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The Congregatio... of the last three hundred years, as ...

Henry Martyn
Dexter, Andover
Theological ...

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CONGREGATIONALISM

OF THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS,

AS SEEN IN ITS LITERATURE:

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CERTAIN

RECONDITE, NEGLECTED, OR DISPUTED PASSAGES.

IN TWELVE LECTURES,

DELIVERED ON THE SOUTHWORTH FOUNDATION IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT

ANDOVER, MASS., 1876-1879.

With a Bibliographical Appendix.

BY

HENRY MARTYN DEXTER.

In these old tomes
Live the old times.

NEW YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

1880.

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TO
THEODORE DWIGHT WOOLSEY, D. D., LL. D.
EX-PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE,

AND
EDWARDS AMASA PARK, D. D.
ABBOT PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AT ANDOVER:

TO
THE EARLY STIMULUS OF WHOSE FRIENDLY AND DISCREET INSTRUCTION,

AND
THE LATER INSPIRATION OF WHOSE LUSTROUS EXAMPLE,
MUCH OF WHATSOEVER MAY HAVE VALUE
IN IT IS DUE;

THIS VOLUME

IS
(WITH PERMISSION)

RESPECTFULLY, GRATEFULLY, AND AFFECTIONATELY
INSCRIBED.

Le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable.

French Proverb.

If men could learn from history, what lessons it might teach us! But passion and party blind our eyes, and the light which experience gives is a lantern on the stern, which shines only on the waves behind us!

S. T. Coleridge, Table Talk, 18 December, 1831.

For considering the wonderfull number, and the difficultie that they haue that would be occupied in the rehearfall of stories, because of the diversitie of the matters,

Wee have endeouored, that they that would reade, might haue pleasure, and that they which are studious, might easily keepe them in memory, and that whosoever reade them might haue profite.

2 Maccabees [Genevan Version], ii: 24, 25.

It is not the least debt which we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors, and out of the depth and darkness of the Earth delivered us their Memory and Fame: In a word, we may gather out of History a Policy no less Wise than Eternal, by the Comparison and Application of other men's fore-passed Miseries, with our own like Errors and Ill deservings.

Sir Walter Raleigh, Preface to History of the World, Works (1829), ii: v.

Take wings O Booke, and fly abroade with speed,
The things in thee are good for men to reed;
Which haue not seen what thou canst to them show,
And what thou speakst is meete for all to know:
Who would discern some things amiss that bee,
Within the Land of our Nativitiee.
To such thou shalt be iudged wondrous kinde,
Because thou canst right well informe their minde:
In such a sort as they shall bettred bee,
And well advantag'd by the things in thee.

Prelude to Henry Barrowe's Platforme, etc. (1611), 4.



Introduction.

ALTHOUGH by no means inconsiderable in size, this book is yet, strictly, an episode. I cannot remember when I had not a singular interest in the first settlers and fortunes of New England; and, born within ten miles of Plymouth Rock, always esteemed it great good fortune when my occasions took me into the ancient town. On growing up to learn that in my veins were blended the blood of that restless and sometimes testy Puritan who bargained with *Poquannum* for Nahant, and to whom a jury gave 40s. damages against Gov. Endecott for an assault, and of that amiable Pilgrim who died in the Secretaryship of the Plymouth Colony which he had held for nearly forty years, having given to the world the first Record of its fortunes; I began almost to esteem it a filial duty to study closely our primitive annals. And this the more that the polity of my fathers, which, against strong temptations toward other church folds, I was learning especially to value, so intertwines its post-reformation records with those annals, as to make the two nearly inseparable. I began to collect material of all sorts, and in several visits to the *incunabula* in the North of England and Holland, added to the common stock of knowledge much that had been overlooked, until the purpose was gradually formed of writing anew the history of the Old Colony. I went abroad again in the closing days of 1870, to undertake directly that labor. But it soon made itself clear that one cannot adequately understand the Plymouth men, or their work, without a deeper insight than any past

writer had gained, into the reality of their religious position, purpose and atmosphere. To this it became indispensable to restudy the English Reformation, to trace the gradual development of its distinctive ideas; comprehend exactly how Separatism stood related to the Establishment on the one hand, and to various collateral forms of dissent on the other; mark the germination of the modern ideas of civil and religious liberty; assign them to their true originators under God; and not only ascertain the precise stand-point of the Pilgrim Fathers, but determine how much they received from those who had preceded them, and how much—if anything—were original with themselves. As a help in the researches thus suggested, a list of treatises on church government and related themes was commenced, which gradually expanded into a folio MS. Bibliography of some five hundred pages, and some eighteen hundred titles, for the sixteenth century alone.

While pursuing these general studies after my return, I was notified, in 1875, of my election to the Southworth Lectureship upon Congregationalism in the Theological Seminary at Andover, for the three years' term then next succeeding; with the intimation that were my lectures to be flavored with history more strongly than with philosophy, such procedure might not be unacceptable to the Trustees. I undertook the task largely because it lay directly in my path, and I dared to hope that I might thus do Christian scholars a service for which possibly my privileges of preparation had been exceptional; and because—though involving much labor by the way—my supreme purpose might be advantaged thereby. I spent six further months in special study in England, Holland and France; and the present volume is the result.

The first necessity was to get back into direct intercourse with the men themselves who laid the foundations of modern Congregationalism, since it was always their misfortune that the pen of immediate history for Church as well as for State, was held by writers who saw not how any good thing could come out of Nazareth; and who, often beginning in a misunderstanding that was radical, nearly always ended in a misrepresentation that was reckless. In many cases, and those most important, the difficulty of doing this is excessive, because their humble volumes and pamphlets—always printed on the sly, whose possession was felony, and which were often burned by the hangman; between such special hard usage, and the natural abrasion of from two to three hundred years—are almost unknown even in quarters so insatiate of such literature

as the rich repositories of the British Museum and the Bodleian. "Out of the eater came forth meate." And but for the fact that the two archbishops seem to have caused to be preserved in their collections at Lambeth and York Minster many of the books whose authors they harried and hanged for writing them, it might now be impossible to find several of those treatises.

Robert Browne had been dead for three generations, and Barrowe and Penry for nearly five, when Neal began the series of modern histories seeking to do them better justice. But he, and Brook eighty years later, could do little more in regard to some than recast what Fuller and other church writers nearer their own time, had written. Hanbury, a quarter of a century after, recognized the impossibility of understanding the early Separatists except through better acquaintance with their own literature; and it would not be easy to overstate the value of his unwearied labors in collecting, describing, and in part reproducing their volumes. But forty years ago the various restrictions which barricaded the York and Lambeth libraries were such, that even if this diligent investigator had somehow become aware that upon their dusty shelves were reposing the means of hearing from the father of the Brownists, and from the self-baptizing John Smyth, their own version of their own views, access might have proved to him so difficult as to be impracticable. The temper of the present is different, and I have found nothing but good will and hearty help from all whom I have had occasion to approach in my search for the *principia* of modern Congregationalism. And in thus discovering and gaining access—at Lambeth, to Browne's books, and especially to what was really his autobiography for the most critical period of his life, and to some of the scarcest Mar-prelate tracts; at York, to Smith's *Principles and Inferences*, and particularly to his *Retraction of his Errours*; and, at Cambridge, to George Johnson's *Discourse*, much of which gives as full, and I have no doubt as faithful, an account of the business church meetings of the Barrowists of Amsterdam, as could now be obtained from the professional reporter of a morning journal—opportunities of knowledge have been enjoyed which, unless they have been deplorably misused, ought to freight these pages with some special value. If I may not venture so large a claim for data heretofore undiscovered on this side of the sea, it is not for want of diligent search, but because too many gleaners have gone before. I have, indeed, the satisfaction, from the original manuscript in the rich

collection of the American Antiquarian Society, of offering to my readers for the first time the opportunity to compare the possible Cambridge Platform of Ralph Partridge, with the actual Cambridge Platform of Richard Mather. I believe I may also say that there is no treatise—in Europe or here—known to exist, and to offer important aid to the just comprehension of any person, passage or period herein treated, but—sometimes indeed after years of endeavor, and an expenditure which in anything but the pursuit of useful knowledge would be reckless extravagance—has been somewhere and somehow consulted. It seems an odd thing to find such men as Cotton Mather, and even the two earlier worthies whose names he bore, complaining of the difficulty of coming to the sight of books of many generations before them which we can consult with ease; but it is very certain that—with scarcely any exception—Neal and Brook and Hanbury could do much better to-day in gathering trusty material for their volumes, than was possible in their own time.

As to the results of these investigations, it does not become me to speak with assurance. The enthusiasm of long and at last successful inquiry for facts which have eluded the research of generations of previous investigators, is very apt unduly to exalt the importance of the discoveries which it has made. And he who claims from the public the re-hearing of an old case, on the ground that he is able to produce new evidence which ought to reverse all former verdicts; must be prepared for the rigidest sifting of his claims, and may be sure they will be rejected—by the simple force of inertia—unless he have the very best proof, and plenty of it, of the substantial justice of the position he has taken. As to what I have herein presented which is new to our Congregational literature, I respectfully ask the most rigid inquest of those experts who are competent to pass upon the issues that are raised.

I trust, however, that many intelligent readers may be interested in the endeavor to make clear in detail to what a condition the papacy had reduced England; an endeavor in which I was surprised to find myself to so large an extent a pioneer, yet without which much that came after can only imperfectly be comprehended.

x I hope also that the view which I have taken of Robert Browne may aid toward a fairer judgment of a long maligned, eccentric,

infirm, and probably insane, yet I must think a mainly good and singularly clever, man.

It will be seen that I reach a kindlier estimate of the quality of the famous Martin Mar-prelate pamphlets, than any preceding investigator. It is my impression—for I assume that Mr. Maskell, who printed in 1845, had been the most diligent of previous special students of this subject—that I am the first writer able to gain sight of the entire collection on both sides, and to examine it without violent prepossession against the Separatist writers, and their work. It is high time that the senseless denunciation of these extraordinary and effective publications, on the part of those, who, having no knowledge at first hand of what they affirm, simply reproduce vile slanders that are old, should give place to an intelligence and candor of criticism which can fairly recognize their distinguished fitness for the exigency which they met; acquit them of all baseness of thought and indecency of speech; and admit their influential place among those intellectual forces which were powerfully moving the England of that day. They are surely none the less worthy our regard, in that they furnish the first instance in the English tongue of the employment of satire as a successful weapon against ecclesiastical wrong.

I have ventured an entirely new theory of their authorship. Mr. Edward Arber, F. S. A., Lecturer in English Literature, etc., in University College, London—who is just now adding to his already large claim upon the gratitude of scholars in the English tongue, by reprinting in verbatim most of these Mar-prelate tracts—in an *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Mar-prelate Controversy*—published in London in April last, and since the Lecture on that subject in this volume passed through the stereotyper's hands—has done me the honor to print a brief statement of my hypothesis, which on his request I had furnished for that purpose, and has frankly added thereto the expression of his total dissent from my conclusion. His adverse judgment is mainly founded upon the evidence of various sorts contained in the depositions in the *Harleian MS.* No. 7,042; from which he concludes Job Throckmorton to have been Martin. Having for more than six years had in my possession a copy of that manuscript, the considerations on which his conclusion rests are not new to me. And without assuming—what I should be the last to claim—an equal degree of critical acumen or knowledge of the subject, I may yet say, with all respect, that I

find nothing in Mr. Arber's argument to shake my conviction previously reached. I firmly believe that Martin was speaking the truth in all soberness, when (as appears on p. 196 herein) he declared that he had neither wife nor child; while if Udall be a trusty witness for Mr. Arber, when he again and again cites him to some other point, why is he not also worthy of belief when he declares (as on p. 194 herein) that no minister was Martin? But if Martin were a bachelor and no minister, Job Throckmorton, who was both a minister and the father of a learned and eloquent Member of Parliament, seems to be ruled out of the case; while, so far as I am aware, there is a total absence of all that internal evidence to support the notion of his authorship, which I have shown to be abundant in the case of Henry Barrowe.

The two lectures on the Barrowists of Amsterdam cover ground previously little known. But by the careful collation of their publications, and those of their enemies, of the period; by the important help of the *Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ*, the Amsterdam city records, and the MSS. collections in the Library of the Mennonite Seminary there; and especially by the constant study of the invaluable newly discovered volumes of John Smyth and George Johnson, it has proved possible to unravel most of the problems of the subject, and present a fairly clear consecutive narrative of a remarkable passage in the Anglo-Dutch history of Separatism.

I have no doubt that many readers will be both disappointed and displeased with that portion of the lecture on John Robinson, which seeks to show that the popular conception of the prophetic drift toward modern Liberalism of his "Farewell Address" is founded upon misapprehension on the part of writers unfamiliar with his works and unacquainted with his spirit, who seized words out of their connection and strained them from their real significance to shape them toward an utterance unnatural to the time and impossible to the man; a misapprehension favored by the excessive rarity of that book of Edward Winslow which is our sole authority for what the Pilgrim pastor actually said. It has seemed to me that John Robinson was great enough to bear the honest truth told in his case; of whatever unearned laurels such telling may relieve him. I might have added, from hundreds of records in my possession, almost indefinitely to this lecture in the way of elucidation of the Leyden life of our fathers—of their shops and homes, of the Pastor's house where they brake bread upon the Sabbath day; of their

buyings and sellings, and the trades by which they lived; of their marriages and burials, and of all which made up their Dutch life; but it seemed better to reserve these facts for other employ.

In the two lectures on the Congregationalism of New England, I have endeavored to make it clear that the essential Barrowism of its first hundred years, and of the Cambridge Platform—a fact unnoted by previous writers—solves the mystery which has hung about the Ruling Elder system of our fathers; and that the irrepressible conflict which that system involved between the two polities mingled in it, accounts for the unrest and half-heartedness prominent in the later portion of those earlier days. There was no dishonesty, and nothing said for effect, when John Cotton and others wrote to England their distrust and dislike of democracy; for they were not as yet democrats either in Church or State, and they meant every word that they said. I have endeavored also to awaken some well-earned, if long delayed, gratitude toward that reformer, whose brilliant qualities the leading men of his own generation were slow to recognize, to whom, under God, the rehabilitation of essential Brownism was due; and to write the name of John Wise of Ipswich vastly higher upon the roll of the great, influential and useful of the land, than it has been the fashion to rank it.

The discussion of Ecclesiastical Councils has been extended beyond all possibility of use as a lecture simply, in the desire to take advantage of the opportunity to treat the subject with some completeness in all its important bearings, and offer to the students of such matters some clues both to the actual working of so important a feature of the New England polity, and the abundance and quality of an unique and constantly accumulating literature.

I can well foresee how jejune and inadequate what is herein said of the Congregationalism of England must appear to my learned friends in that country; but it seemed to me that even so slight and poor an outline might be better than nothing for young students here desiring to know more of the Father Land; while I can let slip no proper opportunity to urge and further—in however humble a way—the better mutual acquaintance of the good men of the two nations that were one.

For what is said in the closing lecture with which some brethren whom I cordially respect but with whom I as cordially differ, will find fault, I make no apology. I have spoken frankly—as I would have them speak. To my notion that glorious end of perfect oneness of

doctrine, duty and desire which we all pursue, is most wisely to be sought neither by sullen or over-cautious silence of the non-agreed, nor by guile and flattering words as pleasing men; but by speaking the truth in love every man with his neighbor, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.

My great object in all has been to ascertain and set down the truth, for the rectification of existing misapprehension, and the guide of future conduct. I hold it a sacred duty of Congregationalists to be just to the good men, however lowly their position, and however inadequate may have been many of their conceptions, who endured hardness, and counted not their lives dear unto themselves that they might finish their course with joy, and testify, first to their children, the gospel of the grace of God which they felt had been committed unto them that they might teach others also. Their faults were those of their age, and the rudeness of the culture of many of them; their virtues were their own—such as they were in native worth, and such as God's grace, mainly in that severe discipline of furnace, anvil and sledge by which the Divine hand has been wont to forge its most useful implements and weapons for the service of earth, had made them.

My theory as to the writing of history differs from that of many. I do not think intelligent readers are satisfied barely to be told what any writer, however gifted with talent or opportunity, may have deduced from his studies of the literature of the period which he would elucidate. They desire to be directed to the sources of his information, not merely that they may have the means of testing his fidelity, but that they may avail of his researches should they desire more fully to study some point which he has only casually touched. Especially in investigations whose results—and on evidence not easily in reach—convict much current narrative of ignorance and error, if not of perversion, I have felt it to be doubly important always to note the authority on which I have spoken; and, as often as possible without overloading pages already crowded, to give the exact language on which my deduction has been founded; feeling that it will be cheap to satisfy one candid inquirer, even at the cost of disgusting ten adepts who despise foot-notes as rubbish. I may add that I have had one rule as to citations—to put my reader, as nearly as may be possible to modern type, into the position of one holding the

original in his hand, by the *exact* copying, even of manifest errors of the press. Sometimes, in connection with their cause, such errors become one of the most touching testimonies of a book. It would be as slanderous a piece of wickedness to print Martin Mar-prelate's *Protestation* [see p. 168, herein] in a revised and corrected form, as to paint the picture of one martyred by starvation in the plumpness of previous health. While there is always some quaint flavor about these ancient writers — of which modernizing robs them — to which they are entitled. I should not care to meet Sidney, Shakespeare or Vandyck, disennobled in the trowsers, swallow-tails and stove-pipe hats of our time.

It is fair for me to say further here that to save space in the text I have occasionally remitted to the smaller type of the notes a statement, or an argument upon some side issue, yet which is essential to be read if one would get the whole scope of the book; as examples of which the two notes on Henry Ainsworth [pp. 270 and 343]; one which produces the evidence that the early English Baptists did not baptize by immersion [p. 318], and one [p. 319] which proves that John Smyth did rebaptize himself, may be specified.

The Appendix, which makes no pretence of being a complete bibliography of Congregational Literature, but merely, what its title declares it, "Collections toward" such a bibliography, is offered with unfeigned diffidence to the inspection of bibliographical scholars, in the hope that its possible convenience may excuse its palpable deficiencies. As already intimated, I had in hand the nucleus of such a list, and it seemed to me that I ought to share with others the fruit of those countless hours of research which I had pursued upon my own account. Students of these particular lines of investigation may be few and far between; perhaps all the more should they therefore have every available help offered to their hand. I undertook this part of the labor of the volume, I hope, a little in the spirit of a self-sacrificing desire for the public good. It has proved a work of immeasurable toil, and heavy expenditure. If it should fail to make these *viæ angustissimæ* somewhat more accessible to the eager foot of the future student, I shall indeed miss my reward.

As "all roads lead to Rome," so there is a sense in which almost any book might claim some remote relation even to such a special catalogue. I have aimed to include: (1) All publications which

directly discuss the principles of the Congregational Way, and develop the experiences, or outline the duties, of Congregational ministers and churches—either for or against. (2) Related literature, so far as needful to make references clear. As, for example, No. 610 is inserted because it would be helpful in the full understanding of Gov. Bradford's *Dialogue* which cites it. Many volumes of records and of history—like Nos. 1816, 1986, 2081, 2098, 2893, 3701, etc., have been thus included. (3) Such a selection from collateral literature as may serve to hint those surroundings of Congregationalism which have aided to make it what it is, and to illustrate its general position, fortunes, outgrowths and tendencies. Here the field widens so immeasurably that no one mind could reasonably expect to satisfy all other minds in its selection. I have thought it better in this to risk transgressing on the side of fullness rather than on that of meagerness; since no man need complain if volumes are enumerated which lie outside of his wants, provided fair provision have been also made for his actual requirements. The key-note to the whole is the endeavor to aid the research of a student of the central subject, who, as he pursues his investigations, is constantly led outward toward inquiries suggested by that subject, rather than strictly germane to it. Thus, volumes upon the baptismal controversy, the rise and growth of Quakerism, the Universalist and Unitarian theologies, and even upon Transcendentalism, Spiritualism and absolute free-thinking, while in no sense directly appertaining to strict Congregational literature, may all need consultation by the man who wishes to know everything vital that has been urged on all sides of questions appertaining to its life and work. Following this idea, in the insertion of titles from all parts of the theological field I have sought, in my method of doing so, to be absolutely even-handed. If my Unitarian friends do not find my list as useful in tracing their own literature as if proceeding out of their own body; if Baptist students do not find it covering those volumes and pamphlets and periodicals which especially concern their views and history, to a degree beyond any list published by themselves; I can only say that I have not accomplished my desire—which was to treat the subject with an impartiality so entire as to make it impossible to guess from it the proclivities of its compiler.

Absolute completeness even in the narrowest of these three circles is unattainable, and its assumption would be absurd. The extent of my

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claim is diligently to have sought to render this list—particularly in its earlier portion—as full and useful as my knowledge and opportunities would permit. I make no doubt that, at least, it may be taken as fairly exemplifying the whole. The *Challenger* did not bring home all the fish in the Atlantic, but the yield of her trawl-nets fairly sampled the deep sea.

It was a part of my desire—especially in the case of those older publications now grown rare—to direct the inquirer to the book itself, as well as to its title; and I have not spared effort to do this with accuracy. Down to A. D. 1700, all proof-sheets went to the British Museum and the Bodleian, to have their press-marks inserted; a convenience which I am sure will be appreciated by those who know by experience how long one—especially if on the track of an anonymous volume—may wander through huge folio catalogues without finding the trail. Down to within one hundred years also, this list has been carefully compared with the Yale and Harvard shelves.

It should be observed, however, that while—accidents excepted—the presence of any given book in the libraries named as having it, may be relied on, it is never *certain* that it may not also be found in collections to which it has failed to be credited. This, because new titles have often been inserted in the last proofs, when it was too late to send to England, or elsewhere, to ascertain whether they were in possession there or not. Nor in nearing our own time has it been felt to be so important to indicate the locality of volumes presumably common.

I have been especially indebted in that department of the subject to which it is devoted, to Dr. Ezra Abbot's *Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, published as an appendix to Rev. W. R. Alger's *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, an indebtedness which is gratefully acknowledged.

I indulge the hope that many who may not largely use it as a guide in direct consultation, may yet find this catalogue indirectly valuable. Its obvious chronological suggestions of the rise and fall of certain opinions, may be useful. The ebb and flow which it reveals in theological discussion—now as to the Trinity, now as to revivalism, now as to New and Old Schoolism, now as to the mode of Baptism, now as to the retributions of the future, and so on—may teach us that the former days have been much like these in their exemplification of the truth of our old copy-book legend: "Many men of many minds;" while it may suggest also that there are some questions which in this imperfect world God

probably intends shall be "settled" by being left amicably open. Who, without the evidence before him, would have supposed it possible that within forty-five years twenty or thirty public oral discussions, of consequence enough to be reported, and issued in book form, could have been held in this land on general questions at issue between Universalism and Orthodoxy? If a glance at the iterations and reiterations of almost all phases of truth and error in this list suggested, could be so far blessed to some of the self-satisfied sciolists of the present as to make them suspect that the new light in which they briefly exult, is simply somebody else's old darkness, I am sure I could feel that my labor has not been in vain in the Lord.

It may prove an incidental benefit of such a catalogue, if it awaken the interest of lovers of good books to the not unnatural fact of the deplorable pauperism of most of our American public libraries as to the *Eocene* of church literature. If I have counted correctly, of the original editions of the first thousand volumes on my list, but 208—or a trifle over twenty per cent—can be seen in all our principal collections put together. These stand in order thus—the same book of course being occasionally found in more than one place, viz.: the Prince Library has 70; Harvard, 55; Yale, 36; the Congregational Library, 29; Boston Athenæum, 26; the American Antiquarian Society, 18; the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7; Brown University, 5; Bowdoin College, 4; Andover Theological Seminary, 3, and the Boston Public Library, 2. On the other hand, I am sure encouragement may be taken from the fact that of the entire list so good a representation is by my researches proved to be within easy reach of American students. It must certainly be gratifying to all the friends of the Congregational Library to notice that an association which has been at its work scarcely more than twenty-five years, and whose pecuniary resources have always been of the most restricted character, has yet been able already to enrich its shelves with a collection so fairly representing the Congregational literature, especially of the last two hundred years.

Particular care has been taken to insure the most rigid accuracy of all quotations, citations and references; certainly more than ninety per cent of them having been (generally twice) compared in proof with their originals.

I have ventured to think that the few autographs which are interspersed through the volume would be acceptable, as bringing their

authors a little nearer to the reader's sympathy and interest, as well as aiding an ornamentation at once unique and tasteful.

It should be stated, further, that while prepared especially to be delivered at Andover, the majority of these lectures have also been read at Oberlin and Hartford; and that on Robert Browne, to the students of New College, St. John's Wood, London.

In most cases, except in those where the preciseness seemed needless, dates have been given in both old style and new. Only by line upon line and precept upon precept, can even scholars become thoroughly accustomed to this simple solution of many chronological perplexities.

The pleasant duty remains of putting on record here my sincere thanks to the many who have befriended me in these labors. Had it not been for the appreciative cordiality of his Grace the Most Reverend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Rev. Canons James Raine of York, and Robert C. Jenkins of Hythe, I would almost surely have missed some of the most important objects of my search. I may also say much the same of Rev. Henry Allon, D. D., and of the Very Reverend Dean of Westminster. I desire to make special mention also of the courtesy of Mr. Bullen, formerly Superintendent of the Reading-Room of the British Museum, and now Superintendent of its department of printed books; of Dr. Coxe, librarian of the Bodleian; of Mr. W. Aldis Wright, now bursar and formerly librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Secretary of the Old Testament Revision Committee, and of Mr. Kershaw, librarian at Lambeth. I have also been largely indebted to the Rev. Thomas Hunter, librarian of the Dr. Williams Library, Grafton St., Gower St., London, not only for the loan of the extremely rare *Brief Discouerie* of Henry Barrowe, but for unstinted aid in various ways. I must name also Mr. F. Ellis Tucker, and Mr. S. J. Aldrich of the British Museum staff, and Mr. W. Burden of the Bodleian, as having done me important service. Here should be added, as well, my thankful acknowledgments to Messrs. Frederick Muller, F. A. v. Scheltema, the Rev. W. Macfarlane of the English Reformed Church, and Prof. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer of the Mennonite Institution, in Amsterdam; to M. le Baron W. J. C. Rammelman Elsevier, and Mr. C. A. Emeis of Leyden, Holland; and to the Rev. B. H. Carp of Middelberg, Zeland. While, on this side of the ocean, I gratefully enumerate as among those who have been my help-

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It is a relief to lay down a pen which has been kept busy—often far into the night—either in furnishing copy to the printer, or in correcting his proofs, now during every hour of the past three years which could be honorably disengaged from other duties. I do so daring to hope that the Master may recognize the desire which prompted the work as one to do Him service; whether His children be able to find such service done, therein and thereby, or not. While, in any event, I may close with the honest words of the author of the second Book of the Maccabees: “If I haue done well, and as the story required, it is the thing that I desired: but if I haue spoken slenderly and barely, it is that I could.”

Greystones, New Bedford, Mass.

1 November, 1879.

Henry Martyn Dexter





Contents, etc.

	PAGE.
LIST OF AUTOGRAPHS	xx
ANALYSIS OF LECTURES	xxi
LECTURE I. THE DARKNESS AND THE DAWN	1
" II. ROBERT BROWNE AND HIS CO-WORKERS	61
" III. THE MARTIN MAR-PRELATE CONTROVERSY	131
" IV. THE MARTYRS OF CONGREGATIONALISM	205
" V. THE EXODUS TO AMSTERDAM	255
" VI. FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES IN AMSTERDAM	299
" VII. JOHN ROBINSON AND LEYDEN CONGREGATIONALISM	359
" VIII. EARLY NEW ENGLAND CONGREGATIONALISM	413
" IX. LATER NEW ENGLAND CONGREGATIONALISM	467
" X. ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS	521
" XI. CONGREGATIONALISM IN ENGLAND	629
" XII. THINGS MORE CLEARLY SEEN	681
	[Second numbering.]
APPENDIX	1
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS	5
A FEW MANUSCRIPTS	287
INDEX OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS	289
INDEX OF THE LECTURES	309

Autographs.

	PAGE.
2. WILLIAM BRADFORD—To whose History what we know of the beginnings of the Plymouth movement is mainly due. From his marriage application (9 November, 1613) at Amsterdam [<i>Pui-boeken</i> , a. d.]. He was then twenty-four years old; making this much his youngest known autograph	v
2. NATHANIEL MORTON—Secretary of the Plymouth Colony from 1643 to his death in 1685, and the author of <i>New Englands Memorial</i> . From one of his letters in my possession	xix
3. WILLIAM TYNDALE—Whose translation of the New Testament was the great force of the English Reformation. From his letter (A. D. 1435) preserved in the archives at Brabant; the only known specimen of his handwriting	1
4. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT—From the <i>Harleian MSS.</i> , No. 7851	58
5. ROBERT BROWNE—From the parish records of Achurch-cum-Thorpe	61
6. EDWARD GLOVER—From the <i>Lansdowne MSS.</i> , lxxv: D, 50	128
7. JOHN PENRY—From the <i>Lansdowne MSS.</i> , cix: 36	131
8. MARTIN MAR-PRELATE—I hope I may be acquitted of trifling in filling his place with the only name we surely know of him— <i>Stat Nominis Umbra</i> —in the style of his time	202
9. HENRY BARROWE—From the <i>Harleian MSS.</i> , No. 65: 65	203
20. THOMAS EGERTON—The judge who condemned these martyrs. From the <i>Harleian MSS.</i> , No. 6848: 14	232
11. FRANCIS JOHNSON—From the <i>Harleian MSS.</i> , No. 6849: 145	245
12. HENRY AINSWORTH—From his marriage application (29 March, 1607), at Amsterdam [<i>Pui-boeken</i> , a. d.]; the only known specimen of his handwriting	296
13. JOHN SMYTH—From his MSS. in the Library of the Mennonite Institution, Amsterdam	299
14. JOHN MURTON—From his signature in the church-list in the same collection	356
15. JOHN ROBINSON—I cannot vouch for the genuineness of this, but it is from the title-page of a book in the Library of the British Museum believed by the experts of that institution to have belonged to him	359
16. WILLIAM BREWSTER—From the title-page of a book in my possession once belonging to him; being a much younger autograph than those at Plymouth and New Haven	410
17. JOHN COTTON—From the fly-leaf of a book in my possession once belonging to him	413
18. JOHN DAVENPORT—From one of his letters	464
19. JOHN WISE—From a letter in the collection in the State Library of Massachusetts	467
20. NATHANAEL EMMONS—From one of his letters	518
21. RICHARD MATHER—Who went to his death-bed from the moderator's chair of probably the most important Council in the early history of New England (13 April, 1669). From the <i>Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian Society</i>	521
22. LEONARD BACON—Who was moderator of the two most important Councils (at Brooklyn in 1874 and 1876) of the present generation	626
23. BENJAMIN HANBURY—The earliest editor and restorer of the Congregational literature of our fathers. From the fly-leaf of a book in my possession once belonging to him	629
24. JOHN STOUGHTON—The gifted and faithful historian of English Congregationalism	673
25. COTTON MATHER—The earliest historian of American Congregationalism. From his <i>Journal</i> (29 November, 1692)	681
26. GEORGE PUNCHARD—The latest historian of American Congregationalism	716
27. THOMAS PRINCE—The earliest Congregational Bibliographer on this side of the sea	(3)

Analysis.

	PAGE.
LECTURE I. THE DARKNESS AND THE DAWN	1-58
Object of these Lectures	1
Proper background of any just picture of Modern Congregationalism	2
England in A. D. 1500	2
Number and kinds of beggars	3
Low state of Education at that time	3
Complaint of Erasmus	4
Child supposed to be born in A. D. 1500, and its imagined life taken to illustrate the state of Papal England	5
Baptism, except in danger of sudden death, only twice a year	5
Form used in baptism	6
Complete rite of confirmation then required, on penalty, to be administered also in infancy	7
Manner of rite of Confirmation	8
Churching of the mother, and its form	9
The wayside cross	10
Abundant crosses, and the sign of the cross	11
Bell-ringing to drive away evil spirits	11
Why yew trees were planted round the Parish Church	12
Orientation of the building, and why	12
The <i>Parvise</i> , and the great Rood	12
The images, and the altar, with its candles	13
The furniture of a church which was required by law	14
The bells in the tower, and their inscriptions	15
Ringings—praying to the patron saints	16
The Sunday service	16
The mass	17
The elevation of the host, and the sounding of the bells	18
Genuflections and gyrations, but no preaching, or next to none	19
No Bibles and no books, and no right to have any	20
The lad, solicitous as to duty, goes to his mother	20
She sends him to the priest—who scolds him	21
He seeks elsewhere for light—and finds a little	22
The strange things he sees thereafter	22
Exorcism, the Pax, Church-ales, and Glutton-masses	23
Many other things which he cannot comprehend	24
Four great thoughts oppress him:	26
(1) The perpetual interferences of the church with common life	26
Fasting on one quarter of the week days of the year	26
Nearly one half the year festival time	26
Restrictions on marriage	27
Restrictions on burial	28
The heavy tax of the Mortuary	29
Sick men could not make their wills save in presence of the priest	29
Erasmus's bitter taunt: "tot vultures ad unum cadaver!"	29
(2) Low quality of all prescriptions for salvation	29
Four sorts of obedience enjoined	29
Bad men could thus obey and remain bad still	30
The relic business, and "such beble-bables"	31

The duck's blood at Hales, purporting to be the Lord's	31
The Becket Canterbury miracles	32
(3) Ill moral quality and influence both of clergy and church	33
Infamous lives of the priests, etc.	33
Fundamental errors of the current theology	35
Demoralizing tendency of the rites which carried out the theology	36
Certeysns, Diriges, Trentals, Obiits, etc.	37
Indulgences — with a copy of one actual in England	38
Friars absolving from murder, perjury, etc.	39
Demoralization involved in the doctrine of "sanctuary"	39
Four or five hundred let off thus in one small town	40
Romanism at the end of its victim's life	40
The performances around the dying bed	41
In extremis	42
The mother dying thus in presence of the Protestant son, and his outbreak	45
His arrest and excommunication	45
(4) The intolerable tyranny of the Romish Church over the mind	46
Articles of Inquiry, and their force	47
Summary of the condition to which all this had brought the England of A. D. 1500	47
Dawn-streaks	48
Congregationalists before Congregationalism	49
Harbingers — Grossteste, Wyclif, Colet, Erasmus, Latimer and Ridley, Tyn-dale and More	50
Luther nearly rediscovered original Congregationalism, and why he did not	51
Calvin, on the contrary, an aristocrat	52
How Calvin's aristocracy of Presbyterianism found its way into England	53
Cartwright the leader of English Puritanism	55
Some confusion in the Presbyterian idea then existent	56
Three grand objections to the Presbyterian way for England:	57
(1) It was to come from the State	57
(2) It was to be left under the control of the State	57
(3) It was as ill suited to reform as that church which it would displace; it included all the baptized, and it waited for all to move before any could move	57
Three great things needed, then:	58
(1) That some better philosophy of reform be pointed out	58
(2) That the spell of conservatism be shattered so that motion could begin	58
(3) That heroism be stimulated, until men be ready to risk even life for the Lord	58
LECTURE II. ROBERT BROWNE AND HIS CO-WORKERS	61-128
Robert Browne an elaborately slandered man	61
Difficulty of studying him on account of the scarcity of his books	62
Born at Tolethorpe, Rutlandshire	63
Born a gentleman. His ancestors, etc.	63
Went to Corpus Christi, Cambridge, in 1570	64
Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk	64
Cited before Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and discharged	64
Teaching for three years (most likely) at Southwark	65
Lecturing in an Islington gravel-pit; going home on account of the plague	65
Back to Cambridge, and a student with R. Greenham	66
Who encourages him to preach	66
He becomes popular, even in Benet Church, Cambridge	66
Pressed to take a Cambridge pulpit, and labored there for six months	66
Sent back their money, and departed, dissatisfied with Bishop's authorizing	66
Formally refused the Bishop's license	67

Harangued against the Bishops	67
In sore conflict of mind, falls very sick	67
Inhibited from further preaching	67
With prayers and tears seeking some better way	68
Robert Harrison is led to Cambridge	68
Soon returned to Norwich, whither Browne followed, and boarded with him and his wife	69
Here Browne thinks out his new (old) polity	70
Imprisoned for preaching his new way at Bury St. Edmonds	70
His kinsman, Lord Burghley, befriends him	71
Browne forms a little church at Norwich	72
To escape persecution they emigrate in a body to Middelberg	73
Browne writes three treatises in two years there	74
Harrison seems to have paid for the printing	75
Trouble at Middelberg, and how it arose	76
Browne with four or five families, left for Scotland	76
Cited before the session of the Kirk of Edinburgh	77
Discouraged, Browne returns to England	78
Sick, persecuted, and sent home to his father	80
No better; gets to Stamford	80
Seems to have preached Brownism again at Northampton	81
Cited before Bishop Linsell; refused to appear; excommunicated	81
Reconciled and readmitted to Church of England	81
Master of St. Olave's, Southwark, on six astonishing conditions	81
Writes a crazy letter to Lord Burghley	82
Burghley gives him a living at Achurch	83
Here he lives more than forty years, and dies at last in Northampton jail	83
His co-workers—Harrison	84
And Glover	86
What kind of a man was Robert Browne?	87
Usually supposed to have been a bigot and a sneak	87
Hard words said about him by various Church and Dissenting writers	87
Was he honest in becoming a Separatist?	89
Who was Richard Greenham?	89
Good sign that Browne should have been drawn to such a man	91
Good sign that such a man thought so well of young Browne	92
Argument from R. B.'s <i>True Declaration</i> to show that he was genuine and hon- est in his early Christian experience	92
Can be no reasonable doubt that it was as a man who walked with God, that Browne started out as a reformer	94
His eight books	94
What his Brownism really was	96
(1) Its exact point of departure from Presbyterian Puritanism, the duty to attain the highest attainable purity of spiritual life	96
(2) The Church of England so corrupt as to make Separation a duty	98
(3) No hope of reform from the State, and no obligation to wait for any Browne the first writer clearly to state and defend the true doctrine of toleration	100
(4) No reasonable hope of a true reform from the Presbyterian plan	103
(5) Then it must be every true Christian's duty to separate	104
(6) Any company of sincere believers, separating thus and rightly associat- ing, becomes a true church	105
(7) Such right association would be by covenant	105
(8) Church authority resides in the lordship of Christ over these local affli- ations of believers	106
(9) The officers—pastor, teacher, etc.	107
(10) The sacraments as seals	107

(11) Duty of church members to keep guard over each other	108
(12) Fraternity between such churches—the other focus of the Congrega- tional ellipse—fully taught by Browne	108
This a logical and remarkable system to have been elaborated, from the Bible alone, in the 16th century, by a young man of nine and twenty	110
Some qualities of the system	110
Some excellences of it	111
Causes of the Middelberg shipwreck	112
The Congregationalism of the Independents of England, and of the Congrega- tionalists of America, to-day essentially Brownism	114
Its essence will leaven all the politics of the future	115
What, on the whole, must we think of this man?	116
Clearly two sides to his story	116
Fuller's mean portrait false	116
Sir Geo. Paule's testimony in his favor	117
Browne had no wife, in Fuller's young manhood, to be separated from	117
He kept his parish records faithfully, as the records witness to-day	117
Browne's love of music	119
Three hypotheses exhaust his case	119
(1) But he was not always, and in all, bad	119
(2) Nor did he relapse, after an honest beginning, into scandalous sin	120
(3) Real key to his strange career, that the larger portion of his life was one of mental disorder, sometimes almost, or quite, deepening into abso- lute insanity	120
Considerations in proof of this :	120
(a) His natural constitution nervous, fitful, fiery and easily gliding into mental disease	120
(b) His physical constitution a feeble one	121
(c) He underwent great sufferings	121
(d) Insane peculiarities about him	121
His letter to Burghley about the Latin "tables," etc. His dis- appearance for more than eight years. His strange en- tries on the parish records	122
His insane conduct at St. Olave's	123
Stephen Bredwell's testimony	123
Bredwell, a physician, calls Browne "madde"	126
He was sane therefore, and insane. A like case	126
We need not then blush for him, nor seek to dislodge him from his natural pri- macy among the great thinkers of Liberalism, and modern Congregation- alism	127
A fit epitaph	128
LECTURE III. THE MARTIN MAR-PRELATE CONTROVERSY	131-202
Mr. Punch supposed to discomfit the old master in presence of the boys	131
Martin Mar-prelate bounces similarly in upon the Bishops	132
Ecclesiastical satire as yet unknown in the English tongue	133
Erasmus and his <i>Moria Encomium</i> , etc.	134
Luther's <i>Colloquium inter Lutherum et Diabolum</i> , etc.	134
Beza's <i>Epistola M. B. Passavantij</i> , etc.	135
Walter Map's <i>Apocalypsis Golia Episc.</i> , etc.	136
Langland's <i>Vision of Piers Plowman</i> , etc.	136
Sir David Lindsay and Geo. Buchanan	137
<i>A Commission sente to the Pope</i> , etc.	137
<i>The State of the Church of England</i> , etc.	139
Bishop Aylmer's <i>Harborovve</i> , etc.	143
John Bridges, Dean of Sarum, and his big <i>Defence</i> , etc.	143
The first Martin—the <i>Epitome</i>	144
(a) Its liberty of style. It puns	145

(b) And is easily impudent	146
(c) Its free personal assaults	147
Not great wit; but tremendously effective for that time	151
(d) Quaint and telling little incidents	152
(e) Under the froth a clear stream of strong argument	153
(f) The proposition which it makes	153
(g) The prophecies and threats which it makes	154
How this tract went everywhere — Earl of Essex; Cambridge and Oxford students, etc.	155
Four assaulted Bishops organize for reply	156
Proclamation against Martin	156
Second Martin — the <i>Epistle</i>	156
Main object of it to criticize the Dean of Sarum	157
The Bishops' answer — <i>An Admonition</i> , etc., by the hands of T. C.	158
Conferred great respectability upon Martin	159
Third Martin — <i>Certaine Minerall and Metaphisicall School Points</i> , etc.	160
Fourth Martin — <i>Hay any Worke for Cooper</i> , etc.	162
Severe on T. C. and his wife, etc.	162
Pleads for the Presbyterian Elders, etc.	163
Now comes forward <i>Antimartinus</i> , etc., heavy with good advice	164
The effort to counteract Martin by comedies	165
Facts about the printing of these Martins	166
The press seized in Manchester	167
Speedily at it again at Woolston	167
Fifth Martin — <i>The Protestatyon</i> , etc.	168
Replies: <i>A Whip for an Ape</i> , and <i>Mar-martine</i>	170
<i>Marre-Mar-Martin</i> , etc.	171
Sixth Martin — <i>Theses Martiniana</i> , etc.	172
Seventh Martin — <i>The iust censure and reproofe</i> , etc.	173
More replies: <i>A Countercuffe</i> , etc.	177
<i>Pappe with an hatchet</i> , etc.	178
<i>The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill</i> , etc.	179
<i>An Almond for a Parrat</i> , etc.	180
<i>Martin's Mouths minde</i> , etc.	181
<i>Plaine Percevall the Peace-maker of England</i> , etc.	183
<i>The First parte of Pasquils Apologie</i> , etc.	184
Some serious answers to Martin: R. Harvey's <i>Theological discourse</i> , etc. L.	
Wright's <i>A Friendly Admonition to Martin</i> , etc., and T. Turswell's <i>A Mirror for Martinists</i> , etc.	185
Misapprehensions as to these Martins	186
Puritans nothing to do with Martin, but repudiated him	186
Martin not the work of the Jesuits!	187
These Martins not "foul-mouthed," "obscene" and "shameless," etc., neither are they "coarse, personal and abusive,"	188
It is a pity as much can not be said of the tracts gotten up by the Bishops to answer them	191
Authorship of the tracts against Martin	192
But who was Martin himself?	193
Penry clearly was the <i>publisher</i>	193
But Penry was not Martin	194
Two internal clews	195
Udall thought no minister wrote them; there seems to be colorable internal evidence that some lawyer wrote them	195
And Martin, when speaking in all seriousness, declares himself to have neither wife nor child	196
<i>Henry Barrowe</i> was a bachelor barrister, who, in point of sentiment, could have written them	196

Similarities between Barrowe's acknowledged books and the Martins—in epithets	197
And in severe invective	198
Barrowe's books were widely criticised at the time for the very qualities which distinguish Martin	198
Further, (1) Martin and Barrowe were always asking for a public conference	199
(2) Both talk identically about Cartwright and the principal Puritans	200
(3) Barrowe refers incidentally to Martin, but never with dislike, or so as to damage this hypothesis, while, in a <i>Petition</i> , he defends him	200
(4) Martin almost anticipated Barrowe's language in accepting martyrdom	200
(5) Martin himself declares that he is a <i>temporall</i> man [i.e., no minister] and that he is in easy private circumstances—both of which were exactly true of Barrowe	200
(6) There was special security in Barrowe's being Martin, who had already been for years in the Fleet—where nobody would think of looking for Martin	201
If Barrowe <i>were</i> Martin, since he and Penry took the close secret to Heaven with them in 1593, it is small wonder it has been so well kept since	201
At all events, this controversy had marvelous influence in disenthraling England from its ancient intellectual servitude to the hierarchy	202
LECTURE IV. THE MARTYRS OF CONGREGATIONALISM	205-252
Without shedding of blood is no remission	205
Browne had outlined a polity, and Martin damaged the spell of the Bishops' power; now heroes were needed to put all in motion	205
Aside from many who were worn out in prison, there were six Congregational Martyrs: Dennis, Copping, Thacker, Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry	206
Little known of Dennis	203
Copping and Thacker imprisoned	208
Tried and executed	210
John Greenwood and his arrest	211
Henry Barrowe goes to see him, and is himself arrested without warrant	212
The two examined at Lambeth	213
Again examined four months later	213
Barrowe examined further. The scene, from Barrowe's own pen	216-220
Greenwood examined	220
Barrowe and Greenwood address Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Travers, and other Puritans	221
Fifty-two Separatist prisoners parcelled out, for personal labor, among forty-three clergymen	223
The "Briefe" furnished in aid of these conferences	224
The prisoners manage to get a little printing done in Dort	225
Some interviews	228
The insufferable meanness of Mr. Andrews	230
Barrowe's reasons, in brief, for refusing to conform	231
More conferences, in 1590	231
Some mitigation in 1592 of the closeness of imprisonment, and Greenwood out on bail	232
Opportunity taken to have a Barrowist church formed, out of Separatists who had long met in secret places	232
The hearing of this alarms the Bishops, who hurry Greenwood back to jail, and F. Johnson with him	232
Prison pen-work— <i>The True Description</i> , etc., <i>A Collection of certaine Scanderous Articles</i> , etc.	234
In 1591 another quarto, as to which something curious happened	235
<i>Barrowism</i> —and how it differed from Brownism on one hand, and Genevan Puritanism on the other	235-239
Barrowe and Greenwood indicted for felony	241

Their trial — the brief of the prosecuting officer, and Barrowe's own account of his defence	241-243
They were condemned — taken to execution, and reprieved	243
Again reprieved, but gained only six days, then suddenly hanged	245
John Penry, and his life down to his arrest	246
His trial, the two indictments against him	248
His appeal, after condemnation, to Lord Burghley	249
His letters	249
His execution	251
Henry Barrowe's letter in the <i>Harleian MSS.</i>	252
LECTURE V. THE EXODUS TO AMSTERDAM	255-296
Difficulty of tracing the early Separatists in London	255
Or determining if they were due to Browne's labors	255
Little gatherings of them as early as 1587-8	255
Twenty-four died in various dungeons	256
Fifty-nine who were in eight prisons petition the Lord Treasurer	256
Manner of their Sabbath service	257
The <i>True Description</i> (1589), etc.	258
Neither Clyfton, Smyth nor Johnson, but Barrowe and Greenwood, produced it	258
A leaning in it toward Barrowism	260
Alison's <i>Confutation</i> of it	261
Francis Johnson, and his early history	263
Pastor in Middelberg, where, in 1591, he discovered and burned Barrowe and Greenwood's <i>Plaine Refutation</i> — and was converted thereby	263
The inchoate London church fully organized (1592)	265
Penry advised the church to emigrate in a body	266
Barrowe left them a helping legacy	267
Some of the London church went to Holland in 1593	267
We hear of them at Campen, and Naarden	267
By the close of 1595, they were established in Amsterdam	268
Few particulars of their life for four years	269
Poor and divided, Henry Ainsworth became their teacher	269
A <i>True Confession</i> , etc., published (1596) by them in concert with London	270
The portion remaining in prison in London, in trouble	271
George Johnson, younger brother of Francis	272
Francis Johnson a suitor to Mrs. Tomison Boys	272
Some thought it not a good match	272
A secret marriage	273
She too "garish and proud" in apparel, giving great offence	273
George interposes, in a letter	274
An angry correspondence follows	275
A church meeting about it	275
During 1595, Francis prints <i>A Treatise of the Ministry</i> , etc.	276
In 1597 Francis and George, with two others, banished to Newfoundland (<i>Rainea</i>)	277
The rest (apparently) set at liberty	277
The voyage to <i>Rainea</i> ending in shipwreck, and return	278
They quickly get over to Holland with the rest	278
The <i>True Confession</i> described	278-282
Barrowist in polity, and behind Browne as to the magistrates	281
These Englishmen in Holland very low in outward estate	283
The old clothes controversy soon breaks out again	284
In November, 1597, George was told that they would choose him elder if he would back down as to the clothes	285
But he was inflexible, and excommunication was threatened	285
Church meeting lasting till 10 P. M.	285
Soon another, lasting from 3 P. M. till 10 P. M.	285

Three more church meetings, and what was said in them	286
Another, with a discussion on "topishness"	287
Pastor's discourse on dress	287
A little discussion, ending in a promise to produce Mrs. Johnson's offending gown for examination at the next meeting	288
Which they didn't do, and the meeting fell through	288
Another meeting, and Ann Colyer's testimony	289
More meetings, but small progress	289
The Ziphims	289
A church meeting to choose elders	291
Sharp practice of the pastor and elder as to the vote	291
A lull	292
Jacob Johnson could not be chosen deacon because he had "apostated"	293
Old clothes controversy revives again (August, 1598)	293
Pastor refuses George's request for a council, as Popish	294
George and his old father excommunicated. George dies	294
George Johnson peculiar, but, without doubt, in the main trustworthy	296
LECTURE VI. FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES IN AMSTERDAM	299-356
Brief period of comparative peace at Amsterdam	299
New edition of <i>Confession</i> (1598)	299
Translated into Latin by Henry Ainsworth	299
Correspondence with Francis Junius, Professor of Theology at Leyden	301
Junius writes to the Dutch and French pastors of Amsterdam about these <i>Fratres Angli</i>	303
They reply	304
Letter of Taffin and Arminius, showing the difficulties under which these English contended	305
These exiles send a deputation to James I.	306
And note "The Heads of differences" between themselves and the Church of England	306
Further supplication to the king to be allowed to live in peace in Separatism in England	309
Attack of University of Oxford upon these Barrowists	309
Which they answer in <i>An Apologie or Defence</i> , etc.	310
The king unyielding, and more emigration to Amsterdam	310
Thomas White and his company	310
White's <i>Discoverie of Brownisme</i> , etc.	311
Johnson reprints (1605) the book he had burned (1591)	311
John Smyth appears on the scene (1606)	311
His character, and his company	313
His <i>Principles and Inferences</i> , etc.	313
He and his secede from Johnson's and Ainsworth's church	313
His <i>Differences of the Churches of the Separation</i> , etc.	313
The six errors	314
Smyth then neither a Baptist nor an Arminian	314
These Barrowists, with help from England, build a preaching-house	316
Ainsworth's marriage (1607)	316
Second edition of the <i>Confessio</i> , etc.	316
John Robinson and his company arrive at Amsterdam	317
Grand times, for a little while	317
Smyth baptized himself, and his company, and reorganizes altogether	318
Smyth's later offensive views	320
He is excommunicated (1609) from his own Baptist church, for heresy	321
His death and burial (1612)	321
His remnant of followers later (1615) join the Dutch Baptists	322
Helwys and Murton return to England and form the first Arminian Baptist church there	322

