had writ against him, That he had not answered his Arguments. Upon which a complaint was carried to the Pope, as if he had been still of the same mind, in which he was when he published his Books. He excused himself, and said, That though Bellarmine had not answered his Arguments, yet he did not say they were unanswerable:
and he offered to answer them himself if they would allow him time for it. But this excuse was not accepted, so he was cast into the Inquisition, but was never brought to any Tryal: He was poysoned not long after, and his Body was cast out at a Window, and all his Goods were confiscated to the Pope. This was the tragical end of that great but inconstant Man: If he had had as good a Soul as he had a great understanding, together with vast learning, considering his education and other disadvantages, he had deserved to have been reckoned among the greatest Men of his Age. In his Fate it appeared, how foolishly credulous, Vanity makes a Man; since he that was an Italian born, and knew the Court of Rome so well, could be wrought on so far, as to believe that they were capable of pardoning and promoting him after the mischief he had done their Cause. This account of that matter, my Author had from Master Bedell's own Mouth.

But now Mr. Bedell had finished one of the Scenes of his life with great honour. The most considerable addition he made to his learning at Venice, was in the improvements in the Hebrew,
brew, in which he made a great progress by the assistance of R. Leo, that was the chief Chacham of the Jewish Synagogue there: From him he learn'd their way of pronunciation, and some other parts of Rabbinical learning; but in exchange of it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often to be highly satisfied: And once in a solemn dispute, he prest his Rabbi with so clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messias, that he, and several others, of his Brethren, had no other way to escape, but to say that their Rabbins everywhere did expound those Prophecies otherwise, according to the Tradition of their Fathers. By R. Leo's means, he purchased that fair Manuscript of the Old Testament, which he gave to Emmanuel Colledge; and, as I am credibly informed, it cost him its weight in Silver.

After Eight Years stay in Venice, he returned to England, and without pretending to Preferment, or aspiring to it; he went immediately to his charge at S. Edmundsbury, and there went on in his ministerial labours; with which he
mixt the translating P. Paulo's immortal Writings into Latine. Sir Adam Newton translated the two first Books of the History of the Council of Trent, but was not master enough of the two Languages; so that the Archbishop of Spalata said it was not the same Work; but he highly approved of the two last, that were translated by Mr. Bedell, who likewise translated the History of the Interdict, and of the Inquisition, and dedicated them to the King. But no notice was taken of him, and he lived still private and unknown in that obscure corner. He had a Soul of too generous a composition to stoop to those servile compliances, that are often expected by those that have the distribution of Preferments in their power. He thought that was an abjectness of Spirit that became not a Christian Philosopher, much less a Churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the World, a contentedness with a low condition, and a resignation of ones outward circumstances wholly to the conduct of Divine Providence; and not to give that advantage which Atheists and Libertines take from the covetousness and aspirings of some Churchmen, to scoff at Religion, and to call Priesthood.
hood a Trade. He was content to de-
serve Preferment, and did not envy
others, who upon less merit, but more
industry arrived at it. But though he
was forgot at Court, yet an eminent
Gentleman in Suffolk, Sir Thomas Jer-
myn, who was a privy Counsellor, and
Vice-Chamberlain to King Charles
the First, and a great Patron of Ver-
tue and Piety, took such a liking to
him, that as he continued his whole
life to pay him a very particular esteem;
so a considerable Living that was in
his Gift, falling void, he presented him
to it in the Year 1615. When he came
to the Bishop of Norwich to take out
his Title to it, he demanded large Fees
for his Institution and Induction: But
Bedell would give no more than what
was sufficient gratification for the Writ-
ting, the Wax, and the Parchment;
and refused to pay the rest. He lookt
on it as Simony in the Bishop, to de-
mand more, and as contrary to the
command of Christ, who said to his
Apostles, Freely ye have received, and
freely give. And thought it was a branch
of the sin of Simony to sell Spiritual
things to Spiritual persons; and since
whatsoever was askt, that was more
than a decent Gratification to the Ser-
vant
vant for his pains, was asked by reason of the thing that was granted, he thought this was unbecoming the Gospel, and that it was a sin both in the Giver and in the Taker. He had observed that nothing was more expressly contrary to all the Primitive Rules. Chrysostome examined a complaint made against Autonine Bishop of Ephesus, for exacting Fees at Ordination. Autonine dyed before the Process was finished; but some Bishops, that had paid those Fees, were upon that degraded and made incapable to officiate any more, though they pretended, that they paid that Money as a Fee for obtaining a Release from such Obligations as lay on them by Law, to serve the Court. Afterwards not only all Ordinations for Money, but the taking Money for any Employment that depended upon the Bishops Gift, was most severely condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The Buyer was to lose his Degree, and the Seller was to be in danger of it: And after that, severe censures were every where decreed against all Presents that might be made to Bishops, either before or after Ordinations, or upon the account of Writings, or of Feasts, or any other expense that was brought in
use to be made upon that occasion; and even in the Council of Trent, it was Decreed, That nothing should be taken for Letters dimissory, the Certificates, the Seals, or upon any such like ground, either by Bishops or their Servants, even though it was freely offered. Upon these accounts Mr. Bedell resolved rather to lose his Presentation to the Patronage of Horingsheath, than to purchase his Title to it by doing that which he thought Simony. And he left the Bishop and went home: But some few days after, the Bishop sent for him, and gave him his Titles, without exacting Fees of him; and so he removed to that place, where he stayed Twelve Years, during which time he was a great honour to the Church, as well as a pattern to all Churchmen. His habit and way of living was very plain, and becoming the simplicity of his Profession. He was very tender of those that were truly poor, but was so strict in examining all Vagabonds, and so dexterous in discovering counterfeit Passes, and took such care of punishing those that went about with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his Town. In all that time no notice was ever taken of him, though he gave a very singular
singular evidence of his great capacity. For being provoked by his old acquaintance Wadsworth’s Letters, he writ upon the points in controversy with the Church of Rome, with so much learning and judgment, and in so mild a strain, that no wonder if his Book had a good effect on him, for whom it was intended: It is true he never returned and changed his Religion himself, but his Son came from Spain into Ireland, when Bedell was promoted to the Bishopric of Kilmore there, and told him, That his Father commanded him to thank him for the pains he was at in writing it: he said, It was almost always lying open before him, and that he had heard him say, He was resolved to save one. And it seems he instructed his Son in the true Religion, for he declared himself a Protestant on his coming over. This Book was printed, and dedicated to the late King, while he was Prince of Wales, in the Year 1624. The true Reasons that obstructed Bedell’s preferment seem to be these; He was a Calvinist in the matter of Decrees and Grace; and Preferments went generally at that time to those that held the other Opinions. He had also another Principle, which was not very acceptable
Bishop Bedell.

ceptable to some in power: he thought, Conformity was an exact adhering to the Rubrick; and that the adding any new Rite or Ceremony, was as much Nonconformity, as the passing over those that were prescribed: So that he would not use those Bowings or Gesticulations that grew so much in fashion, that Mens affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding, not to conclude, That these things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed that when once the humour of adding new Rites and Ceremonies got into the Church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk, to which we find it swelled in the Church of Rome. And this began so early, and grew so fast, that S. Austin complained of it in his time, saying, That the condition of Christians was then more uneasie by that Yoke of Observances, than that of the Jews had been. And therefore Bedell thought the adhering to established Laws and Rules was a certain and fixed thing; whereas Superstition was infinite. So he was against all Innovations, or arbitrary and assumed Practices; and so much the more, when Men were distinguished, and marked out for Preferment, by that which
which in strictness of Law was a thing that deserved punishment. For in the Act of Uniformity, made in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth’s Reign, it was made highly penal, to use any other Rite or Ceremony, Order or Form, either in the Sacraments, or in Morning or Evening Prayers, than what was mentioned and set forth in that Book. And this was particularly intended to restrain some that were leavened with the former Superstition, and yet for saving their Benefices, might conform to the New Service, but retain still with it many of the old Rites in sacred Offices. And it seems our Legislators were of the same mind, when the last Act of Uniformity was past; for there is a special Proviso in it, That no Rites or Ceremonies should be openly used in any Church, other than what was prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the said Book. Therefore he continued to make the Rubrick the measure of his Conformity, as well before his promotion as after it.

But he was well satisfied with that which the Providence of God laid in his way, and went on in the duties of his pastoral care, and in his own private Studies; and was as great a Pattern in Suffolk,
folk, of the pastoral care, in the lower degree, as he proved afterwards in Ireland in the higher Order. He laboured not as an Hireling that only raised a Revenue out of his Parish, and abandoned his Flock, trusting them to the cheapest Mercenary that he could find; nor did he satisfy himself with a flight performance of his duty only for fashions sake; but he watched over his Flock like one that knew he was to answer to God for those Souls committed to his charge: so he preached to the understandings and Consciences of his Parish, and Catechised constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued Sermon; so he was very exact in the more private parts of his Function, visiting the Sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of Religion. This he made his work, and he followed it so close, and lived so much at home, that he was so little known, or so much forgot, that when Diodati came over to England, many years after this, he could hear of him from no person that he met with; though he was acquainted with many of the Clergy. He was much
much amazed at this, to find that so extraordinary a Man, that was so much admired at Venice, by so good Judges, was not so much as known in his own Countrey; and so he was out of all hope of finding him out, but by a mere accident he met him on the Streets of London, at which there was a great deal of joy on both sides. And upon that Diodati presented him to Morton the learned and antient Bishop of Daresme, and told how great a value P. Paulo set on him; upon which that Bishop treated him in a very particular manner. It is true, Sir Henry Wotton was always his firm and faithful Friend; but his Credit at Court had sunk: for he fell under necessities, having lived at Venice in an expence above his appointments. And as necessitous Courtiers must grow to forget all concerns but their own; so their interest abates, and the favour they are in lessens, when they come to need it too much. Sir Thomas Fermyn was in more credit, though he was always suspected of being too favourable to the Puritans; so that his inclinations being known, the character he could give of him, did not serve to raise him in England.

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

May it please your most gracious Majesty,

Having been informed, That certain persons have, by the good Wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble Petition unto your Majesty, That you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell (now resident upon a small Benefice in Suffolk) Governor of your College at Dublin, for the good of
of that Society: and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some Testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there; I am bound in all Conscience and Truth (so far as your Majesty will accept of my poor Judgment) to affirm of him, That, I think, hardly a fitter Man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole Kingdom, for singular Erudition and Piety, Conformity to the Rites of the Church, and Zeal to advance the Cause of God; wherein his Travells abroad were not obscure, in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your Majesty to know, That this is the Man whom Padre Paulo took (I may say) into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest Thoughts of his Heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his Dayes: of which all the passages were well known unto the King your Father, of blessed memory. And so with your Majesties good favour, I will end this needless office: for the general fame of his Learning, his Life, and Christian
Bishop Bedell.

Christian Temper, and those religious Labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

Your Majesties most humble and faithful Servant,

H. Wotton.

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

Sir,
Sir,

With my hearty commendations remembered: I have this Day received both your Letters, dated the 2. of this Month; I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite, as to have conferred with some of my Friends, such as possibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate; yet since that I perceive by both your Letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married, and have three Children; therefore if the place requires a single Man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a competent Living of above a hundred pound a Year, in a good Air and Seat, with a very convenient House near to my Friends, a little Parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak Voice. I have often heard it, That changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well. And I see well, That my Wife,
(though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint) had rather continue with her Friends in her native Countrey, than put her self into the hazzard of the Seas, and a foreign Land, with many casualties in Travel, which she perhaps out of fear apprehends more than there is cause.

All these reasons I have; if I consult with Flesh and Blood, which move me rather to reject this offer; (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord Primate for his Mind and good Opinion of me:) on the other side; I consider the end, wherefore I came into the World, and the business of a Subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a Minister of the Gospel of a good Patriot, and of an honest Man. If I may be of any better use to my Coun-try, to Gods Church, or of any better service to our common Master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer, Here I am. For my part therefore I will not stir one Foot, or lift up my Finger for or against this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is, If those whom it concerns there, do procure those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia, yea though I
were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself in the performance. Sir, I have as plainly as I can, shewed you my mind; desiring you with my humble service to represent it to my reverend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection; so I rest

From Bury
March 6:
1626.

Your loving Friend

Will. Bedell.

The conclusion of this matter was, That the King being well informed concerning him, commanded him to undertake this charge, which he did cheerfully obey; and set about the duties incumbent on him, in such a manner, as shewed how well he had improved the long time of retirement, that he had hitherto enjoyed, and how ripely he had digested all his thoughts and observations. He had hitherto liv-
ed as if he had been made for nothing but speculation and study; and now when he entred upon a more publik Scene, it appeared that he understood the practical things of Government and humane life so well, that no man seem-ed to be more cut out for business than he was. In the Government of the Colledge, and at his first entry upon a new Scene, he resolved to act nothing till he both knew the Statutes of the House perfectly well, and understood well the tempers of the people; therefore when he went over first, he car-ried himself so abstractly from all affairs, that he past for a soft and weak Man. The zeal that appeared afterwards in him, shewed, That this coldness was only the effect of his Wisdom, and not of his Temper: but when he found that some grew to think meanly of him, and that even Usher himself began to change his opinion of him: Upon that when he went over to England some Months after, to bring his Family over to Ireland, he was thinking to have resign-ed his new Preferment, and to have returned to his Benefice in Suffolk; but the Primate writ so kind a Letter to him, that as it made him lay down those thoughts: so it drew from him the fol-

D 3  lowing
Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your Graces exhortation, advising me to have Faith in God, and not to consult with Flesh and Blood, nor have mind of this Country. Now I would to God, that your Grace could look into my Heart, and see how little I fear lack of Provision, or pass upon any outward thing in this World: My chief fear in truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in the place; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no wise Man could blame me to retain it: Especially having understood that your Grace, whose authority I chiefly followed at the first, did from your own Judgment, and that of other wise Men, so truly pronounce of me, That I was a weak Man. Now that I have received your Letters so full of life and encouragement, it puts some more life in me. For sure it cannot agree with that goodness and ingenuity of yours, praised among all Gods Graces in you, by those that know you, to write one thing to me, and to speak another thing to others of me, or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair Words, laying in the mean while a Net for my Feet, especially
ially with my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither.

Thus was he prevailed on to resign his Benefice, and carry his Family to Ireland, and then he applied himself with that vigour of Mind, that was peculiar to him, to the government of the Colledge.

He corrected such abuses as he found among them; he set such rules to them, and saw those so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made: And as he was a great promoter of learning among them, so he thought his particular Province was to instruct the House aright in the Principles of Religion. In order to this he catechized the Youth in the Colledge once a Week, and preached once a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it: And that he might acquaint them with a plain and particular body of Divinity, he divided the Church Catechism into Two and Fifty Parts, one for every Sunday, and did explain it in a way so mixed with Speculative and Practical Matters, that his Sermons were both learned Lectures of Divinity, and excellent exhortations to Vertue and Piety:
Piety: Many took notes of them, and copies of them were much enquired after; for as they were fitted to the capacity of his Hearers, so they contained much matter in them, for entertaining the most learned. He had not stayed there above two Years, when by his Friend Sir Thomas Jermyn's means, a Patent was sent him to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, two contiguous Sees in the Province of Ulster. And in the Letters by which the King signified his pleasure for his Promotion, he likewise expressed his acceptance of the service he had done in the College, in very honourable terms as follows:

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

And now in the 59th. Year of his Age, he entered upon a different course of Life and Employment, when it might have been thought, that the vigour of his Spirits was much broken and spent. But by his administration of his Diocess, it appeared that their remained yet a vast heat and force of Spirit to carry him through those difficult undertakings, to which he found himself obliged by this new Character; which if it makes a Man but a little lower than the Angels, so that the term Angel is applied to that Office in Scripture, he thought it did oblige him to an angelical course of life, and to divide his time, as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a Body made of Flesh and Blood, as those glorious Spirits do, between the beholding the Face of their Father which is in Heaven, and the ministering to the Heirs of Salvation: he considered the Bishop's office made him the Shepherd of the inferior Shepherds, if not of the whole Diocess; and therefore he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of Religion among them: and he thought it
it a disingenuous thing to vouch Antiquity for the Authority and Dignity of that Function, and not at the same time to express those Virtues and Practices that made it so Venerable among them. Since the Forms of Church Government must appear amiable and valuable to the Word, not so much for the reasonings and arguments that learned Men use concerning them, as for the real advantages that mankind find from them. So that he determined with the great Nazianzen, To give Wings to his Soul, to rescue it wholly from the World, and to dedicate it to God: And not to think it enough to perform his duty in such a manner, as to pass through the rest of his life without reproach: for according to that Father, This was to weigh out Virtue by small weights; but in the Language of that Father he resolved to live, As one that had got above his Senses, and all sensible things, that was recollected within himself, and had attained to a familiarity with divine matters, that so his mind might be as an unsullied Mirrour, upon which he might receive and represent the impresses of God and divine things, unallyed with the Characters of lower objects. He saw he would fall under some envy, and meet with
with great oppositions, but he considered that as a sort of martyrdom for God, and resolved cheerfully to undergo whatsoever uneasy things he might be forced to suffer, in the discharge of his Conscience and Duty.

In laying open his designs and performances in this last and greatest period of his life, I have fuller materials than in the former parts. For my Author was particularly known to him during a large part of it, and spent several Years in his Family; so that his opportunities of knowing him were as great as could be desired, and the Bishop was of so gentle a temper, and of so communicative a nature, that he easily opened himself to one, that was taken into his alliance as well as into his heart, he being indeed a Man of primitive simplicity. He found his Diocess under so many disorders, that there was scarce a sound part remaining. The Revenue was wafted by excessive dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to sale in so fordid a manner, that it was grown to a Proverb. But I will not enlarge further on the ill things others had done, than as it is necessary to shew the good things that were done by him. One of his Cathedrals, Ar-
dagh, was fallen down to the ground, and there was scarce enough remaining of both these Revenues to support a Bishop that was resolved not to supply himself by indirect and base methods: he had a very small Clergy, but Seven or Eight in each Diocess of good sufficiency; but every one of these was multiplyed into many Parishes, they having many Vicarages a piece; but being English, and his whole Diocess consisting of Irish, they were barbarians to them; nor could they perform any part of divine Offices among them. But the state of his Clergy will appear best from a Letter that he writ to Archbishop Laud concerning it, which I shall here insert.
Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord.

Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas (till which time, the settling of the state of the Colledge, and my Lord Primate's Visitation deferred my Consecration) I have not been unmindful of your Lordships commands, to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the Church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my Diocesses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate: and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The Cathedral Church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by S. Patrick, together with the Bishops House there, down to the ground. The Church here, built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice. The Parish Churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British Planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the remnant) obstinate Recusants. A Popish Clergy
Clergy more numerous by far than we, and
in full exercise of all jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, by their Vicar-General and Officers; who are so confident as they Excommunicate those that come to our Courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the Popish Primate's Vicar-General; for which I have begun a Process against him. The Primate himself lives in my Parish, within two Miles of my House; the Bishop in another part of my Diocess further off. Every Parish hath its Priest; and some two or three a piece, and so their Mass-Houses also; in some places Mass is said in the Churches. Fryers there are in diverse places, who go about, though not in their Habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people; who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so, from their paying double Tythes to their own Clergy, and ours, from the dearth of Corn, and the death of their Cattle these late Years, with the Contributions to their Soildiers and their Agents: and which they forget not to reckon among other causes; the oppression of the Court Ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own, there are Seven or Eight Ministers in each Diocess of good sufficiency; and (which
Bishop Bedell.

(Which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery still.) English, which have not the Tongue of the people, nor can perform any Divine Offices, or converse with them; and which hold many of them Two or Three; Four, or more Vicarages apiece; even the Clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes Two or Three, or more, upon one Man, and ordinarily bought and sold or let to farm. His Majesty is now with the greatest part of this Countrey, as to their Hearts and Consciences, King, but at the Popes discretion.

Kilmore Apr. 1720.

Will. Kilmore & Ardaigh.

Here was a melancholy prospect to a Man of so good a mind, enough to have disheartned him quite, if he had not had a proportioned degree of Spirit and courage to support him under so much weight. After he had recovered somewhat of the spoils made by his Predecessor, and so put himself into a capacity to subsist, he went about the rein-
reforming of abuses: And the first that he undertook was Pluralities, by which one Man had a care of Souls in so many different places, that it was not possible to discharge his duty to them, nor to perform those Vows, which he made at his Ordination, of feeding and instructing the Flock committed to his care. And tho’ most of the Pluralists did mind all their Parishes alike, that is, They neglected all equally; yet he thought this was an abuse contrary both to the nature of Ecclesiastical Functions, to the obligations that the care of Souls naturally imported, and to those solemn Vows that Church-men made at the Altar when they were ordained: And he knew well that this corruption was no sooner observed to have crept into the Christian Church, than it was condemned by the Fourth general Council at Chalcedon. For when some that had removed from one Diocese to another, continued to have their share in the dividend of the Church, which they had left, as well as of that to which they had gone; the Council decreed, That such transgressors should restore all that they had got from the Church, which they had left, and should be degraded, if they refused to submit to this regulation.
regulation. He thought it a vain, and indeed an impudent thing, for a Man to pretend that he answered the obligation of so sacred a trust, and so holy a Vow, by hiring some mercenary Curate to perform Offices: since the Obligation was personal, and the ecclesiastical Functions were not like the Levitical Service in the Temple, in which the observing their Rites, was all that was required. But the watching over Souls had so many other things involved in it, besides officiating according to the Rubrick, that it drew this severe reflection from a witty Man, in which though the Wit of it may seem too pleasant for so serious a subject, yet it had too much sad truth under it; That when such Betrayers and Abandoners of that trust which Christ purchased with his own Blood, found good and faithful Curates that performed worthily the obligations of the pastoral Care, the Incumbent should be saved by Proxy, but be damned in Person. Therefore the Bishop gathered a meeting of his Clergy, and in a Sermon with which he opened it, he laid before them, both out of Scripture, and Antiquity, the Institution, the Nature, and the Duties of the Ministerial Employment; and after
Sermon he spoke to them largely on the same subject in Latin, stiling them, as he alwayes did, His Brethren and fellow Presbyters: And exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which as it brought a heavy scandal on the Church, and gave their Adversaries great advantages against them; so it must very much endanger both their own Souls, and the Souls of their Flocks. And to let them see that he would not lay a heavy Burthen on them, in which he would not bear his own share, he resolved to part with one of his Bishopricks. For though Ardagh was considered as a ruined See, and had long gone as an accessory to Kilmore, and continues to be so still; yet since they were really two different Sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his Clergy to renounce their Pluralities, unless he set them an example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a considerable charge in recovering the Patrimony of Ardagh, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the duty of both these Sees, they being contiguous, and small; and though the Revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not seem to be guilty of that which
he so severely condemned in others: And therefore he resigned Ardaghs to Dr. Richardson; and so was now only Bishop of Kilmore. The Authority of this example, and the efficacy of his Discourse, made such an impression on his Clergy, that they all relinquished their pluralities. The Arguments that arise out of interest are generally much stronger than those of mere speculation, how well forever it be made out; and therefore this concurrence that he met with from his Clergy in so sensible a point, was a great encouragement to him to go on in his other designs. There seemed to be a Finger of God in it; for he had no authority to compel them to it, and he had managed the minds of his Clergy so gently in this matter, that their compliance was not extorted, but both free and unanimous. For, one only excepted, they all submitted to it: and he being Dean, exchanged his Deanship with another; for he was ashamed to live in the Diocese, where he would not submit to such terms, after both the Bishop himself and all his Clergy had agreed to them. But the opposition that was given him by the Dean, and both his sense of that matter, and his carriage in it, will appear from the following
following Letter, which he writ concerning it to the Primate; which, though it be long and particular, yet it seemed to me too important to be either stifled or abridged.

Most reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

I cannot easily express what contentment I received at my late being with your Grace at Termonfeckin. There had nothing hapned to me, I will not say, since I came into Ireland, but, as far as I can call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did so much affect me in this kind, as the hazard of your good opinion. For, loving and honouring you in Truth (for the truths sake, which is in us, and shall abide with us for ever) without any private interest, and receiving so unlookt for a blow from your own Hand, (which I expected should have tenderly applied some remedy to me, being smitten by others) I had not present the defences of Reason and Grace. And although I knew it to be a fault in my self, since in the performance of our duties, the Judgment of our Master, even alone, ought to suffice us; yet
yet I could not be so much Master of mine Affections as to cast out this weakness. But blessed be God, who (as I began to say) at my being with you refreshed my Spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me: and all humble thanks to you, that gave me place to make my Defence, and took upon you the cognizance of mine innocency. And as for mine Accuser (whose hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous desire of heaping Living upon Living, to the evident damage, not only of other Souls committed to him, but of his own) truly I am glad, and do give God Thanks that this malignity, which a while masked it self in the pretence of friendship, hath at last discovered it self by publick opposition. It hath not, and I hope it shall not be in his power to hurt me at all; he hath rather shamed himself: and, although his high Heart cannot give his Tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his Understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to tast the Fruit of it also, without being further troublesome to your Grace, save that I do not despair, but your Grace's Authority will pull him out of the snare of Satan, whose instrument he hath been to cross the Work of God, and give me more
more occasion of joy by his amendment, than I had grief by his perversion and opposition.

Your Grace's Letters of Aug. 23, were not delivered to me till the 29th. In the mean space what effect those that accompanied them had with Mr. Dean you shall perceive by the inclosed which were sent me the 28th. the Evening before our Communion. I answered them the next Morning, as is here annexed. As I was at the Lord's Table, beginning the service of the Communion before the Sermon, he came in, and after the Sermon was done, those that communicated not being departed, he stood forth and spake to this purpose:

That whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires, That before the Lord's Supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there should be reconciliation; this was much more requisite between Ministers: And because they all knew that there had been some difference between me and him, he did profess, That he bare me no malice nor hatred, and if he had offended me in any thing, he was sorry. I answered, That he had good reason to be sorry, considering how he had behaved himself. For my part I bare him no malice,
lice, and if it were in my power, would not make so much as his Finger ake. Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knew there were many good Parts, would become an instrument to oppose the Work of God, which I was assured he had called me to. This was all that passed. He offered himself to the Lord's Board, and I gave him the Communion. After Dinner he preached out of 1 Joh. 4.10. And this Commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God, &c. When we came out of the Church, Dr. Sheridan delivered me your Grace's Letters. And thus Mr. Dean thinks he hath healed all, as you may perceive by his next Letters of August 30. Only he labours about Kildromfarten. Whereabouts I purposed to have spoken with your Grace at my being with you; but I know not how it came not to my mind, whether it be that the Soul, as well as the body, after some travel easily falleth to rest; or else God would have it reserved perhaps to a more seasonable time.

It is now above a Twelvemonth (the Day in many respects I may well wish that it may not be reckoned with the days of the year) that your Grace, as it were, delivered to me, with your own Hands, Mr. Crian a converted Fryer. To whom
I offered my self as largely as my Ability would extend unto: though I had already at your Grace's commendation received Mr. Dunsterville to be in my House, with the allowance of Twenty Pound per annum. The next Day before my departing, Mr. Hilton made a motion to me, That where he had in his Hands sufficient to make the Benefice of Kildromfarten void, if I would bestow it upon Mr. Dean he would do so; otherwise it should remain in statu. I answered with professi-
on of my love and good opinion of Mr. Dean, whereof I shewed the reasons. I added, I did not know the place nor the people, but if they were mere Irish, I did not see how Mr. Dean should discharge the duty of a Minister to them. This motion was se-
conded by your Grace: But so as I easily conceived, That being solicited by your old Servant, you could do no less than you did; and notwithstanding the Lecture he promi-
ised your Grace should be read to me in the matter of Collations, would not be dis-
pleased, if I did as became me, accord-
ing to my Conscience, and in confor-
mity to your former motion for Mr. Crian. Mr. Dean after pressed me, that, if with-
out my concurrence your Grace would conferr that Living upon him, I would not be against it; which I promised, but heard
heard no more of it till about April last. In the meantime the Benefice next unto that which Mr. Dunsterville was already possessed of, falling void: Mr. Crian not coming to me, nor purposing to do so till after Christmas, and whenever he should come, my House, as I found, not affording room for him and Mr. Dunsterville both, whose former Benefice was unable, he said, to maintain him, chiefly he promising Residence, and taking of me for that purpose an Oath, absolutely without any exception of Dispensation, I united it to his former, and dismissed him to go to his Cure; wherein how carelessly he hath behaved himself, I forbear to relate. To return to Mr. Dean. About mid-April he brought me a Presentation to Kildromfarten under the broad Seal. I could do no less but signify to the Incumbent, who came to me, and maintained his Title, requiring me not to admit. Whereupon I returned the Presentation, indorsing the reason of my refusal; and being then occasioned to write to the Lords Justices, I signified what I thought of these Pluralities, in a time when we are so far overmatched in number by the adverse part. This passed on till the Visitacion; wherein Mr. Dean shewed himself in his Colours. When the Vicar of Kildromfarten was called, he said,
said, he was Vicar; but would exhibite no Title. After, the Curate, Mr. Smith, signified to me, That his Stipend was unpaid, and he feared it would be still in the contention of two Incumbents. Upon these and other Reasons, I sequestred the Profits, which I have heard by a Simonaical compact betwixt them should be for this Year the former Incumbents. Neither did Mr. Dean write or speak a Word to me hereabout, till the day before the Communion in the inclosed. That very Morning I was certified that he purposed to appeal to your Grace, which made me in answer to his next to add, Quod facias, fac titius.

Here I beseech your Grace give me leave to speak freely touching this matter, so much the rather, because it is the only root of all Mr. Dean's despite against me. Plainly I do thus think, That of all the diseases of the Church in these times, next to that of the corruption of our Courts, this of Pluralities is the most deadly and pestilent, especially when those are instituted into charges Ecclesiastical, who, were they never so willing, yet for want of the Language of the people, are unable to discharge them. Concerning which very Point, I know your Grace remembers the Propositions of the learned and zealous
zealous Bishop of Lincoln before Pope Innocent. I will not add the Confession of our Adversaries themselves in the Council of Trent, nor the judgment of that good Father, the Author of the History there-of, touching non-Residency. Let the thing itself speak. Whence flow the ignorance of the people, the neglect of God's worship, and defrauding the Poor of the remains of dedicated things, the ruine of the mansion-Houses of the Ministers, the desolation of Churches, the swallowing up of Parishes by the Farmers of them, but from this Fountain? There may be cause, no doubt, why sometimes, in some place, and to some Man, many Churches may be committed; but now that, as appears by the late Certificates, there are, besides the titular Primate and Bishop, of Priests in the Dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh, 66. of Ministers and Curates but 32. of which number also 3. whose wives came not to Church: In this so great odds as the adversaries have of us in number, (to omit the advantage of the Language, the possession of peoples Hearts, the countenancing of the Nobility and Gentry, Is it a time to commit many Churches to one Man, whom I will not disable, and he faith he hath a very able Interpreter, and I think no less (which made me once
to say, That I would sooner confer the Bene-

fice of Kildromfarten upon him than upon

himself, which resolution I do yet hold, in

how ill part soever he take it.) But what hath

he done in the Parishes already committed
to him, for the instruction of the Irish, that
we should commit another unto him? he that cannot perform his duty to one
without a helper, or to that little part of
it whose Tongue he hath, is he sufficient
to do it to three? No it is the Wages is

sought, not the Work. And yet with the
means he hath already, that good Man his
Predecessor maintained a Wife and a Fa-
mily; and cannot he in his solitary (he
had once written Monkish) life defray
himself? Well, if there can be none found
fit to discharge the duty, let him have the
Wages to better his maintenance. But

when your Grace assureth us we shall lack
no Men; when there is besides Mr. Crian
(whom Dr. Sheriden hath heard preach
as a Friar in that very place; which I
account would be more to Gods Glory, if
there now he should plant the Truth,
which before he endeavoured to root out)
besides him we have Mr. Nugent, who
offereth himself in an honest and discreet
Letter lately written to me, we have sundry in the Colledge, and namely, two trained up at the Irish Lecture, one whereof

hath
hath translated your Grace's Catechism into Irish; besides Mr. Duncan and others; with what colour can we pass by these; and suffer him to fat himself with the blood of Gods people? Pardon me, I befeech your Grace, when I say We: I mean not to pre-
scribe any thing to you; my self, I hope, shall never do it, or consent to it. And so long as this is the cause of Mr. Dean's wrath against me, whether I suffer by his Pen or his Tongue, I shall rejoynce, as suffer-
fering for Righteousness sake: And, sith
himself in his last Letter excuses my in-
tent, I do submit my actions after God, to your Grace's Censure, ready to make
him satisfaction, if in any things, in word or deed, I have wronged him.

For conclusion of this business ( where-
in I am sorry to be so troublesome to your Grace) let him surcease this his greedy
and impudent pretence to this Benefice, let Mr. Nugent be admitted to it, or
Mr. Crian, if he be not yet provided for:
To whom I will hope ere long to add
Mr. Nugent for a Neighbour, οὖν τῷ ἐκ
ἰςχευόν. If these second (questionless bet-
ter) thoughts have any place in him;
as in his last Letters he gives some hope,
let my complaints against him be cast into
the Fire. God make him an humble and
modest Man. But if Mr. Dean will needs
persist,
persist, I beseech your Grace to view my Reply, to the which I will add no more.

As touching his traducing me in your Pulpit at Cavan, I have sent your Grace the Testimonies of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Teate; although he had been with them before, and denied what they formerly conceived. And if your Grace will be pleased to enquire of Mr. Cape, by a line or two, (with whom I never spake Word about the matter) or compare the Heads of his Sermon (which he saith were general) with his former Reports made of me, I doubt not but you will soon find the truth.

I have sent also his Protestation against my Visitation, wherein I desire your Grace to observe the blindness of Malice: He pretends that I may not visit but at or after Michaelmas every Year. As if the Month of July, wherein I visited, were not after Michaelmas: For before the last Michaelmas I visited not. I omit that he calls himself the Head of the Chapter. The Canon Law calls the Bishop so: he will have the Bishop visit the whole Diocese together; directly contrary to that Form, which the Canons prescribe. But this Protestation having neither Latin, nor Law, nor common Sense; doth declare the skill of him that drew
drew it, and the Wit of him that uses it. which, if your Grace injoyn him not to re-
voke it, I shall be inforced to put remedy
unto otherwise, in respect of the evil ex-
ample and prejudice it might bring to po-
sterity. And now to leave this unplea-
sing subject. Since my being with you,
here was with me Mr. Brady, bringing
with him the resignation of the Benefice of
Mullagh, which I had conferred upon
Mr. Dunfterville, and united to his
former of Moybolke; He brought with
him Letters from my Lord of Cork, and
Sir William Parsons, to whom he is ali-
ed. But examining him, I found him* ( be-
sides a very raw Divine ) unable to read
the Irish, and therefore excused my self
to the Lords for admitting him. A few
Dayes after, viz. the 10th. of this Month,
here was with me Mr. Dunfterville him-
sel, and signified unto me that he had re-
voked his former Resignation. Thus he
playes fast and loose, and most unconscion-
ably neglects his duty. Omnes quæ tua
funt, quærunt. Indeed I doubted his Re-
signation was not good, in as much as he
retained still the former Benefice, where-
unto this was united. Now I see clearly
there was a compact between him and
Mr. Brady, that if the second could not be
admitted, he should resume his Benefice a-
gain.
I have received Letters from Mr. Dr. Warde, of the Date of May 28. in which he mentions again the point of the justification of Infants by Baptism. To whom I have written an answer, but not yet sent it. I send herewith a Copy thereof to your Grace, humbly requiring your advice and censure (if it be not too much to your Grace's trouble) before I send it. I have also written an answer to Dr. Richardson in the question touching the root of Efficacy or Efficiency of Grace; but it is long, and consists of 5. or 6. sheets of Paper, so as I cannot now send it; I shall hereafter submit it, as all other my endeavours, to your Grace's censure, and correction. I have received also a large answer from my Lord of Derry, touching justifying Faith; whereto I have not yet had time to reply; nor do I know if it be worth the labour, the difference being but in the manner of teaching, As whether justifying Faith be an assent working assent; or else an assent following Assent. I wrote presently upon my return from your Grace to my Lords Justices, desiring to be excused from going in person to take possession of the Mass-House; and a Certificate that my suit with Mr. Cook is depending before them. I have not as yet received answer, by reason (as Sir William
liam Usher signified to my Son) the Lord Chancellor's indisposition did not permit his hand to be gotten.

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

Ashamed I am to be thus tedious. But I hope you will pardon me, since you required, and I promised, to write often; and having now had opportunity to convey my Letters, this must serve in stead of many: Concluding with mine and my Wife's humble service to your Grace and Mrs. Usher, and thanks for my kind entertainment, I desire the blessing of your Prayers, and remain always

Your Grace's

humble Servant,

Will. Kilmore & Ardagh.

Kilmore, Sept.
13. 1630.
The condemning Pluralities was but the half of his Project. The next part of it was to oblige his Clergy to reside in their Parishes: but in this he met with a great difficulty. King James upon the last reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's Rebellion, had ordered Glebe-lands to be assigned to all the Clergy: And they were obliged to build Houses upon them, within a limited time, but in assigning those Glebe-lands, the Commissioners that were appointed to execute the Kings Orders, had taken no care of the conveniences of the Clergy: For in many places these Lands were not within the Parish, and often they lay not all together, but were divided in parcells. So he found his Clergy were in a strait. For if they built Houses upon these Glebe-lands, they would be thereby forced to live out of their Parishes, and it was very inconvenient for them to have their Houses remote from their Lands. In order to a remedy to this, the Bishop that had Lands in every Parish assigned him, resolved to make an exchange with them, and to take their Glebe-lands into his own hands for more convenient portions of equal value that he assigned them: and
that the exchange might be made upon a just estimate, so that neither the Bishop nor the inferior Clergy might suffer by it, he procured a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant, for some to examine and settle that matter, which was at last brought to a conclusion with so universal a satisfaction to his whole Diocess, that, since the thing could not be finally determined without a Great Seal from the King, confirming all that was done, there was One sent over in all their names to obtain it; but this was a work of time, and so could not be finished in several Years: and the Rebellion broke out before it was fully concluded.

The Lord Lieutenant at this time was Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, a name too great to need any enlargement or explanation: for his Character is well known. At his first coming over to Ireland, he was possessed with prejudices against the Bishop upon the account of a Petition sent up by the County of Cavan, to which the Bishop had set his hand, in which some complaints were made, and some regulations were proposed for the Army: Which was thought an insolent attempt, and a matter of ill example. So that
Strafford, who was severe in his administration, was highly displeased with him: And when any Commission or Order was brought to him, in which he found his name, he dashed it out with his own Pen; and expressed great indignation against him. When the Bishop understood this, he was not much moved at it, knowing his own innocence; but he took prudent methods to overcome his displeasure. He did not go to Dublin upon his coming over, as all the other Bishops did, to congratulate his coming to the Government: but he writ a full account of that matter to his constant Friend Sir Thomas Jermyn, who managed it with so much zeal, that Letters were sent to the Deputy from the Court, by which he was so much mollified towards the Bishop, that he going to congratulate, was well received, and was ever afterwards treated by him with a very particular kindness. So this Storm went over, which many thought would have ended in imprisonment, if not in deprivation. Yet how much foever that Petition was mistaken, he made it appear very plain, that he did not design the putting down of the Army: For he saw too evidently the danger they were in from Pope-
ry, to think they could be long safe without it. But a Letter that contains his vindication from that aspersion, carries in it likewise such a representation of the state of the Popish interest then in Ireland, and of their numbers, their tempers, and their principles, that I will set it down. It was written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and is taken from the printed copy of it that Mr. Prynne has given us.

Right Honourable, my very good Lord,

In the midst of these thoughts, I have been advertised from an honourable Friend in England, that I am accused to his Majesty to have opposed his service; and that my hand with two other Bishops only, was to a Writing touching the Money to be levied on the Papists for maintenance of the Men of War. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his Majesty, but to expose with the publick peace, mine own Neck, to the Skeans of the Romish Cut-throats. I that knew that in this Kingdom of his Majesties,
The Pope hath another Kingdom far greater in number, and as I have heretofore signified to the Lord Justices and Council (which is also since justified by themselves in Print) constantly guided and directed by the Order of the new Congregation De propaganda Fide, lately erected at Rome, transmitted by the means of the Popes Nuntio’s residing at Brussells or Paris, that the Pope hath here a Clergy, if I may guess by my own Diocese, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal Oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities contra omnem hominem, and to execute his Mandates to the uttermost of their Forces; which accordingly they do, styling themselves in Print, Ego N. Dei & Apostolica Sedis gratia Episcopus Ferminien & Ossorien. I that knew there is in the Kingdom for the moulding of the people to the Pope’s obedience, a rabble of irregular Regulars, commonly younger Brothers of good Houses, who are grown to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in better ranks than Priests, in so much that the censure of the Sorbon is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again; so tender is the Pope of his own Creatures. I that knew that
that his Holiness hath erected a new University in Dublin to confront his Majesty's College there, and to breed the youth of the Kingdom to his Devotion, of which University one Paul Harris, the Author of that infamous libel, which was put forth in Print against my Lord Armach's Wansted Sermon, stileth himself in Print to be Dean: I that knew and have given advertisement to the State, that these Regulars dare erect new Fryeries in the Countrey, since the dissolving of these in the City, that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselesness, as they care not to learn the Commandments as God himself spake, and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new Superstitions and detestable Doctrines, such as their own Priests are ashamed of; and at all those they levy Collections, Three, Four, Five, or Six Pounds at a Sermon. Shortly, I that knew that those Regulars and this Clergy have at a general meeting like to a Synod, as themselves stile it, decreed, That it is not lawful to take an Oath of Allegiance; and if they be constant to their own Doctrine, do account his Majesty in their Hearts to be King but at the Popes discretion. In this state of
this Kingdom, to think the Bridle of the Army may be taken away, should be the thought not of a brain-sick, but of a brainless Man.

The day of our deliverance from the Popish Powder Plot, Anno 1633.

Your Lordship's

in all Duty,

Will. Kilmore.

By his cutting off Pluralities there fell to be many Vacancies in his Diocess, so the care he took to fill these, comes to be considered in the next place. He was very strict in his Examinations before he gave Orders to any. He went over the Articles of the Church of Ireland so particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the Ordination of him that was afterwards his Arch-Deacon, Mr. Thomas Price, reported that though he was one of the Senior Fellows of the Colledge of Dublin, when the Bishop was Provost; yet his Examination held two full Hours: And when he had ended any examination, which was always done in the pre-
presence of his Clergy, he desired every Clergy-Man that was present to examine the person further, if they thought that any material thing was omitted by him; by which a fuller discovery of his temper and sufficiency might be made. When all was ended, he made all his Clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to Ordination: For he would never assume that singly to himself, nor take the Load of it wholly on his own Soul. He took also great care to be well informed of the moral and religious qualities of those he ordained, as well as he satisfied himself by his Examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had always a considerable number of his Clergy assisting him at his Ordinations, and he always Preached and administered the Sacrament on those occasions himself: And he never ordained one a Presbyter, till he had been at least a year a Deacon, that so he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree, before he raised him higher. He looked upon that power of Ordination as the most sacred part of a Bishop's trust, and that in which the Laws of the Land had laid no sort of imposition on them, so that this was entirely in their Hands, and therefore he thought
thought they had so much the more to answer for to God on that account; and he weighed carefully in his thoughts the importance of those Words, *Lay hands suddenly on no Man, and be not a partaker of other Mens Sins.* Therefore he used all the precaution that was possible for him in so important an affair. He was never prevail'd on by any recommendations nor importunities to ordain any; as if Orders had been a sort of Freedom in a Company, by which a Man was to be enabled to hold as great a portion of the Ecclesiastical Revenue as he could compass, when he was thus qualified: Nor would he ever ordain any without a title to a particular Flock. For he thought a title to a maintenance was not enough; as if the Church should only take care that none in Orders might be in want; but he saw the abuses of those emendicated titles, and of the Vagrant Priests that went about as Journeymen, plying for Work, to the great reproach of that sacred Employment; and in this he also followed the Rule set by the fourth general Council that carried this matter so high, as to annul all Orders that were given without a particular designation of the Place, where the person was to serve. For he made the Primitive
Primitive times his Standard, and resolved to come as near it as he could, considering the corruption of the Age in which he lived. He remembred well the grounds he went on, when he refused to pay Fees for the Title to his Benefice in Suffolk, and therefore took care that those who were ordained by him, or had Titles to Benefices from him, might be put to no charge: For he wrote all the Instruments himself, and delivered them to the persons to whom they belonged, out of his own Hands, and adjured them in a very solemn manner, to give nothing to any of his Servants. And, that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them alwayes on those occasions to the Gate of his House, that so he might be sure that they should not give any gratification to his Servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient wages as became them, and not to let his Clergy be burthened with his Servants. And indeed the abuses in that were grown to such a pitch, that it was necessary to correct them in so exemplary a manner.

His next care was to observe the behaviour of his Clergy; he knew the lives of Churchmen had generally much more
more efficacy than their Sermons, or other labours could have; and so he set himself much to watch over the Manners of his Priests; and was very sensibly touched, when an Irishman said once to him in open Court, *That the Kings Priests were as bad as the Popes Priests.*

These were so grossly ignorant, and so openly scandalous, both for drunkenness, and all sort of lewdness, that this was indeed a very heavy reproach: Yet he was no rude nor morose Reformer, but considered what the times could bear. He had great tenderness for the weakness of his Clergy, when he saw reason to think otherwise well of them: and he helped them out of their troubles, with the care and compassion of a Father. One of his Clergy held two Livings; but had been coufened by a Gentleman of Quality to farm them to him for less than either of them was worth; and he acquainted the Bishop with this: Who upon that writ very civilly, and yet as became a Bishop, to the Gentleman, persuading him to give up the bargain: but having received a full and haughty answer from him, he made the Minister resign up both to him; for they belonged to his Gift, and he provided him with another Benefice, and
and put two other worthy Men in these two Churches, and so he put an end both to the Gentleman's fraudulent bargain, and to the Churchman's Plurality. He never gave a Benefice to any without obliging them by Oath to perpetual and personal residence, and that they should never hold any other Benefice with that. So when one Buchanan was recommended to him, and found by him to be well qualified, he offered him a Collation to a Benefice, but when Buchanan saw that he was to be bound to Residence, and not to hold another Benefice; he that was already possessed of one, with which he resolved not to part, would not accept of it on those Terms. And the Bishop was not to be prevailed with to dispense with it, though he liked this Man so much the better, because he found he was akin to the great Buchanan, whose Paraphrase of the Psalms he loved beyond all other Latin Poetry. The Latin form of his Collations will be found at the end of this Relation, which concluded thus; Obtestling you in the Lord, and enjovning you, by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his Flock committed to your care, which he purchased.
fed with his own Blood; that you instruct
them in the Catholick Faith, and perform
Divine Offices in a Tongue understood by
the people: and above all things that you
shew your self a pattern to Believers in
good Works, so that the adversaries may
be put to shame, when they find nothing
for which they can reproach you. He put
all the Instruments in one, whereas
deVICES had been found out, for the in-
crease of Fees, to divide these into se-
veral Writings: nor was he content to
write this all with his own hand, but
sometimes he gave Induction likewise
to his Clergy; for he thought none of
these Offices were below a Bishop: and
he was ready to ease them of charge all
he could. He had by his zeal and earnest
endeavours prevailed with all his Pres-
byters to reside in their Parishes; one
only excepted, whose name was John-
ston. He was of a mean Education,
yet he had very quick Parts, but they
lay more to the Mechanical than to the
Spiritual Architecture. For the Earl
of Strafford used him for an Engineer,
and gave him the management of some
great Buildings that he was raising in the
County of Wicklo. But the Bishop
finding the Man had a very mercurial
Wit, and a great capacity, he resolved
to
to set him to work, that so he might not be wholly useless to the Church; and therefore he proposed to him the composing an universal Character, that might be equally well understood by all Nations: and he shewed him, that since there was already an universal Mathematical Character, received both for Arithmetick, Geometry, and Astronomy, the other was not impossible to be done. Johnston undertook it readily, and the Bishop drew for him a Scheme of the whole Work, which he brought to such perfection, that, as my Author was informed, he put it under the Press, but the Rebellion prevented his finishing it.

After the Bishop had been for many years carrying on the Reformation of his Diocese, he resolved to hold a Synod of all his Clergy, and to establish some Rules for the better government of the Flock committed to him: The Canons then established will be found at the end of this Work. He appointed that a Synod should be held thereafter once a Year, on the Second Week of September; and that in the Bishop's absence, his Vicar General, if he were a Priest, or his Arch-Deacon should preside; That no Vicar should be constituted after
after that, unless he were in Orders, and should hold his place only during the Bishop's Pleasure. He revived the ancient custom of Rural Deans; and appointed, That there should be three for the three Divisions of his Diocese; who should be chosen by the Clergy, and should have an inspection into their deportment, and make report to the Bishop of what past among them, and transmit the Bishop's Orders to them; and that once a Month the Clergy of each Division should meet, and Preach by turns, without long Prayers or Preambles: And that no Excommunication should be made but by the Bishop in person, with the assistance of such of his Clergy as should be present. The rest related to some things of less importance, that required amendment. When the News of this was carried to Dublin, some said it was an illegal Assembly, and that his presuming to make Canons, was against Law, and brought him within the guilt of a Pramunire. So that it was expected that he should be brought up as a Delinquent, and censured in the Starr-Chamber, or High Commission-Court: But others lookt on what he had done, as nothing but the necessary discharge of his Episcopal Function.
Function. And it seemed strange if some Rules laid down by common consent, for the better Government of the Diocess, should have furnished matter for an Accusation or Censure. His Arch-Deacon, that was afterwards Archbishop of Cashill, gave such an account of this matter to the State, that nothing followed upon it. The Bishop had indeed prepared such a Justification of himself, as would have vindicated him fully before equitable Judges, if he had been questioned for it. Archbishop Usher, who knew well how much he could say for himself upon this Head, advised those that moved that he might be brought up upon it, To let him alone, lest he should be thereby provoked to say more for himself, than any of his Accusers could say against him.

When he made his Visitations, he always preached himself, and administered the Sacrament; and the business of his Visitations was, what it ought truly to be, to observe the state of his Diocess, and to give good Instructions both to Clergy and Laity. The Visitations in Ireland had been matters of great Pomp and much Luxury, which lay heavy on the inferior Clergy. Some slight enquiries were made, and those chiefly
chiefly for Forms' sake; and indeed nothing was so much minded, as that which was the reproach of them, the Fees, that were exacted to such an intolerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the Clergy. And as the Bishops' Visitation came about every Year; so every third Year the Archbishop made his Metropolitical Visitation, and every seventh Year the King's Visitation went round: And in all these as they were then managed, nothing seemed to be so much aimed at, as how to squeeze and oppress the Clergy, who were glad to purchase their Peace by paying all that was imposed on them, by those severe Exactors. These Fees at Visitations were not known in the Primitive Times, in which the Bishop had the whole Stock of the Church in his hands to defray what expense necessarily fell on him, or his Church. It is true, when the Metropolitan, with other Bishops, came and ordained the Bishop at his See, it was but reasonable that their expence should be discharged; and this came to be rated to a certain Summ, and was called the Inthronistick: and when these grew unreasonably high, the Emperours reduced them to a certain proportion, according to the Revenues
venues of the Sees. But when the Bishops and the inferior Clergy came to have distinct Properties, then the Bishops exacted of their Clergy that which other Vassalls owed by their Tenure to the Lord of the Fee, which was the bearing the expense of their Progress: but when they began first to demand those Subsidies from their Clergy, that Practice was condemned, and provision was made, That in case a Bishop was so poor that he could not bear the charge to which his Visitation put him, he should be supplied by the richer Bishops about him; but not prey upon his Clergy. And both Charles the Great, and his Son Lewis took care to see this executed: Yet this abuse was still kept up, so that afterwards, in stead of putting it quite down, it was only regulated, so that it might not exceed such a proportion; but that was not observed: So that an arbitrary Tax was in many places levied upon the Clergy. But our Bishop reformed all these excesses, and took nothing but what was by Law and Custome established, and that was imployed in entertaining the Clergy: And when there was any overplus, he sent it always to the Prisons, for the relief of the Poor. At his Visitation he made
made his Clergy fit all with him, and be covered, whenever he himself was covered. For he did not approve of the State, in which others of his Order made their Visitations; nor the distance to which they obliged their Clergy. And he had that Canon often in his Mouth, That a Presbyter ought not to be let stand after the Bishop was set. He was much troubled at another abuse which was, that when the Metropolitical and Regal Visitations went round, a Writ was served on the Bishops, suspending their Jurisdiction for that year: And when this was first brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was increased by two Clauses in the Writ: By the one it was asserted, That in the year of the Metropolitans Visitations, the whole and entire Jurisdiction of the Diocess belonged to him; the other was the Reason given for it, Because of the great danger of the Souls of the people: Whereas the danger of Souls rise from that suspension of the Bishops Pastoral power, since during that Year he either could not do the duty of a Bishop; or if he would exercise it, he must either purchase a Delegation to act as the Archbishop’s Deputy, and that could not be had without...
out paying for it, or be liable to a Suit in the Prerogative Court.

He knew the Archbishop's power over Bishops was not founded on Divine, or Apostolical right, but on Ecclesiastical Canons and Practice, and that it was only a matter of Order, and that therefore the Archbishop had no Authority to come and invade his Pastoral Office, and suspend him for a Year. These were some of the worst of the abuses that the Canonists had introduced in the later Ages; by which they had broken the Episcopal Authority, and had made way for vesting the whole power of the Church in the Pope. He laid those things often before Archbishop Usher, and press him earnestly to set himself to the reforming them, since they were acted in his name, and by virtue of his Authority deputed to his Chancellor, and to the other Officers of the Court, called the Spiritual Court. No Man was more sensible of those abuses than Usher was; no Man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them: and together with his great and vast learning, no Man had a better Soul and a more Apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true
simplicity of a Christian: For Passion, Pride, self-Will, or the Love of the World, seemed not to be so much as in his Nature. So that he had all the innocence of the Dove in him. He had a way of gaining peoples Hearts, and of touching their Consciences that lookt like somewhat of the Apostolical Age revived; he spent much of his time in those two best Exercises, secret Prayer; and dealing with other peoples Consciences, either in his Sermons or private Discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his Studies, in which those many Volumes that came from him, shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joyned with great Judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best Men that the Age, or perhaps the World, has produced. But no Man is intirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his Function. He had too gentle a Soul to manage that rough Work of reforming Abuses: And therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of Reformation would come: He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the Canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a Church,
Church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the World, that he apprehended it would bring a Curse and Ruine upon the whole Constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joynt Reformation of these things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the Obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: And it is very likely that this fat heavy on his thoughts when he came to dye; for he prayed often, and with great humility, That God would forgive him his sins of Omission, and his failings in his Duty. It was not without great uneasiness to me that I overcome myself so far, as to say any thing that may seem to diminish the Character of so extraordinary a Man, who in other things was beyond any Man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himself: And those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him; which was the only allay that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting. His Physician Dr. Bootius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, If our Primate of Armagh were as exact a Disciplinarian.
as he is eminent in searching Antiquity, defending the Truth, and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief Churchman of Christendom. But this was necessary to be told, since History is to be writ impartially; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his Memory a little; for I was never so tempted in any thing that I ever writ, to disguise the Truth, as upon this occasion: Yet though Bishop Usher did not much himself, he had a singular esteem for that vigour of Mind, which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these matters. And now I come to the next instance of his Pastoral care, which made more noise, and met with more opposition, than any of the former.

He found his Court, that sat in his name, was an entire abuse: It was managed by a Chancellour, that had bought his place from his Predecessor; and so thought he had a right to all the Profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the Court seemed to be nothing but Extortion and Oppression. 'For it is an old observation,' That men, who buy Justice, will also sell it. Bribes went about almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of
of Penance for Money was the worst sort of Simony; being in effect the very same abuse that gave the World such a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the Church of Rome, and opened the way to the Reformation. For the selling of Indulgences is really but a commutation of Penance. He found the Officers of the Court made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious Suits, and to hold them so long in it that for three Pence worth of the Tithe of Turf, they would be put to five Pounds charge. And the solemnest and sacredest of all the Church Censures, which was Excommunication, went about in so fordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a Spiritual Censure, was lost, and the effects it had in Law made it be cryed out on as a most intolerable piece of Tyranny. The Officers of the Court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the Natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them. And of all this the good Primate was so sensible, that he gives this sad account of the Venality of all sacred things in a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: As for the general state of things here, they are so desperate, that I am afraid to write any thing
thing thereof. Some of the adverse part have asked me the Question, Where I have heard or read before, that Religion and Mens Souls should be set to sale, after this manner? Unto whom I could reply nothing, but that I had read in Mantuan, That there was another place in the World where

Cœlum est venale, Deusque.

Both Heaven and God himself are set to sale. But our Bishop thought it not enough to lament this; he resolved to do what in him lay to correct these abuses, and to goe and sit and judge in his own Courts himself. He carried a competent number of his Clergy with him, who sat about him, and there he heard Causes, and by their advice he gave Sentence. By this means so many Causes were dismist, and such a change was wrought in the whole Proceedings of the Court, that instead of being any more a grievance to the Countrey, none were now grieved by it but the Chancellor, and the other Officers of the Court; who saw their Trade was sunk, and their Profits were falling; and were already
already displeased with the Bishop, for writing the Titles to Benefices himself, taking that part of their Gain out of their Hands. Therefore the Lay Chancellor brought a Suit against the Bishop into Chancery, for invading his Office. The matter was now a common Cause; the other Bishops were glad at this step our Bishop had made, and encouraged him to go on resolutely in it, and assured him they would stand by him: and they confessed they were but half Bishops till they could recover their authority out of the hands of their Chancellours. But on the other hand all the Chancellours and Registers of Ireland combined together; they saw this stroke at those Places which they had bought, valuing them according to the Profits that they could make by them: and it cannot be denied but they had reason to move. That if their places were regulated, the Money, by which they had purchased that right to squeeze the Countrey, ought to have been restored. The Bishop desired that he might be suffered to plead his own Cause himself; but that was denied him, which he took ill: But he drew the Argument that his Council made for him; for it being the first Suit that ever was of
of that fort, he was more capable of composing his Defence than his Council could be.

He went upon these Grounds, That one of the most essential parts of a Bishop's duty was to govern his Flock, and to inflict the Spiritual Censures on obstinate Offenders: That a Bishop could no more delegate this power to a Lay-man, than he could delegate a power to Baptize or Ordain, since Excommunication and other Censures were a suspending the Rights of Baptism and Orders; and therefore the judging of these things could only belong to him that had the power to give them: and that the delegating that power was a thing null of itself. He shewed, That feeding the Flock was inherent and inseparable from a Bishop, and that no Delegation he could make, could take that power from himself; since all the effect it could have, was to make another his Officer and Deputy in his absence. From this he went to shew how it had been ever lookt on as a necessary part of the Bishop's Duty, to Examine and Censure the Scandals of his Clergy and Laity in Ancient and Modern times: That the Roman Emperours had by many Laws supported the Credit and Authority of these Courts,
Courts, that since the practices of the Court of Rome had brought in such a variety of Rules, for covering the corruptions which they intended to support; then that which is in itself a plain and simple thing was made very intricate: So that the Canon Law was become a great study; and upon this account Bishops had taken Civilians and Canonists to be their Assistants in those Courts: but this could be for no other end but only to inform them in points of Law, or to hear and prepare matters for them. For the giving Sentence, as it is done in the Bishops name, so it is really his Office; and is that for which he is accountable both to God and Man: and since the Law made those to be the Bishops Courts, and since the King had by Patent confirmed that Authority, which was lodged in him by his Office of governing those Courts, he thought all Delegations that were absolute and exclusive of the Bishop, ought to be declared void. The Reader will perhaps judge better of the force of this Argument, than the Lord Chancellor of Ireland Bolton did, who confirmed the Chancellours right, and gave him an hundred Pound Costs of the Bishop. But when the Bishop ask-
ed him, How he came to make so unjust a Decree? he answered, That all that his Father had left him was a Register's place; so he thought he was bound to support those Courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the way he took had not been checkt. This my Author had from the Bishop's own mouth.

But as this matter was a leading Case, so great pains were taken to possess the Primate against the Bishop; but his Letters will best discover the Grounds on which he went, and that noble temper of mind, that supported him in so great an undertaking. The one is long but I will not shorten it.

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Right Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

I have receiv'd your Grace's Letters concerning Mr. Cook, and I do acknowledge all that your Grace writes to be true concerning his sufficiency and experience to the execution of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: neither did I forbear to do him right in giving him that Testimony, when before the Chapter I did declare and shew the
the nullity of his Patent. I have heard of my Lord of attempt, and I do believe, That if this Patent had due form, I could not overthrow it; how unequal forever it be. But failing in the essential parts, besides sundry other defects, I do not think any reasonable creature can adjudge it to be good. I shall more at large certifie your Grace of the whole matter, and the reasons of my Council herein. I shall desire herein to be tryed by your Grace's own Judgment, and not by your Chancellors; or (as I think in such a case I ought to be) by the Synod of the Province. I have resolved to see the end of this matter: and do desire your Grace's favour herein no farther than the equity of the Cause and the good, as far as I can judge, of our Church in a high degree do require. So with my humble Service to your Grace, and respectful commendations to Mrs. Usher, I rest

Kilmore, Octob. 28. 1629.

Your Grace's

in all duty,

Will. Kilmore.
Most reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,

The report of your Grace’s indisposition, how sorrowful it was to me, the Lord knows. Albeit the same was somewhat mitigated by other News of your better estate. In that fluctuation of my mind (perhaps like that of your health) the Saying of the Apostle served me for an Anchor, That none of us liveth to himself, neither doth any dye to himself. For whether we live, we live to the Lord; or whether we dye, we dye to the Lord. Whether we live therefore or dye, we are the Lords. Thereupon from the bottom of my Heart commending your estate, and that of the Church here, (which how much it needs you, He knows best) to our common Master, though I had written large Letters to you, which have lain by me sundry Weeks, fearing in your sickness to be troublesome; I thought not to send them, but to attend some other opportunity after your present recovery to send, or perhaps bring them. When I understood by Mr. Dean of his journey, or at least sending an express Messenger to you with other Letters;
Letters; putting me also in mind, That perhaps it would not be unwelcome to you to hear from me, though you forbare to an-
swer. I yielded to the example and condi-
tion: so much the rather, because I remem-
bered myself a Debtor to your Grace by my promise of writing to you more fully touch-
ing the Reasons of my difference with Mr. Cooke; and now a suiter in your Court at his instance.

And, First, I beseech your Grace, let it be a matter merely of merriment, that I skirmish a little with your Court touching the Inhibition and Citation which thence proceeded against me, as you shall perceive by the inclosed Recusation. For the thing it self, as I have written, I do submit it wholly to your Grace's decision. And to enlarge myself a little, not as to a Judge; but a Father, to whom, besides the bond of your undeserved love, I am bound also by an Oath of God; I will pour out my Heart unto you, even without craving pardon of my boldness. It will be perhaps some little diversion of your thoughts from your own infirmity, to understand that you suffer not alone, but you in Body, others other-
wise; each must bear his Cross, and follow the steps of our high Master. My Lord, since it pleased God to call me to this place in this Church, what my intentions have been
been to the discharge of my duty, he best knows. But I have met with many impediments and discouragements; and chiefly from them of mine own Profession in Religion. Concerning Mr. Hoile, I acquainted your Grace: Sir Edward Bagshaw, Sir Francis Hamilton, Mr. William Flemming, and diverse more have been, and yet are, pulling from the Rights of my Church. But all these have been light in respect of the dealing of some others, professing me kindness, by whom I have been blazed a Papist, an Arminian, a Neuter, a Politician; an Equivocator, a niggardly Housekeeper, an Usurer: That I bow at the name of Jesus, pray to the East, would pull down the Seat of my Predecessor to set up an Altar, denied burial in the Chancel to one of his Daughters: and to make up all, That I compared your Grace's preaching to one Mr. Whiskins, Mr. Creighton, and Mr. Baxters; and preferred them: That you found your self deceived in me. These things have been reported at Dublin, and some of the best affected of mine own Diocese (as hath been told me) induced hereby to bewail with tears the misery of the Church: some of the Clergy also, as it was said, looking about how they might remove themselves out of this Country. Of all this
this I heard but little, till Mr. Price, coming from Dublin before Christmas to be ordered Deacon, having for his memory set down Twelve Articles, among a number of Points more, required satisfaction of me concerning them. Which I endeavoured to give both to him, and to them of the Ministry, that met at our Chapter for the examination of Mr. Cookes Patent. Omitting all the rest; yet because this Venome hath spread it self so far, I cannot but touch the laft, touching the preferring others to your Grace's preaching. To which Mr. Price's answer was, as he told me, I will be quartered if this be true. Thus it was, Mr. Dunster-ville acquainted me with his purpose to preach out of Prov. 20.6. But a faithful Man who can find; where he said, the Doctrine he meant to raise was this, That Faith is a rare gift of God. I told him I thought he mislooked the meaning of the Text, and wished him to choose longer Texts, and not bring his Discourses to a Word or two of Scripture; but rather to declare those of the Holy Ghost. He said your Grace did so sometimes. I answered, there might be just cause, but I thought you did not so ordinarily. As for those Men, Mr. Whiskins, and the rest, I never heard any of them preach
to this day. Peradventure, their manner is to take longer Texts; whereupon the comparison is made up, as if I preferred them before you. This slander did not much trouble me. I know your Grace will not think me such a Fool (if I had no fear of God) to prefer before your excellent gifts, Men that I never heard. But look as the French Proverb is, He that is disposed to kill his Dog, tells Men he is mad: And whom Men have once wronged, unless the Grace of God be the more, they ever hate. Concerning the wrongs which these people have offered me, I shall take another fit time to inform your Grace. Where they say, Your Grace doth find your self deceived in me, I think it may be the truest word they said yet. For indeed I do think both you and many more are deceived in me, accounting me to have some honesty, discretion, and Grace, more than you will by proof find. But if, as it seems to me, that form hath this meaning that they pretend to have undeceived you, I hope they are deceived; yea I hope they shall be deceived, if by such courses as these they think to unsettle me; and the Devil himself also, if he think to dis-may me.
I will go on in the strength of the Lord God, and remember his righteousness; even his alone, as by that reverend and good Father my Lord of Canterbury, when I first came over, I was exhorted, and have obtained help of God to do to this day.

But had I not work enough before, but I must bring Mr. Cooke upon my top? One that for his Experience, Purse, Friends, in a Case already adjudged, wherein he is engaged, not only for his profit, but reputation also, will easily no doubt overbear me. How much better to study to be quiet, and to do mine own business; or, as I think Stæpitius was wont to bid Luther, go into my Study and pray. My Lord, all these things came to my mind, and at the first I came with a resolution to take heed to my self, and, if I could, to teach others moderation and forbearance by mine own example. But I could not be quiet, nor without pity hear the complaints of those that resorted to me, some of them of mine own Neighbours and Tenants, called into the Court, commonly by information of Apparitors, holden there without just cause, and not dismissed without excessive Fees, as they exclaimed. Lastly, one Mr. Mayot, a Minister of the Diocese of Ardagh, made
a complaint to me, That he was excommunicated by Mr. Cooke, notwithstanding, as I heard also by others, the correction of Ministers was excepted out of his Patent. Whereupon I desired to see the Patent, and to have a Copy of it, that I might know how to govern myself. He said Mr. Ask, being then from home, should bring it to me at his return. Himself went to Dublin to the Term. At the first view I saw it was a formless Chaos of Authority, conferred upon him against all reason and equity. I had not long after, occasion to call the Chapter together at the time of Ordination. I shewed the Original, being brought forth by Mr. Ask, desired to know if that were the Chapter Seal, and these their Hands; they acknowledged their Hands and Seal, and said they were less careful in passing it, because they accounted it did rather concern my Predecessor than them. I shewed the false Latin, Non-sense, Injustice of it, Prejudice to them, Contrariety to itself, and the Kings Grant to me. I shewed there were in one Period above 500 Words, and, which passed the rest, hanging in the air without any principal Verb. I desired them to consider if the Seal hanging to it were the Bishop's Seal; they acknowledged it was not. Therefore with protestation, That
That I meant no way to call in question the sufficiency of Mr. Cooke or his former Acts, I did judge the Patent to be void, and so declared it; inhibiting Mr. Cooke to do any thing by vertue thereof, and them to assist him therein. This is the true History of this business howsoever Mr. Cooke disguise it. I suspend him not absent, and indigna causa; it was his Commission, which was present, that I viewed, which, with the Chapter, I censured; which if he can make good, he shall have leave, and time, and place enough.

And now to accomplish my promise, to relate to your Grace my purpose here-in. My Lord I do thus account, that to any work or enterprize, to remove impediments is a great part of the performance. And amongst all the impediments to the work of God amongst us, there is not any one greater, than the abuse of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. This is not only the opinion of the most Godly, Judicious, and Learned Men that I have known; but the cause of it is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true Reasons of things; they are sensible in the Purse. And that Religion that makes Men that profess it, and shews them to be despisers of the World, and so far from encroaching upon others in matter of
base gain, as rather to part with their own; they magnifie. This bred the admiration of the Primitive Christians, and after of the Monks. Contrary causes must needs produce contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painfully, and piously: I say more, let us live never so blamelessly our selves, so long as the Officers in our Courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than Publicans and Worldlings: and so much the more deservedly, because we are called Spiritual Men, and call our selves reformed Christians. And if the honestest and best of our own Protestants be thus scandalized, what may we think of Papists, such as are all, in a manner, that we live among? The time was when I hoped the Church of Ireland was free from this abuse, at least freer than her Sister of England: But I find I am deceived; whether it be that distance of place, and being further out of the reach of the Scepter of Justice, breeds more boldness to offend, or necessarily brings more delay of redress. I have been wont also in Ireland, to except one Court, (as he doth Plato) but trust me my Lord, I have heard that it is said among great personages here, That my Lord Primate is a good Man; but his Court is as corrupt as others. Some say worse, and which
I confess to your Grace, did not a little terrifie me from visiting till I might see how to do it with Fruit, that of your late Visitation they see no profit, but the taking of Money.

But to come to Mr. Cooke, of all that have exercised Jurisdiction in this Land these late Tears, he is the most noted Man, and most cried out upon. Insomuch as he hath found from the Irish, the nickname of Pouc: Albeit he came off with credit when he was questioned, and justified himself by the Table of Fees, (as by a leaden Rule any Stone may be approved as well as hewed). By that little I met with since I came hither, I am induced to believe, it was not for lack of matter, but there was some other course of his escaping in that Tryal. By this pretended Commission, and that Table of Fees, he hath taken in my Predecessors time, and seeks to take in mine for Exhibits at Visitations, and his Charges there above the Bishop’s Procurations, for Unions, Sequestrations, Relaxations, Certificates, Licences, Permutations of Penance, Sentences (as our Court calls them) Interlocutory in Causes of Correction. Such Fees as I cannot in my Conscience think to be just. And yet he doth it in my Name, and tells me I cannot
not call him into question for it. Alas, my Lord! if this be the condition of a Bishop, that he standeth for a Cypher, and only to uphold the Wrongs of other Men, What do I in this place? Am I not bound by my Profession made to God in your presence, and following your Words, To be gentle and merciful for Christ's fake to poor and needy people, and such as be destitute of help. Can I be excused another day, with this, that thus it was ere I came to this place, and that it is not good to be over just? Or, sith I am persuaded Mr. Cooke's Patent is unjust and void, am I not bound to make it so? and to regulate, If I may, this matter of Fees, and the rest of the disorders of the Jurisdiction, which his Majesty hath intrusted me withal? Tour Grace faith, Truly it is a difficult thing, if not impossible, to overthrow a Patent so confirmed; and I know in deliberations it is one of the most important considerations, what we may hope to effect. But how can I tell till I have tryed: To be discouraged ere I begin, is it not to consult with Flesh and Blood? Verily I think so. And therefore must put it to the Trial, and leave the success to God. If I obtain the Cause, the Profit shall be to this poor Nation; if not, I shall shew my consent to those my
my Reverend Brethren that have endeavoured to redress this enormity before me; I shall have the testimony of mine own Conscience, to have sought to discharge my duty to God and his People. Tea, which is the main, the work of my Ministry and service to this Nation, shall receive furtherance howsoever rather than any hindrance thereby. And if by the continuance of such oppressions any thing fall out otherwise than well, I shall have acquitted my self towards his Majesty, and those that have engaged themselves for me. At last I shall have the better reason and juster cause to resign to his Majesty the jurisdiction which I am not permitted to manage. And here I beseech your Grace, to consider seriously whether it were not happy for us to be rid of this Charge, which not being proper to our Calling, is not possible to be executed without such Deputies, as subject us to the ill conceit of their unjust or indiscreet carriage, and no way further our own Work? Or if it shall be thought fit to carry this load still, whether we ought not to procure some way to be discharged of the envy of it, and redress the abuse, with the greatest strictness we can devise? For my part I cannot bethink me of any course fitter for the present, than to keep the Courts my self; and set some good
good order in them. And to this purpose I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, Granard, and Longford, and do intend to go to the rest, leaving with some of the Ministry there, a few Rules touching those things that are to be redressed, that if my health do not permit me to be always present, they may know how to proceed in my absence. I find it to be true that Tully faith, Justitia mirifica quædam res multitudini; and certainly to our proper work a great advantage it is to obtain a good opinion of those we are to deal with. But besides this there fall out occasions to speak of God and his presence, of the Religion of a Witness, the danger of an Oath, the purity of a Marriage, the preciousness of a good name, repairing of Churches, and the like. Penance it self may be enjoyed, and Penitents reconciled, with some profit to others besides themselves.

Wherefore, albeit Mr. Cooke were the justest Chancellour in this Kingdom, I would think it fit for me, as things now stand, to sit in these Courts; and the rather sith I cannot be heard in the Pulpits to preach as I may in them: Albeit innocency and Justice is also a real kind of preaching. I have shewed your Grace my intentions in this matter. Now should I require your direction in many things, if I were present with
with you. But for the present it may please you to understand, that at Granard one Mr. Nugent, a Nephew as I take it to my Lord of Westmeath delivered his Letter to Mr. Aske, which he delivered me in open Court, requiring that his Tenant might not be troubled for Christnings, Marriages, or Funerals, so they pay the Minister his due. This referred to a Letter of my Lord Chancellors to the like purpose, which yet was not delivered till the Court was risen. I answered generally, That none of my Lord's Tenants or others should be wronged. The like motion was made at Longford, by two or three of the Farralls, and one Mr. Fagarrah, and Mr. Rosse to whom I gave the like answer, and added, That I would be strict in requiring them to bring their Children to be Baptized, and Marriages to be solemnized likewise with us, sith they acknowledged these to be lawful and true; so as it was but wilfulness if any forbare. Here I desire your Grace to direct me. For to give way that they should not be so much as called in question, seems to further the Schism they labour to make. To lay any pecuniary mulct upon them, as the value of a Licence for Marriage, three Pence or four Pence for a Christning, I know not by what Law it can be done. To
Excommunicate them for not appearing or obeying, they being already none of our body, and a multitude; it is to no profit, nay rather makes the exacerbation worse.

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

As I was closing up these, this Morning, there is a complaint brought me from Ardagh, That where in a cause Matrimoni-
al in the Court at Longford, a Woman had proceeded thus far, as after contestation, the Husband was enjoined to appear the next Court to receive a Libel; one Shaw-oge, Mr. Ingawry, the Popish Vicar General of Ardagh, had excommuni-cated her, and she was by one Hubart, and Mr. Carrol a Priest upon Sunday last, put out of the Church and denounced excommu-nicate. Herein, whether it were more fit to proceed against the Vicar and Priest by virtue of the last Letters from the Coun-cil; or complain to them: I shall attend your Graces advice. And now for very shame ceasing to be troublesome, I do re-conmand your Grace to the protection of our merciful Father, and rest, with my respec-tive salutations to Mrs. Usher,

Kilmore, Feb. 1629.

Your Grace's

in all duty,

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

This leads me to another part of his Character, that must represent the care he took of the Natives; he observed with much regret that the English had all along neglected the Irish, as a Nation not only conquered but undisciplinable: and that the Clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their Charge, but had left them wholly into the hands of their own Priests, without taking any other care of them, but the making them pay their Tythes. And indeed their Priests were a strange sort of people, that knew generally nothing but the
the reading their Offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them: and they taught the people nothing but the saying their Paters and Ave in Latin. So that the state both of the Clergy and Laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a Man that had so tender a sense of the value of those Souls that Christ had purchased with his Blood: therefore he resolved to set about that Apostolical work of converting the Natives with the zeal and care that so great understanding required. He knew the gaining on some of the more knowing of their Priests was like to be the quickest way; for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the reformed Religion among the Natives; or rather of the Christian Religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their Priests, and were to confess such of their actions, as they call sins, to them; and were to pay them Tythes. The Bishop prevailed on several Priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them to Ecclesiastical Benefices: which was thought a strange thing,
thing, and was censured by many, as contrary to the interest of the English Nation. For it was believed that all those Irish Converts were still Papists at Heart, and might be so much the more dangerous, than otherwise, by that disguise which they had put on. But he on the other hand considered chiefly the duty of a Christian Bishop: he also thought the true interest of England was to gain the Irish to the knowledge of Religion, and to bring them by the means of that which only turns the heart to love the English Nation: And so he judged the wisdom of that course was apparent, as well as the piety of it. Since such as changed their Religion would become thereby so odious to their own Clergy, that this would provoke them to further degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them: And he took great care to work in those whom he trusted with the care of Souls, a full conviction of the truth of Religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it. And in this he was so happy, That of all the Converts that he had raised to Benefices, there was but one only that fell back, when the Rebellion broke out: And he not only apostatized, but both plundered and killed the English among the first.
But no wonder if one murderer was among our Bishop's Converts; since there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour. There was a Convent of Fryers very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good success: That he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short Catechism to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one Page, and Irish on the other; which contained the Elements, and most necessary things of the Christian Religion, together with some forms of Prayer, and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture: This he sent about all over his Diocess; and it was received with great joy, by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after Righteousness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours.

The Bishop did also set himself to learn the Irish Tongue; and though it was too late for a Man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree, as to compose a compleat Grammar of it, (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been)
been told) and to be a Critick in it: he also had Common Prayer read in Irish every Sunday in his Cathedral for the benefit of the Converts he had made, and was always present at it himself; and he engaged all his Clergy to set up Schools in their Parishes: For there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the Nation very much. The New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer were already put in the Irish Tongue; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irish; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the Language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work: And by the advice of the Primate, and several other eminent persons, he pitched on one King, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest Writer of the Irish Tongue then alive, both for Prose and Poetry. He was then about seventy, but notwithstanding his age and the disadvantages of his Education, yet the Bishop thought him not only capable of this Employment, but qualified for an higher character; therefore he put him in Orders, and gave him a Benefice in
his Diocess, and set him to work, in or-
der to the translating the Bible: which he was to do from the English Transla-
tion; since there were none of the Na-
tion to be found that knew any thing of the Originals. The Bishop let him-
sel so much to the revising this Work,
that always after Dinner or Supper he
read over a Chapter; and as he compa-
red the Irish Translation with the Eng-
lish, so he compared the English with
the Hebrew and theSeventy Interpreters,
or with Diodati's Italian Translation,
which he valued highly; and he cor-
rected the Irish where he found the
English Translators had failed. He
thought the use of the Scriptures was
the only way to let the knowledge of
Religion in among the Irish, as it had
first let the Reformation into the
other parts of Europe: And he used to
tell a passage of a Sermon that he heard
Fulgentio preach at Venice, with which
he was much pleased: It was on these
Words of Christ, Have ye not read;
and so he took occasion to tell the Au-
ditory, That if Christ were now to ask
this Question, Have ye not read? all the
Answer they could make to it, was, No,
for they were not suffered to do it. Upon
which he taxed with great zeal the re-
straint
A restraint put on the use of the Scriptures, by the See of Rome. This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another Sermon preaching upon Pilate's Question, *What is Truth?* he told them that at last after many searches he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said, *There it was in his Hand,* but then he put it in his Pocket, and said coldly, *But the Book is prohibited;* which was so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the Auditory. The Bishop had observed that in the Primitive times as soon Nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian Religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar Tongues: And that all people were exhorted to Study them; therefore he not only undertook and began this Work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the Translation; and resolved to set about the printing of it; for the bargain was made with one that engaged to perform it. And as he had been at the great trouble of examining the Translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the Impression, and took that expense upon himself. It is scarce to be imagined what
what could have obstructed so great and so good a Work. The Priests of the Church of Rome had reason to oppose the printing of a Book, that has been always so fatal to them; but it was a deep fetch to possess reformed Divines with a jealousy of this work, and with hard thoughts concerning it: Yet that was done; but by a very well disguised method: For it was said that the Translator was a weak and contemptible Man, and that it would expose such a work, as this was, to the scorn of the Nation, when it was known who was the Author of it: And this was infused both into the Earl of Strafford, and into the Archbishop of Canterbury: And a bold young Man pretended a lapse of the Benefice that the Bishop had given to the Translator, and so obtained a Broad Seal for it; though it was in the Bishop's Gift. This was an abuse too common at that time, for licentious Clerks to pretend either that an Incumbent was dead, or that he had no good right to his Benefice, or that he had forfeited it; and upon that to procure a Grant of it from the King, and then to turn the Incumbent out of Possession, and to vex him with a Suit till they forced him to compound for his peace. So upon this occasion
occasion it was pretended that the Translator had forfeited his Living; and one Bailey that had informed against him, came down with a Grant of it under the great Seal, and violently thrust him out of it. The Bishop was much touched with this, and cited Bailey to appear before him. He had given him a Vicarage, and had taken an Oath of him never to hold another; so he objected to him both his violent and unjust intrusion into another man's right, and his Perjury. Bailey to cover himself from the last, procured a Dispensation from the Prerogative Court, notwithstanding his Oath, to hold more Benefices. The Bishop lookt on this as one of the worst and most scandalous parts of Popery, to dissolve the most sacred of all Bonds; and it grieved his Soul to see so vile a thing acted in the name of Archbishop Usher, though it was done by his Surrogates: So without any regard to this he served this obstinate Clerk with several Canonical admonitions; but finding him still hardened in his wickedness, he deprived him of the Benefice he had given him, and also excommunicat'd him, and gave orders that the Sentence should be published through the whole Deanry: upon which Bailey's Clerk appealed to the Prerogative
Prerogative Court, and the Bishop was cited to answer for what he had done. He went and appeared before them, but declined their Authority, and would not answer to them. He thought it below the Office and Dignity of a Bishop to give an account of a spiritual Censure, that he had inflicted on one of his Clergy, before two Laymen that pretended to be the Primate's Surrogates; and he put his Declinator in 24 Articles, all written with his own Hand, which will be found at the end of this Narrative: he excepted to the incompetency of the Court, both because the Primate was not there in person, and because they that fate there had given clear Evidences of their partiality, which he had offered to prove to the Primate himself. He said the appeal from his Sentence lay only to the Provincial Synod, or to the Archbishop's Consistory; and since the ground of Baily's Appeal, was the dispensation that they had given him from his Oath, they could not be the competent Judges of that, for they were Parties: And the Appeal from abusive faculties lay only to a Court of Delegates by the express words of the Law: And by many Indications it appeared, that they had prejudged the matter in Baily's favours, and had expressed
pressed great resentments against the Bishop; and notwithstanding the dignity of his Office, they had made him wait among the crowd an hour and a half, and had given directions in the management of the Cause as Parties against him; they had also manifestly abused their power in granting Dispensations contrary to the Laws of God: and now they presumed to interpose in the just and legal Jurisdiction that a Bishop exercised over his Clergy both by the Laws of God and by the Kings Authority. Upon these grounds he excepted to their Authority; he was served with several Citations to answer, and appeared upon every one of them: but notwithstanding the highest contempts they put upon him, he shewed no indecent passion, but kept his ground still. In conclusion he was declared Contumax, and the perjured Intruder was absolved from the Sentence, and confirmed in the possession of his ill-acquired Benefice. It may be easily imagined, how much these Proceedings were cenfured by all fair and equitable Men: The constancy, the firmness, and the courage that the Bishop expressed being as much commended, as the injustice and violence of his Enemies was cryed out upon.
Strangest part of this transaction was, that which the Primate acted, who though he loved the Bishop beyond all the rest of the Order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his office, that distinguished him so much from others; yet he could not be prevailed on to interpose in this matter; nor to stop the injust Prosecution that this good Man had fallen under, for so good a Work. Indeed it went further, for upon the endeavours he used to convert the Irish; and after he had refused to answer in the Archbishop's Court, it appears that he was in some measure alienated from him, which drew from the Bishop the following Answer to a Letter, that he had from him.
Most Reverend Father, my
honourable good Lord,

The superscription of your Grace's
Letters was most welcome unto me,
as bringing under your own hand the best
evidence of the recovery of your health, for
which I did and do give hearty thanks unto
God. For the Contents of them, as your Grace
conceived, They were not so pleasant. But
the Words of a Friend are faithful,
faith the Wise Man: Sure they are no less
painful than any other. Unkindness cuts
nearer to the Heart than Malice can do.
I have some experience by your Grace's
said Letters, concerning which I have been
at some debate with my self, whether I
should answer them with David's demand,
What have I now done? or as the
wrongs of Parents, with Patience and Si-
ence. But Mr. Dean telling me, That
this day he is going towards you, I will
speak once, some of it what will.
"You write that the course I took with
"the Papists, was generally cryed out
"against, neither do you remember in all
"your
"your life that any thing was done here
by any of us, at which the Professors of
the Gospel did take more offence, or by
which the Adversaries were more con-
formed in their Superstitions and Idola-
try; wherein you could wish that I had
advised with my Brethren before I would
adventure to pull down that which they
have been so long a building. Again,
What I did, you know, was done out of
a good intention; but you were assured
that my project would be so quickly re-
futed with the present success and event,
that there would be no need my Friends
should advise me from building such
Castles in the air, &c.

My Lord, All this is a riddle to me. What course I have taken with the Pa-
ists; what I have done at which your Professors of the Gospel did take such
offence, or the Adversaries were so con-
firmed; what it is that I have adven-
tured to do; or what piece so long a build-
ing, I have pulled down; what those Pro-
jects were, and those Castles in the air
so quickly refuted with present success,
as the Lords knows, I know not. For
truly since I came to this place I have not
changed one jot of my purpose or
practice, or course with Papists from
that which I held in England, or in
Tri-
Trinity Colledge, or found (I thank God) any ill success, but the flanders only of some persons discontented against me for other occasions. Against which I cannot hope to justify myself, if your Grace will give ear to private informations. But let me know, I will not say, my Accuser, (let him continue masked till God discover him) but my Transgression, and have place of defence; and if mine Adversary write a Book against me, I will hope to bear it on my Shoulder, and bind it to me as a Crown.

For my recusation of your Court, and advertisement of what I heard thereof, I see they have stirred not only laughter, but some coals too. Your Chancellour desires me to acquit him to you, That he is none of those Officers I meant; I do it very willingly: For I neither meant him nor any Man else. But though it concerned your Grace to know what I credibly heard to be spoken concerning your Court; neither, as God knows, did I ever think it was fit to take away the Jurisdiction from Chancellours, and put it into the Bishops hands alone; or so much as in a dream condemn those that think they have reason to do otherwise, nor tax your Grace's Visitation: Nor imagine you would account that to pertain to your reproof, and take it as
a wrong from me, which out of my duty to God and you, I thought was not to be concealed from you. I beseech you pardon me this one error, Si unquam posthac—For that knave whom (as your Grace writes) they say I did absolve; I took him for one of my Flock, or rather Christ's, for whom he shed his blood. And I would have absolved Julian the Apostate under the same form. Some other passages there be in your Grace's Letters, which I, but I will lay mine Hand upon my Mouth and craving the blessing of your prayers, ever remain,

Your Grace's

poor Brother,

& humble servant,

Kilmore, March 29. 1630.

Will. Kilmore.
The malice of Mr. King's Enemies was not satiated with the spoiling him of his Benefice. For often it falls out, That those who have done acts of high injustice seek some excuse for what they have done, by new injuries, and a vexatious prosecution of the injured person, designing by the noise, that such repeated accusations might raise, to possess the World with an Opinion of his guilt, which much clamour does often produce: and so to crush the person so entirely that he may never again be in a capacity to recover himself, and to obtain his right, but be quite sunk by that vast encrease of weight that is laid upon him. But I will give the Reader a clearer view of this invidious affair from a Letter which the Bishop writ concerning it to the Earl of Strafford.
Right honourable,  
my good Lord.

That which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my address to your Honour by writing. My unfitness for conversation heretofore hath pleaded for me, and now your Lordship's infirmity allows, and in a sort enforces it. The occasion is, not my love of contention (which I have committed to God) or any other matter of profit, but God's honour, and (as he is witness) yours. I have lately received Letters from my Lord of Canterbury; whereby I perceive his Grace is informed that Mr. King, whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a Man so ignorant that the Translation cannot be worthy publick use in the Church, and besides, obnoxious, so as the Church can receive no credit from any thing that is his. And his Grace adds, That he is so well acquainted with your Lordship's disposition, that he assures himself you would not have given away his Living, had you not seen just cause for it. I account myself bound to satisfy his Grace herein, and desire, if I may be so happy,
happy, to do it by satisfying you. I do subscribe to his Grace's assured persuasion that your Lordship, had you not conceived Mr. King to be such as he writes, would not have given away his Living. But (my Lord) the greatest, wisest, and justest Men do, and must take many things upon the information of others; who themselves are Men, and may sometimes out of weakness, or some other cause, be deceived. Touching Mr. King's silliness, (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted silly myself) I beseech your Lordship to take information, not by them which never saw him till yesterday, but by the ancient either Church- or State's men of this Kingdom (in whose eyes he hath lived these many Years), as are the Lord Primate, The Bishop of Meath, the Lord Dillon, Sir James Ware, and the like: I doubt not but your Lordship shall understand that there is no such danger that the Translation should be unworthy, because he did it; being a Man of that known sufficiency, for the Irish especially, either in Prose or Verse, as few are his matches in the Kingdom. And shortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, Let the Work itself speak, yea let it be examined rigorously: If it be found approvable, let it not suffer disgrace from the
the small boast of the Workman, but let him rather (as old Sophocles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the Work. Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a scandalous Information put in against him in the High Commission Court, by his despoiler Mr. Baily (as my Lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was) and by an excommunicate despoiler, as myself before the Execution of any sentence, declared him in the Court to be. And Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing, (as by Law he was not bound) was taken pro confesso, deprived of his Ministry, and Living, Fined an hundred Pound, Decreed to be attached, and imprisoned. His Adversary Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new Dispensation to hold his Benefice, and was the very next day after (as appears by the date of the Institution) both presented in the King's Title (although the Benefice be of my Collation) and instituted by my Lord Primate's Vicar: Shortly after inducted by an Archdeacon of another Diocess, and a few days after, he brought down an Attachment, and delivered Mr. King to the Pursuivant: He was haled by the Head and Feet to Horseback; and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept, and continued under Arrest these four or five Months.
and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed Contempt by Oath and Witnesses, that by reason of his sickness he was hindered, whereby he was brought to Death's Door, and could not appear and prosecute his defence: And that by the cunning of his Adversary he was circumvented, intreating that he might be restored to liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him: my Reverend Colleagues of the High Commission do some of them pity his Case, others say the Sentence past cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the Court be attached. They bid him simply submit himself, and acknowledge his Sentence just. Whereas the Bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceedings, do grant restitution in integrum, and acknowledge, That, Sententia Romanae Sedis potest in melius commutari. My Lord, if I understand what is Right Divine or humane, these be wrongs upon wrongs; which if they reached only to Mr. King's person, were of less consideration; but when through his side, That great Work, the Translation of God's Book, so necessary for both his Majesty's Kingdoms, is mortally wounded; pardon me (I beseech your Lordship) if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service; or what
what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your Lordship have gained if he had dyed (as it was almost a miracle he did not) under Arrest, and had been at once deprived of Living, Liberty and Life. God hath reprieved him, and given your Lordship means upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniencies. For conclusion (good my Lord) give me leave a little to apply the Parable of Nathan to King David to this purpose: If the way-faring man, that is come to us (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place) have so sharp a Stomach that he must be provided for with Pluralities, Sith there are Herds and Flocks plenty; suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the King’s name to take the cozet Ewe of a poor Man, to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the Heavenly Physician to give your Lordship health of Soul and Body. I rest,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s

most humble servant

Decemb. 1. 1638.

in Christ Jesus,

Will. Kilmore.

K 4
By these practices was the printing of the Bible in Irish stopped at that time, but if the Rebellion had not prevented our Bishop, he was resolved to have had it done in his own House, and at his own charge; and as preparatory to that, he made some of Chrysostome's Homilies, the three first upon the parable of the rich Man and Lazarus, together with some of Leo's; all which tended chiefly to commend the Scriptures in the highest strains of Eloquence that were possible, to be translated both into English and Irish; and reprinting his Catechism, he added these to it in both Languages: and these were very well received, even by the Priests and Friars themselves.

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

But to go on with the concerns of our Bishop, as he had great zeal for the purity of the Christian Religion in opposition to the corruptions of the Church of Rome; so he was very moderate in all other matters, that were not of such importance. He was a great supporter of Mr. Dury's design of reconciling the Lutherans and the Calvinists; and as he directed him by many learned and prudent Letters, that he wrote to him on that subject, so he allowed him 20l. a year in order to the discharging the expense of that negotiation; which he payed punctually to his Correspondent at London. And it appeared by his managing of a business that fell out in Ireland, That if all that were concerned in that matter, had been blest with such an understanding, and such a temper as he had, there had been no reason to have despaired of it. There came a company of Lutherans to Dublin, who were afraid of joyning
in Communion with the Church of Ireland, and when they were cited to answer for it to the Archbishop’s Consistory, they desired some time might be granted them for consulting their Divines in Germany: And at last Letters were brought from thence concerning their Exceptions to Communion with that Church; Because the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament was not explained in such a manner, as agreed with their Doctrine. The Archbishop of Dublin sent these to our Bishop, that he might answer them; and upon that he writ so learned and so full an answer to all their Objections, and explained the matter so clearly, that when this was seen by the German Divines, it gave them such entire satisfaction, that upon it they advised their Countreymen to join in Communion with the Church. For such is the moderation of our Church in that matter, that no positive definition of the manner of the Presence being made, Men of different sentiments may agree in the same acts of Worship, without being obliged to declare their Opinion, or being understood to do any thing contrary to their several Perswasions.
His moderation in this matter was a thing of no danger to him, but he expressed it on other instances, in which it appeared that he was not afraid to own it upon more tender occasions. The Troubles that broke out in Scotland upon the account of the Book of Common Prayer, which increased to the height of the swearing the Covenant and putting down of Episcopacy, and the turning out of all Clergy Men that did not concur with them, are so well known, that I need not enlarge upon them. It is not to be denied but provocations were given by the heats and indiscretions of some Men; but these were carried so far beyond all the bounds either of Order in the Church, or Peace in the State, that, to give things their proper names, it was a Schismatical rage against the Church, backt with a rebellious fury against the State. When the Bishop heard of all these things, he said, that which Nazianzene said at Constantinople, when the stir was raised in the second General Council upon his account, If this great tempest is risen for our sakes, take us up, and cast us into the Sea, that so there may be a Calm. And if all others had governed their Dioceses,
s, as he did his, one may adventure to affirm after Dr. Bernard, That Episcopalcy might have been kept still upon its Wheels. Some of those that were driven out of Scotland, by the fury of that time, came over to Ireland: among these there was one Corbet, that came to Dublin, who being a Man of quick Parts, writ a very smart Book, shewing the parallel between the Jesuites and the Scotch Covenanters, which he printed under the Title of Lysimachus Nicanor. The Spirit that was in this Book, and the sharpness of the Aile procured the Author such favour, that a considerable Living falling in the Bishop of Killala's Gift, he was recommended to it, and so he went to that Bishop; but was ill received by him. The Bishop had a great affection to his Countrey (for he was a Scotchman born) and though he condemned the courses they had taken, yet he did not love to see them expos'd in a strange Nation, and did not like the Man that had done it. The Bishop was a little sharp upon him; he played on his Name: Corby in Scotch being a Raven, and said it was an ill Bird that defiled its own Nest. And whereas he had said in his Book, That he had hardly escaped with his own
own life, but had left his Wife behind him to try the humanity of the Scots; he told him, He had left his Wife to a very base office. Several other things he said, which in themselves amounted to nothing, but only expressed an inclination to lessen the faults of the Scots, and to aggravate some provocations that had been given them. Corbet came up full of wrath, and brought with him many Informations against the Bishop, which at any other time would not have been much considered; but then, it being thought necessary to make examples of all that seemed favourable to the Covenanters, it was resolved to turn him out of his Bishoprick, and to give it to Maxwell, that had been Bishop of Rosse in Scotland, and was indeed a Man of eminent parts, and an excellent Preacher; but by his forwardness and aspiring he had been the unhappy instrument of that which brought on all the disorders in Scotland.

A Purveyor was sent to bring up the Bishop of Killala; and he was accused before the high Commission Court for those things that Corbet objected to him; and every Man being ready to push a Man down that is falling under disgrace, many designed to merit by aggravating
gravating his faults. But when it came to our Bishop's turn to give his Sentence in the Court, he that was afraid of nothing but sinning against God, did not stick to venture against the Stream: he first read over all that was objected to the Bishop at the Barr, then he fetched his Argument from the qualifications of a Bishop set down by S. Paul in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus; and assumed that he found nothing in those Articles contrary to those qualifications; nothing that touched either his Life or Doctrine. He fortified this by shewing in what manner they proceeded against Bishops both in the Greek and Latin Churches, and so concluded in the Bishops favour. This put many out of countenance, who had considered nothing in his Sentence but the consequences that were drawn from the Bishop's expressions, from which they gathered the ill disposition of his mind, so that they had gone high in their Censures, without examining the Canons of the Church in such Cases. But though those that gave their Votes after our Bishop, were more moderate than those that had gone before him had been; yet the current run so strong that none durst plainly acquit him, as our
our Bishop had done: So he was deprived, fined, and imprisoned, and his Bishoprick was given to Maxwell, who enjoyed it not long. For he was stript naked, wounded, and left among the dead, by the Irish; but he was preserved by the Earl of Tomond, who passing that way took care of him; so that he got to Dublin. And then his Talent of Preaching, that had been too long neglected by him, was better employed; so that he preached very often, and very much to the edification of his Hearers, that were then in so great a consternation, that they needed all the comfort that he could minister to them; and all the Spirit that he could infuse in them. He went to the King to Oxford, and he said in my Author's hearing, That the King had never rightly understood the innate hatred that the Irish bore to all that professed the true Religion, till he had informed him of it. But he was so much affected with an ill piece of News, that he heard concerning some misfortune in the King's affairs in England, that he was some hours after found dead in his Study. This short digression, I hope, may be forgiven me; for the person was very extraordinary, if an unmeasured ambition
tion had not much defaced his other great abilities and excellent qualities.

The old degraded Bishop Adair was quickly restored to another Bishoprick, which came to be vacant upon a dismal account, which I would gladly pass over, if I could; for the thing is but too well known. One Adderton Bishop of Waterford, who, as was believed, had by a Symoniacal compact procured such favour, that he was recommended to that Bishoprick; and had covered his own unworthiness, as all wicked Men are apt to do, by seeming very zealous in every thing that is acceptable to those who govern, and had been in particular very severe on Bishop Adair; came to be accused and convicted of a crime not to be named, that God punished with fire from Heaven; and suffered publickly for it: He expressed so great a repentance, that Dr. Bernard, who preached his funeral Sermon, and had waited on him in his Imprisonment, had a very charitable opinion of the state in which he dyed. Upon this, Adair's Case was so represented to the King, that he was provided with that Bishoprick. From which it may appear, That he was not censured so much for any guilt, as to strike a terour in all that
that might express the least kindness to
the Scotch Covenanters. But our Bi-
shop thought the degrading of a Bishop
was too sacred a thing to be done meerly upon politick Considera-
tions.

Bishop Bedell was exactly conform-
able to the Forms and Rules of the
Church; he went constantly to Com-
mon Prayer in his Cathedral, and often
read it himself, and assisted in it always,
with great reverence and affection. He
took care to have the Publick Service
performed strictly according to the Rub-
brick; so that a Curate of another Pa-
rish being employed to read Prayers in
the Cathedral, that added somewhat to
the Collects; the Bishop observing he did
this once or twice, went from his place
to the Reader's Pew, and took the book
out of his Hand, and in the hearing of
the Congregation suspended him for his
presumption, and read the rest of the
Office himself. He preached constantly
twice a Sunday in his Cathedral on the
Epistles and Gospels for the Day; and
catechised alwayes in the Afternoon be-
fore Sermon; and he preached always
twice a Year before the Judges, when
they made the Circuit. His Voice was
low and mournful, but as his matter
was excellent, so there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that struck his Auditors. He observed the Rubrick so nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it; so that in the reading the Psalms and the Anthems he did not observe the common custom of the Minister and the People reading the Verses by turns; for he read all himself, because the other was not enjoined by the Rubrick. As for the placing of the Communion Table by the East wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the Rule of observing the Conformity prescribed by Law; for he said, That they were as much Nonconformists who added of their own, as they that came short of what was enjoined; as he that adds an Inch to a measure disowns it for a Rule, as much as he that cuts an Inch from it: and as he was severe to him that added Words of his own to the Collect, so he thought it was no less censurable to add Rites to those that were prescribed. When he came within the Church, it appeared in the composedness of his behaviour, that he observed the Rule given by the Preacher, of Keeping his Feet when he went into the House of God; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatness of any
any Man, or by the Authority of any persons example, to go out of his own way; though he could not but know that such things were then much observed, and measures were taken of Men by these little distinctions, in which it was thought that the zeal of Conformity discovered itself.

There is so full an account of the tenderness with which he advised all Men, but Churchmen in particular, to treat those that differed from them, in a Sermon that he preached on those Words of Christ, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly; that I am assured the Reader will well bear with the length of it. It was preached soon after some heats that had been in the House of Commons in the Parliament of Ireland, in which there were many Papists; and in it the sense he had of the way of treating all differences in Religion, whether great or small, is so well laid down, that I hope it will be looked on as no ordinary, nor useless piece of Instruction.
Is it not a shame that our two Bodies, the Church and Commonwealth, should exercise mortal hatreds, (or immortal rather) and being so near in place should be so far asunder in affection? It will be said by each that other are in fault, and perhaps it may truly be said, that both are; the one in that they cannot endure with patience the lawful superiority of the worthier Body; the other in that they take no care to to govern, that the governed may find it to be for their best behoof to obey: until which time it will never be, but there will be repining and troubles, and brangles between us. This will be done in my Opinion, not by bolstering out and maintaining the errors and unruliness of the lower Officers or Members of our body, but by severely punishing them; and on both sides must be avoided such Men for Magistrates and Ministers, as seek to dash us one against another all they may.

And would to God this were all; but is it not a shame of shames, that Mens emulations and contentions cannot stay themselves
themselves in matters of this sort, but
the holy profession of Divinity is made
fuel to a publick fire; and that when
we had well hoped all had been either
quenched or raked up, it should afresh
be kindled and blown up with bitter and
biting Words? God help us! we had
need to attend to this Lesson of Christ,
Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in
Heart; or to that of the Apostle, It be-
hoves the servant of God not to contend,
but to be meek towards all, instructing
with lenity those that be contrary af-
jected, waiting if at any time God will
give them a better mind to see the truth,
2 Tim. 2. 25.

And here give me leave (R. W. and
beloved Brethren and Sifters) to speak
freely my mind unto you: I know right
well that I shall incur the reproof of
divers, yet I will never the more for
that spare to utter my Conscience; I
hope wise Men will assent or shew me
better. For my part, I have been long
of this mind, that many in their Ser-
mons and Writings are to blame for
their manner of dealing with the ad-
versaries of their Opinions, when they
give Reins to their Tongues and Pens,
to railing and reproachful Speeches, and
think they have done well, when they

exceed
exceed or equal them in this Trade; wherein to have the better is indeed to be the worse: and alledging that Text for themselves, That a fool is to be answered according to his folly; they do not consider that other, where such manner of answer is forbidden, whereby the answerer becometh like him: Prov. 26. 4. 15. 1. 24. 26.

And this is yet more to be blamed, because sometimes all reasons are laid by, and nothing is soundly refuted, but only hot Words are given, yea, and with a misconceiving, or misreporting at least, of their Opinions, and making every thing worse than it is: which many times ariseth upon ambiguity of Words not used in the like sense by both sides. What then? Do I approve of tolerations and unions with errors and heresies? truly, I wish not to live so long. And yet as our sins are, and our folly too to fall together by the Ears about small matters amongst our selves, there is just cause to fear it: but yet such Points as may be reconciled, saving the truth, I see not what should move us to hold off in them, and why we may not seek to agree in word? as we do in meaning: For the rest, their purpose and endeavours shall deserve thanks, who, bring-
bringing them to the fewest and narrowest terms, shall set down how far we are to joyn with our dissenting Brethren, and where for ever to dissent; that so controversies being handled without the vain flourish of swelling Words, and (like proportions) our Opinions being set down in the least terms, Men may know what to bend their Wits to, and where against to plant their Arguments, not, as many do, roving always at randome; but may alwayes remember to imitate Christ's meekness, and to deal with Arguments rather: let us not envy the Papists and other Hereticks, the glory and preheminence in railing, where-in the more they excel, the more unlike they are to Christ, whose pattern is of meekness, Learn of me, &c.

Yea, but will some Man say, This course Object. will not stay Men from backsliding to any error or heresie, &c. Who can keep off his enemy without shot, &c.

I. Gods Truth needs not to be grace- Resp. 1. ced, nor his Glory fought by my sin.

II. Again it is so perhaps in an ign- Resp. 2. norant Auditor, and at the first; but if inquiring himself, he shall find that they or their Opinions are not so bad as we make them to be, and would have them seem,
seem, it will be a hundred to one that in other things too, they will not seem to be so bad as they are; and, unless I much mistake, it is not the storm of Words, but the strength of Reasons, that shall stay a wavering Judgment from errors, &c. when that like a tempest, is overblown, the tide of others examples will carry other men to do as the most do; but these like so many Anchors will stick, and not come again.

III. Besides, our Calling is to deal with errors, not to disgrace the Man with scolding Words. It is said of Alexander, I think, when he overheard one of his Souldiers railing lustily on Darius his enemy, he reproved him, and added, Friend (quoth he) I entertain thee to fight against Darius, not to revile him. Truly it may be well thought that those that take this course shall find but small thanks at Christ's, our Captains, hands; and it is not unlike but he would say to them, were he here on earth again, Masters, I would you should refute Popery, and set your selves against Antichrist my enemy, with all the discoloured Sects and Heresies, that fight under his banner against me, and not call him and his Troops all to nought.
And this is my poor Opinion concerning our dealing with the Papists themselves, perchance differing from the practice of Men of great note in Christ's Family, Mr. Luther and Mr. Calvin, and others; but yet we must live by Rules, not examples; and they were Men, who perhaps by complexion, or otherwise, were given over too much to anger, and heat: sure I am, the Rule of the Apostle is plain, even of such as are the slaves of Satan, that we must with lenity instruct them, waiting that when escaping out of his snare, they should recover a sound mind to do God's will, in the place I quoted before.

But now when Men agreeing with our selves in the main (yea and in profession likewise enemies to Popery) shall, varying never so little from us in Points of less consequence, be thereupon censured as favourers of Popery, and other errours; when Mole-hills shall be made Mountains, and unbrotherly terms given: alas! methinks this course favours not of meekness, nay it would hurt even a good cause, thus to handle it; for where such violence is, ever there is errour to be suspected; Affection and Hate are the greatest enemies that can be to soundness of judgment,
ment, or exactness of comprehension; he that is troubled with passion, is not fitly disposed to judge of truth.