Character of Smyth	323
Robinson and his church withdraw to Leyden	324
Conflict between High Church and Low Church Barrowism in the old Amsterdam church	325
Johnson maintains that "tell it to the church" means <i>tell it to the elders</i>	326
Ainsworth takes the lower view	326
Three propositions in the interest of peace	327
The Leyden church applied to	328
The Leyden elders visit Amsterdam twice	329
Ainsworth and his friends secede	331
Johnson publishes <i>A Short Treatise</i> , etc.	331
C. Lawne, et al., and their <i>Prophane Schisme</i>	332
Clyfton replies in <i>An Advertisement</i> , etc.	332
Order of Sabbath service in the ancient church	333
What and how they sang	333
Order in Smyth's church	333
Civil suit brought by Ainsworth's company against Johnson's, for the house — which had been built largely by friends whose faith the plaintiffs claimed most to represent	334
Paper of grounds	336
Seem to have gained their suit	337
Meeting-house contained tenements, and so was head-quarters of the company	338
Ousted, Johnson and his friends retreat to Emden	338
Ainsworth's church	339
Death of Francis Johnson (1618)	340
Controversy between Ainsworth and John Paget	341
Ainsworth's eminence as author, and especially as expositor	342
His death, character and works	344
Church droops — yet fights	347
John Canne becomes its pastor	347
Further fortunes, meeting-house burned, and rebuilt	348
Feeble remnant finally absorbed by Dutch (1701)	349
Meeting-house conveyed to <i>Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Diaconie</i>	350
An ineradicable conflict inbred in Barrowism	351
The old meeting-house still standing on the <i>Bruinistensteeg</i>	355
LECTURE VII. JOHN ROBINSON AND LEYDEN CONGREGATIONALISM	359-410
Almost nothing known of his birthplace	359
Nothing of his childhood	360
Went to Cambridge in 1592	360
England and its great men of that date	361
Few great churchmen	363
Puritans then prominent	364
Corpus Christi (Benet) College then	364
The English student-life of that period	365
Cambridge as a residence	366
The daily round of college duties	367
Important events while he was a student	370
A foreshadowing of the Arminian controversy	372
Probable influence of W. Perkins over Robinson	372
Robinson goes to labor in the northeast	373
Labors for four years near, and in, Norwich	373
Leaves Norwich, it would seem, in 1604	374
Influence of the policy of James I. on religion	375
Dissent in the neighborhood of Scrooby and at Gainsborough	376
Robinson joins the Gainsborough company	377
That company becomes two bodies	379
Robinson pastor of the Scrooby church	379

Their removal to Amsterdam (1607 or 1608)	380
Here he prints his first controversial pamphlet—in reply to Joseph Hall	381
He and his company ask leave to live in Leyden	382
Which is gladly granted (12 February, 1609)	383
Leyden then a large and charming city	383
Its University and its great men	384
Its library	386
How these people proceeded to earn their living	386
With Jepson, Wood and Thickins, Robinson buys a house on the <i>Klok-steeg</i> (1611)	387
This becomes their head-quarters, and worship-house	388
Robinson matriculated as a member of the University	388
The Arminian controversy, and his share in it	388
The Synod of Dort (1618-19)	389
Leyden church has near 300 members, and lives in peace	389
Love of their children, etc., leads them to think of America	390
The process of emigration and the separation	391
Robinson buries two children in Leyden	391
Is himself buried in St. Peter's, (4 March, 1625)	391
His <i>Justification of Separation</i> , etc.	392
His <i>Of Religious Communion</i> , etc.	395
The general, and mellowing, position which he held	395
Robinson's polity Broad Church Barrowism	397
Differences between Robinson's position and that of Ainsworth	398
Robinson's other volumes	399
His famous <i>Farewell Address</i> (1620)	400
The Synod of Dort felt itself to have laid down ultimate truth	401
Robinson thought as much, and defended its dogma, having no idea of further progress in theology	402
Passages in his <i>Essays</i> showing that he had no tendencies to Rationalism	402
The address (as it was—according to Winslow's recollection twenty-six years after)	404
Winslow employs it as an argument	405
He cites it in proof of the liberal character of the <i>polity</i> of Robinson and his church	407
To interpret it as spoken of <i>polity</i> makes sense of all; to interpret it of <i>dogma</i> is, under the circumstances, to do it violence	408
John Robinson needs no spurious renown	409
His honest soul would abhor the "Liberal" view of his position	409
LECTURE VIII. EARLY NEW ENGLAND CONGREGATIONALISM	413-464
Providential circumstances weakened into almost Brownism, the Barrowism at Plymouth	414
The Salem company Nonconformist, but not Separatist	414
Dea. Dr. Fuller's influence	415
The Salem men soon set up a Separate church	416
Winthrop's company soon did the same	417
Ministers reordained	419
Law of the Mass. Colony that none but church members be freemen	420
Massachusetts then mainly a trading corporation	420
Law that no church be formed without civil consent	421
How John Cotton was ordained at Boston	422
Cotton's <i>Questions and Answers upon Chh. Govt.</i> , etc. (1634)	423
The <i>Answer of the Elders</i> , etc. (1643)	425
Richard Mather's <i>Church Govt. and Church Govt.</i> , etc. (1643)	426
All these reproduce the intense Barrowism of F. Johnson	428
Voting at Plymouth	430
The first Synod (1637)	430

The second (1643) much enjoyed, but they thought they wouldn't need one every year	432
Parker and Noyes, and the Presbyterian way	432
Noyes's <i>Temple Measured</i> , etc. (1647)	432
Cotton's <i>Keyes</i> , etc.	433
His <i>Way of the Churches</i> , etc.	434
The Cambridge Platform Synod	435
The <i>Cambridge Platform</i> (R. Mather's draught)	438
Mr. Partridge's draught	444
Result of Synod accepted "for the substance thereof"	448
The <i>modus operandi</i> of those days	448
Forming a church	448
Joining the church	449
Discipline	450
Voting, etc.	451
Council of other churches	452
Order of Sabbath worship	452
The Lord's Supper	453
Baptism	454
Meeting-houses and their internals	454
Supporting the gospel	454
Worship at Plymouth (1632), (Winthrop's account)	455
Meetings for social prayer and conference almost unknown	456
The weekly lecture	457
Annual Fast and Thanksgiving	457
Marriage a civil contract and service	458
Funerals friendly, but not religious	458
Numerical designation of months and days	459
This Congregationalism as related to Presbyterianism	459
The two systems differed; as to terms of church membership	459
As to the power of consent of the brotherhood	460
As to the function of Synods	461
This early Congregational, by no means a democratic, way	463
LECTURE IX. LATER NEW ENGLAND CONGREGATIONALISM	467-518
Matters did not work as well as hoped	467
The grandchildren growing up out of the church	467
Doubtful if this had the relation to the State sometimes affirmed	468
Connecticut first moved for some plan for the baptism of the children of parents baptized, but not in covenant	469
A Synod (1657)	470
Made matters worse	470
A second Synod (1662)	470
The half-way covenant	471
The strife it raised	473
John Davenport, the First Church, Boston, and the formation of the Old South	474
Decay of morals and manners in consequence of the half-way covenant	476
Another Synod (the reforming, 1679)	477
Its diagnosis and prescription	477
Much renewing of covenant thereafter	480
Yet disasters by land and sea	480
Four particulars of drift from Cambridge Platform	481
As to the pastor of one church's officiating for another	481
As to the office of Ruling Elder	482
As to lay ordination	482
As to requirements for admission to the church	483
Growth of High Church view of Synods	484

Growth of High Church view of power of the Elders	484
Ruling Elders grown so scarce that the "Presbytery" in a given church most often consisted of its pastor only	485
Joining the church at this period	485
Freedom of unregenerate as to entering on most solemn vows	486
Jonathan Edwards (1741-2) administering a covenant to all his congregation above 14 years	487
Many churches steadily resisting the pastor's autocracy	487
Increase Mather's prophecy of need to "gather churches out of churches"	488
The Saybrook Synod's attempt (1708) to remedy these evils	488
The <i>Heads of Agreement</i> , etc.	489
The associated ministers of Boston (1705) send out Proposals of steps to be taken, etc.	493
These Proposals too strong Presbyterian meat for Congregational palates	494
John Wise, of Ipswich	494
His little books, 1710-1717	496
Their tremendous assault on the "Proposals"	496
Their clear and cogent argument for democracy as the only true government for church or State	498
The effect of these prodigious	500
Vain (and last) attempt to have another Synod	501
Whitefield and the Great Awakening	501
Samuel Mather's <i>Apology</i> , etc. (1738)	501
Favorable influence of the revival	503
Gov. Fitch's <i>Explanation</i> of Saybrook Platform	503
Mr. Hobart's reply	504
The Bolton case (1770)	504
The Revolution and Independence, and their effect to favor democratic Brownism more than aristocratic Barrowism	506
But the new wine was in the old bottles	507
Nathanael Emmons, and his influence	507
His radical democracy in polity, and his influence in carrying out Wise's philosophy	507
There had been from the first a flickering desire for a "strong" government	509
John Eliot and his <i>Divine Ordinance of Councils</i> , etc. (1665)	509
Solomon Stoddard's <i>Doctrine of Instituted Churches</i> , etc. (1700)	510
William Homes's <i>Proposals</i> , etc. (1732)	511
Dr. Colman (1735) favoring Consociation	512
Last real attempt at Consociationism in Mass. (1815)	512
Yet still another flounder in that direction (1844)	514
The committee and its suggested <i>Manual</i> (1846)	515
The Albany Convention (1852)	515
Formation of American Congregational Union (1853)	516
Boston Council (1865)	516
Its sole deliverance as to polity	517
Organization of "National Council" at Oberlin (1871)	517
Security to the rights of the churches in its fundamental law	518
Jealousy still felt in certain quarters in regard to it	518
But <i>Synodus non est Ecclesia</i>	518
LECTURE X. ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS	521-626
Brownism recognized church fellowship by council	521
Doctrine of Barrowism on the subject	521
High Church Barrowism repudiated councils	522
Robinson's view	522
Small practical occasion then to develop the subject	523
Congregationalism, how distinguished from Independency	523
Councils a method of church communion	524

Four classes of councils	524
But there are features common to all, as such	524
1. <i>Ecclesiastical Councils as such</i>	524
(1) <i>Proper occasions for a Council</i>	524
(2) <i>Who may call a Council?</i>	525
(a) Believers wishing to organize	525
(b) A church desiring fellowship or advice	525
(c) A member aggrieved as to a point touching his fellowship with other churches, and unreasonably refused a mutual council	525
Have (irregularly) been called in other methods	526
(3) <i>Kinds of Councils</i> —Advisory, Mutual, Ex-parte	527
(4) <i>How regularly called?</i>	527
(5) <i>Place of meeting</i>	530
(6) <i>Membership</i>	531
Pastors sit not ex-officio, but as being sent	531
Number of delegates originally variable	532
Now usual to send but one with the pastor	533
Rightly no "honorary" or "corresponding" members	534
Incongruous to call other than Congregational churches	534
Acting pastor may represent a church when specifically asked to do so in the Letter-missive, not otherwise	535
Council no right to increase itself	535
Members, on occasion, may retire	536
Irregular for a church to sit on its own council	537
(7) <i>Quorum</i> , a majority of all having right of membership	537
One man alone acting as a council (1697)	538
Importance of strictness in the matter	539
(8) <i>Forming the Council</i>	539
Moderator best chosen by ballot	540
(9) <i>Business</i> , must be rigidly held to the Letter-missive	541
An <i>obiter dictum</i> an impertinence	541
No good reason why counsel should not be employed by parties, when desired	542
Unnecessary to require that such a counsel be a church-member	542
As to testimony, councils properly not so rigid as courts	543
(10) <i>Voting in a Council</i>	543
No evidence that the usual old way was to vote by churches	544
(11) <i>Adjourning for a Purpose</i>	544
(12) <i>Result</i>	545
(a) Has been conditioned upon some future event	545
(b) Councils have declined to come to any result, as feeling it ex- pedient to favor some other method of action	545
(c) Have retired in disgust	545
Authority of the Result measured by its good sense	546
(13) <i>Protest</i> , members have the right	546
(14) <i>Interpretation of Result</i> —must be by the laws of language. Moder- ator has no more authority than any other member to say what it means	547
(15) <i>Dissolution</i> , when its work is done a council should dissolve	547
Cannot keep itself alive in <i>terrorem</i> over the parties	547
2. <i>Ecclesiastical Councils having to do with Fellowship</i>	548
(1) <i>Fellowship of the churches</i>	548
(a) <i>For their recognition</i>	548
(b) <i>Respecting their intercourse</i>	553
(c) <i>Respecting the disfellowship of churches</i>	555
Old "Third Way of Communion"	555
Case at Wenham, Mass. (1719)	555

Case at Salem, Mass. (1733)	557
Case at Hopkinton, Mass. (1735)	561
Why this "Third Way" was not made use of in the Unitarian Controversy	562
Later cases of disfellowship	563
(d) <i>Councils respecting disbandment</i>	565
Process and difficulties in the way	565
(2) <i>Councils having to do with Fellowship in the case of Ministers</i>	567
(a) <i>Ordination of a (so-called) Evangelist</i>	567
Traveling preachers, etc.	569
(b) <i>Settlement of Pastors</i>	569
Earliest way here	569
Councils to advise whom churches should call	570
Called to smoothe the way before a coming pastor	571
Early ordination at Dedham, Mass.	571
At first no sermon	573
Laying on of hands repeated at every ordination	574
Ordination day first a fast, and then a feast	575
Obed Abbott and how he mollified a council	575
A council declining to ordain, in 1696	576
Declining to ordain for doctrinal unsoundness	578
The case of Clark Brown (1798)	578
The Deerfield case (1807)	579
Councils and Councils	580
Ordaining in the face of protest	581
Beginning of the limitations of six months' notice, etc.	581
Unique ordinations	583
Reordination over same church	584
(c) <i>Suspension of Pastors</i> (three instances)	585
(d) <i>Dismissal of Pastors</i>	586
An error that the early New England pastors usually staid during life.	586
Probably forty per cent. dismissed in the first century	586
Pastors dismissed because they were absent	587
Because they were old	588
Because their usefulness had come to an end, etc.	589
Too fond of "the best animals of the male gender"	591
Invited to some other pastorate	591
To a college presidency, a professorship, a secretaryship, or editorial chair	592
Sometimes hardship in dismissal	592
Brattle Square gave £300 to church in Malden	593
Dismissal for heresy, etc.	593
Case of Jonathan Edwards (1750)	594
Pecuniary consideration often advised	595
Councils rarely take the responsibility of dismissing a pastor whose mind is not made up that he ought to go	597
Council to settle a new pastor dismissing the old	597
(e) <i>Deposition of Pastors</i> —process and examples	598
3. <i>Councils called for light</i>	599
Examples of such advice on various points	600
4. <i>Councils called in the interests of peace</i>	606
(1) Difficulties between a church and society	607
Various misfortunes and evils of the Parish system	607
(2) Between churches	608
(3) Other miscellaneous occasions	609
5. <i>Councils called in the interest of purity</i>	612

A council the Congregational method for the ascertainment of purity	612
Conflict of councils during the development of Unitarianism	613
First overt Unitarian act on this side of the sea, King's Chapel (1785)	615
First separation for that cause — at Taunton (1792)	615
First secession of Orthodoxy from an Arian parish, at Plymouth (1801)	615
First pastor dismissed for Orthodoxy (1802)	616
First pastor dismissed for Unitarianism (1805)	616
First Orthodox pastor settled against Unitarian protest (1806)	616
First refusal to ordain a pastor because he was Unitarian (1807)	616
New legal view of Supreme Court of Mass., as to church and parish	617
Case of Jonathan Burr	617
Case of Dr. Codman	618
The Dedham Case	618
Statistics of the conflict	619
Relation of councils to this	619
Our Fathers emphasized the <i>religious side</i> of councils	621
An illustration from real life of what a council can do for peace when the power of God is in it	622
LECTURE XI. CONGREGATIONALISM IN ENGLAND	629-678
Two hostile disciplines for a time contending within the establishment	630
The godliest and most earnest reformers unsatisfied	631
Nothing to be gained by predating English independency	631
What Raleigh said in 1580, etc., must take other explanation	631
The Plumber's Hall company	633
John Robinson's testimony	633
No proof, then, of churches in England having vital connection with modern Congregationalism before 1587	634
Henry Jacob	635
In 1616 organizes a church in Southwark	635
Which, no doubt, afterwards absorbs what was left of Johnson's old company	636
Helwys and Murton, and the first General Baptist church in England	636
Four other Baptist churches in England in 1626	636
First Calvinistic Baptist church in England formed in 1633	637
Separation at first of slow growth in England, and why	638
When Laud became primate he persecuted the Puritans	640
He tries, with poor success, to force Scotland into line with England	642
The covenant	642
Charles II. obliged to summon a Parliament (after eleven years)	642
Which he made the mistake of sending home in three weeks	643
And called again — when it came to stay	643
And to reform	644
Star Chamber and High Commission laid low, etc.	644
Scotch wanted a Synod	645
Puritans petitioned for one	646
First bill prepared, but the king did not sign it	646
Parliament ordered a Synod by its own authority	647
Westminster Assembly convoked	647
Opened in Westminster Abbey (22 June-2 July, 1643)	647
Glance at the situation	648
Puritanism had immensely advanced	648
So had Separatism, especially in and near London	649
Some truth in the charge of its flourishing largely among the fanatical illiterate	649
Specimen of attacks upon those "low Brownists"	649
Congregationalism, also, however, making way higher up	650
Lilburne and Burton	651
What Baxter said	651
Dissent then still mainly Presbyterian	652

Composition of the Assembly	652
Something said about New England's being represented	653
The Assembly in the chapel of Henry VII., and the Jerusalem chamber	654
One of their praying, preaching and fasting days	655
Baillie's testimony about the Independents, and their toleration heresy	656
The work of the Assembly	658
Religious enthusiasm of the army. Independency popular in it	660
Promotion by Cromwell of leading Independents	660
The Triers	661
Sudden and large increase of Independency	661
The Savoy Synod	662
Cromwell's death	662
The Savoy Declaration	663
Turning of the tide of prosperity	663
Puritanism never really had won England	664
How it had lost favor	664
The down hill side	664
The Restoration	665
The reflux wave of Prelacy	666
Reënaction of the Statute of Uniformity	667
Disallowance of all but Episcopal orders	667
The inundation of calamities	667
Bartholomew's Day (1662)	667
The Independents take the worst of the storm	668
The act against conventicles (1664)	669
The Five Mile Act (1665)	670
The Wykecroft record	670
The excommunication of Thomas Larkham, and how he took it	671
The bravery and faithfulness of the Independent ministers in the great plague	671
And their public spirit after the great fire	672
Matters began to mend with the Toleration Act of the first year of William III.	672
Since then Independency and Liberalism have advanced <i>pari passu</i>	672
And disestablishment must be the end	672
Present statistics of English Congregationalism	673
Remarkable similarity in many points to our own	673
Internal polity of English Congregationalism	673
They make no use of councils	673
Orthodoxy of their <i>Declaration of Faith</i> (1833)	674
That symbol might not now be accepted in full	675
Considerable divergence, yet English Congregationalism essentially Orthodox	676
Grand achievements of English Congregationalism	676
Americans may well be proud to be of one order of church life with its present noble workers	677
LECTURE XII. THINGS MORE CLEARLY SEEN	681-716
In the light of what has been in these pages recovered from the past, certain things may more clearly be seen, viz. :	681
1. <i>The Survey taken may help us to do justice to our Fathers</i>	681
Common to talk penitentially of them	681
We have too much judged them by our age, rather than theirs	682
Our ex-slaves have not leaped at once to the highest places of the earth; why should a different law apply to our ill-placed fathers.	682
We must know their religious, and perhaps still more their intellectual and social, status, to do them justice	683
Glance then at the state of England in those respects at the beginning of the 17th century	683
Remember also the superstition of that time	686

Notably as to witchcraft	686
Consider also the general hard-heartedness of those days, especially as illustrated in the case of A. Leighton	688
And in hanging the remains of Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton	690
We might as well, then, blame our fathers for not using the repeating rifle, the fast mail train, and the telephone	691.
2. <i>The Golden Age of Congregationalism not in its Past</i>	692
Natural to think the former days as better than these	692
Exact history always pricking these bubbles of fancy	692
Thomas Becket	692
Philip of Pokanoket	693
Congregationalism began its modern life under extraordinary difficulties	693
Not many wise men after the flesh, nor mighty, were called	693
Yet we shall not easily be more sincere, or self-sacrificing, than they	694
Congregationalism cannot have its golden age until — with other benign forces — it has made the world ready for it	694
The Millennium will be its golden age	694
3. <i>Essence of a Congregational church in being two things: (1) a Complete Entity; (2) in Sisterly Relations with like Bodies</i>	695
Five underlying philosophies have shaped the processes of churches which have been called Congregational	695
(1) Brownism — the absolute monarchy of Christ, working through the vice-regent democracy of its members	695
(2) Johnsonism, or High-Church Barrowism — lodging all power in the elders	695
(3) Ainsworthism, or Low-Church Barrowism — lodging all power in the elders, in co-ordination with the members	695
(4) Robinsonism, or Broad-Church Barrowism — adding to Ains- worthism the catholic recognition of other churches	695
(5) The modern Congregationalism of John Wise and Nathaniel Em- mons — which is a pure democracy	695
One of these may better meet the needs of the case than others, but either may consist with Congregationalism	696
But, to be Congregational, a church <i>must</i> segregate itself by covenant from all other church entities — yet live in fraternal relations with kindred organisms	696
So doing it will be Congregational, however — so it break not fellow- ship in those acts — it may worship, or order its service	696
4. <i>It is unwise to mix Politics</i>	697
There are essentially but three	697
Congregationalism often alloyed by Presbyterianism	697
But the experiment has always worked badly	698
5. <i>The Enigma of the New England system of Ruling Elders is solved</i>	698
Beginning with our present democratic system, and studying backward, it is insoluble	698
Beginning with the Barrowism developed in the cells of the Fleet prison, and studying forward, it becomes explicable	699
Ruling Elders, by Barrowism, belonged in Congregational churches, because <i>they were those churches</i>	700
But the system included elements essentially incompatible, and conflict nearly always followed	701
6. <i>True relation of Congregationalism to Platforms and Confessions</i>	701
They are scaffoldings to aid in building; not the building itself	702
Our system of gradual growth	702
Any day may develop some new need, as to which it would be un-Con- gregational to decline any new application of old principles which should meet that need — because not down in Cambridge or Bos- ton Platform	702

No such thing as Congregational Statute Law	702
Yet there remains a vital moral force in the formulæ of our fathers	703
7. <i>Our fathers had Preëminence as to Toleration in Matters of Faith</i>	703
Browne first to enunciate the true, and now accepted, doctrine	704
The urgency of the Independents of the Westminster Assembly in that direction significant	704
8. <i>In what the real Security of Congregationalism consists</i>	705
Not a strong government to look at	705
Neither is the solar system	705
Yet the democratic church polity rightly claims preëminence, in that it connects its processes directly with the Divine ordering	706
Compare it, in this, with other systems	706
This is not fond fanaticism	707
That system best which most humbles human pride, and most exalts Divine leadership	708
9. <i>Congregationalism something more than a Polity—comprehending also a Doctrine</i>	708
Brethren A. B. C. and brethren X. and Y. variously object to this	708
But the term "Congregationalist" has a historic, as well as an etymologic sense—like the word "Baptist"	710
The plea that nobody now really believes the entirety of the Savoy Declaration considered	710
The original motive having been the desire for a purer doctrine, no loose dogma can honorably claim recognition as Congregational	711
10. <i>The great Danger of Congregationalism</i>	712
That, untrue to itself, it will hanker after some "stronger government"	712
The "strong" polities driven to the same issue in the end	713
11. <i>The supreme Duty of Congregationalism</i>	713
Preëminently the spiritual polity	714
12. <i>Its sweet and surpassing Encouragement</i>	714
All things drift toward Congregationalism	715
To spiritualize Romanism, or High-Churchism, is to Congregationalize it	715
Happy is that polity for which all agencies, though unconsciously, work	715
Advice of the sainted Leyden pastor	716



LECTURE I.

The Darkness and the Dawn.

Και τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν. *John i: 5.*

—— Often do the spirits
Of great events stride on before the events,
And in to-day already walks to-morrow.

Coleridge, The Death of Wallenstein, Act v. Sc. i.

They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety. *B. Franklin.*

Post Cerebras Lux!



The Darkness and the Dawn.

SINCE the invention of printed books, every movement of thought which has acquired force widely to agitate the public mind, has revealed itself, both from its promoters and opposers, through the press. A complete, chronologically arranged bibliography of the literature of the world, would therefore furnish the most accurate guide to the scope of the discussions, and the quality of the opinions, of the last four hundred years. Should it lack, now and then, some slight connecting link, it would still have the great advantage of freedom from all coloring due to the preconceptions of a single mind, such as the personality of the historian even who is most candid in his intent, seldom fails to inject into his narrative.

It is my purpose, in twelve lectures, to endeavor to develop from the literature out of which it has grown on the one hand, and to which it has given birth on the other, something of the quality and the progressive history of the Congregationalism of the last three centuries; but the narrow limits within which I must necessarily confine myself, will compel me to pay chief attention to certain recondite, neglected or disputed passages, attempting only so much of reference to our literary history as

a denomination of Christians, as may serve to assign rightly to their place those portions to which chief attention will be invited.

A picture without a background would be as ineffective as un-artistic. The natural background of any just picture of modern Congregationalism must be that condition of mind, morals and life, to which the alien system which supplanted the original Congregationalism of the Acts of the Apostles had brought the world, in which the Reformation found, and from which it has partially rescued it. I shall not, then, think it a work of supererogation to attempt, in the outset, to freshen before your minds some just conception of the actual state of things in men's homes and hearts when the sixteenth century of our Christian era dawned upon the world; or — for we must concentrate our thoughts in the utmost possible degree — dawned upon that England of our fathers, which is also ours.

There were there then, it would seem, all together, something less than three millions of people;¹ many fewer than are now living within what is called the outer ring of London itself. London was then relatively a great city, and there were perhaps a dozen considerable towns besides; but the large majority of the population lived afar from towns. The rural territory was portioned out among the chief nobles, who held immediately from the Crown; and who, in addition to their own proper estates, controlled immense domains in a secondary way as lords of the fee, having under them knights and gentlemen owing fealty to them, or, more properly, to the country through them. Under these lords of the manor, in the third rank, came numbers of small freeholders, paying from twenty to forty shillings annual rent, and ready, on demand, for military service. Below these three ranks was the indiscriminate mass of workmen and farm-laborers of both sexes, who, instead of being bestowed in small cottages, each with its own little family as now, slept on the premises and ate at the table of their employer, commonly remaining single until, toward middle life, they could slowly save enough from their scanty wage to set up for themselves in some better way. Lower down, — to use

¹ Prof. Rogers, *Princeton Rev.*, July, 1879, | 17. Mr. Froude makes it more.

the graphic language of an act of Parliament of 1530²—were huge “routes and companyes” of “vagaboundes and beggers,”³ strolling about “in great and excessive nombres, wherby hath insurged and spronge and daily insurgeth and springeth continual theftes, murders and other sondry heynous offences and great enormities to the hygh displeasure of God, the inquieta-tion and damage of the Kynge’s people, and to the meruaylous disturbance of the common weale of this realme;” among whom, curiously enough to our present thought, were members of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, who resorted to this method of eking out their livelihood in such numbers, that the act to which I have referred made distinct provision for the case of such as did this without special authorization under the broad seal of the universities themselves, by ordering such an offender “to be tied to the ende of a carte naked, and be beaten with whippes throughout the same market towne, or other place, tyll his body be blody by reason of such whyppynge,” as was provided in the case of “valiant vagaboundes.”

All this England, urban and rural, was minutely sub-divided into local parishes, each with its own church-edifice; and while in large towns these parishes were sometimes of considerable size, through the land generally they were not such. Simon Fish, in 1531, estimated each parish in England to contain, on an average, ten households,⁴ and Mr. Froude endorses this computation as probably exact for the country districts;⁵ but we must remember that most of these households, by that inclusion of farm laborers to which I have referred, as well as by the laws of nature as then in unresisted force, would be raised to a size not usually now suggested by the word.

Education, in the modern sense of that term, so far as it existed, was confined to a portion of the children of the nobles, gentlemen and gentlemen farmers. Cambridge and Oxford were open to them; the cost was not great; and, if any were too poor to pay their way, rich patrons could be found, or they might ask alms, when duly authorized, as we have seen.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, 22 Henry VIII., ch. 12.
³ Henry VIII. hanged 72,000 robbers, thieves and various vagabonds. *Pictorial History of England*, ii: 907.

⁴ *Supplication of Beggars*, reprinted in Fox’s *Acts and Monuments*, etc. Townsend’s ed. iv: 659.

⁵ *Hist. of Eng.* i: 13.

The degradation of good letters in these their venerable seats had become so great, however, that when Erasmus went to Cambridge in 1498, he complained that while he could do nothing with them in Greek, their ignorance of Latin was such that he could find no man to write out the comedy of *Icaromenippus* which he had composed;⁶ and the ancient historian of Oxford declared that learning was then "so far lost, that those who could but read and write were accounted no small clerks."⁷ The children of the common people possibly in rare instances picked up a few crumbs of knowledge, but it may well be seen that the state of general culture must have been low indeed in 1500, when, nearly half a century later, an act of Parliament made special provision for the case of nobles and peers of the realm who were unable to read their mother tongue!⁸

For weary centuries England had been a Papal country. The innate force of the English character had indeed offered stout resistance to the demoralizing influences of the Romish system, and prevented general subsidence into anything equaling in mournful depths the resulting degradation of some other lands; yet it can only be after we have succeeded, at least in some small degree, in making real to ourselves what, for the mind, and for the heart, and for the life, it must have been to be born and to grow up saturated with the quality of the England of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, that we can be in any degree fairly ready to do justice to the hesitations, the temptations, the struggles, the trials and the triumphs of our spiritual fathers.

I have been able to think of no better way in which to stimulate and guide the difficult attempt to do this, than to endeavor in imagination to group around the experience of an average Englishman of that time, so many well authenticated facts of the period, as I may, without violence to the probabilities

⁶ Ant. à Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of Univ. of Oxford* (1792), i: 636.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Statutes of Realm, I Edward VI.*, chap. 12, (1547), "And be it enacted, etc., that where any the Lorde and Lordes of the Parliament, and pere and peres of the Realme, hauyng

place and voyce in Parliament, shall by virtue of this present acte, of common grace, upon his or their request, or prayer, alledging that he is a lorde or pere of this Realme, and claiming the benefit of this acte, *though he cannot read,*" etc., etc. This, though indirect testimony, is yet conclusive.

of the case. In so doing I expect to fail in the graphic and picturesque elements; but I pledge myself that every step shall at least be planted upon the solid rock of what seems to be unimpeachable testimony.

Let us suppose, then, that with the mid-June roses of the year 1500—the fifteenth of the reign of Henry VII. and nine years before his greater son succeeded to the throne—a man-child is born into some fairly comfortable English home; one neither noble on the one hand, nor absolutely servile on the other—that kind of home where, in the main, the men were born whose lives especially interest us in the history of Fatherland.

Most likely the babe has been in a manner pledged to Rome before its birth in at least two ways: by the pilgrimage of the mother to the shrine of some saint, and the adoration of some relic there, which service, “the accustomed offering being paid,” was believed to rob the inevitable advancing hour of its peril;⁹ and also by special confession to the parish priest, as by law enjoined.¹⁰ The mother has been taught that baptism is essential to salvation. Recalling, we will suppose, with an intensity quickened by the sorrowful experience of previous disappointments, the perils which stand thick around the first months of a young child’s life, she is naturally anxious to have that rite at once performed. But she is told that the two regular annual periods when it may rightly be administered—that is to say, Easter (which this year had occurred on the 19th of April), when the ordinance commemorates the death and resurrection of the Lord, and Whitsuntide (this year on the 7th of June), when it commemorates the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles—are already past.¹¹ Should the babe be brought into evident danger of sudden death, it may, indeed, be baptized “pro causa necessitatis” at any time, but otherwise it will be needful to wait until the 11th of April of the succeeding year; to wait, not without occasional shudders of remembrance

⁹T. Becon, *Reliques of Rome*. Works (1560), iii, fol. clxxxj, reverse.

¹⁰Arch. Edmonds Constitutions (1236), J. Johnson, *Collection of Laws and Canons of the Ch. of Eng.* etc. (Oxford, 1850), ii: 143.

¹¹G. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Offi-*

ciorum, Lib. iv, cap. lxxxii, 3; J. S. Durantus, *De Ritibus Ecclesiæ Catholica*, Lib. i, cap. xix, 24; J. Belet, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, etc., cap. cx. See also W. Lyndwood, *Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliæ*, etc. Lib. iii, tit. 25.

on the mother's part, of cases within her cognizance where some dire accident has suddenly cut short the life of the strongest infant, without so much as a moment of warning, in which to secure for it that water of regeneration on which its eternity depends.

But the rolling months come, by and by, safely round, and the happy father and mother proceed to claim for their little one the blessing waited for. Presenting themselves at the porch of the church, the priest comes out to them, and with a few words of exhortation, asking the child's name (which he exercises the right to change should he regard it as unsuitable);¹² he breathes three times in its face; makes the sign of the cross on its forehead and on its breast to exorcise the evil spirit;¹³ blesses some salt, and puts a little in the child's mouth, saying, "Accipe sal sapientiæ ut propitiatus sit tibi Deus." Entering then the church, and advancing to the font, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer are repeated, and a second exorcism follows after the manner of the first, when the priest spits in his left hand and rubs the child's ears and nostrils with the spittle, saying to the right ear, "Ephphatha;" something else to the nostrils and the left ear. Then the babe, being stripped and turned so that its body shall point east and west, is asked whether it renounces the devil and all his works, to which the godfather, on its behalf, makes affirmative reply. Then the priest, dipping his finger in the vessel holding the chrism, or consecrated oil, marks therewith the sign of the cross between the shoulders, after which, sprinkling or pouring holy water thrice upon the head—sometimes thrice plunging the body in a way to make a cross in the water—he says, "Ego baptizo te: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti."¹⁴ The god-parents are then charged to special care lest the child meet with accident during its first seven years, to teach it the Ave Maria and the Creed, to bring it

¹² *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

¹³ "The priest then commands the wicked spirit to depart out of that child who is still under his dominion, and to make room for the Holy Ghost, whose temple it is going to be made." Glover, *Explanation of the Sacraments*, etc. 15.

¹⁴ It was sometimes allowable to use this formula in English and French, the prescribed words being respectively: "I Christen thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," and: "Je te Baptize au nom du Pere, et du Filz, et du Saint Esperit." *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

"with convenient speede" to confirmation, and to wash their hands before they leave the church;¹⁵ after which, wrapped in its chrysom robe, the service ended, the babe is borne away, having been by this baptizing rescued from the dominion of the prince of this world, and duly initiated into that great company to whom — with proper care on the way — Heaven is pledged, and who alone have the right that their bodies when dead shall rest in consecrated ground.¹⁶

At what precise time this completive rite of confirmation would be administered, depended largely upon the convenience or caprice of the bishop, by whom alone it could be performed. The law of the church, however, which was in force in England down to the Reformation, strictly charged all parish priests frequently to admonish the parents of baptized children, that they carry them to confirmation *as soon as possible after seven days after baptism*.¹⁷ They were to carry them whenever there-after the bishop held an Episcopal visitation within seven miles of their home.¹⁸ And should any such parents fail in the discharge of this duty, they were to be punished by a day's pen-

¹⁵A manuscript Manual in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to a church in the diocese of Winchester, gives this form, as follows: "I comaunde ow godfadre and godmodre, on holy chirche bihalue, that ye chargen the fadur and the modur of this child, that they kepe this child in to the age of seven yere, that hit beo from fier and water, and from alle other mischeues and periles that myten to him byfalle throug miskepinge, and also that ye or they techen his ryte bileue, hure *Pater noster*, and hure *Ave Maria* and hure *Credo*, or do him to beo taugte: and also that ye wasthe your hondes, or ye gon out of chirche: and also that hit beo confermed the next tyme that the byssop cometh to contre: and al this doeth in payne of corsyng." *Bibl. Reg. Ms. 2, A, xxi*, fol. 15.

¹⁶See *Durandus*, Lib. vi, cap. lxxxiii: 1-12; also W. F. Hook, *Church Dictionary*, sub voce, and the *Manuale ad usum Sarum* sub Ritus Baptizandi. *Durandus* also says: "in coemeterio autem Christianorum non nisi Christianus baptizatus sepeliri debet." [*Rationale*, Lib. i, cap. v, 14.] And again: "partus tamen de ventre ipsius extractus mortuus, et non baptizatur extra coemeterium sepeliatur." [*Ibid*, 15.]

¹⁷"Nisi demum post septem dies post baptismum, propter septem dona spiritus sancti, quæ recipiunt in baptismo; nam pro singulis donis decet dies singulos celebrare." *Durandus*, Lib. vi, cap. lxxxiv, 1.

¹⁸The English law as laid down by the Synod of Exeter (A. D. 1287), confirmed in 1308, and 1322, and in force down to the Reformation was this: "Quoniam in baptismo regeneramur ad vitam post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam; eo quod nobis est magna et gravis colluctatio adversus principem tenebrarum; quapropter sacerdotibus parochialibus districte præcipimus, ut parochianos suos sæpius moneant, quatenus parvulos suos, quos prius baptizatos esse constiterit, procurent quam citius poterunt, confirmari. Et, ne ob parentum negligentiam ipsos contingat absque confirmatione diutius remanere; statuimus, ut parvuli infra triennium a tempore ortus sui confirmationis recipiant sacramentum, dum tamen proprii vel alieni episcopi copia habeatur: alioquin parentes extunc qualibet sexta feria in pane et aqua jejunent, donec pueri confirmentur." D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magna Britannia*, etc. ii: 132, 293, 512. See also, in further confirmation of the same, *Durandus*, Lib. vi, cap. lxxxiv.

ance of bread and water."¹⁹ They were directed to provide and carry with them long strips of linen, with which, after the bishop had anointed the child's head with the oil of the holy chrism, it was to be so wrapped up and bandaged about, that the sacred anointing could in no way be unseasonably removed. Originally these bandages were directed to remain untouched for seven days, "by which were represented the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit," but the necessities of the case prevailed to abridge the period and change the symbolism, and three days were declared to be enough, "in memory of the Trinity, or of the rising of our Lord on the third day." On the third day, therefore, after confirmation, the parents were directed to carry the child to the church, where, in the baptistery, the fillets were removed, and, to make sure that their sacredness should never be impaired by degradation to any secular use, were burned; and the child's face was washed by the priest.²⁰ In confirmation the bishop thanked God that he had deigned to regenerate the child by water and the Holy Spirit, and to give it remission of all sin, and then besought Him to endue it with the seven-fold spirit, the sacred Paraclete from heaven: the spirit of wisdom and knowledge; the spirit of prudence and dutifulness; the spirit of counsel and strength; and the spirit of the fear of the Lord. Then dipping his thumb in the chrism, or consecrated mixture of oil and balm, he marked with it the sign of the cross upon the forehead, saying, "*consigno te signo crucis, et confirmo te chrismate salutis. In nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Pax tibi.*" Then he prayed that God would look kindly on the child thus anointed, "sacro-sancto chrismate," and signed with the holy cross; and that the entering Spirit would graciously complete the perfect temple of his glory within the soul. The rubric demanded that the sign of the cross be made eight times during this ceremony, and there were three different impositions of the hands of the bishop;²¹ and as the church never settled — and, strangely, the Bible is silent as to the point — in connection with which of these acts the supernal grace is imparted, it was held that if for

¹⁹ "Extunc patres et matres eorum per unum diem in pane et aqua jejunare cogantur." *Wilkins*, ii: 293.

²⁰ *Lyndwood*, Lib. i, tit. 6.

²¹ *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, Confirmatio Puerorum.

sudden sickness, or any reason, the child were removed after the anointing and before the benediction, there must be at least a conditional repetition of the rite." The theory of the Romish church was that baptism is a rudimental, and confirmation a conclusive transaction, both charged with and conveying supernatural grace; and it taught its votaries that an infant of days, not yet knowing its right hand from its left, by passing through these two ceremonies, in which it had, and could have, no intelligent participation, became translated out of the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God.

So soon as she should be in physical strength for it, the mother would present herself to be "churched." Pausing outside the outer door of the sacred edifice, the priest with his attendants would come out to her, and saying the 121st Psalm (*Levavi oculos meos*) and the 128th (*Beati omnes, qui timent Dominum*) with the *Kyrie Eleyson* and the *Pater Noster*, he would offer, in Latin, this prayer: "O God, who hast delivered this thy servant from the peril of childbirth, and made her devoted to Thy service, grant that after she hath faithfully finished the course of this life she may obtain life and rest eternal, under the wings of Thy mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Then, sprinkling her with holy water, he would lead her by the right hand into the church, saying: "Enter into the temple of God, that thou mayest have eternal life and live forever." The "accustomed offerings" were then in order.

Parents, however devoutly inclined, trained in such a system as these facts indicate, could hardly fail to educate their offspring to a superstition which should treat the gospel as Paul says the heathen treated its Divine Author, changing its incorruptible glory into an image like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things. And it would almost seem that the more devout might be their intent, the more unfortunate must be their influence; because, starting with a radical divergence from the plan of salvation, and all those methods of right spiritual culture which Revelation offers and enjoins, the further the progress they should achieve, the

²² Glover. *Explanation of the Sacraments*, etc., 27.

²³ *Manuale ad usum Sarum*. Ordo ad Purificandum Mulierem, etc.

wider and the more mournful must be the distance by which they would be led astray. While, too, those silent pulsings, gusts and currents of influence which are generated by all the activities of a community in which such things are true, must unite to create a ground-swell, and, as one might say, gulf-stream drift, upon which individual souls, without steam or skill to use the wind against them, would be helplessly swung and swept.

Now, by as much as we can succeed in vividly putting ourselves into such a child's place, by so much shall we find the forces thus suggested conducting him—and the more intelligent and thoughtful he might prove, the broader and deeper would most likely become the fact—toward a condition of practical heathenism, mental dissatisfaction, and spiritual famine, which would be in no manner relieved of its ungodliness by its nominally Christian quality. It was a part of the wonderful—our fathers would not have hesitated to say, devilish—skill with which Rome spun her web to make a net to catch the world, not only that her reticulation provides a strand for every strain, but that she weaves here and there of silk, or twine, or wire, as may best fit the necessity of circumstance.

One of the things which would be likely early to attract the notice and arouse the curiosity of such a child, would be the cross within sight of the cottage door, standing where two ways meet. He would notice that beggars daily choose that place to ask their alms; that funeral processions wending their solemn way toward the church-yard there pause and set down the bier. And he would be told that the cross was to bring people some benefit of the sacred wood on which Jesus died; that the cripple or the pauper frequented that spot, in hope that passers-by might by that symbol be made to think of their need of good deeds, and so their hearts be softened in charity;²⁴ and that the dead rested there, that the company of mourners might be minded to pray for the soul of the departed.²⁵ And this fictitious value of the cross as a symbol would meet him

²⁴ Hence the old simile: "He begged like a cripple at a cross."

²⁵ T. Staveley, *History of the Churches in England; wherein is shewn the Time, Means and Manner of Founding, Building and Endowing of Churches, both Cathedral and Rural,*

with their Furniture and Appendages, London, 1773, 8vo. My references are all to a copy in the British Museum [7816. aa.] which has been enlarged and extended into two volumes quarto, with numerous and valuable MS. and other additions. (Additional MS.) 51.

whichsoever way he turned. Crosses in the graveyard solicited prayers for the dead. The parish church, if not itself cruciform, would have a great cross in its rood-loft, and a little one would perhaps crown the summit of its spire.²⁶ The priest all through the Sunday, or feast-day, or fast-day service, would be making the sign of the cross with his thumb and two fingers, "in honor of the blessed Trinity,"²⁷ while the people not only crossed themselves as they entered, and while within, but crossed themselves to drive away evil spirits whenever and wherever any fit of terror came upon them.²⁸ Boundaries between parishes and estates were marked by stones having crosses cut upon them; and when any man lacked skill to attach his name to any legal paper, some clerk wrote it for him, and he assumed it as his own by marking the sign of the cross against it.²⁹

The child would be sure, with his first consciousness of the notions of those about him, to enter into a bondage of fear with reference to spirits of evil, which he would be taught to conceive of as roaming in malicious throngs invisibly through space, on mischief to men intent. And when he wakes in the middle of the night-tempest, and hears the clangor of the chimes in the church tower, mingling with the crash of the thunder and the howling of the gale, his mother hushes him by saying that the demons which aroused the storm, hearing the bells ring will soon be frightened away, and all be still and safe again.³⁰ He is also taught to cross himself and, if possible, be sprinkled with holy water whenever he is especially terrified by any appearance of evil; for Satan and his minions cannot stand before the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, (add. MS.) 199.

²⁷ *Durandus*, Lib. v, cap. ii, 12. See the most "advanced" Ritualistic explanation in *Lee's Glossary*, under "Cross (the sign of the)."

²⁸ "Signo crucis, se munit, ad effugandam illius virtutem, scilicet quamlibet diaboli versutiam, et potestatem. Valde enim timet signum crucis: Unde Chrysostomus: Ubique dæmones signum crucis viderint, fugiunt, timentes baculum, quo plagam acceperunt." *Durandus*, Lib. v, cap. ii, 9. See also *Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, etc. (1843), 38, and *Appendix D*.

²⁹ *Staveley* (add. MS.) 51. In the original of the solemn "League and Covenant" in the British Museum, there are plenty of instances

of men who could not write their names, but who, abhorring Popery, affixed their "mark" in the shape of the letter T, so as to avoid making a complete and perfect cross.

³⁰ *Durandus*, Lib. i, cap. iv. i. *Beletk*, cap. xxiv. *Staveley* (227) says on some bells was cast the motto:

Laudo Deum verum, Plebem voco,
Congrego clerum,
Defunctos ploro, Pestem fugo,
Festa decoro.

and on others:

Funera plango, Fulgura frango,
Sabbato pango;
Excito lentos, dissipo ventos,
Paco cruentos.

sacred symbol, and the *aqua beata* is a terror to him, and to them.³¹

The great focus of the life of the little hamlet is its parish church; its only edifice of any pretension to public character, or, if the dwelling of the Lord of the manor be excepted, of any special size or comeliness. Yew trees stand around and overshadow it, because, better than those of other English trees, their branches meet the ecclesiastical necessities of Palm-Sunday, and its great ceremonies.³² Awkwardly, sometimes, as regards the direction of the public ways by which it is approached, the building is invariably planted east and west, fronting the sunset. The object of this orientation is that the congregation, as they look toward the altar, shall face the sun-rising, and the reason for it is quaintly thus given in one of the ancient books of the English church: "Lete us thynke that Crist deyed in the Este, and therfore lete us prey besely in to the Est, that we may be of the Nombre that he deyde fore. Also lete us thynke that he shall come oute of the Este to the dome: wherefore lete us praye hertely to hym, and besely, that we maye have Grace of Contrition in our hartes of our Mysdedes, with Shrift and Satisfactyon, that we may stonde that Day on the right honde of our Lord Jesu Cryst, and soo be of the nombre that shall be saved, & come to euerlasting blisse and ioy, and that we maye scape that horryble rebuke, that shall be gyuen to all that shal be dampned, and go to everlastynge peyne."³³

Entering the building by the porch, or *Parvise*, where if anything resembling a school offered itself to his early necessities it would most likely be kept,³⁴ our lad would be struck first, on passing within, by the great Rood upon its loft over the arched passage joining the chancel, or choir,—that is the eastern projection containing the altar—to the body of the house.

³¹ *Durandus*, Lib. v, cap. ii, 11.

³² *Staveley* (add. MS.) 12.

³³ *Durandus* gives eight reasons why churches should front the sun-rising, the seventh of which is: "quia Dominus crucifixus, ad orientem respiciebat, ideo et nos oramus ad eum respicientes: sed et ipse in cælum assumptus, ad orientem sursum ferebatur, et ita ipsum Apostoli adorauerunt: et ita veniet, quemadmodum viderunt eum euntem in cælum: ipsum igitur

expectantes, ad orientem adoramus." [Lib. v, cap. ii, 57.] See also *Durandus*, Lib. i, cap. iii, 4. The extract is from *Liber Festivalis* (1483), 155.

³⁴ *Staveley*, 159. See *Matt. Paris* in Hen. iii, fol. 798, "venditis in *Parviso* libellis," etc. Sometimes the word was applied, as in Thame Church, Oxfordshire, to the little chamber over the church porch. F. G. Lee, *Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*, etc. (1877), sub voce.

Most likely it would be a rude and inartistic, but still to a child effective and affecting statue of Christ hanging upon the cross, with subordinate images of the Virgin, and Saint John, on either side.³⁵ The church would be named after and dedicated especially to some saint; and on the left hand, on the north side of the altar, would be placed his, or her, effigy or picture, the *Imago principalis*,³⁶ ranking locally even before that of the Saviour himself. Possibly, if any wealthy person who had been a resident of the parish, or native there, had felt himself on the approach of death tremulous in regard to the security of his welcome in the other world, and desired to fortify his claims upon Saint Peter by something left behind to the embellishment of the church,³⁷ there may be on the other side an additional image, perhaps representing the Trinity by an old man holding a crucifix between his knees, with a dove upon his breast or at his ear;³⁸ or a gold collar, or trinkets, or a rich robe of lace, might be bequeathed for the beautifying of the other images; which on festival days were often gaily decked out with beads, corals, silver ornaments, jewels and embroidered robes.³⁹

Central to all would be the altar, even in rudest edifices enriched and dignified by at least some effort at adornment, and generally with some picture hanging behind and over it; surely with candles burning all the day-time upon it, as also upon some shelf or table before the *Imago principalis*.⁴⁰ Originally intended to symbolize the blessed fact that Christ is the light of the world,⁴¹ and by the strict law of England still enjoined to be kept a-light for that purpose upon the altars of all churches of the establishment;⁴² this candle-burning, following that law

³⁵ See Cardinal Pole's *Articles of Enquiry* in 1557. *Staveley* (add. MS.) 199.

³⁶ *Staveley*, 126 (add. MS.) 199. *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 27.

³⁷ Archb. Dean left by will, to his church of Canterbury, "my silver image of St. John the Evangelist, weighing 151 oz." (1502.) [E. Hasted, *History of Kent*, iv: 735.] Theobalde Evias of Faversham, Kent, widow, devised, among other things, "her cross of gold, which she wore round her neck," to the shrine of St. Richard in Chichester; her beads of gold to "St. John hys hed in Amyas," and her "ryng of gold with the ruby" to the sepulcher of the three kings of Cologne. *Ibid*, ii: 703.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 190, 191.

³⁹ F. Blomefield, *Hist. Norfolk*, ii: 596, 702; iv: 150, etc.

⁴⁰ Soames, *Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon Times*, etc., 266.

⁴¹ Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce.

⁴² "Such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth (1548). *Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer*, etc. [1 Elizabeth], as endorsed by the present Rubric.

of degradation which our human nature seems to make inseparable from all such ceremonies, had come to be in the common mind associated mainly with some vague impression of propitiation before God, the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints, and so with some slight satisfaction paid for sin.⁴³

The amount of furniture, of one sort and another, deemed indispensable, and by statute demanded, for the decent uses of the Romish worship in every parish church, however small, seems scarcely less marvellous in our eyes, than it sometimes used to seem onerous to those parishioners who were compelled to furnish and pay for the same. We get a distinct list in 1305, from a canon of Archbishop Winchelsey,⁴⁴ enjoining upon all parishes provision of the things undermentioned, to wit: a Legend, an Antiphonarium, a Grail, a Psalter, a Troparium, an Ordinal, a Missal and a Manuale, in the way of service-books for the guidance of priest and people through the wildernesses of Sundays, saints' days, and other occasions of public or private worship; a Cope, a Dalmatic, a Tunic, and a second-best Cope, with Alb, Amyct, Stole, Maniple and Girdle, together with three Surplices and a Rochet, in the way of vestments for the priest and his assistants. Then there were to be made ready for the ordinary requirements of the service, a Chalice; a great Cross for processions; a smaller Cross to be laid upon the body of the dead at funerals; a Censer for incense; a Lantern; a Hand Bell to be rung before the body of the Lord when it was taken out to be carried to the dying; a Pyx or strong cupboard with lock and key — sometimes called a "God-house"⁴⁵ — to hold and guard the wafer Christ when not needed for eucharistic purposes; Candlesticks and Candles; a vessel for the Blessed Water; another, a Chrismatory, for the consecrated

⁴³ John of Gaunt, by will, ordered ten large wax candles to burn about his corpse on his burial day, "in ye name of Gods x. commandments agaynst wh. I have wickedly offended;" as also seven large ones "in memory of ye vii. works of charity" of which he had been negligent, and "the vii. mortal synns;" and, "besydes these, v. large ones in honour of our Saviours v. principall wounds, and for his v. senses" which he had too carelessly used; and also three, "in honour of y^e blessed Trinity" to which he resigned himself for the evils

he had done in the world. *Staveley* (add. MS.) 189.

⁴⁴ J. Johnson, *Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, etc., ii: 318. See also *Staveley*, 183-196; *Durandus*, Lib. iii, passim; *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 27, and *Durandus*, Lib. ii, passim.

⁴⁵ In the eastern angle of the choir at Ludlow, Shropshire, is a closet, anciently called the God-house, where the priests locked up the roods, wafers, etc., having a window strongly barred outward. *Staveley* (add. MS.), 157.

Oil; a Baptismal Font; an Osculatory, or Pax — that is to say, a small tablet of silver, or some less costly material, with suitable ornamentation, to be at the appointed period of service (near its end) kissed by the priest, by him handed to the deacon, kissed by him, and by him passed down to the congregation to be kissed in order by them, in memory and imitation of the primitive kiss of peace; a Bier for the dead, with the *Palla mortuorum*; Bells with ropes — in the steeple, that is — to be tolled at the elevation of the Host; suitable linen and other coverings for the Altar; four towels for washing of hands where needful in the ceremonies; and banners for the processions of the three Rogation Days preceding the festival of the Ascension. Then there were Corporals, or coverings for the Host, Flabella, or fly-flaps for the sacred cup, Phylacteria, or vessels containing the holy relics, besides an Offertorium for collections, the Ambo for reading homilies, Lent veils and garments for the Images, and a Beam-light, or taper kept burning before the Host. I do not venture to think that every one of these was to be found in every, the smallest, parish church in England; but it is clear that they were canonically required to be there, and that Articles of Inquiry were now and then issued to church-wardens through the land, as to whether the law were complied with in every particular, or not. As late as 1557, we find Cardinal Pole⁴⁶ thus demanding whether the churches be sufficiently garnished with all ornaments and books necessary; and whether they have a Rood in the church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the Patron of the said church?

All this the lad finds within the edifice. And when, with boyish curiosity some day, by favor, he climbs the rude stairs conducting to the tower, he discovers that the bells which hang there and whose music he loves, bear, in letters which are a part of their surface, legends which indicate that they have other uses than merely to call the faithful to prayer. One may be inscribed with the name of the patron saint of the church, and the prayer: "Ora pro nobis;"⁴⁷ another perhaps to the Vir-

⁴⁶ *Staveley* (add. MS.) 199.

⁴⁷ St. Butolph's, Cambridge, has four bells inscribed [*Staveley*, i (2)] as follows:

- (1) Sancte Ipoline, ora pro nobis.
- (2) Sancte Andrea, ora pro nobis.
- (3) Sancta Margareta, ora pro nobis.

(4) Nomen Magdalenie, campana gerit melodie.

Norton Church, Norfolk, has three:

- (1) Sancte Johannes, ora pro nobis.
- (2) Sancta Caterina, ora pro nobis.
- (3) O Matris Barbara, pro me Deum exora.

gin Mary: "Protego Virgo pia quos convoco, sancta Maria;"⁴⁸ very likely another to St. Thomas: "Per Thomæ meritis, mere-amur gaudia lucis;"⁴⁹ and still another may bear the general motto:⁵⁰

En ego campana, nunquam de-
nuncio vana ;
Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco,
congrego clerum,
Defunctos plango, vivos voco, ful-
mina frango ;
Vox mea, vox vitæ, voco vos ad
sacra venite ;
Sanctos collaudo, tonitrus fugo,
funera claudio.

As he spells these out, he asks the sexton what it all means, and the old man tells him that he himself is not much of a scholar, but he has always remembered what a priest who was very learned, and who was a great friend of his when both were young, told him one sunny day as they were up there together, how that each bell is hallowed to some saint, and that this writing is a prayer, and that every time the bell sounds it prays that prayer; and that is why they have so many bells, to gain the good of more saintly help; and that is why sometimes when his withering arms are tired he still rings on longer than he thinks he can, so that the village may get the good of it and the fiends be driven away.⁵¹

But I cannot take time for too many of these minutiae. My object will be quite accomplished if I can make you see how, as this young mind expands and stretches forth itself, with some kindling longings towards the true, the beautiful and the good, it will be ever, and everywhere, thrown back upon itself by a freezing formalism, which in no degree, and as to nothing, offers real and comfortable answer to the solitudes of the soul.

On Sundays he listens to a service almost the whole of which is in a language which conveys to him no notion of what is said,

⁴⁸ This is upon a bell in Plumtre, Devon.
Ibid, i, (4.)

⁴⁹ Starston, Norfolk. So at Croxton in the same shire is a bell with this legend: "O Martyr Thoma, pro me Deum exora." *Ibid*, ii, (3, 4.)

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 227.

⁵¹ In old wills money was often left for ringing at funerals, and when the obit, or anniversary was kept, a peal was to be rung. *Stavelley* (add. MS.) 228. See also Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce "Annals," etc.

while those few ideas which, by aid of gesture, sound, or common fame, might filter through to his consciousness, would be as purely pagan as those of any ritual of Athens, or of Hindustan. The Litany, or the *Kyrie Eleison*, while beginning, indeed: "Lord, haue merci on us: Crist, haue merci on us: Crist, heere us," goes on, with all popular impression of equal stress and need, to beseech "Seynt Marie, Hooli moder of God, Hooli virgyn of virgyns," and not only her, but sixty-seven male saints and martyrs, and twenty-three female saints, each by name, besides "alle hooli aungels and archaungels," and "alle ordrys of hooly spiritis," and "alle hooli patriarkis and prophetis," and "all hooli apostlis and euangelistis," and "all hooli disciplis of the lord and innocentis," and "alle hooli martris," and "alle hooli confessouris," and "alle hooli virgyns," and "alle hooli men and wymmen" in general; saying "preie ye for us."

All reaches its climax in the mass. And in this the priest began⁵² by confessing to God and to blessed Mary, and beseeching holy Mary, and all the saints of God, to pray for him. Afterward he "offered a sacrifice" to the Lord, saying — I translate from the Latin — "Accept, O holy Trinity, this oblation which I, an unworthy sinner, offer in thy honor, and in honor of blessed Mary, and of all thy saints." And in the canon of the mass, he characterized the service as⁵⁴ "communicating with, and honoring the memory, especially of the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord and God Jesus Christ; and also of Thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Grisogonus, John and Paul, Cos-

⁵² As this, although usually given in Latin, would possibly be sometimes rendered in English, I have cited these passages in the translation of the Prymer, of date about 1410, which Mr. Maskell has given. *Monumenta Rit. Eccles. Anglicana*, ii: 95.

⁵³ "Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ, etc., precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei, etc., orare pro me." *Ordinarium Missæ, Sarum*. "Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego, indignus peccator, offero in honore tuo, et beatæ Mariæ, et omnium sanctorum tuorum." *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ "Communicantes et memoriam venerantes: Imprimis, gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi; sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, Petri et Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi; Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Grisogoni, Joannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani; et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio." *Canon Missæ, Sarum*.

mas and Damian, and of all Thy saints; by whose merits and prayers do Thou grant that we may in all things be defended with the help of Thy protection." So, further on, having prayed for the dead, he proceeded, striking his breast, to say: ⁵⁵ "let it please Thee to grant us some part and fellowship with Thy holy apostles and martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cæcilia, Anastasia, and all Thy saints." Again he prayed: ⁵⁶ "Deliver us, O Lord, we beseech Thee, from all evils past, present and to come, on the intercession of the blessed and ever glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and of thy blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew, with all saints."

Thus, perpetually, through this sacredest service of the church was the mind dragged down from all uplifting contemplation of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, to be fixed upon creatures imperfect like ourselves, who were thus dignified to something very like an equality of mediation and adoration with Him; while, so far as any teaching was connected with the rite, it was the blasphemy that the priest, by his formulæ, could, and did, change the bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ himself, crucifying Him afresh in every service; the great bells of the church being tolled when the host was elevated,⁵⁷ that, especially on week-days, the people in their houses, and in the fields, might kneel in reverence, and to secure the offered benefits. This central teaching was, however, so muffled in forms and hidden behind ceremonies, that, while it must have been robbed of much of its direct effect, the tendency of what was done became inevitable and inexorable to transform the whole service, to unlearned ears,

⁵⁵ "Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris, cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus: cum Ioanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis." *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ "Libera nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris; et intercedente pro nobis beata et gloriosa

semper virgine Dei genetrice Maria, et beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum omnibus sanctis." *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ "In elevatione corporis Christi ab una parte ad minus pulsantur campanæ, ut populares, qui celebrationi missarum non valent quotidie interesse, ubicunque fuerint sive in agris, sive in domibus, flectant genua, Indulgentias concessas à pluribus episcopis habituri." Archb. Peckham's Constitutions (1279) *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 23; *Johnson*, ii: 273; *Durandus*, Lib. iv, passim.

into a kind of pantomime, than which nothing could well be imagined more repugnant to the simplicity of the faith and practice of the early church. For example, during the celebration of the mass, there were requisite at least eleven assistants to the priest, besides the choir, to wit:⁵⁸ a deacon, a sub-deacon, two *ceroferarii* (or candle-bearers), two *thurifers* (or incense-bearers), at least four boys in surplices, and the acolyte (or sexton, or servant). The priest must say some things on the north side of the altar, and some in front of it; and when the priest stood before the altar, the deacon was to stand immediately behind him on the next step, and the sub-deacon in the same manner on the second step immediately behind the deacon. Whenever the priest turned himself toward the people, they likewise were to turn themselves, and when he genuflected they were to genuflect. And the rubric of Sarum required that during mass the deacon should kiss the priest's hand three times, that the priest should kiss the deacon and sub-deacon once, the book of the Gospels twice, the corporals once, the chalice once, and the altar four times; that he should bow to the host; that he should wash his hands with water three times, and once with wine; that incense should be swung eight times, and that the priest make the sign of the cross fifty-one times. Moreover the consecrative words: "*Hoc est enim corpus meum*" must be pronounced in one breath and utterance, with no pause between.⁵⁹

There would be no preaching, or next to none. In the majority of cases the priest would be too ignorant to preach.⁶⁰ But he might probably make shift in some blundering way to comply with the law which required him four times in a year by himself, or by some other, to expound to the people, in the vulgar tongue, without any fantastical affectation of subtilty, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments of the Decalogue — which, by the way, were only nine, Rome having

⁵⁸ See, for this whole subject, the *Ordinarium et Canon Missæ secundum usum Ecclesiæ Sarum Anglicanæ*; and compare the *Manuale*, and *Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, of which excellent editions have been recently published by the Surtees Society [vols. 59 and 63]. Compare also the *Missale Romanum* of the contemporary period.

⁵⁹ "Et debent ista verba proferri cum uno

spiritu et sub una prolatione, nulla pausatione interposita." Rubric. *Canon Missæ, Sarum*.

⁶⁰ "The ignorance of priests plunges the people into error; and the stupidity of clerks who are commanded to instruct the faithful in the Catholic faith, does rather mislead than teach them." Archb. Peckham's Constitutions (1281), reaffirmed by Archb. Nevil (1466). *Johnson*, ii: 282, 520.

omitted the second, and split the tenth⁶¹—the two precepts of the Gospel, or of love to God and men, the seven works of mercy, the seven capital sins with their progeny, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace.⁶² There would be no Bible. Nobody, not even the priest, had any Bible; only the psalter and the lessons, and these were in Latin. No one had the right to read the Bible, if there were any, on pain of the greater excommunication. And⁶³ there would be no books accessible which could do anything to mend this state of matters, for since the stir about Wyclif and the Lollards, it had been expressly decreed that no book be allowed to be read “composed by John Wyclif, or by any other in his time or since, or hereafter to be composed,” unless it had been first examined and unanimously approved by Cambridge and Oxford, or at least by twelve men chosen by the said universities, or by one of them, and afterwards by the Bishop.⁶⁴ Apparently, all ordinary avenues of light were closed, and the Papal church had had triumphant success in so arranging it that the sun of righteousness could shine upon men from heaven, only through the painted windows of its own devising.

But the Spirit of God worketh where it listeth, and the Lord knoweth everyone that is His. So that even in the midst of these non-conductors the heart of this young Englishman could be touched, his conscience troubled, and his mind made anxious with that great anxiety which has led so many millions, in so many ages and tongues, to ask, “What must I do to be saved?”

In his vague yet sharp discontent, he goes, as every son ought to feel prompted to go, and able to go, first of all to his mother. But she tells him that he was, beyond all possible doubt, duly baptized and properly confirmed; that he has taken his communions regularly, and confessed and had absolution three times each year since he was fourteen years old, and, besides, has

⁶¹ *Johnson*, ii: 427; *Soames*, 310. Newman [*On Development*, London (1845), 434, 435] justifies this.

⁶² *Johnson*, ii: 282, 520; *Lyndwood*, Lib. i, tit. 1.

⁶³ “Statuimus et ordinamus ut nemo deinceps textum aliquem Sacre Scripturæ auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat per viam libri, vel libelli, aut trac-

tatus, nec legatur aliquis hujusmodi liber, libellus, aut tractatus jam noviter tempore dicti Johannis Wickliff, sive citra compositus, aut in posterum componendus in parte vel in toto, publicè vel occultè, sub pœna majoris excommunicationis,” etc. Archb. Arundel's Constitutions. *Lyndwood*, Lib. v, tit. 4; *Johnson*, ii: 466.

⁶⁴ *Johnson*, ii: 465.

been a good boy and a good son ; and is just as sure of heaven as the holy father himself, and she can't imagine why he should be troubled ; and, when he insists that none of these things do comfort him, and that, in point of fact, he *is* troubled, she sends him to the priest. He goes with reluctance, for he knows perfectly well that the priest is seldom sober, besides being of most unsavory character in general ; and he entertains no inward expectation of help from him. He finds him carousing with a lot of traveling monks at the village ale-house ; and what he overhears of their talk so disgusts and repels him, that, without a word, he slinks home across the fields, in greater trouble than ever. And in a still, secluded, shady place he falls prostrate, with a vehement, blind plea to God for help. He does not know that Inspiration has said, but in the depths of his soul he feels, that "vain is the help of man." And lying there, led by a holy instinct, with strong crying and tears, he pours out his whole soul to Him that heareth in secret, and begs for light, for peace, for truth. And when he rises afterward, he goes the rest of his way home, he cannot tell why, with some glimmer of rest afar comforting his soul ; in some way as with a new sense of seeing in his eyes, which discerns at once the formal emptiness of all with which he has hitherto assayed to satisfy himself. What he wants now and henceforth, and what he must have, is more truth from God. If God has spoken to men, where is what he said ? And if Christ died for him, he wants Christ and not a wafer ! Now, self-moved, even with all his ever-increasing repugnance toward the man, he goes to the priest. He asks him for God's word ; is there no way in which he who can read English can read what God says, and all which He has said ; and will he tell him everything that he knows about Christ ? The priest sneers : "What business have you to know how to read," and scolds : "Go, you young upstart, say your *Pater Nosters* and your *Ave Marias* ; that is quite enough for you," and tells him that at his next confession he shall give him heavy extra penance for presuming, with vain curiosity, to meddle with matters with which he has no concern ; that all which it is either needful or proper for him to do and know, is to know and do as he is weekly and daily commanded by the church.

Saddened, but with will strengthened by this repulse, the

young man goes home with the conviction that God must have given men something better than this, and that find out what that may be, he must. He remembers that when he was six years old he heard of the burning of one of the last of the Lollards at Amersham in Buckinghamshire,⁶⁵ and how his only daughter was punished for her sympathy with her father's opinions, by being compelled to kindle the fire which consumed him. It strikes him forcibly that any person who could be willing to be burned for his faith, must live nearer to, and know more about God and Jesus, than any of the sensual and scandalous priests, or monks, whom he has ever seen, and there springs up within him an intense desire, if it may be, to search out that daughter, if she be now alive, and prove whether she may not aid his quest. Secretly—for her sake not less than for his own—he seeks to find her, but in vain. Yet with what one who used to know her, and to whom she sometimes read out of the old manuscript fragment of Wyclif's New Testament, which was the only legacy her father left her, suggests to him, he begins to see a little more clearly, and to feel a clew in his hand which may some day guide his feet into the way of peace.

Thenceforth, while long outwardly conformed to the faith of his father, and obedient to the ceremonies which his mother loves and trusts, it is with an inward repugnance which grows with every service, and an eye daily sharper to detect that desolation and emptiness which are come in to reign where the glory of the Lord should appear in the midst of his temple. A spirit of unbelief in the church, and the priest, and in all that is done by the latter in the name of the former, keeps even pace in his soul with all increase of that direct faith in God, and in Christ, which he begins to venture increasingly to cherish.

And as he watches the ceremonies day after day, they seem to him ever more strange as being ordained of God, and yet ever crowding God out of sight, and thrusting whole wildernesses of rubbish between Him and the soul. He sees the priest first exorcise salt by making three signs of the cross and invok-

⁶⁵ William Tylsworth (A. D. 1506). His daughter's (married) name was Joan Clerk. | See John Fox, *Actes and Monuments*, etc. (Townsend's edition), iv: 123.

ing the living God, and the true God, and the holy God; and then exorcise water by making three more crosses in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and then put the salt into the water in the form of a cross with three more crosses in the name of the Trinity; and then call it Holy Water, and teach that it can drive away unclean spirits and poisonous serpents, and in general protect the living and hal-low the dead.⁶⁶

When the Pax, worn and greasy with the handlings and mouthings of many generations, comes down fresh day after day, and goes the rounds of the faithful as the symbol of peace and charity; he thinks how much easier it is to kiss that, uninviting as it may be, than to feel any real love for the priest who starts it on its way, or for many whom it passes before it comes down to him.⁶⁷

Church-ales⁶⁸ and glutton-masses⁶⁹ especially perplex him, because both end in converting the house of God into the scene of unseemly and sometimes revolting revels. That, when some slight repairs were needed for the building, their cost should be raised by contributions of ale brewed throughout the parish, the inhabitants then all assembling and paying some fixed sum for the privilege of drinking together as much as they could, was bad enough; but that village should vie with village in turning

⁶⁶ "Ut ubicunque fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti nominis tui, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abjiciatur: terrorque venenosi serpentis procul pellatur: et presentia Sancti Spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubique adesse dignetur." Benedictio aquæ, *Manuale ad usum Sarum*.

⁶⁷ The Pax, sometimes called the *Osculatorium*, was a small tablet of wood, ivory or some precious metal, with a handle behind, often ornamented with an *Agnus Dei*, or some little bas-relief of some sacred scene, which was kissed by the priest, and then passed round to be kissed by the faithful during mass. [Lee's *Glossary*, etc., 255, 278.] As to its theory and philosophy, see *Durandus*, Lib. iv, liii, 1; *Durandus*, ii: 54. The denial of the pax to an offender was one of the minor punishments of the church. *Johnson*, ii: 132. See also *Chambers*, 382.

⁶⁸ It is a curious illustration how nothing is new under the sun, that our fathers some-

times raised money for the repair of a church by the profits arising from ale brewed in the parish and contributed for the purpose, which all the inhabitants used to meet and drink, paying so much a head for the privilege—quite after the philosophy of modern church fairs, or festivals. *Staveley* (add. MS. 99), gives citations from parish records like this: "1453, sexto die Maii, from a *Church Ale*, 13s. 4d."

⁶⁹ Glutton-masses were quite akin to church ales. They were sometimes held "in honor of the Virgin" five times a year. The people repaired to church laden with provisions and liquors, and after mass had been hurried through, the church was suddenly converted into a house of feasting; and when village strove with village which should contribute most to such an occasion, it is not strange that drunkenness often, and riot sometimes, ended the scene. *Pictorial Hist. Eng.*, ii: 253, which cites *Wilkins, Concilia*, etc.

their sanctuaries into pot-houses, and a general carousal follow mass five times in the year "in honor of the Virgin Mary," was a riddle which he had neither skill nor heart to solve.

Why the altar-cloths should be so sacred that only priests or deacons could wash them;⁷⁰ and why—for his friend the old sexton could tell him of many of these things of which otherwise he might not have heard—if any one entitled to be buried with religious rites had been buried without them, the body must be dug up and reinterred by a priest wearing an alb and a stole and a maniple, and with holy water, and a cross, and a thurible and incense;⁷¹ and why the priest and his helpers—always provided the parish were able to afford the expense—ought to wear white on Christmas day and the feast of the circumcision, and red on all martyrs' days, and yellow on all feasts of confessors, and violet on the Sunday before Advent, and on all vigils of saints, and green on the feast of the Holy Trinity, and black on the feast of All Souls, and the passover;⁷² and why the altar coverings must usually, but not always, be of the same color with the priest's robes;⁷³ and why the clerks should bow toward the altar so many times in the service, and particularly why there should be an indulgence of one hundred days to all who bowed devoutly every time that the name of Jesus occurred;⁷⁴ and why the priest should select the very wheat from which the wafer-bread for the Lord's Supper was to be made, and why it must be ground separately from all other wheat, and be bolted by a church officer in a white dress, and baked by a deacon wearing gloves, an alb and amice; and why all engaged in the process should repeat Psalms, or say the Litany, before and during the progress of the making, in other respects keeping entire silence, all in the presence of at least one priest, and, if possible, in the sacristy of the church;⁷⁵ and why the Lord should be entreated with three signs of the cross,

⁷⁰ Johnson, ii: 338.

⁷¹ J. Thorpe, ii: 256; J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, etc., 27.

⁷² See Chambers *On the Colours of the Vestments of the Clergy*, etc. Appendix, i; also Durandus, Lib. iii, xviii. See also, *De Coloribus Vestimentorum in Eccl. Exon. Pub. Surtees Soc.*, lxi: 388-390.

⁷³ Chambers, Appendix, xiv.

⁷⁴ "Urban IV. and John XXII. granted indulgences of one hundred days to all who bowed devoutly as often as the name of Jesus Christ was recited in the church. This is also mentioned in the Exeter Consuetudinary and later Sarum books." Chambers, 92.

⁷⁵ Chambers, 230. See Lanfranc, Ab. Ware, and Martene. [*De Antiq. Mon. Rit.*, ii: 8.]

to "sanctify, purify and consecrate" the linen cloth with which the bread was to be covered;⁷⁶ and why it was forbidden to partake of the Eucharist, except from vessels of silver or gold, the consecration being interdicted upon dishes of baser metal;⁷⁷ and why if the bread should accidentally fall to the ground the place which it touched must be scraped and the scrapings burned with fire, and if any drops of the wine thus fell, the priest must lick it up, and then the spot be scraped and the scrapings burned;⁷⁸ and why if there be danger of a fatal result in child-birth, the foot of the child might be baptized (if the head could not be) by the midwife, but the baptismal water must be thrown into the fire, and the vessel containing it burned or given to the church;⁷⁹ and should the child live it must be conditionally rebaptized, thus: "If thou hast been baptized I do not rebaptize thee, but, if thou art not baptized, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;"⁸⁰ and why the chrism, or holy oil and balm, used for anointing in baptism and confirmation and extreme unction, should be consecrated annually with great formality on Maundy Thursday, and why if any were left over from the last year it must be burned;⁸¹ and why the laity were instructed that it was unnecessary for them to take the sacrament of the cup, inasmuch as "both the body and blood of our Lord is given to them at once under the form of bread;" and why Archbishop Peckham's statute should direct them "not overmuch to grind the sacrament with their teeth, but to swallow it entirely after they have a little chewed it, lest it should happen that some small particles stick between the teeth or somewhere else;"⁸² and why, while most persons wanted to be buried with their heads toward the west and their feet towards the east, in order that they may rise with their faces toward the Lord, it was considered an indication of extraordinary humility and self-abasement to be buried north and south;⁸³ and why the common people should so much

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 271.

⁷⁷ "Præcipimus, ne consecratur Eucharistia nisi in calice de auro vel argento; et ne stanneum calicem aliquis episcopus amodò benedicat, interdicimus." *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 23.

⁷⁸ *Chambers*, 301.

⁷⁹ *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

⁸⁰ *Johnson*, ii : 261; *Lyndwood*, Lib. iii, tit. 24.

⁸¹ *Johnson*, ii : 263.

⁸² *Ibid*, ii : 274.

⁸³ *Staveley* (add. MS.) 3. J. Weever, [*Ancient Funerall Monuments*, etc. (ed. 1631), 30] mentions the finding, in 1619, at Newport-Pagnell, of the body of a man whose bones had been filled with lead, buried N. and S.

prefer to be buried on the south side of the church, that it was difficult to prevent other portions of the churchyard from becoming actually disused;⁸⁴—all these were questions not only which he could not answer, but to which it increasingly seemed to him no man could give reasonable answer.

And when, at last, he is grown capable of mature and original thinking, and, in one way and another, has imbibed enough of that spirit of dissent which somehow always manages to infect the air even under the rigidest ecclesiastical rule, to guide his scattered notions toward some clear conclusions, he finds four great thoughts every day weighing more heavily upon his spirit; thoughts giving birth not merely to distrust and dislike, but steadily growing toward absolute loathing and detestation.

1. In the first place, he is annoyed by the perpetual interference of the church with all the ordinary goings-on of life. On more than one quarter of the secular days of the year it forbade all persons over twelve years of age to taste food until three o'clock in the afternoon, besides prohibiting all to eat on the eves of most festival days.⁸⁵ On the other hand it set aside nearly one half of the year, on various pretexts, as festival time.⁸⁶ And when it is remembered that on all these "holy days" the people were compelled to attend church, under severe penalties,⁸⁷ it will be seen how great was the tax put thus upon the industry of the land; and when one thinks how a large portion of so many feast-days would be likely to be spent, one is quite ready to appreciate the strong language with which, in 1536, Henry VIII. spoke out upon it: "Forasmoch as the nombre of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet dayly more and more by mens devocyon, yea rather supersticyon, was like

⁸⁴ This preference arose from the idea that, seeing their graves every day as they passed by them into church—the principal entrance being on the south side—their friends would be reminded to pray for the repose of their souls. At Hawstead, in Suffolk, Sir John Cullum undertook to break down this custom, and provided by will that at his own death he should be buried under the step of the disused north door of the Hawstead church. *Staveley* (add. MS.) 5.

⁸⁵ Hook, *Church Dict.*, sub voce "Fasts."

⁸⁶ The *Missale secundum usum Sarum*, if I have rightly counted, has special festival services provided, as follows: For days in January, 14; in February, 10; in March, 8; in April, 7; in May, 11; in June, 19; in July, 21; in August, 20; in September, 15; in October, 15; in November, 18; and in December, 10; in all, 163. See also Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 257.

⁸⁷ *Wilkins*, ii: 145.

further to encrease, that the same was and sholde be not onely prejudiciall to the common weale by reason that it is occasion as well of moche sloth and ydleness, the very nourishe of theves, vacaboundes, and of dyvers other unthriftnesse and inconvenyences, as of decaye of good mysteryes and artes, utyle and necessary for the common welthe, and losse of mans fode many tymes, beyng clene destroyed through the superstitious observance of the said holy dayes, in not taking th' oportunitie of good and serene wheather, offered upon the same in time of harvest; but also pernicious to the soules of many men, whiche being entysed by the lycencyous vacacyon and lybertye of those holy dayes, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excesse, ryote, and superfluitie than upon any other dayes."⁸⁸

The hand of the church, through its laws, and through the priest was, moreover, laid heavily upon men's affairs in other ways. No marriage could be contracted except at certain times in the year,⁸⁹ nor without bans thrice published in the church, nor between persons unknown to the priest, nor except publicly in the church, nor unless the priest were satisfied as to the dowry;⁹⁰ and no married persons could take any long journey without the mutual consent of both before the priest. In the marriage service the sign of the cross was made nine times, besides the twenty-eight crossings in the regular canon of the mass which was then said. The wedding ring had to be blessed with a prayer, and sprinkled with holy water. The early part of the service to the giving of the ring, must be outside of the church, after which they must enter and approach the altar. Then incense was burned, and the *pallium*, held by four priests, extended over their heads. On the following night the priest blessed the marriage bed, exorcising it "ab omnibus phantasmaticis dæmonum illusionibus." The sign of the cross was made four times, and the bed and the bridal pair were sprinkled with holy water, before the priest retired, "et dimittat eos in pace."⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, iii: 823.

⁸⁹ *Johnson*, ii: 91. See also Ordo ad fac. spons. *Manuale ad usum Sarum*: "Certis temporibus fieri prohibetur, videlicet: ab adventu Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad octavam Paschæ, et a Dominica ante Ascensionem Domini, usque

ad octavam Pentecostæ," etc. See the reason given for this in *Durandus*, Lib. i: ix, 7.

⁹⁰ "Interroget sacerdos dotem mulieris," etc. *Missale ad usum Sarum*. *Durandus*, Lib. i: ix, 7.

⁹¹ *Durandus*, Lib. i: ix; and *Missale ad usum Sarum*.

No corpse could be carried away from home for burial; and, if such burial took place, the body was required to be exhumed and returned to its own parish cemetery for final interment.⁹² And the philosophy of these regulations comes out in the fact that on all occasions of special service, such as marriage and funeral rites, the churching of women, and so on — to use the phrase of the law — “God in the person of His ministers was to be honored with the oblations of His people;” and if any practiced, or even ventured to counsel otherwise, such “sons of malediction” were to be excommunicated.⁹³ If a man did not come to church on Sundays and holy-days, the priest would doom him; if he came, and, in the opinion of the same functionary, misbehaved himself while there, he would be doomed as well.⁹⁴ Moreover, the priest kept his eye upon any of his people whom he had reason to think were well-off in worldly goods, as they began apparently to approach the last of life, and if he saw symptoms of a disposition on their part to dispose of their property largely beforehand, so that there might be little left after they were gone from which the church could claim her share; he at once interposed with threats of excommunication.⁹⁵ There was a canon of 1378 that any person guilty of thus defrauding the church, should be denied Christian burial, and it ended, “let them often be told of this.”⁹⁶ The “mortuary,” or money to be paid after a man was dead from his estate to the priest, grew to be called, familiarly, “the principal legacy.”⁹⁷ By a canon of 1367, if a man dying left three cattle, the second-best became the property of the church where he had received the sacraments while alive, “as a recompense for the withdrawing his tithes, as well personal as predial, as also of his oblations for the delivery of his own soul.”⁹⁸ If his widow followed him speedily to the grave, this payment sufficed for her as well, but if she survived a twelve-month, her estate must pay a like mortuary on pain of being “forced with ecclesiasticall censures.”⁹⁹

⁹² *Johnson*, ii: 23.

⁹³ *Ibid*, ii: 351.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, ii: 432.

⁹⁵ “Such donation or alienation shall be deemed to be done through malice, or fraud, no farther proof being required.” Archb. Stratford’s Const. *Johnson*, ii: 393.

⁹⁶ Const. Archb. Sudbury. *Ibid*, ii: 444.

⁹⁷ Const. Archb. Gray. *Ibid*, ii: 179, 181.

It would seem that the mortuary was at first a voluntary offering bequeathed by will, but gradually grew to be a custom and then a law.

⁹⁸ Const. Archb. Langham. *Ibid*, ii: 437.

⁹⁹ *Lyndwood*, i: 3; *Ibid*, ii: 438.

And, in general, it was laid down that, as to this, the local custom of the church was to be followed, even if, as sometimes, it comprehended the third part of the entire estate of the dead.¹⁰⁰ More than this, the church not only demanded this large proportion of the property of all men, but claimed a right of supervision over the whole of that property. To make all sure, the physician was commanded, on pain of anathema, to "effectually persuade" sick persons to send immediately for the priest;¹⁰¹ and men were expressly forbidden to make their wills except in presence of the parish priest;¹⁰² and those wills had afterward to be proved and made effectual before the Bishop's court; and if a man died without making a will, the same court assumed the disposition of what he left behind him.¹⁰³ So that there was ground for the bitter taunt of Erasmus, when, moved by the sight of so many demands of "holy church" upon each of its dying members, he exclaimed: "Tot vultures ad unum cadaver!"¹⁰⁴

2. Then, secondly, the low quality of all which is prescribed for salvation, stirs the conscience within him with a sense of impertinent inefficiency. The one great dogma which includes all others is, that obedience, implicit, absolute and entire, to the church, is religion.¹⁰⁵ This does not carry his conviction in the general, but when it comes to be subdivided into innumerable petty precepts, it makes itself in them repugnant to his common sense. Yet if difficulties are raised, the only response is an anathema upon the wickedness of unbelief.

Four sorts of obedience are enjoined upon him, if he would have everlasting life. First, and chiefly, the full and reverent performance of all the regular rites of the church. These included baptism and confirmation when an infant, and ever after arrival at maturity constant and compliant attendance

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Johnson*, ii: 127.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, ii: 141.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, ii: 203.

¹⁰⁴ *Familiarium Colloquiorum, Funus* (ed. 1543), 538. This whole Colloquy is aimed at these disgusting Romanist practices, and contains many hard hits at them.

¹⁰⁵ "The religion of the people was made to consist entirely in obedience to the church.

An unhesitating willingness to submit to the creed and commandments of the church, in all cases whatsoever, passed for true piety; and as every effort to advance the real spiritual good of the individual was of course regarded with suspicion by the hierarchy, very little was done for the religious instruction and excitement of the community." Gieseler, *Text Book, Eccles. History*, 3d Period, div. v, chap. 4, sec. 145.

upon the church service for Sundays and holy-days, and, as much as might be, at daily mass, with exact obedience to every priestly command and suggestion. Second, confession with absolution, with fasting and partaking of the Eucharist three times in the year, to wit, at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas. Third — if one wanted to do more — special care to keep saints' days, and to visit their shrines. And, fourth — if this were not enough — pilgrimages and the adoration of relics.

All these seem to him to be essentially superficial. He feels within himself that he might pay all these dues to the uttermost farthing, and be a bad man still. Nay, he cannot smother the suspicion that he knows men who carry all this even to an excess of strictness, whose lives prove that they are bad, notwithstanding all,—even all the worse for the hypocrisy of this pretence of goodness. There is nothing in all this which, by any divine necessity, takes hold of the soul to change that from darkness to light. All are rather seeming and subterfuge.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, there is much in it which is intrinsically so unreasonable, and even absurd, as to throw doubt upon the good faith of the whole. That it should lift the soul nearer heaven to journey to Canterbury, as Erasmus did, and kiss the sacred rust on the spear-head with which Thomas Becket was slain,¹⁰⁷ or to send a priest to Rome to sing masses there a year in five principal churches,¹⁰⁸ would not be a self-evident proposition; but around the whole subject of relics, to a shrewd Englishman—even if a peasant—of that day, we may well believe would gleam glimmerings of stupendous and impudent imposture. He might not even suspect, what so soon after became matter of demonstration, that Saint Matthew had one body at Padua, another at Rome, and a third at Thiers, besides a supplementary head and arm elsewhere; that the Virgin Mary's girdle

¹⁰⁶ Johnson, ii: 427.

¹⁰⁷ R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus, his Life and Character*, i: 234. See also *Fam. Coll., Peregrinatio*, etc., 456.

¹⁰⁸ In 1509, £14 was left to a priest to continue a year at Rome (including going and coming) to sing at five places there—St. Peter's, Scala Celi, St. Sebastian's, St. John Lateran's and St. Gregory's—for the repose of the soul of the testator. [Staveley (add.

MS.) 49.] Erasmus, too, represents George Balearicus as providing in his will that his elder son was, immediately after his father's funeral, to hasten to Rome, and there obtain by Papal dispensation to be made a priest before his time, to the end that: "totum annum singulis diebus sacrificaret in templo Vaticano pro anima patris, et sacros gradus in Laterano singulo quoque Veneris die genibus perpetaret." *Fam. Coll., Funus*, 544.

was shewn at eleven places in England, and her milk in eight; that there were in that favored country two or three heads of St. Ursula, Malchus's ear, the spear-head which pierced Christ's side, a piece of the beam of his manger, several fragments of his cross, and thorns from his crown; the coals which roasted St. Lawrence, and many of the stones with which Stephen was martyred, and some of his bones and blood;¹⁰⁹ but when he should be told that if he would go to Westminster Abbey and worship its entire collection of relics,¹¹⁰ he could have indulgence for fifteen years and eighty-eight days, besides *a share in all the good done in that Monastery and nineteen other Cathedral churches*,¹¹¹ I am afraid he might scarcely estimate the value of the latter portion as worth the trouble of earning. And when he should be reminded that in Bromholme Abbey, Norfolk, was a cross which "had rayseed up unto life xxxix deade persons, restored to theyr eye-sight xix blind men, and wrought manye other notable miracles,"¹¹² I cannot help thinking that he would be apt to say, as Thomas Becon did of St. Peter's crozier, esteemed as a great relic at Paris, and at two other places, as well: "It is truly to be thought that none of them al haue it, for in S. Peter's tyme there were no such beble-bables;"¹¹³ and he would be quite ready to see it proven, as it was proven toward the middle of the century, that, at Hales in Gloucestershire, where the monks pretended to show the blood of Christ in a glass tube, they really had the blood of a duck renewed weekly, and had contrived the tube with one side so thick that nothing could be visible through it, and the other side thin; and so — the pretence being that a man in mortal sin could not see the blood — when with the thick side they had frightened a sinner enough, and made him pay satisfactorily, they would slip the thin side round, and ease his mind!¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Lord Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* (ed. 1719), ii: 213; T. Becon, *Reliques of Rome*, Works (1560), iii: clxxxix.

¹¹⁰ J. Dart, *History of St. Peter's Westminster* (1742), i: 35-38, has several folio pages of inventory of these relics. In the Cotton MS. there is a list of relics in the cathedral at Canterbury, which takes up more than eight folio pages. He who wishes to familiarize himself with the subject and its literature, will be instructed by carefully reading John Gough

Nichol's *Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham, and Saint Thomas of Canterbury*; which is a translation of Erasmus's Colloquy, *Perigrinatio Religionis Ergo*, edited with a great amount of antiquarian and other illustrative matter. Westminster, 1849. 16mo., xxiii, 248.

¹¹¹ Dart, i: 46.

¹¹² Becon, iii: fol. clxxxj.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, lxxxix.

¹¹⁴ Lord Herbert, ii: 213.

Most provocative of unbelief would perhaps be those pretended miracles wrought by shrines and relics. We have the best opportunity to examine such in the case of those ascribed to Thomas Becket of Canterbury, hundreds of which have been described, with all their minute particulars, in the Chronicles of the monks William, and Benedict. Their range was wonderful, from the restoration of lost eyes and limbs,¹¹⁵ and the raising of the dead,¹¹⁶ to the recovery of missing animals,¹¹⁷ the resuscitation of a gander,¹¹⁸ and the transformation of vermin into pearls.¹¹⁹ Of course, Becket's blood possessed miraculous power, and, lest the supply should fail, the experiment was tried of mixing it with water, and modern Homœopaths would have been charmed to see that (while pleasanter to take) in its decillionth dilution it proved to be quite as effectual as in its allopathic state.¹²⁰ Thence began a great traffic in Canterbury water. On one occasion, where ordinary water had been by mistake administered in place of this, the cure followed, because of the receiver's faith!¹²¹

And yet, strange to say, those generations of Englishmen died, as usual, and no rumor of any general betterment of the public health, when the means of it were so easily at hand, has come down to our time. Often, indeed, it was obvious on the spot that no change was wrought in the sufferer; but that was explained as being the fault of himself or of somebody not the saint¹²²—as where a blind boy whose eyes remained sealed was told it was because of sin committed before his birth.¹²³

To make such things as these lauded helps whereon to climb toward the very topmost hights of holiness, must be necessarily, to the last degree, offensive to a healthy robust English conscience.¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ *Miracula S. Thoma, auctore Willelmo Cantuariensi* [as published in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, etc., 1875], i: 156, 420, 422, 424.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 160, 190, 199, 204, 213, etc.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 282.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 359.

¹¹⁹ *Hermann's Corneri Chronicon*. [Eccard, *Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi*, Lips. 1723], ii: 746.

¹²⁰ *Miracula S. Thoma, auctore Benedicto*. [Materials, etc.] ii: 42.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 216; Nichols, *Pilgrimages*, etc., 226.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 67, 109-112.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹²⁴ *Durandus* [Lib. iii: xlii, 8], makes this extraordinary statement: "Creditor tamen præputium [Christi] in Lateranen basilica conservari; licet a quibusdam dicatur, quod illud fuit in Hierusalem delatum ab angelo Carolo magno, qui transtulit illuc, et posuit Aquisgrani honorificè in ecclesia B. Mariæ, sed postea Carolo Caluo positum est in ecclesia, scilicet Saluatoris, apud Crosium: *sed si hoc verum est, mirandum est!*" [The italics are mine.] The most incredulous will find no difficulty in believing the last clause.

3. But further, in the third place, our friend would be oppressed with a conviction of the ill moral quality and influence, both of the clergy and the church. It seems scarcely possible, now, to speak too severely of the ordinary, average, private character of the so-called "religious"—the celibates of the monasteries and convents—of those days in England. Indeed, it is difficult to convey such facts as are needful to any just history, without offence to a modest ear.¹²⁵ There were over three thousand monasteries and chantries, saying nothing about colleges, hospitals and other places where nuns and monks abode, and the land swarmed with them.¹²⁶ In the first year of Henry VII. their morals had become so bad, that a statute was passed providing for the punishment of crime in the "religious" as in other people. But matters grew worse and worse. And after making every due deduction which candor and charity may suggest, the official reports of the commissions appointed by Henry VIII. to examine the facts, remain strong enough to stamp with everlasting infamy a system which had well nigh reduced England to the level of Sodom; and demonstrate that a country which was open to the strollings of these filthy vagrants, lacked security of being a sweet and wholesome country for an honest man to dwell in with his family.

Nor were most of the parish priests much, if any, better. In point of scholarship there had, indeed, been some improvement since Alfred the Great declared that he did not know a single one in the most cultivated part of England who understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother tongue;¹²⁷ but, as late as 1465, we find Archbishop Bouchier describing many of his clergy as persons wholly destitute both of literature and capacity, and as profligate as they were ignorant.¹²⁸ And, still later, an Archbishop of Canterbury preluded a canon designed to do something to correct the evil, with the declaration that "the ignorance of priests plunges the people into error, and the stupidity of clerks who are commanded to instruct the faithful in the Catholic faith, does rather mislead

¹²⁵ Mr. Froude gives some hints, i: 93-103, and the Statute of Henry VII. on the subject, (*Statutes of the Realm, I Henry VII.*, cap. 4) gives more. The Antonelli will-case, going on at Rome as I write, reveals the system to-day.

¹²⁶ J. Speed, *Historie of Great Britain* (ed. 1632), 1026-1028.

¹²⁷ J. Spelman, *Vita Alfred. Append. H.* Hallam, *Med. Ages*, iii: 288.

¹²⁸ D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, etc., iii: 573.

than teach them."¹²⁹ While it would be easy for one who wished to put darker shadows into the picture, to find authentic material for doing so; and that by the testimony not merely of critics from without, but of sorrowing friends from within.¹³⁰ Among the latter it will be instructive to refer to Nicolas de Clamanges, Archdeacon of Bayeux, during the fifteenth century, who with shame and pain described a state of things in France quite akin to that in England; taking for his starting-point that dictum of the Apostle Peter, that it is time for judgment to begin at the house of God. After speaking of the scandal of seeing the parish priests purchasing of their bishops with money the right openly to violate their celibate vows, he goes on to accuse many of them of being disciples of Epicurus rather than of Jesus Christ, of wasting their time in low company drinking and blaspheming; from which low company, he says, they pass to the arms of their courtesans, and from the arms of those courtesans they go up to the holy altars.¹³¹

All this, evil as it must necessarily be, might have been antidoted, at least in part, if the influence of the church itself in its teachings, and through its rites, had been sweet and evâgelic. But these, in point of fact, were so spiritually deleterious, that it is difficult to conceive how a ministry, even of saints and

¹²⁹ *Johnson*, ii: 282, 520.

¹³⁰ Two communications of Bishop Grosseteste to his clergy are worth reading in this connection. One was written about 1244, and grieves over the fact: "habent insuper suas focarias," etc. The other, of date six years later, speaks much more strongly, deploring the popular wickedness: "Tam multiplicia mala, tam gravia, tam deformia, tam fœda, tam flagitiosa, tam facinorosa, tam scelerata, tam sacrilega," arising "ex neglectu rectorum, ex incuria pastorum, et, quod heu flendum est potius quam scribendum, ex exemplo pessimo et pernicio rabida passim et impudenter ubique serpente." In despair of any remedy, he had made up his mind to resign his bishopric, "sed intervenit auctoritas cui non parere nefas censetur, quæ nos ad tempus subtrahit vestræ præsentis, et a concepto salubri proposito nos retardat." [*Roberti Grosseteste, Epis. quondam Lincoln. Epistola*, 317, 440.] In 1530 Tyndale declared that there were 20,000 priests in England who could not translate the Lord's

prayer into English [*Answer to Sir Thomas More*, 75]; and Bishop Hooper found scores of the clergy in Gloucestershire who were unable to tell who was the author of the Lord's Prayer, or where it was to be read. R. Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, 14.

¹³¹ "Là, dans la crapule et l'ivresse, ils crient, vocifèrent, et leurs lèvres souillées blasphèment le nom de Dieu, et des saints. Puis, de ces sales débauches, ils passent dans les bras de leurs courtisanes; et des bras de leurs courtisanes, ils montent aux saints autels." [*De L'Etat corrompu de l'Eglise, par Matthieu Nicolas de Clamanges*, etc. See *Bibliothèque Étrangère d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne et Moderne*, etc., par M. Aignan (1823). Paris, iii: 46.] Among the miscellaneous publications of the Record Commissioners, there is a complaint by the gentlemen and the farmers of Carnarvonshire, accusing the clergy of the systematic seduction of their wives and daughters. [*Froude*, i: 96.] See also Petition of Clergy of Bangor (about 1536). *Ibid.*, iii: 342.

unfallen angels, could have neutralized their demoralizing tendency.

First of all stood certain fundamental errors of theology running through the entire system, even in its best estate, and deadening every throb of its pulse — errors skillfully devised to meet the demands of man's lower nature. The first problem which confronted the church when she began to lose her original Congregational simplicity of form, and evangelical purity of doctrine, and became ambitious to possess the nations, and wear upon her sullied brow the diadem of the world, was how so to adjust her Christianity to the religion and the philosophy which ruled men's minds, as to present the minimum of resistance — not to say of repugnance — to their acceptance. And, laying hold of three principles which are thoroughly grounded in unregenerate human nature, by their suggestion she artfully alloyed her own system so as to allow paganism itself to be baptized, confirmed, and even canonized, without any more surrender of its own essential quality, than the bronze Jupiter passed through if it were re-christened Peter, in the Cathedral at Rome. It is natural to fallen man to shrink from direct approach to a holy God, and hard for him to make real the invisible Mediator; and so she provided him with a priestly mediator whom he could see, competent to absolve him on God's behalf, and with the Virgin Mary and a sky-full of saints, angels and martyrs, whose merits and intercessions come in between the soul and its Maker, to lull all anxiety asleep. It is natural to fallen man to prefer a symbolic and formal, to a spiritual worship; and so she created a system of symbols and forms wonderfully adjusted to the simple natures of the common people on the one hand, and to the highest æsthetic demands of the refined and cultured on the other; so that, with statuary and pictures, and music, and processions, and many-hued vestments, and incense, and genuflections, and the grandeur of cathedral architecture, she can satisfy men gentle or simple, who cannot comfortably sit down upon a hard bench to hear a plain talk about the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, revealed to the soul by faith. It is natural for fallen man to choose to *do* something, rather than to *be* something, in the way of his soul's needs. He prefers his religion

and his business somehow kept in separate packages, that they shall not alloy and spoil each other. And so she tells him: be baptized, be confirmed, confess and be absolved, take your communions regularly, make the sign of the cross, be sprinkled with holy water, do penance, obey the church, and you shall be saved; or, if you chance to get into purgatory you can be gotten out — all doing, and not (necessarily) being, at all!

And this leads to a glance at the demoralizing tendency of the specific methods by which the Romish church in England, in the days of our fathers, carried out this dangerous doctrine. Teaching that the Eucharist is the highest act and mystery of religion, even Jesus Christ ever freshly sacrificed for sin, she yet not only commanded it to be given to all duly offering themselves who were not openly scandalous in their lives,¹³² but urged all to receive it thrice a year, and compelled all to come and take it at least once in the year, on pain of excommunication and the loss of Christian burial;¹³³ so, by solemn canon, making smooth a broad way for the sinner's feet. She instructed her votaries that, upon confession and the injunction of appropriate penance, her priests were clothed in full with God's own power to forgive sins. In the time of our fathers she had become so lenient that absolution at once followed confession, and was not, as aforetime, postponed until penance had been performed — which sometimes became deferred till inclination served, or was left to be worked out in purgatory.¹³⁴ This purgatory was among the novelties unknown to her first thousand years,¹³⁵ invented for the comfort of wicked men and the profit of her treasuries, by which she virtually said to them: eat, drink and be merry, for should you die in sin, there remaineth hope in another world, and by purgatorial discipline, aided by prayers and masses for the dead, you may be purified and raised to

¹³² "Publice et instanter petenti danda est, nisi publicum sit ejus delictum." *Wilkins*, i: 505.

¹³³ *Constit. Archb. Sudbury*. *Johnson*, ii: 444.

¹³⁴ H. Soames, *Latin Church During Anglo-Saxon Times*, 481.