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

To make an end of this point, which I would to God, I had not had an occasion to enter into: if this precept of our Lord Jesus Christ be to be heard, these things should not be so; if it were heard, they would not be so; and undoubtedly, if it be not heard, they that are faulty shall bear their judgment, whosoever they be. Mean while they shall deserve great praise of all that love Peace, who shall maintain quietness, even with some injury to themselves:

And
And in a good Cause do still endeavour to shew forth the vertue of Christ, that hath called us, as the Apostle Peter exhorteth us at large from this example of Christ, in his first Epistle, 21, 20, 21, 22, 23. It is the glory of a Man to pass by an offence. Injuries, if by regarding them a man lay himself open to them, wound and hurt us: if they be contemned, or born off with the Shield of Meekness, they glance off, or rebound unto the party that offereth them.

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

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

Herein observe first, (he calls his people to come out of Babylon,) a plain Argument that there are many not only good Moral and Civil honest Men there, but good Christians, not redeemed only, but in the possession of the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; which may be confirmed by these reasons.

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

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

I answer, Religion is not Logick, He that cannot give a true definition of the Soul, is not for that, without a Soul; so he that defines not Faith truly, yet may have true Faith: Learned Divines are not all of accord touching the definition of it; But if (as by the whole stream of the Scripture it should seem) it be a trust and cleaving unto God; this Faith many there have, the Love of our
our Lord Jesus Christ is wrought in many there; now he that loveth Christ is loved of him, and of the Father also; and because the proof of true love to Christ is the keeping of his Sayings, there are good Works, and according to the measure of knowledge great conscience of obedience.

Yea, will some Man say, But that which marreth all is the Opinion of merit and satisfaction. Indeed that is the School Doctrine, but the Conscience enlightened to know it self, will easily act that part of the Publican, who smote his Breast, and said, God be merciful to me a sinner. I remember a good advice of one of that side: Let others (faith he) that have committed few sins, and done many good works satisfy for their sins; But whatsoever thou dost, refer it to the Honour of God: so as whatsoever good come from thee, thou resolve to do it to please God, accounting thy works too little to satisfy for thy sins: For as for thy sins thou must offer Christ's Works, his Pains and Wounds, and his death itself to him, together with that love of his out of which he endured these things for thee. These are available for the satisfaction for thy sins. But thou whatsoever thou dost or sufferrst, offer it not for thy sins to God,
God, for but his love and good pleasure, wishing to find the more grace with him, whereby thou mayest do more, greater and more acceptable Works to him; let the love of God then be to thee the cause of well-living, and the hope of well-working. Thus he, and I doubt not but many there be on that side that follow this counsel; herewith I shall relate the Speech of a wise and discreet Gentleman, my neighbour in England, who lived and dyed a Recusant; he demanded one time, What was the worst Opinion that we could impute to the Church of Rome? It was said, There was none more than this of our merits: And that Cardinal Bellarmine not only doth uphold them, but faith, we may trust in them, so it be done soberly; and faith, they deserve Eternal life, not only in respect of God's Promises and Covenant, but also in regard of the Work itself: Whereupon he answered, Bellarmine was a learned Man, and could perhaps defend what he wrote by learning; But for his part he trusted to be saved only by the merits of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and as for good Works he would do all that he could; Et valens quantum valere possint.

To
To proceed: In or under the Obedience of Rome there is Persecution, and that is a better mark of Christ's people, then Bellarmine's Temporal felicity. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus (faith the Apostle) shall suffer persecution; ye shall be hated of all Men for my Names sake, (faith our Saviour) and so are all they on that side that are less superstitious than others, or dare speak of redress of abuses; yea, there is Martyrdom for a free opposing Mens Traditions, Image-worshippers, Purgatory, and the like.

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

Neither let that hard term of hypocri-
sie be used of the infirmity, and sometime, of humble and peaceable carriage of some that oppose common errors, nor wrestle with the greater part of Men, but do follow the multitude, reserving a right knowledge to themselves: and sometimes, (by the favour which
God gives them to find where they live, ) obtain better conditions than others can. We call not John the beloved Disciple an hypocrite, because he was known to the High Priest, and could procure Peter to be let to see the arraignment of our Saviour: nor call we Peter himself one that for fear denied him; much less Daniel and his companions, that by suit, obtain'd of Melzar their keeper that they might feed upon Pulse, and not be defiled with the King of Babel's meat, and these knew themselves to be captives and in Babel. But in the new Babel how many thousands do we think there are that think otherwise; that they are in the true Catholick Church of God, the name whereof this harlot hath usurped: And although they acknowledge that where they live there are many abuses, and that the Church hath need of reformation, yet there they were born, and they may not abandon their Mother in her sickness. Those that converse more inwardly with Men of Conscience, on that side, do know that these are speeches in secret; which how they will be justified against the commands of Christ, (come out of her, my people) belongs to another place to consider. For the purpose we have now in hand,
I dare not but account these the people of God, though they live very dangerously under the captivity of Babylon, as did Daniel, Mordechai, Hezir, Nehemiah, and Ezra, and many Jews more, notwithstanding both Cyrus’s Commission, and the Prophets command to depart.

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

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

**Answ.**

I answer, under correction of better judgments, they have the Ministry of Reconciliation by the Commission which is given at their Ordination; being the same which our Saviour left in his *Church*, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted, whose sins ye retain they are retained.*

As for the other power to sacrifice, if it be any otherwise than the celebrating the *Commemoration* of Christ's Sacrifice once offered upon the Cross, it is no part of the Priesthood or Ministry of the New Testament, but a *superfluous addition* thereunto, which yet worketh not to the destruction of that which is lawfully conferred otherwise. This *Doctrine* I know not how it can offend any, unless it be in being too *Charitable*, and that I am sure is a good fault, and serves well for a sure *mark of Christ's Sheep*, and may have a very good operation to help Christ's people out of Babel:

*By this faith he shall Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Charity one to another. But they call us Hereticks, Miscreants, Doggs, &c. and persecute us with more deadly hatred than Jews and Turks; yea, this is Babylon, and perhaps some of God's*
God's People in it that are misinformed of us. Thus did Saul for a while, yet a chosen vessel to bear Christ's Name over the World. But let us maintain our Charity to them, as we are wont to bear with the weakness of our Friends or Children, when in hot Feavers or Phrensies, they miscall us. Let us remember if they be Christ's people, how little loving soever they be to us, they must be our beloved Brethren, and this of the Persons.

To this I shall add the conclusion of that excellent Sermon in which there is such a mixture both of serious Piety and of an undissembled sincerity, that I hope the Reader will not be displeased with me for laying it in his way.
Now should I come to the Motives from the Danger of sin, and of partaking in punishment. But the handling of these would require a long time, let me rather make some Application of that which hath been said already. And First and most properly to those that this Scripture most concerns and is directed unto: The People of God holden in the Captivity of the Romane Babylon: But alas they are not here, for this is one part of their Captivity, that they are kept, not only from hearing the voice of the Servants of Christ, or of S. John the beloved Disciple, but of himself speaking here from Heaven; and since they are so contented, what remedy may there be for those that are thus bewitched, unless you (My L. L's. and Brethren) will be contented to become faithful Feoffees in trust, to convey this voice and Message of Christ unto them: and by my request you shall be pleased to do it, with a great deal of Love. As this President of our Lord himself doth lead you as to Brethren, and, as you hope,
hope, faithful People, loth to sin against him, and desirous to please him in all things. Tell them then, that it is acknowledged by their own Doctors: That Rome is Babylon, and it is averred, That this is the present Papal Monarchy, that out of this they must depart by the Commands of our Lord Jesus Christ's own Voice, under pain of being accessory to all her sins, and liable to all her punishments: wish them to use the Liberty to read the Holy Scripture, and to come out of the blind Obedience of Mens Precepts and Traditions; be pleased to tell them further, that others may have some colour of excuse, that live in such places where they may not discover themselves without danger of the loss of their Goods, Honour or Life; they may do it here, not only with safety, but with Reputation and Profit: intreat them to beware lest they make themselves extremly Culpable, not only of partaking with the former Idolatries, Extortions, Massacres, Powder Treasons, and King-killings of that bloody City, but the new detestable Doctrines, Derogatory to the blood of Christ, which moderate Men even of her own Subjects detest: But which she, for fear it should discontent her own Creatures,
Creatures, and devoted Darlings will not disavow: O if they would fear the plagues of Babylon, and that of all others the fearfullst, Blindness of Mind, and strong delusions to believe Lyes, that they may be damned that believed not the Truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. But you hope better things of them, accompanying Salvation; and this Message of our Lord Jesus Christ, if you will be pleased to deliver, accompanying it with those General and common goods of Charity and Meekness, Integrity, good Example, and the special furtherance, which your Callings and Places in State, Church or Family can give it, doubtless to Christ's people, it will not be uneffectual.

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

And blessed be God, and his Majesty that hath sent us another Nehemiah, to build up the Walls of Jerusalem, and to procure that the Portion of the Levites should be given them. Give me
me leave (**Right Honourable**), to put you in mind, That this also belongeth to your Care, to **cooperate** with Christ in bringing his People out of the Ro-

mish Captivity. And if to help away a poor Captive out of **Turky** hath been Honourable to some Publick Ministers: What shall it be to help to the enlarging of so many thou-

sand Souls out of the **bondage** of Mens Traditions, and gaining to his Maje-

sty so many entire Subjects. Your wis-

don (**my Lord**) is such, as it needeth not to be advised; and your **Zeal** as it needeth not to be stired up: yet pardon me one Word, for the purpose of helping Christ's People out of Ba-

bylon.

They are called by himself often in Scripture, **His Sheep**; and verily, as in many other, so in this they are like to Sheep; which being cooped up in a nar-

row Pent, though they find some pres-

sure, and the Passage be set open, are not forward to come out; unless they be put on, but strain Courtesie, which should begin; yet when they are once out with a **joyful** frisk they exult in their Freedome, yea, and when a few of the foremost lead, the rest follow; I shall not need to make Application: Do according
according to your wisdom in your place, and Christ whose Work it is shall be with you, and further your endeavours.

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

But shall you not carry away something for your selves also; yes verily, take to your selves this Voice of our Saviour, Come out of Babylon; you will say we have done it already, God be thanked we are good Christians, good Protestants, some of us Preachers and that call upon others to come out of Babylon: But if S. Paul prayed the converted Corinthians to be reconciled to God; And S. John writing to Believers, lets down the Record of God touching his Son, That they might believe in the Name of the Son of God; Why may not I exhort in Christ's Name and Words; even those that are come out of Babylon,
Ion, to come out of her, *Qui monet ut facias,* &c. He that persuades another to that which he doth already, in persuading encourageth him, and puts him on in his performance; but if there be any yet unresolved, and halting or hanging between two, (as the people did in Elias time) that present their bodies at such meetings as this is, when their hearts are perhaps at Rome, or no where; If any are in some points rightly informed and cleared, and in others doubtful, to such Christ speaks, *Come out of her, my people,* press on by Prayer, Conference, Reading, (if Christ's Voyce be to be heard) If Rome be Babylon, *Come out of her.*

And let it be spoken with as little offence as it is delight: we that seem to be the forwardest in Reformation, are not yet so come out of Babylon, as that we have not many shameful badges of her Captivity, witness her *Impropriations,* being indeed plain Church-robberies, devised to maintain her Colonies of idle and *irregular Regulars*; idle to the Church and State, zealous and pragmatical to support and defend her power, pomp, and pride, by whom they sublifted: witness her *Dispensations,* or dissipations rather, of all Canonical Orders; bear-
ing down all with her Non obstante, her Symoniacal and Sacrilegious Venality of holy things, her manifold Extortions in the exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which we have not wholly banished: Let each of us therefore account it as spoken to himself, (Come out of her my people.)

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

Finally, let us all beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to give us Wisdom and opportunity to further his work, and to give success unto the same himself, to hasten the judgment of Babylon, to bring his people out of this bondage, that we with them and all his Saints in the Church Triumphant, may thereupon sing a joyful Hallelujah, as is expressed in the next Chapter.

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

Hallelujah.
He preached very often in his Episcopal habit, but not alwayes, and used it feldome in the Afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a Quire, nor Instrumental Musick; which he thought filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter, which is indeed the singing with grace in the Heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleased. And when another Bishop justified these things, because they served much to raise the affections; he answered, That in order to the raising the affections, those things that tended to edification ought only to be used: And thought it would be hard otherwise to make stops; for upon the same pretence an infinity of Rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excesses of superstition, from what he had observed during his long stay in Italy, made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease, which is like a green Sickness in Religion. He never used the Common Prayer in his Family; for he thought it was intended to be the solemn Worship of Christians in their Publick Assemblies, and that it was not...
Bishop Bedell.

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

So far I have prosecuted the Relation of his most exemplary discharge of his Episcopal Function; reserving what is more personal and particular to the end where I shall give his Character. I now come to the conclusion of his life, which was indeed suitable to all that had gone before. But here I must open one of the bloodiest Scenes, that the Sun ever shone upon, and represent a Nation all covered with Blood, that was in full peace, under no fears nor apprehensions, enjoying great plenty; and under an easie yoke, under no oppression in Civil matters, nor persecution upon the account of Religion: For the Bishops and Priests of the Roman Communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were
were almost as publick in the use of their Religion, as others were in that which was established by Law; so that they wanted nothing but Empire, and a power to destroy all that differed from them. And yet on a sudden this happy Land was turned to be a Field of Blood. Their Bishops resolved in one particular to fulfil the Obligation of the Oath they took at their Consecration of persecuting all Heretics to the utmost of their power; and their Priests, that had their breeding in Spain, had brought over from thence the true Spirit of their Religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the Spanish temper, that had appeared in the conquest of the West-Indies, and so they thought a Massacre was the surest way to work, and intended that the Natives of Ireland; should vie with the Spaniards for what they had done in America.

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

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These things took universally with the whole Nation; and the Conspiracy was cemented by many Oaths and Sacraments, and in conclusion all things were found to be so ripe that the day was set in which they should everywhere break out; and the Castle of Dublin being then as well stored with a great Magazine, which the Earl of Strafford had laid up for the Army, that he intended to have carried into Scotland, had not the pacification prevented it, as it was weakly kept by a few careless Warders; who might have been easily surprized: it was resolved that they should seize on it, which would have furnished them with Arms and Ammunition, and have put the Metropolis, and very probably the whole Island in their hands. But, though this was so well laid, that the execution could not have mist, in all humane appearance; and though it was kept so secret, that there was not the least suspicion of any design on foot, till the Night before, and then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindness to an Irishman, that was become a Protestant, communicated the Project to him: The other went and discovered it to
to the Lords Justices; and by this means not only the Castle of Dublin was preserved, but in effect Ireland was saved. For in Dublin there was both a shelter for such as were stript and turned out of all they had, to fly to; and a place of rendezvous, where they that escaped before the storm had reached to them, met to consult about their preservation. But though Dublin was thus secured, the rest of the English and Scotch in Ireland, particularly in Ulster, fell into the hands of those merciless Men, who reckoned it no small piece of mercy, when they stript people naked, and let them go with their lives. But the vast numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own Writers in a Discourse that he printed some years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two hundred thousand, and the barbarous cruelties they used in murthering them, are things of so dreadful a nature, that I cannot easily go on with so dismal a Narrative, but must leave it to the Historians. I shall say no more of it than what concerns our Bishop: It may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that fearful storm, that was breaking on every hand of him.
though it did not yet break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret guard set about his House: for though there was nothing but Fire, Blood and Desolation round about him; yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many Weeks: His House was in no condition to make any resistance, so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his Neighbours had also fled to him for shelter: He received all that came, and shared every thing he had so with them, that all things were common among them; and now that they had nothing to expect from Men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death, which they had reason to look for every day; so that they spent their time in Prayers and Fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by necessity. The Rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power, that stills the raging of the Seas, and the tumult of the people: they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them,
and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them, and they often said, He should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole County of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own House without disturbance; not only his House, and all the out-Buildings, but the Church and Church-Yard were full of people; and many that a few days before lived in great ease and much plenty, were now glad of a heap of Straw or Hay to lye upon, and of some boiled Wheat to support Nature: and were every day expecting when those Swords, that had according to the Prophetick Phrase, drunk up so much Blood, should likewise be satiated with theirs. They did now eat the Bread of Sorrow, and mingled their Cups with their Tears. The Bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God, and in order to that he preached to them the first Lords Day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the Third Psalm, which was penned by David when there was a general insurrection of the people against him under his unnatural Son Absolom; and he applied it all to their condition. He had

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a doleful Assembly before him, an Auditory all melting in Tears: It requires a Soul of an equal elevation to his, to imagine how he raised up their Spirits, when he spake to these Words, But thou, O Lord, art a Shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my Head. I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me, round about. And to the conclusion of the Psalm, Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: thy blessing is upon thy people. The next Lords day, hearing of the Scoffings, as well as the Cruelty, of the Irish, he preached on these Words in Micah, Re-joyce not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God. By these means, and through the blessing of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared
prepared for the worst that their enemies could do to them.

The Irish themselves were at a stand: The miscarriage of the design on Dublin Castle was a sad disappointment: they were unarmed, they had no Treasure, no Fleet, nor foreign support; and though there were some good Officers among them, yet they found the Soldiers to be as cowardly as the English Inhabitants felt them to be cruel: For as those two Characters are observed generally to meet in the same person; so it was very visible upon this occasion, since a very small Body of good Men, could have gone over the whole Kingdom, and have reduced it in fewer Months than it cost Years. Their chief hope was, the only thing in which they were not disappointed, That the Disputes between the King and the Parliament of England, would make Supplies come over so slow, that they might thereby gain much time; and in conclusion they might hope for a more favourable conjuncture. Those of the County of Cavan seemed to see their error, and apprehend their danger: so they came to the Bishop, as the fittest Man to interpose for them; he was willing to oblige those on the one hand,
at whose mercy he was, and on the other hand to bring them to such a submission, as might at least procure some breathing time to the poor English, and to those few Houses that stood out, but were falling within doors under an Enemy, that was more irresistible than the Irish: For they were much straitned, their Provisions failing them. The Petition, that they signed and sent up to the Lords Justices and the Council, was too well penned to come from those that set their hands to it. It was drawn by the Bishop, who put their matter in his own Words; therefore I shall insert it here, though it gives the best colours to their Rebellion of any of all their Papers that I ever saw,
To the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and Council,

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

Whereas we, his Majesties loyal Subjects of his Highness Kingdom of Ireland, have of long time groaned under many grievous pressures, occasioned by the rigorous Government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private Fortunes, than the Honour of His Majesty, or the welfare of us his Subjects; whereof we in humble manner declared our selves to His Highness by our Agents sent from the Parliament, the representative body of this Kingdom: Notwithstanding which, we find our selves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous Vexations, either with captivity of our Consciences,
our losing of our lawful Liberties, or ut-
ter expulsion from our Native Seats, with-
out any just Ground given on our parts, to
alter his Majesties goodnesse so long con-
tinued unto us; of all which we find great cause
of fears in the proceeding of our Neighbour
Nations, and do see it already attempted
upon by certain Petitioners for the like
course to be taken in this Kingdom, for
the effecting thereof, in a compulsory way,
so as Rumors have caused fears of Inva-
sion from other parts, to the dissolving the
Bond of mutual agreement, which hitherto
bath been held inviolable between the seve-
ral Subjects of this Kingdom; and where-
by all other his Majesties Dominions have
been linkt in one. For the preventing
therefore of such evils growing upon us in
this Kingdom; we have, for the preser-
vation of his Majesties Honour, and our
own Liberties, thought fit to take into our
Hands, for his Highnesses use and Service,
such Forts, and other places of Strength
as coming into the possession of others
might prove disadvantageous, and tend to
the utter undoing the Kingdom. And
we do hereby declare, That herein we har-
bour not the least thought of disloyalty to-
wards his Majesty, or purpose any hurt to
any of his Highnesses Subjects in their
Possession, Goods or Liberty: only we de-
stire
fire that your Lordships will be pleased to make remonstrance to his Majesty, for us, of all our Grievances, and just Fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby the Liberty of our Consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other Burthens in Civil Government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English Inhabitants, or any other; we with the Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and such others of the several Counties of this Kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made as in part we have already done.

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

And we shall humbly pray, &c.
But this came to nothing: while these things were in agitation, the titular Bishop of Kilmore came to Cavan; his name was Swiney, he was like his name, for he often wallowed in his own Vomit. He had a Brother, whom the Bishop had converted, and had entertained him in his House, till he found out a way of subsistence for him. He pretended that he came only to protect the Bishop, so he desired to be admitted to lodge in his House, and assured him that he would preserve him. But the Bishop hearing of this, wrote the following Letter in Latin to him; which will be found at the end of this Book, and is indeed a style fit for one of the most eloquent of the Roman Authors. Here I shall give a Translation of it in English.

Reverend Brother,

I am sensible of your civility in offering to protect me by your presence in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: but there are many things that hinder me from making
king use of the favour you now offer me. 
My House is strait, and there is a great 
number of miserable people of all Ranks, 
Ages, and of both Sexes, that have fled hi-
ther as to a Sanctuary; besides that some 
of them are sick, among whom my own 
Son is one. But that which is beyond 
all the rest, is the difference of our way 
of worship: I do not say of our Religi-
on, for I have ever thought, and have 
published it, in my Writings, that we 
have one common Christian Religion. 
Under our present miseries, we comfort 
our selves with the reading of the Holy 
Scriptures, with daily Prayers, which we 
offer up to God in our vulgar Tongue, 
and with the singing of Psalms; and since 
we find so little truth among Men, we rely 
on the truth of God, and on his assistance. 
These things would offend your company, 
if not your self; nor could others be hin-
dered, who would pretend that they came to 
see you, if you were among us; and un-
der that colour those murderers would 
break in upon us, who after they have 
robbed us of all that belongs to us, would 
in conclusion think they did God good ser-
vice by our slaughter. For my own part, 
I am resolved to trust to the Divine 
Protection. To a Christian, and a Bi-
shop, that is now almost seventy, no 
death
death for the cause of Christ can be bitter: on the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people under an Anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so oft beaten, spoiled and stript, it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to your self, and happy to the people, if they obey you: But if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend Brother, I do heartily commend you.

Yours in Christ,

November 2, 1641.

Will. Kilmore.

Endorsed thus,

To my Reverend and Loving Brother,
D. Swiney.

This
This Letter commends itself so much, that I need say nothing but wish my Reader to see where he can find such another, writ on such an occasion, with so much Spirit, as well as Piety and Discretion: It was the last he ever writ, and was indeed a conclusion well becoming such a Pen. It had at that time some effect, for the Bishop gave him no further disturbance till about five Weeks after this, so that from the 23. of October, which was the dismal day in which the Rebellion broke out, till the 18. of December following, he, together with all that were within his Walls, enjoyed such quiet, that if it was not in all Points a miracle, it was not far from one; and it seemed to be an accomplishment of those Words, A thousand shall fall on thy side, and ten thousand at thy right-Hand; but it shall not come nigh thee; there shall no evil befall thee; for he shall give his Angels charge over thee. But to the former Letter I shall add the last Paper of Spiritual advice and direction that ever the Bishop writ; which he did at the desire of one Mrs Dillan, that was a zealous and devout Protestant, but had been fatally deluded in her widowhood by Mr. Dil-
lan Son to the Earl of Roscommon, taking him to be a Protestant, and had married him, but enjoyed her self very little after that: for though he used no violence to her, or her Children by her former Husband, in the point of Religion; yet he bred up his Children by her in his own Superstition, and he was now engaged in the Rebellion. So that she had at this time a vast addition to her former sorrows upon her; and therefore desired that the Bishop, whose Neighbour and constant Hearer she had been, would send her such InSTRUCTIONS in this sad calamity, as might both direct and support her. Upon which he writ the following Paper.

"YOU desire, as I am informed " (dear Sister in Christ Jesus) "that I would send you some short " Memorial, to put you in mind how to " carry your self in this sorrowful time. " I will do it willingly; the more, be- " cause with one and the same labour, " I shall both satisfy you, and recol- " lect my own thoughts also, to the " like
"like performance of mine own duty, "and bethinking myself how I might "best accomplish it, there came to my "mind that short Rule of our Life, "which the Apostle mentions in his "Epistle to Titus, and whereof you "have been a diligent hearer in the "School of Grace, where he reduceth "the whole practice of Christianity un- "to three Heads, of living Soberly, just- "ly, and Godly; This last directing "our carriage towards God, the middle, "most towards our Neighbour, and "the foremost towards our Selves; "Now since this is a direction for our "whole Life, it seems to me that we "have no more to do at any time, but "to conn this Lesson more perfectly, "with some particular application of "such parts of it, as are most suitable "to the present occasions. And as to "Sobriety first, (under which the "Vertues of Humility, Modesty, Tem- "perance, Chastity, and Contented- "ness are contained) since this is a "time, wherein, as the Prophet faith, "The Lord of Hosts calleth to weeping "and mourning, and pulling off the Hair, "and girding with Sack-cloth, you "shall, by my advice, conform your "self to those, that by the Hand of "God
"God suffer such things. Let your apparel and Dress be mournful, as I doubt not but that your Mind is; your Dyet sparing and course, rather than full and liberal; frame your self to the indifferency, whereof the Apostle speaketh, *In whatsoever state you shall be, therewith to be content*; to be full, and to be hungry; to abound and to want. Remember now that which is the Lot of others, you know not how soon it may be your own. Learn to despise, and despise, the vain and fallly called wealth of this World; whereof you now see, we have so casual and uncertain a possession.

"This for Sobriety, the first part of the Lesson pertaining to your self.

"Now for Justice, which respects others (and containeth the Vertues of Honour to Superiors, discreet and equal government of Inferiors, peaceableness to all, Meekness, Mercy, just dealing in matters of getting and spending, Gratitude, Liberality, just Speech and desires) God's Judgments being in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World should learn Righteousness, as the Prophet speaketh: Call"
"to mind therefore and bethink you, "if in any of these you have failed, "and turn your Feet to God's Testimo- nies; certainly these times are such, "wherein you may be afflicted, and "say with the Psalmtit, Horroun hath "taken hold of me, and Rivers of Tens "run down mine Eyes, because they keep "not thy Laws. Rebelling against Su- periors, Misleading, not only by Ex- ample, but by Compulsion, Inferiors, "laying their Hand to them, that were "at peace with them, unjuftly spoiling "and unthankfully requiting, those that "had shewed them kindness, no Faith "nor Truth in their Promises; Judge "by the way, of the School that teach- "eth Christ thus; are these his doings? "as for those that suffer, I am well af- "fured, I shall not need to inform you, "or stir you up to mercy and compasfion. That which is done in this kind, "is done to Christ himself, and shall be "put upon account in your reckoning, "and rewarded accordingly at his glori- ous appearance.

"The last and principal part of our "Lesson remains, which teacheth how "to behave our selves Godly, or religi- ously; (to this belong, First, the O 2 "Duties
"Duties of Gods inward Worship, as "Fear, Love, and Faith in God; then "outward, as Invocation, the holy use "of his Word and Sacraments, Name "and Sabbaths). The Apostle makes "it the whole End and Work for which "we were set in this World, to seek the "Lord; yet in publick affliction, we "are specially invited thereto, as it is "written of Jehoshaphat, when a great "multitude came to invade him, He "set his Face to seek the Lord, and cal- "led the people to a solemn fast: So "the Church professeth in the Prophet "Isaiah, In the way of thy Judgments "Lord we have waited for thee, the de- "sire of our Soul is to thy Name, and "to the remembrance of thee. With my "Soul have I desired thee in the Night, "yea with my Spirit within me will I seek "thee early. In this publick Calamity "therefore it is our duty, to turn to "him that smiteth us: and to humble "our selves under his mighty Hand, to "conceive a reverend and Religious fear "towards him, that only, by turning "away his countenance, can thus trou- "ble us, against that of Man, which "can do no more but kill the Bo- "dy.

"Again,
"Again, to renew our love to our earthly Father, that now offereth himself to us, as to Children, and to give a proof of that Love that we bear to our Saviour, in the keeping of his Sayings, hating in comparison of him, and competition with him, Father, Mother, Children, Goods, and Life itself; which is the condition, and proof of his Disciples; and above all to receive, and to re-inforce our Faith and Affiance, which is now brought unto the tryal of the fiery Furnace, and of the Lions Den; O that it might be found to our honour, praise, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. In the mean space, even now, let us be partakers of Christ's Sufferings, and hear him from Heaven encouraging us, Be thou faithful unto Death, and I will give thee a Crown of Life.

Touching Prayer, we have this gracious invitation, Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee; the example of all Gods Saints, and of our Saviour in his agony; to this belong the humble confession of our Sins, with earnest request of Pardon; the complaint of our Misery, and danger, with request of fuc-


cour and protection; we have besides
the intercession of our Advocate, with
the Father, the cry of the innocent
Blood, that hath been cruelly shed, and
the Lords own interesting himself in
the cause, so as we may say with the
Psalmist, Arise, O God: plead thine
own cause; remember how the foolish
Man, (yea, the Man of Sin) reproach-
eth thee daily. Forget not the voice of
thine Enemies; the tumult of those that
rise against thee, encreaseth continually.
That Psalm, and many others, as the
6, 13, 35, 43, 71, 74, 79, 80, 88, 92,
94, 102, 115, 123, 130, 140, 142. do
give Precedents of Prayers in such
times as these; and the Prayer of
Daniel, and Ezra 9. of Asa and Je-
The Stories of David's flight before
Absalom, and Jehosaphat's behaviour
when the Enemies came against him,
of Hezekiah's, in Sennacherib's Invasion,
Isa. 37. and the whole book of Esther,
are fit Scriptures now to be read, that
through the patience and comfort of
them we might have hope.

Now because we know not how
soon we may be called to sanctifie God's
name, by making profession thereof,
you may perhaps desire to know what
to say in that day. You may openly
profess your not doubting of any Ar-
ticle of the Catholick Faith, shortly
laid down in the Creed, or 'more
largely laid down in the Holy Scri-
ptures, but that you consent not to
certain Opinions, which are no points
of Faith, which have been brought
into common belief, without warrant
of Scriptures, or pure Antiquity, as
Namely,

That it is of necessity to Salva-
tion to be under the Pope.
That the Scriptures ought not
to be read of the common peo-
ple.
That the Doctrine of Holy Scri-
pture is not sufficient to Salva-
tion.
That the Service of God ought to
be in a Language not understood
of the people.
That the Communion should not
be administered to them in both
kinds.
That the Bread in the Lord's Sup-
per, is transubstantiated into his
Body.
That he is there sacrificed for the
quick and the dead.

O 4  

"That
"That there is any Purgatory besides Christ's Blood.
"That our good Works can merit Heaven.
"That the Saints hear our Prayers, and know our Hearts.
"That Images are to be worshipped.
"That the Pope is Infallible, and can command Angels.
"That we ought to pray to the Dead, and for the Dead.

"In all these notwithstanding, you may profess your teachableness, if by found Reasons out of God's Word, you shall be convinced of the truth of them: And because we know not how far it will please God to call us to make resistance against sin, whether unto Blood itself, or no; it shall be Wisdom for us to prepare our selves to the last care of a godly life, which is to dye Godly. This the Apostle Paul calleth, Sleeping in Jesus, implying thereby our Faith in him, our being found in his Work, and our committing our Souls into his Hands with peace; such a sweet and Heavenly Sleep was that of S. Stephen, whose last Words for himself were,
"were, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit, " and for his Tormentors, Lord lay not "this sin to their charge; wherewith "I will end this Writing, and wish to "end my life, when the will of God "shall be, to whose gracious protecti- "on (dear Sister) I do heartily com- "mit you.

November 23, 1641.

These Advices shew in what temper that holy Man was in this his extremi-
ty. They had a very good effect on the Lady; for as by reading them over very often, she got to be able to lay them all without Book, so she did that which was much more, she lodged them in her heart, as well as in her memory. While this good Man was now every day wait-
ing for his Crown, the Rebels sent to him, desiring him to dismiss the company that was about him; but he refused to obey their cruel order, and he resolved to live and dye with them; and would much more willingly have offered him-
self to have dyed for them, than have accepted of any favour for himself, from
from which they should be shut out. And when they sent him word, That though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received orders from the Council of State at Kilkenny, that had assumed the government of the Rebells, that if he would not put away the people, that had gathered about him, they should take him from them; he said no more, but in the Words of David and S. Paul, Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seems good to him, the will of the Lord be done: So on the eighteenth of December they came and seized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him, and his two Sons, and Mr. Clogy prisoners to the Castle of Lochwater, the only place of strength in the whole County. It was a little Tower in the midst of a Lake, about a Musquet shot from any Shoar: And though there had been a little Island about it anciently, yet the Water had so gained on it, that there was not a foot of Ground above Water, but only the Tower it self. They suffered the Prisoners to carry nothing with them; for the Titular Bishop took possession of all that belonged to the Bishop,
Bishop Bedell.

shop, and said Mass the next Lords day in the Church. They set the Bishop on Horseback, and made the other Prisoners go on foot by him: And thus he was lodged in this Castle, that was a most miserable dwelling. The Castle had been in the hands of one Mr. Cul- lum, who, as he had the keeping of the Fort trusted to him, so he had a good allowance for a Magazine to be laid up in it, for the defence of the Country: But he had not a pound of Powder, nor one fixt Musquet in it, and he fell under the just punishment of the neglect of his trust, for he was taken the first day of the Rebellion, and was himself made a prisoner here. All but the Bishop were at first clapt into Irons, for the Irish that were perpetually drunk, were afraid lest they should seise both on them and on the Castle. Yet it pleased God so far to abate their fury, that they took off their Irons, and gave them no disturbance in the Worship of God, which was now all the comfort that was left them. The House was extremly open to the weather, and ruinous: and as the place was bare and exposed, so that Winter was very severe; which was a great addition to the misery of those that the Rebels had stript naked, leaving to many not
not so much as a Garment to cover their nakedness. But it pleased God to bring another Prisoner to the same Dungeon, that was of great use to them, one Richard Castledine, who had come over a poor Carpenter to Ireland with nothing but his Tools on his back, and was first employed by one Sir Richard Waldron in the carpentry work of a Castle, that he was building in the Parish of Cavan: But Sir Richard wasting his Estate before he had finished his House, and afterwards leaving Ireland, God had so blest the industry of this Castledine, during Thirty years labour, that he bought this Estate, and having only Daughters, he married one of them, out of gratitude, to Sir Richard's youngest Son, to whom he intended to have given the Estate that was his Fathers: He was a Man of great vertue, and abounded in good Works, as well as in exemplary Piety: he was so good a Husband that the Irish believed he was very rich; so they preserved him, hoping to draw a great deal of Money from him: He being brought to this miserable Prison, got some Tools and old Boards, and fitted them up as well as was possible, to keep out the Weather. The Keepers of the Prison brought
brought their Prisoners abundance of Provision, but left them to dress it for themselves; which they that knew little what belonged to Cookery were glad to do in such a manner as might preserve their lives; and were all of them much supported in their Spirits. They did not suffer as evil doers, and they were not ashamed of the Cross of Christ; but rejoiced in God in the midst of all their afflictions; and the old Bishop took joyfully the spoiling of his Goods, and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, That these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the Epistle for the day, which set before them the pattern of the humility and sufferings of Christ; and on Christmas day he preached on Gal. 4. 4, 5, and administered the Sacrament to the small Congregation about him; their Keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with Bread and Wine. And on the 26th. of December Mr. William Bedell, the Bishop's eldest Son, preached on S. Stephen's last Words, which afforded proper matter for their meditation,
meditation, who were every day in expectation when they should be put to give such a testimony of their Faith, as that first Martyr had done: And on the second of January, which was the last Sunday of their imprisonment, Mr. Cl oughty preached on S. Luke 2. 32, 33, 34. During all their religious exercises, their keepers never gave them any disturbance; and indeed they carried so gently towards them, that their natures seemed to be so much changed, that it lookt like a second Stopping the mouths of Lions. They often told the Bishop, that they had no personal quarrel to him, and no other cause to be so severe to him, but because he was an Englishman.

But while he was in this dismal Prison, some of the Scots of that County, that had retired to two Houses, that were strong enough to resist any thing but Cannon, and were commanded by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forker, now Lord Grenard, finding themselves like to suffer more by hunger, than by the Siege that was laid to them, made so resolute a Sally upon the Irish, that they killed several, took some Prisoners, and dispersed the rest, so that many Months pas-
fed before they offered to besiege them any more. Among their Prisoners four were Men of considerable interest; so they treated an exchange of them for the Bishop, with his two Sons and Mr. Clogy; which was concluded, and the Prisoners were delivered on both sides on the 7th. of January: but though the Irish promised to suffer the Bishop with the other three to go safe to Dublin, yet they would not let them go out of the Country, but intended to make further advantage by having them still among them; and so they were suffered to go to the House of an Irish Minister, Denis O. Shereden, to whom some respect was shewed, by reason of his extraction, though he had forsaken their Religion, and had married an English Woman: he continued firm in his Religion, and relieved many in their extremity. Here the Bishop spent the few remaining days of his Pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view, that he seemed dead to the World and everything in it, and to be hastening for the coming of the Day of God. During the last Sabbaths of his life, though there were three Ministers present, he read all the Prayers and Lessons himself, and likewise preached on all those days.
On the 9th. of January he preached on the whole 44th. Psalm, being the first of the Psalms appointed for that day, and very suitable to the miseries the English were then in, who were killed all day long, as Sheep appointed for Meat. Next Sabbath, which was the 16th. he preached on the 79. Psalm, the first Psalm for the day, which runs much on the like Argument, when the Temple was defiled, and Jerusalem was laid on heaps, and the dead Bodies of God's servants were given to be meat to the Fouls of Heaven, and their Flesh to the Beasts of the Earth, and their blood was shed like Water, and there was none to bury them. Their condition being so like one another, it was very proper to put up that Prayer, O remember not against us, former iniquities: Let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low. Together with the other. Let the sighing of the Prisoner come before thee, according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to dye. On the 23d. he preached on the last ten Verses of the 71. Psalm, observing the great fitness that was in them to express his present condition, especially in these Words, O God thou hast taught me from my
my youth; and hitherto have I declared thy wonderous works: now also when I am old, and gray headed; forsake me not. And on the 30th. which was the last Lord's day in which he had strength enough to preach, he preached on the 144. Psalm, the first appointed for that day; and when he came to the Words in the seventh Verse, which are also repeated in the eleventh Verse, Send thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great Waters, from the hand of strange Children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and whose right-hand is a right hand of falshood. He repeated them again and again, with so much zeal and affection, that it appeared how much he was hasting to the day of God, and that his Heart was crying out, Come Lord Jesus come quickly, how long, how long? and he dwelt so long upon them, with so many sighs, that all the little assembly about him melted into Tears, and looked on this as a presage of his approaching dissolution. And it proved too true, for the day after, he sickned; which on the second day after appeared to be an Ague, and on the fourth day he apprehending his speedy change, called for his Sons, and his Sons Wives, and spake to them at
at several times, as near in these Words as their memories could serve them to write them down soon after.

"I am going the way of all flesh, I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand: knowing therefore that shortly I must put off this Tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me, I know also that if this my earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens, a fair Mansion in the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of Heaven from my God. Therefore to me to live is Christ, and to dye is gain; which encreaseth my desire, even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better, than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Harken therefore unto the last Words of your dying Father; I am no more in this World, but ye are in the World; I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ. "my
"my Redeemer; who ever lives to
make intercession for me, who is a
propitiation for all my sins, and wash-
ed me from them all in his own Blood
who is worthy to receive Glory and
Honour, and Power, who hath cre-
ated all things, and for whose pleasure
they are and were created.

"My witness is in Heaven, and my
record on high, That I have endea-
voured to glorifie God on Earth, and
in the Ministry of the Gospel of his
dear Son, which was committed to
my trust; I have finished the Work,
which he gave me to do, as a faith-
ful Embaffadour of Chrifl, and Stew-
ard of the mysteries of God. I have
preached Righteousneff in the great
Congregation: lo I have not refrained
my Lips, O Lord, thou knoweft. I
have not hid thy righteousness within
my heart, I have declared thy faithful-
ness, and thy Salvation; I have not
concealed thy loving kindness, and
thy truth from the great Congrega-
tion of mankind. He is near that ju-
stifieth me, That I have not conceal-
ed the Words of the holy one; but
the Words that he gave to me, I have
given to you, and ye have received
them. I had a defire and resolution
P 2 " to
"to walk before God (in every station "of my pilgrimage, from my youth up "to this day) in truth and with an up-"right Heart, and to do that which was "upright in his Eyes, to the utmost of "my power; and what things were "gain to me formerly, these things I "count now loss for Christ; yea doubt-"less, and I account all things but loss "for the excellency of the knowledge of "Jesus Christ my Lord; for whom I "have suffered the loss of all things, and "I account them but Dung, that I may "win Christ, and be found in him, not "having my own righteousness, which "is of the Law, but that which is "through the Faith of Christ, the "righteousness which is of God by "Faith; that I may know him, and "the power of his Resurrection, and "the fellowship of his sufferings, being "made conformable unto his Death, I "press therefore towards the mark, for "the price of the high Calling of God "in Jesus Christ.

"Let nothing separate you from the "love of Christ, neither tribulation nor "distress, nor persecution, nor famine, "nor nakedness, nor peril, nor Sword; "though (as ye hear and see) for his "sake we are killed all the day long,"
"we are counted as sheep for the slaughter: Yet in all these things we are "more than conquerers, through him "that loved us: For I am persuaded, "That neither Death, nor Life, nor "Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things present, nor things to "come, nor height, nor depth, nor "any Creature shall be able to sepa- "rate me from the love of God in "Christ Jefu my Lord. Therefore love "not the World, nor the things of the "World; but prepare daily and hourly "for death, (that now besieges us on "every side) and be faithful unto death; "that we may meet together joyfully on "the right-Hand of Christ at the last "day, and follow the Lamb whereto- "ever he goeth, with all those that are "cloathed with white Robes, in sign "of innocency, and Palms in their Hands "in sign of Victory; which came out "of great tribulation, and have washed "their Robes, and made them white in "the Blood of the Lamb. They shall "hunger no more, nor thirst, nei- "ther shall the Sun light on them, or "any heat; for the Lamb, that is in "the midst of the Throne, shall feed "them, and shall lead them unto living "Fountains of Waters, and shall wipe "away
away all Tears from their Eyes.

"Chuse rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look therefore for sufferings, and to be daily made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your Flesh, for his Bodies sake, which is the Church. What can you look for, but one woe after another, while the Man of sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havoc of God's people at his pleasure, while Men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those, whose Blood is precious in God's sight, though now shed everywhere like Water. If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye; be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled; and be in nothing terrified by your adversaries; which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. Rejoice therefore in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when
"when his Glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy.
"And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; the Spirit of glory, and of Christ resteth on you.
"on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.
"God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the Rivers of the South, and bring you back again into your possession in this Land: though now for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; yet ye shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in Tears: all our losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages, for my God will supply all your need, according to his riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think.

After that he blessed his Children, and those that stood about him, in an audible Voice, in these Words. "God of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy, and unblameable, and unreproveable in his sight, that we may meet together at the right-hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ,"
Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory, Amen. To which he added these Words, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my Ministry and life together. Though grievous Wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the Flock; yet I trust the great Shepherd of his Flock will save and deliver them out of all places, where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall be no more a prey to the Heathen, neither shall the Beasts of the Land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy Salvation. And after a little interval, he said, "I have kept the Faith once given to the Saints; for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day. After this time he spoke little; for as his sickness encreased, his Speech failed, and he slumbered out most of the time, only between hands it appeared that he was cheerfully waiting for his change; which at last came about Midnight on the 7th of February,
that he fell asleep in the Lord, and entered into his rest, and obtained his Crown, which in some sort was a Crown of Martyrdom; for no doubt the sad weight of sorrow, that lay upon his Mind, and his ill usage in his Imprisonment, had much hastened his death: And he suffered more in his mind by what he had lived to hear and see these last fifteen Weeks of his Life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the Sword, among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish. His Friends went about his Burying; and since that could not be obtained, but by the new intruding Bishop's leave, Mr. Clogy and Mr. Shereden went to ask it, and Mr. Dillon was prevailed with by his Wife, to go and second their desire. They found the Bishop lying in his own Vomit, and saw a sad change in that House, which was before a House of Prayer, and of Good Works; but was now a Den of Thieves, and a Nest of uncleanness. The Bishop, when he was awakened out of his Drunkenness, excepted a little to it, and said, The Church-Yard was holy Ground, and was no more to be defiled with Heretick's Bodies; yet he consented to it at last. So on the 9th. of February he was buried.
buried according to the direction himself had given, next his Wife's Coffin. The Irish did him unusual honours at his Burial, for the chief of the Rebells gathered their Forces together, and with them accompanied his Body from Mr. Shereden's House to the Churchyard of Kilmore, in great solemnity, and they desired Mr. Clogy to bury him according to the Office prescribed by the Church; but though the Gentlemen were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought advisable to provoke the Rabble so much, as perhaps that might have done; so it was past over. But the Irish discharged a Volley of Shot at his Interment, and cried out in Latin, Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum, May the last of the English rest in peace: for they had often said, That as they esteemed him the best of the English Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

Thus lived and dyed this excellent Bishop; in whom so many of the greatest Characters of a Primitive and Apostolical Bishop did shew themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the World, though dead, both for convincing the unjust enemies of that venerable Order, and
for the instruction of those that succeed him in it; since great Patterns give the easiest notions of eminent Vertues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative Discourses can possibly have. And as the Lives of the Primitive Christians were a speaking Apology for their Religion, as well as a direction to those that grew up; so it is to be hoped that the solemn though silent language of so bright an Example will have the desired effect both ways: And then my Author will have a noble reward for his Labours. To this I shall add a little of his Character.

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

His Judgment and Memory, as they were very extraordinary, so they remained with him to the last. He always preached without Notes, but often wrote down his Meditations after he had preached them. He did not affect to shew any other learning in his Sermons, but what was proper for opening his Text, and clearing the difficulties in it; which he did by com-
paring the Originals with the most ancient Versions. His Stile was clear and full, but plain and simple; for he abhorred all affectations of pompous Rhetorick in Sermons, as contrary to the simplicity of Christ. His Sermons did all drive at the great design of infusing in the Hearts of his Hearers right apprehensions and warm thoughts of the great things of the Christian Religion; which he did with so much the more authority, because it appeared that he was much moved himself with those things that he delivered to others. He was always at work in his Study, when the affairs of his Function did not lead him out of it. In which his chief employment was the study of the Text of the Scripture. He read the Hebrew and the Septuagint so much, that they were as familiar to him as the English Translation. He read every Morning the Psalms appointed by the Common Prayer for the day in Hebrew; or if his Son, or any other that was skilled in the Hebrew, was present, he read one Verse out of the Hebrew, turning it into Latin, and the other read the next, and so by turns till they went through them. He had gathered a vast heap of critical Expositions of Scripture.
Scripture. All this, with his other Manuscripts, of which there was a great Trunk full, fell into the Hands of the Irish. He had writ very learned Paraphrases and Sermons on all those parts of Scripture that were prescribed to be read in the second Service, but all these are lost. His great Hebrew Manuscript was happily rescued out of the hands of those devourers of all sacred Things, and is to this day preserved in the Library of Emmanuel Colledge: for an Irishman, whom he had converted, went among his Country Men and brought out that and a few other Books to him.

Every day after Dinner and Supper, there was a Chapter of the Bible read at his Table, whofoever were present, Protestants or Papists, and Bibles were laid down before every one of the Company, and before himself either the Hebrew or Greek, and in his last years the Irish Translation was laid, and he usually explained the difficulties that occurred. He writ many Books of Controversie; which was chiefly occasioned by the engagements that lay on him, to labour much in the conversion of persons of the Roman Communion; and the knowledge he had of that Church,
Church, and their way of Worship, by what he had seen and observed while he was at Venice, raised in him a great zeal against their corruptions. He not only look'd on that Church as Idolatrous, but as the Antichristian Babylon; concerning which S. John saw all those Visions in the Revelation: And of this the Sermon, out of which I have made some extracts, gives Evidence. He writ a large Treatise in answer to those two Questions, in which the Missionaries of that Communion triumph so much, Where was our Religion before Luther, and what became of our Ancestors that dyed in Popery? Archbishop Usher prest him to have printed it, and he had resolved to do it, but that, with all his other Works, was swallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correspondence, not only with the Divines of England, but with many others over Europe; for he writ both Latin and Italian very elegantly. He was very free in his conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters; he expressed a great modesty of Spirit, and a moderation of temper in every thing he spoke, and his Discourse still turned to somewhat that made his company useful and instructing. He spoke his own thoughts very
very plainly, and as he bore well with the freedom of others, so he took all the discreet liberty that became a Man of his Age and Station, and did not stick to tell even the Learned and Worthy Primate Ufher, such things as he thought were blame-worthy in him, and with the same sincerity he shewed him some critical mistakes that he met with in some of his Works. They were very few, and not of any great importance; but they did not agree with the Primate's exactness in other things, and so he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that kindness and humility that was natural to him. His Habit was decent and grave; he wore no Silk, but plain Stuffs; the furniture of his House was not pompous nor superfluous, but necessary for common use, and proper. His Table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in the Country, but there was no luxury in it. Great resort was made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in House-keeping. Many poor Irish families about him were maintained out of his Kitchin: And in the Christmaß time, he had the Poor always eating with him at his own Table; and he brought himself to endure
dure both the fight of their Rags, and their rudeness: He was not forward to speak, and he expressed himself in very few Words in publick companies. At publick Tables he usually was silent. Once at the Earl of Straford's Table, one observed, That while they were all talking, he said nothing. So the Primate answered, Broach him; and you will find good liquor in him; Upon which that person proposed a question in Divinity to him, and in answering it the Bishop shewed both his own sufficiency so well, and pulsed the other so much, that all at Table, except the Bishop himself, fell a laughing at the other. The greatness of his mind, and the undauntedness of his Spirit on all occasions has appeared very evidently in many of the passages of his life; but though that height of mind is often accompanied with a great mixture of Pride, nothing of that appeared in the Bishop. He carried himself towards all people with such a gaining humility, that he got into their Hearts: He lived with his Clergy as if they had been his Brethren: When he went his Visitations, he would not accept of the Invitations that were made him by the great Men of the Country,
but would needs eat with his Brethren in such poor Inns, and of such course fare, as the places afforded. A person of Quality, that had prepared an entertainment for him during his Visitation, took his refusing it so ill, that whereas the Bishop promised to come and see him after Dinner; as soon as he came near his Gate, which was standing open, it was presently shut, on design to affront him, and he was kept half an hour knocking at it: the affront was visible, and when some would have had him go away, he would not do it, but said, *They will hear e're long.* At last the Master came out, and received him with many shews of civility, but he made a very short visit, and though the rudeness he met with prevailed not on him, either to resent it, or to go away upon it, yet it appeared that he understood it well enough. He avoided all affectations of state or greatness in his carriage: He went about always on foot, when he was at Dublin, one Servant only attending on him, except on publick occasions, that obliged him to ride in Procession among his Brethren. He never kept a Coach: for his strength continued so entire that he was always able to ride on Horseback:
He avoided the affectations of humility as well as of Pride; the former flowing often from the greater pride of the two, and amidst all those extraordinary Talents, with which God had blest him, it never appeared that he overvalued himself, nor despised others; that he assumed to himself a Dictatorship, or was impatient of contradiction. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind both of his Obligations to purity and humility: It was a flaming Crucible with this Motto in Hebrew, Take from me all my Tin. The Word in Hebrew that signifies Tin, was Bedil. This imported that he thought that everything in himself was but base alloy, and therefore he prayed that God would cleanse him from it. His great humility made the secret parts of his goodness, as to his private walking with God, less known, except as they appeared in that best and surest indication of it, which his life and conversation gave; yet if the Rebells had not destroyed all his Papers, there would have been found among them great discoveries of this; for he kept a daily Journal for many years; but of what sort it was, how full, and how particular, is only known to God; since no
Man ever saw it, unless some of the Rebels found it. Though it is not probable that they would have taken the pains to examine his Papers, it being more likely that they destroyed them all in a heap. He never thought of changing his See, or of rising up to a more advantageous Bishoprick, but considered himself as under a yoke to his See, that could not be easily dissolved. So that when the translating him to a Bishoprick in England, was proposed to him, he refused it, and said he should be as troublesome a Bishop in England, as he had been in Ireland.

It appeared he had a true and generous notion of Religion, and that he did not look upon it so much as a System of Opinions, or a set of Forms, as a Divine Discipline that reforms the Heart and Life; and therefore when some Men were valued upon their zeal for some lesser matters, he had those Words of S. Augustine's often in his Mouth, *It is not Leaves but Fruit that I seek.* This was the true principle of his great zeal against Popery: It was not the peevishness of a party, the surliness of a speculative Man, nor the concern of an interested person, that wrought on him: But he considered
dered the corruptions of that Church, as an effectual course for enervating the true design of Christianity; and this he not only gathered from Speculation, but from what he saw and knew during his long abode in Italy. His Devotion in his Closet was only known to him, who commanded him to pray in secret. In his Family he prayed always thrice a day, in a set Form, though he did not read it: This he did in the Morning, and before Dinner, and after Supper: And he never turned over this duty, or the short Devotions before and after Meat, on his Chaplain, but was always his own Chaplain. He lookt upon the Obligation of observing the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and considered it as so great an Engine for carrying on the true ends of Religion, that as he would never go into the liberties that many practised on that day; so he was exemplary in his own exact observation of it; Preaching always twice, and Catechising once; and besides that, he used to go over the Sermons again in his Family, and sing Psalms, and concluded all with Prayer.
As for his Domestick concerns, he married one of the Family of the L’ Estranges, that had been before married to the Recorder of St. Edmondsbury: she proved to be in all respects a very fit Wife for him; she was exemplary for her life, humble and modest in her Habit and behaviour, and was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she payed him: She bore him four Children, three Sons and a Daughter, but one of the Sons and the Daughter dyed young, so none survived but William and Ambrose. The just reputation his Wife was in for her Piety and Virtue, made him choose that for the Text of her Funeral Sermon, *A good name is better than Oyntment.* She dyed of a Lethargy three years before the Rebellion broke out; and he himself preached her Funeral Sermon, with such a mixture both of tenderness and moderation, that it touched the whole Congregation so much, that there were very few dry Eyes in the Church, all the while. He did not like the burying in the Church; For, as he observed there was much both of Superstition and Pride in it, so he believed it was a great annoyance to the Living, when there was so much
much of the team of dead Bodies rising about them; he was likewise much offended at the rudeness which the crowding the dead Bodies in a small parcel of Ground, occasioned; for the Bodies already laid there, and not yet quite rotten, were often raised and mangled; so that he made a Canon in his Synod against burying in Churches, and as he often wisht that Burying-Places were removed out of all Towns, so he did chuse the most remote and least frequented place of the Church-Yard of Kilmore for his Wife, and by his Will he ordered that He should be laid next her with this bare Inscription,

Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis.