¹³⁵ In Soames's *Bampton Lectures* [307-366] is a mass of evidence to the point that the Anglo-Saxon Church of England knew nothing of the

Purgatorial doctrine of the Council of Trent. Purgatory not only does not appear among the deliverances of the Synod of Clif's Hoe [A.D. 747], but is incompatible with what does there appear. Ælfric obscurely held it three centuries later. It was left for Trent [1544] first to make it an article necessary to salvation. J. A. Baxter, *Church Hist. of England*, 127; *Homilies of Ælfric*, ii: 353; Soames, *Latin Church*, etc., 203.

heaven. In keeping with this she encouraged the living, especially the pleasure-loving and the wealthy, to make provision beforehand for possible future needs, by liberal gifts and bequests¹³⁶ to the priests, and the funds and foundations of the church; for masses to be solemnized daily and monthly and yearly — for “Certeys,”¹³⁷ and “Diriges,”¹³⁸ and “Trentals,”¹³⁹ and “Obiits,”¹⁴⁰ for Chapels and Chuntries,¹⁴¹ where prayers might be forever said for the repose of their souls.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ Sir John Banys of Holme-by-the-Sea, in 1503, left twenty marks [£13. 4s. 4d.] to “bye a sute of vestments of whight damask” for his soul, and to the church eighteen acres of free land, on condition that it should “kepe my certene in the pulpitte every Sunday for John Banys, Roger Banys, my fader, Margaret my mother, and Sir John Lee, perpetually, and, ons in the year, *dirige*.” Blomefield, *Norfolk*, v: 1280.

¹³⁷ A *Certeys* was a phrase employed to describe an arrangement by which special prayer was made for the soul of the deceased, on some fixed date. Alice Carre, Norwich, in 1523, gave her farm to the church “for a *certeyn*” to be kept annually forever for her, and her friends in the Church of St. Stephen, for which the curate was to have 4s. 4d., two children were to have a penny a piece for singing the versicles, and the sexton 12d. for ringing a peal. She gave also her coral beads to the beautifying the image of “Our Lady” on festival days. *Ibid.*, ii: 613.

¹³⁸ A *Dirige* was a service which took its name from the first word of the funeral psalm, *Dirige gressus meos*, whence our word “dirge.”

¹³⁹ A *Trental* was a collection of thirty masses said on thirty consecutive days for the repose of a dead man. The same thing was known in English as a *Months-mind*. Bp. Fleetwood, *Chron. Preciosum* (1707), 133.

¹⁴⁰ An *Obiit* seem to have been an annual service of this same description. In 1474, Dr. Botwright, vicar of Swaffham, ordered his *Obiit* yearly kept, and the church warden were to pay the vicar 5d. and the parish clerk 4d., according to his order on the eve of St. Alpheges in every April, for the service. *Staveley* (add. MS.) pref. 7.

¹⁴¹ A *Chantry* was a chapel built and funded for the express purpose of being used for the constant chanting of masses, for the good estate of the living or the repose of the dead.

Usually each had one or more chantry priests. Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce.

¹⁴² Wealthy persons, especially if they had gained their wealth at the expense of a troubled conscience, used often to devise largely in these directions, and even the most devout sometimes availed of this expedient to add to their spiritual safety. James Goldwell, who died in 1475, Bishop of Norwich, left all balance of his estate after certain legacies, to pay forever three chaplains to spend their time in praying for his soul. [Blomefield, ii: 613.] So, in 1384, William Basset, rector of Hether-set, gave a messuage to the Collegiate Church in Norwich to pay the expenses of daily remembering his soul, and those of Henry and Maud, his parents, in their morning mass forever, each by his or her several name. [*Ibid.*] So, in 1531, W. Keye of Garboldesham, left lands: (1) to be prayed for by convents of “fryers” in three several towns, and by one house of nuns; (2) to an “abil Preest to syngge Divine service for my sowle, and the sowlys of all my good Frenedes, by the space of an hoole yere in St. John Baptists Cherche;” (3) to “find yerely evermore v. Gawdes [tapers] Brennyng before our Lady in the chancel:” (4) to the yerely keeping of his *Obit* day for five years; (6) to a preaching friar at Thetford to “say a sermon yerely evermore, on Tuesday in Estern week, and to syngge messe of Requiem in the church of St. John of Garboldesham, and to the parson and his deputy to say *Dirige*;” (7) to have always “on Monday in Eastern week vi. busheles of malte brewed and iiij. Bushells of whete baken, and ijs. in chese, to the releefe and comfort of the parishioners of Garboldesham, there being at *Dirige* on the said Monday to pray for my sowle, and the sowles of all my good Frenedes, and to the fryer iiij. d. to remember me in his messe.” [*Ibid.*, i: 182.] Quite in keeping with this was a clause in the will of James

But even this was not enough, and so this infallible church, which never changes, developed still another novelty to sanctify wickedness; declaring that she has been intrusted with power from God to remit both the temporal and eternal punishment of sin; both or either, wholly or partially; and so, for money, she granted indulgence of days or months, or years — being the remission during that period of time of the punishment incurred by the transgressor.¹⁴³ After this, whenever money was especially wanted, whether to build a cathedral or to repair a bridge, it was obtained by the sale of indulgences; practically breaking down all barriers against ungodliness, and tempting men to do evil.¹⁴⁴

Cooke of Spore, in 1506: "*Item. I will that myn Executors, as sone as it may come to ther knowledg that I am dede, that they make a Drynkyng for my soul to the value of 6s. 8d. in the church of Spore.*" [*Ibid.*, iii: 443.] And Ethelred Barrowe, by her will, proved in 1513, ordered the maintenance of "a yerely *give-ale* while the world endured," to consist of "a quarter of malt, and vi. bushels of wheat, and victual accordant thereto." E. Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, iv: 353.

¹⁴³ Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce.

¹⁴⁴ I have thought it worth while to copy here from the blackletter original in the British Museum [bound in *Stavelay*, opp. p. 1 of Contents] the following specimen:

"Unto all maner & synguler Christen people beholdynge or berynge these present letters shall come gretynge:

"Our holy fathers xii. Cardynallys of Rome chosen by ye mercy of Almighty God, and by the auctorite of these Appostles Peter and Paule, to all and synguler cristen people of eyther kynde trewely penytent & confessyd, and devoutly gyve to the churche of our lady and seynct George the martyr in Southwerke, protector of this Realme of Englande, anythyng or helpe with any parte of theyr goodes to the Repacions or maynteynyng the servyce of almyghty god done in the same place as in gyvyng any boke, belle, or lyght, or any other churchly ornamentes; they shall haue of eche us Cardinnallys syngulerly aforesayd a C. dayes of pardon.

"Also there is founded in the same parysshe churche aforesayd iii. chauntre preests ppetually to praye in the sayd churche for the Brethren & Systers of the same Fraternite, and for the soules of theym that be departed, and for

all cristen soules. And also iiii. tymes by the yere Placebo and Dirige with xiiii. preests and clerkes, with iii. solemne Masses, one of our Lady, another of seynt George, with a masse of Requiem.

"Moreover our holy Fathers Cardynallys of Rome aforesayd haue graunted the pardons yt followeth to all theym that be Bretherne and Systers of the same Fraternite at euery of the feestis folowyng, that is to say the firste Sonday after the feest of seynt John Baptyst, on the whiche feest the same churche was halowed, xii.C. dayes of p.don.

"Also the feest of saynt Michaelle ye Archangel, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"Also the second Sonday in Lent, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"Also on good Frydaye, the whiche daye Criste sufferyd his passion, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"Also the Tewysday in the Wytsonweeke, xii.C. dayes of pardon.

"And also at euery feest of our Lord [gone] gulerly by hymselfe, from the firste euynsonge to the second euynsonge inclusively, xii.C. dayes of p.don.

"Also my lorde Cardynall & Chancellor of Englande hath gyuen a C. dayes of p.don.

"The sūme of the pardon cōmeth to in the yere. xii.CCCC.xxi. dayes of pardon.

"The sūme of the masses that is sayd and songe within the same Parysshe Churche of seynt George is a M. and xliiii.—God saue the Kynge!"

In 1360, the Bishop of Carlisle granted forty days' indulgence to all who should contribute toward the rebuilding of Salkeld-bridge [*Hist. West.*, ii: 415]. The Pope granted to the Augustinian monks of Kirkby-Belers, Leices-

As the natural result, things came to such a pass that we learn on the authority of an Archbishop of York, that in the latter half of the fifteenth century impudent friars granted indulgences of their own, dispensing with vows, absolving from murders, perjuries and other crimes, compounding felonies, remitting penances, falsely pretending to people that they had delivered their dead friends from purgatory, and neutralizing all civil and ecclesiastical discipline.¹⁴⁵

Another fertile element of practical demoralization was the doctrine that every church was, *ex officio*, a sanctuary for criminals. Durandus traces the custom to Old Testament days, when Joab ran to the horns of the altar;¹⁴⁶ and it has been in our time defended as wise and merciful to give thus in the ruder days of England to innocence a shelter, and crime at least the chance of dispassionate investigation;¹⁴⁷ but the practical effect grew to be that of offering the premium of church privilege to atrocities of every grade. Whatever offender could outrun the officers of justice and first get hold of the ring of the church door, crying out: "Peto pacem Dei, et Ecclesiæ,"¹⁴⁸ was beyond their power, and no civil court could take him thence for trial.¹⁴⁹ The priests were bound by canon law to provide him victuals. He had a range of thirty paces from the church, and forty, if it were a Bishop's church.¹⁵⁰ He had to take an oath to be true and faithful to the Archbishop and the provost, canons and priests; not to bear any weapon; and to make himself useful in ringing the

tershire, a grant of indulgence for the raising of money for repairing and maintaining the church and convent, which Henry VIII. endorsed with the Broad Seal. So the monks went up and down the country gathering contributions and giving indulgences therefor: large sheets of paper with pictures of SS. Paul and Peter at the top, with the Pope's arms on the right, and the King's on the left. One clause was as follows: "If they say one *Pater Noster* with *Ave* for the soules of Sir Roger Beler and Alys his wyfe, Founder & Founders, or any of the Benefactours thereof, they have seven yerres and two hundreth Dayes of pardon, whansomever, or wheresoever they so do." [Staveley, 100.] The University of Oxford said this about indulgences: "Hodie indulgentiarum papalium tam larga, tam prodiga, et tam frequens concessio a plerisque venalis

creditur, sicquod populo quasi contemptibilis jam vilescit; quosdam vero procliviores efficit ad peccandum, et ad opera pœnitentiæ tardiores; et ideo videtur expediens ordinare remedium in præmissis." *Wilkins*, iii: 361.

¹⁴⁵ *Johnson*, ii: 521.

¹⁴⁶ *Rationale*, Lib. i: i, 49.

¹⁴⁷ Baxter, *Church Hist. of Eng.*, 94.

¹⁴⁸ "Cucurrit, et arrepto Ecclesiæ annulo, alta voce exclamavit, dicens: Peto pacem Dei et Ecclesiæ." Rogeri de Houeden, *Annalium* (pars posterior) ed. Lond. 1596, 442.

¹⁴⁹ If he could be gotten away by persuasion, he ran his own risk. Perkin Warbeck took sanctuary at Beaulieu in New Forest, but the King lured him into his possession by the promise of his life. Lord Bacon, *History Henry VII.*, 184.

¹⁵⁰ *Johnson*, ii: 198.

bells and at mass.¹⁵¹ If he were a priest he could remain thus indefinitely. But if he were a layman he must take early opportunity to leave the kingdom, making oath not to return without royal license, after which oath he was to go the nearest road to a seaport and by the first opportunity embark, being deemed still in sanctuary until out of sight of land.¹⁵² At one time it was enjoined upon the clergy, on every Lord's day in the year, to remind the people of the wickedness of violating this sanctuary privilege.¹⁵³ The amount of the influence of this provision for thwarting the ends of justice, even in small towns, must have been something wonderful. The original parchment register of persons thus taking the oath of sanctuary in the church of St. John at Beverley in Yorkshire, is in the library of the British Museum, running from the spring of 1478, some sixty years. As nearly as I could make out from its fading records, it, in that time, was instrumental in shielding from four to five hundred scoundrels of various turpitude from their just deserts.¹⁵⁴

But the clearest demonstration of the deadly moral influence of the Romish church in England is seen in her teaching and dealing with her members when they approached the end of earth; when, faithful to herself, she injected her formulæ almost to bursting with the venom of the reliance upon some other foundation than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. When a man sickened the priest was to be sent for,¹⁵⁵ and if

¹⁵¹ *Harleian MS.*, No. 4292 [reverse of p. 17] contains the form of this oath taken at the church of St. John, Beverley, Yorkshire, thus: "Sir, tak hede on your oth! Ye shal be trew and feythful to my Lord Archbishop of York, lord off this towne, to the pr.vst of the same, to the chanons of this chirch, and all othir minstrs therof. Also ye shal bere gude hert to the baillie and xii governors of this town, to all burges' and comyners of thesame. Also ye shall bere no poynted wapen, daggr, knyfe, ne none other wapen agenst the Kyngs pece. Also ye shalbe redy at all yor power ifther be any debate or stryfe or odr. sothan case of fyre within the town, to help to scess it. Also ye shalbe redy at the obite of Kyng Athelstan, at the Dirige and the Messe at such time as it is done, at the warnyng of the belman of the town, and do your dewte at ryngyng, and for to offer at the messe on the morne. — So help you god, and thies holy Evangelists.

"And then gar hym kysse the Book."

¹⁵² *Johnson*, ii: 198.

¹⁵³ *Constitutio Dom. Othoboni*, tit. 12 (*Lyndwood*); *Johnson*, ii: 229.

¹⁵⁴ *Harleian MS.*, No. 4292. The earliest entry [folio 17, of this beautiful parchment volume] is in the 18th of Edward IV [1478], when William and John Salvan, Esqs., John Heghfeld, gent, with George Waller and John Hunt, took sanctuary after the murder of Henry Hardewyk, 13 April. On the 23d May following, John Boys of Doram obtained sanctuary for the murder of one Baxter, a Cistercian monk. The Bailiff had 2s. 4d. fee for administering the oath, and the clerk got 4d. for making the record.

¹⁵⁵ "When it happens that he is called to a sick man, let him [the physician] first effectually persuade him [the sick man] to call for the physician of the soul, under pain of anathema," etc. *Johnson*, ii: 127.

death seemed approaching the sacrament of extreme unction was to be administered. The priest was directed by rubric to put on his surplice and to carry with him his stole, and, preceded by an assistant ringing an hand-bell "to stir up the devotion of the faithful by its sound," and by another bearing the consecrated oil, he was to carry "the body of the Lord" in a clean box, covered with a very clean linen cloth, with a clean silver or tin dish for giving the washings of his fingers to be drunk after the taking of the Eucharist.¹⁵⁶ Arrived at the bedside of the dying, after an invocation and the chanting of the seventy-first Psalm, with the *Gloria Patri*, the priest prayed, and while his assistants chanted the thirteenth Psalm — the *Gloria Patri* following every Psalm — he dipped his thumb in the oil and marked with it the sign of the cross over each eye, saying — all was, of course, in Latin, but I translate¹⁵⁷ — "By this anointing and His most gracious pity, may God pardon thee whatsoever sin thou hast committed by the sense of sight." Then followed the thirtieth Psalm, and the anointing of the ears, with absolution of all sin due to the sense of hearing.¹⁵⁸ Then the forty-third Psalm, with anointing of the lips, and corresponding absolution from sin due to the sense of taste, and of improper speech.¹⁵⁹ Then was chanted the fifty-fourth Psalm, with anointing of the nostrils, and absolution of all sin proceeding thence.¹⁶⁰ Next followed the seventieth Psalm, with anointing of the inside of the hands, and corresponding absolution.¹⁶¹ Next the eighty-sixth Psalm, during which the priest anointed the back between the loins, if the sick person were a man, the navel, if a woman, with absolution for all sin of improper thoughts and acts of lust.¹⁶² Then the priest washed his hands with salt and water (what remained of the oil being burned, or buried in the churchyard) and pronounced this benediction over the sick: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, let this anointing of oil purify thy soul and body, and defend

¹⁵⁶ Johnson, ii: 139.

¹⁵⁷ "Per istam unctionem, et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Deus quicquid peccasti per visum. Amen." *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, De extrema unctione.

¹⁵⁸ "Per auditum." *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ "Per gustum, et illicita verba." *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ "Per odoratum." *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ "Per tactum." *Ibid.*

¹⁶² "In dorso inter lumbos maris, vel super umbilicum mulieris;" . . . "per illicitas cogitationes, et per ardorem libidinis." *Ibid.*

and fortify thee against the attacks of evil spirits."¹⁶³ After the further chanting of the one hundred and forty-first Psalm, and a Collect, the sick man was directed to confess to the priest any sins occurring to his memory for which he had not already received absolution. He was then asked whether he believed the wafer held up before him to be the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,¹⁶⁴ and when he said "credo" in answer, if he were so sick that vomiting might ensue,¹⁶⁵ or that he could not chew and swallow the wafer, he was to be told that his faith and good intent were sufficient without receiving it.¹⁶⁶ Otherwise the priest put on his stole¹⁶⁷ and gave him the wafer, saying: "Corpus Domini Nostri Jesu Christi custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam, in vitam æternam. Amen."¹⁶⁸ The one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm, with collects and benedictions, with the sign of the cross, concluded the service.¹⁶⁹

To make these things as vivid as we may, let us imagine that the man whose mental and spiritual processes we have sought to outline, and who has now grown to have a clear conviction, with an intense feeling, of the hollowness, heathenism and blasphemy of all this, comes home from a stealthy journey into a neighboring county, where he has at last discovered the retreat of a Lollard, and for the first time had the privilege to read nearly the whole of the New Testament in a manuscript copied from the version of Wyclif; comes home now for the first time able with complete satisfaction to himself to defend the proposition that God abhors these mummeries, and that pure religion and undefiled consists in reconciliation to Him through His crucified Son received by faith, the gift of the Holy Spirit to

¹⁶³ "In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, sit tibi hæc olei unctio, ad purificationem mentis et corporis, et ad munimen et defensionem, contra jacula immundorum spirituum. Amen." *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ "Frater, credis quod sacramentum quod tractatur in altari sub forma panis, est verum corpus et sanguis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi." *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ "Nisi de vomitu, vel alia irreverentia probabiliter timeatur." [*Ibid.*] The rule seems to have been this: "the sacrament should be administered whilst the sick can swallow it, and never to any who are half alive ;

because it must be eaten according to that saying of our Lord's : qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo." *Ælfric's Second Epistle. Soames, 309.*

¹⁶⁶ "Frater, in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides, et bona voluntas ; tantum crede, et manducasti." *Manuale, etc.*

¹⁶⁷ "Sacerdos vero in infirmis communicandis stola induetur." Rubric, *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* I have given the numbering of all these Psalms as they stand in our common version, because that (slightly different) of the rubric would mislead the reader.

penitence and prayer, with a sincere, loving and useful life; comes home to find his mother, having received the last office in the afternoon, dying in the twilight. She knows him, and her glazing eyes lighten toward his, and her stiffening fingers answer a little his loving pressure. "Oh, my mother," with streaming tears, he says, "Oh, my mother, trust in Christ now! Pray to Christ now; not to the Virgin nor the saints! Christ is the only one who can help and bless you now! They are all poor sinners like the rest of us! Oh, trust in Christ alone, now!" But, suddenly, he feels himself rudely thrust aside. The priest and his clergy have come running with all speed,¹⁷⁰ and they take possession of the bedside, that they may say and sing the "*Comendatio animæ in articulo mortis*," while the neighbors pack the room; and, while the passing-bell sounds without, they recite the creed, seven penitential Psalms, and the *Gloria Patri*. Then the priest says three times over, and his assistants repeat as many times: "*Parce Domine, parce famulo tuo quem redimere dignatus es pretioso sanguine tuo: ne in æternum irascaris ei.*" Then followed the litany prescribed for such an hour, in which God the Father of heaven, the Son of God, Redeemer of the world, and the Holy Spirit, the Sacred Trinity, and the Holy God of Saints, who is three and one, were besought to pity "the soul of thy servant." Then holy Mary, sacred mother of God, sacred virgin of virgins, was besought to intercede for the dying woman. Then Saints Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, and all holy angels and archangels; and all holy ranks of blessed spirits; and Saints John the Baptist, and all holy patriarchs and prophets; Saints Peter, and Paul, and Andrew, and Matthew, and Thomas, and James, and John, and Philip, and James, and Bartholomew, and Simon, and Jude, and Matthias, and Mark, and Luke, and Barnabas, and all holy apostles and evangelists; and all holy disciples of the Lord, and innocents; and Saints Stephen, and Linus, and Cletus, and Clemens, and Cornelius, and Lawrence, and Sixtus, and Vicentus, and George, and Fabian, and Sebastian, and Alban, and Edmund, and Blasus, and Dionysius with his company, and Eustachius with his company, and Gervase, and Protasius, and Cosmas, and Damian,

¹⁷⁰ "*Percutiat tabula minute et acriter, et tunc omnes clerici cum summa velocitate accurrant et dicant, etc.*" Rubric, *Manuale usum ad Sarum*.

and John, and Paul, and Crispin, and Crispinian, and all holy martyrs; and Saints Benedict, and Silvester, and Nicolas, and Martin, and Hilary, and Ambrose, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Birinus, and Swithin, and Æthelwold, and Dunstan, and Cuthbert, and Leonard, and Giles, and all holy confessors, and all holy monks and hermits; and Saints Mary Magdalene, and Mary of Egypt,¹⁷¹ and Felicitas, and Perpetua, and Cecilia, and Lucia, and Agatha, and Agnes, and Fides, and Catharine, and Scholastica, and Juliana, and Margaret, and Anastasia, and Petronella, and Edith, and Bridget, and all holy virgins, and all saints, were each entreated: "intercedite pro anima ejus!" And although the next petition implored the Lord by His cross and passion, and by His death and resurrection, to deliver the soul, yet this was so swathed and smothered in the garments of superstition as to rob it of all life and power, it being expressly desired in the name of angels and archangels, and in the name of thrones and dominions and principalities and powers, and of all celestial virtues, and of cherubim and seraphim, and patriarchs and prophets, and apostles and martyrs, and confessors and bishops, and priests and Levites, and all officials of the Church Catholic, and monks and anchorites, and in the name of virgins and faithful widows.

Then the key-note changed again, and God was asked to liberate the soul of his servant as he liberated Enoch and Elijah from ordinary death, and Lot from Sodom and its flames, and Isaac from the hand of his father Abraham, and Moses from Pharoah, and Job from his troubles,¹⁷² and David from the hand of Goliath and the hand of Saul, and Daniel from the lions' den, and the three children from the burning fiery furnace, and Susanna from a false charge,¹⁷³ and Peter and Paul from their bonds.

And after this manner the service went droning on: all in a language which it was entirely possible that not one single person in the room understood; and which it was absolutely certain could carry no idea whatever to the departing soul, even so long as every utterance might remain audible to the enfeebling ear. Alas, that, for millions of our race, the jargon of these

¹⁷¹ "Maria Ægyptiaca." *Ibid.*
¹⁷² "De passionibus suis." *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ "Sicut liberasti Susannam de falso crimine." *Ibid.*

human, if not unknown, names crowding out the "one name," must have been the last consciousness of earth!

It could hardly be that the anguish of such moments should not overcome all thoughts of prudence, and that the son should not, even with violence, break through the cordon of ecclesiastics, that he may appeal once more, before it shall be too late, to her whom his soul loves, with his eager, almost frantic: "None but Christ, mother; oh, none but Christ, now!"

More than suspected before, long disliked and hounded by the priest and his minions, and only tolerated to this time for the double reason of the fidelity of his parents to the church, and his own reticent blamelessness, which made it difficult to lodge a charge against him; the now out-spoken "heretic" would be dragged quick away even from his dead mother's side; while the wake¹⁷⁴ and the funeral service¹⁷⁵ kept up around the corpse, until it was buried out of sight forever, that paganized Christianity or Christianized paganism, which then dominated the entire life of England from the cradle to the grave.

Put in ward, and called to answer; committed by his sudden avowal, and true to his now firm conviction; he would calmly face the fury of his accusers, and boldly state and earnestly defend his faith; and, most likely, remanded for a further hearing, the terror of excommunication would be tried upon him, and the priest, on the Sabbath, at high mass, some one holding up the cross, and a candle, would "by the authority of God the Father omnipotent, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints," excommunicate, anathematize and commend him to the devil; and go on to declare him cursed "in villis, in campis, in viis, in semitis, in domibus, extra domos, et in omnibus aliis locis; stando, jacendo, surgendo, ambulando, currendo, vigi-

¹⁷⁴ "It is a devout custom of the faithful to observe night-watches, in behalf of the dead before their burial, and to do so sometimes in private houses, to the intent that the faithful there meeting together, and watching might devoutly intercede for them with God." [Constit. Archb. Stratford. *Johnson*, ii: 394.] The same authority adds the significant, and not unnatural statement: "These watchings are become rendezvous for adulteries, fornications, thefts and other misdoings," etc. *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ The chief clauses in the prayer of sepulture were: ut animam famuli tui cujus corpori debitum sepulturæ officium persolvimus, in sinum Abrahæ patriarchæ tui jubeas collocari; ut cum dies agnitionis tuæ advenerit, inter sanctos et electos tuos eum resuscitari præcipias. . . . Ut intercedente beata Dei genetrice Maria, cum omnibus sanctis tuis, peccatorum eis largiri digneris indulgentiam, et in novissimo die beatæ resurrectionis lætium," etc. *Missale ad usum Sarum.*

lando, dormiendo, comedendo, bibendo, et aliud opus faciendo, et illum a luminibus et omnibus bonis ecclesiæ sequestramus, et diabolo damnamus; et in pœnis inferni animam ei extinguamus, sicut extinguitur ista candela" — when the candle would be put out, and thrown down, and all the bells be tolled — "nisi resipiscat, et ad satisfactionem veniat."¹⁷⁶

This would exceedingly terrify and grieve his poor old father, but he is himself now beyond being moved by it. It made it unlawful for his nearest friends to come at or converse with him,¹⁷⁷ and his servant, if he had one, must leave him within eight days¹⁷⁸ — all on pain of like usage themselves; and his goods would be confiscate.¹⁷⁹

It would end with the Bishop's prison, perhaps for months without formal trial. Here while awaiting his crown of martyrdom, he would have ample leisure, not without some promptings, to consider the fourth difficulty which troubled him with regard to the church. I have now discussed, in the first place, the interference of that church with men's affairs; in the second place, the low quality of all which she prescribed for men's spiritual needs; and, in the third place, her ill moral character and influence. That difficulty was:

4. Her intolerable tyranny over the human mind. She had one simple principle with regard to this, and one only, — that it was her right to prescribe to men in all respects their faith and conduct, and their duty to obey her behests. They had no right to call in question her authority, to discuss or even to inquire, except to make her intent more clear to their minds.¹⁸⁰ She allowed them no appeal. She could tell them what the Bible said, and meant, and they were to take her word for it. There was to be no Bible in any hand but hers, and when wicked men, like Wyclif, pretended to translate it into

¹⁷⁶ Becon, *Reliques of Rome*, Works iii, fol. cccclxxxiii, verso.

¹⁷⁷ *Johnson*, ii: 313.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, ii: 196.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, ii: 461.

¹⁸⁰ "Let no one presume to dispute of things determined by the church, . . . either publicly or privately; unless it be in order to get the true meaning of them; nor call in question the authority of the said decrees, de-

cretals or constitutions, or the authority of him that made them; or preach contrary to their determination, especially concerning the adoration of the glorious cross, the veneration of the images of saints, or pilgrimages to their places and relics, etc. . . . Let him that asserts, teaches, preaches, or pertinaciously intimates the contrary, incur the penalties of heresy," etc. *Constit. Archb. Arundel*, *Johnson*, ii: 463.

English, she forbade that it be read, "in whole or in part, in public or in private, under pain of the greater excommunication."¹⁸¹ People were to read no book, whatsoever, which she had not first examined and approved.¹⁸² And to make it sure that these awfully severe regulations did not fall into disuse, three men, or more, in every parish were to be kept sworn "on God's holy Gospels" to make diligent inquiry, at least twice in every year, and to report to the Bishop's officers, any "who keep private conventicles, or differ in their life and manners from the generality of the faithful, or who maintain heresies, or errors, or have suspected books written in the vulgar English tongue, or that entertain persons suspected of heresy, or that favor such."¹⁸³ If convicted of heresy, such suspects were delivered over to the secular power to be burned, their property being confiscated.¹⁸⁴ And to make sure that they should be convicted, any person, though himself excommunicate and infamous, might be a legal witness against them; nor could he afterward null his own evidence in such a case by declaring himself foresworn in the same; though if he had first deposed in favor of one accused of heresy, and afterward sworn the contrary, the second oath stood and not the first!¹⁸⁵

Surely no condition of mental slavery could be imagined more comprehensive, and more absolute, than this. And that these bloody statutes meant what they said, and were enforced to the last letter of their horrible injustice, the teeming pages of good old John Fox — patient, candid, honest, and in the main singularly accurate — will hold their own to all coming time, as well against the sneers of modern High-Churchmen, as against the angry denunciations of his contemporary Papists, in abundant and sufficient evidence.

Such was the England into which our religious fathers were born, as it was entering upon the sixteenth century of the Christian era. The Word of God was withdrawn from men. There was no open vision of a Saviour. The man of sin was revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself against

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, ii: 466. *Lyndwood*, Lib. v, tit. 4.

¹⁸² *Johnson*, ii: 465.

¹⁸³ *Constit. Abp. Chicheley. Johnson*, ii: 482.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ii: 474. Only proved personal malice was an allowed exception against a witness in such a case. *De Hæreticis. Lyndwood*, Lib. v, tit. 5.

all that is called God, and against all worship, even to seat himself in the temple of God, and openly declare himself a God; even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness. The Gospel had been degraded into another Gospel, which was not another. Except for a man to trudge wearily obedient his daily tread-mill round of appointed idolatries, led by ecclesiastics whom he felt to be bad in an ecclesiasticism which he could not feel to be good; there was nothing for him but a brief, blind, instinctive and ineffectual struggle for something better he knew not what, swiftly ending in bell, book and candle, and the funeral pyre, or a craven submission, abjuration and absolution, which left his last state worse than the first. It was like trying to breathe in an exhausted receiver. The light that was in the land had become darkness, and how great was that darkness! For many, for that gross and pleasure-loving multitude whose concern was to eat and drink in the days before they should die, this state of things was not grievous; neither could they understand why it need be grievous to any. But to God's elect; to those whose eyes had been anointed that they should see, and whose hearts had been touched that they should feel, it was grievous; it was insupportable.

Yet dawn-streaks had already begun to flush the sky. What needed to be done was somehow to bring men back to the primitive fundamental doctrine that God's Word is the one only fountain and authority of religious belief, and to a deep conviction of sin, and the original practical principle that salvation is from Christ through faith, and not from the church, or from any human arrangements or ceremonies whatsoever. So that, as one of our own late writers has discreetly said: "Whoever, whether in the chair of theology, in the pulpit, through the devotional treatise, or by fostering the study of languages and of history, or in perilous combat with ecclesiastical abuses, drew the minds of men to the Scriptures and to a more spiritual conception of religion, was, in a greater or less measure, a reformer before the Reformation."¹⁸⁶ He might have said: "a Congregationalist

¹⁸⁶ Prof. G. P. Fisher, *The Reformation*, 54. | C. Ullman, *Reformers bef. Reformat'n*, passim.

before Congregationalism." I use the word Congregationalism to designate that system of thought, faith and practice which, starting with the dictum that the conditions of church life are revealed in the Bible, and are to be thence evolved by reverent common sense, assisted, but never controlled by, all other sources of knowledge; interprets that book as teaching the reality and independent competency of the local church, and the duty of fraternity and co-working between such churches; from these two truths — as an ellipse from its foci — symmetrically developing its entire system of principles, privileges and obligations. Loose thinkers may hastily claim that what I name as the fundamental principle of Congregationalism, to wit: that all which the Scriptures reveal as essential to human thinking and living is so, and that nothing is, or can be, thus essential, which they do not reveal, is the corner-stone of Protestantism in general, rather than of our own polity in particular. But no Protestant Episcopalian can deny that there is much in his system due to the traditions of the elders; and no Methodist claims Wesley's Class-meetings, Bishops, General Conferences and waning Itinerancy to be the unmixed growth of Scripture; and every intelligent Presbyterian must be aware that his church Eldership was a contrivance of John Calvin as the best he could do to meet the exigencies in which he found himself in Geneva, and that the proof texts which "the Book" assigns as its authority for the Synods, and the General Assembly, and many other things, fully to justify such use, require an imagination more vivid and creative than that by aid of which the ancients fastened the *Ursa Major* upon the concave sky, by the golden nails of seven or eight glittering stars. But if we throw out, thus, the monarchic and autocratic and aristocratic polities, as having some other foundation than that which is laid in Gospels, Acts and Epistles, what have we left but the democratic, to be the simply Scriptural system. It follows, therefore, that every man along the centuries who has done anything, directly or indirectly, to enthrone the Bible over the faith and piety of the race, has — often building better than he knew — struck a blow for Congregationalism, and should have her grateful remembrance.

Did opportunity serve, it would be a fascinating labor to consider, in detail, all earlier harbingers of the Reformation, and

what, under God, each contributed to the grand result in England. Bishop Grossteste with his simple, bold spirit, his love of the Bible, and his horror of all church abuses; Wyclif, a Puritan of the Puritans before there was a Puritan, disowning and denouncing almost every Papal doctrine, defending men's right to a vernacular Gospel, and giving them one in manuscript, nobly earning a hundred martyrdoms and yet Divinely protected so wonderfully that Fuller could quaintly say:¹⁸⁷ "admirable! that a hare so often hunted with so many packs of dogs, should die at last quietly sitting in his form;" pure and self-sacrificing John Colet, kindling his soul, at Savonarola's torch in that great Florentine's earlier and better days,¹⁸⁸ and turning aside from the brilliant career offered by the Court, to devote himself to imbibing, expounding and imparting the very spirit of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, too early earning the inscription that was laid, with many tears, upon his coffin:¹⁸⁹ "ob vitæ integritatem et divinum concionandi munus, omnium sui temporis fuit charissimus;" the nervous, fun-loving, sceptical, liberal, tender Erasmus, the incarnation of humanism, the apostle of common sense, the most cultivated scholar of his age, and the man who brought the New Testament in its original out of mediæval contempt and oblivion, back to the modern world, and taught it to read the same; Latimer and Ridley, who at a cost of £1. 5s. 2d. to Queen Mary's government,¹⁹⁰ lit "such a candle by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out;"¹⁹¹ Tyndale, simple, earnest, heroic, who embalmed himself in our English Bible in that exquisite grace of language which makes it dear to all who love our vernacular, and who, for this, perhaps, deserves preëminence in this glance at these forerunners of the Reformation;¹⁹² Thomas More, whom Erasmus declared to be the one genius of England,¹⁹³ and who, living in the midst of all the mental bondage and supersti-

¹⁸⁷ *Church History of Britain* (ed. 1845, Oxford), ii: 362.

¹⁸⁸ F. Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers* (1869), 18, 37, 153.

¹⁸⁹ *Ashmolean MSS.*, Oxford, 77-141, a.

¹⁹⁰ Bill of charges for burning Ridley and Latimer, [R. Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, 524.]

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 523.

¹⁹² Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, 485.

¹⁹³ "Whose breast was whiter than snow, to whom in point of genius, England, though the parent of men of distinguished ability, never has produced, and never will produce, any one who bears the slightest resemblance." *Ecclesiastes, sive Concionator Evangelicus. Opera Erasmi* (ed. Basle) v: 642.

tion which I have described, had the vigor to conceive and the boldness to outline an ideal commonwealth, still — will it always be — the creature of imagination alone; a Utopia, where they "counte nothyng so muche against glorie, as glory gotten in warre;"¹⁹⁴ where every child had discreet education,¹⁹⁵ and where it was the fundamental statute that: "it should be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and inuehing against other;"¹⁹⁶ — such men as these would well repay the research demanded to comprehend what was the breadth, and length, and depth and hight of the exact legacy of each to a brighter future!

Luther came very near to the discovery, if not the reproduction, of the primitive Congregational way. Himself a great-hearted man of the people, he was one with them, and did not start back with instinctive repugnance from the very thought of popular government. Three causes appear to have checked his progress in the direction I have indicated; the first, that he was so overwhelmed with a sense of the doctrinal work needed to secure a reformation, that, not having had experience how vital must be the relation between them, he under-estimated the importance of the form assumed by church life; the second, that he reacted from the Anabaptist, and kindred fanaticisms, which might not unnaturally awaken his solicitude as to excessive freedom in religion; and the third, and chiefest, that circumstances — which he interpreted as bringing the behest of God — seemed to point toward ecclesiastical arrangements in which princes should lead, and the people follow and conform. Thus, while both he and Zwingli interpreted the Bible to teach that all ecclesiastical power inheres, under Christ, in the congregation of believers, the matter ended in an organization of Superintendents and Consistories, which gradually became fatally mixed up with the State."¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Sir T. More's *Utopia* [orig. printed in Latin, 1516. Englished by R. Robinson, 1551, and second and revised edition, 1556]. Arber's reprint, 1869, 131.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 93, 94, 103, 106, etc.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁹⁷ G. P. Fisher, *The Reformation*, 488-495. J. C. L. Gieseler [*Text Book of Ch. History*, (H. B. Smith's ed.) iv: 518], gives citations from Luther and Zwingli proving this view.

Calvin started out for his work from a different side of the field, and as the twig was bent the tree inclined. He was never a man of the people. Taken out of his own, to be educated by a noble family, the surroundings of his life exaggerated the natural bent of his mind. Using the term as one of definition, and not of reproach, he was an aristocrat; and the thinness and aridity of his physical nature conjoined with the keenness of his intellect, to dissociate him from the multitude. Moreover, he had not merely a belief in authority, but an appetite for it. Had opportunity offered, and the grace of God permitted, he could have been a despot; nor did he lack much of earning that title, as it was. Approaching the New Testament with such predispositions, and called upon in haste to organize both civil and ecclesiastical government in Geneva, one could hardly expect him to evolve from the Acts of the Apostles the democratic polity.

Where the Word of God is sincerely preached and heard, and the sacraments duly administered, there, he taught, must be the church of God.¹⁹⁸ Such a church included the whole body, both of clergy and laity who were generally of the same faith, and accustomed to meet together as a company and community. That is, all citizens of Christendom were assumed to be Christians until proof to the contrary¹⁹⁹—a condition of affairs as unscriptural, and as really evil, as that existing in England itself; and one which, in connection with the shape assumed by civil affairs in Switzerland—the church dwelling within the State, much as the soul vitalizes the body—resolved church discipline into police control, and *vice versa*. Not concealing his decided preference for an aristocracy as a bet-

¹⁹⁸ *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, Lib. iv, chap. i, sec. 9.

¹⁹⁹ Bungereger puts it thus: "The ideal which Calvin was soon to follow out to its extremest applications, was that of the *Christian state*; Christian in the details, as well as in the general spirit of its laws, and considering itself responsible before God for all the actions of the citizens. Thus understood, the Christian state necessarily becomes the Church-State. It rules as a sovereign faith, which is the foundation of the edifice; it rules as a sovereign all that is to be reared upon that founda-

tion—all without exception, for there is nothing, Christianly speaking, which is not connected with faith, and which has not to be decided by faith. Faith will then occupy in the State, the place which we are all agreed in assigning to it in the individual; the State will force the individual to do in virtue of the common faith, all that the same individual, supposing him to be a true Christian, would do in virtue of his individual faith. Here lies the error. . . . Let neither State nor Church presume to take the place of conscience." F. Bungereger, *Calvin: his Life, his Labors*, etc., 108.

ter form of civil government than monarchy or democracy,²⁰⁰ he naturally chose that for the church, and lodged ecclesiastical authority in a Session of six preachers and twelve elders, to be "the guardian of the ordinances, and especially a tribunal of morals."²⁰¹ He himself confessed that the Eldership was an expedient to which he was driven by stress of circumstances;²⁰² although, as Dr. Davidson says, "after creating it, he naturally enough endeavored to procure Scriptural proof in its favor."²⁰³

I need not detain you even for a moment upon the utterly unsatisfactory nature of the partial readjustment—it hardly amounted to reformation—of ecclesiastical affairs, which had been contemporaneously going on in England, by which, on motion of the much-married Henry VIII., the throne had taken the Pope's place as head of the church, the monasteries been suppressed and the spoils divided, with, otherwise, as little of change as possible. The savage policy of bloody Mary's brief reign had driven many of the best men in England across the German Ocean to Frankfort, Strasburg, Zurich, Emden, Geneva and elsewhere, where they learned all that Calvin could teach them, and where numbers of them were leavened with his views. And thus it came about, most naturally, on their return; feeling acutely the contrast between the decided Protestant and Presbyterian atmosphere which they had left abroad, and the semi-papism "pointed and defiled with infinite superstition,"²⁰⁴ which Mary's brief reign had so enhanced,²⁰⁵ and

²⁰⁰ See *Kampschulte*, i: 419; Fisher, *The Reformation*, 220.

²⁰¹ *Bungener*, 184.

²⁰² "Nunc habemus quaecunque Presbyterorum judicium, et formam disciplinæ qual-em ferebat temporum infirmitas." J. Calvin, *Epis.*, 54.

²⁰³ *Eccles. Pol. New Test.*, 193. Dr. J. P. Wilson, himself an eminent Presbyterian, sums up an elaborate investigation of the subject thus: "a special form of ecclesiastical government was adopted by the Genevise at the Reformation; not because it was found by Scriptural precept or example to have been the original Apostolic scheme; but because the nearest approach to the true one which the peculiar circumstances of the Canton, and the exigencies of the times, would admit. . . . Had Calvin justified the expedient

by the necessity of the case, he would have betrayed his design, and prevented others from the benefit of his example; but he gave ease to his conscience, and plausibility to his conduct, by seeking a defence from the Scriptures." *Monthly Christian Spectator*, vol. x, (1828) 64.

²⁰⁴ *A Brief Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini 1554*, etc. M.D.LXXV. cciii.

²⁰⁵ "It is hardly credible," said Bishop Jewel, writing after a three months' official travel among the churches (2 Nov. 1559), to Peter Martyr, "what a harvest, yea rather what a forest of superstitions [quanta ubique seges, et sylva superstitionum] sprang up during the darkness of the Marian times. We found everywhere votive relics of saints, nails with which the silly people dreamed Christ had

which even Elizabeth preferred for England; that some of these men should seek to arouse in all whom they could influence not merely a zeal for further reformation, but a decided conviction that the government of the church by the Eldership offered the most feasible and Scriptural method for its accomplishment. John Knox had been especially zealous, during his five years' ministry in England, in the reign of Edward VI.²⁰⁶ Calvin's books had not only come speedily into England in their original form,²⁰⁷ but, as early as 1561 — the third year of Elizabeth's reign — an edition of the *Institutes* translated by Thomas Norton had been published in London; while arguments for Presbyterianism by able foreigners, like the "Treatie of the Church" by M. Bertrande de Loque,²⁰⁸ were put into English and industriously circulated; and by 1572 the great Cartwright — greater in impulse and purpose than achievement — had begun the diligent work, in and for which, with others, he did and suffered so much.

It has been usual to consider Hooper the father of Puritanism, because he "scrupled the vestments." Yet it is true that at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth most of the bishops then appointed disfavoured them. Even Jewel was ready, in 1562, to urge, now that the full light had shone forth, that the last traces of error be swept away with the rubbish — "dust and all, as the saying is;" adding "would to God we could manage to do this with the wearing of the linen surplice!"²⁰⁹ He branded the ceremonies of worship as "scenic apparatus;"²¹⁰

been pierced, and I know not how many bits [portiunculas] of the true cross. The number of witches and wizards was immensely increased. The cathedral churches were nothing but dens of robbers, or worse, if anything can be worse." J. Jewel, *Works* (ed. 1848), viii: 128.

²⁰⁶ See P. Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England* (1875), passim.

²⁰⁷ "After the accession of Elizabeth, the *Institutes* of Calvin 'were generally in the hands of the clergy, and might be considered their text-book of theology.'" Fisher, 338, citing Blunt, *Dict. of Doctr. and Histor. Theol.*, sub voce "Calvinism," 105.

²⁰⁸ *A Treatie of the Church, containing a true discourse, to knowe the true Church by, and*

to discerne it from the Romish Church, and all other false assemblies, or counterfet congregations. Written by M. Bertrande de Loque of Dolphinee, and dedicated unto my Lord the Viscount of Turenne. And faithfully translated out of French into English, by T[hos.] W[ilcox]. London, 1581, 16mo, xxxii, 392.

²⁰⁹ "Nunc vero, postquam erupit lux omnis evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utque aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista *ἀνορθωσις* obtinere potuissemus." Letter to Peter Martyr, *Works*, viii: 164.

²¹⁰ "Scenico apparatu." [Letter to Peter Martyr, *Ibid.*, viii: 122.] "Veste scenica." *Ibid.*, viii: 133.

stigmatized them as "fooleries,"²¹¹ and "the relics of the Amorites;"²¹² declared that "the cess-pool would indeed have been emptied to no purpose, if these dregs were suffered to lodge themselves at the bottom;"²¹³ and vowed that neither his voice, nor his labors, should be wanting to extirpate them "even to the deepest roots."²¹⁴

To Thomas Cartwright must clearly be assigned the chiefest place in bringing Puritanism in England to the dignity of a developed system. In 1574, Travers's *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, et Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa Aberrationis, plena e verbo Dei, & dilucida Explicatio*, was printed at Rochelle.²¹⁵ Translated into English and revised by Cartwright, it was in the same year published at Geneva,²¹⁶ and by him made the basis of a practical movement for the introduction of the Presbyterian discipline. In gatherings of ministers who sympathized with that movement, at Warwick, Northampton, Cambridge—where Mr. Cartwright, as Lady Margaret professor of divinity, had won his first laurels as a reformer, and acquired a powerful influence—and elsewhere, more than five hundred divines followed him in subscribing the same.²¹⁷ This "Sacred Discipline," among others, laid down these especial points: that lawful church government can be gathered only from the Holy Scriptures; that there can be but one right church order and form; that in every particular church there ought to be a Presbytery of elders, by whom "all things are directed that belong to the state of their church;" and that all particular churches "ought to obey the opinion of more churches with whom they communicate."²¹⁸

There might be nothing here radically inconsistent with the civil government of England, but in putting it into the power of the Consistory to decide what its religion and its worship shall be, a fatal blow was struck at the Queen's supremacy. Moreover, as a practical matter, it seemed hopeless to undertake any

²¹¹ "Istas ineptias." *Ibid*, viii: 122.

²¹² "Reliquiæ Amorrhæorum." *Ibid*, viii: 134.

²¹³ "Frustra enim exhausta esset sentina, si istas reliquias pateremur in fundo residere." Letter to Jos. Simler. *Works*, viii: 132.

²¹⁴ "Ab imis radicibus." Letter to Peter Martyr, *Ibid*, viii: 134.

²¹⁵ See Strype, *Whitgift*, i: 502; T. Price, *Hist. Prot. Non-Conformity*, i: 363.

²¹⁶ It has been stated that the Vice Chancellor seized nearly the whole impression. It was in part reissued as *A Directory of Church Government*. 4to, pp. 24.

²¹⁷ B. Brook, *Memoir of Cartwright*, 241.

²¹⁸ *A Directory*, etc. (1644), 1-3.

plan of reform which should not provide for her oversight of matters ecclesiastical; which should not, indeed, solicit that reform primarily at her hand, and so adjust its requirements that she might, at the least, consent to tolerate them.

From our point of view some confusion of idea seems thus far to have generally prevailed among these Presbyterian reformers, as to precisely what was the nature of the bond which held the church together, and unified it, as a whole having visibility. By the Geneva pattern, locally, the church of London, for example, would have comprehended all the unexcommunicated inhabitants of London, but in what way, except by sliding back into the vague relation of the great all-embracing church invisible, this church of London, and the church of Canterbury, and the church of York, and all the churches of the kingdom, were to exist as a single organic entity, was not yet made clear; the whole graded system of Synod, Presbytery and General Assembly, not having as yet been evolved from the Acts of the Apostles.²¹⁹ So, further, in what exact manner the civil magistrate was Scripturally to take oversight of this organism, or these organisms, we do not find clearly stated.²²⁰

And, all together, after studying carefully what Cartwright, Travers and Udal left behind them of exposition and of argument²²¹—disregarding all minor practical difficulties,²²² we find steadily and sturdily pushing themselves up through all these

²¹⁹ The Confession of Faith adopted by the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France, at their first National Synod in 1559, provided for a Consistory of pastors and elders in each church, and for Colloquies, Provincial Synods "once or twice a year," and for a National Synod to meet "according to the necessities of the churches." J. Quick, *Synedicon in Gallia Reformati*, i: xxxvii, xli, 3.

²²⁰ This Confession requires honor and reverence unto magistrates, and obedience to the laws "although the magistrates be Infidels; so that the sovereign government of God be preserved entire." *Ibid*, xv.

²²¹ Cartwright had published the *Second Admonition to the Parliament* (1572); the *Replie to Whitgift's Answer* (1573); the *Second Replie* (1575); the *Examination of Whitgift's Censures* (1575); and *The Rest of the Second Replie*, etc. (1577); and Travers, the *Ecclesiastica*

Discipline et Anglicana Ecclesia ab illa aberrationis, plena & verbo Dei & dilucida Explicatio (1574), [in English, same year, as *A Full and Plaine Declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline out of the word of God, and off the Declininge off the Churche off England from the same.*] Udal did not publish his *Demonstration of Discipline*, etc., until 1589.

²²² See many of these suggested and considered by Udal, such as: "It ouerburdeneth the parrishe, to provide for the nourishment of so many church-officers; . . . it bringeth in a newe pope-dome and tyrannie into the church; . . . it is a kinde of Donatisme to chalenge such authoritie ouer Princes; . . . it transformeth the state of the common wealth into a meere popularitie, and will alter the gouernement thereof," etc., etc. *A Demonstration of the Trueth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed*, etc., 66.

men's urgent efforts to adjust, explain and suppress them, these grievous objections to the Presbyterian way, as it was advocated by them to be the agent of the sorely needed further religious reform in England.

1. They looked for it, and waited for it, at the hands of the civil government.

2. They proposed, when achieved, to leave it substantially under civil control.

3. Their theory of the church was as unsuited to any genuine and thorough reform as it was unscriptural in essence, because it included the entire baptized population; trusting to church discipline to raise the general life up to the Gospel level — the identical mistake of the ancient papal system, which, with no difference in this vital respect other than one of name, it was seeking to supplant; and because, although vaguely, it so constituted from within an organic unity between the different local sections, and so bound them together with State bonds from without, that no one portion could lift itself toward a purer development until all other portions were ready to be exalted with it. No single person, company, or locality alone could do anything effectual. On such a basis every effort at fundamental reform would be like trying to free a great water-logged ship, by rigging a pump at the bow, or one at the stern, while the sea is left to flow freely in at a dozen holes, each admitting water to the whole length of hulk faster than the pump can throw it out.

I can hardly doubt that to a philosophical mind of this period — say of the year 1580 — among our fathers; one thoroughly honest and earnest; one sorrowed by a sense of that terrible inertia of conservatism which bound so many of the well-meaning of the nation to its past, because it had been its past; one sickened by that well-nigh universal timidity of respect for the Bishops and the hierarchy, which made it *per se* a sin to find fault with them, or even to think of going whither they were not prepared to lead; one saturated with a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of the sin of matters as they were, to that degree that to rot in prison, or to be burned, or hanged, would seem a very little thing in comparison with the guilt of conscious acquiescence in a condition of affairs so degrading to man and so dis-

pleasing to God; and yet one unconvinced of the Scriptural force, or the practical competency, of any — perhaps, least of all, of the Presbyterian — propositions yet made for relief; three things would commend themselves as of absolute necessity to further, not to say to any general, reformation. The public thought must be directed to some more excellent method; some method more vital with the marrow and fatness of the New Testament on the one hand, and on the other, more obviously competent for the waiting work. This done, the spell of conservatism and the fear of the Bishops must somehow be shattered; setting the people at liberty to walk in this better way. And then, in face of the appalling difficulties that would still remain, believers must somehow be stimulated to such a pitch of heroism as is seldom reached except in times that try men's souls; until they shall be ready at the risk of all to leave all — even life itself — to follow their Lord whithersoever he listeth.

It will be my purpose, in three next succeeding lectures, to endeavor to show how Divine Providence was pleased to supply these needs.



LECTURE II.

Robert Browne and his Co-workers.

God of our fathers, what is man!
 That Thou toward him with hand so various —
 Or might I say contrarious? —
 Temperest Thy providence through his short course;
 Not evenly, as Thou rulest
 The angelic orders and inferior creatures mute,
 Irrational and brute.
 Nor do I name of men the common rout,
 That, wandering loose about,
 Grow up and perish, as the summer-fly,
 Heads without name, no more remembered;
 But such as Thou hast solemnly elected,
 With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
 To some great work, Thy glory,
 And people's safety, which in part they effect.
 Yet toward these thus dignified Thou oft,
 Amidst their highth of noon,
 Changest Thy countenance and Thy hand, with no regard
 Of highest favours past
 From Thee on them, or them to Thee of service.
 Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
 To life obscured, which were a fair dismission;
 But throwest them lower than Thou didst exalt them high,
 Unseemly falls in human eye,
 Too grievous for the trespass or omission!

Milton, Samson Agonistes, 667.

A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
 Fretted the pigmy-body to decay,
 And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.
 Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
 And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel, i: 156.

Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
 Aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto.

Horatii Epistola, I, i: 98.



Robert Browne and his Co-Workers.

IT was not found good for the repute of Oliver Cromwell that it should be left exclusively to royalist remembrancers. Robert Browne has experienced a like misfortune, with the added circumstance, that, having abandoned the polity which he developed, and alienated dissent without regaining the confidence of the establishment, he left few, if any, mourners behind him. Brief mention of his career occurs in many encyclopædias and manuals of church history, wherein the few half-truths and absolute errors of the two or three earliest writers who mentioned him, have been turned over and over, and sometimes amplified, but, although largely incongruous, apparently never sifted; until, in the absence of his own books in testimony of what he was, any just estimate of the man began to seem an impossibility. More than a century and a half has now elapsed since a careful English ecclesiastical writer remarked that the reports concerning him were so various as to make it hard to discern the truth; although he saw attractive wheat grains enough among the chaff to lead him to express the hope, that "in a little time we may have a much more full and certain account of him than we have at present."¹

¹ Jas. Peirce, *Vindication of the Dissenters*, | etc. [1717], 143.

When undertaking—a few years since—some special study of his life, opinions and influence, I knew not where to lay my hand upon any volume from his pen—the sole perfect copy of the only one which the indefatigable Hanbury² announced himself as able, now some forty years ago, to discover in England, having disappeared from public view in the shifting fortunes of a private library. It was even difficult to decide from this mention whether the book were three tracts in one, or one of three. And, coming, at last, into personal possession of that treatise which gives Browne's views of doctrine and church life in their most condensed and logical form, I still found myself in perplexing inability to reconcile different statements made by him, and different judgments in regard to him by contemporaries apparently worthy of trust, in any such manner as to be able to construct a theory of his character and work which should have a coherence and self-consistence to satisfy a reasonable mind. In my last visit to England, however, I was fortunate enough among the treasures of the library at Lambeth Palace³ to discover not only, under books catalogued in his name, the means of settling the question as to the trinity in unity of the treatise aforementioned, but also, among anonymous and unassigned quartos, a little volume, frightfully printed, without title-page, printer's name, place or date,⁴—passages in which I immediately recognized as having been assigned to him by some of his antagonists. On perusal, it proved to be, although not directly so intended, in the nature of a spiritual autobiography, covering the ten most important years of his life, during which his views on church matters were taking shape, and growing firm, and he seems to have been suffering hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ for them. In the light of the revelations therein made, supplemented by the study of his other writings and of contemporaneous history, and on some points especially by manuscripts

² B. Hanbury, *Historical Memorials relating to the Independents*, etc., i: 20.

³ I fancy that not many years have elapsed since the Lambeth Library has been put, as freely as it now is, within reach of the public, and that it is quite possible that Mr. Hanbury and later investigators for that reason failed to avail of its light upon this and other

subjects of the greatest interest to students of Nonconformity.

⁴ *A True and Short Declaration, both of the Gathering and Ioyning Together of Certain Persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell Amongst Them.* 4to, [n. p.] pp. 24. The press mark is 40. 2. 23.

preserved in the British Museum, and elsewhere, from his own pen, and from those of Lord Burghley and others in regard to him, I believe it to be now possible to reach a more just conception and a fairer estimate of this interesting and extraordinary man, than, so far as I am aware, has been attained by any previous investigator. All, indeed, is not yet made clear. There remain some points of importance on which further light would be most acceptable. But if I am not mistaken we have at last a clew through the labyrinth.

A preliminary glance at the chief external features of his life will best prepare us for some general estimate of his character and work.

Robert Browne had his birth at Toilethorpe in Rutlandshire,⁵ just as the sixteenth century was about to pass from its first to its second moiety.⁶ In the English sense of that term, he was born a gentleman. His great-grandfather's great-grandfather John, who had been a wealthy draper and merchant of the staple⁷ in Calais, came over to Stamford, where he was alderman in 1376 and 1377.⁸ His son William, also an alderman, and "a marchant of very wonderful richness,"⁹ founded by will in Stamford a hospital for decayed tradesmen, which still exists bearing his name;¹⁰ and which, near the close of the last century, was pronounced to be "one of the best conducted charities in England."¹¹ John, of the third generation, was an alderman as well,¹² and wealthy and generous enough to build All Saints

⁵ T. Blore, *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, etc. (1813), 93.

⁶ The family genealogy as given by Blore says he died in 1636, aged "about 80." I am not aware that the exact date of his birth has anywhere been settled. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the *Allgemeine Encyc.*, in general, say, without any citation of authority, that he was born in 1550. The arms of this Browne family were: *Sable, three mullets argent; quartering—per bend argent and sable, three mascles bend ways counterchanged—or, on a fesse gules, three crosses patee argent—argent on a bend sable a bezant in chief. Crest, on a wreath argent and sable, a stork's head couped, and the neck nowed, gules between two wings displayed argent.* Blore, 93.

⁷ "Merchants of the Staple"; a title given to

an ancient company of merchants who exported the staple wares of the country." J. O. Halliwell, *Dict. Archaic and Prov. Words*, etc.

⁸ Blore, as before.

⁹ W. Harrod, *Antiquities of Stamford*, etc. [1785], 104.

¹⁰ It is commonly called the Bead-House, fronts the Corn and Hay market, and Harrod gives an engraving of it [65]. See some account of it, as late as 1834 in *History of the County of Lincoln*, ii: 331.

¹¹ Harrod, 371.

¹² Blore, 93. T. Fuller [*Hist. Worthies of England* (ed. 1840), iii: 39], confuses John with his father William, and represents the father as the builder of the Bead House and Church, and as endowing the former with lands worth £400 a year.

Church in Stamford, and present it to the parish.¹³ His son Christopher, who was sheriff of Rutlandshire, removed to Tolethorpe.¹⁴ His son Francis, grandfather of Robert, received, by special charter from Henry VIII., the somewhat extraordinary distinction of being allowed to remain covered in presence of the king, and of all lords spiritual and temporal in the realm.¹⁵ His eldest son and heir Anthony, married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Philip Boteler of Watton Woodhull, and Robert was the third of their seven children.¹⁶

No incident of his early life has been preserved, but he emerges to our view as, at a suitable age, with his next elder brother Philip who was afterwards surveyor of Queen Elizabeth's manors in Lincolnshire,¹⁷ he went, in 1570, to Cambridge and studied there for some years as a member of Corpus Christi (otherwise known as Benet) College. It seems nearly certain that he took his degrees in regular form.¹⁸ He, clearly, soon began to manifest that fiery activity of mind which distinguished at least the earlier portion of his career, and one of the first dates which it seems possible definitely to fix in his history, reveals him in the summer of 1571, not far from his one and twentieth year, as a domestic chaplain of the Duke of Norfolk,¹⁹ and as taking opportunity of that place to disseminate doctrines, which, as they were distasteful to the authorities, were esteemed seditious as well. Cited to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commission-

¹³ It takes one back to the old time in England to find on a brass plate in the church this inscription: "*Orate pro animabus Iohannis Browne, mercatoris stapule Calisia, et Margeria uxoris eius: Qui quidem Ioh. obiit xxvi die mensis Iulii, An. Domini M.CCCCXLII; et que quidem Margeria obiit xxii die Novbris M.CCCCLX: Quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.*" *Hist. Co. Linc.*, ii: 336.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Rees [*Cyc.* sub nomine] and T. Fuller [*Church History of Britain* (Brewer's ed. 1845), v: 65], say this charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament, but I have seen no proof of this assertion. *Notes and Queries* [(3d series) i: 208, 350], mentions a few similar cases, with suggestion of the reason. Fuller [*Worthies*, etc., iii: 50] gives the Latin patent in full, of date 6 July, 1526. The vital clause is: "pileo sit coopertus capite, et non exuat aut deponat pileum suum á capite suo

occasione vel causâ quacuncq; contra voluntatem aut placitum suum."

¹⁶ *Blore*, 93; J. Wright, *Hist. Co. Rutland* (1687), 129.

¹⁷ *Blore*, 93.

¹⁸ R. Masters [*History of the College of Corpus Christi* (1753), 251, 254] refers to him as a student there, and J. Lamb, in his continuation of the same work (1831) cites this record: "*Browne Robt. Rutl. ad. 1570; took B. A. 1572.*" [460.] On the other hand Thos. Fuller, a contemporary, says he "was bred for a time in Cambridge, I conceive in Corpus Christi College; but question whether ever a graduate therein." [*Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 62.] But we shall find occasion to distrust the accuracy of much which Fuller says about him.

¹⁹ J. Strype, *Life of Archbishop Parker*, etc., ii: 68. All my references to Strype will be to the edition of his works in 27 vols. 8vo, issued by the Clarendon Press in Oxford, 1820-23.

ers "to answer such matters as he is to be charged withal," which are not more definitely set down, the Duke took his part, and pleading that the position was a privileged one, abetted him in refusing to answer the citation.²⁰ What censure followed, if any, or how the matter ended, we do not know.

Next we find him teaching "schollers for about the space of three years,"²¹ and there is some evidence that this was in Southwark.²² We hear of him at the same time as "lecturing" more or less to scattered companies who used to gather on Sundays in a gravel-pit in Islington,²³ not indeed without exciting by these proceedings the hostility of the rector, with other premonitory symptoms of the dangers then attending the endeavor in the least degree publicly to exercise free speech in matters of religion.²⁴ The plague breaking out, being sent for by his family, he gave up his school and went home to his father's house — I take it in the autumn of 1578.²⁵

²⁰ See letter of commissioners to the Duke, of date Lambeth, 13 June (1571), given by Strype, as above, ii: 68.

²¹ *True and Short Declaration*, etc. 1.

²² With that provoking neglect to set down minute circumstances which we often have to deplore in writers of the time, Browne himself does not so much as hint where his "schollers" were. But Robert Baillie [*Dissuasive From the Errours of the Time* (1645), 13] distinctly declares, that Browne was "a school-master in Southwark, and then a preacher at Islington near London" before he became a Separatist. So Ephraim Pagitt, in 1645, makes the same statement, designating the Free School of St. Olaves in Southwark as the place; but this is almost surely a confusion with what happened ten years later. [*Heresiography* (ed. 1654), 51.] And J. Hoornbeeck, in 1653, said of Browne, "primum Ludi-magister in Southwarke, dein Verbi Magistri Islingtoni, prope Londinum" [*Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, etc., 620]; but he probably copied Baillie or Pagitt. Stephen Bredwell, who writes as if he had a familiar knowledge of all the circumstances, often refers to Browne's school-mastership at St. Olaves, but as he published in 1588, and his language implies that Browne was still there, and had been there for nearly two years, it is obvious that he testifies nothing in regard to this first period. [*Raising of the Foundations of Brown-*

isme, etc. 134, 135.] Baillie as well as Pagitt, and others, may have confused what took place in 1575-8 with 1586-9; or it may have been for the very reason that Browne had made himself beloved in Southwark as a teacher during these first three years, that he found an election to the Grammar School possible at the later period.

²³ Baillie and Pagitt as above. Lewis [*History and Topography of St. Mary's Parish, Islington* (1843), 114] represents Robert Browne as having been one of the "Lecturers" of that parish for whose support the vestry used to pay; the salary, in 1673, being "paid out of parish land, as formerly." But he cites no record of Browne's name, and it is clearly a conjecture on his part founded on what Baillie and others had said, the absurd improbability of which did not occur to him. In 1580 Recorder Fleetwood reported to the Lord Treasurer that the chief shelters of rogues in and about London are at the Savoy, and "the brick-kilns near Islington." R. Seymour, *Survey of London*, etc. (1735), ii: 326.

²⁴ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2. The plague was very bad in England in 1578. In Norwich alone from 20 Aug., 1578, to 19 Feb., 1579, as many as 4,817 persons died of it; of whom were 10 aldermen, 2,335 English, and 2,482 "strangers" — most of whom, probably, were Dutch. *Blomefield*, iii: 354.

After some stay there, on the subsidence of the pest he went back to the University for further study, and appears to have become, with other young men, for a time a member of the family of the Rev. Richard Greenham, of Dry Drayton, near Cambridge, and a student of theology with him.²⁶ He was allowed by Mr. Greenham to share in the religious exercises of his household, and of his parish, and encouraged by him to preach openly, in the face of his general rule that none ought to do so "without leave and special word from the bishop."²⁷ His discourses proved attractive not merely to such rural congregations as he at first addressed, but also to the more cultivated assemblies in Benet Church under the very shadow of the University itself.²⁸ But that enthusiasm which carried all before him with the people, awakened the solicitude of some of the dignitaries; and Dr. Still, afterwards Master of Trinity, it is stated, "discovered in him something extraordinary, which, he presaged, would prove the disturbance of the church, if not seasonably prevented."²⁹ So acceptable in the general, however, did his doctrine and manner prove, that "with consent of the maior and vice-chancelar" he was pressed to accept a Cambridge pulpit, and preached, laboring also from house to house for "about halfe a yeare," when he "sent backe the monie thei would have given him, and also gave them vvarning of his departure," on the conviction that they were not as yet so rightly grounded in church government as to be on a fair basis of reform.³⁰ He was just now undergoing a conflict of opinion more serious than he had ever before experienced, and one which went to the bottom of the form of church life in its relation to practical religion, and the duties, public and private, which every redeemed man owes to his Redeemer; and it had already become perfectly clear to his mind with regard to the Bishops, that "to be authorised of them, to be sworne, toe subscribe, to be ordained & receaue their licensing" was to the last degree a distasteful, if not, indeed, an unlawful and impossible thing.³¹ His brother, who seems not to have been in full sympathy with him on this point, however obtained the Bishop's seals for him; but Robert refused to

²⁶ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2; T. Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 62.

²⁹ Fuller, v: 63.

³⁰ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 2, 6, 7.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

take them from the officers, and afterward, being written to, "would not paie for them," and when his brother paid for them, he lost one and threw another in the fire, refusing utterly to avail of any such helps for entrance upon the ministry of the Word.³² And, lest his brother's act "should encourage others to deale in worse manner," he proceeded openly to harangue and preach in Cambridge "against the calling & authorising of preachers by bishops," and was very careful to make it clear to all that he himself preached "not as caring for, or leaning vpon, the Bishopes authoritie, but onlie to satisfie his duetie & conscience."³³ What was burning within his soul was the desire for a spiritual reformation, and what alarmed and grieved him was that even in "the best reformed places"³⁴ the parishes were in such bondage to the Bishops, and so "pliable to that lamentable state of things," that they required whoever would minister to them to come into that same bondage.³⁵ His mind was gradually led to the conclusion — to use his own form of stating it — that "the kingdom off God Was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather off the worthiest, Were they never so fewe."³⁶ And then, he says, "he knewe that the Lord had appointed him there to be occupied onlie to trie & prepare him to a further & more effectual message, & to be a witness of that wofull state of Cambrige, whereinto those wicked prelates and doctors of diuinitie have brought it."³⁷ In this mental and spiritual conflict he "fell soare sicke," and while he was lying thus ill, he was inhibited from further preaching by the Bishop and the Council. The Bishop's officer, named Bancroft, read the letter in his presence, to which Browne replied that: "if he had taken charge in that place, he woulde no whitte lesse cease preaching for that; but as he Vvas, he tooke not on him, he said, though the letter were not, to preach there anie longer."³⁸

When he had slowly recovered health and strength, he "took counsell still," he declares, "and had no rest, what he might do for the name & kingdom of God. He often complained of those euill dayes & with manie teares sought where to find the right-

³² *Ibid*, 6.

³³ *Ibid*, 6.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 6.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 6.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 7.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 7. Probably not Richard B., afterward Abp., then of Teversham. *Hook*, x: 192.

eous, which glorified God, with whome he might live & reioise together, that thei putt awaie abominations;"³⁹ beseeching the Lord "to shewe him more comfort of his kingdome & church then he sawe in Cambrige." And it coming to his ears that there were some in Norfolk who were "verie forward" in the reform of religion, he "thought it his duetie to take his voiage to them; first, because he considered that if there were not onelie faultes but also open & abominable wickednes in any parish or companie, & thei would not or could not, redresse them, but were held in bondage bie antichristian power, as were those parishes in Cambrige by the bishops; then euerie true christian was to leaue such parishes, & to seek the church of God wheresoeuer." Also, "if anie be forced by lawes, penalties & persecution, as in those parishes, to ioine with anie such persons [from whom Paul (2 Tim. iii: 5,) warneth us to turn away] ether in the sacramentes, or in the service & worship of God, thei ought utterlie to forsake them, & avoid such wickednes."⁴⁰

Just at this time Robert Harrison came to Cambridge.⁴¹ Harrison had been matriculated pensioner in St. John's College, Cambridge, in October, 1564. Thence he removed to Corpus Christi, where he proceeded B. A. in 1567; and was well on toward the master's degree, which he took in 1572, when Browne had first come up to the same College in the University. In 1573 he had been an applicant strongly endorsed by the mayor and alderman of Norwich for the mastership of the grammar school at Aylsham in Norfolk.⁴² But the Bishop had alleged against him that he was very young, and lacked experience; that he was reported to scruple the reading of profane authors by young children; that his health was not firm; and especially that, having lately been married, he had expressed some conscientious scruples as to the form of that service enjoined by the law of the land.⁴³ These objections were, however, finally waived, and Harrison put in place over the school, under strict charge of good behaviour. But in less than a month, being god-father of

³⁹ *Ibid*, 7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 7, 8.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 8.

⁴² T. Cooper has gathered together the authorities for these various statements in his *Athena Cantabrigienses*, ii: 177, 178.

⁴³ Strype [*Life of Parker*, ii: 335] gives a somewhat minute account of the nature of Harrison's difficulties, and the requests made by him as to desired changes in the marriage and baptismal service, here referred to. Lancelot Thexton was the vicar.

a child to be baptized, having given offence by requesting certain changes made from the rubric in the administration of the ordinance, he had been summarily displaced.⁴⁴ Subsequently — at what date is not clear — he became master of a hospital in Norwich; as I suppose that of Saint Giles, commonly called the Old Men's Hospital.⁴⁵ He now came back to his *alma mater*, which under the influence of Cartwright and others had become so great a seat of Puritanism, with the purpose of entering the ministry, or at least of satisfying his mind more fully with regard to the same. He and Browne were old acquaintances, if not old friends, and he now sought Browne's help to further his plans.⁴⁶ He was informed of the determination which Browne had reached, and that he now abhorred "such trash and pollution" as the bishop's authorizing, yet nevertheless, that if conscience led the hospital-master to seek an entrance to the ministry at the bishop's hands, "he would do for him what he might." Harrison soon decided to return to Norwich and to seek the ministry, if at all, in some other way. And a short time after, Browne followed him thither, and — Harrison with his wife keeping house, and having plenty of room — lodged and boarded with them.⁴⁷ This appears to have been in or about 1580; when Browne would be not far from thirty years of age.

Here they were accustomed to walk much in the fields, and talk together "of the lamentable abuses, disorders and sinnes" which reigned everywhere. "At the first," Browne says, "they agreed well together, but yet so as that in some things R. H. doubted: notwithstanding he came on more and more, and at

⁴⁴Some three years subsequently he has been said to have been cited before Bishop Freake at Norwich for some unspecified offence, with the statement that he not only refused to obey the summons, but wrote the Bishop a spicily faithful letter in which he besought him to have a care for his own soul, and took the liberty of advising him to renounce the office which he had usurped; — but this was probably Robert Harvey and not Robert Harrison, the coincidence of initials (R. H. standing for both) confusing their identity. Cooper [*Ath. Cant.*, ii: 178] makes the statement, but Strype [*Annals of the Reformation*, ii (2): 62] and B. Brook [*Lives of Puritans*, i: 191] attribute the letter to Harvey.

The letter itself is printed in *A Parte of a Register*, etc. (1590), 365.

⁴⁵That he was master of a hospital at Norwich, Browne himself says a little further on [*True and Short Declaration*, etc., 8], and that it was St. Giles's, is made probable by the fact that there was some connection between it and the Aylsham school — the hospital paying £10 a year to the Aylsham master; while the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich, who had befriended Harrison when he sought the office of grammar-master, then enjoyed the right of appointing the master of this hospital. Blomefield, *Hist. Co. of Norfolk*, iv: 376, 400.

⁴⁶*True and Short Declaration*, etc., 8.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 8.

last wholie yeilded to the trueth, when he sauue it began to preuaille and prosper."⁴⁸ It is very clear that Browne's mind took the lead, and that here at Norwich, following the track of thought which he had long been elaborating, he thoroughly discovered and restated the original Congregational way, in all its simplicity and symmetry. And here, in this or the following year, by his prompting and under his guidance, was formed the first church in modern days of which I have any knowledge, which was intelligently, and as one might say philosophically, Congregational in its platform and processes; he becoming its pastor.⁴⁹

It was not like this man, when thoroughly persuaded that a message had been committed to him, to be timid or hesitant in its delivery. Accordingly, on the 19th of the following April [1581] we find Bishop Freake of Norwich sending to Lord Treasurer Burghley articles of complaint, "against one Robert Browne, and his personal answers thereto:" alleging that "the said party had been lately apprehended, on complaint of many godly preachers, for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine." It was further declared that "his arrogant spirit of reproof was something to be marvelled at; the man being also to be feared lest if he were at liberty he should seduce the vulgar sort of people, who greatly depended on him, assembling themselves together to the number of an hundred at a time in private houses and conventicles to hear him, not without danger of some evil event."⁵⁰ By a communication of Sir Robert Jermyn to Lord Burghley of 28 July following, it appears that Bury Saint Edmonds was the place where Browne had been thus offending against the peace and dignity of the Bishop, and the Established Church.⁵¹ Burghley, who was Browne's kinsman,⁵² and whom we shall find to have been his

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 19, 20.

⁵⁰ *Lansdowne MSS.* (British Museum), xxxiii: 13.

⁵¹ Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 22.

⁵² I have not found it easy to fix this exact relationship. Fuller, who was born within a mile of the home of Browne's later years, says [*Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 68] that Burghley's eldest son Thomas, was Browne's "near kins-

man and patron." The unknown author of *A Threefold Discourse*, etc. [1642], who seems to have been familiar with the family, says [6] Browne and Burghley were "neere a kin." Whalley [*Bridge's History of Northamptonshire*, etc. (1791), ii: 366] says the Brownes were "allied to" the Lord Treasurer. Dr. Waddington calls Browne "first cousin" of Burghley [*Congregational History*, (1567-1700) 23]. But, as in the same paragraph of five

powerful and efficient friend, replied, 21 April, to the Bishop, suggesting that the errors of his young relative doubtless proceed "of zeale rather than of malice," and thinks it well that he be "charitably conferred with and reformed," proposing that, if he be not at once discharged, he be sent to him at London "to be further dealt with as I shall take order for upon his coming."⁵³ From Robert Jermyn's letter, to which I have already referred, it looks very much as if Browne had been discharged on this request, and gone straight back to Bury Saint Edmonds to repeat the offence. At any rate, on the second of August following we find the Bishop once more addressing the Lord Treasurer in regard to the troublesome young man, declaring that he had lately been preaching "strange and dangerous doctrines in his diocese, in all disordered manner, had greatly troubled the whole country, and brought many to great disobedience of all law and magistrates." He thought all others could have been managed if Browne had not come back "contrary to his expectation, and greatly prejudiced these their good proceedings, and having private meetings in such close and secret manner, that he knew not possibly how to suppress the same." The Bishop was "sorry to foresee what must needs in short time by him [R. B.], and other disorderly persons, which only sought the disturbance of the church, be brought to pass." And so "the careful duty which he ought to have to the country, being his charge, enforced him most earnestly to crave his Lordship's help in suppressing him [R. B.] especially."⁵⁴ Again, to all

lines, he makes an error of three years in a date, calls Robert's father "Edmond" when his name was Anthony, misnames his mother and her family altogether, and three times prints "Cypele" where, to make any sense, he must mean Cyssel (or Cecil), one feels no great amount of confidence in his assertion. The writer in *Notes and Queries* [1st series, ix: 494], who appears to have led Dr. Waddington into these errors, says that Burghley's Aunt Joan, dau. of David Cyssel of Stamford (grandfather of Lord B.) who was half-sister of the Lord Treasurer's father, married Edmond Browne. But the family pedigree in Blore [93] makes Edmond third son of Francis, and uncle of Anthony. All I can make out of this is that Lord Burghley's grand-

father would be father of Robert's great aunt — not very near kinship surely. But this may be an error, or there may have been some other and nearer tie. Burghley himself, in writing to Robert's father [Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 65], speaks of Robert as "of my blood," and signs himself "your loving friend, and cousin." But I take it that the word "cousin" was often used vaguely, as well as closely; [Hulliwell defines "cousin" by *kinsman*]. To the Bishop of Norwich he calls Browne his "kinsman." The Lord Treasurer's mother in her last will (1582) calls Anthony Browne "my friend." F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i: 121.

⁵³ Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 64.

⁵⁴ *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxxiii: 20.

appearance, Burghley's interposition availed to get his irrepressible relative first into, and then out of, the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury;⁵⁵ and this general experience, with that of others of the company, brought them all, at last, to the full persuasion "that the Lord did call them out of England."⁵⁶ Some at first favored Scotland as a refuge; but Browne dissuaded from this, on the ground that that kingdom "framed it self in those matters to please England too much," and "because some corruption should come upon vs from their parishes, which we ought to avoid, or because wee there should have great trouble wrought vs from England, as iff we kept still in England."⁵⁷ Jersey and Guernsey were also considered,⁵⁸ but Zeland was finally pitched upon, and, apparently in the autumn of 1581, the little church and its pastor emigrated in a body to Middelberg, where they received permission of the magistrates to abide in freedom of faith and worship.⁵⁹

Before leaving Norwich altogether, it may be added, that almost all writers about Browne have represented him as preaching there first to the large Dutch element of the population⁶⁰ which was Anabaptistically inclined, and from them leavening his own countrymen. Thus Fuller writes: "In the city

⁵⁵ Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 64.

⁵⁶ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 21.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Brown calls them "Gersey" and "Garnsey."

⁵⁹ "Met verlof der Regering." [*Naam-Lyst der Predikanten, Ouderlingen en Diakenen, die de Engelsche Gereformeerde Gemeente te Middelburg*, etc. (Middelburg, 1770), 1]. This list of ministers, elders and deacons of the English Reformed Church in Middelberg, has a brief preliminary notice of the Brownists there, and dates the coming of Browne in 1588. As it is clear, however, that this date is taken from D. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, and not from any municipal or other records in Middelberg, it cannot alter the truer chronology otherwise derived. W. Steven [*History of Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (1833), 316] copies this error from this *Naam-Lyst*.

⁶⁰ In 1565, Norwich was in much distress from the decay of its worsted manufacture, and its authorities, as the result of a conference with the Duke of Norfolk, passed a res-

olution to invite "divers strangers of the Low countries" who were now come to London and Sandwich for refuge from the persecution raised by the Duke of Alva; the consequence of which was a large influx of Dutch to that city. In October, 1571, there were by actual count 863 Dutch men, 203 Walloons, 1,173 women of both nations, and 1,681 children under 14 years — of whom 666 had been born in England; a total of 3,925. [*Blomefield, Hist. Co. Norfolk*, iii: 282, 291; *Le Grand Tresor Historique et Politique du florissant Commerce des Hollandois*, etc. (Rouen, 1712), 14, 18.] These Dutchmen had a flourishing congregation of their own, and its minister, on occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit there, 19 Aug., 1578, made her a neat Latin speech, and presented her with a cup worth £50, for their protection under her government. [*Blomefield*, 337.] There were 363 Dutch and 396 Walloons reported as communicants of the "forraigne" church at Norwich in 1634; 759 in all. John Bulteel, *Relation of Troubles of For. Chhs. in Kent*, etc. (1645), 22.

of Norwich, a place which then spake little more than *medietatem linguæ*, having almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein. Browne, beginning with the Dutch, soon proceeded to infect his own countrymen,"⁶¹ etc. And one of the historians of Norfolk has even gone so far as to name the church of St. Peter Hungate as that in which Browne preached.⁶² Collier has amplified his account with still other particulars, telling us that "Browne made his first essay upon three Dutchmen, and being of a positive imperious temper, took care to pick out the most flexible and resigning. And after having made some progress amongst them, and raised himself a character for zeal and sanctity, he began to tamper further and advance to the English; and here he took in the assistance of one Robert Harrison, a country schoolmaster,"⁶³ etc. As Collier, however, did not publish until more than a century and a quarter subsequent to these occurrences, and declares that Browne went over into Zeland, first joined Cartwright's congregation there, and then printed a book, copies of which he sent over to England to prepare the way for gathering his church, previous to becoming a missionary at Norwich; and as Fuller says that Browne went over into Zeland "to purchase himself more reputation from foreign parts," for the reason that "a smack of travel gives an high taste to strange opinions, making them better relished to the lickerish lovers of novelty," before all this took place; we shall perhaps be justified in questioning the accuracy of their statements. While, from the intrinsic improbabilities of such a theory; from the total absence of all reference to anything which would justify it in the minutely circumstantial narration which Browne himself gives in his *True and Short Declaration*; and from the absence of Dutch names from those which he incidentally mentions as connected with the enterprise; it seems most likely that these reports were adopted without due evidence by the first writers, and passed from them down the ever-lengthening lines of historians, and encyclopædists. It is probable, however, that some Brownists did remain behind in Norwich who could not, or at least did not, take part with the church

⁶¹ *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 63.

⁶² Chambers, *General History of the Co. of Norfolk*, etc., 1188.

⁶³ *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, to reign of Charles II.*, etc. (Lathbury's ed. 1852), vii: 2.

and its pastor⁶⁴ in this exodus, and that they completed, and for a time maintained, a separate church organization; inasmuch as George Johnson, in 1603, speaks more than once of such a church as existing there, calls it "the elder sister," and says that "Mr. Hunt" was then its pastor.⁶⁵

Arrived thus where they were at liberty to follow conscience in worship, the next two years were spent here. Richard Schilders's⁶⁶ printing office bore witness that they were not years of idleness to Robert Browne. If they could do anything for their native land by stretching forth a hand of love out of their exile, it must be done by the press. If they could do anything to take off the reproach which was charged upon them of being troublers and fanatics; and if they could convince the thinking portion of their contemporaries, and of posterity, that they had discovered a more excellent way, even that original way in which holy men walked of old; it must be done through the press. Three treatises clearly were printed during those two years from the pen of Browne,⁶⁷ and two from that of Harrison.⁶⁸ These books, aside from any little local currency which they may have had, were sent over in sheets into England, where they were bound and circulated by warm sympathizers there; where they arrived at the dignity of drawing a special proclamation from the queen; and where, before Browne trod again his natal soil, two men had been hanged for dispersing, and another

⁶⁴C. Lawne [*Profane Schisme of the Brownists*, etc., 18] gives an account of one Edward Tolwine, who "saw the very beginning of the separation," often entertained Browne, and had made all his arrangements to go to Zealand after him; but the man who had bought his property died suddenly before he had paid for the same, so that the "bargaine came to nothing," and Tolwine could not go. Years after he went to Amsterdam and joined the Brownists there.

⁶⁵*Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the Banished English Church at Amsterdam* (1603), 44, 205, 206.

⁶⁶In some of his English issues—those of Robert Browne, for example—he Englished his name into "Richard Painter."

⁶⁷*A Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians, and howe unlike they are vnto Turkes and Popistes, and Heathen*

folke. Also the Pointes and Partes of all Diuinitie, etc. (1582).

A Treatise vpon the 23. of Matthewe, etc. (1582).

A Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for anie, etc. (1582).

Sometimes found together, and bound as one, my impression is that these were issued separately as fast as printed, but rather with the intention of making one book of the three. One purpose clearly unifies them.

⁶⁸*A little Treatise vpon the the firste Verse of the 122. Psalme, Stirring vp vnto carefull desiring and dutifull labouring for true Church Governement* (1583), 16mo, (n. p.) pp. vi, 124. [This was reprinted by William Brewster at Leyden, in 1618, in 16mo, pp. vi, 82.]

Three Formes of Catechismes, conteyning the most principall pointes of Religion (1583), 16mo, pp. 64.

nearly hanged for binding the same.⁶⁹ There is some evidence that Harrison had inherited or laid up something, and that he furnished the money which was needful for the printing.⁷⁰ I have found no proof of the assertion, repeatedly made,⁷¹ that Browne and Harrison and their company first joined themselves to Cartwright's English church at Middelberg, and subsequently seceded in separate organization; while all probabilities render such a course most unlikely on their part. The rumor

⁶⁹ Some account of these men—Copping, Thacker and Gybson—will have a place in the fourth lecture of this series. The Proclamation is worth quoting, for the illustration which it gives of the temper of the times:

"By the Queene: A Proclamation against certaine seditious and scismatical Bookes and Libelles, etc.

"The Queenes most excellent Maiestie being giuen to vnderstande that there are sent from the partes beyond the seas, sundry seditious, scismaticall, and erronious printed Bookes and libelles, tending to the deprauing of the Ecclesiastical gouernment established within this Realme, set forth by ROBERT BROWNE and RICHARD HARRISON, fled out of the Realme as seditious persons, fearing due punishment for their sundry offences, and remaining presently in Zealande: which seuerall bookes, doe manifestly containe in them very false, seditious, and scismatical doctrine and matter, and haue notwithstanding bene secretly solde, published, and dispersed in sundry places within this Realme, to the end to breede some scisme among her Maiesties subiectes, being persons vnlearned, and vnable to discerne the errors therein contained: Her highnesse therefore perceiuing the wickednesse of these euill spirits, and the malicious disposition of lewde and euill disposed persons to be readie to violate and breake the peace of the Church, the Realme, and the quietnesse of her people, and knowing it also to be most requisite and conuenient for her highnesse to vse those meanes which God hath appointed for preuenting thereof, doeth will, and also straightly charge and commaunde that all maner of persons what so euer, who haue any of the sayde Bookes or any of like nature in his or their Custodie, that they and euery of them doe forthwith vpon the publishing hereof, bring in and deliuer vp the same vnto the Ordinarie ["One who has ordinary or immediate jurisdiction in

matters ecclesiastical." Lee, *Glossary*, sub voce] of the Diocesse, or of the place where they inhabite, to the intent they may bee burned, or vtterly defaced by the sayde Ordinarie. And that from henceforth no person or persons whatsoeuer, be so hardy as to put in print or writing, sell, set forth, receiue, giue out or distribute any more of the same or such like sedicious bookes or libels, as they tender her Maiesties good fauour, and will answer for the contrary at their vttermost perils, and vpon such further paynes as the Lawe shall inflict vpon the offendours in that behalfe, as persons maintayning such seditious actions, which her Maiestie myndeth to haue seuerely executed.

"Giuen at her Maiesties Mannor of Grenewich the last day of June, in the fise and twentieth yeere of her highnesse Reigne [1583]. God saue the Queene." [*Grenville Collection*, (British Museum) fol. 225.] Mr. Arber has also reprinted this in his *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, i: 502.

⁷⁰ S. Bredwell says Harrison was "bewitched by Browne," by "stretching his purse so wide, to the printing of his booke." [*Raising of Foundations of Brownisme*, xii.]

⁷¹ P. Heylyn, [*Hist. of the Presbyterians*, etc. (ed. 1672), 256]; Collier [*Ecc. Hist.*, vii: 1]. Brook [*Lives of the Puritans*, ii: 367] represents Browne as forming his church after his arrival in Zeland. Hanbury [*Hist. Memorials of the Independents*, i: 19], who mentions Harrison only incidentally, falls into the same error. Cartwright, in that letter of his to Harrison which Browne answered in print, says: "your first page had rayseed me vnto some hope for the reuniteinge of your selfe, with the rest of your company vnto vs, from whom you haue thought good to sunder your selues." [*Answer to Master Cartwright His Letter, etc. whereunto said letter is annexed* (ad calcem), i.] This implies what I have stated in the text.

probably arose from the fact that Harrison, and those who remained with him after Browne sailed for Scotland, then appear to have united themselves to Cartwright's church, and to have remained for a time with them, but afterward to have felt constrained in conscience, against Cartwright's urgency, to make another attempt at separate life.

Browne's own narrative, in that little later quarto⁷² the shocking quality of whose typography demonstrates that it was not from Schilders's press, makes evident, what a little reflection upon the likelihoods of the case, not less than contemporaneous history, would lead us to suspect; that these two years included, especially toward their close, great sorrows for him from within. I shall have occasion hereafter to call attention to the fact that the very quality of the reform in which these good people — such as they were, and in their conception of their duty — were engaged, was such as not merely to invite, but almost to necessitate, contention among themselves. It will be sufficient here to mention that, by Browne's own statement, their internal harmony was again and again interrupted by differences of judgment and alienations of feeling; that a party arose among them, who, wearying of the hardness of the way, longed again for the fleshpots of England; that Harrison, the trusted friend, was felt by his pastor — who suffered again from severe illness, incapacitating him for a considerable period from performing the duties of his position — to have lifted up his heel against him; that Mrs. Browne — I have met with no record of the date of her appearance upon the scene — was thought to have added fuel to the fire;⁷³ that on three several occasions Browne laid down his pastorate, as many times to resume it on the general request; and that all ended in his taking ship, in November or December of 1583, with a minority of "four or five Englishmen with their wives and familieis," who clung to his fortunes, for Scotland; doubtless in the full intent, as King James afterwards scornfully and bitterly said, to "sow" his "popples" there.⁷⁴

Landing at Dundee, and finding some support, he proceeded to Saint Andrews, whence, Andrew Melville giving him a let-

⁷² *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 21–24.

⁷³ G. Johnson, *Discourse of Some Troubles*, etc., 51.

⁷⁴ *Introduction to Basilikon Doron*. Works

(1616), 143. The King says this of "Browne, Penry and others."

ter to Mr. James Lowsone, he pushed on to Edinburgh, where, with his company, he arrived on Thursday, 9th January, 1584, and took up his residence in the Canongate,⁷⁵ beginning at once to circulate his books and disseminate his peculiar doctrines. This was the summary of his teaching, as set down at the time by a hostile critic:⁷⁶ "They held opinioun of separation from all kirks where excommunication was not rigorously used against open offenders not repenting. They would not admitt witnesses [i.e. sponsors] in baptism; and sondrie other opinions they had." This goes to show — what indeed lies on the surface of all these men's writings, utterances and endeavors — that the first great thought with them was *reformation*. They were seeking holiness of life; and they advocated a new polity not for its own sake, not, indeed, in the outset, because it was more Scriptural than any then existing, for their studies were only beginning to be turned toward that aspect of the matter; but because of their profound conviction that the practical reform which they sought in the spiritual life, could never be reached in connection with that parish system of churches which considered all baptized persons to be redeemed children of God, until excommunication should furnish proof to the contrary.

The Scotch, whom John Knox had very thoroughly Presbyterianized, were scarcely in the mood to welcome this new faith, and they took time by the forelock, citing Browne to appear on the following Tuesday before the session of the kirk of Edinburgh. Then, and there, as they thought — for the Presbyterian lamb held the pen which portrays this terrible Brownist lion — in "a very arrogant manner," he maintained that sponsors in baptism were not a "thing indifferent, but simple evill." Strange to say, he failed to convince the session of the correctness of his view. On the following Tuesday (21 January), in a further hearing, he made bold to allege that "the whole discipline of Scotland was amisse; that he and his companie were not subject to it; and therefore, he would appeale from the kirk to the magistrat." The session, upon this, in the benevolent intent of safety in keeping him, and in keeping others from him, appears to have procured his incarceration in

⁷⁵ D. Calderwood, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Woodrow Society's ed. 1843—which

is vastly superior to edition of 1678), iv: 1. ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, iv: 1.

the common jail, and appointed Mr. James Lowsone and Mr. Johne Davidsons to apply their magnifiers to his books, with a view to "be ready against Moonday nixt" with a list of his heresies, "to pose him and his followers thervpon, that therafter the king might be informed."⁷⁷ On the following Tuesday (28 January) Browne "with the rest of his complices" was called before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and "continued till the morne." He frankly acknowledged his responsibility for his publications, and his readiness to defend the same, and the two gentlemen before requested to diagnose his theological pestilentiality, were still further enjoined to perfect their work "to be presented to the king."⁷⁸ Here the interesting minuteness of this Scotch record suddenly ceases. The "articles" setting forth Browne's enormities were evidently completed and sent up to the Court, and his condemnation thereon confidently anticipated. But the State wind happened, at the moment, to be blowing from another quarter, and the civil authorities were rather minded to vex than to please the Presbytery. The disgusted historian dismisses his comments on these interlopers with the curt sentence: "they were interteaned and fostered to molest the kirk." Browne was released, and, if so light a phrase befit so grave a subject, was rather winked at by the controlling powers. He appears thereafter to have traveled over Scotland in its "best reformed places,"⁷⁹ and I am sorry to add that the result of his observation made him say: "I have seen all maner of wickednes to abounde much more in their best places in Scotland, then in our woorser places heere in England,"⁸⁰ and the result of his experience made him feel that not only was the soil, as he had three years before foreboded, inhospitable,⁸¹ but the time an evil one for missionary purposes, and he soon returned to England, where he published a book, whose name even I have as yet failed to recover, and which, so far as I am aware, now exists only in a few passages which were quoted from it by Bancroft, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, in his famous sermon at Paule's Crosse on the 9th of February, 1588, and in the indig-

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 2.⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 3.⁷⁹ R. Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the 9. of Februarie, being the first**Sunday in the Parlcament, anno 1588 (1588), 76.*⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 76.⁸¹ *True and Short Declaration, etc.*, 21.

nant comments made thereon by certain Scottish writers who reviewed that discourse. The passage which especially incensed them was this, in which he spoke his mind of Presbyterian ways and tendencies: "'I judge' saith he (writing of this Parleament now assembled), 'that if the Parleament should establish such names [of elders and Presbyters] and those the officers according to those names which seeke their owne discipline, that then in steede of one Pope we shoulde have a 1000. and of some lord Bishops in name a 1000. Lordlie tyrants in deed, which nowe do disdaine the names. This I have found by experience to be true: I can testifie by triall of Scotland, which have travelled it over in their best reformed places as in Donde, Saint Andrewes, Edenborough, & sundrie other townes: and have known the king in great danger, and feare of his life by their lordlie discipline.'"⁸² The general impression left upon my mind by this language is that its author must now have spent considerable time in Scotland before his return to England.

In what precise mental and spiritual mood he found himself once more in his native country, we lack full evidence. Our first trace of him, with the exception of the fact that he seems to have now published another tract—possibly two; is in a letter from Lord Burghley to the Archbishop of Canterbury, bearing date the 17th of the following July (1584), containing this passage: "I am content that your Grace, and my Lord of London, where I fear Browne is, use him as your Wisdoms think

⁸² Bancroft, *Sermon at Pauls Crosse*, 9 Feb. 1588, 76. Bancroft does not mention Browne by name, but only calls him "one of our owne countrie-men, who was in Scotland about the same time, and observed verie diligently, etc." [75.] Subsequently [77] he quietly adds: "this mans opinion heerein I know will be greatly contemned, because I thinke he hath bin of another judgement. But yet they may give him leave to speake, as his experience (which is no foolish master) hath taught him. For commonly it comes to passe, when rash men run hedlong into any new devises, that *Posteriorēs cogitationes solent esse sapientiores*: their afterwits are best. Howbeit let him finde what favour at their hands he shall. I must indeed confesse, that if this matter had onely depended upon his report, or opinion, I would not at this time have made mention of him. But it is far otherwise." From all this,

while we might suspect Browne, we could not identify him. But the author of *A Briefe Discovery of the Vntruthes and Slanders (against the true Gouvernement of the Church of Christ) contained in a Sermon preached ye 8. of Feb. 1588, by D. Bancroft, and since that time set forth in print, with additions by the said author, etc.* [n. d. 4to], says [43] indignantly: "Browne, a knowne Schismaticke, is a man very fit to be one of your witnesses against the Eldership. His entertainment in Scotland was such as a proud ungodly man deserved to haue," etc. While Calderwood [*True History of the Church of Scotland* (ed. 1678), 229] says Bancroft traduced in a public sermon at St. Paul's Crosse "our Kirk and Ecclesiastical government, grounding his calumnies" on "one Robert Browne a ring-leader of the Brownists," and "a male-content, because his opinions were not imbraced."

meet. I have cause to pity the poor man."⁸³ For our next we must go to another letter of the same nobleman to Anthony Browne at Tolethorpe a year from the next October [1585].⁸⁴ From these I conjecture that Robert had come back exhausted by misfortune, shattered in health, and staggered by the fact that every door which he tried to open abroad and at home seemed to be shut and barred by Providence against him and in the face of that pure, simple and sufficient gospel to the elaboration and proclamation of which he had devoted his life; yet that he had still endeavored, mainly in his old haunts in and around London, to proclaim his faith, and to circulate the treatises in which it was explained and defended; that he had been arrested by the Bishop of London and cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury, to answer charges tabled against him out of one of these books; and that, on the interposition of the Lord Treasurer, after an extended imprisonment, advantage was taken of the fact that he could not be proved himself to have *circulated* the offensive volume whose authorship he acknowledged, and he was released and remitted to his father's care — Lord Burghley becoming security for his good behavior, and pleading with the old man that he would not "for this cause; or any his former dealings," withdraw from him his "fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered and withdrawn from the relics of some fond opinions of his, which will be the better done if he be dealt withal in some kind and temperate manner."

Another glimpse of the condition of the man, and his affairs, we get on the 17th of the following February [1586] from a second letter of the Lord Treasurer to the same party, which brings out the facts that the improvement in the son's condition appeared very slow to his father; that there seemed "little or no hopes" of his desired return to Conformity; that the father, thinking it might more further the end sought, had asked Lord Burghley's permission to remove his son to the ancient home of the family at Stamford; and that leave had been granted for the transfer.⁸⁵

⁸³ Cited by *Hanbury* [i: 22] from *Cole's MSS. Kennet's Collections*, xlviii: 137.

⁸⁴ The letter is given by Fuller, *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 65.

⁸⁵ Fuller, as above. Bredwell says: "before his subscription [at St. Olaves] being about Stamford," etc. [*Rising of Foundations of Brownism*, etc., 135.]

Here, for a few months, a haze sets in which dims the story. Chalmers⁸⁶ somewhere picked up the statement that Anthony Browne lost patience and cast him out. He says: "his good old father resolved to own him for his son no longer than his son owned the Church of England for his mother, and Browne chusing rather to part with his aged sire than his new schism, he was discharged the family." However this may have been, the balance of testimony appears to favor the conclusion that Browne went from Stamford to Northampton in this early spring of 1586, and resumed there the teaching of his offensive doctrines; that Linsell, Bishop of Peterborough, cited him to his court for trial for this renewed offence; that he neglected, or refused to appear; whereupon the Bishop, upon mature deliberation, "excommunicated him for contempt."⁸⁷

The sad remainder of the story may be briefly told. Deeply impressed, as the Church of England writers say, with the fearfulness of this ecclesiastical condemnation, he became reconciled, and readmitted to the church.⁸⁸ On the 21st of November following [1586]⁸⁹ he was elected to be master of the grammar school at St. Olaves, Southwark. This was done only after, in addition to a general pledge of good behavior, he had bound himself over his own signature to comply with the six conditions following, viz.: (1) not to keep any conventicles, or have conference with suspected or disorderly persons; (2) to accompany the children to sermons and lectures in the church; (3) to renounce any error of which he should be convinced, and

⁸⁶ *Biographical Dictionary*, sub nomine.

⁸⁷ Brook [*Lives of the Puritans*, ii: 368]. In the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ecclesie Anglicanae*, etc. (1709), Browne's case is used to point the moral of the reclaiming value of the excommunicatory act. Dr. Thos. Bayly while preaching on one occasion before clergymen spoke so freely in favor of this extreme measure of discipline, that Dr. Hammond gently reprimanded him, "but when Dr. Bayly told him the story of Browne, the Doctor was satisfied, and thanked him for his learned discourse." [xii.]

⁸⁸ Brook, as above, ii: 368.

⁸⁹ There is some confusion about these dates, which it seems impossible wholly to adjust. That here given (21 Nov., 1586), not only is

that attached to the citation from the original record as given by Dr. Waddington in his *Historical Papers* (1st series), 46, and *Hidden Church*, 32, but it is that which best harmonizes with the requisitions of the narrative. So that I take this to be accurate, and that of 1587, as given by him in his *Congregational History*, ii: 23, and by a writer in *Notes and Queries* [May, 1854, 494], to be erroneous. Bredwell [*Rising of Foundations of Brownism*, 140] gives the time of his signing the humiliating conditions on which he received election to the school, as "7 Oct., 1585." But this would be inconsistent with Lord Burghley's letters; so that Bredwell must have missed a year, or (possibly, but very improbably) the conditions by a twelvemonth antedated the election.

conform to the doctrine of the Church of England; (4) to use no other than the regulation catechism in the school; (5) at convenient times to take the communion in that parish, according to law; (6) and, not being contented to abide these articles, to avoid the mastership.⁹⁰ He is said to have received here a salary of £20 a year.⁹¹ From this position we find him writing, 15 April, 1590, to his noble kinsman an extraordinary letter,⁹² enclosing a little treatise containing "tables, and definitions," which he has sought in vain to bring to the notice of several learned Bishops, but which "are ether neglected or through greatre busines forgotten." He has framed them out of the Word of God, which he esteems the fittest original "of all necessarie & general rules of the arts & all learning;" and he stands ready "to justifie this treatise and the exact methods & trueth thereof, against the multitude of philosophers, doctors, & writers heretofore." He is confident that scholars may learn more from his tables in one year, than now in ten times that time they "untowardlie learne in the universities;" and feels sure that if he were authorized to read public lectures, as Plato, Aristotle, Socrates and Pythagoras did, he could do great things, with his Lordship's "good countenance." No trace of any response to this extraordinary paper appears; and to the everlasting loss — greater or lesser — of the world, these "Latine tables and definitions thereof," do not appear to have attained even the secluded immortality of the manuscript rooms of the British Museum, where his autograph letter which enclosed and pleaded for them reposes.

Some nine months before this time [20 June, 1589], Lord Burghley had written to the Bishop of Peterborough asking that Browne, "who hath been so notably disliked in the world for his strange manner of writing and opinions held by him" — seeing "he hath now a good time forsaken the same, and submitted himself to the order and government established in the church," might be received again into the ministry as "a means and

⁹⁰ Extracts from the Minute Book of the School are given by Dr. Waddington in his *Historical Papers* (first series), 46, 47, and *Hidden Church*, 32, 33.