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

The modesty of that Inscription adds to his Merit, which those who knew him well, believe exceeds even all that this his zealous and worthy Friend does through my hands convey to the World,
for his memory; which will outlive the Marble or the Brass, and will make him ever to be reckoned one of the speaking and lasting Glories, not only of the Episcopal Order, but of the Age in which he lived; and of the two Nations, England and Ireland, between whom he was so equally divided, that it is hard to tell which of them has the greatest share in him. Nor must his Honour stop here, he was a living Apology, both for the Reformed Religion, and the Christian Doctrine: And both he that collected these Memorials of him, and he that copies them out, and publishes them, will think their Labours very happily imploied, if the reading them produces any of those good effects that are intended by them.

As for his two Sons, he was satisfied to provide for them in so modest a way, as shewed that he neither aspired to high things on their behalf, nor did he consider the Revenue of the Church as a property of his own, out of which he might raise a great Estate for them. He provided his eldest Son with a Benefice of Eighty Pound a Year, in which he...
he laboured with that fidelity that became the Son of such a Father; and his second Son, not being a Man of Letters, had a little Estate of 60l. a year given him by the Bishop; which was the only Purchase that I hear he made; and I am informed, that he gave nothing to his eldest Son but that Benefice, which he so well deserved. So little advantage did he give to the enemies of the Church; either to those of the Church of Rome, against the marriage of the Clergy, or to the dividers among our selves, against the Revenues of the Church: The one sort objecting that a married state made the Clergy covetous, in order to the raising their Families, and the others pretending that the Revenues of the Church being converted by Clergymen into Temporal Estates for their Children, it was no Sacrilege to invade that which was generally no less abused by Churchmen, than it could be by Laymen; since these Revenues are trusted to the Clergy as Depositories, and not given to them as Proprietors.

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


AD Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesie Parochialis de C. nostra Kilmoresis Dioecesis jam legitime vacantem, & ad nostram collationem pleno jure spectantem, præstito per te prius juramento de agnostenda & defendenda Regie Majestatis suprema potestate in omnibus causis tam Ecclesiasticis quam Civilibus, intra ditiones suas, deque Anglicano ordine, habitu & Lingua pro Viribus in dictam Parochiam introducendis, juxta formam Statutorum hujus Regni; necnon de perpetua & personali Residentia tua in Vicaria predicta, quodque nullum alium Beneficiun
Beneficiwm Ecclesiasticum una cum ea retinebis: deque Canonica obedientia nobis ac Successoribus nostris Episcopis Kilmorens. praestanda, te admittimus, instituimus, & canonice investimus: Curamque Animarum Parochionarum, ibidem commorantium, tibi committimus, per Præsentes. Obtestantes in Domino, & pro obedientia qua summo Pastor teneris in jugentes: ut ejus Gregem quem suo sanguine acquisivit, tibi commissum, diligenter pascas, & in Fide Catholica instituas, officia divina Lingua à populo intelecta, peragas; exemplar ante omnia teipsum præbeas fidelibus in bonis operibus, ut erubescant Adversarii, nihil habentes quod in te reprehendant. Mandantes in super dilecto Fratri, Thoma Archidiacono Kilmoresi, ut te in realem & actuallem possessionem dicte Vicaria de C. inducat, cum effectu, in quorum omnium fidem & Testimonium Sigillum nostrum Episcopale Præsentibus apposuimus. Datum septimo die Maii, anno Salutis, 1640.

Guiliel. Kilmoresis.
Decreta prima Synodi Kilmoresis.

In nomine Domini Dei & Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.

Regnante in perpetuum, ac gubernante Ecclesiam suam, eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, annoque imperii, serenissimi Principis ac domini Caroli, Dei gratia, magne Britanniae & Hiberniae Regis, decimo quarto, cum ad Ecclesiam Cathedralen Kilmorensen, monitu Guilielmi Episcopi convenisset Capitulum totius Diæcesium, ad Synodum Diæcesianum celebrandam, post fusas ad Deum Preces pro publica Pace, Regisque, & Familia Regia incolumitate, & perpetua sacra Synaxi, verba fecit Episcopus de ejusmodi Synodorum Antiquitate, necessitate & Authoritate, & convenisset in consultationem, quibus rationibus, & fidei sinceritas, & morum sanctitas, & decor Domus Dei, & Ministerorum libertas conservari posset, nihil conducibilius visum est, quam ut ea quae à Patribus bene ac prudenter
denter Antiquitus instituta sunt, quae postliminii jure revocarentur, atque tractatu inter nos habito, ad extremum, in hae capitula unanimiter consensum est.

I. Synodum Diœcesanam sive Capitulum quotannis tertia & quarta feria secunda hebdomadæ Mensis Septembris in Ecclesia Kilmorensi tenendam, eum diem huic conventui statum, & solennem fore sine ullo mandato; si res poscat in ceteris ordinationum temporibus Presbyteriùm contrahi, Episcopi mandatum expectandum.

II. In Episcopi absentia aut morbo, Vicarius ejus si Presbyter fuerit, presidebit; alioqui Archidiaconus qui de jure Vicarius est Episcopi.

III. Vicarius Episcopi in posterum nullus constituatur aut confirmetur qui laicus est, nec quisquam prorsus nisi durante duntaxat beneplacito.

IV. Ut Archidiaconus de triennio in triennium Diœcesin personaliter visitet, singularum Ecclesiæarum, Ædiumque mansionalium sarta testatur, libros & ornamenta in indiculo descriptos habeat,
at, defeitum omnes supplendos curet; Episcopalis procurationis dimidium habeat, ea conditione ut Episcopus illo Anno non vi-

sitet.

V. Ut sesundum pristinam & antiquam hujus Dioecesis Kilmorensis constitutionem in tribus ejus regionibus, tres Decani sint, ab ipsis Ministris ejusdem Decanatus eligendi, qui vitam & mores cleri jugi circumpectione custodiant, & ad Episcopum referant, ejusque mandata accipiant, & quoties opus erit per apparitorem Decanatus ad Compresbyteros suos transmittant.

VI. In quovis Decanatu, in oppido ejus principali, conventus, sive Capitulum sit Ministrorum quolibet saltatem Mense, ubi lectis plene publicis precibus, concionentur per vices sine longis precibus & proxmiis.

VII. Advocationes Ecclesiarum nondum vacantium que ad collationem Episcopi spectant, nemini conferantur aut confirmentur.

VIII. Possessiones Ecclesiae non alienentur aut locentur contra Regni jura, nempe terrarum Mensalium nulla sit locatio,
The Life of

catio, nisi quoad Episcopus in Sede aut vita supersit, ceterarum in plures annos, quam leges sinunt, aut prioribus locationibus, triennio minus nondum expetis.

IX. Ut Corpora defunctorum dein- cepis in Ecclesiis non humentur, sed nec intra quintum pedem ad pariete extrorsum.

X. Ut mulieres in Sacrario non sedant, sed infra Cancellos, & quidem ad viris.

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

XII. Ne in funeribus mulieres lucetum aut ululatum facient.

XIII. Ut Ossa defunctorum in Cæme- teriis non coacerventur, sed tradantur sepulchra.

XIV. Ut matricula sit, in quam referantur nomina eorum qui ad sacros ordines admissi sunt, aut instituti, aut ad- missi ad Beneficia, sive ad curam Anima- rum coaptati; clericorum item Parochialis-
um & Ludimagistrorum, neque deinceps ad litteras testimoniales in visitationibus exhibendae adigatur.

XV. Ne quis Minister Oblationes ad Funera, Baptismum, Eucharistiam, Nuptias, post puerperium; aut portionem Canonicam cuquam locet.

XVI. Ne quis ejusmodi oblata acerbe exigat, præsertim a pauperibus.

XVII. Ut fæsit Minister à sacra Cena repellere eos qui se ingerunt ad Synaxis, neque nomina sua pridie Parocho significarunt.

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

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

XX. Clerici comam ne nutriant, & habitu Clericali prout Synodo Dublensis
niensi institutum est, incedant.

XXI. O Economi Parochiarum provideant ne in Ecclesia tempore cultus divini pueruli discurse tur, utque canes arceantur, constitutis Ostiariis, vel mulcta imposita, si quis semel atque iterum admonitus canem secum in Ecclesiam introduxerit.

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

Hec Decreta Synodalia, quoniam ex usu hujus Dioecesis futura credimus, & ipsi observabimus, & quantum in nobis est ab aliis observanda curabimus, adeoque Manus sui quisque subscriptione corroboremus.

Septemb. 19.
1638.
Recusatio 24. Articulorum Episcopi Kilmorensis:

Coram vobis venerabilibus Viris Georgio Riv. Legum Doctore, & Guilielmo Hilton Artium Magistro, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Jacobi providentia divina Armachani Archiepiscopi, totius Hiberniae Primate, nec non Judicis, Presidis, sive Commissarii Curie Regiae Prerogativa pro causis Ecclesiasticis, & ad facultates in & per totum regnum Hiberniae, Regia authoritate legitime constitutis, substitutis sive surrogatis, ut vulgo creditur, Ego Guilielmus Kilmorensis Episcopus cum debita vobis reverentia propono, Quod licet ante hoc exceptionem quondam declinatoriam jurisdictionis vestrae in quadam pratense causa duplicis querela mota à Guilielmo Bayly clerico Diocesis Kilmorensis justis de causis interposuerim, ac nominatim propter incompetentiam fori, per absenti-
nem animi vestri in me iniqui, quas etiam coram eodem reverendissimo Praefide, alisque aequis arbitris probandas in me recepi, ac licet etiam pro parte mea, venerabilem virum Edwardum Parry Sacrae Theologiae Professoris elegem ac nominaverim: Vos tamen dictae recusationi meae non modo deferre recusastis, sed novis insuper et pluribus indicis animum vestrum mihi infersum prodidistis; ea propter ego Episcopus antedictus animo non proregandi, sed expressius et particularius contra jurisdictionem & personas vestras excipiendo, dico & allego.

I. Inprimis quod pretensa querela dicti Guilielmi Bayly oritur ex sententia quaedam in causa correctionis ex officio meo Episcopali, & jussa illustriissimi Praequis, in qua si modum excederim, legitima appellatio erat ad Synodum Provinciae, vel Consistorium Archiepiscopale.

II. Quod dictus Bayly à Sententia predicta judicialiter & viva voce appellavit, unde servato ordine jurisdictionum ex decreto nuperi Synodi Dublinensis causa cognito, omisso intermedium Archiepiscopali Consistorio, devoluei non potest ad hanc Curiam.

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

IV. Quod regiae Majestati cognitio abu- sivarum facultatum in ipsa lege reservatur expressis verbis, ut hoc forum vestrum, à quo ejusmodi facultates emanant, buic rei incompetens sit.

V. Quod sub nomine Reverendissimi Primatis Armachani delitescentes tenorem Commissionis vestrae non inseritis citatio- nibus vestris, ut nesciatur nedum quod, aut quatenus vobis commissum sit, sed an om- nino ab ipso surrogati.

VI. Quod jurisdictione vestra non fundata, illud satis scitur, homines vere Laicos in Episcopos ex executione Episco- palis officii nullam habere potestatem.

VII. Quod litem vestram facitis, dum in citazione vestra, narratis à me gesta in prejudicium jurisdictioinis Curiae Regiae prærogativa, & ad facultates cedere, ejus- que contemptum, ex quo constat (fatente actore) hanc causam ad commodum
The Life of
& honorem vestrum spectare.

VIII. Quod ut quoquo modo processum vestrum defendatis, singitis causam esse duplicis querela, cum nulla sit hic mutua petitio aut reconventus aut querela, nisi simplex tantum.

IX. Quod nimium favorem & propensitatem ad partem dicti Guilielmi Bayly ostendatis, cum probum virum & dissertation appellatis causa nondum discussa; cum accusatorem Episcopi sui, Canonum Ecclesiastici, nec laudandum, nec facile audiendum, & nisi causam probaverit, insamem haber volun.

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

XI. Quod vetus mihi litigium est versus super institutionibus ( quas hæc Curia usurpavit ) ex quo in admissione Nicolai Prenard ad Vicarium de Kildromferton, protestationem interposui, quam tu Guilielme Hilton indign tulisti, eaque non obstante, illum, & multos alios instituisti, reclamantibus Episcopis, quo
quo nomine ergo, iniqui estis, non mihi tantum, sed æque omnibus.

XII. Quod cum nuper de prima Cita- tione vestra conquerstus essem apud illustri- simum Præsidem in qua Majestas lea vi- debatur, vos ea de causa, haud dissimul- lanter iratos habui.

XIII. Quod comparentem ex ea Ci- tatione, ad Tribunal vestrum, expectare & per sesquihoram inambulare, tanquam ex insima plebecula coegistis.

XIV. Quod cum proximo die juridico à vobis dimissus essem sub hac formula, quod me non moraremini, quod nihil ha- buistis mihi objiciendum, tu tamen Gui- lielme Hilton post paulo dixisti futurum ut denuo citarer, ex quo consiliorum com- municationem cum dico Guilielmo Bayly prodidisti.

XV. Quod cum secunda Cita- tio minus succederet, perperam facta, sub nomine Episcopi Lismorensis, tu idem Guilielme Hilton actorem admonuisti, ut de integro inciperet.

XVI. Quod cum tertio citatus Recu- sationem quandam jurisdictionis vestre,
opposuissem propter incompetentiam & suspicionem, quarum causas paratus eram coram arbitris ostendere, vos jam non admisistis ut oportuit, sed in proximum diem juridicum super ea deliberasti.

XVII. Quod quarto citatum ad audiendum voluntatem vestram super recusatione predicta cum cerneretis ad Tribunal vestrum appropinquantem, surrexistis illico, & quanquam nec Auditorio egressi eratis, nec Praeco populum missum fecisset, nec hora effluxerat, rumniistis me Episcopum antedictum comparentem audire, ut habetis aliquem colorum me contumacem pronunciandi.

XVIII. Quod cum proximo die juridico comparuissem, & contumaciarn mihi falso impositam purgassem, & iterata predicta Recusatione & arbitrum probationis pro parte mea reverendum Virum Edwardum Parry sacra Theologiae Professorum nominassim, vos habeamittere recusastiis, sed me ad libellum accipendum & Procuratorem constituum adigere volsistis.

XIX. Quod in Acta Curie referri curastis, me non comparussisse, & in isdem narratis ramen, me presentem admonium fuisse
fuisse de comparendo de die in diem usque ad finem litis, in altero imperite, in altero inepte, in utroque (salva reverentia vobis debita) injuste.

XX. Quod Sigillum officii curie Regiae Prerogativa, & ad facultates, dispensationibus circa Pluralitatem Beneficiorum & Residentiam temerarie profusis, & interdum legi divina repugnantis apponitis.

XXI. Quod Episcoporum jurisdictione & ordinariam & excitata a suprremaino Magistratu impedire, ipsos ad Tribunal vestrum prostrahere, vexare & vilipendere non veremini.

XXII. Quod eorum jura Episcopalia in institutionibus notoria usurpatis.

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

XXIV. Quod nuper in hac eadem causa, sigillum vestrum literis, in quibus Regiae Majestas lefa fuerit, apponebatur minus discrete,
The Life of

discrete, ne quid gravius dicam, judex tamen indiscretus quoad recusationem iniquo aequiparatur.—Has ob causas, quas omnes antearum plurimas ego Episcopus anteditus coram aquis arbitris verificare paratus sum (adoequo reverendum virum Edwardum Parry, S. Theologiae Doctorem, ex parte mea nomino) vestrum Tribunal, absente reverendo Præside, vestræque personas, tanquam mihi merito in hac causa suspectas, declino & recuso ad quemcunque juris effectum.

Dublin. anno
Domini 1638.

Reverendo
Reverendo in Christo Fratri Eugenio Guilielmus Ecclesiae Kilmorensis Minister S. P.

Beneigne tu quidem (reverende Frater) quita praesentia te mihi offers in hoc tumultu praedidio fore. Nec ego in re simili impar tibi in hoc charitatis officio deprehenderer. Sed quo minus hoc tuo beneficio utar in praesentia, multis impedior. In primis loci angustiis, tum calamitosis, omnis ordinis, sexus, etatis, numero; qui huc tangam ad Asylum confugiunt. Accedit quorundam & inter hos Filii mei invaletudo. Quod caput est, non Religiosis inter nos (unica nempe ea est & communis Christiana, quod ego semper & sensi & scriptis professus sum) sed cultus disparitas: nos nempe in ejusmodi miseriis, lectione sacrarum Scripturarum, precibus assiduis Lingua Vernacula ad Deum fusis, nos ipsos solamur; & quando in humanis tam parum Fidei est, Fidem & Opeem Divinam imploramus. Eares si non te, at comites tuos offenderet, nec prohiberi possent, qui te his commorantem vistare se velle dicerent: Quo pretextu circumcelliones isti irrupterent, qui
qui cum cetera omnia nostra deripuerunt, ad extremum, se nece nostra cultum Deo gratum exhibitus opinantur. Mihi igitur certum est in divino presidio acquiriscere, Christiano homini & quidem Episcopo jam pene Septuagenario, Christi causa, nulla mors acerba esse potest, nulla non oppetenda. Interea si quid tibi visum fuerit interdicere apud populum sub Anathemate; ne deinceps, concussis, spoliatis, toties exutis vim adferant, (mihi nempe soli nihil posco) rem facies Deo gratam, tibi honorificam, populo isti (sit tibi obtemperaverit) salutarem; sin minus, at sperate Deum memorem. Cui te, reverende Frater, ex animo commendo.

Tuus in Christo,

Nov. 11. 1641.

G. Kilmoresonis.
An Advertisement concerning a Character given by Sir Henry Wotton of F. Paul the Author of the History of the Council of Trent.

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

Sir,
SIR,

Though my Feet cannot perform that Counsel which I remember from some Translation in Siracides, Tēras limen senfati viri; yet I should at least have often visited you with my poor Lines: But on the other side, while I durst not trust mine own conceit in the power of my present infirmity, and therefore have seldom written to any; I find myself in the mean time overcharged with divers Letters from you of singular kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty peaceful piece: which truly I had not seen before, so as besides the weight of the Subject, it was welcome, even for the Grace of newness. Yet let me tell you, I could not but somewhat wonder to find our Spiritual Seneca (you know whom I mean) among these Reconcilers, having read a former Treatise of his (if my memory fail me not) of a contrary complexion. Howsoever, let him now have his due praise with the rest, for shewing his Christian Wisdom and Charity. But I fear, as it was antiently said of a Roman General, That Bellum fese alit, so it will prove, though in somewhat a different sense, likewise as true of this Church-warfare,
warfare. That the very pleasure of contending will foment Contention till the end of all flesh. But let me leave that Sacred Business to our well-meaning Fathers.

And now, Sir, having a fit Messenger, and being not long after the time when love-tokens use to pass between Friends, let me be bold to send you for a New-Years-Gift, a certain Memorial not altogether unworthy of some entertainment under your Roof, namely a true Picture of Padre Paulo the Servite, which was first taken by a Painter, whom I sent unto him from my House, then neighbouring this Monastery. I have newly added thereunto a Title of mine own conception, and had sent the Frame withal if it were portable, which is but of plain Deal coloured black like the Habit of his Order. You have a luminous Parlor, which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicate Fare, and Freedome (the Prince of Dishes) but above all your own learned Discourse; for to dine with you is to dine with many good Authors. In that Room, I beseech you to allow it a favourable place for my sake.

And that you may have somewhat to tell of him more than a bare Image, if any shall ask, as in the Table of Cebes; I am desirous to characterize a little unto you.
you such part of his Nature, Customes and Abilities, as I had occasion to know by sight or enquiry. He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of Humanity; the very Pattern of that Precept, Quanto doctor, tanto submissior; and enough alone to demonstrate that Knowledge well digested, non inflat; excellent in Positive, excellent in Scholastical and Polemical Divinity; a rare Mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in Algebra and the Theoricks; and yet withal so expert in the History of Plants, as if he had never perused any book but Nature: Last-ly, A great Canonist, which was the Title of his ordinary Service with the State: And certainly in the time of the Popes Interdict, they had their principal Light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to sit fenced with a Castle of Paper about his Chair, and over Head; for he was of our Lord of S. Alban’s Opinion, That all Air is predatory, and especially hurtful, when the Spirits are most imploied. You will find a Scar in his Face, that was from a Roman Assassinate that would have killed him, as he was turned to the Wall near his Covent; and if there were not a greater Providence about us, it might
might often have been easily done, especially upon such a weakly and wearisb Body.

He was of a quiet and settled temper, which made him prompt in his counsels, and answers, and the same in Consultations which Themistocles was in Action, as will appear unto you in a Passage between him and the Prince of Conde; The said Prince in a voluntary journey toward Rome came to Venice, where to give some vent to his own humours, he would often deject himself of his greatness, and after other less laudable curiosities, not long before his departure, a desire took him to visit the famous obscure Servite, to whose Cloyster coming twice he was the first time denied to be within; at the second it was intimated, That by reason of his daily admission to their deliberatives in the place he could not receive the visit of so illustrious a personage, without leave from the Senate, which he would seek to procure. This set a great edge on the Prince, when he saw he should confer with one participant of more than Monkish Speculations: So after leave gotten, he came the third time, and there besides other voluntary discourse (which it were a tyranny over you to repeat) he assailed with a question, enough to have troubled any Man but himself, and him too,
too, if a precedent accident had not eased him. The question was this: He desired to be told by him before his going away, who was the true unmasked Author of the late Tridentine History. You must know, that but newly advertisement was come from Rome, That the Archbishop of Spalato being there arrived from England, in an interview between him and the Cardinal Ludovisio, Nephew to Gregory XV. the said Cardinal after a complementary welcoming of him into the Lap of the Church, told him by order from the Pope, That his Holiness would expect from him some Recantation in Print, as an antidote against certain Books and Pamphlets, which he had published whilst he stood in revolt, namely his first Manifesto: Item, Two Sermons preached at the Italian Church in London. Again, a little Treatise intituled, Scogli. And lastly, His great Volumes about Church Regiment and Controversies: These were all named; for as touching the Tridentine History, his Holiness, saith the Cardinal, will not press you to any disavowment thereof, though you have an Epistle before the Original Edition, because we know well enough that Fryer Paulo is the Father of that Brat. Upon this last Piece of the aforesaid Advertisement the good Father
Father came fairly off; for on a sudden, laying all together, that to disavow the Work was an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to say nothing, an Incivility; he took a middle Evasion, telling the Prince, That he understood he was going to Rome, where he might learn at ease who was the Author of that Work, as they were freshly intelligenced from thence. Thus without any mercy of your time, I have been led along from one thing to another, while I have taken pleasure to remember that Man whom God appointed and furnished for a proper Instrument to anatomize that Pack of reverend Cheaters. Among whom, I speak of the greater part, Exceptis senioribus, Religion was shuffled like a Pair of Cards, and the Dice so many Tears were set upon us.

And so wishing you very heartily many good years, I will let you breath, till you have opened these inclosed.
ERRATA.

Page 79. Margent, for i. read 2. p. 105.
1. 29. after Correction del. p. 115. l. 13.
for Understanding r. an undertaking. p. 122. l. 16.
after Oath r. not, l. ult. for Baily's Clerk r. Baily.
p. 129. l. 18. for 1630 r. 1638. p. 132. l. 18. be-
fore as r. such. p. 142. l. 12. for those Articles r.
these Articles. p. 150. l. 15. for ther r. their. p.
206. l. 10. after carried r. themselves, l. 25. for
Forke r. Forbes.
THE COPIES OF CERTAIN LETTERS Which have passed between SPAIN & ENGLAND In matter of RELIGION, CONCERNING The general Motives to the ROMAN OBEDIENCE, BETWEEN Mr. James Waddesworth, a late Pensioner of the holy Inquisition in Sevil, and W. Bedell, a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Suffolk.

LONDON, Printed in the Year MDCLXXXV.
To the most

HIGH & EXCELLENT

PRINCE,

Prince CHARLES.

I should labour much in my excuse, even to my own judgment, of the highest boldness, in daring to present these papers to your Highness, if there were not some relieving circumstances, that give me hope, it shall not be disagreeable to your higher Goodness. There is nothing can see the light, which hath the name of Spain in it, which seems not now properly yours, ever since it pleased you to honour that Country with your presence. And those very Motives to the Roman obedience, which had been represented unto you there, in case you had given way to the propounding them, are in these Letters.
charitably and calmly examined; Between a couple of Friends, bred in the same Colledge (that of the foundation of Sir Walter Mildway of blessed Memory, whom with Honour and Thankfulness I name) chosen his Scholars at the same Election, lodged in the same Chamber, after Ministers in the same Dioces. And that they might be matchable abroad as well as at home, Attendants in the same rank as Chaplains, on two honourable Ambassadors of the Majesty of the King your Father in Foreign parts; the one in Italy, the other in Spain. Where, one of them having changed his Profession, and received a Pension out of the Holy Inquisition House, and drawn his Wife and Children thither, was lately often in the Eyes of your Highness; Very joyful I suppose to see you there, not more I am sure, than the other was solicitous to miss you here. These passages between us I have hitherto forbore to divulge, out of the hope of further answer from Mr. Waddesworth, according to his Promise; though since the receipt of my last (being silent to my self) he excused him in sundry his Letters to others by
by his lack of Health. Nor should I have changed my resolution; but that I understand that presently after your Highnesses departure from Spain, he departed this Life. Which News, though it grieve me as it ought in respect of the loss of my Friend, yet it somewhat contenteth me, not to have been lacking in my endeavour, to the undeceiving a well-meaning man touching the state of our differences in Religion; nor as I hope to have scandalized him in the manner of handling them. And conceiving these Copies may be of some publick use, the more being lifted up above their own meanness by so high Patronage, I have冒险ed to prefix your Highnesses name before them. Humbly beseeching the same, that if these Reasons be too weak to bear up the presumption of this Dedication, it may be charged upon the strong desire some way to express the unspeakable joy for your Highnesses happy return into England, of one amongst many thousands,

Of your Highnesses most humble
and devoted Servants,

W. Bedell.
A Letter of Mr. Waddesworth, containing his Motives to the Roman Obedience. Dated at Sevil in Spain, April 1. 1615. printed as all the rest out of his own Hand-writing. p. 265.


4. A Letter from Mr. Waddesworth upon the receipt of the former. From Madrid, dated Octob. 28. 1619. received May 23. 1620. p. 291.

5. The Answer to the last Letter, June 15. 1620. p. 294.

6. A Letter from Mr. Waddesworth, from Madrid, June 8. 1620. p. 298

7. A Letter of Mr. Dr. Halls sent to Mr. Waddesworth, and returned into England with his Marginal Notes. p. 300.
The Contents.

8. A Letter returning it inclosed to Mr. Dr. Hall, p. 304.


10. The Examination of the Motives in the first Letter, p. 308.
The Heads of the Motives reduced unto twelve Chapters, answering unto the like Figures in the Margent of the first of Mr. Wadlesworth’s Letters.

Of the Preamble. The titles Catholick, Papist, Traytor, Idolater. The uniformity of Faith in Protestant Religion. p. 311.

Of the contrariety of Sects pretended to be amongst Reformers. Their differences, how matters of Faith. Of each pretending Scripture, and the Holy Ghost, p. 319.

Of the want of a humane, external, infallible Judge and Interpreter. The Objections answered. First, That Scriptures are oft matter of Controversie. Secondly, That they are the Law and Rule. Thirdly, That Princes are no Judges. Fourthly, Nor a whole Council of Reformers. The Pope’s being the Judge and Interpreter overthrown by Reasons; And by his palpable misinterpreting the Scriptures in his Decretals. The stile of his Court. His Breves about the Oath.
The Contents.

Chap. IV. Of the state of the Church of England, and whether it may be reconciled with Rome. Whether the Pope be Antichrist, PAULO V. VICE-DEO, OUR LORD GOD THE POPE: The Relation de moderandis titulis, with the issue of it. p. 328.

Chap. V. Of the safeness to joyn to the Roman being confessed a true Church by her Opposites. Mr. P. Wotton's perversion, printed at Venice. The Badge of Christ's Sheep. p. 358.


Chap. VII. Of the Armies of evident Witnesses for the Romanists. Whence it seems so to the inexpert Souldier. The Censure of the Centurists touching the Doctrine of the Antients. Danæus of S. Augustines opinion touching Purgatory. An instance or two of Imposture in wrestling Ter-tullian,
tullian, Cyprian, Augustine, p. 409.

Of the Invisibility of the Church said to be an Evasion of Protestants. The Promises made to the Church, and her glorious Titles, how they are verified out of S. Augustine; falsely applied to the whole Visible Church, or Representative, or the Pope, p. 422.

Of lack of Uniformity in matters of Faith in all Ages and Places. What matters of Faith the Church holds uniformly; and so the Protestants. Of Wickliff and Hus, &c. whether they were Martyrs, p. 426.

Of the original of Reformation in Luther, Calvin, Scotland, England. Whether King Henry the Eighth were a good Head of the Church. Of the Reformers in France and Holland. The original, growth and supporting of the Popes Monarchy considered, p. 429.

Of lack of Succession, Bishops, true Ordinations, Orders, Priesthood. The fabulous Ordination at the Nags-Head examined. The Statute 8 Elizabeth. Bonners slitting the first Parliament, and Dr. Bancrofts answer to Mr. Alabaster. The Form of Priesthood enquired of. p. 453.
Chap. XII. Of the Conclusion. Master Waddestworth's Agonies and Protestation. The Protestation and Resolution of the Author and conceipt of Mr. Waddestworth, and his accompt, p. 481.
The Copies of certain Letters. 265

The Copies of Certain Letters
Which have passed between Spain and England
In matter of Religion.

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

Mr. Bedell,
My very loving Friend: After the old plain fashion, I salute you heartily, without any new fine complements or affected Phrases. And by my inquiry, understanding of this Bearer, that after your being at Venice, you had passed
passed to Constantinople, and were returned to S. Edmundsbury, in safety, and with health, I was exceeding glad thereof; for I wish you well as to myself: and he telling me further, that to-morrow, God willing, he was to depart from hence to embark for England, and offering me to deliver my Letters, if I would write unto you, I could not omit by these hasty scribled lines to signifie unto you the continuance of my sincere love, never to be blotted out of my breast (if you kill it not with unkindness, like Mr. Joseph Hall) neither by distance of place, nor success of time, nor difference of Religion. For (contrary to the flanders raised against all, because of the offences committed by some) we are not taught by our Catholick Religion, either to diminish our natural obligation to our native Country, or to alter our moral affection to our former friends.

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

Unto
Unto your self, my good Friend, who do understand better than Mr. Hall, what the Doctors in Schools do account Apostasie, and how it is more and worse than Heresie, I do refer both him and my self, whether I might not more probably call him Heretick, than he term me at the first dash Apostata: But I would abstain from such biting Satyrs. And if he, or any other, will needs fasten upon me such bitter terms, let them first prove that, In all points of Faith I have fallen totally from Christian Religion, as did Julian the Apostata: For so is Apostasie described and differenced from Heresie. Apostasie est error, hominis baptizati, contrarius Fidei Catholicæ ex toto: and Heresis est error pertinax, hominis baptizati, contrarius Fidei Catholicæ ex parte. So that he should have shewed, first, my errors in matters of Faith; not any error in other Questions, but in decreed matters of Faith (as Protestants use to say) necessary to Salvation. Secondly, That such errors were maintained with obstinate pertinacy; and pertinacy is, where such errors are defended against the consent and determination of the Catholic Church; and also knowing that the whole Church teacheth the contrary to such opinions, yet will persist in them: And yet further, if there be any doubt, he must manifest unto me which is the Catholic Church. Thirdly, to make it full Apostasie, he should have convinced me to have swarved and backslidden (as you know the Greek Word signifies) like Julian renouncing his Baptism,
and forfaken totally all Christian Religion: a horrible imputation, though false, nor so easily proved as declaimed: But I thank God daily that I am become Catholic, as all our Ancestors were till of late years, and as the most of Christendom still be at this present day, with whom I had rather be miscalled a Papist, a Traitor, an Apostata, or Idolater, or what he will, than to remain a Protestant with him still. For in Protestant Religion I could never find Uniformity of a settled Faith, and so no quietness of Conscience, especially for three or four years before my coming away, although by reading, studying, praying, and conferring, I did most carefully and diligently labour to find it among them.

II. But your contrariety of Sects and Opinions of Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Protestants, Puritans, Cartwrightists, and Brownists, some of them damning each other; many of them avouching their Positions to be matters of Faith (for if they made them but School Questions of Opinion only, they should not so much have disquieted me) and all these being so contrary, yet every one pretending Scriptures, and arrogating the Holy Ghost in his favour. And above all (which did most of all trouble me) about the deciding of these and all other Controversies which might arise, I could not find among all these Sects any certain humane external Judge, so infallibly to interpret Scriptures, and by them and by the assistance of the Holy Ghost so undoubtedly to define questions.

III.
Lions of Faith, that I could assure myself and my Soul, **This Judge is infallible;** and to him thou oughtest in Conscience to obey and yield thy understanding in all his determinations of Faith, for he cannot err in those Points. And note that I speak now of an external, humane, infallible Judge. For I know the Holy Ghost is the Divine internal and principal Judge; and the Scriptures be the Law or Rule, by which that humane external Judge must proceed. But the Holy Scriptures being often the Matter of Controversie, and sometime questioned which be Scriptures, and which be not, they alone of themselves cannot be Judges: And for the Holy Ghost likewise every one pretending him to be his Patron, how should I certainly know by whom he speaketh, or not? For to Men we must go to learn, and not to Angels, nor to God himself immediately. The Head of your Church was the Queen (an excellent notable Prince) but a Woman, not to speak, much less to be Judge in the Church; and since a learned King, like King Henry the Eighth, who was the first temporal Prince that ever made himself Ex Regio jure Head of the Church in Spiritual matters, a new strange Doctrine, and therefore justly condemned by Calvin for monstrous. But suppose he were such a Head, yet you all confess that he may err in matters of Faith. And so you acknowledge may your Archbishops and Bishops, and your whole Clergy in their Convocation-House, even making Articles and Decrees: yea, though aCouncil of all your Lutherans, Calvanists,
The Copies of certain Letters.

Vinifls, Protestants, &c. of Germany, France, England, &c. were all joyned together, and should agree all (which they never will do) to compound and determine the differences among themselves, yet by the ordinary Doctrine of most Protestants they might in such a Council err, and it were possible in their Decrees to be deceived. But if they may err, how should I know and be sure when and wherein they did, or did not err? for though on the one side, Aposle ad esse non valet semper consequentia, yet aliquando valet, and on the other side, frustra dicitur potentia, que nunquam ducitur in actum. So that if neither in general nor in particular, in publick nor private, in Head nor Members, joyntly nor severally, you have no visible, external, humane, infallible Judge, who cannot err, and to whom I might have recourse for decision of doubts in matters of Faith, I pray let Mr. Hall tell me, Where should I have fixed my foot? for God is my Witness, my Soul was like Noah's Dove, a long time hovering and desirous to discover Land, but seeing nothing but moveable and troublesome deceivable Water, I could find no quiet center for my Conscience, nor any firm Foundation for my Faith in Protestant Religion. Wherefore hearing a sound of Harmony and Consent, That the Catholick Church could not err, and that only in the Catholick Church, as in Noah's Ark, was infallibility, and possibility of salvation; I was so occasioned, and I think had important reason, like Noah's Dove, to seek out, and to enter into
into this Ark of Noah. Hereupon I was occasioned to doubt, Whether the Church of England were the true Church, or not? For by consent of all, the true Church cannot err; but the Church of England, Head and Members, King, Clergy, and People, as before is said, yea a whole Council of Protestants by their own grant may err, ergo, no true Church. If no true Church, no salvation in it; therefore come out of it: but that I was loth to do. Rather I laboured mightily to defend it, both against the Puritans, and against the Catholicks: But the best Arguments I could use against the Puritans from the Authority of the Church, and of the ancient Doctors interpreting Scriptures against them, when they could not answer them, they would reject them for Popish, and flye to their own arrogant spirit, by which forsooth they must control others. This I found on the one side most absurd, and to breed an Anarchy of confusion: and yet when I came to answer the Catholick Arguments on the other side against Protestants, urging the like Authority and Uniformity of the Church, I perceived the most Protestants did frame evasions, in effect like those of the Puritans, inclining to their private Spirit, and other uncertainties.

Next therefore I applyed my self to follow their Opinion, who would make the Church of England and the Church of Rome still to be all one in essential Points, and the differences to be accidental; confessing the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though sick,
fick, or corrupted, and the Protestants to be derived from it and reformed: and to this end I laboured much to reconcile most of our particular controversies: But in truth, I found such contrarieties, not only between Catholicks and Protestants, but even among Protestants themselves, that I could never settle my self fully in this Opinion of some reconciliation, which I know many great Scholars in England did favour. For considering so many opposite great Points, for which they did excommunicate and put to death each other, and making the Pope to be Antichrift, proper or improper, it could never sink into my Brain how these two could be descendent or Members found nor unfound participant each of other. Rather I concluded, that seeing many of the best learned Protestants did grant The Church of Rome to be a true Church, though peradventure faulty in some things: And contrarily, not only the Catholicks, but also the Puritans, Anabaptists, Brownists, &c. did all deny the Church of England to be a true Church: therefore it would be more safe and secure to become a Roman Catholic, who have a true Church by consent of both parties, than to remain a Protestant, who do alone plead their own cause, having all the other against them: For the testimony of our selves, and our contraries also, is much more sufficient, and more certain than to justify our selves alone. Yet I resifted and stood out still: and betook my self again to read over and examine the chiefest Controversies.
The Copies of certain Letters. 273

fies, especially those about the Church, which is cardo negotii (and herein because the Bearer stayes now a day or two longer, I will inlarge my self more than I purpoied) and so I would needs peruse the Original quotations and Texts of the Councils, Fathers, and Doctors, in the Authors themselves, which were alleged on both parts, to fee if they were truly cited, and according to the meaning of the Authors: a labour of much labour, and of travel sometime to find the Books, wherein I found much fraud committed by the Protestants; and that the Catholicks had far greater and better armies of evident Witnesses on their sides, much more than the Protestants; in so much that the Centurists are fain often to cenfure and reject the plain testimonies of those Ancients, as if their new cenfure were sufficient to disauthorize the others ancient sentences. And so I remember Danaus in Commentariis super D. Augustin. Enchirid. ad Laurentium. Where S. Augustin plainly avoucheth Purgatory: He rejects S. Augustines Opinion, saying, hic est navis Augustini: But I had rather follow S. Augustines Opinion, than his Cenfure; for who are they to control the Fathers?

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

In fine, I found myself evidently convinced, both by many Authorities, and by many Arguments, which now I do not remember all, nor can here repeat those which I do remember: But only some few Arguments I will relate unto you which prevailed most with me, besides those aforementioned.

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

IX. Also the true Church in all places and all Ages, ever holds one Uniformity and Concord in all matters of Faith, though not in all matters of Ceremony or Government: But the Protestants Church hath not in all Ages, nor in all places such uniform concord, no not in one Age, as is manifest to all the World, and as Father Parsons proved against Fox's Martyrs, Wickliffe, Husse, and the rest: Ergo the Protestants Church, not the true Church.
Again, by that saying, *Hæreses ad originem revocasse est refutasse*; and so considering Luther's first rancor against the Dominicans, his disobedience and contempt of his former Superiours, his vow-breaking, and violent courses, even causing rebellion against the Emperor, whom he reviles, and other Princes most shamefully; surely such arrogant disobedience, Schism, and Rebellions, had no warrant nor vocation of God to plant his Church, but of the Devil to begin a Schism and a Sect. So likewise for Calvin, to say nothing of all that D. Bolseus brings against him; I do urge only what Mr. Hooker, Dr. Bancroft, and Saravia do prove against him, for his unquietness and ambition, revolving the Commonwealth, and so unjustly expelling and depriving the Bishop of Geneva, and other temporal Lords of their due obedience, and ancient inheritance. Moreover, I refer you to the stirs, broils, sedition, and murders which Knox and the Geneva-Gospellers caused in Scotland against their lawful Governours, against their Queen, and against our King, even in his Mothers Belly. Nor will I insist upon the passions which first moved King Henry violently to divorce himself from his lawful Wife, to fall out with the Pope his Friend, to marry the Lady Anne Bullen, and soon after to behead her; to disinherit Queen Mary, and inable Queen Elizabeth, and presently to disinherit Queen Elizabeth, and to restore Queen Mary; to hang up Catholicks for Traytors, and to burn Protestants for Hereticks,
Hereticks, to destroy Monasteries, and to pill Churches: Were these fit beginnings for the Gospel of Christ? I pray was this Man a good Head of Gods Church? for my part, I beseech our Lord bless me from being a Member of such a Head, or such a Church. I come to France and Holland, where you know by the Hugonots and Geneves all Calvinists, what Civil Wars they have raised, how much Blood they have shed, what Rebellion, Rapine, and Desolations they have occasioned principally for their new Religion, founded in Blood like Draco's Laws: But I would gladly know whether you can approve such bloody broils for Religion, or no? I know Protesants de facto, do justify the Civil Wars of France and Holland for good against their Kings; but I could never understand of them quo jure: If the Hollanders be Rebels (as they are) why did we support them? if they be no Rebels because they fight for the pretended liberty of their ancient Priviledges, and for their new Religion; we see it is an easie matter to pretend Liberties, and also why may not others as well revolt for their old Religion? Or I beseech you, why is that accounted Treason against the State in Catholics, which is called Reason of State in Protesants? I reduce this Argument to few Words, That Church which is founded and begun in Malice, Disobedience, Passion, Blood and Rebellion, cannot be the true Church: but it is evident to the World, That the Protestant Churches in Germany, France, Holland, Ge-
neva, &c. were so founded, and in Geneva and Holland are still continued in Rebellion: *ergo, They are not true Churches.*

Furthermore, where is not *Succession* both of true pastors and of true Doctrine, there is no true Church: But among Protestants is no succession of true pastors, (for I omit here to treat of Doctrine) *ergo, no true Church.* I prove the minor: *where is no consecration nor ordination of Bishops and Priests,* according to the due Form and right intention required necessarily by the Church and ancient Councils, there is no succession of true pastors: But among Protestants the said due Form and right intention are not observed, *ergo,* no succession of true pastors. The said due Form and right intention are not observed among Protestants in France, Holland, nor Germany, where they have no Bishops, and where Laymen do intermeddle in the making of their Ministers. And for England, whereas the Councils require the *Ordines minores* of Subdeacon and the rest, to go before Priesthood; your Ministers are made *persaltum* without ever being Subdeacons. And whereas the Councils require three Bishops to assist at the consecration of a Bishop, it is certain that at the Nags-Head in Cheapside, where consecration of your first Bishops was attempted, but not effected, (whereabout I remember the controversy you had with one) there was but one Bishop, and I am sure there was such a matter: And although I know and have
have seen the Records themselves, that afterward there was a consecration of Dr. Parker at Lambeth, and three Bishops named, viz. Miles Coverdal of Exeter, one Hodgskin Suffragan of Bedford, and another whose name I have forgotten; yet it is very doubtful that Coverdal being made Bishop of Exeter in King Edward's time (when all Councils and Church-Canons were little observed) he was never himself Canonically consecrated; and so if he were no Canonical Bishop, he could not make another Canonical: And the third unnamed, as I remember (but am not sure) was only a Bishop elect, and not consecrated, and so was not sufficient. But hereof I am sure, that they did consecrate Parker by virtue of a Breve from the Queen, as Head of the Church, Who indeed being no true Head, and a Woman, I cannot see how they could make a true Consecration grounded on her Authority. Furthermore, making your Ministers, you keep not the right intention; for neither do the Orderer nor the Ordered give nor receive the Orders as a Sacrament; nor with any intention of Sacrificing. Also they want the Matter and Form with which according to the Councils and Canons of the Church holy Orders should be given; namely for the Matter, Priesthood is given by the delivery of the Patena with Bread, and of the Chalice with Wine: Deaconship by the delivery of the Book of the Go-
spels; and Subdeaconship by the delivery of the Patena alone, and of the Chalice empty. And in the substantial form of Priesthood you do fail most of all, which Form consists in these Words, *Accipe po-
testatem offerendi Sacrificium in Ecclesia pro Vivis & Mortuis*, which are neither said nor done by you, and therefore well may you be called Ministers, as also Laymen are, but you are no Priests. Wherefore I conclude, wanting Subdeaconship, wanting undoubted Canonical Bishops, wanting right intention, wanting Matter and due Form, and deriving even that you seem to have from a Woman the Head of your Church, therefore you have no true Pastors, and consequently no true Church. And so to conclude, and not to weary my self and you too much, being resolved in my understanding, by these and many other Arguments, That the Church of England was not the true Church, but that the Church of Rome was and is the only true Church, because it alone is Ancient, Catholick, and Apostolick, having Succession, Unity, and Visibility, in all Ages, and Places; yet what Agonies I passed with my Will, here I will over-pass. Only I cannot preter-
mit to tell you, That at last having also mastered and subdued my will to relent unto my understanding, by means of Pray-
er, and by God Almighty's Grace prin-
cipally, I came to break through many tentations and impediments, and from a
troubled
troubled unquiet Heart, to a fixed and peaceable tranquillity of Mind, for which I do most humbly thank our sweet Lord and Saviour Jesus, before whom with all reverence I do avouch and swear unto you, as I shall answer it in the dreadful Day of Judgment, when all Hearts shall be discovered, That I forsook Protestant Religion for very fear of Damnation, and became a Catholick with good hope of Salvation; and that in this hope I do continue and increase daily: And that I would not for all the World become a Protestant again. And for this which here I have written unto you in great hast, I know there be many Replyes and Rejoynders wherewith I could never be satisfied; nor do I desire any further Disputation about them, but rather to spend the rest of my life in Devotion; yet in part to give you, my dear good Friend, some account of my self, having now so good an occasion, and fit a Messenger, and by you if you please to render a reason of my Faith to Mr. Hall, who in his said printed Epistle, in one place desires to know the Motives thereof, I have thus plainly made relation of some Points among many. Whereunto if Mr. Hall will make any Reply, I do desire it may be directly, and fully to the Points, and in friendly Terms, upon which condition I do pardon what is past: and of you I know I need not require any such circumstances. And so most seriously intreating and praying.
ing to our gracious Lord to direct and keep us all and ever in his holy Truth, I commend you unto his heavenly Grace, and my self unto your friendly love.

Your very affectionate,

and true loving Friend,

Sevil in Spain,
April 1, 1615.

James Waddefworth.
To the Worshipful his respected Friend,
Mr. William Bedell, at his House
in S. Edmondsbury, or at Hor-ringer, be there delivered in Suffolk.

Kind Mr. Bedel,

May old acquaintance and Friend, having heard of your health and worldly well-fare, by this Bearer Mr. Austen your Neighbour, and by him having opportunity to salute you with these few Lines, I could not omit; though some few years since I wrote you by one who since told me certainly he delivered my Letters, and that you promised answer, and so you are in my debt, which I do not claim nor urge so much, as I do that in truth and before our Lord I speak it, you do owe me love in all mutual amity, for the hearty affectionate love which I have and ever did bear unto you with all sincerity. For though I love not your Religion (wherein I could never find solid Truth, nor firm hope of Salvation, as dow I do being a Catholick, and our Lord is my Witness, who shall be my Judge) yet indeed I do love your person, and your ingenuous, honest, good, moral condition, which
which ever I observed in you: nor do I desire to have altercation with Mr. Joseph Hall (especially if he should proceed as satyrically as he hath begun with me) nor with any other Man, and much less would I have any debate with your self, whom I do esteem and affect as before I have written: nor would I spend the rest of my life (which I take to be short, for my Lungs are decaying) in any Questions, but rather in Devotion, wherein I do much more desire to be hot and fervorous, than in Disputations, beseeching our Lord to forgive my coldness, yea my neglect therein, and to pardon and free me from all sin, and to guide and keep you in all happiness, even as I wish for my own Soul, through the Redemption of our sweet Saviour, and by the intercession of his holy Mother, and all Saints, Amen.

Written in haste from Madrid, April 14. 1619.

James Waddesworth.

Received, June 4. 1619.
To the Worshipful my very good Friend,
Mr. James Waddefworth at Madrid, deliver this.

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

The late receipt of your Letters (good Master Waddefworth) did diversly affect me with joy and shame; and I know not with whether most. I was glad to hear of you, and your prosperous state, much more to receive a kind Letter from you: Ashamed therein to be called upon for debt; who have ever endeavoured to live by that Rule of the Apostle, Owe nothing to any Man. Yet not so much for that which you most urge the debt of love, fith by that Text it appears, that it can never be so discharged, as there should not be more behind to pay. And your self who challenge this of me, do owe me as much or well more. For let me tell you, I have the advantage of you herein by my Profession, for where your love is to me as to a Man, or to an honest Man, nor can by your present persuasion go any further, I can and
and do love you as my dear Brother, and fellow Member in the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ. And from this ground (to his knowledge I do appeal) I do heartily pray for you, and bear with you, and as the Apostle enjoys, Rom. 15. 7. receive you with a true brotherly affection. I am not therefore ashamed of this debt, but do rejoice as much in the owning of it, as in the payment. But my shame grows from the being behind with you in the office of writing. Wherein yet hear my honest and true excuse. Neither will I go about to set off one debt with another. For you may remember, how at our parting you promised to write to me touching the state of Religion there, which if we shall make out a perfect reckoning, I account to be a good debt still. But this I say, when your Letters of the first of April, 1615. came to my Hands, I purposed to return answer by the same Bearer, who as he told me, was to return about the Midsummer following. But I had a sudden and extraordinary journey which came between, and kept me from home till after the Commencement, so as that opportunity was lost. Besides, upon the reading of your Letters, I perceived your intention was to have them imparted to Dr. Hall, expecting in a sort some reply from him. To him therefore did I send them. After some Months I received this answer, which though I had once purposed to conceal, as not willing to be the mean of any exasperation between you, yet now hoping of your wisdom and patience, I send you inclosed, that it may be some evidence of my true excuse. Upon the receipt of it, I began
began to frame an answer to the Points of your Letter, according to your desire, full and in friendly terms. I had well-nigh finished it, when I was presented to this Benefice, and thereby entered into a world of distractions. These, together with the labour of writing it over, and uncertainty of safe conveying my Letters to you, did make me procrastinate my payment, till now to my shame you should need to demand it. And that I may by the more shaming myself obtain a more ease penance from you; I confess to you, I was sometime half in mind, (having especially differed it so long) to suppress it altogether. First out of mine own natural disposition, who have ever abhorred contention: and whereas in matters of Religion there ought to be the fairest Wars, I could never yet meet with any of that side of so patient a mind, but by opposition he would be unsettled. For your self, though I knew your former moderate temper, and (as I remember I wrote to Dr. Hall) believed you in that which you protest, that out of Conscience you were such as you profess; yet methought I perceived by your quick manner to him, and some passages in the conclusion of your Letter, you were rather desirous to enjoy the quiet possession of your own opinion, than come to any further disputation whose is the right. And in truth the time of that tryal had been proper, before your departure: nor you had too far engaged your self, and were to justify by your constancy, the wisdom of your change. Besides, since the sum of the error of that side, as I have ever conceived it, is believing rather too
too much, than failing in any point necessary to salvation, that notable place of the Apostle, Rom. 14. 1. came to my mind, especially after that I had once occasion to preach of it, where he forbids controversies of disputations with those that are infirm in Faith. Who art thou (faith he), that judgest another Man's Servant? he standeth or falleth to his own Master. Why should I grieve you, and perhaps make my Friend mine Enemy (as Saint Paul the Galatians) by saying the truth. The World is full enough of contentious Writings, which as by your Letter appears you had seen ere ye resolved. If those had not satisfied you, what could I hope to add to them? These things moved me; but as you say, they did not yet satisfy me. For all Men are interested in the defence of truth, how much more he that is called to be a Preacher of it? All Christians are admonished by S. Jude, To fight for the Faith once given to the Saints; how much more those that are leaders in this warfare: How could I say I loved our Lord Jesus Christ, if his honour being questioned I should be silent? How could I approve to mine own Soul, that I loved you, if I suffered you to enjoy your own error, suppose not damnable? Besides that, you and perhaps others also might be confirmed in it, perhaps interpreting my silence for a confession that your Motives were unanswerable. But therein I was not only resolved my self to the contrary, but thought it so easy to resolve any indifferent mind, as methought it was more
The Copies of certain Letters.

more shame not to have done it at the first; than praise to do it at the last. As for the success of my endeavour, I was to leave it to God. Many and secret are the ways of his Providence, which serveth itself sometimes even of errors, to the safer conduct of us to our final happiness. Some I had known, and heard of more, who being at first carried away with the shews of Unity, Order, Succession, Infallibility, when they found them empty of Truth, and the Cloaks of Pride, Ambition, Covetousness, joyned with an Obstinacy to defend all Corruptions how palpable soever, by finding the difference of these Hulls from their Fathers Table; had with the Prodigal-Son returned home again. To conclude, I accounted my self still in debt, and was I confess to you unwilling to dye in it; and sometimes vowed to God, in the midst of my troubles, if I might once see an end of them, to endeavour to discharge it. And now having by his mercy not only attained that, but a new occasion presented me presently thereupon, by your calling for satisfaction to pay it, and means offered me to send it safely: I take this motion to proceed from God, and do humbly desire his Majesty to turn it to good. It remains therefore, good Mr. Wadefworth, that I do intreat your pardon of that slowness that is past, and gentleness to take it as I shall be able to pay it. My employments both ordinary and extraordinary are many: The bulk of it is too great to convey in one Letter, consisting of sundry Sheets of Paper; and at this present there
there lies an extraordinary task upon me, so as I cannot presently write it out. I do therefore no more now but acknowledge the debt, and promise speedy payment. Unless I shall add this also, that I do undertake to pay interest for the forbearance; and according as I shall understand by Mr. Austen shall be fittest and safest, to send it in parts, or all at once. To the conclusion of your last Letter, wherein you profess your desire to spend the rest of your life rather in the heat of Devotion than of Disputation, desiring pardon of coldness that way, and of all other your sins, and that it would please God to guide and keep me in all happiness as your self, through the redemption of our sweet Saviour, and by the intercession of his holy mother and all Saints. I do most thankfully and willingly subscribe Amen: Returning unto you from my heart your own best wishes. Neither is it my purpose to call into question the solidity of truth, or firmness of the hope of Salvation, which you find in your present way. This only I say. *Et pro nobis Christus mortuus est, & pro nostra Redemptione Sanguinem suum fudit. Peccatores quidem, sed de ipsum gregem sumus, & inter ejus oviculas numeramur: This is my Tenet. And if the Doctrine of the Holy Bible do contain solid truth, and believing in the name of the Son of God do give firm hope of salvation, according to God's own Record, 1 John V 5. 10, * Even for us also hath Christ dyed, and for our Redemption hath he shed his Blood. Sinners indeed we are, but of his flock, and among his poor sheep are we numbered.
5. 10, 11, 12. we are persuaded we have both.  
I will add this more; We know that we are 
translated from Death to Life, because we 
love our Brethren. With this Oyle in our 
Lamps, which we desire may be always in store 
in our Vessels also our hearts, we attend the 
coming of the Bridegroom; and say cheerfully,  
*Etiam veni Domine Jesu. To whose graci- 
ous protection I do most heartily commit you, and 
do rest  

Your assured Friend,  

and loving Brother,  

Horningesherth,  
August 5. 1619.  

W. Bedell.
To the Worshipful Mr. William Bedell at Horningesberth near S. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, these.

Salutem in Crucifixo.

Worthy Sir,

I was exceeding glad to perceive by your kind, modest, and discreet Letters of the fifth of August last, that you are still permanent in your own good nature, and constant in your love to me: not like Mr. Joseph Hall, neither bitterly reviling, nor flourishing impertinently. Unto whom I pray you return his scoffing railing Letter, with these few marginal Notes. I pray God forgive him, and make him a more humbler and meeker Man. And I for my part do freely pardon all his foul terms against me. And though in gratitude and justice I am bound, and so do love and respect you more than him, for your greater courtse to me, and for your better value in your
your self; yet even him I can and do and am bound to love not only as an Enemy, or a Creature of God, or as I do you for an honest, moral, good, discreet Man, but even further and beyond that which you seem to understand that we cannot by our Doctrine proceed in love: viz. As Men having Souls, for whom our Saviour hath dyed; and so as possible members though indeed not actual branches of his mystical Body: Yea for such as may come to be ingrafted and bear Fruit in him, when we may be withered, cut off, or fallen away. As for your serious Apology and excuse for not answering my first Letters all this while, I do easily admit it, and assure my self that all the circumstances, impediments, and occasions were such, as you affirm: nor did I expect, nor urge, in my first nor second Letters, any answer about Controversies in Religion (for I ever said we could say nothing of substance which before had not been said) but only gave you by Mr. Hall's occasion some few reasons of my Faith, wherein still I protest I had rather be devout than be troubled to dispute, not for fear or doubt, but because I am so fully resolved in my self, and do think it a very superfluous labour, \textit{toties \& melius ab alius actum agere}. So that I desired rather answer of courteie than of Controversie, which now by Mr. Astons means I received, and do much esteem it, and heartily thank you for it. Nevertheless, when your Reply unto my plain and few reasons come, I will for your sake both read them over, and according
according to my little health, less leisure, and my poor ability (which is least of all) return you some such short. Rejoynder as it shall please almighty God to enable me, being glad to perceive by your last that you do subscribe to our intercession by our blessed Lady, and other holy Saints; which also I hope and wish you would fully extend to our invocation of Saints as Intercessors, not as Redeemers, for that were Blasphemy indeed and Idolatry; from which our sweet Saviour deliver us, and ever keep you, my good dear Friend, as I desire.

Madrid, in haste.
Octob. 26. 1619.

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

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Your Letters of the 26 of October, (beloved Master Waddefworth) were long upon the way, and came not to my hands till the 23 of May. In them I received your courteous acceptation of my excuse for my former silence, and censure of Dr. Hall's Letter with the profession of your love to me and him, further than I accounted you could by your Doctrine proceed, viz. as redeemed by Christ, and possible Members of his mystical Body. Truly Sir, I will not change Words with you hereabouts, but I account still to be an honest Man, restraineth from that, to be redeemed by our Saviour, since that is as large as humane Nature, this is given to fewer, of whom a Man may say as our Lord doth of one in the Gospel, that they are not far from the Kingdom of God. Howsoever, I have still my intention that we out of our Profession may love you better than you can us: since it is more to be an actual, than a possible Member of Christ; and
the Communion of Saints is a straier Bond, than Redemption by Christ, and possibility of being ingrafted and bearing Fruit in his mystical Body. And I would to Christ that of all other Controversies this were the vehementest between us, which should love each other most. Wherein although I would strive and do my best to have the better, yet see how equally I would contend. For both I would acknowledge freely, my self far short of that which I may by my Profession do in this kind, and persuade my self better of your secret affection to us, than you may by your Profession express. I will not easily believe that you can find in your Heart to count that Man a Dogg, and out of the Church, and in state of damnation, that stedfastly believeth in our Lord Jesus Christ, and by him in the Blessed Trinity; that confesseth all the Doctrine of Holy Scriptures, the sum whereof is in the Creed; that lastly, with a charitable affection embraceth all that hold this Faith, throughout the World, yea even those that hate and persecute him to the death. Wherein I forbear for the present to enlarge, because I speak more of it in my answer to your first Letters; which Mr. Aston gives me hope that himself ere long will consign into your hands. Now by his direction, I send you only advice of the receipt of your last, with hearty thanks for them, desirous not to run further in arrearages with you in this office of writing. This one thing I add, that where you write You are glad I do subscribe to your intercession by the Saints, wishing me fully to extend it to invocation of Saints as Intercessors, though not as Redeemers; I should be very glad if
I could as well content you in all other Points as that one: coming thus prepared in all controversies with you, and all Men, to yield whatsoever I may, saving the truth. But as I conceive it, there is great odds between these two. To desire God to grant us this or that good thing by the intercession of the Saints; and, To use invocation of themselves. The one supposeth only that the Saints in glory generally knowing the warfare of those on Earth, are careful for them, and omit not this act of never-failing charity to pray for them. These prayers it hopes, and desires of God may be helpful to us, by the only merit of our Lord Jesus Christ; in the same sort as those of the Saints whereon ever on Earth; as 2 Cor. i. 10. 11. Ephes. 6. 1. Phil. v. 22. The other, that the Saints departed know our wants, and states in particular, and hear our Prayers, and by consequent know our Hearts: which is flatly contrary to the Scriptures, 2 Chron. 6. 30. Esay 63. 16. To omit now that you do not only desire them to pray for you, but ask at their hands Grace and Glory, trust in them, vow to them, swear by them, offer and receive the Sacrifice of the New Testament to their honour and glory, and desire it may be accepted by their Patronage, Wherefore as I am glad, to perceive that you do reverse those blasphemies indeed, Salva me, Salvatrix; Redime me, Redemptrix; and will not subscribe to those Words of Bellarmine, non erit absurdum si sancti viri Redemptores nostri aliquo modo, id est secundum aliquid, non simpliciter, & largo modo, non in rigore verborum esse dicantur: And again, cur in-
The Copies of certain Letters.

epē dicantur Sancti viri aliquo modo passio-
nibus suis delicta nostra posse redimere? so I
hope and wish you would do the like for calling
upon them, and presenting their Merits unto
God; and as ye may more safely and sweetly
speak unto our Jesus, who is our Advocate
with the Father, entered into the Holy of
Holies, to appear before God for us. To his
gracious protection I commit you, and do rest

Your assured Friend,

and loving Brother,

Horningstheath,
June 15. 1620.

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

My very good Friend,

Mr. Bedell, my last unto you was by a Gentleman who went from hence about six Months since; but I have understand he fell sick at Paris, by the way, and so was first hindred there in his Journey, and afterwards again at Brusſels fell to a relapse, which detained him so long, that although now very lately I hear he is recovered and gone forward into England, yet in so long delays and so often sickneses, I know not whether he have lost or forgotten my former Letters: Wherefore out of this consideration, and by the opportunity of this Bringer; and by the true hearty affection which I bear you, being desirous to signifie unto you the continuance of my sincere love, I could not pretermitt this so good an occasion, though hereby I have nothing else to say nor intreat, but if we have Wars, yet our dissention may be rather in the matter and cases, than
The Copies of certain Letters.

than betwixt our persons, as discreet Lawyers use to plead vehemently each for his Clients justice, and yet remain betwixt themselves without breach of amity, and abstaining from opprobrious injury; wherein I have great confidence that you will proceed both more moderately in all the circumstance, and to better purpose in the substance than Mr. Joseph Hall, unto whose Letter directed to you, and by you sent unto me, I wrote certain Marginal Notes only, and so returned the same by the above named Gentleman, whereof also (if it return to your Hands) I would intreat you to send me a Copy both of his Text and my Gloss, for then being in haste I remained with neither. Our Lord keep you, and guide us all to his truth, and to Heaven.

Madrid June 8.
1620.

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

Good Master Bedell,

What a sorry crabb hath Mr. Wadsworth at last sent us from Sevil? I pity the impotent malice of the Man; sure that hot Region, and sulphurous Religion are guilty of this his choler: For ought I see he is not only turned Papist but Spaniard too. Ibi vivitur ambitiosae paupertate: The great Man would not foil his Fingers (for that is his Word) with such an Adversary as myself; he should have found this conflict his foiling indeed; but he scorns the match; and what wonder, if he that hath all this while sat on Father Crefwel's Stairs, scorn the unworthiness of him whom an English University scorned not to set in the Chair of Divinity? But whence is this my contempt? I see but two Vices to
to clear my self of; Poetry and Railing;
of the latter you shall acquit me if you will but read that
my poor Epistle which he
sleights thus: Let your
Eyes judge whether ever
any thing could be written
more mildly, more modestly,
more lovingly. Of the
former I must acquit my
self; Cujus unum est sed magnum vitium Poesis: What
were I the worse if I were
still a lover of those studies? If he could have
had leisure to tend upon any thing besides that
Fathers Pacquets, he might have seen most of
the renowned and holy Fathers of the Church
eminent in that Profession for which I am
scorned, amongst many others Tertullian,
Laetantius, Nazianzen, Prudentius, Fulgentius,
Apollinaris, Nonmus, Hilarins, Prosper, and
now in the upshot* devout Bernard, and
why should their honour be
my disgrace? But the truth
is, these were the recreations of my Minority; nunc
oblita mihi. And if Poetry
were of the deadly sins of
their Casuists, I could smart
for it in my にある: is this a fit scandal to
rake up from so far? What my proficiency
hath been in serious studies, if the Univer-
sity and Church hath pleased to testify:
What need I stand at the mercy of * a fugi-
tive. But if any of * his Masters should un-
dertake

† I termed him a poetical Railer, nor accusing nor ho-
nouring him for a Poet; but
taxing him for railing poetically, using the word as some-
times it is in the worst sense, when it is abused: neither
condemning Poetry, nor ap-
proving him for a Poet, but a
poetical Railer: As he doth
himself by that Epistle, and by
this bitter Letter.

* I willingly pardon all his
poetical railing and false Epi-
thetes, for that one true word
acknowledging S. Bernard to be
devoir.

† Pardon for S. Ber-
nards sake.

* A brave
Man at
arms, &c.
Pardon for S. Bernard's sake.

† I would there were not.

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

Would the great Schoolman have had me to have packt up a Letter of Syllogisms? Which of the Fathers (whose high steps I have desired to tread in) have given that example? What were to be expected of a Monitorial Epistle which intended only the occasion if he had pleased of a future Discourse? We Islanders * lift not learn to write Letters from beyond the Pyrenees. However, I am not sorry that his scorn hath cast him upon an Adversary more able to convince him; I am allowed only a looker on; therefore I will neither ward nor strike; his hands are too full of you: my only wish is, That you could beat him sound again; whereof I fear there is little hope. There was never Adversary that gave more advantage: He might have served in these Cole-worts nearer home. I profefs I do heartily pity him; and so if it please you let him know from me. What Apostasie (which is the only hard word I can be charged with)
The Copies of certain Letters.

I impute to the Roman Church, I have professed to the World in the first Chapter of my Roma irreconciliabilis: if I offend not in too much charity, there is no fear: say what you will for me, I have done, and will only pray for him that answers me with contempt: farewell, and commend me to Mr. Sotheby, and your other loving and Reverend Society; and know me ever,

Your truly loving Friend

and fellow Labourer,


Jos. Hall.

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

May 15.
To my Reverend and worthy Friend, Mr. Dr. Hall, at Wallingford, deliver this.

Salutem in Christo.

Good Mr. Dr.

This Letter of yours, since my receipt of it, hath been a Traveller, further than you or I; which being some Months since returned into England, I return to you, that it may relate what entertainment it hath found in Foreign parts. It is now a Year and more that I received a Letter from Mr. Wadsworth, challenging an old debt of me, an answer to his Letters, which occasioned this of yours. I wrote back, and among other things enclosed this your Letter, which he hath censured as you see. His answer by reason of the sickness of the Gentleman that brought it, first at Paris, and after at Brussels, came not
The Copies of certain Letters. 305

not to me till the latter end of May, and now lately another I received from him, wherein he desires a Copy both of your Text and his Gloss, as he calls it, as having reserved none for hast. I have not yet sent him my Answer to his Motives which hath long lain by me for lack of leisure to copy it out, and means safely to convey it, being well towards a quire of Paper. My ancient fault, tediousness. But the Gentleman that brought me his former Letter, hath undertaken ere long to consign it into his Hands. Therein I endeavour to use him with the best respect I can devise only oppugning the Papacy and Court of Rome. Now, Sir, that which I would entreat of you, is this: You know the Precept of the Apostle touching them that are fallen, lend me your Hand to set him in joynt again. And be pleased not only not to reflect upon the weakness of his Gloss, but not so much as upon the strength of his Stomach: Though that be also weakness, as S. Augustine well calls it, * infirmitas animositatis. Write a Letter to him in the Character

Which shall either go with mine, or be sent shortly after. Who can tell what God may work? Surely, at least we shall heap Coals of Fire upon his Head. Although if all be true that I hear, it is not to be despaired but he may be delivered out of the snare of error, the rather, because he hath not that reward or contentment which he expected. He lives X now
The Copies of certain Letters.

now at Madrid with the Persian Ambassador Sir Robert Sherley, and hath good maintenance from him, being as his Steward, or Agent. The kind usage of his ancient Friends, may perhaps bring him in love with his Country again, &c. This for that business. Now, &c.

October 2.
1620.

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

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Sir,

Received by Mr. Filton your Letters of the eighth of June, and as I hope ere this time you understand, the former which I mention in them: To which I wrote in answer, and delivered the same to Mr. Afton the fifteenth of the same Month. Doctor Hall's Letter with your Marginal Notes which in your last you require, I send you herein enclosed. Though if I may persuade or intreat you both, neither should the Text nor Gloss make you multiply any more words thereabout. Upon the receipt of your Letter I spake with Mr. Afton, who told me, That he held his resolution for Spain, whereupon I resolved also to send by him mine answer.
answer to your first: as thinking it better to
do it more safely, though a little later, than
sooner, with less safety. And here, Sir, at
length you have it. Wherein as to my moder-
ation for the manner, I hope you shall perceive
that setting aside our difference in Opinion, I
am the same to you that I was when we were
either Scholars together in Emmanuel Col-
ledge, or Ministers in Suffolk. For the sub-
stance, I do endeavour still to write to the
purpose, omitting nothing material in your Let-
ters. If sometimes I seem overlong, and per-
haps to digress somewhat from the principal
Point more than was necessary, I hope you will
pardon it, sith you required a full Answer,
and the delay itself had need to bring you
some interest for the forbearance. And be-
cause you mention the vehemency of discreet
Lawyers (although methinks we are rather
the Clients themselves, that contend, since our
Faith is our own and our best Freehold) let
me entreat of you this ingenuity (which I pro-
test in the fight of God I bring my self.)
Let us not make head against evident Reason,
for our own credit, or fashion, and factions
fake, as Lawyers sometimes are wont. Nei-
ther let us think we lose the Victory,
when Truth overcomes. We shall have part
of it rather, and the better part, since er-
ror, the common enemy to us both, is to us
more dangerous. For Truth is secure and im-
pregnable; we, if our Error be not conquer-
ed, must remain Servants to corruption. It
is the first Praise, faith S. Augustine, to
hold
The Copies of certain Letters. 309

hold the true Opinion, the next to forsake the false. And surely that is no hard matter to do, when both are set before us, if we will not be either rashless or obstinate. From both which our Lord of his mercy evermore help us, and bring us to his everlasting Kingdom. Amen.

Your very loving Brother,

Horninghearth,  
Octob. 22. 1620.  

W. Bedell.

X 3  THE
THE

COPIES

OF

Certain Letters, &c.

Saltem in Christo Jesu.

CHAP. I.

Of the Preamble. The Titles Catholick, Papist, Traytor, Idolater.

Sir,

Do first return you hearty thanks, for the truth and constancy of your love, and those best effects of it, your wishing me as well as to your self, and rejoicing in my safe return out of Italy. For indeed further I was not: though reported to have been both at Constanti-

nople.
The Copies of certain Letters.

nople and Jerusalem, by reason of the nearness of my name to one Mr. William Bidulph, the Minister of our Merchants at Aleppo, who visited both those places.

I thank you also, that your ancient love towards me, hath (to use that Word of the Apostle) now flourished again, in that after so many Years you have found opportunity to accomplish your promise of writing to me: though not as ye undertook of the state of Religion there yet, which I confess I no less desired, the Motives of the forsaking that you had professed here. Whereof since it hath pleased you, as ye write, now to give me an account, and by me to Mr. Dr. Hall, with some expectation also as it appears of reply from one of us, I will use the liberty which you give me, and as directly as I can for the matter, and in Christian terms for the manner, shew you mine opinion of them, wherein I shall endeavour to observe that Precept of the Apostle; διενθάλεσαν ἐν ἐπισκόπω, whether it be to be interpreted, loving sincerely, or seeking truth lovingly. Neither fomenting untruth for the dearness of your person, nor breaking charity for diversity of Opinion. With this entrance, my loving Friend, and if you refuse not that old Catholic name, my dear Brother, I come to your Letter. Wherein, though I might well let pass that part which concerns your quarrel with Mr. Dr. Hall, with atatem habet; yet thus much out of the common presumption of charity, which thinks not evil, give me leave to say for
for him, I am verily persuaded he never meant to charge you with Apostasy in so horrible a sense as you count, viz. A total falling from Christian Religion, like that of Julian, an obstinate pertinacity in denying the Principles of the Faith necessary to salvation, or a renouncing your Baptism. The term Apostasy, as you know, doth not always found so hainously. A Monk forsaking his Order, or a Clerk his Habit, is in the Decretals stiled an Apostata. Granatensis faith not untruly, That every deadly sin is a kind of Apostasy. The Apostle S. Paul speaking of Antichrists time, faith, There must come an Apostasy before Christ's second coming: and how this shall be he shews elsewhere. Men shall give heed to spirits of Error, and Doctrines of Devils, and such as speak faldhood in hypocrisy. Whereby it seems that Antichrist himself shall not professedly renounce Christ and his Baptism. His Kingdom is a mystery of iniquity; a revolt therefore, not from the outward profession, but inward sincerity and power of the Gospel. This kind of Apostasy might be that which Mr. Hall was sorry to find in you, whom he thought fallen from the Truth, though not in the Principles of Christian Doctrine, yet in sundry Conclusions which the reformed Churches truly out of them maintain. He remembred our common education in the same Colledge, our common Oath against Popery, our common Calling to the same sacred Function of the Ministry; he could not imagine upon what reasons you
you should reverse these beginnings. And certainly, how weighty and sufficient ever they be, we are not taught by our Catholic Religion to revenge our selves, and render reproach for reproach with personal terms; much less to debase and avile the excellent Gifts of God, as is Poesie, the honour of David and Solomon, by the Testimony of the Holy Ghost himself. These courses are forbidden us when we are railed upon, and calumniated; how much more when as S. Peter speaks, We are beaten for our faults; as it falls out in your case, if these Motives of yours be weak and insufficient; which we shall anon consider.

You lay, you are become Catholic. Were you not then so before? The Creed whereinto you were baptized, is it not the Catholic Faith? The conclusion certes of Athanasius’s Creed, which is but a declaration thereof, faith, Hæc est Fides Catholica. Or is not he a Catholic that holds the Catholic Faith? That which was once answered, touching the present Church of England, to one in a Stationers Shop in Venice, that would needs know what was the difference betwixt us and the Catholics. It was told him none: for we accounted our selves good Catholics. When he unwilling to be put off in his answer, for lack of due form in his question, pressed to know what was the difference betwixt us and them there. He was answered, This; That we believed the Catholic
lick Faith contained in the Creed, but did not believe the Thirteenth Article which the Pope had put to it. When he knew not of any such Article; the Extravagance of Pope Boniface was brought, where he defines it to be altogether of necessity to salvation, to every humane creature to be under the Bishop of Rome. This thirteenth Article, of the thirteenth Apostle, good Mr. Wadsworth, it seems you have learned; and so are become, as some now speak and write Catholic, Roman. That is in true interpretation Universal-particular; which because they cannot be equalled, the one restraining and cutting off from the other, take heed that by straitning your Faith to Rome, you have not altered it, and by becoming Roman, left off to be Catholic.

Thus, if you say, our Ancestors were all till of late Years. Excuse me, Sir, whether you call our Ancestors the first Christian Inhabitants of this Isle, or the ancient Christians of the Primitive Church; neither those, nor these were Roman Catholics; Namely, the Fathers of the African Council, and amongst these S. Augustine: And therefore by Pope Boniface his Sentence, be undoubtedly damned, for taking upon them, by the Devil's instinct (if we believe another * Pope Boniface) to wax proud against the Church of Rome. Such Catholics, if ye mean the most of Christendome be at this Day; beware of putting

* Bonifac. 2. Epis. ad Enlalium.
putting your self upon that Issue. Believe me, either you must frame a new Cosmography, yea, a new World, or else you are gone if it come to most Voices in Christendom. Touching the Names of Papist, Traitor, Idolater. The first is no mis-calling you, as comprizing the very Character that differenceth you from all other Catholicks. Neither by our Rhe- mists advice should you be ashamed of it, sith to be a Papist, by their Interpretation is nothing else, but to be a Christian Man, a Child of the Church, and subject to Christ's Vicar. The wise State of Venice have a little different notion of their Papalines, excluding from sundry their consultations under that name, such of the Nobility as are obliged to the Pope by Ecclesiastical promotions. True it is that they apply it also to Papalines in faction, such as are superstitiously devoted to the maintaining of all the Popes usurped Authority; in which sense I hope you are no Papist.

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

For Idolatry, if to give divine honour to Creatures, deserve that name, consider how you can defend or excuse those Prayers to the Blessed Virgin, *Tu nos ab Hoste protege,* & *hora Mortis suscipe.* And to the Cross, *Ange piis justitiam, reisque dona veniam:* I omit to speak of the Popes Omnipotency. I hope also you keep your self from this Idolatry.

In Protestant Religion, you say, you could never find Uniformity of a settled Faith. How so? when you had that same *One only immovable and unreformable Rule of Faith,* as Tertullian calls it, every Lords Day recited in your hearing, if not by your Mouth: I mean the Creed, of which Irenæus *faith, that he which is able to say much of the Faith, exceeds it not, nor he that less, diminisheth;* which † S. Augustine calls the Rule common to great and small; which might well enough have settled and quitted your Conscience, whilst you laboured to find the truth in all doubtful Questions. Whereto how carefully and diligently you used the means of reading, studying, and praying for Three or Four

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*De ver.-
land.*

*Virg. c. 1.

*Lib. 1.*

*c. 3.*

† Epîs ad

Dardanum.
Four Years, God and your Conscience best know. For conferring, I cannot yield you any testimony, notwithstanding our familiarity, and that we were not many Miles aunder, and you were also privy, that I had to do in these Controversies, with some of that side, and saw some sample of the Work. I come now to your Motives.

CHAP.
CHAP. II.

Of the contrariety of Sects pretended to be amongst Reformers.

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

The Copies of certain Letters. &c. And were strong that Residenc[e] is, de jure Divino; howsoever they were over-ruled by the Italian Faction: Whether they have yet changed their minds, you can better tell than I. The old Faction of the Thomists and Scotists is yet a foot, as I perceive by Rada his Controversies. In the beginning whereof the Censor of the Book hath this Sentence. Qua propter audiendi nullatenu[s] sunt, qui has Theologicas contentiones è medio omnino explodendas arbitrantur. There is another lately risen between the Dominicans and the Jesuites; both in as great matters, and pursu'd with as great vehemency, as those of the Reformed Churches, excepting only a few fiery Spirits of Saxony. But in the Church of England, as Reformation was not brought in by any one Man, but by the joint consent of the whole, so it is yet continued. Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, are not known among us, save by hearsay. Whereof it is some sign, that your self do not know them well, as it seems, when you distinguish them from Protestants. A name first given to the Princes and free Cities of Germany, that fought Reformation in the Dyet at Spire, Anno 1529. and from them pass'd to us and other Countries where it was effect'd. Who are then Protestants, if the Lutherans and Zwinglians be not? For of both these there were in that Dyet; the Helvetians and parts adjoyning of Germany, having been reformed at home, first by the preaching of Zwinglius; the Saxons, and the remnant of Luther.
Luther. Who much about one time, and without any correspondence, began to oppose the Popes Indulgences, and differed not for ought that ever I could yet understand, save in the manner of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist. Yea, in that also taught uniformly, That the Body and Blood of our Saviour are present; not to the Elements, but to the Receiver, in the use, and without Transubstantiation. As for those whom you call Calvinists; and the rest Puritans, Cartwrightists, and Brownists, tell me in good faith, Mr. Wadcesworth, how do they differ from the Reformed Churches in Helvetia, or the Church of England, save in the matter of Government only? See then all this contrariety of Sects meetly well reconciled. For Puritans, Cartwrightists, and Brownists, are in substance of Doctrine all one with Calvinists, and these with Zuinglians, who were of the first Protestants, and differ little or nothing from those whom ye call Lutherans. Whereof this may be a sensible proof, that commonly their Adversaries, and your self after, call them by the same name, The Protestant Churches in Germany, France, Holland, and Geneva. And Pope Leo the Tenth in his Condemnatory Bull; and likewise Charles the Fifth in his Imperial Edict, do reflect wholly upon Luther and his Followers, without any mention of the other at all. To conclude this matter; as it is undoubtedly a sign of a good mind to dislike contention, and diversities of Opinions, and it may have par-
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don to apprehend sometime more than there is indeed; like to the melancholick old Man in the Comedy, whose suspicion makes him to multiply on this manner. *Qui mihi intro-misisti in aedes quingentos coquos,* so to muster up empty names, without any real difference, as Puritans, Cartwrightists, Brownists; to make differences in a few Opinions about Government or Sacraments, Sects and Contrarieties, hath not the character of ingenuous and sincere dealing, which from you Mr. Wadsworth I did and do expect.

But some of these damn each other, avouching their Positions to be matters of Faith, not School Questions of Opinion only. Here indeed there is fault on all sides in this Age, that we cannot be content with the bounds which the ancient Church hath set, but every private Opinion must be straightways an Article of Faith. Every decision of a Pope, every Decree of a Council. And then as Men are easily enamoured of their own conceits, and as Gerfion wisely applies that of the Poet, *Qui amant, sibi somnia singunt*; as if the very marrow of Religion consisted in those Points, those that think otherwise are Hereticks, and in state of Damnation. The Roman Faction goes further, to Fire and Faggot, and all exquisite Torments, as if those things that make against the Papacy, were more severely to be punished than the Blasphemies of the Jews, or Mahometism it self. I do not excuse the Reformers of this bitterness, wherein after your departure out of England, my
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my nameles Adversary that undertook Mr. Alablafters quarreL, giving me over in three of his demands, ran riot in the firt, about this point of opposition among our felves, and raked together all the vehement Speeches of Luther, and fome of his Followers, againft those whom they call the Sacramentaries. Why, who will undertake to defend Luther Speeches, or all that falls from contentious Pens? But even out of thofe Testimonies, which himfelf brings for the worst that he could on the contrary part; it appears this eagerness is not mutual. And in truth, both we in England, and the Helvetians, and French, do maintain a brotherly affection towards them of Saxony, how spitefully feveral fome of them write of us. And even of thofe whom he calls Lutherans, as I perceived while I was at Norimberg, the moderater fort are alike affected towards us. But as touching the avouching our Opinions to be matters of Faith (which Exception is common to you with him) that which I fhould have anfwered him, if I had found in him any thing but spite and scorn, I will fay now to you, Verily in fome fort even theleat conclusions in Divinity are matters of Faith. For both Faith hath to do with them, and they are fetched by Discourse, from the firft Principles holden by Faith, whence our whole Religion is called by S. Jude The Faith once delivered to the Saints. And the leaft error in them, by consequence overthrows the fame Principles whence they are deduced. That makes fome, to move attention...
in their Readers to say, The questions are not about small matters, but of the principal Articles of Religion, even about the Foundation. As Curius whom he cites, faith, the question is of two Articles of Faith. First, of that which teacheth that in Christ two natures are united. Secondly, of the Article, He ascended into Heaven. Why, do not both sides agree to these? Yes. But one side fetches Arguments against ubiquitie from these places, and thereupon faith, the question is about these Articles; perhaps also chargeth the other to deny them. He cites Pappus Writing thus, Agitur inter nos de Omnipotentia Dei, &c. The controversy betwixt us, is about the Omnipotency of God. The personal Union of the two natures in Christ. The communication of Properties. The glorious body of our Saviour, &c. Lo again, every place of Argument or defence is made the matter of Controversie. Out of these and such like Confessions on either side, my nameless Adversary will needs enforce, with great pomp and triumph; What think ye? That such sanctified Men (this is his scoffing Language) go not together by the Ears for Moon-shine in the Water. Again, That all those Myrmidonian Fights and bloody Encounters be not de lanâ Capri- nâ aut de umbrâ Asini.—Why, who said they were? I will set down here my Words, that you may judge of the Conscience of this Man, and have withal the substance of my Answer to this Objection. And what if some outrageous Spirits on each side, transported with passion in their oppositions, have used most bitter and unbecoming speeches to their Adversaries,
The Copies of certain Letters.

The copies of certain letters are you so simple as not to discern between the choler of some few opinionate Men, and the consequence of their Opinions? Have you forgotten S. Hierome and Ruffinus, or Eiphanius and Chryfoftomes, or Victors and the Greek Bishops? which proceeded so far about a trifle, that he excommunicated them; which is little less I think than to condemn to the Pit of Hell. And yet if I should put it to your judgment, I am persuaded you would grant they held all truth necessary to salvation. For you must remember Pope Boniface had not yet coined the new Article of the Faith, that I mentioned before. What shall I speak of S. Paul and Barnabas, which grew to such bitterness, and that about a very little question of conveniency, that though they were sent out together by the Holy Ghost, they brake off company. These be humane passions, which wisdom would we should pity, when they grow to such extremities, upon so small a cause; rather than from their outrage to gather there is just cause to encrease. Do we not see that even natural Brethren do sometimes despe one another, and use each other with less respect than strangers? Now from hence would you conclude they be not Brethren; and hearten them on, and say to the one, that his half Brother is not so near to him, as he with whom he is thus at odds, he must fall out worse with him. You should well so deserve the hate of God, for a make-bate between brethren. These were all my Words set down in answer to his objecting our own contentions, and condemning each other, to prove that therefore we could not hold continuity with the ancient
ancient Church of England, from which we dissolved much more. I held as you may perceive, that neither amongst our selves, nor from our predecessors we disagree in any truth necessary to salvation. He makes me to say, our dissentions are about Moon-shine, and de umbrâ asini, & de lanâ caprinâ, and trifles, and matters of no consequence. To return to you, good Mr. Wadsworth, let Men avouch as confidently as they will touching their own Positions, Est de Fide. Nihil certius apud Catholicos, and of their contraries cry out, They are Hereticks, renew ancient Herefies, race the Foundation, deny the Articles of the Creed, Gods Omnipotency, &c. all because themselves by Discourse, can (as they think) fasten such things upon them: A sober Christian must not give heed to all that is said in this kind. These things must be examined with right judgment, and ever with much charity and patience, remembering that our selves know in part, and prophesie in part. In a Word, this should not have so much disquieted you.

Nor yet that which you add, That every one pretends Scripture. Best of all, faith S. Chrysostome, For if we should say we believe humane reasons, thou mightest with good reason be troubled, but when as we receive the Scriptures, and they be simple and true, it will be an easie thing for thee to judge, &c. And to what purpose indeed serves the faculty of Reason perfected and polished with learning? wherefore the supernatural light of Faith? wherefore the gift of God in us Ministers conferred by the imposition of Hands? but to try which side

handles
handles the Word of God deceitfully, which sincerely. But here again, Each side arrogates the Holy Ghost in his favour. What then? If we our selves have the anointing, we shall be able as we are bidden to try the Spirits, whether they be of God or no? For we will not believe them, because they say they have the Spirit, or cannot be deceived, but because their Doctrine is consonant to the Principles of Heavenly Truth, which by the Writings inspired by himself, the Holy Ghost hath graven in our Hearts. Which Writings are well acknowledged by you, to be the Law and Rule according whereunto, in judgment of Religion we must proceed.

Y 4

CHAP.
CHAP. III.

Of the want of an Humane, External, Infallible Judge and Interpreter.

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

I say then first, That to make this your motive of any moment, it must be shewed, that God hath appointed such a Judge in his Church. Let that appear out of some passage of Holy Scripture. For your conceit or desire that such a Judge there should be, to whom you might in Conscience
science obey, and yield your self, because he could not err, doth not prove it. You would know the truth, only by the Authority, and sole pronouncing of the Judges Mouth. A short and easie way, which to most Men is plausible, because it spares the pains of Study and Discourse. To such especially, as either out of weakness dare not trust their own Judgment, or account it shall have the merit of humility, to be led by their Teachers, But what now if God will have you call no Man your Father upon Earth? If he will send you to his Word? and after you have received the Faith by the Churches Testimony out of the easie and plain places thereof, bid you Search the Scriptures, to find the Truth in the remnant, and pick it out by your own industry. The rich Man being in Hell-Torments (in whose Words I doubt not but our Saviour doth impersonate and represent the conceits of many Men living in this World) presumes that if one were sent from the Dead, his Kinismen would hearken to him, but he is remitted to Moses and the Prophets. The Jews as I perceived by Speech with some of them at Venice, make it one of their Motives, that our Lord Jesus is not the Christ. He should not, say they, have come in such a fashion, to leave his own Nation in doubt and suspense; and scandalize so many thousands; but so as all Men might know him to be what he was. Miserable Men! that will give Laws to God. Of which fault be you aware also (good Mr. Wadsworth) and be con-

content to take, not to prescribe the means by which you will be brought unto the knowledge of the Truth: To use what he hath given, not to conjecture and divine what he must give.

But God fails not his Church in such means as be necessary. Let us therefore consider the necessity of this Judge. Where I beseech you consider (for I am sure you cannot but know it) that all things necessary to salvation are evidently set down in Holy Scripture? This both the Scriptures themselves do teach, and the Fathers avouch, namely S. Augustine and S. Chrysostome, and others. I forbear to set down their Words, or further to confirm this Lemma, which I proved at large against another Adversary, and shall at all times make good if it be questioned. Besides these Points, there are a great many other though not of such necessity, yet evidently laid down also in the same Scriptures, by occasion of them. Many by just Discourse may be cleared from these, and the former. If any thing yet remain in suspense, and unknown, yea or if you will, erred in, so it be not wilfully and obstinately, yet shall it be ever without peril of damnation to him that receiveth what the Holy Ghost hath plainly deliver-ed. What necessity then of your imaginary Judge? Yes: for Unity is a goodly thing, not only in matters necessary, but universally in all. Controversies must not be endless. But how comes it to pass then that your Judge whosoever he be, doth not all
all this while decide the Question touching the conception of the Blefled Virgin, that is between the Dominicans and Franciscans, nor that between the Dominicans and Jesuites touching Grace and Free-will, and all other the Points that are controverted in the Schools; to spare contention and time (a precious Commodity among wise Men) and give this honour to Divinity alone, that in it all doubts should be reduced to certainties? Or if it seem no wisdom to be hasty in deciding such Questions; wherein Witty and Learned Men are ingaged, left instead of changing their Opinions, they should fall to challenge not only the infallibility, but which were more dangerous the Authority of their Judge: If it be thought better to leave scope to Opinions, opposing it self profitably serving to the boulting out of the Truth. If Unity in all things be as it seems despaired of, by this your Gellius himself; why are we not content with Unity in things necessary to Salvation, expressly set down in Holy Scripture: And anciently thought to suffice, reserving Infallibility as an honour proper to God speaking there? Why should it not be thought to suffice, that every Man having imbraced that necessary Truth, which is the Rule of our Faith, thereby try the Spirits whether they be of God or no. If he meet with any that hath not that Doctrine, receive him not to House, nor salute him. If consenting to that, but otherwise infirm or erring, yet charitably bear with him. This for ev-
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As for the publick order, and peace of the Church, God hath given Pastors and Teachers, that we should not be carried about with every wind of Doctrine, and amongst them appointed Bishops, to command that Men teach no other or foreign Doctrine, which was the end of Timothy his leaving at Ephesus, 1 Tim. 1. 3.

Then, the Apostles themselves by their example, have commended to the Church the wholesome use of Synods, to determine of such controversies as cannot by the former means be composed; but still by the Holy Scriptures, the Law or Rule, as you say well, by which all these Judges must proceed. Which if they do not, then may they be deceived themselves, and deceive others as experience hath shewed, yet never be able to extinguish the truth.

To come to Antiquity. There is not any one thing belonging to Christian Religion, if we consider well, of more importance, than how the purity of the whole may be maintained. The Ancients that write of the rest of Christian Doctrine, is it not a miracle, had they known any such infallible Judge, in whose Oracle the security of all, with the perpetual tranquility of the Church is contained, they should say nothing of him? There was never any Age wherein there have not been Heresies, and Sects: to which of them was it ever objected that they had no infallible Judge? How soon would they have sought to amend that defect, if it had been a currant Doctrine in those times, that the
The true Church cannot be without such an Officer? The Fathers that dealt with them, why did they not lay aside all disputing, and appeal them only to this Barr? Unless perhaps that were the lett which Cardinal Bellarmine tells the Venetians, hindred S. Paul from appealing to S. Peter, Left they should have made their Adversaries to laugh at them for their labour. Well: howsoever the Cardinal hath found out a merry reason for S. Paul’s appealing to Cæsar’s Judgment, not Peter’s, left he should expose himself to the laughter of Pagans: what shall we say when the Fathers write professedly to instruct Catholick Men, of the forepleadings and advantages to be used against Hereticks, even without descending to tryal by Scriptures? or of some certain general and ordinary way to discern the Truth of the Catholick Faith from the prophane novelties of Heresies? Had they known of this infallible Judge, should we not have heard of him in this so proper a place, and as it were in a cause belonging to his own Court. Nay doth not the writing it self of such Books shew, that this matter was wholly unknown to Antiquity? For had the Church been in posseffion of so easie and sure a course to discovery and discard heresies, they should not have needed to task themselves to find out any other. But the truth is, infallibility is, and ever hath been accounted proper to Christ’s judgment. And as hath been said, all necessary Truth to Salvation he hath delivered us in his Word. That Word, himself tells us,
us, shall judge at the last day. 'Yea, in all true decisions of Faith, that word even now judgeth. Christ judgeth, the Apostle sits Judge. Christ speaks in the Apostle. Thus Antiquity.

Neither are they moved a whit with that Objection: That the Scriptures are often the matter of Controversies. For in that case the remedy was easy, which S. Augustine shews to have recourse to the plain places, and manifest such as should need no interpreter: for such there be, by which the other may be cleared. The same may be said, if sometimes it be questioned, Which be Scriptures, which not. I think it was never heard of, in the Church, that there was an external infallible Judge, who could determine that question. Arguments may be brought from the consent or dissent with other Scriptures, from the attestation of Antiquity, and inherent signs of Divine Authority, or humane infirmity: but if the Auditor or Adversary yield not to these, such parts of necessity must needs be laid aside. If all Scripture be denied (which is as it were exceptio in judicem ante litis contestationem) Faith hath no place, only reason remains. To which I think it will scarce seem reasonable, if you should say, Though all Men are liers, yet this Judge is infallible; and to him thou oughtest in conscience to obey and yield thy understanding in all his Determinations, for he cannot err. No not if all Men in the World should say it. Unless you first set down there is a God, and stablish the authority of the Books of
of Holy Scripture, as his voice, and thence shew if you can, the warrant of this priviledge.

Where you affirm, The Scriptures to be the Law and the Rule, but alone of themselves cannot be Judges; If you mean, without being produced, applied, and heard; you say truth. Yet Nicodemus spake not amiss, when he demanded, Doth our Law judge any Man, unless it hear him first? he meant the same which S. Paul, when he said of the High Priest, thou sittest to judge me according to the Law: and so do we when we say the same. Neither do we send you to Angels, or God himself immediately, but speaking by his Spirit in the Scriptures, and (as I have right now laid) allledged, and by discourse applied to the matters in question. As for Princes, since it pleased you to make an excursion to them, if we should make them infallible Judges, or give them Authority to decree in Religion as they list, as Gardiner did to King Henry the Eight, it might well be condemned for monstrous, as it was by Calvin. As for the purpose, Licere Regi interdicere populo usum calicis in Cena. Quaere? Potestas n. summa est penes Regem, quaht Gardiner. This was to make the King as absolute a Tyrant in the Church, as the Pope claimed to be. But, that Princes which obey the truth, have commandment from God, to command good things, and forbid evil, not only in matters pertaining to humane society, but also the Religion of God, This is no new strange Doctrine, but Calvins, and ours,
The Copies of certain Letters.

and S. Augustines, in so many words. And this is all the Headship of the Church we give to Kings. Whereof a Queen is as well capable as a King, since it is an act of Authority, not Ecclesiastical Ministry; proceeding from eminency of power, not of knowledge, or holiness. Wherein not only a learned King, as ours is; but a good old Woman (as Queen Elizabeth, besides her Princely dignity was) may excel, as your selves confess, your infallible Judge himself. But in power he faith, he is above all: which not to examine for the present, in this Power Princes are above all their Subjects I trow; and S. Augustine faith plainly, to command and forbid, even in the Religion of God, still according to Gods Word, which is the touchstone of Good and Evil. Neither was King Henry the Eight, the first Prince that exercised this power, witnesses David and Solomon, and the rest of the Kings of Judah before Christ. And since that Kings were Christians, The affairs of the Church have depended upon them, and the greatest Synods have been by their Decree, as Socrates expressly faith. Nor did King Henry claim any new thing in this Land, but restored to the Crown the ancient right thereof, which sundry his Predecessors had exercised, as our Historians and Lawyers with one consent affirm.

The rest of your induction of Archbishops, Bishops, and whole Clergy in their Convocation-House, and a Council of all Lutherans, Calvinists, Protestants, &c. is but a needless pomp of
of words, striving to win by a form of discourse, that which gladly shall be yielded at the first demand. They might all err, if they were as many as the Sand on the Sea Shoar, if they did not rightly apply the Rule of Holy Scriptures, by which as you acknowledge the external judge, which you seek, must proceed. As to your demand therefore, how you should be sure when, and wherein they did, and did not err; where you should have fixed your foot? to forbear to skirmish with your confirmation (That though, *poss ad esse non valet semper consequentia, yet aliquando valet: & frustra dicitur potentia quae nunquam ducitur in actum.*) To the former whereof I might tell you, that without question, *nunquam valet:* And to the second, that I can very well allow, that *errandi potentia,* among Protestants be ever frustra. This I say freely, That if you come with this resolution to learn nothing by discourse, or evidence of Scripture, but only by the mere pronouncing of a humane external Judge's Mouth, to whom you would yield your understanding in all his determinations: If, as the Jesuites teach their Scholars, you will wholly deny your own judgment, and resolve, that if this Judge shall say, that is black, which appears to your Eyes white, you will say it is black too; you have posed all the Protestants; they cannot tell how to teach you infallibly. While I must tell you thus much, that this preparation of mind in a Scholar, as you are, in a Minister, yea in a Christian, that had but learned his Creed, much
much more that had from a Child known the Holy Scriptures, that are able to make us wise to salvation, through the Faith that is in Christ Jesus, were too great weakness, and, to use the Apostles Phrase, childishness of understanding.

But at length you heard a sound of Harmony and Consent, that in the Catholick Church, as in Noah's Ark, was infallibility, and possibility of salvation; which occasioned you to seek out, and to enter into this Ark of Noah. The sound of Consent and Infallibility is most pleasing and harmonious, and undoubtedly ever and only to be found in the Catholick Church, to wit, in the Rule of Faith, and in the Holy Scriptures, and such necessary Doctrine as perfectly concordeth with the same. But as in Song many discords do pass in smaller Notes, without offence of the Ears, so should they in smaller matters of Opinion in the Church, without the offence of judicious and charitable minds. Which yet I speak not to justify them; nay, I am verily of the mind, That this is the thing that hath marred the Church Músick in both kinds, that too much liberty is taken in descant to depart from the Ground, and as one faith, note nimum denigrantium. The fault of the Italians: though they think themselves the only Songsters in the World. But to return to you, tell me, I beseech you (good Mr. Waddesworth) was this the Harmony that transported you. The Pope himself faith, I cannot err, and to me thou oughtest to have recourse for decision of doubts in matters of Faith.
The Copies of certain Letters. 339

And whereas this is not only denied by Protestants, but hath been ever by the French, and anciently I am sure by the Spanish, lately by some Italian Divines also, unless he use due means to find the truth; yea, whereas it is the issue of all the Controversies of this age; in this snare you fastened your Foot. This was the Center that settled your Conscience, this the solid and firm foundation of your Faith. What? and did it not move you; that some limit this infallibility of the Pope thus, If he enterCanonically, if he proceed advisedly, and maturely, using that diligence that is fit to find out the Truth; that is (as you said before) proceeding by the Rule, the Scriptures? Albeit to the Fathers of the African Council it seemed incredible (as they write in their Synodal Epistle to P. Caelestine standing for Appeals to himself) that God can inspire the right in tryal to one, denying it to many Bishops in a Council. Tell us then, who made you secure of these things? or did you in truth, never so much as make question of them, but hearing this harmonious sound, The Pope is the Infallible Judge, you trusted the new Masters of that side, Gregory de Valentina, and Bellarmine, that whether the Pope in defining do use diligence or no, if he do define, he shall define infallibly. Alas Sir! if this were the rest you found for the soale of your Foot, instead of moveable Water, you fell upon mire and puddle; Or rather like to another Dove mentioned in Scripture, columba seducta non habens Cor, by the most chaffy shrap that ever was set before the Eyes of winged Fowl,
Fowl, were brought to the door—.

Ex-cuse my grief, mixed I confess with some indignation, but more love to you, though I thus write. Many things there be in Popery inconvenient, and to my conceit weakly and ungroundedly affirmed, to say no more; but this is so absurd and palpable a flattery, as to omit to speak of you, for my part I cannot be persuaded that Paulus the Fifth believes it himself. For consider, I pray, what need- ed anciently the Christian Emperours, and sometimes at the request of the Bishops of Rome themselves, to have gathered together so many Bishops from so divers parts of the World to celebrate Councils, if it had been known and believed then, that one Mans Sentence might have cleared all controversies, and put all Heresies to silence? How durft sundry holy, and learned Men have rejected his decisions, whether right or wrong, is not now the question, unchristianly out of doubt on their parts, if he had been then holden the infallible Oracle of our Religion? As when Polycrates, with the Bishops of Asia, and Irenæus also yielded not to Victor, ex-communicating the Eastern Churches about the celebration of Easter, when S. Cyprian, with the first Council of Carthage of eighty six Bishops had Decreed, That such as were baptized by Hereticks, should be rebaptized, and certified Stephanus of this Decree, and he opposed it, and would have nothing innovated, would Cyprian after that have re- sided and confuted Stephanus his Letter, had he known him for infallible? And how doth he
he confute him? as erring, writing imperti-
nently, contrary to himself. Yea, let it be ob-
erved, that he doth not only not account
Stephanus infallible, but not so much as a
Judge over any Bishop. See the Vote of
Cyprian, and note those Words. Neque enim
quisquam nostrum Episcopum esse Episcoporum
constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi neces-
stitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis
Episcopus pro licentia libertatis & potestatis sua,
arbitrium proprium, tanquam iudicari ab alio non
possit cum nec ipsò possit alterum iudicare. Sed ex-
spectemus universi iudicium Domini nostri Jesu
Christi, qui unus & solus habet potestatem & pre-
oponendi in Ecclesia sua gubernatione, & de actu
nostro iudicandi. A passage worthy to be no-
ted also, for the clearing of the indepen-
dence of Episcopal Authority from the
Pope, which I now let pass. Neither was
S. Cyprian herein alone: Firmilianus, and the
Eastern Bishops, resisted Stephanus no less,
as appears by his Epistle, which in the Ro-
man Edition of Manutius, set forth by the
command of Pius the Fourth, with the sur-
vey of four Cardinals, whereof one is now
a Saint, with exquisite diligence; is wholly
left out. And Pamelius faith he thinks pur-
posely, for himself is of the mind that it had
been better it had never come forth. But to
return to our purpose. The Fathers of the
Council of Africk, and S. Augustine amongst
them, resist three Popes succeeding each
other, Zosimus, Boniface, and Coelestinus, about
appeals to Rome; shall we think they would
ever have done it, if they had known
or imagined them to be the supreme and infallible Judges in the Church? I let pass the Schism between the Greek and the Latin Church, which had not happened, if this Doctrine had been anciently received. Nay, it is very plain in Story, that the Bishop of Rome's lifting up himself to be universal Bishop chiefly caused it. To conclude, neither Liberius, nor Honorius, to omit many other Bishops of Rome, had ever been taxed of heresie, if this had anciently been current, that the Pope is infallible. I will not stand now to examine the shameful defence that Bellarmine makes for the latter of these, bearing down Fathers, Councils, Stories, Popes themselves, as all falsified or deceived herein. Wherein because he is learnedly refuted by Dr. Raynolds, I insist not upon it. This I press, That all those Writers and Councils, and amongst them Pope Leo the Second accursing Honorius, did not then hold, that which by Pighius and the Jesuites is undertaken, that the Pope is infallible. Even the Council of Basil, deposing Eugenius (for obstinately resisting this Truth of the Catholick Faith, That the Council is above the Pope) as an Heretick, doth shew the sense of Christendom even in these latter times, how corrupt for ever, both in Rule and Practice.

And because you make this infallible Judge to be also an infallible Interpreter of Holy Scripture, how happens it that Damasus Bishop of Rome consults with Hierome about the meaning of sundry Texts of Scripture, when
when it seems himself might have taken his Pen, and set him down quickly, that which should have taught both him and the whole Church, not only without danger but even possibility of error? Sure we are little beholding to the diligence of our Ancestors, that have not more carefully registred the Commentaries (or because they have had for sundry Ages small time to write just Commentaries) the Expositions which in their Sermons, or otherwise the Bishops of Rome have made of Holy Scripture. A work which if this Doctrine were true, were more worth than all the Fathers; and would justifie that blasphemy of the Canon Law, where by a shameful corruption of S. Augustine, the Decretals of Popes are enrolled amongst the Canonical Scriptures. I am already too long in so plain a matter: Yet one proof more which is of all most sensible. Being admonished by this your conceit of an infallible Interpreter, I chanced to turn over the Popes Decretals, and observed the interpretation of Scriptures. What shall I say? I find them so lewd, and clean beside the purpose, yea oftentimes so childish and ridiculous, both in giving the sense, and in the application, that I protest to you in the presence of God, nothing doth more loath me of Popery, than the handling of Holy Scripture by your infallible Interpreter alone. Consider a few of the particulars, and especially such as concern the Popes own Authority. To justifie his exacting an Oath of Fealty of an Archbishop, to whom he grants the Pall, is brought our Lord Jesus Christ, C. in canon. nices; dist. 19.
Christ, who committing the care of his Sheep to Peter, did put too a condition, saying, Si diligis me, pasce oves meas. Christ said, If thou lovest me, feed my Sheep; Why may not the Pope say, If you will swear me fealty, you shall have the Pall. But first he corrupts the Text: Christ said not, If thou lovest me: Then, Christ puts not Peter’s love as a condition of feeding, but feeding as a proof and effect of his love. And if the feeding of Christ’s sheep were sought, love to him and them might suffice to be professed, or if he would needs have more than Christ required, to be sworn. What is this to the Oath of Fealty? Straight after to the Objection, that all Oaths are prohibited by Christ, nor any such thing can be found appointed by the Apostles after the Lord, or in the Councils, he urges the Words following in the Text, Swear not at all; quod amplius est, à malo est, that is, faith he, Evil compels us by Christ’s permission to exact more. Is it not evil to go from the Pope’s obedience? to condemn Bishops without his privy to translate Bishops by the King’s command? See the place, and tell me of your Interpreters Infallibility. Treating of the Translation of Bishops, or such as are elected unto other Sees, he faith: That since the spiritual Band is stronger than the carnal, it cannot be doubted but Almighty God hath reserved the dissolution of the spiritual Marriage that is betwixt a Bishop and his Church, to his own judgment alone; charging that whom God hath joined, man sever not. For it is not by humane but rather divine power that spiritual marriage
The Copies of certain Letters.

is dissolved, when as by translation or cession by the authority of the Bishop of Rome (whom it is plain to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ) a Bishop is removed from his Church. An admirable interpretation of the Text, *Quos Deos conjunxit*! by which the Pope not only challenging that which is proper to God's judgment only, as he faith, *viz.* to dissolve the Bond of spiritual Wedlock; but because that is the stronger, of carnal it seems also; when it shall please him.