⁹¹ J. Waddington, *Congregational History*, 1567-1700, 23. R. Seymour [*Survey of Lon-*

don, etc. (ed. 1735), i: 817] says of this school: "Here is a first and second master; the former hath £60. *per ann.*, the latter hath £40. The writing master hath £40. *per ann.*, and the English master hath £40. *per ann.*"

⁹² *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxiv: 34.

help for some ecclesiastical preferment."⁹³ We may infer that the request was granted (but not immediately), for in September, 1591, we find Browne resigning his mastership, and instituted rector of the little parish of Achurch cum Thorpe,⁹⁴ a hamlet which a century later contained only some eighteen families.⁹⁵ As this living was in Lord Burghley's gift,⁹⁶ we may conclude that the subject of our inquiry was now once more indebted to that friendship—or at least that kinship—which had served his turn so many times before.

Here, at Achurch, in some fashion he abode⁹⁷ and wrought during the long period of more than forty years, until at some date between 2 June, 1631,⁹⁸ and the institution of his successor 8 November, 1633,⁹⁹ he died, eighty years old or more, in Northampton jail;¹⁰⁰ the place of his burial being as uncertain as are most of the circumstances of his later life.¹⁰¹

Of co-workers, in the strict sense of that term, Browne appears to have had almost none. Possibly the peculiarities of his temperament indisposed others, as well as himself, toward that intimate and abiding connection out of which earnest confederate effort must proceed.¹⁰² The names of only two persons have

⁹³ *Lansdowne MSS.*, ciii: 60.

⁹⁴ Bliss, in his edition of Wood's *Athena Oxonienses* [ii: 17], copies from the Peterborough registers the minute of Browne's preferment: "Sept. 6, 1591, *admissus fuit Robertus Browne, clericus, ad rect. de Achurch, vac. per laps. temp.*" etc.

⁹⁵ Whalley, *Bridge's Hist. Northamptonshire*, etc., ii: 364.

⁹⁶ In "A particular account of all such lands, and other real estate as the Rt. Hon. Wm Lord Burghley, Ld. Treas. of England, etc. was possessed of at the time of his death, as the same was taken and returned upon inquisition" [of date 23 Apr., 1599], occurs the following: "133. *Advocatione Ecclesie de Thorpe & Aychurche & vicarie S. Martini in Stamford en dicto com. Northampt.*" F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i: 183-189.

⁹⁷ "A little thatched house he lived in at Thorpe-Waterville is still subsisting, and inhabited by a tenant of the Earl of Exeter. On the chimney is this date—1618." Whalley, *Bridge's Hist. North.*, as above.

⁹⁸ The last entry in Browne's handwriting upon the parish register of Achurch, bears date 2 June, 1631, being the burial record of "Marce ye daught. of a wanderer."

⁹⁹ Whalley, *Bridge's Hist. North.*, as above.

¹⁰⁰ R. Baillie was, I believe, the earliest to mention this [*Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time* (1645), 14]. It may be doubted, however, whether Fuller, who followed him, in 1655, and who probably wrote of his own knowledge, has not been the main authority for its circulation. *Chh. Hist. Brit.*, v: 70.

¹⁰¹ Chalmers [*Biog. Dict.*, sub nomine] and Masters [*Hist. Corpus Christi*, 254], say he was buried in his church at Achurch; the latter specifying that it was "under a large stone at the entrance of the chancel." Fuller, on the contrary, as above, says the interment was in a church-yard neighboring to the jail in Northampton.

¹⁰² Browne mentions, as among his early associates at Cambridge, Robert and William Harrison, and Robert Barker. [*True and Short Declar.*, 1]. Iie names, in connection

come down to us as specially identified with him in the public mind.

Of these Robert Harrison, to whom reference has been already made, was chief. He united in the original formation of the first Brownist church at Norwich, and in Browne's early labors in England.¹⁰³ He went with the company to Zeland; probably having been second officer of the church from the beginning. After the disruption, the departure of Browne and his handful to Scotland, and the fruitless endeavor to effect a satisfactory union with Cartwright's company, he seems to have assumed, and until his early death retained, the pastorate of that portion of the church still in Middelberg. Besides some small catechisms,¹⁰⁴ he published *A Little Treatise Vpon the first verse of the 122. Psalme, stirring vp vnto carefull desiring and dutifull labouring for the true Church Government*, which William Brewster thought worthy of his reprinting at Leyden in 1618.¹⁰⁵ He wrote in great humility, as one "which for my unworthinesse and poore

with the organization of the Norwich Church, "Roberts, Barker, Nicolas Woedowes, and Tatsel, Bond." I suspect — and the wretched character of the printing would account for any number of blunders — that the first, if not the fourth of these commas should be omitted, and that here were only three men instead of five; the first being him last named at Cambridge. [*Ibid.*, 19.] He further states that R. H. [of course meaning Harrison]; C. M.; W. H. [possibly the William Harrison — was he Robert's brother? — who was at Cambridge]; and I. C., were chief actors in the difficulty which led to the breaking up of the company. *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁰³ It is clear that these co-laborers were at that time sufficient to impress the public mind with the thought of the two as partners in a common endeavor. 12 July, 1583, Oliver Pigg of Rougham, Suffolk (near Bury St. Edmonds), wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham supplicating some favor, taking pains to add that "he detests from his heart the euil proceedings of Browne, Harrison, and their fauourers." [*State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, clxi: 33.] I have already [p. 75] referred to the evidence that Harrison afforded pecuniary aid to Browne in the first printing of his books. As to Harrison's history, consult *Ath. Cant.*, ii: 177; *Strype, Annals*, II, i: 433, 435; III, i: 269;

Parker, II, 69, 336. Fuller [v: 67] calls him *Richard*, as does the Queen's Proclamation before cited [p. 75].

¹⁰⁴ *Three Formes of Catechismes, conteyning the most principall pointes of Religion*. R. H., 1583, 16mo, 64. These are designed for the general edification of a congregation, and scarcely allude specifically to church government. The first, and most elaborate, in answer to the question:

"Where doth the Lord nourish and bring up his people?" etc., says:

"In ye place which ye Lord doeth chuse to putt his name there: even his church, his Sion where he vouchsafeth to dwell, ye kingdome of his Sonne, which he do gouerne by ye Scepter of his Worde, a Scepter of righteousness. Which church holdeth one law and order under her kinge, and therefore is called Catholike. And ye members of ye same holde a happie fellowshippe as ye members of one bodie, serving one to another by yr giftes and graces, and sustaininge one another neede in mutuall charitie. And this is called ye communion of saintes," etc., 52.

¹⁰⁵ The original edition [1583, 16mo, vi, 124] is in the British Museum, [3090, a], and at Lambeth, [xxx, 9, 3, (2)]. I have met with no other copy of Brewster's reprint, than that which I possess.

gift, had thought never to haue set forth anything publickly," but persuaded thereto by the facts: that diuers brethren in England who desired to join them in Zeland "were restrained;" that for him and his associates to return to them "would little auaille," because it would be to immigrate to prison; and so the only way "to bestow upon them some thing which might help to increase their spirituall courage and comfort," was to write "some little treatise."¹⁰⁶ He is urgent as to the need "that we remoue our selues from euill, and worship God according to his word, chusing rather to suffer the crosse, then to deny Christ by slauish giuing ouer of that authoritie and libertie, which he hath given vnto his people;"¹⁰⁷ and is severe upon some [Puritans] who were "onely making conscience at the Cap and Surplesse, and kneeling at the communion, and therein stood all their religion;" and of others who "when they were tried and weighed," were "found too light," and "so by their untowardnesse they caused the savour of the Lords worke to stinke in the nostrils of the people."¹⁰⁸ He labors to make it clear that the ill example; or unfortunate end, of any reformer ought not to "quench our zeale and care of searching out the Lords cause, that we should not take it in hand;"¹⁰⁹ answers the objections of those who are loth to submit themselves to "the Admonition, Rebuk and Excommunication of the Minister and the Congregation;"¹¹⁰ and repudiates earnestly that notion which would "tie the Ordination of every minister, as it were, unto the girdle of other ministers, that of necessity it must at all times depend and stay upon them."¹¹¹ In one point he was behind Browne—who, as we shall see, was in advance of his age in arguing that the secular authority has nothing to do with matters of religion, except as civil offence may become involved—teaching that "the civill magistrates may & ought also to strike with their sword every one which being of the Church, shal openly transgresse against the Lords commandements."¹¹²

At some date which we cannot precisely fix, subsequently to

¹⁰⁶ Preface (ed. 1618), iv. He speaks here twice of "sickness" as having seriously interfered with his plans. His early death seems to have had premonitions.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 34.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 35.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 40.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 66.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 46.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 79.

his withdrawal with his friends from the Conformist church of the English merchants at Middelberg to which Mr. Cartwright then ministered, Harrison addressed a letter to Mr. Cartwright; a letter apparently intended to justify that withdrawal. Mr. Cartwright answered it in a tone indicating respect for its writer,¹¹³ and Robert Browne replied to this answer — printing the same in the end of his book,¹¹⁴ but I find no evidence that Harrison's letter was ever printed.

The name of Edward Glover was also associated with that of Browne in the literature of the time, but it is quite possible that this association was due much more to the fact that both antagonized the established order, than that they were at one either in their theories or methods of doing so. Of him we only learn that he was a minister;¹¹⁵ was at the head of a religious company;¹¹⁶ and wrote a book, which was ascribed to Browne's influence, in which he was charged with teaching the heresies of perfection and free-will;¹¹⁷ that he had a conference with Messrs. Whitaker and Egerton;¹¹⁸ was imprisoned by Whitgift in 1586;¹¹⁹ and in April of that year wrote a letter,¹²⁰ which still exists, to Lord

¹¹³ He begins [i] by speaking of the "hope" which the first page of Harrison's letter "had rayssed me vnto" of his return to the church; and concludes by expressing his willingness to hearken unto any — "much more vnto you whom the Lord in mercie hath bestowed good graces vpon, shewing better things," etc. [x.]

¹¹⁴ *An Answer to Master Cartwright his Letter for ioyning with the English churches: whereunto the true copie of his sayde Letter is annexed, etc.* London, [n. d.] 4to, ii, 85, xi.

¹¹⁵ Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 634. Brook, *Puritans*, i: 313.

¹¹⁶ Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 634.

¹¹⁷ Stephen Bredwell, *Detection of Edward Glovers Heretical Confection, etc., with an Admonition to the followers of Glover and Browne* (1586), [119]. The only copy of this book which I have ever seen is in the Cambridge (Eng.) University Library. Press-mark: [8. 29. 49.]

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹¹⁹ Strype, *Annals*, iii (1): 634.

¹²⁰ The letter — which Strype has imperfectly printed — is as follows:

"Acknowledginge my selfe most highlye bownde unto your honor in yt you would

vouchsafe for ths. poore & contemptible prisoner to write so graciouslye unto ye Arche-bishop, theese are to repaye, what poore recompense & thanks I am able, wishinge unto your Ldp. most good I can, thoughe I am of power to do none, & prayinge to God most hartlye for ye same. Also to preavent synister information, I thought it most neadefull to explyaine truly & brieflye unto your wisdom ye capitall poyntes for ye whh. we suffer, & wherein yt we can be proved to erre, we require to be reformed by reason & not by rigor.

"1. The first and cheefest is in yt we teache yt all men to be justified must come to Christe, who is only & wholly our remission & iustification, by ye way of true faythe & repentance or amendment of lyfe, as Iohn Babbiste teacheth: and not by faythe only, as Luther of late hath taughte.

"2. The second is, yt God hathe from ye beginninge chosen in Christe & predestinate none to be in ye state of salvation for yt time as they are not predestinate to be in ye state of charitie & true repentance: as Mr. Calvin newly hath written.

"3. The third & last, yt ye viniard of God,

Burghley, who so often befriended Browne, implying similar kindness received by himself, and explaining somewhat his real views.

I need hardly remind you that it has been usual — almost universal — to brand Robert Browne as an ambitious bigot in his earlier, and a contemptible sneak in his later, years; with the easy if not inevitable inference that he must have been a hypocrite through all. Fuller, who, not only by his eminence as a church historian, but by the fact that he was a native of the vicinity, and, in his own childhood had often seen the man, has usually been taken as the most trustworthy witness concerning him, would not believe that Browne ever really recanted his Brownism; insinuating that, by collusion between Lord Burghley, then Earl of Exeter, and the ecclesiastical authorities, he was allowed to enjoy the living without compliance with its standards, or performance of its duties. He says that he had lapsed from Sabbatarian strictness; that he neither lived with the wife he had vowed to cherish, nor preached in the church whose tithes he pocketed; and pictures him as a disagreeable, obstinate and quarrelsome old man, who had quite outlived all friendship, and whose dying was, through neglect of duty and contempt of law, among felons in a common prison.¹²¹ To this Robert Baillie, who was not in the habit of letting slip any opportunity to throw in some darker shadow when he was painting the picture of a theological adversary, ten years before had added¹²² — he says he has “heard it from reverend Ministers” —

ye church of Christe, is not given to sutch who professe in worde only: but only to sutch who bringe fourth ye frute thereof in there seasons. ffor ye discussinge whereof we referre our selues to ye due tryall & examination of ye worde especiallie, as also to ye authoritie of ancient ffathers agreeable thereunto, by ye wh. yf we shall be convicte before indifferent Iudges in an open assemblye, we offer our selues willingly to be reformed, or els refuse no punishment. Humbly beseeching all in authoritie yt we may fynde this acquitie, wh. theves, murtherers & all malefactors fynde, to weete, that our Accusers & Adversaries may not be our Iudges: yt our causes may not be determined of in corners:

yt they may not handle us as they like them selues: And so shall we not haue ye cause we haue in whh. to complayne of there iniquitie & tiranie.

“The Lorde Iesus preserue you & yours from all euill for ever. Amen.

“Your humble Orator, Edward Glover.”

[The letter is not dated, but — though calendared at 1596 — it is endorsed in a handwriting of the time, “Ap. 1586. Ed. Glover to my L;” which Strype accepts as the true date]. *Lausdowne MSS.*, lxxv: 50.

¹²¹ *Chh. Hist.*, v: 68.

¹²² *The Dissuasive*, etc., was first published in 1645; the first edition of Fuller’s *Church History* came out in 1655.

that he "was a common beater of his poor old wife, and would not stick to defend publicly this his wicked practice;" that he was "an open profaner of the Sabbath;" and that it was because he was withholding the small pittance of the curate whom "laziness in his Calling made him keep," that he was where he was, when death took him away."¹²³ Pagitt, who was one of the best of haters, contemporaneously contributed to this ugly portrait one touch of varnish, by appending what he says was the justification which Browne was wont to offer for his brutality to his wife; to wit: that "he did not beate her as his wife, but as a curst old woman."¹²⁴ Honorus Regius went even further than this, styling him: "Vir impius, et dissolutissimæ vitæ."¹²⁵

Contemptuous and disgraceful as are these statements of the Church of England writers, it is not strange that on the other side those whom Browne deserted should speak reproachfully of his character, and resist the baptism of his name; the more that — as we shall have occasion to see hereafter — most of the leading men who identified themselves with the earlier fortunes of the Congregational way, particularly in New England, were thoroughly afraid of democracy, and were ever exercising their ingenuity upon the contrivance of some kind of Congregationalism which should be Presbyterianism, without being such. Men thus minded, disrelishing the central element of his system as heartily as they thought themselves entitled to dislike his character, could hardly be expected to deal tenderly with Robert Browne. So we are quite prepared to find Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, speaking, in 1604, of their Amsterdam company of believers as "such true Christians, as are commonly (but vniustly) called Brovvnists;"¹²⁶ and Gov. Bradford, protesting against the injury done to the Plymouth men in being designated by his name, "whose person they never knew, whose writings few if any of them ever saw, and whose errors and backslidings they have constantly borne witness against;"¹²⁷ and John Cotton saying: "to speak with reason, if any be justly to

¹²³ *Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time* (1645), 14.

¹²⁴ *Heresiography*, etc. (originally 1645) (ed. 1654), 58. He refers to this again: "Father Browne, who would curstly correct his old wife, as before." 66.

¹²⁵ In his *De Statu Ecclesie in Anglia*, as cited by J. Peirce, *Vindicia Fratrum Dissentientium in Anglia*, etc. (1710), 57.

¹²⁶ *Apologie or Defence*, etc. [title].

¹²⁷ *Dialogue*, etc., *Young's Chronicles of Plymouth*, 444.

be called Brownists, it is onely such as revolt from Separation to Formality, and from thence to prophanenesse; ”¹²⁸ and, almost in our own time, the well-read Hanbury affirming that the rector of Achurch “left to the Church of England the ample legacy of his shame.”¹²⁹

I conceive that the question needing settlement in the outset, if we would form any just conception and fair estimate of this man's quality and work, is whether to human eye he were or were not genuine in the religious character of his early life, and the spirit of his Separatist theories and ministry. Upon this, fortunately, we do not lack abundant and apparently unimpeachable evidence. The tests which we should apply and regard as conclusive in any contemporary case, would surely be: first, the opinion of those having means of knowledge who are presumably themselves good judges of Christian character; and, second, the personal statements of the subject of inquiry. It so happens that both of these are within our reach in this case in a manner somewhat remarkable at this distance of time.

As to the first, we have his own averment, which does not lack corroboration, that the Rev. Richard Greenham, of Dry Drayton, was for a time his theological tutor, and the original promoter, and first sponsor, of his ministry.¹³⁰ Who, then, was Richard Greenham? The answer is not difficult, since, beside the verdict of his contemporaries, his own “Works”¹³¹ still testify of his temper and toil. We first hear of him, apparently about 1573, as rendering to the Bishop of Ely an “Apologie,” on “being comanded to subscribe, and to use the Romishe habite,” in which he announced his “plaine, determinate and resolued purpose,” that he “neyther can, nor will, weare the apparrell, nor subscribe vnto it, or the communion booke.”¹³² We learn elsewhere that “his constant course was” to preach thrice on the Lord's Day, then once on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednes-

¹²⁸ *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, etc. (1648), 5.

¹²⁹ *Hist. Mem. relating to Independents*, etc. (1839), i: 24.

¹³⁰ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 2.

¹³¹ *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Richard*

Greenham, Minister and Preacher of the Word of God, collected into one Volume, etc., folio, (mine is the fifth edition), London, 1612, pp. xviii, 875, xi.

¹³² See the *Apologie or Aunsweere*, as reprinted by Waldegrave in *A Part of a Register*, etc. (1590), 86-93.

days, on Thursdays to catechize the youth, and on Fridays to preach again; that, on these week-day occasions, he "would be in the Pulpit in the morning as soon as he could well see," in order that his farmer hearers might feel able to afford the time to attend on his ministry; that twice a day he prayed in his family, and after sermon examined his servants. He was so thoughtful of the poor that, in a time of scarcity, when barley was ten groats a bushel, he managed that it should be sold for four in his town; kept but two beasts himself, that the needy might have his fodder; and when others sold their straw for "two shillings a dayes thrash," he sold his for ten pence—so by his prudence keeping the low-hearted from famishing.¹³³ It is easy to see from his printed Remains that he was an eminently godly man; the sweet savor of intense and memorable consecration exhaling in rare perfume from every page. He had a peculiar interest in young men, and in Cambridge young men, and a memorial of his to a person of quality pleads touchingly for such pecuniary aid as should at least keep them from being driven by hunger "into the Ministerie, both vnseasonably and hurtfully."¹³⁴ He was greatly exercised, moreover, as to the awful dangers of hypocrisy and hardness of heart in professedly Christian people, and especially in those who preach. The devil, he says, "knoweth it is more dangerous to poyson the Fountaine, whereof all drinke, than the cup whereof one drinketh; and therefore hee hath well prouided the Ministerie to bee but a spring, whereat all the wilde Asses quench their thirst."¹³⁵ Evil ministers, he declares, "bee like to bells calling other to the places where they neuer come; to blacke sope, making white and remaining blacke; to blunt whetstones, which sharpen other things but they continue dull; to rough ragged files, smoothing al other things, themselues remaining rough and not changed; to Noahs ship-wrights, which make the Arke, but themselves were not saued in it;"¹³⁶ and he "feared much the preposterous zeale and hastie running of young men into the Ministerie; because, as iudgment, so also stayednesse, and moderation, vse, experience, grauitie in ordering affections, and the hauing some

¹³³ *Harleian MSS.*, 6037: 17. See also S. Clarke, *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*, etc. (ed. 1677), 12.

¹³⁴ *Works* (as above), 874.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 370.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 400.

masterie ouer corruption, was needful in him that should teach others."¹³⁷ With all this he did not estimate highly the importance of the questions then agitated as to church polity. "Many," we find him writing, "meddle and stirre much about a new Church gouernment, which are senseles and barren, in the doctrine of new birth: but alas what though a man know many things, and yet know not himselfe to be a new creature in Iesus Christ? It is often the police of Sathan to make vs trauell in some good thing to come, when more fitly we might be occupied in good things present."¹³⁸ He was a decided reformer, but a Puritan, and he reasoned thus: "it is one thing to liue where meanes of pure worship are wanting; another to bee where false worship is erected: for the first we are not to flie the Church, but by prayer and patience to stay the Lords mercie: for the other, we must depart because of that abomination."¹³⁹

The first good thing here is that Robert Browne was himself drawn toward such a man, and of his own choice continued for a considerable period a member of his household, and a pupil in his school of the prophets.¹⁴⁰ One finds it difficult to conceive that an insincere and scheming soul should feel itself attracted to be, and to remain, within the nearest sweep and most urgent force of such an influence. The account of the matter which he gives is, that he was led thus to Mr. Greenham because "he hard sai" that he "of all others," was "most forward" [i. e.: in religious reform] and so he "thought that Vvith him, & by him, he should have some stai of his care & hope of his purpose."¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 519.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 296. Nor was this reasoning suggested by any want of courage on his part, for we find him terrible in invective of wrong; as where he represents the souls "lying vnder the grislie altars of destruction" in consequence of negligent pastors, as crying out: "O Lord, the reuenger of bloud, behold these men whom thou hast set ouer vs to giue vs the bread of life, but they haue not giuen it vs, our toongs, and the toongs of our children haue sticken to the roofe of our mouthes, for calling, and crying, and they would not take pitie on vs: we haue giuen them the tenths which thou hast appointed vs, but they haue not giuen vs thy truth which thou hast commanded them: reward them O Lord as they

haue rewarded vs, let the bread betweene their teeth turne vnto rottennes in their bowels, let them be clothed with shame, and confusion of face as with a garment, let their wealth as the dounge from the earth be swept away by their executors, and vpon their gold and siluer which they haue falsely treasvred vp, let continually be written, The price of bloud, the price of bloud; for it is the valew of our bloud, . . . forget not the bloud of many when thou goest into iudgement." *Ibid.*, 831.

¹⁴⁰ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 2. Browne says: "Wherefore, as those which in ould tyme were called the prophetes & children of the prophetes & liued to gether, because of corruptions among others, so came he vnto him."

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

And the second pleasant fact in this connection is, that such a man thought so well of his young pupil and friend, as—with all his own evident insight of character, his general conservatism on such subjects, and his solicitude not merely as to the entrance of unworthy men into the ministry, but as to the premature entrance of worthy ones, as well—to suffer him after he had taken some apprenticeship in first speaking “of that part of scripture Vvhich was vsed to be red after meales,” “to teach openlie in his parish” without “leauē & special vvord from the bishop.” Pagitt refers to the connection between the two men, and says Browne, before finally leaving the Church of England, informed Mr. Greenham of his intentions, and that the Drayton pastor dissuaded his old pupil; but even Pagitt seems to admit that Mr. Greenham expressly acknowledged he “doubted not” the integrity of his purpose.¹⁴

This is substantial—and I venture to think sufficient—external endorsement; and I now call your attention to some proof from the man’s own pen of the genuineness of his Christian experience, and the honesty of his purpose in entering the ministry. In general, I may say I could not entertain a doubt that any Christian of sound discernment who should carefully examine his rude little quarto, entitled *A True and Short Declaration, both of the Gathering and Ioyning together of Certaine Persons: and also of the Lamenable Breach and Division which fell amongst Them*, which is the modest name he gave to the constructive autobiography to which I have before referred, would rise from its perusal—while regretting, though scarcely wondering at, some things therein—with a profound and tender satisfaction in the godly honesty with which it was written. I can only present you with a bit from here and there, toward the proof of what I say.

When he begins the story of his starting out upon life for himself, he declares that he had “a special care to teach religion with other learning” to his “schollers.” The thing which chiefly grieved him in the methods of instruction to which he had to submit, was, that the children could not “profit so much in religion, as that their other studies & learning might be

¹⁴ *Heresiography* 52. He says he (R. B.) | “went away in his hot zeale.”

blessed thereby." It was his conviction, thus engendered, that something must somehow be wrong in the practical relations of religion to society, which led him wholly to give "him selfe to search & find out the matters of the church: as how it was to be guided & ordered, & what abuses there were in the ecclesiastical gouernment then vsed." He had one rule: "Whatsover thinges he ffound belonging to the church, & to his calling as a member off the church, he did put it in practis." He labored in his school — "as all the Townsemen where he taught gave him witnes" — that "the kingdom off God might appeare." It was because it seemed to him that "by some better waie he might profit the church," that he abandoned teaching as a profession, and went back to the university and to Mr. Greenham. He says "he might haue lived with his father, being a man of some countenance,"¹⁴³ and have wanted nothinge, if he hadd beene so disposed, but his care as alwayes before, so then especially, being set on the church of God, he asked leave of his father & tooke his Iournie to Cambridge." It was for the reason that the way of the Bishops did not seem to him to lead to the paths of spiritual peace, that he preached in Benet church against them. The great answer which he made to that Cambridge church, when declining their earnest and repeated call to their pulpit, was that his first appeal must be to conscience and to God, and his chief endeavor, to act as "his dutie did bind him." It was the conviction to which he was finally and unalterably forced, that it was hopeless to expect the needed reformation of spiritual life from the old-fashioned Popish system of parish churches, which drove him to the conclusion that resort must be had to associations of believers, who were godly men, "be they never so few." This conclusion was reached "with manie teares." His sole object in leaving Cambridge for Norwich — sending back the money of the church which besought his continuance with them — was that he might have the comfort and the advantage of being with those whom he thought to be living nearest to God of all of whom he could hear anything in the kingdom. So implicit and literal was his acceptance of the Word of God, that he was disposed to question the sound-

¹⁴³ "Importance; account." Halliwell's | *Dict. Archaisms*, etc., sub voce.

ness of his friend Harrison's conviction that "his first calling & effectuall stirring to goodness was on a certaine time when he red in the Bible," because he himself understood Paul to teach that "faith cometh by hearing" a spoken gospel. The special burden which was on his spirit concerning his little church when it was formed at Norwich, was "that all should further the kingdom off God in themselues & especially in their charge & househould, iff thei had anie, or in their freindes & companions & whosoeuer Vvas worthie." And, finally, there runs like a golden thread through all his simple and homely narrative, a perfectly apparent, never obtrusive but often exemplified, willingness to suffer even unto bonds and imprisonment for the sake of bearing witness to the truth. When his Norwich flock were hesitating whether to flee out of England, from the Archbishop's dungeon in London he wrote to them "that thei were to do that good in England which possiblie thei might do before their departure, & that thei ought not to remoue before thei had yet further testified the trueth & the Lord had with strong hand delivered them frō these. And rather indeed would he haue it to be a deliuerance by the Lord, then a cowardly fleeing off their owne deuising."¹⁴⁴

These all, I submit, are not the words of a charlatan, nor of a restless and ambitious fanatic. There is too much of the fine flavor of evangelical truth, too much of the sad soberness of a broken and contrite heart, about them for that. And when corroborated by the external testimony of one of the best men of his time, having opportunity of faithful knowledge, is it possible to entertain a reasonable doubt that it was as a man who walked with God, and who eagerly sought to be a co-worker with Christ on earth, that Robert Browne began, in his impetuous youth, his career as an ecclesiastical reformer?

I am ready, then, to approach, to open, and to explore his writings with that prepossession of confidence and respect, which the heart-born utterances of any man who speaks out of the depths of a prayerful, self-denying and consecrated life, may rightly challenge from kindred spirits.

Besides the *True and Short Declaration*, and the unrecognized treatise, mention of which has been made in connection with his

¹⁴⁴ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 1, 2, 6, | 7, 10, 20.

visit to Scotland on his way home from Zeland; another of which we know as little, and for the little that we do know of which we are indebted to the same sermon of Bancroft, wherein a passage from it is cited as from "a treatise of his [Browne] against one Barow;"¹⁴⁵ a reply from his pen to Stephen Bredwell's *Admonition to the followers of Glover and Browne*, which appears to have been circulated in manuscript but never printed, and two other similar manuscripts;¹⁴⁶ we have two separate works, the first (comprising, as I have said, three several treatises) printed at Middelberg, and the second at London. In its completeness, the former begins with *A Treatise of Reformation without Taryng for anie, and of the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reforme till the Magistrate commaunde or compell them*. [4to (n. p.), pp. 18.] Then follows *A Treatise vpon the 23. of Matthewe, both for an Order of Studying and Handling the Scriptures, and also auoyding the Popishe disorders, and vngodly comunion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked Preachers and Hirelings*. [4to (n. p.), pp. 44.] The third part is entitled *A Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true*

¹⁴⁵ *Sermon at Paules Crosse*, etc., 76. I give the whole passage which Bancroft quotes, both for its intrinsic interest, and as a means of the possible identification of the book. I think the "treatise" must have been printed, or Bancroft would scarcely have fallen in with it, or, if he had found it in *MS.* would have mentioned that fact. "Whereas you charge us," saith he, "in denieing Christ in his offices, and consequently not to be come in the flesh: it shall appeere by your presbyterie or eldermen, that indeede you are and will be the aldermen even to pull the most ancient of all, Christ Jesus himselfe by the beard: yea and seeke not onely to shake him by the lockes of his haire out of his offices, but also all his ancients under him, I meane the lawfull magistrates and ministers, which have lawfull authoritie from him.

"Wherefore not we but you rather seeke the glistering blase of great name: and if once you might get up the names of Elders and Presbyters, what mischief, crueltie, and pride would not streame from that name, even as fire from a blasing star to set on fire the whole worlde? For every busie foole, the more busie he were in discrediting others, and seek-

ing mastership among the people, the better elder he should be judged. Yea and this new name of an elder given him, were even as a sacrament of grace, and woulde seale up all his knauerie: that whatsoever filthines dropped from him, yet the skirt of his ancients gowne should cover it."

¹⁴⁶ I judge that this Reply to Bredwell never went through the press, partly because I have found no trace of any such printed book, but mainly because Peter Fairlambe in his careful list of "Bookes in defence of Brownisme" which he had read, sets down "his [Browne's] Aunsweire in writing to Steephens Bridewell, his first booke against Brownists." [*The Recantation of a Brownist*, etc. (1606), 19.] Stephen Bredwell, in his *Detection of Edward Glover's Heretical Confection*, etc. (1586), cites a passage from Browne's *Conference with M. P. & M. E.* as if it were accessible (I take it in *MS.*) to those whom he was addressing [p. 124]; and also seems to imply another *MS.* treatise from Browne's pen, in the *Seconde Answere or Reioynder to Brownes Replie for the doubts and objections of his Disciple*, to which he devotes several pages of his *Rasing the Foundations*, etc. [11-60].

Christians, and howe unlike they are vnto Turkes and Papistes, and Heathen folke: Also the Pointes and Partes of all Diuinitie, that is of the reucaled will and worde of God, are declared by their seuerall Definitions, and Diuisions in order as followeth. [4to (n. p.), pp. 111.] The latter, which is without date, was most likely issued in 1584, after his return to England. It is a thin quarto [pp. ii, 85, xi], entitled *An Answer to Master Cartwright, his Letter for Ioyning with the English Churches: wherevnto the true copy of his sayde Letter is annexed.*

From the three of these eight which are now accessible, we shall find it easy to develop the Brownism of Robert Browne. And if we discover it to be, in some essential features, other than has been commonly represented; it will not furnish the first instance on record in which a teacher has been proved to be a surer witness than his doubtful friends or his undoubted enemies, of the actual inner substance and vital force of his own doctrine.

The first thing to be considered, if we desire clear and accurate comprehension of this Brownism, is its point of contact with, and of departure from, the Puritanism out of which it was developed. It has been usually, I do not know but I should almost do right to say invariably, represented as a movement solely for the change of form — conceived and carried out purely in the interest of polity. The latest revision of the ponderous *Encyclopædia Britannica* — in a volume bearing date within the last twelve-month, and aiming to be a standard authority upon all points which it treats — says: "The occasion of the Brownists' separation was not any fault they found with the faith, but only with the discipline and form of government of the other churches in England."¹⁴⁷ There is of course a sense in which this is true; yet, unexplained, it must tend to suggest an impression not only essentially misleading, but unworthy of the men whom it is seeking to describe. Browne was not a peevish plotter, uneasy with what was, and looking every whither restless for what might be, until, the idea of democracy in ecclesiastical form occurring to him, he must needs move heaven and earth to have

¹⁴⁷ Article *sub nomine*. Diderot said, as well, (1772): "Ce n'étoit pas pour les articles de foi qu'ils se separoient des autres communions,

mais a cause de la discipline ecclesiastique; et surtout de la forme du gouvernement de l'église." [*Encyc.*, *sub nomine Brownistes*.]

it tried. On the contrary he advanced very slowly in his retrocession from things as they were; and only as compelled of conscience, by a motive lying at another point of compass from all thoughts of polity. As I have already intimated, the one original, urgent, controlling thought, which grew to be a burden upon his soul which he could no longer carry, was that of the laxness, the corruption, the practical ungodliness of those parish assemblies of all sorts of persons which were the only churches that the Church of England knew. Not merely the worldliest, and the most selfish and greedy people, but unbelievers and those of scandalous lives, might legally, if in point of fact they did not habitually, partake of the Lord's Supper, without protest, or distinction, side by side with the very elect and anointed of God. It will be instructive to notice, further than has been implied in what has been already said, with some minuteness, how his mind labored on this point in the beginning.

"No man can serue two contrarie maisters, saith Christ (Matt. vi.), nether can thei be the Lordes people without his staffe of beutie & bandes (Zac. xi: 7); that is, without the Lordes gouernmēt. For his couenant is disanulled, as it followeth in the 10. verse. Novve his gouernment & sceptre cā not be ther, where much opē wickednes is incurable. For if opē wickedness must needes be suffered, it is suffered in those vvhich are without: as Paul saith what haue I to do to iudge those which are without (1 Cor. v: 12). And againe he sayeth even of these latter times, that men shall be louers of them selues, couetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers, disobediēt to parents, vnthäckfull, vnholie, without naturall affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, intemperate, feirce, dispisers of them which are good, traiters, headie, highmided, louers of pleasures more then louers of God, haueing a shewe of godliness, but hauing denied the power thereof. From such we must turn awaie as Paul warneth (2 Tim. iii: 5), that is we must count them none of the church & leaue them, whether in all these, or in some of them, theie be openlie soe faultie, as that thei be incurable. Also if anie be forced by lavves, penalties & persecution, as in those parishes, to ioine with anie such persons, ether in the sacramentes, or in the seruice & worship of God, thei ought vtterlie to forsake thē, & auoid such wickednes. For the abomination is set vp, antichrist is got into his throne, & who ought to abide it. yea who ought not to seeke from sea to sea, & from land to land, as it is written (Amos viii: 12), to haue the worde and the sacramentes better ministred, & his seruice & worship in better manner."¹⁴⁸

It was mainly because the Bishops justified this state of things, that he declared they could not be Christ's ministers. And it

¹⁴⁸ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 7. See | also closing sentences of *Treat. of Ref.*, etc., 18.

was because Mr. Cartwright, and even his good teacher Mr. Greenham, and the Presbyterian Puritans generally, not only saw their way clear to remain without protest in connection with such a system;¹⁴⁹ but proposed nothing whatever in the way of any modification of church arrangements which would cut loose the godly from the ungodly alliances forced upon them by the State, that the thought of coming out to be separate, first suggesting itself as an expedient of relief, grew in the fiery logic of his meditations to be the only philosophical method of right action; as, to his subsequent reflection, it revealed itself to lead to the exact reproduction of the original methods which inspiration has chronicled. "Some preachers," he said to Harrison, "while thei were forvvard and did striue for reformation, soe long thei did good: but Vwhen they relented, and fell to mitigations and tolerating: thei did not so much good before, but then thei did twise soe much hurtt."¹⁵⁰ The lungs of his soul were suffocating, and he broke forth because he must have air. If any one village or town were fully ready for reform, it was so tied down by the interlacings of the system that all others must be waited for; and the magistrate must be waited for, and the magistrate never would be ready. And so there was nothing for it but for those who were ready, to move; justifying themselves by their clear sense of such Scripture as clearly teaches the duty of those who will be righteous to separate themselves from the wicked, and trusting that, as he that doeth His will shall know of the doctrine, all yet unclear would be made manifest in due time to their obedience. The actual practical starting-point of Browne's system, then, was this:

1. It is necessarily the first duty of every true Christian to endeavor the highest attainable purity of faith and life.

Others, necessitated by the application of this to existing matters, followed.

2. The Church of England was inwardly so corrupt, and outwardly so under subjection to an unscriptural hierarchy, that

¹⁴⁹ "They are all turned backe after bablinge Prayers and toying worshippe, after priestlie Preachers, blinde Ministers and Canon offices, after Popishe attire and foolishe disguising, after fasting, tythings, holy dayes,

and a thousande more abominations; and their feete doo sticke faste in the myre and dirt of all Poperie, that they can not gett out." *Treatise on 23. Matt., etc.*, 30.

¹⁵⁰ *True and Short Declaration, etc.*, 11.

every true Christian ought to strive at once to obtain its reform, or, failing that, to separate from it to follow Christ elsewhere. We have already noted his general view, and as to this corruption and subjection, he speaks much, and with tremendous emphasis.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ "O Church of price! O the famous Church of Englande! Tell ye the Church, that is, tell ye the Bishoppe of the Dioces. The Church can give him authoritie to authorise both the church itselfe, and the Ghospell, as if God should intreate such a Prelate to be good vnto him: and as if the church should pul him by the sleaue, that he put not out her eyes. O church without eyes! For thy light is shutt vp at the Bishops *Bene-placitum*. Art thou the church of Christe, when thy starres be not in his hande, but the fystes of thy Bishoppes doo pull them downe from thee? Yet is this church of Englande the pillar and ground of trueth! For the Bishops ouer-ryde it. They are the trueth and it is the ground. It is the Beast and they are the Ryders. It stoupeeth as an Asse for them to get vp. The whippe of their spirituall courtes, and the Spurres of their lawes, and the Bridle of their power, do make it to carie them. We giue, say the Bishoppes; then wee take, saye the Preachers. Hold, 'Take you Authoritie,' but on this condition, that you preach no longer then we list. Mark you this, say the Preachers: for wee haue no authoritie but by the Bishops, & if they giue it vs, why may they not take it away? So the theefe taker doth please the theefe giuer, and the yong wolfe wanteth, when the olde wolfe is angrie. O yee wolues, and worse then hirelings, which not only leaue the flock when ye see the wolfe come, but also rauens and deuoure the flocke, as the Bishoppes giue you leaue." *Treatise on 23. Matt.*, etc., 30.

"Haue they not open abominations and wicked men amongst them, which they say must be tolerated, because they are incurable? Can they then haue anie Parte of Church gouernement, when neither by rebuke, nor by separation, they can cleanse the church of such greuous wickednes, but as it pleaseth the Popishe officers? Is this to binde the Kinges in chaynes, and the Nobles with fetters of Iron [Pa. clxix], or to execute the iudgement that is written, Such honour bee to all his Saintes? Is this to fight with the spirituall weapons, whiche are not carnall, but mightie

through God, to caste down houldes: yea all proude imaginations, and euerie high thing? [1 Cor. vii.] Is not this to bee seruantes to menne, yea, to obey men rather than God? [Actes iv.] Beholde they shewe their sinnes as Sodome, and hyde them not, and say, that the Lordes gouernment is not able to redresse them, and therefore they must bee tolerated. Thus they houlde still the priesthooode of Antichriste, which is the tolerating and dispensing with wickednesse, by such wicked Preachers, to make Christe and Belial agree. Therefore thus sayeth the Lord: I feede not my flocke at Pauls Crosse in London, or Saint Maries in Cambridge, or in your English Parishes. O ye my sheepe goe ye not thither, as though there were my foulds, and there I rested & fedd my flocke: for there be shepherdes and flockes also that followe thē, which are not of Christ, for they holde of Antichrist. Beleeue not euerie one which saieth, loe here is Christ, or there is Christ: but let the Lords sheepe heare his voyce, and forsake a straunger. They knewe those sheepfolds before time that the wolfe ruled in them, and there they sawe playnelie the face of Antichrist looking ouer them.

"But nowe they hide the wolue in the folde, and saye here is Christe: they put a visarde on his face, and say that Antichriste is gone, he shall deuoure them no more. Thou art deceyued O Englande, though art gone from one destruction vnto another: Thou hast escaped the snare, but art fallen into the pitte. Woe to thee, for thy fall is great, and who shall rayse thee vp?" *Ibid.*, 31.

"The Lorde doeth shewe thee O Englande, if thou wilt searche the Scripture, and knowe his voyce therein, the crooked pathes which thou hast made thy selfe, & thy great rebellions. But thou art obstinate, thy necke is an Iron synewe, and thy browe brasse. Behoulde thou seest not because thou wilt not see; a visarde hath deceaued the, and the sheepes clothing hath mocked the: and thou saiest I will follow my shepherdes which haue put away Antichrist, and yet behoulde such rauening & mischeefe as was neuer the like, and

Perhaps the most telling argument which he urged in proof that the Church of England could not be a true church, and must therefore be separated from, was that all true church discipline within it was not merely unknown, but impossible. His reply to Cartwright is largely taken up with the presentation of this view. "Not that we can keep His commandments without all breach or offense, for we are not Donatists, as the adversaries slander vs, that we should say we may be without sin, or that the church may be without publick offences, or if there fall out some sort of grosser sins that therefore it should cease to be the church of God; we teach no such doctrine: but if in any church such gross sins be incurable, and the church hath not power to redresse them, or rebelliously refuseth to redresse them, then it ceaseth to be the church of God, & so remaineth till it repent and take better order."¹⁵² "If any wickednes be open and the church will not redress it, it is guilty of the wickednes committed, neither ought it to alledge that it cannot redresse it. For it hath the power of Christ to judge those that are within, & those strong weapons of the spiritual warfare which can cut off all wicked disorders in the church. Otherwise, as we have shewed, it is not the church of God."¹⁵³

3. There was no hope of reform for the Church of England from the civil power, neither any obligation to wait for Prince or magistrate. "Sence the Lord," he says, "hath called vnto thē & thei refuse to be reformed in so manie & greuous pollu-

wickednes is gone forth from thy shepherdes into all the land." *Ibid*, 32.

"They [the Bishops] loue the fleece and thinke on the fatte, and this is their inwarde calling. . . . The Popes olde house was destroyed in Englande, and they are called to builde him a newe. In the time of King Edward the 6. they began such a building. They had gotte the Popishe tooles, but they could not holde them. . . . Let vs welcome wise Gentlemē: they toke in hand to build the Lordes house, and now moe then xx. yeeres are past in studying for the groundwork. O perfect work, whē shall it end, which is so lōg in beginning?" *Ibid*, 39.

¹⁵² *Answer to Master Cartwright*, etc., 32.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 84. Passages in another treatise are worth citing here. "Where open wicked-

nes is incurable, & popish prelates do raigne vpholding the same, there is not the church & Kingdom of God. . . . So that though there be a name of priests & of preaching, and of God amongst anie, yet if there be sett ouer them idol shepherdes, popish prelates, & hireling preachers vorse then thei, that vphoulde anti-christian abominations, there God doeth not raigne in his kingdom, nether are thei his church, nether is there his vvorde of message."

[*True and Short Declaration*, etc., 7.] "They are without the Lord's couenant, & without his gouernmēt; Thei haue altogether corrupted their waies, thei haue broken the yoake & Burste the bands in sunder. For euen those which can be none of Christ church abide in such wickednes, are cheefe in their churches," etc. *Ibid*, 19.

tions, & also pursue, imprison & persecute those which call for redresse, even all the bloud of the righteous shed vpon the earth vntill this daie shall come vpon them;"¹⁵⁴ while his *Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for anie*, etc., is one extended plea in proof of "the wickednesse of those Preachers which will not reforme them selues and their charge, because they will tarie till the Magistrate commaunde and compell them."¹⁵⁵

Robert Browne, I must think, is entitled to the proud preëminence of having been the first writer clearly to state and defend in the English tongue the true — and now accepted — doctrine of the relation of the magistrate to the church. He says the magistrates "haue no ecclesiasticall authoritie at all, but onelie as anie other Christians, if so be they be Christians."¹⁵⁶ And again: "if then the magistrate will commaunde the Souldiour to be a Minister, or the Preacher to giue ouer his calling, and chaunge it for an other, they ought not to obeye him. . . . In all thinges wee must firste looke what is the Lordes will and charge, and then what is the will of man. . . . And this freedome haue all Christians, that they consider what is lawfull, and what is profitable, what they may doo, and what is expedient, and in no case bee brought vnder the power of anie thing, as Paule teacheth vs."¹⁵⁷

His general view he explains thus: "They [the magistrates] may doe nothing concerning the Church, but onelie ciuillie, and as ciuile Magistrates; that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spirituall Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outwarde Iustice, to maintaine the right welfare and honor thereof with outwarde power, bodily punishment & ciuill forcing of mē. And therefore also because the church is in a common wealth, it is of their charge: that is concerning the outward prouision & outward iustice, they are to

¹⁵⁴ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 13.

¹⁵⁵ *Treatise of Reformation*, etc. (title).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 4.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 7. He continues: "the Magistrates commaundement must not be a rule vnto me of this and that duetie, but as I see it agree with the worde of God. So thē it is an abuse of my gifte and calling, if I cease preaching for the Magistrate, when it is my calling to preach,

yea & woe vnto me if I preache not, for necessitie is laied vpon me, and if I doe it vnwillinglie, yet the dispensation is committed vnto me. And this dispensation did not the Magistrate giue me but God by consent and ratifying of the church, and therefore as the Magistrate gaue it not, so can he not take it away. . . . I am to preache still, except I be shvt vp in prison," etc. *Ibid*, 7.

looke to it; but to cōpell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiasticall gouernement by lawes & penalties, belongeth not to them."¹⁵³ And, still further: "Goe to, therefore, and the outward power and ciuil forcings let vs leaue to the Magistrates: to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice, belongeth to them: but let the Church rule in spirituall wise, and not in worldlie maner; by a liuelie lawe preached, and not by a ciuill law written; by holinesse in inwarde and outwarde obedience, and not in straightnesse of the outwarde onelie."¹⁵⁴ . . . "For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will driue vs to seeke the Lordes Kingdome;"¹⁵⁵ and "we knowe that when Magistrates haue bin most of all against the Church, and the authorities thereof, the Church hath most florished."¹⁵⁶

And, once again: "The Lorde be mercifull, and deliuer vs from these vnreasonable and euill men. For there is no ende of their pride and crueltie, which ascende vp and sit in the magistrates chaire and smite the people with a continuall plague, and such of them as haue not yet gotten the rouse, do crie for Discipline, Discipline, that is for a ciuill forcing, to imprison the people, or otherwise by violence to handle and beate them, if they will not obeye them. But the Lorde shall bring them downe to the dust, and to the pitt, as abominable carkasses, which would be aboue the cloudes, yea which dare presume into the throne of Christe Iesus, and vsurpe that authoritie and calling in his church which is opposed and contrarie to his kingdome and gouernement. . . Let them knowe that the Lords people is of the willing sorte."¹⁵⁷ As a necessary consequence of these views he held further: "The church hath more authoritie concerning church gouernement then Magistrates. . . For who knoweth not, that though Magistrates are to keepe their ciuill power aboue all persones, yet they come vnder the censure of the Church, if they be Christians, and are openlie to humble themselues in vnfaigned repentaunce, when they haue

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 12. So when defining [*Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 117] the duties and functions of civil magistrates, he is careful to limit them to civil things: "to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice," etc.

¹⁵⁹ *Treatise of Reformation*, etc., 15.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 11. So again: "The Lordes kingdome is not by force, neither by an armie or strength, as be the kingdomes of this worlde," *Ibid*, 10.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 15.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 10, 11.

openlie and greuouslie trespassed. . . For all powers shall serue and obeye Christ, saith the Prophete."¹⁶³ He went so far indeed in this direction that he aroused toward himself the vague suspicion of being affected by the anarchic Munster fanaticism: "They charge vs as Anabaptistes"¹⁶⁴ & denying Magistrates," he says, "because we set not vp them, nor the Magistrates, aboue Christ Iesus and his glorious kingdome. How often haue we proued by word & writing these matters [i. e.: how false these charges are.]"¹⁶⁵

This was a whole generation before those treatises of Leonard Busher¹⁶⁶ and John Murton,¹⁶⁷ and two generations before those of Roger Williams¹⁶⁸ and Samuel Richardson,¹⁶⁹ which have been made the occasion of so much gratulation by our Baptist brethren, as identifying with the early writers of that faith all just claim to the origination of the true modern doctrine of toleration, and of liberty of conscience.

4. It was equally evident that no reasonable hope of reform was offered by the Presbyterian plan. This was not merely open to the objection of tarrying for the Prince, but, in its best estate,

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 14.

¹⁶⁴ I find not the slightest evidence that Robert Browne gained any tinge of thought from any publication growing out of the Anabaptist struggle; while from the minute statements which in the *True Description* he makes of the processes through which his mind passed, and of the manner in which he came to reach his conclusions, there grows a very strong presumption that, with the exception of the participation which he had in that general reforming of the Cambridge mind which was largely due to Cartwright, he was essentially the master of his own thinking, without being the disciple of any. Baylie declares that Browne taught liberty of conscience. *Disuasiue*, etc., 30.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 13.

¹⁶⁶ *Religions Peace: or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience. Long since presented to King James, and the High Court of Parliament then sitting, by Leonard Busher, citizen of London, and Printed in the year 1614. Wherein is contained certain Reasons against Persecution for Religion*, etc. London. 1646. [repr. 1846, by Hanserd Knollys Society, London.]

¹⁶⁷ *Obiections: answered by way of Dialogue, wherein is proved, By the Law of God: By the Law of our Land: and by his Maies. many testimonies, That no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testifie his allegiance by the Oath, appointed by Law, etc., 1615.* [Again as "Persecution for Religion Iudg'd and condemn'd, in a Discourse between an Antichristian and a Christian, etc." 1620, 1662, 1827, and by Hanserd Knollys Society, 1846.] *A Most Humble Supplication of many of the Kings Maiesties Loyal Subjects ready to testify all civil Obedience, by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in Religion) contrary to Divine and Human Testimonies*, etc., which came out in 1620 [repr. 1662, 1827, and by Hans. Knol. Soc., 1846] was also ascribed to John Murton.

¹⁶⁸ *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for cause of Conscience, discussed*, etc. London, 1646 [agn. by Hans. Knol. Soc., 1846, and Narragansett Club, 1867].