The anointing of a Prince since Christ's coming is translated from the Head to the Shoulder, *by which Principality is fitly designed*, according to that which is read, *Factus est principatus super humerum ejus*; for signifying also whereof, Samuel caused the shoulder to be set before Saul. Who should ever have understood these Texts, if your infallible Interpreter had not declared them? But this is nothing yet to the exposition of those Texts, which the Pope interprets in his answer to the Emperour of Constantinople, *as Subditi estote omni humane Creatura propter Deum*, &c. He tells him that S. Peter wrote that to his own Subjects, to provoke them to the merit of humility. For if he had meant thereby to lay the yoke of subjection upon Priests, it would follow that every Servant were to rule over them, since it is said, *Omnis humanae creaturae*. After, *It is not barely set down, Regi praecellenti, but there is put between, perhaps not without cause, tanquam: And that which follows, ad vindicatam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, is not to be understood that the King or Emperor*
The Copies of certain Letters.

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hath received the power of the Sword upon good and evil Men, save only those who using the sword are committed to his jurisdiction according to that which the Truth saith, They which take the Sword shall perish with the Sword. For no Man ought or can judge another Servant, since the Servant according to the Apostle standeth or falleth to his own Lord. For the love of God consider this Interpretation, and compare it with S. Chrysostome upon Rom. 13. Nay do but read the Text attentively, and judge of the infallibility of your interpreter. Straight after he tells the Emperor, That he might have understood the prerogative of Priesthood out of that which was said, not of every Man but of God, not to the King but to the Priest, not to one descending of the Royal Stock, but of the Priestly Linage of the Priests, to wit, which were in Anathot. Behold I have set thee over Nations and Kingdoms, to pull up, and destroy, to build and to plant. See the Prerogative of the Priesthood out of Jeremiah calling to be a Prophet. O if he had been high Priest! This had been a Text for the nonce. But he goes on. It is said in God's Law also, *† Dies non detrahes, & Principem populi tuini non mal edices. Which setting Priests before Kings, calls them Gods, and the other, Princes. Compare this exposition with David's and Paul's, Psal. 82. and Acts 23. 5. and ye shall see how the Interpreter hath hit the mark. Again, you ought to have known, quod fecit Deus et magna luminaria, &c. See the Exposition, and the difference between the Pope and Kings, both in the Text and Gloss. Now although
although the Gloss-Writer were no excellent Calculator, yet out of Clavius the account may be cleared: who tells us the Sun exceeds the Moon $6539$ times and a Fifth. I let pass the collection out of Psalms, that he belongs not to Christ's Fold, that doth not acknowledge Peter and his Successors his Masters and Pastors: out of Quod-cunque ligaveris, that nothing is excepted. Indeed the Pope excepts nothing, but loo
eth Vows, Contracts, Oaths, the Bond of Allegiance and Fealty between Subjects and their Princes: The Commandment of Christ, Drink ye all of this, &c. But our Lord expounds himself, John 20. Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted, &c.

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

Joh. 21. 16.
Matth. 16. 19.

Heb 4. 12.
De his que sunt, Tit. 11.

3 Ex ore.
4 Per venerabilem.
Qui filii sint legitimi.
Deur. 17-8.
Pope doth casually exercise temporal jurisdiction, it is said in Deuteronomy, Si difficile sit & ambiguum, &c. And because Deuteronomy is by interpretation the second Law, Surely by the force of the Word it is proved, that what is there decreed should be observed in the New Testament. For the place which the Lord did chuse is known to be the Apostolick See. For when as Peter fleeing went out of the City, the Lord minding to call him back to the place he had chosen, being asked of him, Lord whither goest thou? answered, I go to Rome to be crucified again, The Priests of the Tribe of Levi are the Popes coadjutors. The high Priest or Judge, he to whom the Lord said in Peter, Quodcunque ligaveris, &c. His Vicar who is a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedeck, appointed by God the Judge of quick and dead. He that contemns the Popes Sentence is to be excommunicated, for that is the meaning of being commanded to be put to death. Doth not this well follow out of the word Deuteronomy? And Rome is the place that Christ did choose, because he went, he said, to be crucified there. Only there is a scruple of the High Priest, for as much as he that is High Priest after Melchisedeck's Order, ἐπιτίθεται εἰς τὴν ιερατείαν, hath a Priesthood that passes not into another, Heb. 7. He adds there, that Paul that he might declare the fulness of power, writing to the Corinthians faith: Know ye not that ye shall judge the Angels? how much more the things of the World? Is this then the Popes plenitude of Power, to judge secular things? or was Corinth the Apostolick See, and so many Popes there
there even of the meanest of the Church? What shall we say to that Exposition of the famous Text, \textit{Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram adificabo Ecclesiam meam}: The Lord (he faith) taking Peter into the fellowship of the undivided Unity, would have him to be called that, which he was himself, that the building of the eternal Temple might by the marvelous gift of God consist in Peter's firmness. What is this undivided Unity? Not of the Trinity, I trow, or natures in Christ. What then? his Office? of which he said a little before out of the Apostle, that \textit{no Man can lay any other foundation but Jesus Christ}. Yes: that from Peter as a certain head he should as it were pour abroad his gifts into his whole body. That the Church might stand upon Peter's firmness. This Foundation St. Paul knew not, when he blamed \textit{I am of Cephas}. Peter's infirmity cannot bear up the weight of such a building, much less (which we must remember the Romanists understand by this jargon) the Popes his Successors.

Such another interpretation is that of Pope Boniface, that makes \textit{Unum Omne & unus Pastor, the Church and the Pope}. But it is plain our Saviour alludes to the Prophecies, \textit{Ezek} 34. 23. and 37. 24. where the Lord calls that one Pastor his servant David. What blasphemy is this, thus to usurp Christ's Royalties? What Father, what Council, what Catholick man ever interpreted this Text on this manner? By which the Pope while he seeks the name of the Shepherd, shuts himself out of Christ's fold?

\textit{Yea}
Yea the same Pope calls the Church his Spouse also, and so other Popes since. S. John the Baptist tells them, that he that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom. S. Paul prepared her to one Husband Christ. If she be the Popes Spouse with her will, she is a Harlot: if against her will, he is a Ravisher, and our Lord Jesus Christ will deliver her out of his lewd imbracements, crying out of the violence which she suffers, as it is to he hoped shortly.

That in the Churches power are two Swords; the spiritual and temporal, we are taught by the Words of the Gospel, faith the same Boniface. For when the Apostles said, Behold, there be two swords here (to wit in the Church) when the Apostles spake thus, the Lord answered not that it was too much, but enough. Certainly, he that denies the temporal Sword to be in Peter's power, doth ill observe the Speech which our Lord utters, Put up thy Sword into thy sheath. No doubt an infallible Interpretation; by which it should appear that both the Swords that were in our Saviours company, hung by S. Peter's side, or else that some other had the spiritual, leaving none to S. Peter, but that which he might not use. The Exposition is S. Bernards, you will say. But in an Epistle parænetical to the Pope himself; S. Bernard might have leave to use allusions, and after his manner to be liberal of all that the See of Rome challenged, that he might have the more Authority to reform the abuses of it. As to grant Peter the temporal Sword, but so, as he must not use it. Quid tu gladium denno usurpare testes, quem semel iussus es ponere in vaginam? and
and he shews how these two Swords be the Churches. The one to be drawn out for the Church, the other also by the Church. This by the Priests, that by the Souldiers hand, but at the beck of the Priest, and bidding of the Emperor. But the Pope in a Decretal Epistle, pretending to teach the World, in a Point as he pronounces, necessary to Salvation, with such an Interpretation as this; argues little reverence to the Word of God, and a very mean Opinion of the Judgments and Consciences of Christen Men, if they could not discern this to be a Strangers Voice, not Christs. Besides that, he changes S. Bernards Words, and clean perverts his meaning. For exercendus, he puts in exercendus. For ille Sacerdotis, is militia manu, sed sane ad nutum Sacerdotis & jussum Imperatoris. Pope Boniface thinking jussum too absolute in the Emperor, makes him to be the executioner, and joins him with the Souldier, on this manner. Ille Sacerdotum, is manu Regum & Militum sed ad nutum & patientiam Sacerdotis. S. Bernard makes the executive power to be in the Souldier, the directive in the Priest, the commanding in the Emperor. Pope Boniface makes the Kings and Souldiers to have only the executive, the directive and permissive to be in the Priest. Yea sword, he faith, must be under Sword. For where the Apostle faith, There is no power but of God, que autem sunt, à Deo ordinati sunt; more Rom. 13.1, fully in the original Text, the powers that are, are ordained, that is, appointed of God: The Interpreter here dreams of order and subordination,
tion, and cites a saying of Dionysius, that the lowest things are reduced to the highest by the middlemost; a conceit that makes nothing to the purpose of the Apostle in that place.

He proceeds and tells us, that of the Church and Power Ecclesiastical, is verified the Prophecy of Jeremy. Behold I have set thee this day over Kings and Kingdoms, &c. Tell me, good Mr. Waddefworth, what is to pervert the Scriptures, if this be not, to apply to the power Ecclesiastical, that which is spoken of the Word and Calling Prophetical? Yet more, The Earthly Power, if it serve out of the way shall be judged of the power Spiritual, but if the Spiritual, that is lesser; of that which is superior to it. But if the highest, it may be judged of God only, not of Man, the Apostle witnessing the Spiritual Man judgeth all things, but himself is judged of none. We are come at length, as it were to the Fountains of Nilus, to the Original of the Infallibility of your Judge; and if he have here rightly interpreted S. Paul, we learn that no earthly power, no Magistrate is a Spiritual Man, unless he be one of the Popes Spirituality. For these be S. Paul's Spiritual Men, that judge all things. Yet this must receive limitation. For no Man may judge the Pope, the Supreme Spiritual Man, for of him it seems S. Paul meant it, his authority he faith is not humane, but divine, by the divine Mouth given to Peter, and his Successors, when the Lord said to him, Quodcumque ligaveris.

For conclusion, Whosoever resists this power thus
thus ordered of God; resists the Ordinance of God, unless as Manichæus, he feign two begin-
ings; which (faith he) we judge to be false
and heretical, sith by Moses record, not
in the beginnings, but in the beginning God
created Heaven and Earth. Who would
not acknowledge the divine Authority and
Infallibility of your Interpreter, both in
confirming his purpose, and convincing he-
rests from so high a beginning, as this first
sentence of Holy Writ? What rests now,
but after so many testimonies he inferr, Fur-
thermore, to be under the Bishop of Rome we de-
clare, say, define, and pronounce that to every hu-
mane creature it is altogether of necessity of salva-
tion. Thus faith your infallible Judge and
Interpreter of Scripture, the center of your
Conscience, and foundation of your Faith;
not as a private Doctor, but as Pope, in his
own Law, intending to inform and bind the
Church, and that in matters with him of
the greatest importance that may he, touch-
ing his own Authority, and, as he pretends,
absolutely necessary to Salvation, to all the Sons of
Adam.

I might heap up many more, but these
may suffice for a sample. You may (and
so do by your self, I beseech you) observe
these kind of Interpretations in other Points
also, and in other the Decretals and Breves
of Popes; which, as I hear, are lately come
forth in great Volumes. You shall find
many Mysteries in your Faith, that perhaps
you know not of, as *That you cannot please
God because you are married; for so is that

A a

Rom. 8. 2.
Syricus
Epist. 4.
& Inno.
cent. Ep. 2.
place of the Apostle interpreted, qui in car-
ne vivunt, Deo placere non possunt. That not
only the wine in the Chalice, but the water
also is transubstantiated first into wine, then into
Christ's blood. That it was not watery moisture,
but the true element of water which issued out of
Christ's side. You shall find * confession of sins
to the Priest, proved by the Text, Corde cre-
ditur ad justitiam, sed autem fit confession ad salutem.

That the good ground, that received the Seed
in the Gospel, is the Religion of the Friars
Minors. * That this is that pure and immacu-
late Religion with God and the Father, which de-
scending from the Father of Lights, delivered, ex-
emplariter & verbaliter, by the Son, to his A-
postles, and then inspired by the Holy Ghost, in-
to S. Francis and his Followers, contains in it self
the Testimony of the Trinity. This is that which
as S. Paul witnesseth, no Man must be trouble-
some unto, which Christ hath confirmed with
the prints of his Passion. The Text is, * de
cetero nemo mihi molestus sit, ego n. stigmata Do-
mini Jesu in corpore meo porto. It is marvel, if
S. Paul were not of the Order of S. Francis.
That when Christ said,† Ecce ego vobiscum sum
omnibus diebus, he meant it of remaining and be-
ing with them even by his bodily presence. S. Au-
gustine upon the same Text denies this, and
faith, that according to the presence of his Body
he is ascended into Heaven, and is not here. That
*
the Father of the Child Christened, and his God-
fathers Wife may not marry, because, according
to the Lords Word, the Husband and
the Wife, are made one flesh by marriage. That

* Gal. 6:17
† Matth. 28:20.
Lo I am
with you,
&c.
Clem. 3. de
Relig:
Traf. in
Joh. 50.
† C. Marti-
nus de cog.
nat. spirit.
4.
Mat. 19:5.
* C. non de-
bet de con-
sang.
6 Cor. 7:4.

† Joh. 15.
34.
C. Inter
10.
|| Matt. 13.
8.
* Jam. 1.
27.
The Copies of certain Letters.

prohibited in corporal marriage, of which the Apostle faith, *The Man hath not the power of his own body, but the Woman; nor the Woman power of her body but the Man,* because there are four humours in the body, which consist of the four Elements. For Conclusion, you shall find it by a commodious interpretation concluded, contrary to many Texts of Scripture, out of Scripture it self, that *no simple and unlearned Man presume to reach to the subtlety of the Scripture,* because, well it was enacted in the law of God, that the Beast which should touch the Mountain, should be stoned. For it is written, *Seek not things higher than thy self.* For which cause the Apostle faith, *Be not more wise than it behoveth, but be wise to sobriety.*

One thing more also you shall find, that now adays this *spiritual Man and sole infallible Interpreter of Scripture,* feldom interprets Scripture, or uses it in his *Decretals* and Breves, Nay the stile of his Court hath no manner of smack or favor of it. A long compass of a Sentence, intricate to understand, yea, even to remember to the end, full of swelling Words of Vanity, with I know not how many ampliations and alternatives, after the fashion of Lawyers in Civil Courts, not of sober Divines, much less of the Spirit of God in his Word. Some Man would perhaps think this proceeds from an affectation of greatness, and the desire of retaining Authority, which seems to be embased by alleging reason, or Scripture, and interpreting Texts. For my part, I account it comes as much from necessity,
For it is notorious, That neither the Popes themselves, nor those of the Court, the Secretaries and Dataries, which pen their Bulls and Breves, have any use or exercise in Holy Scripture, or soundness in the knowledge of Divinity, or skill in the Original Tongues, wherein Gods Word is written; all which are necessary to an able Interpreter. And therefore it is a wise reservedness in them, not to intermeddle with that wherein they might easily fault; especially in a learned Age, and wherein so many watchful Eyes are continually upon them. And to this very poverty and cautelousness I do impute it, That the present Pope in his Breves about the Oath of Allegiance, useth not a Word of Scripture: But tells his Faction, that they cannot without most evident and grievous injury of Gods honour take the Oath, the tenour whereof he seght down Word for Word; and that done adds, Que cum ita sint, &c. Which things (faith he) since they be so, it must needs be clear unto you out of the Words themselves, that such an Oath cannot be taken with the safety of the Catholick Faith, and of your Souls, fith it containeth many things which are apparently contrary to Faith and salvation. He instances in no one thing, brings neither Scripture nor Reason, but a Que cum ita sint, without any premisses. Which loose and ungrounded Proceeding, when as it is, occasioned the Arch-Priest here, and many other of that side, to think these Letters forged, or gotten by surreption; he sends another of the same tenor, with this further Reason.
The Copies of certain Letters. 357

Reason. Hæc autem est mora pura, integraque voluntas nostra. This is now to be more than an Interpreter, even to be a Lord over the Faith of his Followers, to make his Will a Reason. What would you have him do? to allledge a better he could not, a weak and unsufficient one he was ashamed, he thought: it best to resolve the matter into his sole Authority. Whereby he hath proved himself a fallible both Judge and Interpreter, yea a false witness against God and the Truth; commanding by the Apostle Christian Men to be subject, and to give every Man their dues, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour; and much more (if there be any difference) Allegiance to whom Allegiance.
BUT of your Interpreters Infallibility enough. Your next doubt, whether the Church of England were of the true Church or no, was resolved with a Paralogism, partly by reason of equivocation, and diverse acceptance of the terms, The Church, and to err, partly by composition and division in the connexion of these by those Verbs [can or may.] Let us examine the several parts of your Syllogisme.

The Proposition. *The true Church cannot err,* is confirmed by the consent of all. Excuse me, Sir, if I withhold my consent, without some Declaration and Limitation. I say first, it must be declared whether you mean the Catholic Church, or a true part of the Catholic Church. For there is not the like reason of these to error. Against the Catholic Church, *Hell Gates shall not prevail*; against particular, *when Christ doth remove the Candlestick out of his place,* they do. Witness the Churches of Africk, sometimes most Catholic. And thus it seems you must take this term, since your doubt was, *whether*
The Church of England be of the true Church or no. Besides, I must desire to know, what manner of Errors you mean; whether even the least, or only deadly, and such as bar from salvation, which the Apostle calls διώκεις ἀπολογίας, heresies of perdition, 2 Pet. 2. 1. Take now your own choice; for if you speak of every error, the Proposition is false, even of the Catholic Church, much more of any particular Church. Yea, I add further, not only of the Catholic Church by denomination from the greatest part, or by representation, as the Pastors or Prelates thereof met in a Council, which is still the mixt Church, but even that which is Christ's true body, whereof he is the Saviour, and which shall be with him for ever. As for deadly and damnable errors, this true and properly called Church, both in the whole and every part of the mixt Church, is yet priviledged from them finally: For it is kept by the power of God to salvation, it is not possible the Elect should thus be seduced. Truth it is, That by such errors particular visible Assemblies, universally and obstinately defending them, become falsly called Churches, from which we are to separate our selves. Example in the Synagogue, and in Churches of the Arians.

Now let us see your Assumption. But the Church of England, Head, and Members, King, Clergy, and People, yea, a whole Council of Protestants may err by your own grant. I answer, The Church of England, that is the Elect in the Church of England, which oh-
ly are truly called the Church, can never deadly err. This no Protestant will grant ye. The mixt Church of England, Head, Members, King, Clergy, and the residue of the people, and a whole Council of Protestants, may err damnably, and therefore much more fall into lesser errors. This they grant. And if they shall so err obstinately, they shall deservedly lose the name of a true Church. But they deny they do thus err; ye a they deny that they err de facto, at all.

What follows in Conclusion? Ergo, No true Church. This shortness in suppressing the Verb, would make a Man think you meant to cover the fault of your Discourse. And indeed you might by that means easily beguile another, but I cannot be persuaded you would willingly beguile your self. Sure you were beguiled, if you meant it thus. Ergo, it is no true Church. See your Argument in the like: A faithful Witness cannot lye; But Socrates or Aristides may lye by his own grant. Ergo, no faithful Witness. He that stands upright cannot fall: But you Mr. Waddesworth by your own grant may fall: Ergo, stand not upright. Perhaps your meaning was, Ergo, it may become no true Church, to wit, when it shall so err damnably. But then it follows not, There is now no salvation in it, and therefore come out of it now. When you shew that, I shall account you have done wisely to go out of it. Shew that in any one Point, and take me with you. In the mean while, for my part, I shall
shall sooner trust that Chapman that shall say to me, Lo here is a perfect Yard, I will measure as truly as I can, and when I have done, take the Yard and measure it your self; than him that shall say, here is thus much, ye shall not need to measure it, but take it on my Word: Yea though one of his Apprentices should stand by and say, he could not deceive me though he would; as *Benedictus à Benedictis* tells the present Pope, *Volens volens errare non potes.*

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

That which you add, *That you perceived the most Protestants did frame the like evasions when you came to answer the Arguments against them on the other side;* When you shall shew this in particulars, I shall believe it. In the mean while,
while, I believe you thought so; for commonly mediocrities are aggravated with the hatred, and flandered with the names of both extrems. But in the question between the Popish faction and us, you might easily have discerned why the Argument from bare Authority, is not of such validity. For Ceremonies and matters of order may be ordered by wise Men, and are not the worse, but the better if they be ancient, yea if they be common to us with Rome, which Puritans will by no means allow. In Doctrine, if holy Men, yea if an Angel from Heaven shall innovate any thing, we are not to admit it. Now the Controversies between the Romanists and us, are most about Doctrine, and they exceed as much in extolling the authority of the Ancients in their private Opinions and incommmodious and strain'd speeches, as the Puritans in depressing them. We hold the mean, and give as much to the Authority and Testimonies of the Fathers, as may stand with the truth of Holy Scriptures, and as themselves defer to the writing of others, or require to be given to their own.

Next you tell, of your following their Opinion who would make the Church of England, and the Church of Rome still to be all one in Essential Points, and the differences to be accidental. Confessing the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though sick, or corrupted, and the Protestants to be derived from it, and reformed. This Opinion is not only as you write, favoured of many great Scholars in England, but
is the common Opinion of all the best Divines of the reformed Churches that are or have been in the World, as I shewed in part of another Work, which as I remember you had a sight of. Wherein yet I fear you mistake the term, accidental, which doth not import that our differences are but slight and of small consideration, but that all those Opinions and Abuses which we reform and cut off, are not of the Faith, but superfluous and foreign, yea hurtful and noisome to it, as the Weeds are to the Corn, which overgrow and choke it. And to follow this similitude, the state of the Church under the Roman obedience, and that part which is reformed, is like a Field overgrown all with Weeds, Thistles, Tares, Cockle: Some part whereof is weeded and cleansed, some part remains as it was before; which makes such a difference to the view, as if it were not the same corn. But being better considered, it will be found all the difference is, from the Weeds, which remain there, and here are taken away. Yet neither here perfectly, nor all where alike, but according to the industry of our Weeders, or convenience of the Work, with care of the safety of the good Corn. By this Parable, you may see what is to be hoped of your labour to reconcile most of our particular Controversies. For although I doubt not but in some it may be performed, where the difference is rather verbal than real; and in the manner of teaching, rather than in the substance of Doctrine. And if moderate Men had the matter in
handling, the flame of contention in a great many more might be trodden down and flaked, suppose the sparks not all extinct; yet in some other, it is as possible to make the Weed and Corn Friends, as your and our Opinions; where there is none other remedy but that of our Saviour, *Every Plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out*. Neither doth this impossibility arise more out of the nature of the things, than the affection of the persons. For the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, which are those that domineer on that side, do no less out of the fear of their own ruine, deadly detest all reformation, than the Reformed, out of their present view and former feeling, the tyranny of the Papacy, which they see doth Excommunicate, and put to cruel Death all that are of this way. And which is a prodigious thing, where they tolerate the blasphemous and professed enemies of Christ, even with allowance of the publick exercise of their Religion, there do they burn Men professing Christ's Religion, according to the ancient and common Rule thereof, with that uprightness of Conscience, that if they had as many Lives as there be Articles thereof, they would give them all rather than renounce any of them.

As for the *Protestants making the Pope Antichrist*, I know it is a point, that inrageth much at *Rome*. But if the Apostle S. *Paul*, if S. *John* in the Revelation, describe Antichrist so, as they that do but look upon the Pope well, must be forced to say as the people
ple did of the blind Man in the Gospel, some, 
this is he; others, he is very like him; if him-
self and his flatterers do, and speak such 
things, as if all others should hold their peace,
do in a sort proclaim, I am he; what can 
the Protestants do with the matter? I will 
rake the liberty here to relate to you, what 
I saw while I was in Venice, the rather be-
cause it is not impertinent to our present pur-
pose. And though perhaps you may have 
heard somewhat of it, yet the particulars 
are I suppose unknown in those parts. And 
yet it doth more import they were known 
there than otherwhere, being occasioned by 
a subject of the Crown, though of a name 
and Family whereto it is not much be-
holding.

In the Year 1608. F. Thomas Maria Cara-
fa, of the Order of the Friers Preachers, 
Reader of Philosophy in Naples, printed a 
thousand Theses to be disputed thrice; once 
at Rome, in the Church of S. Mary super Mi-
nervam, twice in S. Dominicks at Naples. Of 
these, five hundred were in Logick, Natural 
Philosophy, Metaphysick, and Mathematicks; 
five hundred more in Divinity, amongst 
which that was one. Solus Petrus & succe-
sores in totam Ecclesiam illimitatam juridictionem 
habent. These were all included in the form 
of a Tower, and dedicated with an Epistle 
to the present Pope Paulus the Fifth, to 
whose Arms alluding, he faith, Idem Draconi-
ceps qui utrumque polum amplexus imperio ad Ec-
clesiam pomorum tanquam ad amoenissimos Heberi-

dum hortos pervigil excubat, nullius Herculis vim
methuen,
metvens, turris etiam mea fit custos. On the top of this Tower, was this Representation curiously and largely cut. An Altar, with two Columns, and their Ornaments, according to the Rules of Architecture. In the midst for the Altar-piece was the Popes Picture, very lively portrayed to the Breast. Over his Head was the Word, *Vultu portendebat imperium.* Above on the top of the Front, in three compartiments his Arms thus. On the one side the spread Eagle alone, the Word, *Ipse mihi fert tela pater.* On the other a Dragon, and by it, *Meliora servo.* In the midst both together in one Scutcheon with the cross Keys and triple Crown in the Crest. On either side of these Columns were depending Crowns and Scepters, whereof six were on the right-Hand after the Christian fashion. The Imperial above, other underneath, and lowest the *Corno of the Duke of Venice,* so they call a certain Cap the Prince useth to wear being of Gold Embroidery, and somewhat resembling a Horn. There were also Turkish *Turbans,* and Diadems of divers fashions, as many on the left side. By these on either side of the Columns, were two of the four parts of the World. *Europe and Africk,* on the one, *Asia and America* on the other, in the Habit of Ladies, sitting upon their proper Beasts couchant, each offering unto him that was above the Altar of their Commodities, Corn, Fruits, Incense, &c. On the base of the Column on the Christian and European side, was the Word, *Et erunt Reges*
The Copies of certain Letters.

The Copies of certain Letters. On the other, Vultu in terram demisso pulverem pedum thorun lingent, Esai. 49. Agreeable whereto there was made flying over their Heads two Angels, on each side one with these Sentences in their Hands. That over Europe and Africk: Gens & Regnum quod non servierit illi, in Gladio & in Fame, & in peste visitabo super gentem illam, ait Dominus, Hier. 27. That over Asia and America: Et dedit ei Dominus potestatem & regnum, & omnes populi ipsi servient: potestas ejus potestas aeterna quae non anferetur, & Regnum ejus quod non corrupetur, Dan. 7. Now just underneath the Picture of the Pope, on the foreside of the Altar, was this Inscription, PAVLO V. VICE-DEO CHRISTIANÆ REIP. MONARCHÆ INVICTISSIMO ET PONTIFICIÆ OMNIPOTENTIÆ CONSERVATORI ACERRIMO. The Copies of these Theses were sent as Novels from Rome, and did the more amuse Men at Venice, because of the Controversie that State had with the Pope a little before, and their seeing their Dukes Corno hanged up among his Trophies, under all other Princes Crowns. But most of all, the new Title, Vice-Deo, and the addition of Omnipotency gave matter of wonder. The next day it was noised about the City, that this was the Picture of Antichrist; for that the Inscription PAVLÔ V. VICE-DEO, contained exactly in the numerical Letters the number of the Beast in the Revelation 666. What anger and shame this was to the Popish Faction, I leave it to you to esteem. But whom could they blame, but
but themselves, who had suffered so pre-
sumptuous and shameless a flattery to come
forth, with publick approbation, annexing
also to blasphemous an Inscription, as unaw-
ares to them by the providence of God,
should so plainly characterize Antichrist?
But to heal up this matter again, not long
after we had fresh news went about, That
Antichrist was born in Babylon, had done many
miracles, was coming toward Christendome with
an Army. We had an Epistle stampt at Ve-
nice, pretended to be written at Rome, An.1592
by the Rever. D. Valentinus Granarenfis,
touching the birth of Antichrift his flock, pro-
geny, Country, Habitation, Power, Marvels,
Life, and Death, out of the Holy Scriptures, and
Fathers, printed Cum Privilegio. And as for
the Title Vice-Deus, as if they would have it
in despite of all Men: One Benedictus a Be-
nedictis a Subject of the Venetian State, set-
ting out a Book against Doctor Whitakers
Politio, de Antichristo, at Bologna (for at
Venice it was not suffered to be printed)
revives it with advantage. He dedicates it
thus, Paulo Quinto Pontifici Universalis Eccle-
siae Occumenico, summo totius Orbis Episcopo arque
Monarchie & supremo Vice-Deo. These Titles
he heaps upon the Pope again, and again,
and that you may judge of his Wit by one
place in the conclusion, exhorting Dr. Whi-
taker to repentance; he tells him, That by
his example, his King, and with the same
King James the First, many Englishmen con-
vertentur ad Dominum Deum, & ipsius loco ad
Vice-Deum confugient. And p. 135. he faith
of
of Gregory the Great. *Totum mundum quasi Monarcha ac Vice-Deus optime & irreprehensibili-
ter exiit, &c.* He might have learned of him, that his other Title *Oecumenicus Pontifex,* is the very name of Antichrist, the name of blasphemy, by which he doubts not to preluge, that Antichrist was near, and an Army of Priests ready to attend him. In this, if ever in any thing, it feems your Judge was infallible.

It will be said here, it is not in the Popes power what his followers will say of him, he stiles himself the Servant of Gods Servants. *If the Canonists will call him, Our Lord God the Pope, first, it may be denied. Secondly, it may be laid to the over-flight of the Writers or Printers. Thirdly, if it be shewed to be left standing still in the Gloss of the Canon Law, by them that were appointed to over-see and correct it, what marvel if one word escaped them, through negligence, or weariness, or much business? And yet if they thought the sense of the word not so usual indeed in the ordinary talk of Christians, but not differing from the custom of Scripture was to be allowed to an ancient Writer, the matter deserves not such out- crys. But the Pope, such is his modesty, never usurped this Title full of arrogancy, never heard it with patient ears. To this, let it first be conside-
red, that the Censors of such things as come to the Press, are not to be imagined such Babes, as not to know what will please or displease his Holiness. Especially in writings dedicated to himself, a man may be sure they will allow nothing the second time, and after some ex-
ception and scandal taken at it, but what shall be justified. How much more in the Popes

*Apologia pro Gar-
neto, c. s.*
own Town of Bologna, and when his Chaplain could not be allowed to print it at home. But to let all these go; we may have a more sensible proof how the Pope tastes these Titles. That which he rewards he approves: Benedictus was shortly after made for his pains Bishop of Caorli. How worthily he deserved it you shall judge by his book; which at my request vouchsafe to read over, and if there be any merit, you shall sure get great need of patience in so doing. That you may not doubt of the Popes judgment concerning these Titles, you shall further know, that the matter being come to the knowledge of the Protestants in France, and England, made them talk and write of it broadly, namely, the Lord of Pleissis, in his Mysterium iniquitatis, and the Bishop of Chichester in his Tortura Torti. This gave occasion to the Cardinal Gierre, to relate in the Officio Santo at Rome of the scandal taken hereat, and to make a motion, De moderandis titulis. It was on foot sundry months. At last the Pope revoking it to himself, blamed those that had spoken against these Titles, and said, they were no whit greater than the authority of S. Peter's Successor did bear. To return thither whence I have a little digressed. In the question whether the Pope be the Antichrist or no, for my part, I despair of all reconciliation. For neither doth there appear any inclination at all in the Pope to reform any thing in Doctrine or Government, nay, he encroacheth daily more and more upon all degrees even among his own subjects, and resolves to carry all before him at the breast,
with his Monarchy and infallibility. On the other side, the Reformers partly emboldned with success, partly enforced by necessity, chiefly tyed with band of conscience, and persuasion of truth, are not like to retract what they have affirmed in this behalf, and whatsoever their differences be in other things, in this point they have a marvellous unity amongst them. Those in France having been molested for calling the Pope Antichrist, have been occasioned (as I have heard) some few years since to take it into their Confession, thereby to justify themselves according to the Edicts of Pacification giving them liberty to profess their Religion. In England as you know it is no part of the Doctrine of our Church, yet a commonly received opinion. Howbeit this is so far from hindering, that the reformed Churches and those which heretofore were, or at this present are under the Popes obedience be one Church, that is, all members of the Catholic; that the Protestants without this cannot make good the other. For Antichrist must sit in the Temple of God, and that is in the Church, as Chrysostome and Theophylact interpret it, and Gods people could not be commanded to go out of Babel, if he had none there.
Of the safeness to joyn to the Roman, being confessed a true Church by her opposites.

But you concluded hence, that seeing many of the best learned Protestants did grant the Church of Rome to be a true Church, though faulty in some things; and contrarily not only the Romanists, but Puritans, Anabaptists, and Brownists deny the Church of England to be so, therefore it would be more safe and secure to become a Roman Catholic, &c. This Discourse hath a pretty shew at the first blush, and perhaps was used to you since your coming into Spain, as it was to some there before. At my coming to Venice I fell upon certain Letters and Reports, set forth as it was told me by F. Possavine, and not unlike by his mindfulness, to take all occasions to advance the credit of his Society. Amongst them there is one said to be a true Relation of the manner how M. Pickering Wotton was converted to the Catholic Roman Faith, indited as it is said, and subscribed by himself before his death. In which by a certain Father of the Company of Jesus an Englishman by Nation, the like Discourse was used, as it is said, to
to him: That he should consider well, that he
and other Protestants did not deny that the Catho-
llicks might be saved in their Faith, whereas all
the Catholicks that either lived at the present, or
ever were, hold it as a most certain Article of
Faith, That the Protestants and other Hereticks
cannot be saved out of the Catholick Church; therefore if he should become a Catholick, he should enter
into that way which was safe, by the consent of both
parts. This consideration he faith mov'd him not much
then. But after praying to God, as he was also advised
by that Father, to direct him into the right way
if he were out of it, suddenly he saw a certain
Light very clearly before his Eyes in form of a
Cross. Whereupon incontinently there was offered
unto him such a heap of Reasons and Arguments
by which was showed that the Catholick Faith is
the only way of Salvation, and that of the Prote-
sants on the contrary most absurd and abomi-
nable, that most evidently he was convinced, with-
out any the least doubt. And these reasons which
then offered themselves to him, were for the most
part such as he did not remember that he had ever
heard them in all his life. Thereupon with unspeak-
able joy he called back the Father, told him what
had happened, prayed him to hear his confession,
and he examining him upon all the Heads of the
Catholick Religion, which he most firmly and en-
tirely believed, heard his confession, &c. But
this Narration deserves little credit. First
creating Mr. Wotton for the greater glory of
their triumph a Baron; unless the Fathers in Spain, or Posseviv in Italy have a faculty
to create Barons. Next it is a very impro-
bable thing that Mr. Wotton dying of a Calen-
true should have so good a memory, as to indite so exact and artificial a Narration, with such formality, and enforcements in fit places, as any Reader of understanding must needs perceive, came out of a diligent Forge, and needed more hammering and filing than so. But that of all other is most Legend-like, that howsoever this motive of yours is used, yet it is not made the effectual inducement, but a heap of reasons in the twinkling of an Eye, and causing him not only to believe in the gros, but to be able to give account of all the Heads of the Catholick Religion (that is all the points of controvertie at this day, between the Romanists and the reformed Churches) in a fit of an Ague, in the twinkling of an eye? Excuse me: This is beyond the blind Beggar that recovered his sight at S. Albans, that could tell the names of all colours as soon as he saw them. What then? Was not Mr. Wotton reconciled? and saw he not a light in form of a cross? Yes: And this your motive was used to him also, and perhaps moved him more than all the heap of Reasons besides. But shall I tell you here what I have heard from the mouth of one that was himself then in Spain, that both could know the truth of this matter, and had no reason to tell me a lye, sith what he said, came freely from himself, without fear, or hope, or almost enquire? The Gentleman being sick, and weak in his Brain, the Father that Poelvigne tells of, brought under his Gown a Picture, and upon a sudden presented it before him: This might be the light
in form of a Cross (perhaps a very Image of Christ crucified) which together with
the lightness of his fancy, occasioned that
your Motive, though it self also very light,
might carry him: as a little weight is able to
sway much, where the Beam it self is false.
If this be true (as I take the living God to
record, I feign nothing, but do relate what
hath been told me) as on the one side I doubt
not, but God in his mercy did interpret of
the Gentlemans Religion: according to his
right judgment and persuasian in his health,
and not according to the erroneous apprehen-
sions of his fancy in his sickness (which even
in his best health was ever very strong in his
sleep) as some that have conversed with him
have told me: So on the other side, they
shall bear their judgment whatsoever they
were, that would with so cruel a craftiness
take advantage of his infirmity, and make
his story after a stale to draw on others. As
for the heap of Arguments to convince the Prote-
stants Faith to be absurd (that must be by the
way the Articles of the Creed) Possevina's
Catholic Hyperboles are well enough
known in Venice, and he hath been there told
to his Head, That if in things past, wherein he
might have been informed, he proves a most lying
Historian, it might more easily fall out, that he
should prove a most false and ridiculous Prophet in
things to come.

And in truth he hath proved so hitherto.
Wherefore, I reckon these garnishments of
Mr. Wotton's perversion, to be like the rest
of his News touching the Conquest of Mos-
avia
covia of Demetrius that Impostor, whom he boasteth in a manner to have been the Scholar of his Society. Where he tells the World that the Army cried out often: God and the Prayers of our Fathers (the Jesuites) have subdued the Hearts of our enemies, and inclined them under our noble Prince Demetrius. That Demetrius turning to the Priests of the company of Jesus, was heard to say [Lo that which you foretold me, O Fathers, in the time of that sorrowful flight of ours, is now come to pass, to wit, that as the Lord God had afflicted me much, so on the contrary he would much comfort me, and that therefore I should not doubt of a full victory.] These Words Possévine stamps in his former Relation in Capital Letters. But when this bold enterprise was overthrown, and this suborned fugitive slain, and shamefully dragged up and down the Streets of Mosco, then lo the reports were, That a light was seen over his body in the night time, &c. Let them that walk in darkness follow such Lights as these be. We are no children of the Night, nor of darkness. Leaving therefore those unheard of Arguments, which Possévine hath not only cunningly drawn a veil over, that we may not see them, but exempted by priviledge of a miracle that we may not try them, this which he hath shewed us, let us bring it a little to the clear day-light.

And even at the first view it is apparent, that this Argument is meerly foreign; not drawn from any thing, à parte rei, as what the true Church is, what it teacheth, or such like, but from opinion and testimony. What Men
Men say of that of Rome, and of the reformed Churches, &c. Now Opinions are no certain grounds of Truth, no not in natural and civil matters, much less in Religion. So this Argument at the most is but Topical and probable. Let us see the parts of it. And first that ground: The testimony of our selves and of our contraries is much more insufficient and certain than to justify our selves alone. Surely neither the one nor the other is sufficient, or certain. It is true, that if other proof fail, and we will follow conjectures, he is in probability an honefter Man, that others beside himself say well of, than he that alone testifieth of himself. And yet according to truth, this latter may be a right honest Man, and dwell, as we say, by ill neighbours, or where he is not known, or requires not the testimony of other Men: Whereas the other being indeed a knave, is either cunning to conceal it, or hath suborned other like himself to say for him, or dwels by honest Men that judge and say the best. And in this very kind, our Saviour attributes so little to testimony, as he pronounces a woe to them that all Men speak well of. So in our case it is more probable, I grant, if there were no other Argument to clear it, but Opinion, and most Voices, that you have the true Church, and are in the way of salvation, than we, because we give you a better testimony than you do us. But it is possible we are both deceived in our Opinions, each of other; we through too much charity, and you and others through ignorance or malice. Herein undoubtedly we have
have the advantage of you and the rest, and
do take that course which is more safe and
sure to avoid sin, that if we do fail of the
truth, yet we be deceived with the error of
Love, which, as the Apostle faith, hopeth all
things, and is not puffed up. We avoid at the
least that gulph of rash judgment, which,
me thinks, if the case be not too too clear,
we should all fear, with what judgment you judge,
you shall be judged. Thou that judgest another, con-
demnest thy self.

Matt. 7.6.
Rom. 2.1.

But that you may a little better consider
the weakness of this discourse, if the testi-
mony of our selves and our contraries were
sufficient and certain to make truth, and ever
more safe and secure to follow that side which
hath that testimony, it had been better to
have become a Jewish Profelyte, in the Apo-
stles times than a Christian: For the Christi-
ans acknowledged the Jews to be the people
of God, heirs of the promises, and of Christ, and
filed them Brethren, notwithstanding their
zeal to the Ceremonies, and Traditions of
their Fathers, excused their ignorance, bare
with them, laboured to give them content
in all things. Whereas they to the contrary
called those that professed Christ, Hereticks
and Sectaries, accursed them, drew them out
of their Synagogues, scourged them, cast
them in Prison, compelled them to blas-
pheme: As you do now Protestants to ab-
jure, though in other cruelties I confess you
go far beyond them. By like reason a Pa-

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

Lastly consider, if this ground of the testimony of our contraries for our part, and their lack of ours, for theirs, be sure; you have justified the cause of the Protestants in the main Question, which is the better Religion. For whatsoever a Protestant holds, as of Faith, you cannot deny to be good and Catholick, nor any Christian Man else. For he binds him to his Creed, to the Holy Scriptures, and goes no further: And in these he hath your testimony for him. But he denies many things which you believe, and accounts them foreign, yea repugnant to Faith, as the Popes infallibility, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, worshipping of Images, invocation of Saints. In all these you speak only for your selves, in some of these you have not us only, but all other Christians your opposites, to say nothing of the Jews and Turks, whom I might as well chock you withal, as you do the Protestants with Anabaptists. So by this reason our Profession is more safe and secure, and questionless is more Catholick than yours. Neither have we in this discourse the Argument only as you see very appliable and favourable to us, but (which I would entreat you by the way to observe)
observe) the conclusion itself often granted by moderate and sober Men of your own side, viz. That our course is in sundry things more safe than yours. As in making no image of God. In trusting only in the merits of Christ. In worshipping none but the Trinity. In directing our Prayers to our Lord Jesus Christ alone. In allowing Ministers to marry. In diverse other Points also many of your side say the same with the Protestants, and defend us from the imputations which others of you lay upon us, as is shewed in the Catholic Apology, by the reverend Bishop of Chester.

This to the proposition. Let us come to the Assumption, where you mince too much the Protestants Opinion touching the Church of Rome, when you make them say, It is peradventure faulty in some things: Nay without peradventure, they say, It is corrupt in Doctrine, superstitious and Idolatrous in Religion, tyrannical in government, defiled in manners, from the crown of the Head to the soal of the Foot no soundness in it, as the Prophet faith of another like it; yet the vital parts not perished, ready to dye, yet not dead. A true Church though neither the Catholic Church, nor yet a sound member of the same. That also is false in the assumption, that the Puritans deny the Church of England to be a true Church. Unless the Puritans and Brownists be with you all one, which you have made diverse Sects above, and then are you to blame as to multiply names (whereof I have told you) before, so now again to confound them.

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

And such Arguments there want not. Christ our Lord hath given us amongst others, two infallible Notes to know his Church. 

My Sheep, faith he, hear my Voice: And again, 
By this shall all Men know that you are my Disciples, if you love one another. What shall we stand upon conjectural Arguments from that which men say? We are partial to our selves, malignant to our opposites. Let Christ be heard who be his, who not. And for the hearing of his Voice, O that it might be the issue! But I see you decline it, Therefore I leave it also for the present. That other is that which now I stand upon: the Badge of Christ's Sheep. Not a likelihood, but
but a certain token, whereby every Man may know them. By this, faith he, shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have char-
ity one towards another. Thanks be to God: This mark of our Saviour is in us, which you with our Schismaticks, and other ene-
mies want. As Solomon found the true Mo-
ther by her natural affection, that chose ra-
ther to yield to her adversaries plea, claim-
ing her Child, than endure it should be cut 
in pieces; so may it soon be found at this day, 
whether is the right Mother. Ours that 
faith, give her the living Child, and kill him 
not; or yours, that if she may not have it, 
is content it be killed, rather than want of 
her will. Alas, faith ours, even of those 
that leave her, these be my Children, I have 
born them to Christ in Baptism, I have nourished 
them as I could with mine own Breasts his Te-
traments. I would have brought them up to 
Mans estate, as their free Birth and Parentage deserves. Whether it be their lightness or discon-
tent, or her enticing words and gay shows they 
leave me, they have found a better Mother. Let 
them live yet, though in bondage. I shall have 
patience; I permit the care of them to their Fa-
ther; I beseech him to keep them that they do none 
evil; if they make their peace with him, I am sa-
tisfied, they have not hurt me at all. Nay but, 
faith yours, I sit alone as Queen and Mistress 
of Christ's Family; he that hath not me for his 
Mother, cannot have God for his Father. Mine 
therefore are these, either born or adopted: And 
if they will not be mine, they shall be none. So 
without expecting Christ's Sentence, she cuts
in pieces with the Temporal Sword, hangs, burns, draws those that she perceives inclined to leave her, or have left her already. So she kills with the Spiritual Sword, those that subject not to her, yea thousands of Souls that not only have no means so to do, but many which never so much as have heard whether there be a Pope of Rome or no. Let our Solomon be Judge between them: Yea, judge you (Mr. Wadesworth) more seriously and maturely, not by guesses, but by the very mark of Christ, which wanting your selves, you have unawares discovered in us, judge I say without passion, and partiality, according to Christ’s Word; which is his Flock, which is his Church.
Of Fraud and Corruption in alledging Councils, Fathers and Doctors.

Your next Motive was, That in examining the Questions, especially about the Church, where you laboured to peruse the Original Quotations and Texts of the Councils, Fathers and Doctors, you found, as you say, much fraud committed by the Protestants. This imputation of Fraud is very usual and common to both sides; and verily I believe some on both sides are faulty. For whether out of humane infirmity, mistaking the meaning of Authors, or slips of memory, trust of other Mens Quotations, who tye not themselves to the Words, but give the sense they conceive; how easily may testimonies be alledged clean besides the Authors minds? He that hath strongly conceited any thing, findeth it in all that ever he readeth, or falleth upon. Too much heat in contention, and desire of Victory, blindeth the Judgment, and maketh a Man heedlesly lay hold upon any thing, that he thinks may serve his turn. As we see sometimes in the Writings of the Fathers, which had to deal with ancient Hereticks, alledging the Scriptures themselves besides the purpose. Sometimes haft and desire of
of contracting makes one cut off some words; and explain and press those that make for him; and perhaps leave out something material: Presently the other side cries out clipping, forgery, falsification, and what not? But although all this may be called fraud in respect of the Reader, who is by this means deceived in his Evidence, and therefore if he be not aware may pronounce amiss, yet is it nothing to that kind, when with an evil Conscience and of set purpose Falshood is set forth, and Truth out-faced. Wherein I cannot tell what you have found. I could have desired, and do yet if your leisure may serve, you would shew the particulars. I do profess here to you, that I have seen and even felt with my Fingers such dealing in the Romish Faction, as I cannot resolve whether I should account them more shameful Slanderers, and false Accusers of others, of fraudulent handling; or bold and shameless in the practising of it themselves. When the Lord of Plessis his book of the Sacrament came out, how was it calumniated in this kind, with falsification? Dn Puy in a publick Chartel offered, that of 306 passages in the Preface, he would shew as clear as the Sun at noon day, 283 were falsified, corrupted, and mangled, and the rest of no importance. The Bishop of Evreux, after Cardinal, undertook to shew in the Book it self five hundred enormous falsities by tale, and without hyperbole. The matter was brought to a tryal before the King of France, and nine places examined of this number. And,
as was before-hand promised the Popes Nuncio, the business should be so carried that the advantage should remain on the part of the Church of Rome, and the Pope receive contentment, and in these very Words, The he should rest with the Hereticks. Morney was born down. The Kings Letters to the Duke of Essewron of this Victory, were blown over France, sent to Rome, printed with a Discourse thereabout, set forth at Antwerp, and translated into English, with some alteration and Turkesing by F. Parsons. Wherein he faith, A French Jesuit, Fronto Ducatus, discovered in it at last a thousand falsehoods for his part. He accused Bishop Jewel, and Mr. Fox, of the like crime: he faith that in two only leaves of his Book, a certain learned Scholar did discover thirty wilful and voluntary corruptions and falsifications that cannot be excused, and himself besides these thirty, noted so many other plain falsehoods and manifest wilful lies, as might well double the former number. And by Arithmetick he multiplies this Number with the Number of the Leaves, the number he faith will rise to thirty thousand, by which John Foxe his Book will as much exceed John Sleidan's Story in number of Iyes (in which were found only eleven thousand) as it doth in bulk and bigness. This manner of writing of these Men, brings to my mind that which Sir Thomas More writes of Tyndals New Testament, wherein he faith, Were founden and noted wrong and falsely translated above a thousand
thousand Texts by tale. The Language is like, and the cause is the same. Men were loth these Books should be read. The substance of them was such as could not be controlled; The next remedy was to forestal the Readers minds with a prejudice of falsification, that so they might not regard them, but cast them out of their Hands of their own accord. The Vulgar fort would be brought out of conceit at the first hearing, with vehement accusation. Even wise Men would suppose, though there should not be any thing near so many wilful faults, yet surely there must needs be a very great number, and that could not happen but with a very bad meaning; this admitted, who would vouchsafe them the reading? And in truth among those that favour the reformed part, I have met with some that out of this buzz of falsification in the Lord of Plessis Book, cared not for reading it; whereby may be thought in what account it should be with all those who esteem all F. Parsons Libels to be Oracles. But shortly: Sith neither the Cardinal Perone, nor F. Parsons have had the means, or will, to decypher those hundreds and thousands of falsifications in Sleidan, Bishop Jewell, Mr. Fox, or Plessis, in these so many years, as have run since they wrote; and as for the last, he hath set forth the Book again, with all the Authorities at large in the Margent, in the Authors own Words, and hath answered all those that bayed at it, till
till they are silent: what remains but that we count this multiplying of F. Parsons, may be joyned with Equivocation, to make up the art of Falsehood; wherein he and his Faction may justly claim to be the worst Professors in the World. But without any multiplication or other Arithmetic, in the fifth page of that Relation of his in the seven first Lines are four notorious, I will not say, yes, or falsifications, but falsehoods by tale. The First: That the trial being begun upon the first place, that was found false. The French Discourse printed at Antwerp, Cum privilegio, and approbation of the Visitor of Books, faith: And as to the said first Article, nothing was judged thereabout by the said Commissioners, nor pronounced by my said Lord the Chancellor, and the King said that it should be remitted to another time to deliberate thereabout. The Second: He (that is Plessis) would have passed to the second, but the Bishop refused so to do, except the Ministers and Protestants there present would first subscribe and testify that this first place was falsified. He said in the page before, that Plessis appeared at last with some four or five Ministers on his side. There were no Ministers appeared with him on his side. No Protestants, no creature did subscribe, or was required so to do. The third: Which at length they did, viz. subscribe, this place was falsified. An utter untruth. Whereof there is not a Word in the said printed Narration. The fourth: As well in this as in all the rest. There was no subscription, as I said,
at all. The Commissioners were all of the Roman profession, saving Casaubon; and he no Minister. They never pronounced, much less subscribed that any of those places examined were falsified. Of the first place of Scottus they pronounced nothing. Of the second, of Durand, That the opposition of Durand was alleged for the resolution. And this they would have remitted also as the former to another time, lave that the Bishop insisted, saying, it was in vain to dispute if they would not judge; Addressing his Speech divers times to the King, to the intent he should signify his pleasure to the Commissioners; and then his Majesty drawing near to them, they gave their Opinions upon that Article as before. This was that which F. Parsons stumbled at when he wrote, The Ministers and Protestants there present subscribed and testified, that it was falsified, and so all the rest. For being overjoyed with this News which he did not well understand (to think the charitablest of him) he thought the Commissioners had been part at least Protestants, and Ministers: And had subscribed, whereas they pronounced their Sentence vivvoce, by the Mouth of the Chancellor, never using the term falsification; yea in some of the rest they acquitted the Lord of Plessis, as in the passage of P. Crinitus, though they said Crinitus was deceived. In that of Bernard, that it had been good to distinguish the two passages of S. Bernard out of the same Book with an &cetera. Not to stand now upon that, that in the rest of
The Copies of certain Letters.

the places he hath a reasonable and just defence with indifferent Men, for the omissions he was charged with in Chrysostome, Hierome, Bernard, and Theodoret: And in that of Cyril, the King himself said aloud, that both sides had reason. But F. Parsons not having, as it appears, received perfect information of the particularities of this affair, was so hasty to write according to the partial intelligence he received at Rome, that he faults himself in the same kind, that he imputes to another. And if he should meet with some severe Adversary, that would multiply his falsehoods by his leaves and lines, as he dealeth with Mr. Fox, and then extend by proportion his Pamphlet to the bigness of Mr. Fox's Book of Martyrs, he would find, that he provides very ill for himself that is too rigorous and censorious to other Men.

But I leave him, and come to the fidelity of the Popish Faction, whereof I shall desire you to take a taste in one of the questions which you name about the Church, even that which is indeed cardo negotii, as you say, the controversy of the Popes authority. For the establishing whereof: First, the Epistles of the ancient Bishops of Rome, for the space of about three hundred years after Christ are counterfeited. The Barbarous not Latine but lead of the file, and the likeness of them all one to another, the deep silence of Antiquity concerning them, the Scriptures alleged after Hierom's translation, do convince them of Falshood, and by whole
whose practice and procurement we cannot doubt, if we ask but as Cassius was wont, cui bono? For at every bout the Authority of the Pope, and priviledges of the Roman See are extolled and magnified.

Next, the Donation of Constantine is a senseless forgery; and so blazed by some of the learnedest of the Roman Church. Read it advisedly, either in Gratian, or in the Decrees of Sylvester, with the Confeffion, and Legend of Constantines baptism, and say out of your own judgment if ever any thing can be more fraudulent, more sottish. And because I have mentioned Gratian, his whole compilation is full of falsification, and corruption of Antiquity: take an example or two in the matter we have in hand. The Milevitane, and after the African Councils under pain of excommunication prohibit Appeals beyond the Seas. Which Canons were made purposely to meet with the usurpations of the Bishops of Rome, of which I have spoken somewhat before. Now in the citing this Canon, Gratian adds this goodly explication; nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverint; thus excepting that abuse which these Councils directly sought to prohibite. Again, S. Augustine to inform a Christian man what Scriptures he should hold for Canonical, bids him follow the Authority of the greater part of the Catholick Church, amongst which are those, quae Apostolicas sedes habeat, & Epîstolas accipere meruerunt, which had the honour to have the Apostles sit in them, and to receive
Epistles from them. Gratian fits it thus, inter quas (Scripturas) sane ille sunt quas Apostolica sedes habere, & ab ea alii meruerunt accipere Epistolae: And accordingly, the title of that Canon is; Inter Canonicas, The Decretal Epistles are numbered amongst the Canonical Scriptures. True it is, that in the end of the next Canon, Gratian adds a good limitation, and worth the remembering, that this must be understood of such Decrees, in which there is nothing found contrary to the Decrees of the Fathers foregoing, nor the Precepts of the Gospel. Belike even in Gratian’s time it was not held impossible, That in the Sanctions and Decretals of Popes, something might be decreed contrary to the Gospel, which may be added to your Judges Infallibility, which hath been touched before.

But these be old tricks of the Champions of the Papacy. At this day perhaps it is better: Yes, and that shall ye understand by the Words of the Children of the Church of Rome themselves, the Venetians. But first ye are to know, that among certain Propositions set forth in defence of that State, there was one, the fourth in number of eight, That the Authority promised by our Saviour Christ to S. Peter under the metaphor of the Keys is merely Spiritual. For confirmation whereof after other proof was said, That the Authority of the highest Bishop is over Sin and over Souls only; according to the words of that Prayer of the Church above S. Peter— qui B. Petro animas ligat.
The Copies of certain Letters. 393

The Copies of certain Letters.

Cardinal Bellarmine undertook to answer these Propositions, and coming to this place he faith; That peradventure Gods providence to take away such deceits, whereby the Author of these Propositions would deceive the simple, with the words of the holy Church misunderstood, inspired into the Reformers of the Breviary that they should take out of that Prayer the word (animas) as anciently it was not there, nor ought to be; because that Prayer was formed out of the words of the Gospel, Quodcunque ligaveris, & quodcunque solveris. Now mark the Rejoinder that is made to him by Johannes Marsilius, who numbering up his errors in the defence of every Proposition, roundly tells him? Erra XIV. perche dice, &c. He errs in the fourteenth place, for that he faith, That those which have taken out of the Breviary the word (animas) were inspired by the Holy Ghost. I know not whether the Holy Ghost be the Author of Discord. This I know well, that one of his Gifts and of his Fruits is Peace. Those which made that Prayer had this intention, to explain the Words Quodcunque ligaveris, with the Word (animas) by that Text which explaineth them, quorum remiseritis peccata; sins being in the Soul and not in the body, lest any should believe that the Pope were Dominus in temporalibus & spiritualibus, of Goods, of Bodies, and of Souls, and that he might loose and bind every thing, as it seems the L. Cardinal believeth. And they explained them with the Word animas, by which
which explication a remedy is put unto all those discords which may arise between the Pope and Princes de meo & tuo. Whereas those which have lately taken it away out of the Breviary, have anew stirred up occasion of discords and contentions. Besides that it is a thing known of all Men, that in the Books of the Councils, of the Canons, of other Doctors, in a word, even in the very Breviaries and Missals there have been and are taken away those things which are in favour of Princes of the Laity, to see if at length there might be established the opinion de illimitata Potestate Pontificis in temporalibus. So as he that compares together the Books printed in the year 30. in 50. and those at this day, as well of the Councils as others, evidently perceives the vintage, that marvel it is, that we post vindemiam, have found some few Clusters for the defence of our gracious Prince. This is a means if it go on further, to make all writings to lose their credit, and to ruin the Church of God. Be it spoken by the occasion that the Lord Cardinal hath given me thereof, and for charities sake, and for the desire that these writings be no more touched, which be also said with all humility and reverence.

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

Thus
Thus he there; As for the Prayer corrected, or corrupted rather; if you look the old Breviaries, yea even that set forth by Pius the Fifth, printed by Planse, with the Privilege of the Pope, and his Catholick Majesty, Anno 77. upon the nine and twentieth of June, ye shall find it to run thus. Deus qui B. Petro Apostolo tuo collatis clavibus regni Cælestis animas ligandi atque solvendi Pontificium tradidisti, concede ut intercessionis ejus auxilio peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur. Per Dominum—.

Now in the late correction, Animas is left out, and we understand the Reason.

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

Tell me, good Mr. Waddesworth, in the fight of God, what is fraud, if this be not. And thus not only the Authors of this Age any way inclining to reformation, as Erasmus, Rhenanus, Cassander, Fergus; but, Vives, Faber, Cajetane, Pol. Virgin, Guic- ciardine, Petrarch, Dante, yea Authors of six or seven hundred years old, are set to School to learn the Roman Language, and agree with the Trent Faith. For it is not the Authority and Monarchy of the Pope alone that is fought, though that be Summa summatorum, whereunto all comes at last, but no voyce must be heard differing from that which he teaches. Therefore it is, that Bertramus Presbyter is appointed by your Spanish Index printed at Madrid, to be wholly abolished. The former had catechized him to say instead of visibiliter, invisibiliter, with many other pretty explications, as where he faith, the Elements in the Lords Supper, Secundum creaturarum substantiam, quod prius fuerant, ante consecrationem hoc & post consismum, the explication is, Secundum externas species Sa- cramenti. But the surest way was to take him clean away: And so indeed in the Bibliotheca Patrum he is, and that purposely,
as Marguerinus de la Bigne confesseth in his Preface.

The Ancient Fathers are perhaps free. For the Council of Trent appointed, that in the writings of the ancient Catholicks nothing should be changed, save whereby the fraud of Hereticks, a manifest error is crept in. But who shall be the Judge of that? the Inquisitors and Censors themselves. For my part, I cannot say that I have spent many hours in the tryal of this point, nor have I had ancient Copies thereto requisite. But I will intreat you to consider with me one example, or rather two or three in one Father, and in the matter that I named, whereby you may guess at the rest. In S. Cyprian's Works imprinted at Rome, by P. Manutius, sent for to Venice by Pius the Fourth, to set forth the Fathers, as himself faith, most perfectly cleansed from all spots, the Epistle of Firmiliana Bishop of Caesarea, beginning, Accepimus per Rogatianum, is wholly left out; and Pamela thinks purposely, and adds, perhaps it had been more wisdom it had been never set out at all. S Cyprian was not of that mind, who translated it into Latin, as the stile it self witnesse, and Pamela also is enforced to confess. The matter is, it too quick and vehement against Stephanus Bishop of Rome. He faith he is moved with just indignation, at the manifest folly of Stephanus, that boasting so much of the place of his Bishoprick, and that he hath the succession of Peter, upon whom the foundations of the Church were set, brings in many other  

Rocks,
Rocks, &c. He saith he hath stirred up contentions and discords throughout the Churches of the whole World. Bids him not deceive himself; he hath made himself a Schismatick, by separating himself from the Communion of the Ecclesiastical Unity, for while he thinks he can separate all from his Communion, he hath separated himself only from all. He taxes him for calling S. Cyprian a false Christ, a false Apostle, and a deceitful workman, which being privy to himself that these were his own due, preventingly he objected to another! No marvel if this gear could not pass the Press at Rome.

In S. Cyprians Epistle, De Unitate Ecclesiae, these Words, & Primatus Petro datur, &c. and after, Unam Cathedram constituit: and again, Et Cathedram una, are foisted into the Text in that Roman edition. In that of Pamelinus also besides these, another clause is added, forsooth, out of Gratian, and a Copy of the Cambron Abby [Qui Cathedram Petri super quam fundata est Ecclesia deferit.] These patches being all left out, the sense is nevertheless compleat and perfect: And for the last, which speaks most for the Popes Chair, the Supervisors themselves of the Canon Law, by the commandment of Gregory the Thirteenth, acknowledge, that in eight Copies of Cyprian entire, in the Vatcane Library this Sentence is not found: But besides these, there is one wherein his opuscula alone are contained, and another at S. Salvours in Bologna, in which it is found. But what ac-
count they make of it appears by this, that supplying the whole sentence in another place of Gratian, they leave it out, Wherein as their Conscience is to be commended, and Manutius his modesty, or theirs who surveyed that Edition, that would not follow one Copy against eight; so is Pamelius's boldness to be corrected, that out of one, and that not fully agreeing with Gratian, neither shames not (as himself sayes, veriti non sumus) to farce in this reading into the Text, against all the rest Printed and Manuscript, which he used above twenty in number, as he sets them down in a Catalogue in the beginning of his Edition. It is now little more than two hundred years ago, that Frier Thomas of Walden wrote against Witless. He in the second Book of his first Tome, the first Article, and second Chapter, cites this very place of Cyprian, and cites it to fortifie Witless's assertion of his own mind. For having recited Witless's Words, he concludes them thus; Hec ibi, and then proceeds: Addamus & nos quod Cyprianus dicit, omnes Apostolos pares tuiffe & potestate & honore. Addamus quod Hieronymus dicit, super omnes Apostolos ex aquo fortitudo solidatur Ecclesie, &c. Yet neither in that Chapter, nor in that whole discourse doth he once mention these Words, now conveyed into Cyprian, nor any where else that I can find in all his Work, though he cite this Tractate often under the name of Liber contra Hereticos & Schismaticos. How fit had
The Copies of certain Letters.

It been to answer the objection out of Cyprian by Cyprian, if he had not found that Gratian after his manner had been too bold or negligent in this passage. The same Author in his third Tome De Sacramentalibus, Doct. 10, cites a long place out of this same Treatise beginning at those words. *An esse sibi cum Christo videtur qui adversum Sacerdotes Christi facit,* &c. Again, Cap. 81, two places; one immediately before the Sentences charged with those former words, another after. The one beginning, *Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum,* *Ego tibi dico quia tu es Petrus,* &c. The other, *Unitatem tenere firmiter & vendicare debemus,* &c. Certainly unless Waldensis meant by faint-pleading to betray the cause he undertook, he would never have omitted so pregnant passages as these be, for Peters Primacy, and the Popes Chair, had they been extant in Cyprian's Work when he wrote. But we cannot doubt of his good affection to the See of Rome, either for his orders sake, or his dedicating that Work to Pope Martine the Fifth, or his approbation of the two first Tomes, which he faith, he caused to be seen and examined, *per solennes viros,* and testifies of to be commended of all, encouraging him to write the Third. It remains therefore that Cyprian hath received this garnishment since Walden's time. And here with this occasion of his silence about those things which are thrust into Cyprian, I will, though besides my purpose, use his Testimony about a certain sentence of the Author of the imperfect work upon Matthew,
The Copies of certain Letters. 401

The copies of certain Letters, ascribed to Saint Chrysostome, which the Romish faction will needs race out. It is in the eleventh Homily, about the middle. The words are these, Si enim vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre pecatum est & periculum, sicut docet Balthasar qui bibens in calicibus sacris, de regno depopitius est & de vita. Si ergo hac vasa ad privatos usus transferre sic periculum est [in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur] quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quae sibi Deus ad habitaculum preparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in iis quae vult. In this sentence the words that I have enclosed from the rest are inserted, faith Bellarmine, by some Scholar of Berengarius, for they are not in all Copies. No marvel. That is more marvel that they are in any, since the Canonizing of Transubstantiation. But in Walden's time, and before, the words were thus read; for in his third Tome, Cap. 30, they are thus cited, save that by the error of the print ministerium is put for mysterium, and he adds there, Hanc tanti viri sententiam cum magistrum suum Wiclif vident libro de sermone Domini in monte Cap. 37. assimere quam sacram, qualiter pradones Lollardi audent, &c. But faith Bellarmine, These words make not to the matter in hand, for the Author of the Homily spake of the holy vessels of Solomons Temple, which Balthasar prophaned; and in those vessels, neither was the Lords true body, nor yet the mystery thereof. Well, if they be not to the purpose, if they speak of the vessels of Solomons Temple, let them stand in the
Text still. What need ye purge them out of the newer editions at Antwerp, and Paris? Belike Father John Matthews saw further into this matter than Bellarmine, for he casts out this sentence with the dregs of the Arians, although there be no Arianism in it that I can perceive. The truth is, the Author speaks of the Vessels used in the Lords Supper in his own time. For those words, sic ut docet Balthasar, &c. are brought in by the way, for a confirmation from a like example, the sense hanging in the mean while, which is resumed again when he goes on, Si ergo hæc vasa, as any indifferent Reader may perceive. Yea, take away these words, and the sinew of the sentence are cut, for the force of the argument lies in the comparison of the prophaning of the holy Vessels, and of our bodies; That is a sin, yet Christ's body is not contained in them, but the mystery thereof: but God himself dwells in these.

These examples, to omit some other, do make me think, that howsoever the corrupting of the texts of the Fathers, is not now perhaps so usual, as of other Writers, and good reason why, they know that many look narrowly to their fingers, neither is there any place almost, that is of special pith, that hath not been observed and urged in the handling of the controversies of this age, by some or other; yet where there is any colour of differing Copies, or any advantage to be taken that way, it is not slipped. And who knows not, that sometimes
sometimes the change of a Letter, yea, of
a Point or Accent, makes the whole sen-
tence of another meaning? As for exam-
ple, that of Saint Augustine, *Quis fecit te sine te,
non justificat te sine te.* Read it interroga-
tively, and it is as strong for Soto and the Do-
minicans, as if it be read affectively, for Catha-
rine and the Jesuits.

And in very deed when I consider the ea-
gerness of these men, to win their purpo-
ses, and their fearful boldness with the ho-
ly Word of God, I know not how a man
should look for conscience or respect at
their hands in the writings of men. For to
omit that the Trent-Fathers have canonized
the Vulgar Latin Edition, which so many
times departeth from the original inspired
by the holy Ghost, adding, detracting,
changing, often to a diverse, sometimes to
a contrary sense. To let pass also how Six-
tus V. and Clemens VIII. do tyrannize over
and delude the Faith of their followers, about
that Edition, binding them unto two diverse
Covers, and sometimes flat contradictory; and
so, as the form of each must be inviolably obser-
ved, without the least particle of the Text ad-
ded, changed or detracted. The former, dero-
gating all Faith and authority from whatsoever
Bibles hand-written, or printed, of the Vulgar e-
dition, which did not agree with that which he
set forth ad verbum & ad literam. The lat-
ter, telling, that when the same Pope endeavour-
ed to set it out, he perceived not a few things to
have crept into the holy Bible, through the fault of
the Press, and that it needed a second care; where-

*De verbis
Domini,
Serm. 15.
c. 11.*
upon he decreed to bring the whole work again
to the Anvile, had he not been prevented by death;
so derogating all Faith from the former.
Whereas the truth is, Sixtus did not only en-
deavour to set out his Bible, but prefixed his
Bull before it ad perpetuam rei memoriam, and
fent one of the Copies to the State of Ve-
nice (as I heard at my being there) howfo-
ever since it was cunningly recovered again,
set it to sale publickly, and faith in his Bull,
that he corrected the faults of the Press
with his own hand, and (which most of all
convinceth Pope Clement's Preface of fals\-hood)
the difference of these Editions is not in
fault of the prints, but in that the one fol-
lows the old erroneous reading, the latter
the reading of other Manuscripts according
with the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, or the Latin
edition of the Catholick Kings Bible, ob-
served by the industry of the Divines of Lo-
vaine. But to forbear to urge this contradi-
tion in the very foundation of belief, which
some man peradventure would press so far,
as to infer, that the Romanists have no
faith (for he that believes contradicto-
ries, believes nothing.) What shall we
say of that impiety, to corrupt the original
Text according to the vulgar Latin? See
an example hereof in the first promise of the
Gospel, Gen. 3. where the Serpent is threat-
ened, that the seed of the Woman shall crush
his head. The vulgar Edition leaving here
the Hebrew, the Seventy, and Saint Hierome
himself, as appears by his questions upon Gene-
sis, translates Ipsa, She shall bruise thy head. So
it stands now in the authentical Scripture of the Church of Rome, and herein Sixtus and Clemens are of accord. The Divines of Lovaine observe, that two Manuscript Copies have Ipse. That the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek, have it so likewise. Why then did not either Sixtus or Clemens, or they themselves having Copies for it, correct it, and make it so in the authentical Text? I will tell you by colour of this corruption, the Devil envying Christ's glory, like an obstinate enemy rather yielding himself to any than his true Conqueror, hath given this honour to the Virgin Mary. To her it is attributed in that work which I think to be the most ungodly and blasphemous that ever saw the Sun, The Ladies Psalter, wherein that which is spoken of God by the Spirit of God is writhed to her. In the 51. Psalm, Quid gloriaris in malitia, ô maligne Serpens, &c. Why boastest thou in malice, ô thou malignant Serpent and infernal Dragon? Submit thy head to the Woman, by whose valour thou shalt be drowned in the deep. Crush him, ô Lady, with the foot of thy valour, arise and scatter his malice, &c. And in the 52. speaking to the same Serpent. Noli extolli, &c. Be not lifted up for the fall of the Woman, for a Woman shall crush thy head, &c. So that in that Anthem; Hæc est mulier virtutis qua contrivit caput Serpentis. Yea which I write with grief and shame, to her doth good Bernard apply it, Hom. 2. super Missus est, and which is more strange, expounds it, not of her bearing our Saviour, but Ipse...
The Copies of certain Letters.

procuditbio, &c. She doubtless crushed that poisonfull head, which brought to naught all manner of suggestion of that wicked one, both of temptation of the flesh, and of pride of mind. To her doth the learned and devout Chancellor of Paris apply it. Has pestes universas dicimus membra Serpentis antiqui, cujus caput ipsa virgo contrivit. And what marvel in those times, when the plain Text of the Scripture ran so in the feminine gender, of a woman, and few or none had any skill of the Greek or Hebrew? Who should that she be, but she that is blessed among women? Now although that thanks be to God, it is known that this is a corrupt place, out of the Fountains, yea out of the Rivers also, the testimonies of the Fathers, referring this to Christ, as Irenæus, Justin, Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hierome, yea Pope Leo himself, yet because no error of the Church of Rome may be acknowledged, how palpable forever; they have cast how to shadow this corruption, and set some colour upon it, that howsoever this reading cannot be true, yet it may be made like to truth. Lo in the Interlinear-Bible set forth by the authority of King Philip the father of his Majesty that now Reigns with you, the Hebrew Text is reformed according to the Latine, Ipsa. There was some opportunity hereunto, by reason that the Letters of the Text without pricks would bear both readings. For ה may be read ה or ה. And this self-same word for the Letters the base of reading, is so pointed
pointed in this Chapter, verse 19, and applied to Eve She is the mother of all living. And so elsewhere, as Gen. 28. 1, and 21. Hereupon it was added, that the pricks are a late invention of the Rabbines, as many think, and no part of the Hebrew Text. And that not only Leo Castro, and such as accuse the present Hebrew Copies as falsified, but those that defend them also, do many of them confess. Hereupon it was resolved, as it seems, to point this place _NAV束_ for it was not by mistaking, but purposely done, Franciscus Lucas in his Annotations upon the place doth assure us; and faith it was Guido Fabricius his deed. And indeed other things there be in that work, which favour not of the learning and integrity of Arias Montanus, as for example, the Etymologie of Missa from the word _KeyPress But as Boldness is not always as provident, as Ignorance or Malice is bold, these Correctors marked not, that the gender of the Verb, and the affix of the Noun following, are both Masculine. So although the Orthographie would be framed to consent, yet the Syntax doth cry out against this Sacrilege. And yet our Rhemists, as I am informed, in their lately set-forth Bible, with a long note upon this place, defend the applying of this Text to the blessed Virgin, and the old reading _Ipsa_. What should a man say? Necessity makes men desperate, and as the Apostle faith, _Evil men and deceivers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived._

2 Tim. 3:13.
These be frauds indeed, in the strictest sense, wilfully corrupting the Texts of good Authors, wilfully maintaining them so corrupted; not abstaining from the holy Scriptures themselves. For as to that other kind, depraving the sense, retaining the words; it were endless to cite examples. Bellarmine alone, as I believe, passeth any two Protestants that ever set pen to paper, perhaps all of them put together,
C-H A P. V I I.

Of the Armies of evident Witnesses for the Romanists.

Where you add, That you found the Catholicks had far greater and better Armies of evident Witnesses than the Protestants, it might perhaps seem so to you, as your mind was prepared, when you had met with such cunning Muster-Masters as the Romanists are: Who sometimes bring into the Field to make their number seem more, after the old stratagem of War, a sort of Pages and Lackies, unworthy to hold any rank in the Host of God; under the names of the Fathers. Sometimes to confirm their part, give out a Voice confidently, that all the Forces which they see aloof in the Field are on their side, whereas when it comes to the Battle they shall find that they will turn their Arms against them. Sometimes they change the Quarrel itself; in which case how easy is it to bring Armies, as you say, into the Field, to fight against No-body and evident Witnesses, to prove that which no Man denies? For the purpose, that the Bishop of Rome hath had a primacy of Honour and Authority; when as the question is about a Monarchy, and infallible Judgment, an uncontrollable Jurisdiction. 

Herein
Herein if you please, see how Bellarmine alledges the Fathers, Greek and Latine, in the 15. and 16. Chapters of his First Book, de Summo Pontifice. So for proof of the verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Lords Supper, he spends a whole Book only in citing the Testimonies of the Fathers. To what purpose? When the question is not of the truth of the Presence, but of the manner; whether it be to the Teeth and Belly, or Soul and Faith of the Receiver. Sometimes they will bear down the unexpert Souldier their Reader, that he sees the Fathers fight for them; as Pigginus and Bellarmine come in often with their Vides in the end and application of a Testimony. Whereby it comes to pass that the Scholar if he be of a plyable disposition, or loth to be counted dim-sighted, yields himself to his Teacher, and sees in the Fathers that which they never dreamed of. But surely, Sir, had you given that honour to the Holy Scriptures, which of the Jews was given to them, and our Lord Jesus Christ allows it in them; and then employed as much travel in the searching and looking into them, as you profess to have done in the perusing the Councils and Fathers, perhaps God had opened your Eyes, as those of Elisha his Servant, to have seen, that there are more on our side than against us, Horses indeed and Chariots of Fire, able to put to flight and scatter never so great Armies of humane Authorities and Opinions. But this place of the Scriptures hath no place amongst all your Motives.

As
As touching that which you say of the Centurists often cenfuring and rejecting the plain Testimonies of the Antients. It is true, that in the title De Doctrina, they note apart, The singular and incommodious Opinions, the Stubble and Errors of the Doctors. Wherein to tell you my fancy, If they commit any fault, it is, That they are too rigid and strict, referring into this Catalogue, every improper and excessive Speech, which being severed from the rest of the discourse, may often seem absurd: As it may also seem strange that our Saviour should teach a Man to hate his Father and Mother, or pull out his Eyes, or give him his Cloak that hath bereaved him of his Coat. Whereas these and the like have in the place where they stand, admirable force and grace, being taken with an equal and commodious Interpretation. But it is as clear as the Noon day, that sundry such errors and singular Opinions there be in the Fathers, as cannot be justified. They speak not always to your own Minds, not only prima facie, and in sound of Words, but being never so well examined and salved. Witness Sixtus Senensis in the fifth and sixth Books of his Bibliotheca. Witness Pamelius Medina (though blamed for confessing so much by Bellarmine); yea witness Bellarmine himself. Wherefore if the bare Authority of the Fathers must bind us, undergo the same Law ye give; if, as your Belgick Index confesseth, you bear in them with many errors, extenuate them, excuse them, by devising some shift, often deny them, and give them a commodious sense, when they are opposed in Disputations.
Disputations, give the liberty ye take. Or if (as we think) these be base courses and unbeseeming the ingenuity of true Christian minds, acknowledge this honour as proper to the Scriptures, to be without controversy received, examine by the true Touchstone of Divine Authority all humane Writings, how holy soever their Authors have been. Try all things, as the Apostle commands, hold fast that which is good.

Your instance in Danaeus his Commentaries, super D. Aug. Enchiridon ad Laurentium, was not all the best chosen. For neither doth S. Augustin in that Book treating professedly of Purgatory, avouch it plainly, or yet obscurely. Nor doth Danaeus reject his Opinion with those Words, Hic est novus Augustini, or the like. The Heads of S. Augustines Discourse are these. I. That whereas some thought that such as are baptized and hold the Faith of Christ, though they live and dye never so wickedly, shall be saved, and punished with a long but not eternal fire, he thinks them to be deceived, out of a certain humane pity; for this Opinion is flatly contrary to other Scriptures. II. He interprets the place of S. Paul, touching the trying of every Mans Work by fire, of the fire of tribulation, through which as well he that builds Gold and Silver, that is, minds the things of God, as he that builds Hay and Stubble, that is, too much minds the things of this life, must pass. III. He saith, that it is not incredible, that some such thing is done after this life also; and whether it be so or not, may be enquired of. IV. But whether,
other it be found or no, that some faithful people, according as they have more or less, loved these perishing things, are later or sooner saved; yet not such as of whom it is said, that they shall not possess the Kingdom of God, unless repenting as they ought, they obtain forgiveness; as for the purpose, be fruitful in Almes; which yet will not serve to purchase a licence to commit sin. V. That the daily and lighter sins, without which we are never in this life, are blotted out by the Lords Prayer. And so the greater also, if a Man leave them, and forgive others his Enemies; which is a worthy kind of alms: But the best of all is a sinners amending of his life. Lo how plainly S. Augustine avoucheth Purgatory, of which he doubts whether any such thing can be found or no: Expounds that Scripture that seems most strong for it, all otherwise, and so as it cannot agree thereunto. If it be found, is sure it will not serve for greater sins. And for lesser defects, yea the greatest, shews another a surer Remedy, which in truth makes Purgatory superfluous. In this Doctrine, Danaus is so far from controlling S. Augustine, that he applauds him; and faith, That declaring his own Opinion of Purgatory, he pronounceth plainly, that the whole defining of this matter is uncertain, doubtful, and rash; which since that Augustine wrote being now an old Man, certainly it cannot be doubted but that he did altogether reject Purgatory: Yea and he shews this fire it self to be unprofitable. Thus Danaus there. But the censure that was in your mind, I believe, is that upon another page
The Copies of certain Letters.

page of S. Augustine in the same Book, where he treats, whether the Souls of the Dead are eased by the Piety of their Friends that are living. And thus he determines it. That when the Sacrifices either of the Altar, or of whatsoever Alms are offered for all such as are deceased after Baptism, for such as are very good folk, they are Thanksgivings; for such as are not very evil, they are Propitiations: For those that are very evil, though they be no helps to the Dead, yet they are Consolations, such as they be, to the Living. And so such as they are profitable unto, it is either that they may have full remission, or that their very damnation may be more tolerable. Upon this Chapter thus faith Daneus. Hoc totum caput continet Augustini, and after he adds, Itaque hic fœnum & stipulam edificat vir pinus & magnus. But you, ye say, had rather follow S. Augustine’s Opinion than his Censure. Perhaps as one faith, rather erre with Plato than bold the truth with others. If that be your resolution, what should we use any more Words? Believe then if you please, that the Commemoration of Christ’s Sacrifice in the Lords Supper, or the Oblations of the faithful, are to be made for all that deceased after Baptism, in the attempting of whatsoever sin they dye, yea suppose in final impenitence of any deadly crime. That such as be damned may thereby have their damnation made more tolerable. Believe that without any impropriety of Speech, the same form of Words may be a thanksgiving for one, and an appeasing of Gods wrath for another. Believe also (if you can believe what you will
will) that S. Tecla delivered the Soul of Falconilla out of Hell, and S. Gregory the Soul of Trajan, and that as may seem laying Masses for him, yet he was forbidden thenceforth to offer any Host for any wicked Man. Believe that Macarius continually praying for the Dead, and very desirous to know whether his Prayers did them any good, had answer by miracle from the Scull of a dead Man an Idolater, that by chance was tumbled in the way. O Macarius when thou offerest Prayers for the Dead, we feel some ease for the time. Believe that on Easter even all the damned Spirits in Hell keep Holy day, and are free from their torments. S. Augustine, such is his modesty, will give you leave to believe this, as well as Purgatory, if you please, as he is not unwilling to give as large scope to other Mens Opinions as may be, so they reverse not the plain and certain grounds of Holy Scripture. In all these you may if you please follow Authors also; as S. Damascene, Paladins, Prudentius, Sigebert, and others. But give the same liberty to others that ye take. Compel no Man to follow your Opinion, if he had rather follow Danaus's Reasons. For my self, I would sooner with S. Augustine himself, whose words touching S. Cyprian, Danaus here borrowed, confess this to be, neminem candidissimi pectoris copertum ubere Charitatis, than be bound to justifie his conceit touching the commemoration of the Dead in the Lords Supper. And as he faith of S. Cyprian, so would I add, Ego hujus libri Authoritate non teneor, quia literas Augustini
The Copies of certain Letters.

Gustini non ut Canonicas habeo, sed eas ex Canonicis considero; quod in iis divinarum Scripturarum authoritati congruit cum laude ejus, accipio, quod non congruit cum pace ejus, respuo. Which Words I do the rather set down, that they may be Luther's justification also against F. Parsons, who thinks he hath laid sore to his charge when he cites very solemnly his Epistle ad Equitem Germ. Anno Domini 1521, where he faith, He was tyed by the authority of no Father, though never so holy, if he were not approved by the judgment of Holy Scripture. Surely this is not to deny and contemn, as he calls it, or as you to controll the Fathers, to account them subject to humane infirmities, which themselves acknowledge. But the contrary is to boast against the Truth, to seek to forejudge it with their mistakings, which needs not so much as require their Testimonies.

I will forbear to multiply words about that, whether the testimonies of Antiquity which favour the Protestants be many or few: whether they do indeed so, or only seem, prima facie; whether they be wrested, or to the purpose; whether all this may not by juster reason be affirmed of the passages cited by the Romanists out of Antiquity, setting aside matters of ceremony, and government (which your self confess by and by may be divers, without impeaching unity in Faith) and opinions, ever to be subjected to the trial of Scriptures, by their own free consent and desire. Judge by an instance or two, that this matter may not be a meer skirmish of generalities.
Tertullian in his latter times, whether as Saint Hierome writes through the envy and reproach of the Roman Clergy; or out of the too much admiring chastity and fasting, became a Montanist, and wrote a Book de Pudicitia, blaming the reconciling of Adulterers and Fornicators. In the very entrance almost thereof, he hath these words. Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, & quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scil. Maximus Episcopus Episcoporum dicit, Ego & machia & fornicationis delicta paenitentia sunt etiam dimitto. Pamelaus in his note upon this place; writes thus, Bene habet; & annotat: dignum quod etiam jam in hæresi constitution, & adversus Ecclesiam scribens, Pontificem Romanum Episcopum Episcoporum nunquam; & infra Cap. i. bonum Pastorem, & benedictum Papam, & Cap. ii. Apostolicum: Thus Pamelaus; and presently lanches forth into the Privileges of the See of Rome, and brings a number of testimonies for that forgery of Constantines donation. The like note he hath in the life of Tertullian, where he makes the Pope thus set forth the former Edict to have been Zephyrinus's; quem, faith he, Pontificem Maximum etiam jam haeresicus Episcopum Episcoporum appellat. Baronius also makes no small account of this place, and faith, The title of the Pope is here to be noted. And indeed, prima facie (as you say) they have reason. But he that shall well examine the whole web of Tertullians discourse, shall find that he speaks by a most bitter and scornful Ironie, as Elias doth of Baal, when he faith, he is a God. The word scilicet might E e have
have taught them thus much. Yea, the title Pontifex Maximus, which in those days, and almost two ages after, was a Pagan term, never attributed to a Christian Bishop, first laid down by Gratian the Emperor, as Baronius also notes, in the year of our Lord 383. because it favoured of Heathenish superstition, though it had been, as a title of Royalty used by the former Christian Emperours, till that time. This title, I say, might have made them perceive Tertullian's meaning; unless the immoderate desire of exalting the Papacy did so blind their eyes, that seeing, they saw, and yet perceived not. In the same character, though with more mildness and moderation, is the same title for the other part of it, used by Saint Cyprian, in his Vote in the Council of Carthage. Neque n. quisquam nostrum esse Episcopum Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequi neceffitatem Collegas suos addigit. Bellarmine faith, he speaks here of those Bishops that were in the Council of Carthage, and that the Bishop of Rome is not included in that sentence, who is indeed Bishop of Bishops. What! and doth he tyrannously enforce his Colleagues to obedience also? For it is plain that Cyprian joyns these together, the one as the presumptuous title, the other as the injurious act answering thereto, which he calls plain tyranny. And as plain it is out of Firmilianus's Epistle, which I vouched before, that Stephanus Bishop of Rome heard ill for his arrogancy and presuming upon the place of his Bishoprick, Peters Chair, to sever himself
himself from so many Churches, and break the bond of peace, now with the Churches of the East in Asia, now of the South in Africa. And he was in as ill conceit with Cyprian for his breaking good order, and communicating with Basilides and Martialis justly deprived in Spain; as Saint Cyprian was with him, when he filed him, a false Christ, and a false Apostle. But that holy Martyr was of a more patient and calm spirit, than to be moved with such reproaches; nay, he took occasion, as it should seem, thereby to write of patience. From this mildness it was, that he so closely taxed the presumption of him, that made himself Bishop of Bishops, and by terror (which what it was, Firmilianus's Epistle shews, threatening Excommunication) would compel his. Colleagues to his own opinion. None of us, faith he, doth thus. As the Apostle, we preach not our selves; we commend not our selves; We are not as many, that adulterate the Word of God, &c. Bellarmine takes the first kindly. No marvel, faith he, for this is the Bishop of Rome's due. But they go together, he must be content to take both, or leave both.

Such another place there is in Saint Augustine's Epistle, 86. the words are, Petrus etiam inquit Apostolorum Caput, coeli janitor, & Ecclesia fundamentum. Where in the Margent, the Divines of Louvaine, the overseers of Plantines edition, set this note, Petrus Ecclesia fundamentum. Why might they not? The words ye will say of the Text. But these words of the text be not Saint Augustine's.
whose opinion is well enough known, That it is Christ confessed by Peter, that is the foundation of the Church; but they are the words of an undiscreet railler * of the City of Rome, against whom Saint Augustine in all that Epistle most vehemently inveighs. This arrogant Author endeavours so to defend the Roman custome of fasting on the Saturday, as he reproaches all other Churches that used otherwise. And that we may see with what Spirit he was led, he brings the same text that is brought in Pope Siricius, and Innocentius's Epistles, against the marriage of Clergymen, *qui in carne sanct Deo placere non possunt, and many other Scriptures wrested, and far from the purpose; at last comes the authority of Peter, and his tradition very Pope-like allledged, Peter, he faith, the head of the Apostles, porter of heaven, and foundation of the Church, having overcome Simon the Sorcerer, who was a figure of the Devil, not to be overcome but by fasting, thus taught the Romans, whose faith is famous in the whole world. I remit you to Saint Augustine's answer to this tradition. This I note, that where your Censors do rase out of the Margents of former editions, such notes as do express the very opinions of the Ancients, and in their own words, here they can allow and authorize such marginal notes, as are directly contrary to their meaning. Yea, which are earnestly oppugned by them; when they seem to make for the authority of the Pope. Good sir, examine well this dealing, and judge if this be not wresting the Fathers, and applying them clean from their purpose.

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

The first whereof is, the dislike of the Protestants evasion, as you call it, by the invisibility of their Church. Give me leave here to tell you plainly, ye seem to me not to understand the Protestants doctrine in this point. Else ye would have spared all that, The Catholic Church must ever be visible, as a City set on a hill, otherwise how should she teach her children, convert Pagans, dispense Sacraments? All this is yielded with both hands. The Congregations of which the Catholic Church doth consist are visible. But the promise made to this Church, of victory against the gates of Hell, the titles, of the house of God, the base and pillar of Truth, (an allusion, as I take it, to the bases and pillars that held up the veil or curtains in the Tabernacle) the body of Christ, his Dove, his undefiled, are not verified of this Church in the whole visible bulk of it, but in those that are called according to God's purpose, given to Christ, and kept by him to be raised up to life at the last day. This doctrine is Saint Augustine's in many places, which it would be too tedious to set down at large. In his third book, De doctrina Christiana, among the rules of Tychonius, there is
is one which he corrects a little for the terms, De Domini corpore bipartito; which he faith, ought not to have been called so, for in truth that is not the Lords body, which shall not be with him for ever, but he should have said of the Lords true body and mixt, or true and feigned, or some such thing. Because not only for ever, but even now, hypocrites are not to be said to be with him, though they seem to be in his Church. Consider those resemblances taken out of the holy Scripture, wherein that godly Father is frequent, of chaff and wheat in the Lords floor, of good and bad fishes in the net, of spots and light in the Moon. Of the Church carnal and spiritual, of the wicked multitudes of the Church, yet not to be accounted in the Church. Of the Lilly and the Thorns; those that are marked which mourn for the sins of Gods people, and the rest which perish, which yet bear his Sacraments. Consider the last Chapter of the book, De Unitate Ecclesis, and that large Treatise which he hath of that matter, Epift. 48. The place is long, which deferves to be read, for the objection of the Universality of Arianifme (like to that of Papifme in these last ages) which Saint Augustine answers in the fifth book, De Bap- tismo contra Donatistas cap. 27. That number of the just, who are called according to Gods pur- pose, of whom it is said, The Lord knoweth who are his, is the inclosed garden, the sealed fountain, the well of living waters, the orchard with Apples, &c. The like he hath. l. 5. c. 3. & 23. he concludes, that because such are built upon the Rock, as bear the Word of God and do it, and the
rest upon the sand: now the Church is built upon the
Rock, all therefore that hear the Word of God and do
it not, are out of question without the Church.
In the seventhe book, cap. 51. Quibus omnibus
consideratis.—Read and mark the whole
Chapter. Out of these and many more like
places, which I forbear to mention, it appears,
that albeit the true Catholick Church is such
as cannot be hid, yet considering that it con-
sists of two sorts of people, the one, which
is the greater part, who do not indeed pro-
perly belong to it: the other, the fewer,
truely and properly so called, to whom all the
glorious things spoken of the Church do
agree. The face therefore of the mixt Church
may be over-run with scandals, as in all times
almoft. The greatest number may sometime
be Idolaters, as in the Kingdom of Israel un-
der Achab. The principalleft in authority
may be false teachers, as the Priests and
Prophets in Jeremies time: the fons of pesti-
rence may sit in Moses Chair, as they did in
Chrifts time. Yet still the Church is the
ground and pillar of Truth in the Elect: Ipsi
est predestinata columna & firmamentum veritatis.
The Sheep hear not Seducers, John 10. 8. to wit;
finally, and in any damnable point. Thus was it
before Chrift, thus since, thus in the Church
of England, before, yea, and since it was
reformed. Thus in that of Rome it self at
this day. There is a distinction of Thomas, of
those that be in the Church, which rightly
interpreted agrees fully herewith. There
are some, De Ecclesia numero tantum. Some,
numero & merito. The former are such as
have
have only \textit{fidem informem}, the latter \textit{formatam}. Now though the persons of such, as be in the Church be visible, yet the Faith and Charity of men we see not, and to argue from the priviledges of the Church, \textit{numero \& merito}, to the Church, \textit{numero tantum}, is a perpetual, but a palpable \textit{paralogisme} of the Romish faction: which is groffer yet, when they argue to the Church \textit{representative}; and groffest of all, when \textit{one man is made the Church}, and he (as themselves grant may fall out) a Devil incarnate.

\textbf{CHAP}.
CHAP. IX.

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

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

To the Assumption. First, The Protestants challenge not to themselves any Church as their own; which I must advertize you of here, because formerly also you do use this Phrase. The Church is Christ's, both the visible and invisible. Next, taking matters of Faith for foundations or Articles of Faith necessary to Salvation, the Church of Christ hath in all Ages had Uniform concord with the Protestants at this day in such matters, as appeareth by the Common Rule of Faith the Creed; and so hath also the Church under the Popes tyranny. As to the Trent Additions they are foreign to the Faith, as neither Principles nor Conclusions thereof: Neither can your selves shew uniform consent and concord in them (and namely, in the 11. of them) in any one Age, especially as matters of Salvation, as now they are canonized. How much less can ye shew it in all other conclusions of Faith; whereabout there have been among you, as are now among us, and ever will be differences of Opinions, without any prejudice for all that unto the unity of the Faith of the Church, and title to the name of it. As for Wicliff, Hus, and the rest, if they have any of them born record to the Truth, and resisted any innovation of corrupt Teachers in their times, even
even to Blood, they are justly to be termed Martyrs, yea albeit they saw not all corruptions, but in some were themselves carried away with the stream of error. Else, if because they erred in some things, they be no Martyrs, or because we dissent from them in some things, we are not of the same Church, both you and we must quit all claim to S. Cyprian, Justin Martyr, and many more whom we count our Antients, and Predecessors, and bereave them also of the honour of Martyrdom, which so long they have enjoyed: You see, I hope, by this time the weakness of your Argument.
CHAP. X.

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

In your next Motive taken from the Original of Reformation, before I come to answer your Argument shortly coucht in form, I must endeavour to reform your judgment in sundry points of Story, wherein partly you are misled and abused by Parsons and others of that Spirit, partly you have mistaken some particulars, and out of a false imagination framed a like discourse. First for Luther, it was not his rancour against the Dominicans that stirred him up against the Pope, but the shameful merchandize of Indulgences, set to sale in Germany, to the advantage of Magdalen, sister to Pope Leo the Tenth. Believe herein if not Sleidan yet Gnicciardine l. 13. And of all that mention those affairs, it is acknowledged, that at the first, and for a good time he shewed all obedience, and reverence to the Pope. The new History of the Council of Trent, written by an Italian a Subject and part of the Church of Rome, as should appear by the Epistle Dedicatory of the Reverend and learned Archbishop of Spalato, prefixed to his Majesty,
jefty, speaketh thus of the matter. *Questo
diede occasione, &c. This gave occasion to
Martin, to pass from Indulgences to the Auth-
orthy of the Pope, which being by others pro-
claimed for the highest in the Church, by him was
made subject to a General Council lawfully cele-
brated. Whereof he said that there was need in
that instant, and urgent necessity. And as the
heat of disputation continued, by how much the
more the Popes power was by others exalted, so
much the more was it by him abased, yet so as
Martin contained himself within the terms of
speaking modestly of the person of Leo, and
saving sometimes his judgment. Again, after
his departure from the presence of Cardinal Ca-
jetan at Augusta, he saith, He wrote a Letter
to the Cardinal, confessing that he had been too
vehement, and excusing himself by the importunity
of the Pardoners, and of those that had written
against him, promising to use more modesty in time
to come, to satisfie the Pope, and not to speak any
more of Indulgences, provided that his Adversa-
ries would do the like. This was Luther's man-
ner at the first, till the Bull of Pope Leo came
out, dated the ninth of November, 1518.
Wherein he declared the validity of Indulgences,
and that he as Peters Successor and Christ's Vicar
had power to grant them for the quick and dead;
that this is the Doctrine of the Church of Rome,
the Mother and Mistris of all Christians, and
ought to be received of all that would be in the
Communion of the Church. From this time
forward Luther began to change his stile,
And (saith he) as before he had for the most
part served the Person and Judgment of the
Pope,
Copies of certain Letters.

Pope, so after this Bull he resolved to refuse it, and thereupon put forth an Appeal to the Council, &c. You see then how submissively Luther at first carried himself. But extream tyranny overcomes often a well prepared patience.

Touching his causing Rebellion also against the Emperor, ye are misinformed: His advice was asked about the Association of the Protestants at Smalcald, he said plainly, He could not see how it could be lawful, further than for their own defence. Job. Bodin, in his second Book de Repub. cap. 5. hath these Words. We read also that the Protestant Princes of Almain before they took Arms against the Emperor, demanded of Martin Luther if it were Lawful. He answered freely that it was not lawful, whatsoever tyranny, or impiety were pretended. He was not believed; so the end thereof was miserable, and drew after it the ruine of great and illustrious Houses of Germany. As for the war in Germany it began not till after Luther's death, neither was it a rebellion of the Protestants; the truth is, they stood for their Lives. The Emperor with the help of the Popes both Mony and Arms, intended to root them out; and although at the first the Emperour did not avow his raising Arms against them to be for Religion, yet the Pope in his Jubilee published upon this occasion, did not lett to declare to the World, that himself and Cæsar had concluded a League to reduce the Hereticks by force of Arms to the obedience of the Church, and therefore all should pray for the good success of the War.
That Luther ever reviled the Emperor, I did never till now hear or read, and therefore would desire to know what Authors you have for it. Touching other Printes, namely, King Henry the Eighth, I will not defend him, who condemned himself thereof. It is true that he was a Man of a bold and high Stomach, and specially fitted thereby through the Providence of God, to work upon the heavy and dull disposition of the Almains; and in so general a Lethagy, as the World then was in, he carried himself (as fell out sometimes) very boisterously. But Arrogance, Schism, Rebellion, were as far from him, as the intention it self to plant a Church.

As to his Vow-breaking lastly, if that Vow were foolishly made and sinfully kept, it was justly broken: Perhaps also charitably, if he would by his own example reform such, as lived in Whoredome, and other Uncleanness, and induce them to use the Remedy that God hath appointed for the avoiding of them, to wit, honourable Marriage. All this matter touching Luther, unless I be deceived, you have taken from Mr. Harding; that at least touching his rancor against the Dominicans, for it is his very Phrase. But Mr. Harding both in this, and many things else discovereth his passion, and lack of true information in this affair. When with one Breath he affirmeth, that, first, it was a Pardon of a Croisade against the Turks which was preached: Whereas it was an Indulgence to those that should put their helping hands for the building of S. Peters Church at Rome, as the Articles
Articles of this Pardon printed in English, one of the Copies whereof I have my self, do shew. Secondly, next he faith, the preching hereof was granted to Friar John Thezet. It was Friar John Thecel, or Tecel. Thirdly, he faith, The Elector of Mentz Albert, granted this to Thcel and the Dominicans, whereby Luther was bereft of the gain he expected. The truth is, it was Aremboldus a Bishop living at the Court of Rome, whom (having before been a Merchant of Genoa) Magdalen the Popes Sister put in truft with this Merchandise, that appointed the Dominicans to be the Retailers of these Pardons. The Archbishop of Mentz had nothing to do with it, otherwise than to allow and suffer it, which occasioned Luther to write to him, as to the Bishop of Brandenburg, and to Leo himself, to reprefs the impudence of the Pardoners. And Luther faith further in one place, that the Archbishop undertook to give countenance to this busines, with that condition, that the half of the prey should go to the Pope, and himself might have the other half to pay for his Pall. By these Errors heaped together it may appear what credit it is like Mr. Hardings Tale be worthy of, touching the remnant, that of rancor and malice against the Dominicans, and because he was bereaved of that sweet Morsel, which in hope he had almost swallowed down, Luther made this stir. A hard thing methinks it is, for any that lived at that day to set down what was in Luthers Heart, what were his hopes, his desires, ran-
The Copies of certain Letters.

cor, and spleen; much more for Mr. Harding, most of all for you and me. When the actions of Men have an appearance of good, Charity would hope the best; Piety would reserve the judgment of the intention to God.

Let us come to Calvin, touching whom I marvel not much that you say nothing of all that which Bolseck brings against him, who being by his means chased out of Geneva, discovereth as I remember in the very entrance, that he was requested by some of his good Masters to write against him. I once saw the book while I lived in Cambridge; it hath no shew of probability that Calvin would go about to work a miracle to confirm his Doctrine, who teacheth that Miracles are no sure and sufficient proof of Doctrine. I marvel rather that even in reading Dr. Bancroft, Mr. Hooker, and Saravia, all Opposites to Calvin in the question of Church-Discipline, and therefore not all the fittest to testify of him or his actions, all late Writers, and Strangers to the Estate and Affairs of Geneva: of whom therefore, besides their bare Word, sufficient proof were to be required of what they say, you not only receive whatsoever they bring, but more than they bring. You say, they prove what never came in their minds; and which is not only utterly untrue, but even unpossible. As that Calvin by his unquietness and ambition revolved the State of Geneva, so unjustly expelling and depriving the Bishop of Geneva, and other Temporal Lords, of their due obedience and antient inheritance. When as the
the Bishop and Clergy of Geneva, upon the throwing down Images there by popular tumult, departed in an anger, seven years ere ever Calvin set Foot within the Gates of that City. A thing not only clear in Story, by the Writers of that time, and since, Sleidan, Bodine, Calvin's Epistles, and Life, but set down by those whom ye cite. Mr. Hooker in his Preface speaking of Calvin. He fell at length upon Geneva, which City the Bishop and Clergy thereof, had a little before, as some do affirm, forsaken, being of likelihood frighted with the peoples sudden attempt for the abolishment of Popish Religion. And a little after, At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their Regi ment was popular, as it continueth at this day, &c. Dr. Bancroft. The same year that Geneva was assaulted, (viz. by the Duke of Savoy, and the Bishop, as he had said before, pag. 13,) which was Anno 1536. Mr. Calvin came thither. If Calvin at his coming found the Form of the Government Popular; If he came thither the same Year that the Bishop made war upon Geneva to recover his Authority, being indeed either affrighted, or having forsaken the Town before, how could Calvin expel him? And in truth Bodine in his second Book, De Repub. Chap. 6. affirmeth, That the same Year Genoa was established in a State Aristocratical, which was, he saith, Anno 1528. Geneva was changed from a Monarchy Pontifical, into an Estate Popular, governed Aristocratically, although that long before the Town pretended to be free, against the Earl and against the Bishop, &c. What Saravia hath written touch-
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ing this point I cannot tell, as not having his Book. But in Beza his answer to him, there is no touch upon any such thing. He joyns with his complaint, of the sacrilegious usurping Ecclesiastical goods, in answer to his Proémé. He differs in that Saravia accounts the Seniors of the reformed Churches like to that kind which Saint Ambrose speaks of, brought in out of wisdom only, to rule the disorderly. Beza faith, they were not introducti, but redukti, Cap. 12. For the rest in all that answer there is nothing of Calvin, or any such revoluing of the state as you accuse him of. Which makes me think, that herein your memory deceived you. It may be that in your younger time, falling upon these Authors, by occasion of the question of Discipline, which was then much tossed, ere ever your judgement were ripened, you formed in your mind a false impression of that which they say of Calvin. You conceited them out of your zeal in the cause, to say more than they do, and thus possible unawares received the seeds of dislike of the doctrine of Calvin, as well as his discipline, which have since taken root in you. But you shall do well to remember, the difference you put a little before of these two. Christian doctrine is uniform and ever the same; government is changeable in many circumstances, according to the exigence of times and persons. And even the same men that write somewhat eagerly against Master Calvin, yet give him the praise of wisdom, to see what for that time and state was necessary. Master Hooker, faith of him, That he thinks him incomparably.
parably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy since the hour it enjoyed him: and of his platform of discipline, after he hath laid down the summ of it; This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present state of Geneva did then require. But be it (and for my part I think no less) that herein he was mistaken, to account this to be the true form of Church policy, by which all other Churches, and at all times ought to be governed; let his error rest with him, yea, let him answer it unto his Judge; but to accuse him of ambition, and sedition, and that falsely, and from thence to set that brand upon the Reformation, whereof he was a worthy instrument (though not the first either there, or any where else) as if it could not be from God, being so founded; for my part I am afraid you can never be able to answer it, at the same barr; no, nor even that of your own conscience, or of reasonable and equal men.

For the stirs, broils, seditions, and murders in Scotland, which you impute to Knox and the Geneva-Gospellers, they might be occasioned perhaps by the Reformers there, as the broils which our Lord Jesus Christ faith he came to set in the world by the Gospel. Possible also, that good men out of inconsiderate zeal, should do some things rashly: And like enough the multitude which followed them, as being fore-prepared with just hatred of the tyranny of their Prelates, and provoked by the opposition of the ad-
verse Faction, and emboldened by successes, ran a great deal further than either wise Men could foresee, or tell how to restrain them. Which was applauded and fomented by some politick Men, who took advantage of those motions to their own ends. And as it happens in natural Bodies, that all ill humors run to the part affected, so in civil, all discontented people when there is any Sorance run to one or other side; and under the shew of common Griefs, pursue their own. Of all which distempers, there is no reason to lay the blame upon the seekers of Reformation, more than upon the Physicians, of such accidents as happen to the corrupted Bodies which they have in Cure. The particulars of those affairs are as I believe alike unknown to us both, and since you name none, I can answer to none. For as for the pursuing our King even before his birth, that which his Majesty speaks of some Puritans, is over-boldly by you referred to Master Knox and the Ministers, that were Authors of Reformation in Scotland. Briefly, consider and survey your own thoughts, and see if you have not come by these degrees: First, from the inconsiderate courses of some to plant the pretended Discipline in Scotland, to conceive amiss of the Doctrine also. Then to draw to the encreasing of your ill conceit thereof, what you find reported of any of the Puritans, a Faction no less opposed by his Majesty in Scotland than with us in England.
So when we speak of Religion (though that indeed be all one) you divide us into Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Protestants, Brownists, Puritans and Cartwrights, whenever any disorder of all this number can be accused, then lo are we all one, and the fault of any Faction is the slander of all, yea of the Gospel itself, and of Reformation. Judge now uprightly if this be indifferent dealing.