¹⁶⁹ *The Necessity of Toleration in Matters of Religion*, etc. London, 1647, 4to, [repr. by Hans. Knol. Soc., 1846.]

it offered nothing but a transfer of the parish churches with all their objectionable features, to another state likely to be worse than the first. Of this one thing he was clear: "Whosoeuer are not gathered from all false churches, & from their false gouernment, can neither be the church of God, nor preachers in the same."¹⁷⁰ "He that will be saued must not tarie for this man or that; and he that putteth his hande to the plow, and then looketh backe is not fitt for the kingdome of God: Therefore woe vnto you ye blind guides, which cast away all by tarying for the Magistrates."¹⁷¹

5. But, since it must be the duty of every believer to seek purity in religion, and since the Church of England was radically impure, with no hope of relief from magistrates, or the Puritans with another State church brought in from Geneva, it followed that it must be the duty of all true Christians to gather themselves from its defilements into separate churches. I have already referred to his views on this subject, and need not dwell upon them. "Though there be a name of priests," he taught, "& of preaching, and of God amongst anie, yet if there be sett ouer them idol shepherdes, popish prelates, & hireling preachers worse then thei, that vpholde antichristian abominations, there God doeth not raigne in his kingdom, nether are thei his church, nether is there his worde of message."¹⁷² "The people were charged by Christ toe lett alone such blind guides, & not to be guided by them (Matt. 15, 14); howe much more should we let these blind guides alone, which never were lawfully called, and also sit in the seat of Antichrist."¹⁷³ So he says: "If the whole church be persecuted it ought wholye to flee, and if lawes be

¹⁷⁰ *Treatise on 23. Matt., etc.*, 47.

¹⁷¹ *Treatise on Reformation, etc.*, 5. "Let us not, therefore," he adds elsewhere, "tarie for the Magistrates. For if they be Christians, thei giue leaue & gladly suffer & submit themselues to the church gouernment: for he is a Christian which is redeemed by Christ unto holines & happines for euer, & professeth the same by submitting him self to His lawes and gouernment. And if they be not Christians, should the welfare of the church, or the saluation of mens soules hang on their courtesie?" [*Ibid*, 13.] "The magistrates," he says, "must bee vnder a Pastorall charge: They must obeye to the Scepter

of Christe, if they be Christians." [*Ibid*, 3.] "For what Magistrates should we tarry? For those of our charge, trowe ye, or for those which are none of our charge? . . . Muste wee not in all thinges looke duellie to our charge, and let them goe which are none of our charge? For wee shall not giue accomptes vnto God for them which are out of our charge [Acts xx]. . . But these men teach, that we must let our charge alone, and lay from vs the gouernment thereof, for their sakes which are none of our charge." [*Ibid*, 10.]

¹⁷² *True and Short Declaration, etc.*, 7.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*.

made against all, though as yet they be not executed on some, yet the persecution is generall, and they are called away."¹⁷⁴

6. Any company of apparently true believers, separating themselves thus from the corrupt State church, and rightly associating themselves together, in so doing constitute themselves a true church of Christ, independent of all control but His. Browne's maturest statement under this head was this: "The church planted or gathered, is a companie or number of Christians or beleeuers, which by a willing couenant made with their God, are vnder the gouernment of God and Christ, and kepe his lawes in one holie communion; because Christ hath redeemed them vnto holines & happines for euer, from which they were fallen by the sinne of Adam."¹⁷⁵

7. Such persons rightly constitute themselves a church by a public willing covenant made with God and with each other, in which they promise to submit themselves to His lordship and government. Under this head he asks a question, and answers it thus: "Howe must the church be first planted and gathered vnder one kinde of gouernement? First, by a couenant and condicion made on Gods behalfe. Secondlie, by a couenant and condicion made on our behalfe. Thirdly, by using the sacrament of Baptisme to seale those condicions, and couenantes."¹⁷⁶ This is further explained: on the one hand, that on God's side this transaction binds him to be our God and Saviour, and the God and Saviour of our seed after us—we remaining faithful—and to give us His spirit for "preparing and strengthening vs vnto all goodnes;" and, on the other hand, that it binds us to give up ourselves, and our seed, to obey His government in the church and lead "a godly and Christian life."¹⁷⁷ When his church was formed at Norwich, he says: "A couenāt was made & ther mutual cōsent was geuē to hould to gether. There vvere certaine pointes proued vnto them by the scriptures, all vvhich being particularlie rehersed vnto them with exhortation, thei agreed vpon them & pronouced their agreement to ech thing particularlie, saing: to this vve geue our consent. First, therefore, thei gaue their consent to ioine them selues to the Lord, in one couenant & fellowshipp to gether,

¹⁷⁴ *Treatise on 23. Matt.*, etc., 46.

¹⁷⁵ *Booke which Sheweth*, etc. Def. 35.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Def. 36.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Defs. 37, 38.

& to keep & seek agreement vnder his lawes & government; and therefore did vtterlie flee & auoide such like disorders & wickednes as vvas mencioned before."¹⁷⁸

8. Church authority resides solely in the lordship of Christ over these local companies of affiliated believers, and that authority makes itself manifest and practical for the government of these churches through its individual members interpreting, exercising, and submitting to, those principles and laws which the Great Head of the Church has laid down for them—all under the promised guidance of His Holy Spirit. "The Church government," Browne says, "is the Lordshipp of Christ in the communion of his offices: wherby his people obey to his will, and haue mutual vse of their graces and callings, to further their godlines and welfare."¹⁷⁹ Beautifully he states it again, thus: "The kingdome of Christ, is his office of gouernement, whereby *he useth the obedience of his people to keepe his lawes & commaundments, to their saluation and welfare.*"¹⁸⁰ So he sheds light upon his doctrine from another point of view, by declaring that "euerie one of the church is made a Kinge, a Priest, and a Prophet under Christ, to upholde and further the kingdom of God, & to breake and destroie the kingdome of Antichrist and Satan;" and explains that "the kingdome of all Christians is their office of guiding and ruling with Christ, to subdue the wicked, and make one another obedient to Christ: Their Priest-hood is their office of cleansing and redressing wickednes, whereby sinne and vncleannes is taken away from amongst them": and "Their Prophecie is their office of iudging all thinges by the worde of God, whereby they increase in knowledge and wisdom among them selues."¹⁸¹

Browne had no idea of being a democrat, or that he was teaching democracy. His conception of church government, it is clear, was of the absolute monarchy of Christ over his church. But then he conceived of Christ the king as reigning

¹⁷⁸ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 19.

¹⁷⁹ *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 35.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Def. 48.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Defs. 54, 55. What was done at Norwich was that "thei particularlie agreed off the manner . . . for gathering & testifying voices [i. e., how to get at and record the

real judgment of the members] in debating matters, & propounding them in the name off the rest that agree; for an order of chosing teachers, guides, & releueers when thei want; for separating cleane from vncleane, for receauing anie into the fellowship, etc." *True and Short Dec.*, etc., 20.

through as many regents as there are individual subjects of his kingdom, who fulfil the conditions of their high office, and live near to Him, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. So he backed round into the East, sailing with his face set like a flint ever toward the glowing West!

9. The Scriptural ordinary officers¹⁸³ of such a church are a Pastor, "hauing office and message of God, for exhorting & mouing especially, and guiding accordinglie;" a Teacher of doctrine "for teaching especially and guiding accordinglie, with lesse gifte to exhorte and applie;" one or more Elders, "for ouersight and counsaile, and redressing thinges amisse;"¹⁸³ one or more Releeuers, "to prouide, gather & bestowe the giftes and liberalitie of the church, as there is neede;" and one or more Widowes, "to pray for the church, & to visit and minister to those which are afflicted & distressed in the church," all to be first tried and then "dulia chosen."¹⁸⁴

10. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the seal of the "growing together" of this church "in one bodie, whereof Christe is the heade;" and preparation must be made for the reception of this ordinance by the individual members in self-examination; duly, by conscience, applying the word of God unto the life, "least the guiltines of our secret sinnes and priuate offences, doo make us vnworthie receyuers;" and, by the body, in separating itself from the unworthy who are "vnmeet to receaue," and by redressing "all open offences and faultings."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Browne expressly provided in his system for officers "who haue their seuerall charge ouer many churches," but defined them as being (1) apostles, (2) prophets, (3) evangelists. His words, in their connection, imply that he did not regard these to be officers ordinarily existent as workers under the permanent organization of Christianity. *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 52.

¹⁸³ He uses also this language: "they whiche helpe vnto them [i. e. pastors and teachers] both in overseeing and counsailling, as the most forward, or Elders." [*Ibid*, Def. 53.] By this term "the most forward" he always means those who are farthest advanced in spiritual attainments; so that his conception of the Eldership was of the most cultured and discreet Christians, aiding the Pastor and

Teacher by their counsel and co-working, and the membership by the suggestions of their experience—not at all of any ordering of affairs by them. In other words, his conception of Elders in nothing resembled the Presbyterian officers of that name, but was precisely analogous to the ordinary ex-sacramental function of the Deacons and of the "Examining Committee" in the Congregational churches of to-day. And his idea was that these would usually most naturally come from the elder members of the body, as he says: "Age and Eldershippe is a gift whereby they haue greater authoritie as by naturall deserte of their wisdom, if so by continuance of time they haue gotten that wisdom." *Ibid*, Def. 115.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, Defs. 53, 54.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, Defs. 59, 60.

11. Still further, in this latter direction: since the great object of such a church is to train its members to be in themselves perfect as their Father which is in heaven is perfect, and, in their relation to others, workers together with God until His will be done in earth as it is in heaven; it is one of its functions as a body to examine constantly the lives of its members, with a view to test their rate of pious advancement, and check and correct all that is not as it ought to be. Browne says of his little church at Norwich: "They particularlie agreed off the manner howe to Vvatch to disorders, & reforme abuses, & for assembling the companie, for teaching priuatlie, & for warning & rebukeing both priuatlie & openlie, for appointing publick humbling in more rare iudgementes & publik thankesgeuing in straunger blessings; . . . for taking an order that none contend openlie, nor persecute, nor trouble disorderedly, nor bring false doctrine, nor evil cause, after once or tvvise warning or rebuke."¹³⁶

I may suggest, in passing, that, more than anything else, this rule, in whose application they clearly felt constrained toward a severe minuteness which sometimes found it easy to take on something of an inquisitorial flavor, proved to be the rock on which they split.

12. To all this clearness of conception of the self-completeness, nature and functions, under Christ, of the local church, Robert Browne added an equally clear conception and enunciation of the other focal principle of the Congregational system — which I conceive of as an ellipse rather than a circle — namely that of the privilege and duty of fellowship between all such local churches. Every such church sustains a relation to the headship of Christ identical with that of every other, so that being one in Him they must be one with each other. As to Him making together one family, their mutual relation must be a sisterly one; admitting no control of one over another, but always inviting kind offices, and, when needful, friendly advice and aid from all to any. In this respect Brownism has been misunderstood and misrepresented by the great mass of Congregationalists, who have been apt to associate with that term

¹³⁶ *True and Short Declaration, etc.*, 20. | There is much more like this.

the thought of narrowness and exclusion.¹⁸⁷ Scarcely could there be a greater mistake. Provision was expressly made in the fundamental constitution of the original Norwich company for "seeking to other churches to haue their help, being better reformed, or to bring them to reformation,"¹⁸⁸ should need require. And in his most careful statement he says: "there be Synodes, or the meetings of sundrie churches; which are when the weaker churches seeke helpe of the stronger, for deciding or redressing of matters;" and again he says: "a Synode is a Ioyning or partaking of the authoritie of manie Churches mette together in peace, for redresse and deciding of matters which can not wel be otherwise taken vp."¹⁸⁹ That by the word "authoritie" here he meant just what every true Congregationalist always means by it in such a connection — the authority of Christ, the great Head, revealing itself through such advice of His servants, as may be the result of their examination of the facts under the guidance of the Holy Spirit — is made beautifully clear by something which he incidentally says, where another thing was first in his mind. He is giving his reasons for refusing his call to Cambridge under the Bishop, and declares that such a call is not Scriptural, for over all is Christ appointed to be the Head of the Church, and —

"next vnder Christ is not the bishop of the dioces, by whom so manie mischiefs are wrought, nether anie one which hath but single authoritie, but first thei that haue their authoritie together: as first the church which Christ also teacheth, where he saieth, If he will not vouchsafe to heare them tell it vnto the church, & if he refuse to heare the church also, let him be vnto the as an heathen man & a publican (Matt. 18, 17). Therefore is the church called the pillar & ground of trueth (1 Tim. 3, 15). & the voice of the Vvhole people, guided by the elders and forwardest, is said to be the voice of God. And that 149. psalme doth shew this great honour Vvhich is to all the saints. Therefore the meetings together of manie churches, also of euerie whole church & of the elders therein, is aboue the Apostle, aboue the Prophet, the Euangelist, the Pastor, the Teacher, & euerie particular Elder. For the ioyning & partaking of manie churches together: & of the authoritie which manie haue, must needes be greater & more Vvaightie, then the authoritie of anie single person. And this alsoe ment Paul where he saith (1 Cor. 2, 22) Wee are yours, & you are Christes, & Christ is Godes. Soe that the apostle is inferior to the church, & the church is inferior to Christ, & Christ, concerning his manhood & office in the church, is inferior to God."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Cotton calls Brownism a "way of rigid separation." [*Way of Chhs. Cleared*, etc., 5.] It has been common to speak of it thus.

¹⁸⁸ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 20.

¹⁸⁹ *Booke which Sheweth*, etc. Def. 51.

¹⁹⁰ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 2, 3.

This is surely a self-consistent and logical system. I must take leave to think it also a very remarkable one to have been elaborated, under all the adverse influences of England in the last half of the 16th century, by a young man of scarcely nine and twenty, with no help that I can see other than the Bible, and the promptings of the Holy Spirit. It was the exact converse of the prelatical system. That taught a Christ regnant afar off, committing all power to a hierarchy, commissioning them to ordain their successors, and making it the one duty of the laity simply to reverence, accept and obey; this taught a Christ indwelling, interposing, imparting His wisdom and entrusting His power to all true believers according to the measure in which they receive His spirit and come into vital union with himself; and a ministry chosen of and ordained by such believers to be over them in the Lord, to lead them as a shepherd his sheep, and as a captain his soldiers, loving not their lives unto the death, as he gathers them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty. It was an absolute monarchy so diffused in the channels of its working, as to become, to the cognizance of that philosophy which catalogues results, a pure democracy — one king supreme, reigning through as many vice-roys as he has faithful subjects, each governing himself and offering all friendly aid to the government of all, by the king's law. It offered an effectual remedy for the fatal defect of the Presbyterian plan of reform, in that, so to speak, it builded as many water-tight diaphragms across the great hulk of the church in general in any land, as there might be local churches therein; and so, dividing it into sections, made it impossible for the flooding of one, or of several, with heresy or infidelity to sink all, until all should become alike unfaithful; while any one could be pumped out, and its lifting power applied to the others, without demanding, in so doing, the impossibility of simultaneously freeing all. By one long leap over fifteen centuries, it replaced the idea of the church upon the original platform of the Acts of the Apostles; restoring it to be in harmony with all precepts, promises and warnings of the Word. It is true there is a sound of Eldership about it, but Browne always explained himself as meaning by that word simply "the forwardest" — not in the sense of being most forward to seek the office, but

in the sense of having made greatest attainments in holiness, and so best able out of their own experience to counsel others — as elder brothers naturally looked up to, and specially helpful in a household.¹⁹¹ Sometimes he calls them “guides.”¹⁹² Curiously the sole passages which have reached us from three treatises of his — one which was printed, and two which, as I take it, remained in manuscript — are passages in which he combats the Presbyterian theory of Elders, and declares the presbytery unessential to a church.¹⁹³

Again, this polity specially provided not merely for the systematic culture of piety in the membership, but for the arousal of that feeling, on the part of every covenanted person, of personal responsibility to Christ and for the souls of men, which has been thought to be one of the marked peculiarities of the Christianity of the generation that now is. It overdid the matter of the church supervision of individual growth in grace — as the event proved; but it would be hard, perhaps, to find a wiser statement of the responsibility of every member of a church toward the well-doing of all church work within and without, than is implied in the arrangement made by the little Norwich Church, “for presētting the dailie successe of the church, & the wantes thereof.”¹⁹⁴ And, once again, this system had its crowning excellence in that it thrust every soul into immediate and vital contact with the Divine Spirit, and the Divine Word. It bade each church member feel that, by diligent and prayerful study of the Scriptures, *he* could know of the doctrine; while it taught him to regard himself as under most sacred obligation so to lay open his mind to the precepts and his heart to the motives of the Gospel, that it would be possible, so to speak, without indecorum, for the Great Head of the Church to counsel, and to act, through him. This, to them, was an amazing stim-

¹⁹¹ “The gathering of voyces & consent of the people, is a general inquirie who is meete to be chosen, when firste it is appointed to thē all, being dulle assembled to looke out such persons among thē; & then the nūber of the most which agree, is taken by some of the wisest, with presenting and naming of the parties to be chosen, if none can alledge anie cause or default against them.” *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 119 (opp. page).

¹⁹² *Booke which Sheweth*, etc., Def. 119.

¹⁹³ I refer to the brief passages from the tract about affairs in Scotland [see page 78 ante]; to the “treatise of his against one Barowe,” which Bancroft quotes [*Sermon at Pauls Crosse*, etc., 96], and to his *Conference with M. P. and M. E.*, etc., cited by Stephen Bredwell in his *Detection*, etc., and *Admonition*, etc., 124.

¹⁹⁴ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 20.

ulus, and, I must think, a spiritually helpful one. And we may apply to it the moral of the ancient saying, that, although he who aims at the sun in the zenith will not hit, he will yet send his arrow higher than if his mark were some sublunary thing. This polity surely had in it the elements of a better manliness, and a better godliness, than any which it labored to supplant.

Two things, beyond the poverty and general straits which hampered those exiles, especially contributed to those disasters which befell its initial trial at Middelberg. One was that the culture of the time was so low in that rank of life to which most of this company of Brownists belonged, as especially to incapacitate them from doing justice to their theories. The world has lately had sorrowful reminder how ages of oppression disqualify men lifted from under their influence from meeting at once new and large responsibilities; and the masses of the English people in 1580 must have been as unprepared for the refined processes of what amounted to a pure spiritual democracy, as the ex-slaves of the United States have proved themselves unfit to enter at once upon the responsibilities of full citizenship. But, beyond this, they undertook impossibilities. Full of zeal for purity and gracious growth, and with no past experience to warn them off from the impracticable, they had too much of the ideal in their commonwealth. Beginning with the appointment of regular times for reporting the results of their scrutiny of each other's faults, it is not to be wondered at that they had enough to do on those occasions, and that soon "there fel out questiones, offences & takeing of partes."¹⁹⁵ Then, contention. By and by "the contention grevve so far, that some fell from questions to euil speaches & slaunders, from slaunders to open defiance & railinges."¹⁹⁶ Browne was accused "of having condemned his sister Allens"¹⁹⁷ as a reprobate."¹⁹⁸ Other "tales were told." Somebody "pauned off a siluer spoone," concerning which another was judged "an vnlawful surmiser."¹⁹⁹ After

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 21.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 22.

¹⁹⁷ *Sister-in-law*, most likely; as Robert Browne married an "Allen of Yorkshire." [Family Pedigree in Blore, *Hist. and Antiq.*

Co. Rutland, 93.] The Achurch register seems to make it certain that Mrs. Browne's name was "Alice." She was buried in 1610.

¹⁹⁸ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 22.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 23.

a long period of mutual quarrel in this petty way — each being taught as a Christian duty to bear on his, or her, conscience every imperfection seen, or imagined to be seen, or heard of, in all others — in “an open meeting euerie on confessed their ffaultes,”²⁰⁰ and started once more together, making “a Faier shew, that thei would deale no more so ffoolishly.”²⁰¹ Notwithstanding, such was the desire of some who had “wearied of the hardnes of that contrie” to “be gone into England, that thei were restles till thei had wholly diuided them selues.” Then were there more “whisperings, backbitings, & murmurings priuily,” also “openlie greuous threats, taunts, reuilings and false accusations.” Harrison fell sick, and tales were carried to his sick chamber about Browne, and there was “much a doe” about Mrs. Browne, until finally, for very shame, another grand reconciliation took place. But when Harrison got well, “he troubled all againe.” Accusations of heresy were laid against Browne, because, among other things, he said “thei did sinn which had a fful purpos to dwel stil in England, when the Lord did call thē away, & thei had libertie to depart.” He says: “thei coueted & tooke awaie his seruant from him; Thei sould him bookes & then both stopped the saile & would haue burnt thē to his utter vndoing; debts were exacted which he neuer did ovve; some were thrust out off their rouses and duellings that ioined Vvith him;”²⁰² and so the sad story goes on from bad to worse, until all exploded into fragments. Browne, with a few who clung to him, sailed for Scotland, and Harrison, after the failure of his efforts to find a home in Cartwright’s church, until his early death ministered to the handful that remained.²⁰³

I cannot help thinking that one who — with the patient endeavor to put himself into their place — should carefully read Browne’s own minute account of these troubles, would conclude that, if they could have started on a different theory in the respect which has been noted, they might have had a different history. I must say, also, that I find something to honor, as well as much to regret, even in their morbid anxiety to put the

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁰³ Cooper says he died at Middelberg, in,

or about 1595 [*Ath. Cant.*, ii : 178]. But Stephen Bredwell speaks of him as if he were already dead, in the summer of 1588. *Rising of Foundations of Brownisme*, etc., xii.

hand of church amendment upon everything by any imagined to be amiss in every member. The motive was pure and lovable, however scandalous the issue; and even

“the light that led astray
Was light from heaven.”

Children cannot safely manage edge-tools; but that often speaks well for the tools. A sun-dial would be of vastly more use in a Hottentot kräal than a chronometer with all the improvements, and regulated to within a fraction of a second of Greenwich time; but that would not be the fault of the chronometer.

And so, by as much as this polity, with the enormous friction of those abnormal and unwise appendages, failed at Middelberg in 1583 in the awkward though honest hands of these men just come out of the great tribulation of generations of intellectual minority, and spiritual repression, by so much might one reasonably look to see it prosper when fairly put by congenial agents to its wholesome uses. Of one thing as a matter of sober history there can be no doubt: that this system — which may as fairly be called Brownism, as the inductive is called the Baconian philosophy — in neither case in any intent of praise or dispraise, but simply as an appellation naturally referring it to that human mind to which it was revealed, and from which it was passed to the cognizance of the world of thinkers; this system — which, as we shall have occasion to see, was soon swept aside, and out of sight, by rival and variant systems, and covered with obloquy from its founder's fate — proved yet to have vitality enough, and enough of adaptation to the demands of human life, to resume and reassert its interrupted sway; so that, although the thought may not be in their minds, the Independents of England and the Congregationalists of America, more nearly than from any other, are to-day in lineal descent from that little Norwich church of two hundred and ninety-six years ago. A ter-centenary was recently somewhat kept by our churches in England. I must be allowed to question whether the movement were not premature. I hope I accord all due honor to Richard Fitz, and his company. They surely were near the verge of the true system. But I fail to find in the

simple documents they left behind them²⁰⁴ evidence that they had elaborated for themselves any system whatsoever. They seem to me like a company driven by stress of storm to some uninhabited land, and provisionally living there for a time without any government, other than that which the first law of self-preservation supplied. While, even if we grant all that has been claimed for the movement, this remains incontestible concerning it: it was sporadic; it was sterile; as it had no ancestry, it left no posterity. During those years by which it antedated the church of Robert Browne, I can find no ripple on the sea of English thought fairly traceable to any act, or tract, or tradition, from it. Men suppose that rude galleons were blown across the great and wide sea to our western continent centuries before that famous expedition of 1492; but as they never went back to carry the tidings, it is usual to say that Christopher Columbus discovered America. So I submit that the name of Robert Browne, and not the name of Richard Fitz, stands legitimately first in the list of our distinctive politists; and that the true ter-centenary of English Congregationalism remains properly to be celebrated in 1880 at Norwich.

And one thing more. In that good time coming whose rosy light, in our best moments, we all seem to see glorifying the world's evening sky, the anticipation of whose millennial effulgence has inspirited so many precious saints, when by "things present" tempted to despond for the cause they loved; I think we may be sure, that, however the general assembly and church of the first born then on earth may marshal itself in different grand divisions varying somewhat in fashion of labor and form of worship, all will be at one in these four things: there will be, first of all, an utter sundering and separation of Church and State;

²⁰⁴ Dr. Waddington has printed them more than once, but never quite twice alike. The special points made in them are but these three, viz.: "*Fyrste and Formoste*, the glorious Worde and Euangell preached, not in bondage and subiection, but freely and purelye.

"*Secondly*, to have the Sacraments mynistered purelye onely and all together accordinge to the institution and good worde of the Lorde Iesus, without any tradicion or invention of man; and

"*Laste of all*, to haue, not the fylthy Cannon

Lawe, but disseplyne onelye, and all together agreeable to the same heavenlye and Almightye Worde of our good Lorde Iesus Chryste."

These are good Congregational principles as far as they go, but they scarcely more touch the question of pure polity, than the pile driven deep below the foundations of a building, suggests whether that is to be Gothic, Grecian, or pure Yankee, in its *façade*. See *Historical Papers* (1st series), 11-14; *Congregational History*, etc., i: 742-745.

there will be, next, a grand exaltation of the duty and privilege of the personal oneness of each redeemed soul with its Redeemer, with a correspondent hightening of the consciousness of the responsibility of each to be perfect in character and service; there will be, in the third place, the assured conviction that it is divinely intended for Christian people to accomplish their most effectual work upon the world around them through close co-working in the agency of their local assemblies — call them by what name you please; and there will be, finally, an intense and overwhelming conviction of the perfect brotherhood of all who are, in Christ, the children of the Highest. These dominant convictions must necessarily be accompanied by a correlate diminution of interest in all theories as to the church, the ministry and the sacraments, which lie athwart their path. In other words, whatever may or may not be true of outward seeming and statistics, in point of inward essence, the exalted and sanctified Christianity of the world's most glorious future — when the will of God shall be done here as it is in heaven — will have come back more nearly to the outline roughly sketched by our young Norfolk enthusiast, as with his friend the Master of the Hospital he roamed the fields, holding high converse as to how the earth could best be rid of the abominations of sin, than to any other, at least I may say then within the range of human thought.

The bud *did* have a bitter taste,
But sweet will be the flower!

And now what, on the whole, shall be our judgment of Robert Browne?

We may safely affirm, in the outset, that there are two sides to his story, and that those historians of a former day who painted him almost without a redeeming trait, wrote unadvisedly with their pens. Fuller says he had, in his time, "a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste; and a church wherein he never preached."²⁰⁵ To this William Nichols, in 1707, added the extra touch, that he was thrown into the prison where he died, for a breach of the peace

²⁰⁵ *Church History of Britain to the year* | M.DC.XLVIII., etc., v: 69.

in abusing his wife!²⁰⁶ But Browne's contemporary, Sir George Paule, in his life of Whitgift, says that the rector of Achurch was "a painfull preacher"²⁰⁷—the exact epithet which Fuller himself uses in high commendation of others; and which, though obsolete in our day, was then one of the best words by which faithful pulpit service could be characterized."²⁰⁸ Moreover the baptismal register of the parish of Achurch,²⁰⁹ which is in Browne's own handwriting from his institution through the entire forty years of his pastorate there, with the exception of eight years and nine months (from Sept. 1617 to June 1626), when he seems to have been altogether secluded or absent; bears the evidence that—faithful at least in this—he appears to have entered therein every marriage, baptism and burial which took place in the parish; besides noting, as well, cases where some of his parishioners were married, baptized or buried in other places. It is to be added that this register contains the record of the burial, in June 1610,²¹⁰ of Alice, the wife of Browne's youth, and

²⁰⁶ "Tandemque, propter uxorem inclementer tractatam, in vinculis mortuus est." [*Presbyteri Defensio Ecclesie Anglicana*, etc., 30.] Hoornbeek (1653), who doubtless took his "facts" from Baillie and Pagitt, says "religiosa vita, tum sævitie erga uxorem, quam se verberare ajebat, non ut uxorem, sed ut pessimam vetulam, etc." [*Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, etc. (ed. 1658), 739.] Hornius (1666) tells the same story in nearly the same words: "verum ut nefariam & maledictam vetulam." *Hist. Eccles.* (ed. 1687), 397.

²⁰⁷ *Life of Archb. Whitgift* (1699), 70.

²⁰⁸ "And of other clergymen we have three generations of the Wards in Suffolk; as many of the Shutes in Yorkshire, no less *painful* than pious and able in their professions." [*Worthies of England*, (ed. 1840) i: 80.] "Almost incredible was the *painfulness* of Baronius . . . who, for thirty years together, preached three or four times a week to the people." [*Holy State*, (ed. 1841), 77.] Bishop Davenant, he says, was "humble, hospitable, *painful* in preaching and writing," etc. [*Church History of Britain* (ed. 1845), vi: 193.] Such use of the word was common at that time. "Most happy we were, during our continuance here, in the weekly sermons, and almost frequent converse of Mr. Edward Calamie, that was the preacher of that parish;

and this indeed was one of the chief motives that drew us thither, to partake of his *painful* and pious preaching." [*Harleian MSS.*, 646.] Dean Hook makes use of the same adjective to describe Bancroft (a contemporary of Browne, afterwards Archb. of Canterbury): "for four and twenty years he had been a *painful* preacher of the gospel," etc. [*Lives of the Archb. Cant.*, x: 196.] The Bishop of Norwich was accused of treating "*painful*" ministers with harshness, etc. [*Wren's Nest Defiled*, etc. (1641), *Cat. Prints in Brit. Museum*, i: 170.] So Ward of Ipswich was characterized [*Ibid.*, i: 171] as: "That ancient, famous, good and *painfull* man."

²⁰⁹ See an article, by "H. W.," in *Notes and Queries* [2d series (1860), ix: 148]. I have personally verified the general correctness of the statements made by him. The first parchment volume (1591-1669) commences with Browne's incumbency. The record is kept with singular neatness and care, great pains having frequently been taken to print names in Old English text. During his time there are set down: marriages, 74; burials, 179; baptisms, 296. This latter item intimates how much larger families averaged then than now.

²¹⁰ The date of the day of the month is so far obliterated that only a cipher can be made out. It is, almost certainly, either 20 or 30.

the mother of his four sons and three daughters.²¹¹ Fuller was then but two years old, so that although Providence "placed his nativity within a mile,"²¹² his personal knowledge of the relations of this lady and her husband could be nothing to speak of. But I have not found any evidence, from this register, or from the family pedigree, given with great minuteness even down to the children of Robert's children, in *Blore's History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, or from any other source, that he ever married again!²¹³

From another quarter we get a gleam of sunshine—to my eye very gladsome it is—streaming across this darkly-shaded canvas. Like Grossteste, and Zwingli, and Luther—reformers before him—he was fond of music, and we have some evidence that it might be truly said of him as it was said of that good Bishop of Lincoln six hundred and fifty years ago:

"He loued moche to here the harpe
For mannys wytte yt makyth sharpe ;

Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
He hadd solace of notes and layys."²¹⁴

²¹¹ The family pedigree says that Robert Brown married "an Allen of Yorkshire." [*Blore*, 93.] From that pedigree, corrected by the Achurch records, it would seem that Browne had seven children, viz: (1) *Timothy*, who died without issue; (2) *Francis*, born Nov. 1592 at Achurch, and buried there 8 Sept. 1596; (3) *Thomas*, born at Achurch Mar. 1593, died 1664; married Dorcas Lenton of Aldwinckle; had (a) *John*, who died without issue in 1665; (b) *Thomas*, apothecary of Uppington, who married Prudence Kirkby of Caldecote, Rutlandshire, and had Thomas, John, Francis, Prudence and Susanna; (c) *Alice*, who married John Quincy of Achurch; (d) *Dorcas*, who died unmarried, and (e) *Susanna*, who married William Watts of St. Saviours; (4) *Bridget*, born at Achurch 10 Dec. 1595, who died without issue; (5) *Grace*, born at Achurch, 19 Dec. 1598, buried there 30 Oct. 1603; (6) *Alice*, born at Achurch, 16 May 1600, buried there 12 Apr. 1602; (7) *John*, born at Achurch 26 Aug. 1603, who lived at Dartford, Kent, and had issue not named. A writer in *Notes and Queries* [1st series, ix: 572] says: "The last descendant of Robert Browne died on Sept. 17, 1839, *act.* 69, widow of George, third Earl of

Pomfret; and as she had no issue, her house and estate at Tolthrop [i. e., Tolthorp] in Rutlandshire, about two miles from Stamford in Lincolnshire, probably passed to his heir and brother, Thomas William, the fourth Earl."

²¹² *Chh. Hist.*, v: 63.

²¹³ From the excessively painstaking way in which Browne kept the Achurch records, putting down apparently all extra-parochial marriages and other happenings to any of his parish; and from the patent fact that the churchwardens kept their eye also on all, certifying at intervals usually of not more than a year, "that *all* the marriages, christenings and burials, are truelike as is about to be seene registred;" it seems so incredible that he should have neglected all reference to his own second marriage had one ever taken place, that I throw out the supposition altogether; the more that it has not the slightest support from Blore, or any other person familiar with, and able to speak with exactness and authority on, the subject—not to dwell upon its intrinsic improbability.

²¹⁴ Rob. de Brunne's English version of Grossteste's *Manuel des Pechés*, in H. R. Luard's *Rob. Grossteste Epis. Quon. Linc. Epistola*, London, 1861, p. xiii.

In 1642 was published *A Threefold Discourse*, etc.²¹⁵ Its anonymous author seems to have had personal acquaintance with Browne and his family, and he introduces this bit of testimony regarding him into his dialogue between Aldgate and Bishopgate; making the latter say: "I assure you he . . . dyed an Orthodox Protestant and an honest man. . . . besides he was endued with many good and gentile qualities, among the rest he was a singular good Lutenist, and he made his son Timothy — [whom I take to be his eldest son and child, born at Middelberg] — usually on Sundays bring his viol to church, and play the Base to the Psalmes that were sung;"²¹⁶ — not, by the way, a violent endorsement of Fuller's insinuation that Browne shirked all Sunday service!

Three hypotheses seem to me to exhaust the subject of this remarkable career. Robert Browne was dishonest altogether, and bad, as a Dissenter and a Churchman, from skin to core, from the beginning to the end; or he was honest in all, honestly returning to the former fold in 1586, or thereabouts; or he was an honest man whose sensitive mind, under great stress of trial, made shipwreck on his return to his native country; who never became really himself again; and who, for the larger portion of the last five and forty years of his life, was in a shattered mental condition, which in our time would be thought better placed in a lunatic hospital, than in the rectory even of an Established church of eighteen families. I throw out altogether the notion that he could have been a genuine man to the period of his return to the communion which excommunicated him, then breaking down, of a sudden, into a renegade and a reprobate; because, in general, I do not believe in that kind of falling from grace; because the change in him was too sudden to have been of that character — *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*; and because if that thing had happened, we should surely have found him publishing books against the Brownists, and at the very least, under Burghley's patronage, bidding for a bishopric!

But he was not, in all and alway, corrupt. Richard Greenham did not think so. The Benet Church people in Cambridge

²¹⁵ *A Threefold Discourse betwene three Neighbours, Algate, Bishopsgate, and John Heyden the late Cobbler of Hounsditch, a professed Brownist*, etc., London, 1642, 4to, pp.

12. This was reprinted, in 1873, in *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, etc., edited by C. Hindley, Esq., iii: No. 18.

²¹⁶ *Threefold Discourse*, etc., 6.

did not think so. The companies who flocked after him at Islington, and Bury St. Edmonds, and Norwich, did not think so. Those who followed him into exile in Zeland, did not think so. We who, after so long, are permitted to look, through the rude window of his little book, into his young, longing heart, do not think so. That could not be!

Nor, true-hearted throughout, did he become truly reconverted to the church estate into which he was born; for, if one trait more than another seems to animate his books and characterize what we know of his first thirty years, it was that of decision, and thorough earnestness of conviction. He was the opposite of a hesitant and half-way man. One cannot conceive of him, as, with all his old intellectual and spiritual forces and impulses, reconverted to the hierarchy, without seeing him animated by an eager zeal to undo what would then seem to him to be the grievous mischiefs he had wrought; and personally laboring with those whom he had led, as he must now think, astray, in the intent to recover them out of the snare of the devil. Nothing of all this do we discover. But we do find, on the other hand, as I shall show, many things so irreconcilable with it, as, with other facts, to push us inevitably on to the conclusion that the real key to the mystery of this career is to be found in a recognition of the fact that its larger portion was clouded by dark shadows of mental disorder; sometimes almost—and quite likely for one period of years altogether—deepening into the midnight of actual insanity.

There are various considerations which combine to enforce the reason of this judgment; no one sufficient of itself, but all together, to my mind, conclusive.

In the first place, his natural constitution seems to have been of that nervous, brooding, fervid, fitful, fiery quality which is easiest perverted by disease into irrationality. I cannot stop to show how many passages there are in his works which suggest this. It is sufficient to remember that he is almost uniformly described, whether by friends or enemies, as a man of extraordinary "vehemence."²¹⁷ Fuller says he "was of an imperious nature."²¹⁸ Nichols calls him "hot-headed and turbulent,"²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Dean Hook, *Ecc. Biog.*, sub nomine.

²¹⁸ *Chh. Hist.*, v: 68.

²¹⁹ *Defence of Doc. and Dis. of Chh. of Eng.* etc., 34.

Baillie, "rash,"²²⁰ and George Johnson, "fierce."²²¹ Harrison thought him sometimes guilty of "leaning to Antichristian pride and bitterness."²²² Bishop Freke declared that he had "an arrogant spirit."²²³ Stillingfleet esteemed him "a man of a restless and factious temper."²²⁴

In the second place, he seems to have had a feeble physical constitution. He was very very sick at Cambridge.²²⁵ He was sick again at Middelberg.²²⁶ It would seem a natural suggestion of the letters of Lord Burghley to his father, that he was in poor health after his return to England.²²⁷ And Fuller says that in his old age he was so infirm that it was necessary to carry him to the cell where he died, on a feather-bed in a cart.²²⁸

In the third place, he underwent great sufferings. His history as we have been able to recover it, implies as much. And we have evidence that he said he had undergone imprisonment in thirty-two different dungeons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day.²²⁹ Bungener, in his *Life of Calvin*, remarks about Servetus: "to live in a prison in the sixteenth century was horrible;"²³⁰ and the remark was as true of England as of the continent, and no doubt Browne had even more occasion to know how true this was, than the Spanish pantheist.²³¹

In the fourth place, we can detect peculiarities in his language and conduct which have an insane look, or at least which we can harmonize better with the theory of an unsound mind than with any other. A tendency to be dense, terse, and severely logical, and a tendency to be diffuse and wild, and to say the same thing needlessly over and over again, are found in unnatural conflict in his books.²³² Not to dwell upon many minor instances that might be culled from his writings, if he

²²⁰ *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, etc., 13.

²²¹ *Discourse of some Troubles*, etc., 51.

²²² *Treatise upon the 122 Psalme* (ed. 1618), 35.

²²³ *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxxiii: 13.

²²⁴ *The Unreasonableness of Separation*, etc. (1681), 48.

²²⁵ *True and Short Declaration*, etc., 7.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

²²⁷ See page 80 *ante*.

²²⁸ *Chh. Hist.*, v: 70.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

²³⁰ *Edinburgh Edition* (1863), 252.

²³¹ I have somewhere seen statements on the part of the Brownists, which I cannot here recall for specific reference, to the effect that they were always thrust into the dimmest and most unwholesome parts of prisons; felons and Papists being uniformly preferred before them.

²³² There are several instances where the same baptismal or burial register was entered by him under two different years, and subsequently erased under one of them.

ever uttered the stupid pun which Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, puts into his mouth, one wants to think, remembering the different tone of his younger days, that he was out of his head. Wood represents him as in the habit of saying there was no Established church in the kingdom but his, and that was *Achurch*.²³³ You will remember my reference to his letter²³⁴ enclosing the Latin "tables" to Lord Burghley, while he was teaching in Southwark in 1590. I have read this in its original most carefully, and I cannot think that the mind from which it came was balanced as it was when writing the "Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians." When a man talks, as he does therein, of correcting college "metaphysics by the lawes of creatiō, covenant and sanctification;" boasts that he has "iustly altered the arts & the rules & termes of Art, by evidence of the word, & corrected manie errors of all our professors;" and, referring to what he calls "a prophetic" of "God touching Oxford & Stameford" that "good studies & professiōs of learning" were to shine out at Stamford "to the shame of Oxford," and brags: "in this poore treatise of me a Stamford man," one can see it "partly veriefed;" I am quite prepared for the consideration of other evidence that he is not in his right mind. I have remarked that suddenly in the autumn of 1617 his handwriting disappears from the parish records — Arthur Smith, "curat," and John Barker, "minister," successively taking his place — and that in the summer of 1626 Browne resumes the pen, to hold it till it drops from his tremulous fingers as the cart trundles him off to Northampton jail. And this is the curious thing about it: for a time before this absence, and for a considerable period after his return, he interlards his records with comments always uncalled for, and sometimes severe, and to which, had he been wholly in his right mind, I cannot think he would have given place there.

²³³ *Ath. Ox.*, ii: 17. The parish is now known as Thorpe Achurch, comprising two hamlets a mile asunder, touching the London and North Western R. R., three or four miles from Oundle. It contains 1494 acres, and had, in 1871, a population of 178. The living is a rectory with the vicarage of Lilford attached, worth £450 per annum. It is in the gift of Lord Lilford, and at present in the incumbency of his brother, the Hon. and Rev. Edward Victor

Robert Powys, LL. B. The church edifice is in the early English style, with nave, chancel, north and south aisles, north transept, south porch, and square tower with spire and four bells. With the exception of the transept, which was added in 1862, when the whole was restored, the edifice is without doubt substantially the same as in Browne's time. It is 90 ft. by 18 ft. 10 in., and 44 ft. in the cross aisle.

²³⁴ *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxxiv: 34.

Must not the reasonable explanation of all this be, that while during the whole period suffering from more or less of mental disease, in this interregnum of eight years and nine months his malady was so severe upon him that he was either housed at home, or in some safe retreat; and are not these features of the record²³⁵ accounted for by such mental unsoundness?

But the most insane thing about his conduct was the indecision, and what were he thoroughly master of himself would have seemed insincerity, of his behavior at the St. Olaves Grammar School in the years after his return to the Established Church, and before his institution as rector [1586-1591]. The fact that before election he was required to give a written obligation that he would keep no conventicles, would go with the children to the parish church, would conform to the church and take the sacrament therein, looks as if the fourteen governors doubted his steadiness, and so cast all these anchors over into the stream to moor him, if possible. It is always hazardous, I know, to draw conclusions from testimony mainly from one side, but we have in this case what seem to be fairly candid statements from Stephen Bredwell—a physician, of a good spirit, and who appears much more free from prejudice than most of the writers of his day—and whose statement of facts sounds like that of an eye-witness. Bredwell declares distinctly, going into full particulars of evidence of the justice of every charge he makes: (1) that Browne, after these pledges, and after his appointment in virtue of them, still continued to denounce the Church of England as before, invoking vengeance upon it for “the bloud of all those of his sect that haue died any way by pursuite of law;” (2) that during the nearly two years time then elapsed since he took these obligations, he had never at any time “cōmunicated with them in the Sacrament;” and (3) that, instead of promoting the peace of the church, he had seduced one poor woman by a “writing” of “v. or vi. sheetes of paper,” to leave St. Olaves for the Separation; that he had disturbed the congregation at Dertford and “drawn away some,” and that he had himself preached on the “Lordes Day” in a private house “not farre from Ludgate.” Quite well all

²³⁵ I give examples: “Died 18 Julie 1606, Marie Hobson, an ould poore maied.” “15 Dec. 1608, Thomas Draper, base-born, as he

saied before his death, a boy-servant of Henrie Willamot run away from his maister, and was intertained and kept by Henrie Willamot con-

this³⁶ agrees with Fuller's notion that he never really renounced his Brownism; and with his Brownistical way of calling the parish of Achurch the "towne;" and with Bredwell's saying: "The man remayneth of the same iudgement against the English assemblyes, which he helde before, when he passed the Seas."³⁷

If the pose of his mind were gone, leaving him sane enough in most respects for daily work, but making him unsound in that department of the life which these things touched, all becomes clear. Otherwise mystery hangs over all.

But could he be thus unhinged without the fact being remarked by his contemporaries? Scarcely; and yet most of those who have transmitted their judgments to us were ill-placed for much allowance for the poor man, and were in danger of the uncharity of charging confidently to the heart, what might after all have been the defect of the head. Still, we have evidence of this description enough, as it appears to me, when added to previous considerations, to make out a case.

I seem to see in all Lord Burghley's letters on his behalf, and concerning him, a kind of patient pity—for the Lord Treasurer had no sympathy whatever with Separatism—which would be natural and noble if he felt that his kinsman were not only a bruised but a broken man; and when he succeeded in getting him so far back into the ministry of England that he could legally present him to this little living, I fancy that he felt a grateful sense of a duty of compassion done.³⁸

trarie to his maisters will, and surfeited in haruest in Henrie Willamots worcke, and was turned out of him being sick, and afterward receiued againe and kept by him in his sicknes tyll he died." So, in three cases in the summer of 1614 (but nowhere else), he specifies that the party deceased was "a married man." So in five cases he goes into particulars in another direction, "Henry, son of Thomas Woodrax, the shoemaker;" "Mabel, daughter of Thomas Woodruf, carpenter;" "Marce, y^e daughter of a wanderer;" "Edward Greene, an ould and lame bachelor;" "An, y^e child of a sorowing woemā." And there are seven entries which are sampled by this: "A child of my ungracious god-sonne Robert Greene, baptized els-were in schisme." [*Achurch Register*, No 1, 1591-1669.] The last entry but one in his handwriting is the

following: "8 Maie 1631. A child of Jame [sic] Connington baptized and buried by by [sic] him selfe in schme." I fancy that what the shattered old man thought he meant, in most of these cases of "schism," was, that some one beside himself performed the service. Thus, the record: "25 Oct. 1629. Allen Greenes child baptized in schisme at Lylford, named John," I interpret as indicating that poor Browne being so unsound in mind as to make it unpleasant to the parties to have him officiate, they had quietly gone over to Lilford and obtained baptism for their child at other hands.

³⁶ *Rising of the Foundations of Brownisme*, etc., 132-140.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 123.

³⁸ I have been struck with a peculiarity in the way in which he was spoken of by two

Beyond question, many who wrote concerning him used language which well adjusts itself to this theory. Sir Robert Jermy, even so early as Browne had been in trouble at Bury preaching, said that many of his utterances were "godly and reasonable," but there were other things "strange and unheard."²³⁹ Strype characterized him as "very freakish."²⁴⁰ Fuller's account of the way in which he came to be consigned to his death in prison—that the constable "somewhat roughly and rudely" making a demand for some payment upon him, he in a passion struck him; is precisely what might naturally have happened to a semi-insane person, while the additional fact which he mentions that the old man, after his forty years' ministry there, actually had no friend to proffer aid even in the degree to substitute a carriage for a cart for his last journey, comports much better with the supposition of a poor crazed dotard who has worn out the patience of his generation, than with any other conception of what would be possible in a village both Christian and English.²⁴¹ Pagitt gives a story of Browne which I have not seen elsewhere. He says: "when the whimseys came first into his head, he was advised by some of his friends to conferr with Master Fox; and having been with him, he reported that he had been with a mad-man, who thrust him out of his doores, telling him that he would prove a fire-brand in Gods Church."²⁴² Bredwell, who seems to have known him best of all, and especially at the turning point of his life, speaks of the "tempest of his disturbed and stormie affections;"²⁴³ says that he has been "bitten & torne" by him "as it were with a mad dog;"²⁴⁴ calls his pen "furious,"²⁴⁵ and talks of "the inward ruines and downefall of iudgement"²⁴⁶ in his case. "Browne," he says, "is sound, his braine is sicke."²⁴⁷ He says again: "This *Troublechurch* Browne

Separatist writers during the first twenty years of his Achurch ministry. One is the good Henry Ainsworth who, in his *Counterpoisson*, in 1608, says to a Church of England man: "How wel Mr. Brown approueth of your church, though he liue in it; himself, if you ask him, I suppose, wil tel yov." [39.] The other is the unknown author of the Dialogue printed in 1611, which includes Henry Barrowe's "Platform," which says of Browne and of his early theory: "And yet (I think if he were asked) his conscience wil not suffer

his tongue to say, that it is not the trueth." 134.

²³⁹ Letter given by Strype. *Annals*, etc., iii(1): 30.

²⁴⁰ *Life of Arch. Parker*, ii: 69.

²⁴¹ *Chh. Hist.*, v: 70.

²⁴² *Heresiography*, etc. (ed. 1654), 51.

²⁴³ *Rising of the Foundations*, etc., 63.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

. . . is (in a heauie, though iust iudgement) compassed about with a strong delusion."²⁴⁸ So once more: "If he be so mad that he vnderstandeth not practise to be workes, then is he too mad, to bee talked withall."²⁴⁹ His criticism upon one of Browne's positions is: "Whereunto if I shoulde answere hee was madde, I should fauour him much, in mouing pitie for him; and if it be not taken so, both friends and enemies must needes set a harder sentence vppon him."²⁵⁰ And finally he declares: "And thus (belike) because Browne is not yet so madde, as that hee will suffer no clothes vpon him, wee shoulde not beleue diuerse of his great friendes, who say, he is madde, or out of his wittes, whereby they seeke to excuse his dealings."²⁵¹

Bredwell, as I have said, was a physician, and seems to have been familiarly acquainted with the master at St. Olaves; and, being an expert in such matters, I must think he would have scornfully repudiated this notion of insanity, if it had seemed to him a mere fetch, meant to cover cowardly infidelity to principle.

I have personally known, both in social and business relations, for more than thirty years, a person much of this quality — like Browne, passionately fond of music, and as "singular good" a flutist as the other could have been lutenist — sane enough on most subjects to slip along through life without attracting much attention to his eccentricities except from those who know him best; insane enough on one subject to override all the ordinary forces of motive, and make me think that the question of close confinement, for safety's sake, may most likely some day be settled against him. And that same sound

"Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh,"

which I hear in him, comes reverberating faintly out of the past to my ear from the last half-century of that life which we have now been studying.

It is, indeed, much more with his works, and his system, than with him, that we have to do. Yet, as he once said concerning Mr. Cartwright, that he wondered the ill savor of a certain sen-

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 112.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 72.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 13.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, 97.

tence did not nauseate him as it flowed from his pen-point;²⁵² so, conversely, it has seemed almost a necessity somewhat to disinfect the memory of Robert Browne, before we could fairly do justice to his opinions. On the whole,²⁵³ I am persuaded we need

²⁵² *Answer to Master Cartwright*, etc., 6.

²⁵³ It may interest the reader if I put on record here the judgment of some who have spoken as to the true relation of Browne to the general ecclesiastical system to which his name has been as persistently assigned by its enemies, as it has been repudiated by its friends. I begin with one of his contemporaries, the physician whom I have already had frequent occasion to cite. He says:

"Although (as it hath beene obserued) sundrie among them, from time to time, haue laboured to be leaders, and so vpon the spurre of emulation haue galloped as hard as they could: yet without all question, there is none among them that can iustly take the garland from *Rob. Browne*. His writings doe foreiudge the cause agaynst all his competitors. And albeit newe maisters are risen among them, that nowe, in a fresh hote moode, condemne his coldnesse and colourable dealing, and that worthily: yet they must, euen *Barow* and *Greenwood*, with the rest, acknowledge him the shop of their store, and the steele of their strength: for arguments, obiections and shifts, to colour, and (if it were possible) to vphold their crasie cause withall. Let them not disdaine (therefore) that he should beare the name, as the father of that familie and brood, which, of late yeares in a quarell for the Discipline, haue made that rende in the assemblies of Englande." *Rasing of the Foundations*, etc., viii.

So George Giffard of Maldon says (1590) of these Separatists:

"We terme them *Brownists* as being the Disciples & Scholers of *Browne*. There be indeed new masters sprong vp, which seeke to carrie awaye the name, and I haue heard diuers say, they go beyond *Browne*. But whosoever shal reade his books, and peruse all their writings, shall well see, that he deserueth to haue the honour, if any be, and to be called the Captaine and maister of them all. They haue all their furniture from him: they do but open his packe, and displaye his wares. They haue not a sharpe arrowe, which is not drawne out of his quiver." *Short Treatise agst. Donatists of Eng.*, v.