From Scotland you come to England. Where because you could find nothing done by popular tumult, nothing but by the whole State in Parliament, and Clergy in Convocation, you fall upon King Henry's Passions, you will not insist upon them you say; and yet you do, as long as upon any one member of your induction; though it matters little whether you do or no, since Father Parsons will needs aver that he lived and dyed of your Religion. Here first you mention, his violent divorcing himself from his lawful Wife. We will not now debate the Question, How his Brothers Wife could be his lawful Wife? You must now say so. Whatsoever the Scriptures, Councils, almost all Universities of Christendom determined: Yet methinks it should move you that Pope Clement himself had consigned to Cardinal Campegius a Bribe formed to sentence for the King, in as ample manner as could be, howsoever upon the success of the Emperours affairs in Italy, and his own occasions, he sent a special Messenger to him
to burn it. But what violence was this that you speak of? The matter was orderly and judiciously by the Archbishops of Canterbury with the assistance of the learnedest of the Clergy according to the ancient Canons of the Church, and Laws of the Realm, heard and determined. That indeed is more to be marvelled at, what moved him to fall out with the Pope his Friend, in whose quarrel he had so far engaged himself, as to write against Luther, of whom also he was so rudely handled as you mention before; having received also for some part of recompence, the title of The Defender of the Faith, having been so chargeably thankful to the Pope for it. All these things considered, it must be said, this unkindness and slippery dealing of Clement with him was from the Lord, that he might have an occasion against the Pope, and that it might appear that it was not Humane Counsel, but Divine Providence that brought about the banishment of the Popes Tyranny from among us. His marriage with the Lady Anne Bullen, her death, and the rest which you mention of the abling or disabling her Issue to inherit the Crown; I see not what it makes to our purpose. The suppression of the Monasteries, was not his sole Act, but of the whole State, with the consent also of the Clergy, and taken out of Cardinal Wolsey his example, yea, founded upon the Popes Authority granted to him, To dissolve the smaller Houses of Religion.
Religion, on pretence to defray the charges of his lunctuous Buildings at Oxford and Ipswich, wherein if it pity you (as I confess it hath sometimes me) that such goodly Buildings are defaced and ruined, we must remember what God did to Shiloh, yea to Jerusalem itself, and his Temple there. And that Oracle, Every tree that beareth not good fruit shall be cut down, and cast into the fire.

You demand, If this Man, King Henry, were a good Head of God's Church? What if I should demand the same touching Alexander the Sixth, Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, or twenty more of the Catalogue of Popes, in respect of whom King Henry might be canonized for a Saint? But there is a Story in Tullie's Offices of one Lucius, that laid a Wager that he was (bonus vir) a good Man; and would be judged by one Fimbria, a Man of Consular Dignity. He, when he understood the case, said, He would never judge that matter, lest either he should diminish the reputation of a Man well esteemed of, or set down that any Man was a good Man; which he accounted to consist in an innumerable sort of Excellencies and Praises. That which he said of a good Man, with much more reason may I say of a good King, one of whose highest excellencies is to be a good Head of the Church. And therefore it is a Question which I will never take upon me to answer, Whether King Henry were such an? unless you will beforehand interpret this Word as favourably, as Guicciardino doth tell us Men are wont to do in the cenfuring
your heads of the Church. For Popes, he faith, now days are praised for their goodness, when they exceed not the wickedness of other men. After this description of a good head of the Church, or if ye will that of Cominæus, which faith he, is to be counted a good King, whose virtues exceed his vices. I will not doubt to say King Henry may be enrolled among the number of good Kings. In special, for his executing that highest duty of a good King, the employing his Authority in his Kingdom, to command good things, and forbid evil, not only concerning the civil Estate of Men, but the Religion also of God. Witness his authorizing the Scriptures to be had and read in Churches in our Vulgar Tongue, enjoying the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and ten Commandments to be taught the people in English, abolishing superfluous Holy-days, pulling down those jugling Idols, whereby the people were seduced, namely, the Rood of Grace, whose Eyes and Lips were moved with wires, openly shewed at Paul's Cross, and pulled asunder by the people. Above all, the abolishing of the Popes Tyranny, and Merchandize of Indulgences, and such like Chafer out of England. Which Acts of his whosoever shall unpartially consider of, may well esteem him a better Head to the Church of England, than any Pope these thousand years.

In the last place you come to the Hugenots and Geuses of France and Holland. You lay to their Charge, the raising of Civil Wars, shedding of Blood, occasioning Rebellion, Rapine, Desolations, principally for their new Religion. In the latter part you write, I confess, some-
what referredly, when you say, occasioning, not causing, and principally, not only and wholly, for Religion. But the Words going before, and the exigence of your Argument require, that your meaning should be, they were the causes of these disorders. You bring to my mind a Story, whether of the fame Fimbria that I mentioned before, or another, which having caused Quintus Scavola to be stabbed (as Father Paulo was, while I was at Venice) after he understood that he escaped with his life, brought his Action against him, for not having received the Weapon wholly into his Body. These poor people having endured such barbarous Cruelties, Massacres and Martyrdoms, as scarce the like can be shewed in all Stories, are now accused by you as the Authors of all they suffered. No, no, Mr. Waddesworth, they be the Laws of the Roman Religion, that are written in Blood. It is the bloody Inquisition, and the perfidious violating of the Edicts of Pacification, that have set France and Flanders in combustion. An evident Argument whereof may be, for Flanders, that those Genes that you mention, were not all Calvinists (as you are mis-informed) the chief of them were Roman Catholicks; as namely, Count Egmond, and Horne, who lost their Heads for standing, and yet only by Petition, against the new Impositions and the Inquisition, which was fought to be brought in upon those Countries. The which when the Vice-roy of Naples,
An. 1547 D. Petro de Toledo would have once brought in there also, the people would by no means abide, but rose up in Arms to the number of fifty thousand, which sedition could not be appeased, but by delivering them of that fear. The like resistance, though more quietly carried, was made when the same Inquisition should have been put upon Millaine, sixteen years after. Yet these people were neither Geuses nor Calvinists. Another great means to alienate the Minds of the people of the Low-Countries from the obedience of the Catholick Majesty, hath been the severity of his Deputies there, one of which leaving the Government after he had in a few years put to death * 8000 persons, it is reported to have been said, The Country was lost with too much lenity. This Speech Meurfsus concludes his Belgick History withal. And as for France, the first broils there, were not for Religion, but for preferring the House of Guise, and disgracing the Princes of the Blood. True it is that each side advantaged themselves by the colour of Religion, and under pretence of zeal to the Roman, the Guisians murthered the Protestants (being in the exercise of their Religion assembled together) against the Kings Edict, against all Laws and common Humanity. And tell me in good sooth, Mr. Waddefworth, do you approve such barbarous Cruelty? Do you allow the Butchery at Paris?
Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their fellow Subjects, or to offer them, without either humble Remonstrance or flight, to their Princes at their mere wills against their own Laws and Edicts? You would know, quo jure, the Protestants Wars in France and Holland are justified, [I interpose not my own Judgment, not being thoroughly acquainted with the Laws and Customs of those Countries, but I tell you what both they, and the Papists also, both in France and Italy, have in such Cases alleged.] First, the Law of Nature, which, [they say,] not only alloweth, but inclineth and enforceth every living thing, to defend itself from violence. Secondly, that of Nations, which permetteth those that are in the protection of others, to whom they owe no more but an honourable acknowledgment, in case they go about to make themselves absolute Soveraigns, and usurp their Liberty, to resist and stand for the same. And if a lawful Prince (which is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods,) shall attempt to despoil them of the same, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion after all humble Remonstrances they may, [they say,] stand upon their own guard, and being assailed, repel Force with Force, as did the Maccabees under Antiochus. In which case, notwithstanding the person of the Prince himself, ought always to be sacred and inviolable, as was Sauls to David. Lastly, if the enraged Minister of a lawful Prince, will
will abuse his Authority against the fundamental Laws of the Country, [they say,] it is no rebellion to defend themselves against Force, reserving still their Obedience to their Soveraign inviolate. These are the Rules of which the Protestants that have born Arms in France and Flanders, and the Papists also both there and elsewhere, as in Naples, that have stood for the defence of their Liberties, have served themselves. How truly I esteem it hard for you and me to determine, unless we were more thoroughly acquainted with the Laws and Customs of those Countries, than I for my part am.

This Passage above, is to be considered as a Relation, not as the Authors Opinion: But yet for fear of taking it by the wrong Handle, the Reader is desired to take notice; That a Subject's restituting his Prince in any cause whatsoever, is Unlawful, and Impious.

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

Yet
Yet you say boldly they are Rebels, and ask why we did support them? It seems to some, that his Catholic Majesty doth absolve them in the Treaty of the Truce, An. 1608. of all imputation of Rebellion. And if they were Rebels, especially for Heresie, why did the most Christian King support them? As for Queen Elizabeth, if she were alive, she would answer your question with another. Why did Spain concur in Practice, and promise Aid to that detestable Conspiracy that was plotted against her by Pius V. as you may see at large in his Life, written by Girolamo Catena? It is, you say, an easie matter to pretend Priviledges. But it is no hard matter to discern pretended Priviledges from true, and Treason from Reason of State, and old Corruptions from old Religion. But to take Arms to change the Laws by the whole Estate established, is Treason, whatsoever the cause or colour be: and therefore it was Treason in the Rebels of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in King Henry's days, and in the Earls of the North in Queen Elizabeths, though they pretended their old Religion: and the same must be said of all Assassinates attempted against the Persons of Princes, as Parryes, Somervilles, Squires, against Queen Elizabeth, and the late Powder-Plot, the eternal Shame of Popery, against King James.

To your Argument therefore in form, admitting that it is no true Church, which is founded and begun in Malice, Disobedience, Passion, Blood, and Rebellion, no, nor yet a true Reformation of a Church (for in truth the Protestants pretend not to have founded any.)
The Assumption is denied in every part of it. And here I must needs say you have not done unwisely to leave out the Church of England, as against which you had no pretence, all things having been carried orderly, and by publick Counsel. But you have wronged those which you name, and either lightly believed, or unjustly surmised your self, touching Luther, Calvin, Knox, the French, and the Hollanders, when you make them the raisers of Rebellion and shedders of Blood. Whose Blood hath been shed like Water in all parts of those Countries, against all Laws of God and Man, against the Edicts, and publick Faith, till necessity [as they plead] enforced them to stand for their Lives. Yet you presume that all this is evident to the World, whereas it is so false and improbable, yea, in some parts impossible, as I wonder how your heart could assure your hand to write it.

Give me here leave to set down, by occasion of this your motive, that which I profess next to the evidence of those Corruptions which the Court and Faction of Rome maintains, hath long moved my self. And thus I would enlarge your Proposition. That Monarchy (as now without lisping it calls it self) which was founded, supported, enlarged, and is yet maintained by Pride, Ambition, Rebellion, Treason, murthering of Princes, Wars, dispensing with Perjury, and incestuous Marriages, Spoils and Robbery of Churches and Kingdoms, worldly Policy, Force and Falshood, Forgery, Lying, and Hypo-
Hypocrifie, is not the Church of Christ, and his Kingdom, but the Tyranny of Antichrist. The Papacy falsely calling it self the Church of Rome is such. Ergo. The Assumption shall be proved in every part of it, and in truth is already by the learned and truly noble Lord of Plessis in his Mysterium iniquitatis. But his Book I suppose you cannot view, and it would require a just volume to shew it, though but shortly. It shall be therefore, if you will, the task of another time. And yet, because I do not love to leave things wholly at random, consider a few Instances in some of these. Pope Boniface III. obtained that proud and ambitious Title of Oecumenical, so much detested by S. Gregory. Pope Constantine and Gregory II. revolted Italy from the Greek Emperors Obedience, forbidding to pay Tribute or obey them. Pope Zachary animated Pipine High Steward of France, to depose Chilperick his Lord, and dispensed with the Oaths of his Subjects. Pope Stephen II. most treacherously and unjustly persuaded the same Pipine not to restore the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Emperor, after he had recovered it from Aulfus King of Lombards, but to give it to him. Pope Nicholas II. and Gregory VI. parted the prey with the Normans in Calabria, and Apulia, creating them Dukes thereof, to hold the Emperor of Constantinople’s Country in Vassalage of them. This latter also was the first, as all Historians accord, that ever attempted to depose the Emperor, against whom he most impiously stirred up his own Children, which most la-
mentably brought him to his end. Pope Paschal II. would not suffer (for the full accomplishment of this Tragedy) his Son to bury him. Pope Adrian IV. demanded Homage of the Emperor Frederick. Alexander III. trod on his neck. Celestine III. crowned Henry VI. with his Feet. Innocent IV. stirred up Frederick II. his own Servants to poison him, prattised with the Sultan of Egypt to break with him. This is that Innocent, of whose Extortions Matthew Paris relates so much in our Story; whom the learned, zealous, and Holy Bishop of Lincoln, on his Death-bed, proved to be Antichrist, and in a Vision stroke so with his Crotfer-staff that he died. Boniface VIII. challenged both Swords, pretended to be superior to the King of France in Temporal things also. Clement V. would in the vacancy of the Empire, that all the Cities and Countries thereof, should be under his disposition, made the Duke of Venice, Dandalus, couch under his Table with a Chain on his neck like a Dog, ere he would grant Peace to the Venetians. This Clement V. commanded the Angels to carry their Souls to Heaven, that they should take the Cross to fight for the Holy-Land.

What shall I say more? I am weary with writing thus much, and yet in all this, I do not insist upon private and personal Faults, Blasphemies, Perjuries, Necromancies, Murthers, barbarous Cruelties, even upon one another, alive and dead, nor on Whoredoms, Incefts, Sodomies, open Pillages, besides the perpetual Abuse of the Censures of the Church.
The Copies of certain Letters.

Church. I insist not upon these, more than you did upon King Henry's Passions. I tell you not of him that called the Gospel a Fable, or another that instituted his Agnes Dei's, to strangle Sin like Christ's Blood. Of him that dispensed with one to marry his own Sister (for the Uncle to marry with the Niece, or a Woman to marry two Brothers, a Man two Sisters by Dispensation, is no rare thing at this day.) The Faculty to use Sodomy, the Story of Pope Joan, are almost incredible, and yet they have Authors of better Credit than Bolseck. It may be said that John XXII. called a Devil incarnate, that Alexander VI. the Poisoner of his Cardinals, the Adulterer of his Son-in-laws Bed, incestuous Defiler of his own Daughter, and Rival in that villany to his Son, fiuned as Men, which empeacheth not the Credit of their Office. That Paulus V. Vice-deus takes too much upon him, when he will be Pope-almighty; but the Chair is without Error. Wherein, not to insist for the present, but admitting it as true, that wickedness of mens Persons doth not impeach the Holiness of their Functions, which they have received of God, nor make Gods Ordinances, as his Word and Sacraments, of none effect. But tell me for Gods love, Master Wadefworth, is it likely that this Monarchy thus fought, thus gotten, thus kept, thus exercised, is of God? Are these men, that wholly forsaking the feeding of the Flock of God, dream of nothing now but Crowns and Scepters, serve to the Church to no use in the World, unless it be to break the ancient Canons,
Canons, and oppress with their Power, all
that shall but utter a free word against their
Ambition and Tyranny; are they, I will notsay with you, good Heads of Gods Church, but
Members of it, and not rather Limbs of Sa-
tan? Consider those Texts: *My Kingdom is
not of this World, Vos autem non sc.* Consider
the Charge which S. Peter gives to his fellow
Presbyters, 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3, 4. Now Ibeseech
our Lord deliver his Church from this Ty-
ranny, and bless you from being a Member
of such a Head.
Of lack of Succession, Bishops, true Ordinations, Orders, Priesthood.

Come now to your Motive from Succession. Where I marvel first, that leaving the Succession of Doctrine, which is far more proper and intrinsical to the Churches being, you stand upon that of Persons and Offices. Yea, and about them too, immediately pass from that which is of Essence, to the external Formalities in Consecration and Ordination, according to the ancient Councils. Have you forgotten what you said right now, that matters of Ceremony and Government are changeable? Yea, but in France, Holland, and Germany, they have no Bishops. First, what if I should defend they have? because a Bishop and a Presbyter are all one, as S. Jerome maintains, and proves out of Holy Scripture, and the use of Antiquity. Of which Judgment, as Medina confesseth, are sundry of the ancient Fathers, both Greek and Latin; S. Ambrose, Augustine, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and Theophylact: which point I have largely treated of in another place, against him that
undertook Master Alabaster’s Quarrel. Besides, those Churches in Germany have those whom they call Superintendents, and general Superintendents, as out of Doctor Bancroft by the Testimony of Zanchius, and sundry German Divines, you might perceive. Yea, and where these are not, as in Geneva, and the French Churches, yet there are, faith Zanchius, usually certain chief Men, that do in a manner bear all the sway, as if order it self and necessity led them to this course. And what are these but Bishops indeed, unless we shall wrangle about names, which for reason of State, those Churches were to abstain from. As for that you say Lay-men intermeddle there with the making of their Ministers, if you mean the election of them, they have reason; for anciently the People had always a right therein, as S. Cyprian writes to the Churches of Leon and Astorga there in Spain, "Plebs ipsa maxime habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi," and in sundry places of Italy this usage doth continue to this day. If ye mean it in Ordination, ye are deceived, and wrong those Churches, as Bellarmine himself will teach you, lib. De Clericis, cap. 3. For amongst the Lutherans and Calvinists also, faith he, which have taken away almost all Ecclesiastical Rites, they only lay on hands, and make Pastors and Ministers, who though they be not Pastors and Bishops indeed, would be so accounted and called.
In England you miss first the lesser orders, and say, we are made Ministers per saltum, as if all that are made Priests among you were Psalmists, Sextons, Readers, Exorcists, Torch-bearers, Subdeacons, and Deacons before. Remember, I pray, what the Master of the Sentences faith of Deaconship and Priesthood. Hos solos primitiva Ecclesia legis-tur habuisse, & de his solis praeceptum Apostoli habemus. He means in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. Again, Subdiaconos vero & Acolyhos procedente tempore Ecclesia sibi consti-tuit. What? and were the Primitive and Apostolick Churches no true Churches? or need we to be ashamed to be like them? Besides, those Councils that ye speak of, it should seem were of no great either Antiquity or Authority, when not only Presbyters, without passing through any order, but Bishops, without being so much as baptized, were ordained. As Nestarius of Constantinople, Synesius of Cyrene, Ambrofe of Millaine, Constantine II. of Rome it self. This therefore is a very slight Exception.

Your next is well worse, touching the Ordination at the Nags-head, where the Consecration of our first Bishops, as you say, was attempted, but not effected. It is certain, you say, and you are sure there was such a matter, although you know, and have seen the Records themselves, that afterward there was a Consecration of Doctor Parker at Lambeth. Alas, Master Waddefworth, if you be resolved to believe Lies, not only against publick Acts, Gg 4 and
and your own eyesight, but against all Probability, who can help it? I had well hoped to have found that Ingenuity in you, that I might have used your Testimony unto others of that side; touching the Vanity of this Fable, as having shewed you the Copy of the Record of Doctor Parker's Consecration, which I had procured to be transcribed out of the Acts, which your self also at your return from London, told me you saw in a Black Book. Now I perceive by your perplexed Writing, and enterlining in this part of your Letter, you would fain discharge your Conscience, and yet uphold this Lye, perhaps, as loth to offend that side where you now are: and therefore you have devised this Temper, that the one was attempted, the other effected. But it will not be. For first of all, if that at the Nags-head were but attempted, what is that to the purpose of our Ordinations, which are not derived from it; but from the other, which as you say, was effected at Lambeth? And are you sure there was such a Matter? How are you sure? Were you present there in Person, or have you heard it of those that were present? Neither of both I suppose: but if it were so, that some body pretending to have been there present, told you so much, how are you sure that he lied not in saying so; much more when you have it but at the third, or fourth hand, perhaps the thirtieth or fortyeth? But consider a little, is it probable
bable that men of that sort, in an action of that Importance, and at the beginning of the Queens Reign, when especially it concerned both them and her to provide, that all things should be done with Reputation, would be so hasty and heedless, as to take a Tavern for a Church? Why might they not have gone to the next Church as well? They thought to make the old Catholick Bishop drunken. Thus the Wisbich and Framyngham Priests were wont to tell the tale. Is it likely that they would not forethink that possible this good old Man would not drink so freely as to be drunken, and if lie were, yet would not be in the humour to do as they would have him? For who can make any Foundation upon what another would do in his Cups? What a scorn would this be to them? Men are not always so provident in their Actions. True, but such men are not to be imagined so Sottish, as to attempt so solemn an Action, and joyned commonly with some great Feast, and as you observed well out of the Acts, with the Queens Mandate for the Action to be done, and hang all upon a drunken fit of an old man. Besides, how comes it to pass that we could never understand the names of the old Bishop, or of those whom he should have consecrated, or which consecrated themselves, when he refused to do it. For so do your men give it out; howsoever you
you say, it was not there effected. And in all the space of Queen Elizabeths Reign, wherein so many set themselves against the Reformation by her established, is it possible we should never have heard word of it, of all the English on that side the Seas, if it had been any other than a flying Tale? After forty five years, there is found at last an Irish Jesuit that dares put it in print, to prove by it as now you do, that the Parliamentary Pastors lack holy Orders. But he relates sundry Particulars, and brings his Proofs. For the purpose, this ordainer or confecrater, he faith, was Laudasensis Episcopus homo senex & simplex. His name? Nay, that ye must pardon him. But of what City or Diocess was he Bishop? For we have none of that Title. Here I thought once, that by error it had been put for Landaffensis of Landaffe in Wales, save that three times in that Narration it is written Laudasensis; which notwithstanding, I continued to be of the same mind, because I found Bishop Bonners name twice alike false written Bomertis. But loe in the Margent a direction to the Book, De Schismate fol. 166, where he faith this matter is touched, and it is directly affirmed, that they performed the Office of Bishops, without any Episcopal Consecration. Again, that great labour was used without an Irish Archbishop in Prison at London to ordain them, but he could by no
means be brought thereto. So it seems we must pass out of Wales into Ireland, to find the See of this Bishop or Archbishop. But I believe we may fail from thence to Virginia to seek him; for in Ireland we shall not find him. Let us come to those that he should have ordained, what were their names? Candidati, if that will content you, more you get not. Why they might have been remembr'd as well as the Nags-Head, as well as Bonners name, and his See, and that he was Dean of the Bishops, he means of the Archbishoprick, sedes vacante, and that he sent his Chaplain (his name also is unknown) to forbid the Ordination. At least their Sees. To cut the matter short. Quid plura? Scoræus Monachus post Herefordenses pseudo-episcopus ceteris, ex ceteris, quidam Scoræo manus imponunt: suntque sine patre filii, et pater à filiis procreatur, res sepulcrum omnibus inaudita. Here is at length some certainty; Some truth mingled among, to give the better grace, and to be as it were the Vehiculum of a lye. For John Scory, in King Edward his times, Bishop of Chichester, and after of Hereford, was one of those that ordained Doctor Parker, and preached at his Ordination, But that was the Ordination effectted as you call it: We are now in that which was not effectted, but attemptted only. And here we seek again, who were these quidams that laid Hands on Scory? We may go look them with Laudefensis the Archbishop of Ireland. Well; hear
hear the proofs. Master Thomas Neal, Hebrew Reader of Oxford, which was present, told thus much to the antient Confessors, they to F. Halywood. This proof by Tradition, as you know, is of little credit with Protestants, and no marvel: For experience shews that reports suffer strange alterations in the carriage, even when the Reporters are interested. Irenæus relates from the antient Confessors, which had seen John the Disciple, and the other Apostles of the Lord, and heard it from them, That Christ our Saviour was between forty and fifty years of Age before his Passion. I do not think you are sure it was so. For my part, I had rather believe Irenæus and those Antients he mentions, and the Apostles, than Father Halywood and his Confessors, and Master Neal. But possible it is, Mr. Neale said, he was present at Matthew Parkers Ordination by John Scory. These Confessors being before impressed, as you are, with the buz of the Ordination at the Nags-head made up that Tale; and put it upon him for their Author. Perhaps Mr. Neal did esteem John Scory to be no Bishop, and so was scandalized though causelessly, at that action. Perhaps Mr. Neale never said any such Word at all. To help to make good this matter, he faith, It was after enacted in Parliament, That these Parliamentary Bishops should be holden for lawful. I looked for something of the Nags-Head Bishops, and the Legend of their Ordination. But the lawfulness
fulness that the Parliament provides for, is (according to the Authority the Parliament hath) civil, that is, according to the Laws of the Land. The Parliament never intended to justify any thing as lawful, jure divino, which was not so; as by the Preamble itself of the Statute may appear. In which it is said, That divers questions had grown upon the making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, within this Realm, whether the same were, and be duly and orderly done according to the Law or not, &c. And shortly to cut off Father Halywood's surmises, the case was this, as may be gathered by the body of the Statute. Whereas in the five and twentieth of Henry the Eighth, an Act was made for the Electing and Consecrating of Bishops within this Realm; And another in the third of Edward the Sixth, For the Ordering and consecrating of them, and all other Ecclesiastical Ministers, according to such form as by six Prelates, and six other learned Men in God's Law to be appointed by the King should be deviled, and set forth, under the great Seal of England: Which Form in the fifth of the same Kings reign, was annexed to the Book of Common Prayer, then explained and perfected; and both confirmed by the Authority of Parliament. All these Acts were 1 Maria, & 1 & 2 Philippi & Maria repealed; together with another Statute of 35. Henry 8. touching the Stile of Supreme Head to be used in all Letters Patents and Commissions, &c.

These
These Acts of repeal in the 1st Elizabeth were again repealed, and the Act of 25. Hen. 8. revived specially. That of 3 Edw. 6. only concerning the Book of Common Prayer, &c. without any particular mention of the Book or form of Ordering Ministers and Bishops. Hence grew one doubt, whether Ordinations and Consecrations according to that Form were good in Law or no. Another was, Queen Elizabeth in her Letters Patents touching such Consecrations, Ordinations had not used as may seem, besides other general Words importing the highest Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, the title of Supreme Head, as King Henry and King Edward in their like Letters Patents were wont to do: And that notwithstanding the Act of 35 Hen. 8. after the repeal of the former repeal might seem (though never specially) revived. This as I guess was another exception, to those that by vertue of those Patents were consecrated. Whereupon the Parliament declares, First, That the Book of Common Prayer, and such Order and Form for consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. as was set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, and added thereto and authorized by Parliament, shall stand in force and be observed. Secondly, That all Acts done by any person about any Consecration, Confirmation, or investing of any elect to the Office or Dignity of Archbishop or Bishop, by vertue of the Queens Letters Patents or Commission.
on, since the beginning of her Reign be good. Thirdly, That all that have been Ordered or Consecrated Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, &c. after the said Form and Order, be rightly made, ordered and consecrated, any Statute, Law, Canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. These were the Reasons of that Act, which as you see doth not make good the Nags-head Ordination as F. Halywood pretends, unless the same were according to the Form in Edward the Sixth's days. His next proof is, That Bonner Bishop of London while he lived, always set light by the Statutes of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, alleging that there wanted Bishops, without whose consent by the Laws of the Realm there can no firm Statute be made. That Bonner despised and set not a Straw by the Acts of Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's time, I hold it not impossible, and yet there is no other proof thereof, but his bare Word, and the antient Confessors tradition, of which we heard before. Admitting this for certain, there might be other reasons thereof, besides the Ordination at the Nags-head. The stiffness of that Man was no less in King Edwards time than Queen Elizabeth's. And indeed the want also of Bishops might be the cause, why he little regarded the Acts of her first Parliament. For both much about the time of Queen Maryes death, dyed also Cardinal Poole, and sundry other Bishops: And of the rest some for their contemptuous behaviour in denying to perform their duty in the Coronation of the Queen
Queen were committed to Prison, others abstented themselves willingly. So as it is commonly reported to this day, there was none or very few there. For as for Doctor Parker and the rest, they were not ordained till December, 1559. the Parliament was dissolved in the May before. So not to stand now to refute Bonner's conceit, that according to our Laws there could be no Statutes made in Parliament without Bishops (wherein our Parliament Men will rectifie his Judgment) F. Halywood was in this report twice deceived, or would deceive his Reader. First, that he would make that exception which Bonner laid against the First Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's time, to be true of all the rest. Then, that he accounts Bishop Bonner to have excepted against this Parliament, because the Bishops there were no Bishops as not canonically ordained: Where it was, because there was no Bishops true or false there at all. His last proof is. That Dr. Bancroft being demanded of Mr. Alabaster, whence their first Bishops received their Orders? answered, That he hoped a Bishop might be ordained of a Presbyter in time of necessity. Silently granting, That they were not ordained by any Bishop: And therefore, faith he, the Parliamentary Bishops are without order Episcopal, and their Ministers also no Priests. For Priests are not made but of Bishops; whence Hierome, Quid facit, &c. What doth a Bishop, saving Ordination, which a Presbyter doth not? I have not the means to demand
mand of D. Alablaster; whether this be true or not. Nor yet whether this be all the answer he had of Dr. Bancroft. That I affirm, that if it were, yet it follows not that D. Bancroft silently granted they had no Orders of Bishops. Unless he that in a false Discourse, where both Propositions be untrue, denies the Major, doth silently grant the Minor. Rather he jests at the futility of this Argument, which admitting all this lying Legend of the Nags-head, and more too; suppose no Ordination by any Bishops had been ever effected, notwithstanding shews no sufficient reason why there might not be a true consecration, and true Ministers made, and consequently a true Church in England. For indeed necessity dispenses with Gods own positive Laws, as our Saviour shews in the Gospel; much more then with Mans: And such by Hieroms Opinion are the Laws of the Church, touching the difference of Bishops and Presbyters; and consequently touching their Ordination by Bishops only. Whereof I have treated more at large in another place, for the justification of other reformed Churches, albeit the Church of England needs it not. To confirm this Argument, it pleaseth F. Halywood to add, That King Edward the Sixth took away the Catholick Rite of Ordaining, and instead of it, substituted a few Calvinistical Prayers. Whom Queen Elizabeth followed, &c. And this is in effect the same thing which you say, when
when you add, That Coverdale being made Bishop of Exceter in King Edward's time, when all Councils and Church Canons were little observed, it is very doubtful he was never himself canonically consecrated, and so if he were no canonical Bishop, he could not make another Canonical. To F. Halyword I would answer, That King Edward took not away the Catholick Rite of Ordaining, but purged it from a number of idle and superstitious Rites prescribed by the Popish Pontifical. And the Prayers which he scoffs at if they were Calvinistical, sure it was by Prophecie, for Calvin never saw them till Queen Mary's time; when by certain of our English Exiles, the Book of Common Prayer was translated and shewed him; if he saw them then. Some of them, as the Litany, and the Hymn Veni Creator, &c. I hope were none of Calvin's devising. To you, if you name what Councils and Church Canons you mean, and make any certain exception, either against Bishop Coverdale, or any of the rest as not Canonical Bishops, I will endeavour to satisfie you. Mean while remember I befeech you, That both Law, and Reason, and Religion should induce you in doubtful things to follow the most favourable sentence, and not rashly out of light surmises to pronounce against a publick and solemn Ordination, against the Orders conferred successively from it, against a whole Church. Wherein I cannot but commend Doctor
Doctor Carriers modestly, whose Words are these. I will not determine against the succession of the Clergy in England, because it is to me very doubtful. And the discretion of Cumosemus the Jesuite, which denies the English Nation to be Hereticks, because they remain in a perpetual succession of Bishops. And to take away all doubt from you, that some of these Ordainers were only Bishops elect, and unconsecrated; besides Miles Coverdale, in King Edward's time Bishop of Exeter, cast in Prison by Queen Mary, and released and sent over Sea to the King of Denmark, know that William Barlow was another; in King Edward's days Bishop of Bath and Wells, in Queen Mary's beyond the Seas in the company of the Dutchess of Suffolk and Mr. Bertie her Husband; at the time of Dr. Parker's Ordination Elect of Chichester. A third was John Scory, in King Edward's time Bishop of Chichester, and at the time of the said Ordination Elect of Hereford. A fourth was John Hodgeskin, Suffragan of Bedford. And these four, if they were all ordained according to the Form ratified in King Edward's days, were presented by two Bishops at least to the Archbishop, and of him and them received Imposition of Hands; as in the said Form is appointed.

One Scruple yet remains which you have, in That these Men did consecrate Doctor Parker, by virtue of a Breve from the Queen as Head of the Church, who being no

H h 2
true Head, and a Woman, you see not how they could make a true Consecration grounded on her Authority. But to clear you in this also, you must understand the Queens Mandate served not to give Power to ordain (which those Bishops had before intrinsically annexed to their Office) but Leave and Warrant to apply that Power to the person named in that Mandate. A thing, unless I have been deceived by Reports, used in other Countrys, yea in the Kingdoms of his Catholick Majesty himself. Sure I am by the Christian Emperors in the Primitive Church, as you may see in the Ecclesiastical Histories, and namely in the Ordination of Nestarius, that I spake of before. Yea, which is more, in the Consecration of the Bishops of Rome, as of Leo the Eighth, whose Decree, with the Synod at Rome touching this matter, is set down by Gratian, Dist. 63. c. 23. taken from the example of Hadrian, and another Council, which gave to Charles the Great, potestatem eligendi Pontificem, & ordinandi Apostolicam Sedem, as you may see in the Chapter next before. See the same Dist. c. 16, & 17, & 18: and you shall find, that when one was chosen Bishop of Rome, within the Popes own Province, by the Clergy and people, and sent to him by Guido the Count to be consecrated, the Pope durst not do it till the Emperors Licence were obtained. Yea, that he writes to the Emperour for.
Colonus, That receiving his Licence he might consecrate him either there, or in the Church of Tusculum, which accordingly upon the Emperours bidding he performed.

Yet another Exception you take, to the making our Ministers, That we keep not the right intention. First, Because we neither give nor take Orders as a Sacrament. By that Reason we should have no true Marriages amongst us neither, because we count not Matrimony a Sacrament. This Controversie depends upon the definition of a Sacrament, which if it be put to be a sign of a holy thing, these be both so, and a many more than seven. If a Seal of the New Testament, so are there but those two, which we properly call Sacraments, Baptism and the Lords Supper. In which last, as to the intention of Sacrificing, surely, if ye allow the Doctrine of the Master of the Sentences, That it is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, which is offered and consecrated by the Priest, because it is a Memory and Representation of the true Sacrifice and holy Immolation made on the Altar of the Crofs. And that Christ once dyed on the Crofs, and there was offered up in himself, but is daily offered up in a Sacrament, because in the Sacrament there is a remembrance of that which was once done; which he there confirms by the Authorities of the Fathers, cited by Gratian in the Canon Law. If this Doctrine, I say, may yet pass for good, and this be the Churches intention, we want not this Inten-
tion of sacrificing. Add to this the Confession of Melchior Canus, who faith, the Lutherans do not wholly deny the Sacrifice, but grant a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, which they call the * Eucharist: they will have none for sin which they call propitiatory. If he had put hereto, unless it be a Mysterie, he had rightly expressed the Opinion of the Protestants.

Thirdly, You object, We want the matter and Form with which Orders should be given: Namely, for the matter in Priesthood, the delivery of the Patena with Bread, and the Chalice with Wine: In Deaconship the delivery of the Book of the Gospel, &c. By which reason the seven first Deacons had no true Ordination, for then there was no Gospel written to be delivered them. Nor those Priests whom the Pope shall make by his sole Word, saying, Esto Sacerdos. Whom notwithstanding sundry famous Canonists hold to be well and lawfully ordained; and Innocentius himself faith, That if these Forms of Ordination were not found out, any other Ordainer might in like manner make Priests, with those Words, or the like: for as much as these Forms were in process of time appointed by the Church. And if we lift to seek for these metaphysical Notions of Matter and Form, in Ordination, which at the most can be but by Analogy, how much better might we assign the persons deputed to sacred Functions to be the matter (as those that contract are by your selves made the mat-
ter in Matrimony) and the imposing of Hands, with the expressing the Authority and Office given to be the Form? In Di-

vonysius though falsely called the Areopagite, yet an antient Author, you shall find no-

thing else; nor, which I may tell you by the way, any other Orders, save Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

And to come to that wherein you say we fail most of all, the substantial Form of Priesthood, tell me ingenuously, good Master Wadsworth, how do you know that our Lord Jesus Christ made his Apo-

stles, or they other Priests with this Form, which hath no mention or footstep in the Gospels, or otherwhere in Holy Scripture! Nor so much as in the Council of Car-

thage; that from whence the manner of giving other Orders is fetched; nor in Gra-

tian, nor in any other antient Author that I can find, save in the Pontifical only. And is the present Pontifical of such Author-

ity with you, as the Form of Priesthood, the substantial Form, can subsist in no other Words than those that be there expressed?

To omit the late turkising whereof, con-

sider what Augustinus Patritius writes in his Preface before that which at Pope Innocent the Eighth his commandment he patched together: That there were scarce two or three Books found that delivered the same thing: Quot libri tot varietates. Ille deficit, hic superabundat, alius nihil omnino de ca re habet, raro ant nunquam conveniunt; sepe obscuri,

Hh 4 implicati,
implicati, & Librariorum vitio plenius mendosi. And in truth in this your essential Form of Priesthood, the old Pontificals before that which he set forth, either had other Words at the giving of the Chalice and Paten as may seem; or wanted both that Form and the Matter also together. The Master of the Sentences declaring the manner of the Ordination of Priests, and the reason why they have the Chalice with Wine, and Paten with Hosts given unto them, faith it is, Ut per hoc sciant se acceptisse potestatem placabiles Deo hostias offerendi. Hugo in like manner, Accepiant & Calicem cum vino, & Patenam cum Hostia de manu Episcopi, quatenus potestatem se acceptisse cognoscant, placabiles Deo Hostias offerendi. Stephanus Eduensis Episcopus, in the fame Words: Datur eis Calix cum Vino, & Patena cum Hostia, in quo traditur iis potestas ad offerendum Deo placabiles Hostias. So Johannes Januensis in his Summ, entitled, Catholicon, verbo Presbyter. If you ascend to the higher times of Rabanus, Alcuinus, Isidorus, you shall find that they mention no such matter, of delivering Chalice or Paten, or Words used at the delivery; and no marvel, for in the Canons of the fourth Council of Carthage they found none. Diocysius fallly called Areopagita, whom I mentioned before, setting down the manner of Ordaining in his time. The Priest upon both his knees before the Altar with the Bishop's right Hand upon his Head, is in this man-
The Copies of certain Letters. 473

manner sanctified by his Consecrator with holy Invocations. Here is all, save that he faith, after he hath described that also which pertains unto the Deacon, that every one of them is signed with the Cross when the Bishop blesseth them, and proclaimed, and saluted by the Consecrator himself, and every one of that sacred Order that is present. The Greek Scholiaist very lively shews the meaning and manner of this proclaiming. He faith, The Ordainer pronounceth by name when he signeth him, Σφοειζηται ὁ δείκα ἀπὸ ἁρχεσιντέρες εἰς Ἑπισκοπον, ἐν ὧν ὁμολαγεῖ τῶν πατέρωνς ἡ τῷ ἧς ἡ τῇ ἐκτὶ ἀνδριάσθαι τη. ὡμοίως τῳ ἁρχεσιντέρες, ἤ ἱεράνον. Such a Man is consecrated from being Presbyter to be a Bishop in the name of the Father, &c. and so in the Presbyter and Deacon. Clemens Romanus (if F. Turrian and the rest of the Romish Faction deceive us not, or be not deceived themselves, in attributing to him the eight Books of the Apostolick Constitutions that bear his name) cuts the matter yet more short, and without either crossing or proclaiming, appoints the Bishop to lay his Hands upon him, in the presence of the Presbytery and the Deacons, using a Prayer, which you may see at length in him; for the increase of the Church, and of the number of them that by Word and Work may edifie it: For the party elected unto the Office of Priesthood, that being filled with the operations of Healing and Word of Doctrine, he may instruct Gods people with meekness, and serve him sincerely with a pure
pure mind, and willing heart, and perform holy Services without spot for his people through his Christ, to whom, &c. These last Words which are in the Greek, ἰδίως ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔγερσας ἰδιών ἔκλειψεν ἐκ τοῦ χριστοῦ. Carolus Bovius Bishop of Ostuna interprets, & Sacrificia pro populo tuo immaculata perficiat. Marvel that he added not, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. Sure if S. Paul, Rom. 15. 16. had not added the Word εὐαγγελίων, he had sacrificed also. This was the antient and Apostolick manner of Ordination, if the Author be worthy of credit. But that ye may perceive what tampering there hath been to bring Ordinations to the Form which the present Pontifical prescribes, consider with me the Words of Amalarius Bishop of Triers in his second Book de Ecclesiast. Officiis, where in the Office of the Subdeacon he thus writes, Miror quâ de re sumptus usus in Ecclesia, &c. I marvel whence the use was taken in our Church, that very often the Subdeacon should read the Lesson at Mass, since this is not found committed unto him, by the Ministry given him in Consecration, nor by the Canonical Writings, nor by his name. And straight after, Nam primo tempore; For in antient time the Deacon read not the Gospel which was not yet written; but after it was enacted by our Fathers, That the Deacons should read the Gospel, they appointed also that the Subdeacon should read the Epistle or Lesson. It appears then that in Amalarius time, who lived with Charles the
the Great and Lewis his Son, that ridiculous Form was not in the Pontifical, where the Book of the Epistles is given to the Subdeacons, and power to read them in the holy Church of God as well for the Quick as the Dead. The same Author, coming to speak of Deacons, telleth of their consecration by Prayer, and imposition of Hands, and confuteth that in the present Pontifical (which he faith he found in a little Book of Holy Orders) made he knows not by what Author, That the Bishop alone should lay Hands on the Deacon. At last he adds, There is one Ministry added to the Deacon, viz. to read the Gospel, which he faith, doth well befit him, quia Minister est. But of the delivery of the Book of the Gospels, with authority to read the Gospel for the Quick and Dead, not one Word. In the next Chapter of Presbyters he expounds their name, and faith further, hunc morem tenent Episcopi nostri. Our Bishops have this Fashion, they anoint the Hands of Presbyters with Oyl, which Ceremony he declares; touching imposition of Hands upon them, he remits us to that he laid before in the Deacon. Then he shews out of Ambrose and Hieron, That these are all one Order with Bishops, and ought to govern the Church in common, like Moses with the seventy Elders: As for delivery of Chalice and Wine, or Paten and Host, with power to sacrifice so well for the Quick as the Dead, he makes no mention.
mention. Judge you whether these were thought to be the matter and essential Form of Priesthood in his time. Yet one Author more will I name in this matter, not only because he is a famous Schoolman, and one of Luthers first Adversaries, and therefore ought to be of more account with that side, but because he professed the end of his writing to be, *circa Sacramentum ordinis cantos reddere, ne pertinax quisquam aut levis sit circa modum tradendi aut recipiendi ordines.* It is Cardinal Cajetane, in the second Tome of his *Opuscula,* Tit. *De modo tradendi seu recipiendi Ordines.* Read the whole, where these things I observe for our present purpose. 1. If all be gathered together which the Pontificals, or which Reason or Authority hath delivered, the nature of all the rest of the Orders except Priesthood only, will appear very uncertain. 2. The lesser Orders and Subdeaconship according to the Master of the Sentences, were instituted by the Church. 3. The Deacons instituted by the Apostles, Acts 6. were not Deacons of the Altar, but of the Tables and Widows. 4. In Deaconship there seems to be no certain Form; for according to the old Pontificals, the laying of Hands upon the Deacon hath no certain Form of Words, but that Prayer; *Emitte quæsumus in eos S. Sanætum:* Which according to the new Pontificals is to be said after the imposition of Hands. For the giving of the Book of the Gospels, hath indeed a form of Words, but that impresseth not the Character,
racter, for before any Gospel was written, the Apostles ordained Deacons by imposition of Hands.

5. In the Subdeaconship also there is no Pontifical which hath not the matter without Form, viz. the delivery of the empty Chalice, &c.

These things with more which he there sets down, he would have to serve to the instruction of the learned touching the uncertainty of this whole matter, to teach Men to be wise to sobriety, that is, every Man to be content with the accustomed Pontifical of the Church wherein he is ordained. And if ought be omitted of those things which be added out of the new Pontificals, as for example, that the Book of the Epistles was not given, with those Words [Take Authority to read the Epistles as well for the Quick as the Dead] there is no need of supplying this omission by a new Ordination, for such new additions make no new Law. Learn then of your own Cajetane, that the new additions of delivery of the Chalice with Wine, and Paten with Hosts, and authority to offer sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, make no new Law. Learn to be content with the Pontifical of the Church, wherein you were ordained. Wherein first is verbatim all that which your Pontificals had well taken out of the holy Words of our Saviour, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseris peccata remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueris retenta sunt. Which methinks you should rather account to contain the essential Form of Priesthood than the former, both because they are Christ's own Word, and
joyned with that Ceremony of laying on Hands, which antiently denominated this whole action, and do express the worthi-est and principal part of your Commission, which the Apostle calls the Ministry of Re-conciliation, 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. Then, be-cause this Office is not only deputed to consecrate the Lords Body, but also to preach and baptize (which in your Pontifical is wholly omitted) in a larger and more convenient Form is added out of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 4. 1, and be thou a faithful Dis-penser of the Word of God and of his holy Sacra-ments. In the name of the Father, &c.

As to that you add, That we offer no Sa-crifice for the Quick and Dead, and there-fore well may be called Ministers, as all Lay-men are, but are no Priests. I have met with sundry that pull this Rope as strongly the other way, and affirm that because by the very Form of your Ordination you are appointed Sacrificers for the Quick and the Dead, well may ye be Mass-Priests as ye are called, but Ministers of the New Testament, after S. Paul's Phrase ye are none. For that Office stands principally in preaching the Word, whereof in your Ordination there is no Word said. And as little there is in Scripture of your Sacrifice, which makes Christ not to be a Priest after the order of Melchisedeck, &c. with much more to this purpose. Where my Defence for your Ministry hath been this, That the Form, Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye remit
They are remitted, &c. doth sufficiently comprehend the Authority of preaching the Gospel. Use you the same equity towards us, and tell those hot Spirits among you, that stand so much upon formalities of Words, That to be a Dispenser of the Word of God and his holy Sacraments, is all the duty of Priesthood. And to you I add further, that if you consider well the Words of the Master of the Sentences which I vouched before, how that which is consecrated of the Priest is called a Sacrifice and Oblation, because it is a Memorial and Representation of the true Sacrifice and holy Offering made on the Altar of the Cross, and joyn thereto that of the Apostle, that by that one Offering Christ hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, and as he faith in another place, through that Blood of his Cross reconciled unto God all things whether in Earth or in Heaven; you shall perceive, that we do offer Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, remembering, representing and mystically offering that sole Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead, by the which all their sins are meritoriously expiated, and desiring that by the same, we and all the Church may obtain remission of sins, and all other Benefits of Christ's Passion.

To the Epilogue therefore of this your last Motive, I say in short. Sith we have no need of Subdeaconship, more than the Churches in the Apostles times, and in truth those whom we call Clerks and Sextons
tons perform what is necessary in this behalf. Sith we have Canonical Bishops; and lawful Succession. Sith we neither want due intention to depute Men to Ecclesiastical Functions, nor matter or Form in giving Priesthood; deriving from no Man or Woman the Authority of Ordination; but from Christ the Head of the Church; you have alleged no sufficient Cause, why we should not have true Pastors, and consequently a true Church in England.
Of the Conclusion. Mr. Waddesworth's Agonies and Protestation, &c.

Yet by these (you say) and many other Arguments, you were resolved in your understanding, to the contrary. It may well be that your Understanding out of its own heedless hast, as that of our first Parents, while it was at the perfectest was induced into error, by resolving too soon out of seeming Arguments, and granting too forward assent. For surely, these which you have mentioned, could not convince it, if it would have taken the pains to examine them throughly, or had the patience to give unpartial hearing to the Motives on the other side. But as if you triumphed in your own conquest and captivity, you add that which passeth yet all that hitherto you have set down, viz. That the Church of Rome was and is the only true Church, because it alone is Antient, Catholick and Apostolick, having Succession, Unity and Visiblity in all Ages and Places. Is it only antient? To omit Jerusalem, are not that of Antioch, where the Disciples were first called Christians, and Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and the rest mentioned in the Scriptures antient?
also? and of Antioch antienter than Rome. Is it Catholick and Apostolick only? Do not these and many more hold the Catholick Faith received from the Apostles, as well as the Church of Rome? For that it should be the Universal Church, is all one as ye would say the part is the whole, one City the World. Hath it only succession? where to set aside the enquiry of Doctrine, so many Simoniacks, and Intruders have ruled, as about fifty of your Popes together, were by your own Mens Confession Apostatical, rather than Apostolical? Or Unity, where there have been thirty Schisms, and one of them which endured fifty years long, and at last grew into three Heads, as if they would share among them the triple Crown? And as for dissentions in Doctrine, I remit you to Master Doctor Halls peace of Rome, wherein he scores above three hundred mentioned in Bellarmine alone; above threescore in one only head of Penance out of Navarrus. As to that addition, in all Ages and places; I know not what to make of it, nor where to refer it. Consider, I beseech you, with your wonted moderation what you say; for sure unless you were beguiled, I had almost said bewitched, you could never have resolved to believe and profess, that which all the World knows to be as false, I had (well nigh) said as God is true, touching the extent of the Romish Church to all Ages and places.
Concerning the agonies you passed, I will say only thus much, if being resolved though erroneously that was truth, you were withheld from professing it with worldly respects, you did well to break through them all. But if besides these, there were doubt of the contrary (as methinks needs must be) unless you could satisfy your self touching those many and known Exceptions against the Court of Rome, which you could not be ignorant of) take heed, left the rest ensuing these agonies were not like Sams'ons sleeping on Dalilahs knees, while the Locks of his Strength were shaven, whereupon (the Lord departing from him) he was taken by the Philistins, had his Eyes put out, and was made to grind in the Prison. But I do not despair but your former resolutions shall grow again. And as I do believe your religious asservation, that for very fear of damnation you forsook us (which makes me to have the better hope and opinion of you, for that I see you do so seriously mind that which is the end of our whole life;) so I desire from my Heart the good hope of salvation you have in your present way may be as happy, as your fear I am persuaded was causeless.

For my part, I call God to record against mine own Soul, that both before my going into Italy, and since, I have still endeavoured to find and follow the truth in the Points controverted between us.
without any earthly respect in the World. Neither wanted I fair opportunity had I seen it on that side, easily, and with hope of good entertainment to have adjoyned my self to the Church of Rome, after your example. But (to use your words) as I shall answer at the dreadful day of judgement, I never saw, heard, or read any thing, which did convince me: nay, which did not finally confirm me daily more and more, in the persuasion, that in these differences it rests on our part. Wherein I have not followed humane conjectures from foreign and outward things (as by your leave methinks you do in these your motives, whereby I protest to you in the sight of God, I am also much comforted and assured in the possession of the truth) but the undoubted Voice of God in his Word, which is more to my Conscience than a thousand Topical Arguments. In regard whereof I am no less assured, that if I should forsake it I should be renounced by our Saviour, before God and his Angels, than in the holding it be acknowledged and saved; which makes me resolve, not only for no hope, if it were of ten thousand Worlds, but by the gracious assistance of God, without whom I know I am able to do nothing, for no terror or torment ever to become a Papist.

You see what a large distance there is between us in Opinion. Yet for my part, I do not take upon me to fore-judge you, or any other that doth not with an evil Mind and self condemning Conscience on-
ly to maintain a Faction, differ from that which I am persuaded is the right. I account we hold one and the same Faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and by him in the blessed Trinity. To his Judgment we stand or fall. Incomparably more and of more importance are those things wherein we agree; than those wherein we differ. Let us follow therefore the things of peace, and of mutual edification. If any be otherwise minded than he ought, God shall reveal that also to him. If any be weak or fallen, God is able to raise him up. And of you good Mr. Wadsworth, and the rest of my Masters and Brethren of that side, one thing I would again desire, that according to the Apostles profession of himself, you would forbear to be Lords over our Faith, nor straightway condemn of Herefie, our ignorance or lack or persuasion concerning such things as we cannot perceive to be founded in holy Scripture. Enjoy your own Opinions; but make them not Articles of our Faith: the analogy whereof is broken as well by Addition as Subtraction. And this self same equity we desire to find in positive Laws. Orders and Ceremonies. Wherein as every Church hath full right to prescribe that which is decent and to edification, and to reform abuse; so those that are Members of each are to follow what is enjoyned, till by the same Authority it be reversed.

And
And now to close up this Account of yours, whereof you would have Dr. Hall and me to be as it were Examiners and Auditors. Whether it be perfect and allowable or no, look you to it. I have here told you mine opinion of it, as directly, plainly and freely as I can; and as you required fully, if not tediously. I lift not to contend with you about it. Satisfie your own Conscience, and our common Lord and Master, and you shall easily satisfie me. Once yet by my advice review it, and cast it over again. And if in the particulars you find you have taken many nullities for signifying Numbers, many smaller signifiers for greater; correct the total. If you find namely that out of desire of Unity, and dislike of contention, you have apprehended our diversities to be more than they are: conceived a necessity of an external infallible Judge, where there was none: attributed the privilege of the Church properly called, to that which is visible and mixt. If you find the reformed Churches more charitable, the proper note of Christ's Sheep: The Roman Fation more fraudulent, and that by publick counsel, and of politick purpose, in framing not only all later Writers, but some antient, yea the Holy Scriptures for their advantage: If you find you have mistaken the Protestants Doctrine, touching invisibility, your own also touching uniformity in matters of Faith: If you have been misinformed and too hafty of credit touch-
ing the imputations laid to the beginners of Reformation: For as touching the want of Succession and the fabulous Ordination at the Nags-head, I hope you will not be stiff, and persist in your error, but confess and condemn it in your self: If (as I began to say) you find these things to be thus; give glory to God, that hath heard your Prayer, entreatning direction in his holy Truth; and withhold not that truth of his in unrighteousness. Unto him that is able to restore and establish you, yea to consummate and perfect you according to his almighty power and unspeakable goodness, toward his elect in Christ Jesus, I do from my Heart commend you: and rest you,

Your very loving Brother

in Christ Jesus,

W. Bedell.

FINIS.