So Baillie (1645) wrote of Browne's books:

"Whence ever since the best Arguments for that Schism are drawn," and, again: "Whosoever shall read Brown his Books, and peruse all his Scholars writings, shall see that they haue no sharp arrow but which is draun out of his Quiver." *Disuasiue*, etc., 14, 18.

I append to these the judgment of four of the ablest among late writers who have referred to the subject:

"The crude immediate beginning of that process [by which modern Independency came to its growth] should be sought in the opinions propagated, between 1580 and 1590, by the erratic Robert Browne;" which fifty years later, "passed through a singular history in the minds and lives of men of steadier and more persevering character." Prof. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, etc., ii: 536.

"Although Richard Fitz was the first pastor of the first Independent Church in England, to Robert Browne belongs the honor of founding the denomination." H. S. Skeats, *Hist. of Free Churches of England* (ed. 1869), 23.

"The principles, however, which he espoused did not depend on him for their truth, and consequently were cherished by great numbers of the people. Instead of dying out of the minds of men, they revived with increasing power, and spread with great rapidity during the reign of Elizabeth." J. Fletcher, *Hist. Independency*, etc. (1862), ii: 130.

"His [Browne's] books and pamphlets formed for a long time the arsenal, whence the controversial weapons of his party were procured: and he is acknowledged by the latest Independent historians to have held all the views which distinguish the denomination at this moment, with one important exception, [which we have already seen to be an erroneous view founded on false information]—viz.: that he had no idea of what we now mean by 'toleration.'" G. H. Curteis (Bampton Lect. 1871), *Dissent in its Relation to the Chh. of Eng.*, 68.

The quotation with which the lecture closes is from the *Spectator*, No. 518.

not be ashamed of him, nor recognize the least necessity of trying to dislodge him from his natural primacy among the great thinkers of Liberalism, and of modern Congregationalism.

That charity which is predisposed to think no evil, with trustful tolerance will insist, in the face of all calumniators of his own and of succeeding generations, that if his spirit were sometimes harsh, and his language often violent; something of this was due to the anomalies of a natural temperament for which he was nowise responsible, and more to the tremendous urgencies of the times — when such a gale of Established forces was blowing in the face of reformation, that whispers and even common words were wasted breath, and no sound that was much less than a shout, or a shriek, had ability to catch the public ear.

Surely, if we could find his unknown grave, it would be safe for us — in the comfortable, if not the sure and certain, hope of a glorious immortality for him in that blessed country where “the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick,” — to inscribe upon it at least this ancient epitaph:

“Hic jacet — in expectatione Diei Supremi:
Qualis erat — dies iste indicabit.”



LECTURE III.

The
Martin Mar-prelate Controversy.

Aufidius. What is thy name?

Coriolanus. A name vnmusicall to the Volscians eares,
And harsh in sound to thine.

Auf. Say, what's thy name?

Thou hast a Grim appearance, and thy Face
Beares a Command in't: Though thy Tackles torne,
Thou shew'st a Noble Vessell: What's thy name?

Corio. Prepare thy brow to frowne: knowst ye me yet?

Auf. I know thee not.—Thy Name?

Shakespeare (ed. 1623), Coriolanus, Act iv, p. 22.

Men of most renowned virtue have sometimes, by transgressing, most truly kept the law.
Milton, Tetrachordon, Prose Works (ed. 1848), iii: 324.

I am called Martin Marprelat. There be many that greatly dislike of my doinges. I may haue my wants I know. For I am a man. But my course I knowe to be ordinsry and lawfull. I saw: the cause of Christs gouernment, and of the Bishops Antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read any thing, written in the defence of the one and against the other. I bethought mee therefore, of a way whereby men might be drawne to do both, perceiuing the humors of men in these times (especially of those that are in any place) to be giuen to mirth. I tooke that course. I might lawfully do it. I [aye], for iesting is lawfull by circumstances, euen in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place and persons brged me thereunto. I neuer profaned the word in any iest. Other mirth I used as a couert, wherein I would bring the truth into light. The Lord being the authour both of mirth and grauitie, is it not lawfull in it selfe, for the truth to vse eyther of these wayes, when the circumstances do make it lawfull?

My purpose was and is to do good. I know I haue don no harme holmsouer some may iudg Martin to mar sh. They are very weakie ons that so think.—*Hay any Worke, etc., 14.*



The Martin Marprelate Controversy.

IF one will take the pains, as vividly as he can, to summon before his mind a great school of boys and girls, which since the memory of living men has been maintained in the sternest old fashion under the discipline of the rod, until its venerable master, in all the solemn starch and buckram of his scholastic pomp, has come to seem there as but little lower than the All-mighty; and then will imagine them assembled some day in the great hall, in trembling terror, as the extreme penalty of the birch is about to be administered with all the honors upon some misdoers; and, in the awful preliminary hush, will conceive the side door to open suddenly, and Mr. Punch, in all the uniqueness of his jolly belly, his protuberant and rubicund nose, his merry squint, and the shrill cackle-chuckle of his thin and tinny voice, to come blandly bounding upon the platform; squeaking aside a "How are ye, ancient fellow!" to the master, and, while delivering a ludicrously awkward bow to the thunder-stricken assembly, contrive to land upon his hands, and from this inverted position proceed — gesturing with his heels — to make a speech, denouncing the "old man out there" as a humbug and a tyrant, begging to call the

general attention to the fact that if he got his deserts he would be kicked out at once in favor of some master with a thimble-full of brains in his skull, and an ounce, or so, of red and humane blood in his heart; and when the great man at the desk has sufficiently recovered from the sudden shock of this amazing apparition to strut with stiff obstreperousness forward in the intent to bring the infamous indecorum to an instant and inglorious end; if one will behold Mr. Punch, recovering his uprightness, with unexpected muscle pitching into the precise old pedagogue like two or three larger men — to right, to left, and all ways, sending his spectacles in one direction, his wig in another, his false teeth and glass eye in still others; tearing his shirt down the front, ripping his coat up the back, and knocking him generally into a state of demolition and chaos, himself not indeed unhit by return blows, but essentially unharmed in the struggle; lifting over all his shrill and impish “ha! ha!” until, flapping his arms, he jumps upon the table and fairly crows like a cock, as his humiliated antagonist gathers himself together and hurriedly retires for repairs; if one will take pains, I say, to imagine such an extremely improper scene as this, he will, if I mistake not, concede me two things, viz.: that there would be an astonishment merging into a jubilant uproar there which would strain the roof-tree and arouse the town; and that, even if all ended in the removal of Mr. Punch to the station house by the police, and due process of law, the question of that master’s resignation would be left essentially one of time.

England, in regard to her ecclesiastical affairs, was in a position much like that which I have tried to hint in the opening of this school-picture, when Martin Mar-prelate came bouncing before the great public of the common people, flirting about his little cheap books — printed nobody knew where — that might easily be circulated and were sure to be read; with an oddity of impudence and an impudence of oddity so thoroughly English in their grain, as to appeal strongly in what they were, as well as by their very novelty, to the broad-mouthed masses. Educated to take the hierarchy as in the place of God, and to reverence and implicitly obey their ecclesiastical superiors, the vast majority of Englishmen of that period had no idea that

they could think for themselves in matters of religion, or had any right to do so if they could. That petrification of the public mind, which especially in a low state of general culture is inseparable from the thorough working of the Papal system, had been but feebly and partially modified, by the feeble and partial quality of that transfer of the English Church and nation from the religious headship of Pope Clement VII. to that of King Henry VIII., which it is common to call the Reformation in England. A few—mostly of the clergy who had been driven into exile under bloody Mary, and become indoctrinated from Geneva—had been for some time diligently laboring to influence their fellow-clergy, and to move the Court and the Queen; but with a success so indifferent as to throw doubt upon the wisdom of their methods, and, at last, to lead one of themselves to say: "We have used gentle words too long, which have done no good; the wound grows desperate, and wants a corrosive."¹ It was indeed beginning to seem almost a hopeless task to move the general mind in any such degree as should energize the nation towards its own deliverance from the frigid despotism of an ecclesiastical sway, which, so far as it could be said to look decidedly in any direction other than that of its supposed self-interest, looked lovingly back toward Rome.

Just now, of a sudden, this new form of attack upon existing abuses was developed.

In the ecclesiastical literature of that day satire had, as yet, found no recognized place; being indeed hardly yet known in the English tongue.²

Three quarters of a century before, the inimitable Erasmus, first started on the line of thought by the oddity of the fact that the wisest and the wittiest man whom he knew should bear a name which in Greek signifies a fool,³ in a single week⁴ had

¹ John Field to Mr. Pearson, Neale, *Ilist. Puritans* (ed. 1837), i: 188.

² "Satire, specifically so called, did not commence in England till the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth." T. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry* (ed. 1840), iii: 404.

³ "Quæ Pallas istud tibi misit in mentem? Iniqua. Primum admonuit me Mori cogno-

men tibi gentile, quod tam ad Moris vocabulum accedit, quam es ipse à re alienus." Erasmi Rot. *Prefatio In Moris Encomium*.

⁴ R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus, His Life and Character*, etc., i: 184; A. R. Pennington, *Life and Character of Erasmus*, 78; G. Feu-gère, *Erasmus, étude sur sa vie et ses Ouvrages*, 46.

dashed off in the house of that friend, Sir Thomas More, that waggish *Moria Encomium*, which, having gone through seven editions in a few months, and been translated into most modern languages, with Holbein's serio-comic illustrations remains — a book among a thousand of its class — as it delights us, to teach us that in some things on which we pride ourselves, the former days were quite as good as these days; and to show, in its treatment of monks and theologians,⁵ what a tremendous weapon the lash of satire may become against abuses which are easier felt than remedied.⁶ Some ten years later the same facile pen, in the world-read *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ*, and especially in the colloquies therein of the "Pilgrimage," the "*Ἰχθυοφάγλα*," and the "Seraphic Obsequies," applied the same lash to the Church of Rome with such stinging effect that the book soon earned the condemnation, and prohibition, of the Sorbonne.⁷ The great German Reformer's *Colloquium Lutherum inter et Diabolum*,⁸ sounds a little as if it might have belonged to the same family with these; but an examination of the work will show that the Satan⁹ who acts as Luther's interlocutor, and who begins by addressing him in the most respectful manner, as "Doctor perdocte," is a mere peg on which to hang a discussion of the character of masses which were called private because the priest alone partook of them; so that he might, for aught one can see,

5 "Mais c' était surtout contre les moines et les théologiens que l' attaque était sans merci. Sous le couvert d' une ironie qui ne nous paraîtra pas toujours assez fine pour ne pas blesser notre gout, il était facile de reconnaître que la haine d' Erasme était ardente contre ces deux classes d' hommes dans lesquels il se hatait trop de personnifier le charlatanisme et l' ignorance hautaine." *Feugère*, 46.

6 In his second visit to England about 1506, he and More had spent some time together in translating some of the works of Lucian into Latin, and that Greek humorist and satirist was a favorite with the great Dutch scholar, and no doubt tempted him to write in a similar style. Anticipating, however, objections which would be made to the application of satire to religious things, he insists that Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Polycrates, Seneca, Plutarch, Juvenal and even St. Jerome "lusit hoc in genere multo liberius ac mordacius;" declares

that nothing is more pleasant than "seria nugatorie tractare, ita nihil festivius quam ita tractare nugas;" and is sure that a good natured satirist does not "mordere videtur, an docere potius, ac monere;" and thinks that the man who complains, will betray his own guilt, or, at least, cowardice ["is aut conscientiam prodet suam, aut certe metum."] *Prefatio In Moria Encomium*.

7 Drummond, ii: 246.

8 *Colloquium Lutherum inter et Diabolum, ab ipso Luthero conscriptum in ejus Libro de Missa privata atque Sacerdotum unctione. Opera* (ed. 1558), vij: 228; repr. Paris 1875, par Isadore Liseur. 18mo, viii, 93.

9 In 1687, Abraham Woodhead, the Roman Catholic who managed to live quietly for many years on an Oxford fellowship traveling allowance of £20 per annum; he being supposed to be beyond seas, when he was all the time lying concealed within two miles of St.

as well have been the Angel Gabriel, John Calvin, or Michael Servetus. In 1552 there had been published at Geneva a little volume entitled *Epistola Magistri Benedicti Passavantij*,¹⁰ which was, no doubt correctly, attributed to Beza. Pierre Lizet, first president of the parliament of Paris, and subsequently provided for as Abbot of St. Victor, had been very active in the persecution of Protestants, and had published sundry controversial treatises of so extreme a character as to make himself absurd. Passavantius purported to have been sent by Lizet to Geneva to find out what was said there about him and his works, and this letter is the report rendered of his mission. It deals in a very free manner" with its subject, in no way sparing such personal peculiarities as could be made effective, and applying the balm of *aqua fortis* to every wound. Beza's works were popular in England, and there is evidence" that this was read there, and was cited, by one who seems to have known as much about Martin

Paul's, published at Oxford *Two Discourses; the First concerning the Spirit of Martin Luther and the Original of Reformation*, etc., in which [61-91] he goes at great length into the attempted proof that the Devil really appeared to Luther (rather habitually); and that, in point of fact, Luther mainly acted as his agent in promoting the Reformation! Francis Atterbury of Christ Church, replied to him, in *An Answer to Some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther*, etc., published at Oxford the same year. *Ath. Ox.*, iii: 1162.

¹⁰ *Epistola Mag. Benedicti Passavantij. Responsiva ad commissionem sibi datam à venerabili D. Petro Lyseto, nuper Curie Parisiensis presidente: nunc verò Abbate Sancti Victoris, prope muros.* There are two editions (not the first) in the British Museum. One is *Florentia*, 1554, 12mo, pp. 91; the other *Lutriniani*, 1584, 12mo, pp. 125. The latter contains, appended by some irreverent editor, a *Complainte de Messire Pierre Liset sur le trespas de son feu nez*, in six pages of rhyme, ending in the following comic epitaph:

"Ci gist enchasse en verre
Le feu nez de Maistre Pierre:
Priez O vous qui passez,
Pour tous les nez trespassez."

¹¹ Bayle (1820) styles it "un ecrit macaronique tout-à-fait plaisant" [sub nom. *Lizet*]; and the *Nouvelles Lettres de la Critique Generale de l'histoire du Calvinisme*, de M. Maim-

bourg, etc. (1685), calls it: "une satyre burlesque, où on tourne cruellement en ridicule le President Lizet," etc. [i: 144.] It continually addresses M. Lizet in the most stately mock-heroic manner as "Dom. Nuper-præsidents et Nunc-abbas;" throws epithets about in a very reckless way, calling (e. g.) one Joachim Perionius "æque magnus asinus in Theologia, ac tu es mulus de tua patria;" and closes by recommending his patron "omnibus sanctis & sanctabus paradisi. Esto sanus & sacrilegus, sain & alegre Gallice, per omnia secula seculorum. Evovæ, Amen. Et ecce unum bonbum pro istis hæreticis, & postea finem Gebennæ." (Ed. 1554), 90, 91.

¹² "After that tyme upon some other occasion, this examine asking Mr. Penry whether this were a lawfull course, that Martyn had taken in the two sd. Books, to pst. in such sort, & to detect to the world such mens infirmities: He answered that godly men had taken heretofore the like course, as Mr. Beza in his Booke named '*Passavantius*;' the author of the '*Beehive*,' 'Pasquin in a trance,'" etc. [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042, 21.] This "Beehive," was, doubtless, *The Beehive of the Romishe Churche: a worke of al good Catholikes too bee read, and most necessary to be vnderstood: Wherin both the Catholike Religion is substantially confirmed, and the Heretikes finely fetcht ouer the coales.* Translated out of Dutch into English by Geo. Gilpin the elder, etc., London,

Mar-prelate as any body of the time, as justifying, if not suggesting, that issue.

In England itself, as far back as the 12th century, satire had been called forth by the corruptions of the church, and had done good service on behalf of truth, but not in the English tongue. Walter Map invented a Bishop Golias, whom he made to stand as an incarnation of all the fleshly corruptions of the Romish Church, carrying the idea through as many as twenty short Latin poems,¹³ which became immensely popular, and did good service in the days of the struggle between Henry II. and Thomas Becket. One of the most famous was the *Apocalypsis Golie Episcopi*, in 440 lines, which was named in allusion to the Revelation of John. It represents the Bishop—that is to say, the poet—as taken up into heaven and there told: “siste, videbis quæ Iohannes viderat;”¹⁴ when there were revealed to him the various vices of the clergy, from the loftiest to the lowliest rank. I copy a single stanza as sampling the style and spirit of the whole:¹⁵

“Væ! genti mutilæ cornutis ducibus!
qui mulcant mutilos armatis frontibus,
dum habet quilibet fœnum in cornibus,
non pastor ovium, sed pastus ovibus.”¹⁶

One hundred and fifty years later William Langland, in his *Vision of Piers Plowman*, spared not the priests, summing all up:

“The frere with his phisike, this folke hath enchanted
And plastred hem so easely, they dread no synne,”¹⁷

but even this was scarcely in the English tongue.

1380, 16mo, cxxii, 730. Good copies have one, and sometimes two, droll cuts; representing a beehive by the popes triple crown, with the bees flying about, some with cardinals hats on, others with miters, the rest tonsured. The other was earlier, being *Pasquine in a Traunce: A Christian and learned Dialogue (contayning wonderfull and most strange newes out of heauen, Purgatorie and Hell)*, etc., etc., London, 1555, 4to, 224, etc.

¹³ The Camden Society of London published these poems in 1841, under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Wright, F. S. A., etc.

¹⁴ Line 64.

¹⁵ Lines 129–132.

¹⁶ These lines are thus rendered in a translation dating in the close of the sixteenth century:

“Woe to the horned [mitred] guydes of this poor man-
gled flocke!
That dothe bothe hurt and mayme the same with
armed head,
Whiles on their hornes they bear eche one of them a
locke,
And doe not feede their sheape, but with their sheape
are fedd.”—*Harleian MSS.*, 846: 36.

¹⁷ Ed. 1561, 256.

After almost another one hundred and fifty years, we have Sir David Lindsay and George Buchanan; the one exhorting the clergy:

"To preiche with unfeignit intentis,
And treulie use the sacramentis;
Efter Christis institutiounis
Leuing their vane traditiounis
Quhilk dois the sillie scheip illude,
Quhome for Christ Iesus sched his blude," etc.;¹⁸

and the other, in his *Franciscanus* and *Fratres Fraterrimi*,¹⁹ attacking the abuses of the monasteries with sharply pointed pens. But both of these were Scotchmen.

After extended and careful examination, the earliest English treatise in the English tongue in which the actual cautery of earnest satire was employed in defence of the truth, and in assault upon its enemies, which I have been able to discover, is a little blackletter pamphlet of 1586, by—as a matter of course—an anonymous writer, entitled *A Commission sente to the Pope, Cardynales, Bishops, Friars, Monkes, with all the rable of that Viperous Generation, by the highe and mighty Prince, and king Sathanas the Deuill of Hell*.²⁰ The wit of it is very respectable, and its pungency must have been considerable. It begins: "Sathanas king of sorrowe, Prince of Darkenesse, and Lorde of Hell, Abbot of Apostasie, Monke of hipocrisy, Frier of fayned

¹⁸Complaint. *Warkis of the Famous and Worthie Knicht, Sir David Lyndsay*, etc. (1592), 272.

¹⁹These two poems occupy together thirty-four pages of the densest type, in the Leyden edition of his *Poemata* (1628). A glimmer of his sarcasm comes out in the "Palinodia" of the second poem [78] thus:

"Vobis religio est sincero assuescere recto,
Religio est Christi facta, fidemque sequi,
Raraque simplicitas, & rara modestia vobis,
Et virtus rara est, & probitatis honos, etc."

²⁰Published in London by Thomas Purfoote, 1586, 16mo, [n. p.] pp. 22. The only copy I have ever seen is in the Lambeth library [29. 9. 4]. As it was suppressed soon after its issue, probably few remain.

There appears to have been, indeed, a document written near two centuries and a half before, which might have suggested this; an

Epistola Luciferi ad Malos Principes Ecclesiasticos, whose first Paris imprint attaches to it the date of 1351—throwing it back into Wiclif's time. Fox [*Acts and Monuments* (ed. 1844) iii: 190–193] translates it, and appends some references to two or three other early documents of the sort, having at least traditional existence. The Latin copy may be found in Wolfius, *Lectiones Memorabiles*, tom. i: 654; where it is ascribed to Nicholas Orem. Prynn [*The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie*, etc. (1641), pp. 338–343] prints the same in an earlier translation than that given in the edition of Fox which I cite. There is also in the Lambeth library [xxx. 9. 4. (2.)] *A Commyssion sent to the bloody Butcher Byshop of London, by Sathanas the Deuill of Hell*; but as it has neither note of place, printer or date, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign it.

poverty, Provost of pride, and Prouinciall Generall of all mischief: unto our true subiects of the order of all Conuents of Liars, wee doe send our greeting, with as good welfare as wee haue our selues: desiring & charging you upon your allegiance that ye at all times be ready and obeydient unto this our will and commaundement."²¹ Throughout, it quietly assumes that the Devil is the real head of the Romish Church, and that that hierarchy, from the Pope down to the sub-deacon, are his understrappers—on the best of terms with him, and only too anxious to do his bidding. He says: "Iesu Christ, that miserable person, the sonne of Mary, hath deceiued us. For in time of his liuinge upon the earth, he fayned in all thinges, using himselfe so subtilly and craftely, that we might not know surely what he was,"²² and by consequence he hath "set us in worse case then euer wee were before."²³ Under these circumstances, Satan proceeds to give minute directions to these his good servants what is to be done to repair this injury. He is particularly anxious that they should have "gospell bablers clapt vp in prison;"²⁴ and bids them "aboue al other things" beware "least these lewd lossels beare you downe with their wretched bible," for "if his gospell goe abroad, we, and all you, are vndone."²⁵ "If men fal to his gospel, they wil geue you no more almes as long as you be stronge & lusty, but wil cry vpon you to labor, as that beggerly wretch Paul did teach in his eluish pistle." It thus concludes: "We trust in your wisdom, wherfore we writ not many thinges to you, but take and print this our high commission in your hartes, and work thereafter, as wee truste in you, and yee shall haue no lesse ioye then our selues haue, in Hell. Fare you well: trust to vs as we do vnto you. Written in our bright and burninge Chayre, from our infernall kingdome of darknes, prepared to vs and you with all our Aungels. Your Lorde and royall King Sathanas, Prince of Hell. Vnder our Seale, Manuell. 1586."²⁶

Whoever composed this "Commission," put Pope enough into it to take off the curse, and give it a fairly safe look at first glance on the outside, but that its real intent was to strike a

²¹ *Ibid*, 2.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ *Ibid*, 5.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 20.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 22.

²⁶ *Ibid*.

blow against the hierarchy, and the administration of the Church of England, becomes plain upon its careful reading, and became so plain soon after its issue, that the license for its printing and circulation was withdrawn on the 27 February following; the book being "forbydden by the Archbishop of Canterbury."²⁷ One can hardly avoid the conclusion that its strong and broad humor proved acceptable to what might be called the more intelligent portion of the coarse-fibred common Protestant mind of England; or the suspicion that it had something to do in suggesting that multitude of somewhat kindred treatises which within less than two years after its issue, began to appear, and which established satire in plea against error and abuse, first in Church and next in State, as a permanent element of English Literature.

I regard a little tract of 67 pages, called *The State of the Church of Englande, laide open in a conference betweene Diotrephes a Byshop, Tertullus a Papist, Demetrius an usurer, Pandocheus an Inne-Keeper, and Paule a preacher of the worde of God*,²⁸ as being really, for substance, the pioneer of the famous series which we are about to discuss—a little pilot balloon sent up to test the direction and force of the wind then blowing. It has not usually been so considered, but the facts—that it was printed by the secret press which issued the Mar-prelates proper, only some seven months before the first Martin; that it was clearly from the pen of one of the men who were concerned in their preparation if not publication; that it was burned by the Bishops, and endorsed by Martin as by his "frend and deare brother;" and that it made a decided, though as yet guarded, assault upon the English hierarchy—seem to justify that judgment.²⁹

The author in his preface informs the "gentle reader" that he has "sette down here in a Dialog the practize of Satan

²⁷ See E. Arber, *Transcript of the Stationers Registers*, etc. (1875), ii: 457. The record is "expunctum in plena curia 27 februarij 1586 [i. e., 1587]."

²⁸ It has two texts on the title-page, viz.: Pa. cxxii: 6, and Rev. xiv: 9, 10. It bears no imprint, but from affidavits in *Harleian MSS.*, 7042, seems to have been printed on Waldegrave's peripatetic press at Kingston, in April, 1588, and to have been from Udall's pen.

It was subsequently reprinted by Waldegrave in *A Parte of a Register*, etc. (1590), 333-365.

²⁹ "Trust me, his grace will owe that puritan printer as good a turne, as hee paide vnto Robert Walde-graue for his sawciness in printing my frend and deare brother Diotrephes his Dialogue." [*Epistle*, 6.] "It wil neuer come vnto hir Maiesties eare, as my friend Tertullus in the poore Dialogue that the bishops lately burned hath set downe." *Ibid.*, 13.

which he vseth, . . . to subuert and vtterly ouerturn the course of the Gospell here in England ;” suggesting further that the names of the speakers shadow forth their sentiments. “Diotrephes was he of whom S. John speaketh . . . that louinge to haue the preheminance, disturbed the course of good things in the Church, and therefore sustaineth the person of a Byshop, or Byshoply prelate.” Tertullus, who defended ceremonies, “representeth the papists that maintaine their traish, to the rooting out of true religion.”³⁰ Demetrius, who “lived by an vnlawfull trade, . . . doth play the part of an vsurer.” Paule “speaketh for the ministers of our time that stand for reformation.” And Pandocheus, being “an Inkeeper in Greeke,” stands for “a receiuer of all, and a soother of euerye man for his game.” He further declares that “the cause of all vngodlines so to raigne in euery place, and of the papists so to increase in strength and number, ariseth from our Byshops and their vnlawfull gouernment,” and because “they haue weakened the knees of the true preachers, and euery way crossed them in all good actions.”

The dialogue is held in the inn of Pandocheus, somewhere on the road from London to the North, where Diotrephes the bishop’s man and Tertullus the papist—who have been sent up into Scotland to counteract the Puritan influence there, but who are hastening home disgusted with their ill success, and fearing a like evil in England—meet Paul just from the metropolis, and question him as to what has been going on in their absence. The colloquy is very well managed, but I can only glance at two or three portions, which indicate the general temper of this attack upon the church as then by law established.

“*Diotreph.* You seeme to be a minister, can you tell me what good successe my Lordes the Bishops haue in their proceedings ?

“*Paule.* They haue too good successe, they wax worse and worse, they growe euen to the heighth of their iniquity, so that I hope their kingdom wil not stand long.

“*Diotreph.* Why sir : what doe they, that they offende you so grieuously ?

“*Paule.* They stop the mouth of the sheepe heardees, and set at liberty the rauening wolues, and turne the foxes among the lambes. . . . There are three abominations committed by them : The first is, that they doe beare such an enmity against the kingdome of Jesus Christ, that they put to silence one after another, and will neuer cease (if God bridle them not) vntill they haue rooted

³⁰ *The State of the Church of Englande | laide open, etc., 3.*

out of the Church all the learned, godly, and painfull teachers: The second is that they enlarge the libertie of the common enemies the papists: The last is, that they commit the feedinge of the flockes of Christe vnto those that prey vpon them, and either cannot or will not labour to reclaime the wandering sheepe."³¹

Among hard hits which must have been as exasperating to the Bishops as they were agreeable to their enemies, was the suggestion, as from the prelates: "we haue reserved many popish prists in the ministry, wherof diuers doe yet remaine, which wee have done vpon special consideration: to wit, lest there shoulde be too manye learned, not one wherof wil stande to vs, saue onely they that either haue, or look to haue better preferment, or liue more easilye then S. Paules Epistles wil allow them."³² So Paule tells this bishop's man when he threatens him with prison for his free speech: "Indeed the Clincke, Gatehouse, White-lyon, & the fleet, haue bin your onely argumentes whereby you haue proued your causes these many years, but you shall preuaile no longer, for your wickednesse is made manifest vnto all men, which God will shortlye repay into your own bosoms seuen fold, but pray you to God to giue you repentance, that those things hapen not vnto you."³³

Near the close, the bishop's man asks the papist: "how shal we do to keep the Ministerie from too much knowledge, for that must bee doone, though we pretend the contrary?" He is answered: "take heed aboue al things, that the exercises of prophesie come not vp again," and "you must beware of the exercises that ministers haue at their meetings: for you know that in Leicester-shire they furthered knowledge greatly." And to the objection that this might be a difficult thing cleverly to do, inasmuch as the "exercise of prophesie" is expressly commended by the Apostle, the papist says: "You must answere it as you do the rest of their reformation, the particulars whereof are expressed in the newe Testament: namely, that they were things onely for the time,"³⁴ etc.

The book winds up with a set "conclusion," which is serious, practical, and earnest, and which rises to something like eloquence as it closes. Its object is to suggest—although its

³¹ *Ibid.*, 13-15.

³² *Ibid.*, 23.

³³ *Ibid.*, 42.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

author is "one of the simplest of a thousand to giue aduise to proceede in any good course in so waightie a matter"—that a "moste humble supplication" be framed and presented to the Queen, entreating her that "shee woulde looke vppon the affliction of the pore church, and let vs haue our true teachers restored vnto vs againe." He proposes that some one "fytte" man be chosen to write, and two or three "godlie and honest" men to present the same; and possibly—he thinks—it might be well "first to moue our sute vnto some of the Byshops, as Winchester, or Salisburie, or both." And then, apparently to draw his readers' minds toward a frame of exalted thought which would fit them to bear any fate, and to leave them there, he pictures the contrast between the life that now is for the godly and faithful man, and that which will be:

"Heere he dieth thorow sinne, in the life to come he liueth in righteousness: thorough many tribulations in earth he is still purged, with ioy vnspeakable in heauen is he made pure for euer: heere he dieth euerie hower, there hee liueth continuallie: heere is sinne, there is righteousness: heere is time, there is eternitie: heere is hatred, there is loue: heere is paine, there is pleasure: heere is miserie, there is felicitie: heere is corruption, there is immortalitie: heere we see vanity, there shall wee beholde the maiestie of God, with triumphant and vnspeakable ioye in glorie euerlasting."³⁵

Late in the autumn or early in the winter following [1588],³⁶ as suddenly and as fantastically as a circus performer clad in motley leaps head over heels and heels over head into the ring, the first of the genuine, unmistakable and inimitable Martin Mar-prelate tracts challenged the attention of the astonished world. But I must premise a few words in regard to two other and very different books which had preceded this, that we may fully comprehend its drift.

Nearly thirty years before, John Aylmer, who had been Arch-deacon of Stowe, and, in the hard fortunes of Queen Mary's reign, had been deprived, and fled to the continent with the many Protestant refugees whose heads were not then safe at home, had printed, at Strasburgh, a book in reply to John Knox's famous *First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 63-67.

³⁶ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042, 1, 19. The letter of the Lord Treasurer given by Strype in

reference to the suppression of this unlicensed printing, is dated 14 Nov. 1588. *Life of Whitgift*, i: 552.

Regiment of women; ³⁷ which he entitled *An Harborowve for faithfull and trewe Subiectes, agaynst the late bloune Blaste, concerninge the Gouvernement of VVemen; wherin be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a breife exhortation to Obedience*.³⁸ In that book he had reasoned earnestly — some thought with an unwise earnestness — from the point of view which he then occupied, in favor of Elizabeth's title to the throne; and stigmatized, as belonging rather to the Papists, such views as Knox had advanced concerning the unlawfulness of women's government, the dethroning of princes when they persecute religion, and the like; and, to add force to his views, he had in several places declaimed against the luxury and worldliness of the Popish bishops, and spoken "with some seeming spite" against their civil authority.³⁹ In the changes of his generation, Aylmer had returned to his native country no longer a refugee, had become Archdeacon of Lincoln, and, after waiting a long time for further preferment, as a consequence, it was thought, of some of the indiscretions of his book, had been raised to the See of London, where he had been twelve years established at the time when Martin began to publish.

Still further, John Bridges, Dean of Sarum, had published in the previous year, a modest quarto of one thousand four hundred and twelve pages, entitled *A Defence of the Government established in the Chorch of Englande for Ecclesiasticall matters. Contayning an aunswere unto a Treatise called The Learned Discourse of Eccl. Gouvernement, Otherwise intituled, A briefe and plaine declaration*⁴⁰ *concerning the desires of all the faithfull ministers that haue, and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande. Comprehending likewise an aunswere to the arguments in a Treatise named The iudgement of a most Reuerend and Learned man from beyond the Seas,*⁴¹ *&c. Aunswering also to the argumentes of Caluine, Beza, and Danæus, with other our Reuerende learned Brethren, besides Cænalis and Bodinus, both for the regiment of women, and in defence of her Maiestie, and of all*

³⁷ Supposed to have been printed at Geneva, 1558, 8vo. B. M. [c. 12. b. 18. K. L.]

³⁸ Printed at "Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill, M. D. lix." 4to, [n. p.] pp. 134, B. M. [884. h. 1. (1.)]

³⁹ J. Strype. *Life of Bp. Aylmer*, 16.

⁴⁰ The book here referred to was Travers's

Ecclesiastica Disciplina, et Anglicana Ecclesia ab illa aberrationis, plena & verbo Dei, et dilucidata explicatio, as translated and introduced by Cartwright, as *A full and plaine Declaration*, etc., in 1574.

⁴¹ This was by T. Beza, tr. by John Field, and published in London about 1580.

other Christian Princes supreme Government in Ecclesiasticall causes, Against the Tetrarchie that our Brethren would erect in euery particular congregation, of Doctors, Pastors, Gouvernors, and Deacons, with their seuerall and ioynt authoritie in Elections, Excommunications, Synodall Constitutions and other Ecclesiasticall matters. Answered by Iohn Bridges, Deane of Sarum. Ioh. i: 36. Come and see. Aug. Lib. Conf. viii. ca. 12. Take it up and read." This ponderous plea begins on its fourteen hundred and eleventh page to draw its sixteen books toward a conclusion, in a few sentences one of which contains two hundred and twenty-six words, and four parentheses, exhorting all the godly "so farre as we haue attayned, to be thankfull to God for the same," and not to "bee wearie thereof and seeke innovations;" but "to builde vp the ruines of his temple (and not to hinder the building by controlling or defacing the builders thereof, by unnecessarie contradictions, and by deuising of new platformes)," with "all constant alacritie of going forward."⁴³

We are now prepared for Martin. His first thin black-letter quarto is thus titled: *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: Or an Epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, Iohn Bridges, Presbyter, Priest, or elder, doctor of Diuinitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answeere M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Catechismes, and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman, and dedicated to the Confocationhouse. The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle. Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman.*⁴⁴

⁴³ Printed at London for John VVindet, for Thomas Chard 1587, 4to, pp. x, 1402, B. M. [1353. f. 1.] Dr. Waddington makes the astonishing statement that Bridges wrote this "ponderous volume" to "disprove the allegations contained in" a "series of anony-

mous publications known as the Martin Marprelate tracts," the first of which did not see the light until the year following its publication. *Cong. Hist.*, 1567-1700, 40.

⁴⁴ *Defence*, etc., 1401.

⁴⁴ 4to, pp. ii, 54.

The Tract plunges at once *in medias res*:

"Right poysond,⁴⁵ persecuting and terrible priests, the theame of mine Epistle, vnto your venerable master-domes, is of two parts (and the Epitome of our brother Bridges his booke, shall come out speedily). First, most pitifully complaining, Martin Mar-prelate, &c. Secondly, may it please your good worships, &c.

"Most pitifully complaining therefore, you are to vnderstand, that D. Bridges hath written in your defence, a most senceles book, and I cannot very often at one breath come to a full point, when I read the same.

"Againe, may it please you to giue me leaue to play the Duns for the nonce as well as he, otherwise dealing with master doctors booke, I cannot keepe *decorum personæ*. And may it please you, if I be too absurd in any place (either in this Epistle, or in that Epitome) to ride to Sarum, and thank his Deanship for it. Because I could not deal with his booke commendable according to order, vnles I should be sometimes tediously dunsticall and absurd. For I haue heard som cleargie men say that M. Bridges was a very patch⁴⁶ and a duns, when he was in Cambridge. And some say, sauing your reuerence that are Bb. that he is as very a knaue, and enemy vnto the sinceritie of religion, as any popish prelate in Rome. But the patch can do the cause of sinceritie no hurt. Naye, he hath in this booke wonderfully graced the same by writing against it. For I haue hard some say, that whosoeuer will read his booke, shall as evidently see the goodnes of the cause of reformation, and the poore, poore nakednes of your gouernment, as almost in reading all Master Cartwrights workes. This was a very great ouersight in his grace of Cant. to suffer such a booke to come out. For besides that an Archb. is very weakely defended by masse Deane, he hath also by this meanes prouoked many to write against his gracious fatherhood, who perhaps neuer meant to take pen in hand."⁴⁷

It is nearly as difficult an undertaking to give any fair idea, in brief, of such a pen-product as this, as it would be to epitomize a porcupine into a spear. But, partly because it has been so maligned, we must endeavor some just notion of it; which I think may be got in the shortest time by glancing at it from seven different points of view.

Its most obvious peculiarity, in certain parts, at least, is its liberty of style. It puns upon words. It addresses John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, as "*paltri-politan*,"⁴⁸ "his gracelessnes,"⁴⁹ "John Canter,"⁵⁰ "John with his Canterburinesse,"⁵¹

⁴⁵ This, I take it, is one of those plays upon words which make a part of the fun of Martin, and stands for "puissant"—or, to speak more exactly, was suggested by it.

⁴⁶ "A fool; perhaps from the Italian *pazzo*, or from wearing a patched, or parti-colored, coat." Halliwell & Wright's Nares's *Glos-*

sary, sub voce. Shakespeare more than once uses the word in this sense.

⁴⁷ *Epistle*, etc., 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 1, 26.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 31.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 15, 16, 27, 43.

and so on. It deals roundly in epithets, like "bouncing priest,"⁵² "proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paultrie, pestilent and pernicious prelates."⁵³ It effervesces with little bubbles of language, like: "so ho!"⁵⁴ "go to, you Asse;"⁵⁵ "ka, mas. Doctor;"⁵⁶ "tse, tse, tse;"⁵⁷ "Wo.ho. how, brother London;"⁵⁸ "Alacke, alacke, deane John,"⁵⁹ and so on. While everywhere it comes straight home to the popular mind by its use of plain words, and homely proverbs. Martin says John of London has "a notable brazen face,"⁶⁰ and he calls the Bishops "cogging and cosening knaues."⁶¹ He marvels whether brother Bridges were not "hatched in a goose nest"⁶² to reason as he does; he declares that the Bishop of Winchester "is not able to say bo to a goose;"⁶³ he threatens the prelates with "at the least thirteene to the dozen,"⁶⁴ unless they turn over a new leaf, and says they will "lye like dogs;"⁶⁵ he thinks for "any maners" the Lord Bishops have, they might have been "brought up in Bride-well;"⁶⁶ and is sure the Dean of Sarum deserves "a cawdell of Hempseed, and a playster of neckweed, as weel as some of your brethren the papists."⁶⁷

This suggests a second noticeable point, the easy impudence of manner which pervades the tract. To begin with, Martin puts himself upon a level with those whom he addresses. He says to the Bishops: "Take heed, brethren, of your reuerend and learned brother, Martin Marprelate."⁶⁸ So he says to Bridges: "Can you denie any part of your learned brother Martin his syllogisme?"⁶⁹ And so all through it is: "my lerned brethren;"⁷⁰ "Brother London;"⁷¹ "your learned friend Martin;"⁷² "my wor-thines your brother Martin;"⁷³ "brethren bishops,"⁷⁴ and the like. Referring to their mitres, he calls the bishops "horned

⁵² *Ibid*, 15.⁵³ *Ibid*, 6.⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 10.⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 35.⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 16. "Ka" is clearly used here as a quaint corruption for "quoth;" that is, I interpret this phrase as intending: "said Master Doctor."⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 10.⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 36.⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 48.⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 37.⁶¹ *Ibid*.⁶² *Ibid*, 18.⁶³ *Ibid*, 47.⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 37.⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 22.⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 5.⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 17.⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 3.⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 4.⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 7.⁷¹ *Ibid*, 9.⁷² *Ibid*, 14.⁷³ *Ibid*, 29.⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 37.

masters of the Confocation house.”⁷⁵ He says “I haue red something in my dayes.”⁷⁶ He appeals to his readers, “whether Martin sayth not true, that there is too much cousenage now a dayes among the cleargie men.”⁷⁷ He styles the Bishop of London “Dumbe dunsticall Iohn.”⁷⁸ Doctor Perne is “Doctor turnecoats,” and the “old turner.”⁷⁹ He advises the Archbishop: “remember your brother Haman.”⁸⁰ He accuses Bridges to be “as very a sot as euer lived (outcept dumb Iohn of London againe).”⁸¹ This easy impudence imparts itself to his criticism. We have seen in his opening how hard he is upon the corpulent quarto of the Dean of Sarum, but he returns to it again and again: “Men wil giue no money for your book, vnles it be to stop mustard pots, as your brother Cosins answer to the Abstract did;”⁸² “your bookes seem to proceede from the braynes of a woodcocke, as hauing neyther wit nor learning;”⁸³ “there is at all no sence in this period;”⁸⁴ “a man might almost run himselfe out of breath before he could come to a full point in many places in your booke.”⁸⁵ “It would make a man laugh, to see how many trickes the Doctor hath to coosen the sielie puritans in his book; he can now and then without any noyse, alleadge an author clean against himselfe, and I warrant you, wipe his mouth cleanly, and looke another way, as though it had not bene he. I haue laught as though I had bene tickled, to see with what sleight he can throw in a popish reason, and who sawe him? And with what art he can conuaye himsefe from the question, and goe to another matter? It is wonderful to thinke. But what would not a Deane do to get a bishopp-ricke?”⁸⁶

From this the transition is a natural one to another feature, and, in point of fact, one of the most effective features, of this troublesome pamphlet — its free personal assaults. Dr. Cosins

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 5. The reference is here, of course, to the Convocation, or parliament of the clergy, and the place of their meeting.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 10, 16, 43. Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely, and head of Peterhouse, Cambridge, managed to keep always on the winning side, from Edward to Elizabeth.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 17. The word “sot” here doubtless has its ancient sense of “a fool,” — see Halliwell’s *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, sub voce.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

should have "a little more grace, and a handful or two more of learning, against he answer the Abstract next."⁸⁷ The Bishop of Lincoln prayed at Peterborough "that his soule, and the soules of all the rest there present, might be with the soule of the vnrepentant papist departed."⁸⁸ John of Rochester, "hauing the presentation of a benefice in his hand, presented himselfe thereunto, euen of meere good-wil."⁸⁹ The Bishop of St. Davids he charges to have (simultaneously) "two wiues."⁹⁰ The Bishop of Gloucester he says — before he was bishop — preaching upon St. John's day, "came at the length vnto the very pithe of his whol sermon, contained in the distinction of the name of Iohn, which he then, shewing all his learning at once, full learnedly handled after this manner. Iohn, Iohn, the grace of God, the grace of God, the grace of God: gracious Iohn, not graceles Iohn, but gracious Iohn. Iohn, holy Iohn, holy Iohn, not Iohn ful of holes, but holy Iohn. If he shewed not himselfe learned in this sermond, then hath he bene a duns all his life."⁹¹ The Bishop of Winchester is "very chollericke and peeuish, so are his betters at Lambeth;"⁹² he is "a monstrous hypocrite," a "very duns, not able to defende an argument, but till he come to the pinch, he will cog [cheat] and face it out (for his face is made of seasoned wainscot, and wil lie as fast as a dog can trot), I haue said it, I doe say it, and I haue said it."⁹³ Further, so long as he and a few others whom he names are living, Martin says, "I doubt me whether all the famous dunses be dead."⁹⁴ He wants "brother Bridges" to tell him "where may a mā buie such another gelding, and borowsuch another hundred poundes" as he bestowed upon Sir Edward Horsey for his helping him to his deanery; and adds: "deale closeliar, for shame, the next time: must I needes come to the knoledge of these things."⁹⁵ But his chief force is spent upon the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Both are "pettie popes, and pettie Antichrists."⁹⁶ The latter he charges with "vnnaturall tyrannie"⁹⁷ and "monstrous crueltie,"⁹⁸ especially for his treatment of

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 47.⁹² *Ibid.*, 2.⁹³ *Ibid.*, 33.⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

Waldegrave, the printer of certain Puritan books, whose press and type had been destroyed and "himself vtterly depriued for euer printing againe," although he had "a poore wife and sixe Orphanes, without anything to relieue them," while at the same time "popishe Thackwell, though hee printed popish and trayterous bookes," was allowed "the fauor to make money of his presse and letters."⁹⁹ The Archbishop had been chief disputant on the Church of England side against Cartwright's Presbyterian views, but had maintained a dead silence in regard to his latest publications. Whereat Martin says: "It is a shame for your grace Iohn of Cant. that Cartwrights bookes haue bene now a dozen yeares almost vnanswered: you first prouoked him to write, and you first haue receiued the foyle. If you can answer those books, why do you suffer the Puritans to insult and reioyce at your silence. If you cannot, why are you an Archb. He hath prooued the calling to be vnlawful and Antichristian. You dare not stand to the defence of it."¹⁰⁰ He accuses him further of insufferable arrogance, when a worthy knight pleaded with him for the enlargement of "one of Gods deare children" kept by him in prison, in saying he was "the 2. person in the land, and neuer a noble man nor Counsellor in this lande should release him."¹⁰¹ "We need not fear," he says, "(if we can keep him) the Spaniards, and our other popish enemies, because our metropolitans religion and theirs differ not much."¹⁰²

Into John of London, however, he plunges his heaviest shots. He says he swears "like a lewd swag,"¹⁰³ and plays at "bowles vpon the Sabbath;"¹⁰⁴ in fact, he thinks that "the Diuell is not better practized in bowling and swering then Iohn of London is."¹⁰⁵ He accuses him of having instituted "the porter of his gate" as the rector of some parish, where he was a "dumb minister."¹⁰⁶ He gives the particulars — with names and residence of the guilty parties, of the stealing of some cloth by "certayn theeues," who hid the same on the Bishop's premises at Fulham; and declares that, as "al is fish that comes to

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 23, 24.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 31, 32.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 25.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 20, 49.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 41.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 19.

the net" with him, although the thieves when hanged confessed that that was the cloth, the proper owners had never been able to recover it.¹⁰⁷ "Brother London," he exhorts, "you were best to make restitution, it is playne theft and horrible oppression."¹⁰⁸ He further charges that one George Allen, sometime John of London's grocer, having died, his executors, Thomas Allen and Richard Alworth, merchants of London, in settling his estate found the Bishop indebted to him in the sum of upwards of £19. Having several times vainly tried to collect the money, they finally called to request it, in order that they might dispose thereof according to their trust. Martin says they were stormed at thus: "You are raskals, you are villaines, you are arraunt knaues, I owe you nought, I haue a generall quittance to shew. Sir, (sayd they,) shew vs your discharge, and we are satisfied. No, (quoth he,) I will shew you none, go sue me, go sue me. Then sayd one of the merchants, doe you thus vse vs for asking our due? Wee would you should know we are no suche vile persons. Done Iohn of London (hearing their answeare) cried out saying: Hence away, Citizens? nay you are raskcals, you are worse then wicked mammon, (so lifting vp both his hands, and flinging them downe againe, said) You are theeues, you are Coseners: take that for a bishops blessing, and so get you hence." When they would have replied, the bishop's men turned them out of doors. Naturally indignant, they undertook to try the virtue of the law, when the Bishop "sent a messenger vnto them confessing the debt," but, adds Martin, "they cannot get their money to this day."¹⁰⁹ Still further, Martin declares that this prelate, "lying at his house at Haddam in Essex, vpon the Sabbath day (wanting his bowling mates) tooke his seruantes and went a heymaking, the godly ministers round about being exercised (though against his commandement) in fasting and prayer."¹¹⁰ And, once again, Martin accuses him of cutting down and selling the noble old elms on the grounds at Fulham—in no sense belonging to him personally. And in this connection he brings in another story of his fraud and oppression. Somebody dying in Fulham had made one of the

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

bishop's men his executor. A legacy had been left to a poor shepherd of the town, who after long trying in vain to get his money, appealed to an old resident whose name happened to be Maddox, to help him to his rights. On looking into the matter, he found that the Bishop was countenancing his man in the fraud, so, waiting upon his lordship, the friend endeavored to obtain for his neighbor his due, but succeeded only in enraging "Don Iohn," until, "growing in choller," the prelate "sayd y^t master Madox his name did shewe what he was, for, sayth he, thy name is mad Oxe, which declareth thee to be an vnruely and mad beast." To which it was answered that "the B. name, if it were descanted vpon, did most significantly shew *his* qualities. For, said he, you are called Elmar, but you may be better called mar-elme, for you haue marred all the elmes in Fulham; hauing cut them all downe."¹¹¹

This is not great wit, but it must have been tremendously effective at the time, when it is considered with whom it dealt; and one can easily imagine broad-mouthed coarse-fibred yeomen shutting and barring the door, and making sure of no eavesdroppers under the windows, and then roaring and shaking their sides together, partly at what seemed to them the smartness of the book itself, but still more at the high fun that any body should have spunk enough to take this old bull thus by the horns.

Of course Martin did not forget the weak point to which I have referred in the Bishop's book published when he was plain John Aylmer, an exile for conscience' sake at Strasburgh. "I hope," he says, "one day her Maiestie will either see that the L. Bb. prooue their calling lawfull by the word, or as Iohn of London prophesied saying, come downe you bishopps from your thousands, and content you with your hundreds, let your diet be pristlike and not princelik, &c. quoth Iohn Elmar in his Harborow of faithful subiects. But I pray you, B. Iohn dissolue this one question to your brother Martin: if this prophesie of yours come to passe in your dayes, who shal be B. of London?"¹¹²

A fourth source of the power of this pamphlet over the popu-

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 21.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 3.

lar mind at the time, which is related to that last mentioned, is the sprinkling in of quaint and telling little incidents. He names a priest in Warwickshire who, for some reason, got so enraged in an alehouse as to swear he "would never goe againe into it." Feeling before very long "the discommoditie of his rashe vowe," he "hired a man to carie him vpon his backe to the alehouse; by this meanes he did not goe, but was caried thither, wherevnto he made a vow neuer to go."¹¹³ Another is about Old Doctor Turner—he is careful to explain that he does not refer to Dr. Perne the turner [of his coat]—and his dog.¹¹⁴ Another is of a priest preaching at Paule's Cross, in 1587, about "a leadden shoinghorn;"¹¹⁵ and of his exhorting after before the Court, and exhibiting a piece of sarsnet as "a relique of Maries smocke," and a linen or woollen rag, as a fragment of "Ioseph's breeches."¹¹⁶ Another I must mention because the gravest references have been made to its use, as if Martin were indefensible therein. It is told of the priest last named. Some one asked him "whether he should be bishop of Ely, to whom he replied that "he had now no great hope to [be] B. of Eli: and therefore quoth he, I may say well inough, Eli, Eli, Lammasabacthani: Eli, Eli, why hast thou forsaken me: alluding very blasphemouslie"—explains Martin—"vnto the words which our Sauieur Christe spake."¹¹⁷ The blasphemy was the priest's, not Martin's; nor did it in point of taste strike that age as it would ours; while, if Martin had only thought of it, he might have alleged a precedent out of Aylmer's *Harborow*, where, speaking of a certain argument, he says this comes of a mistake, as "the Vicar of Trumpington vnderstode Eli, Eli Lamahzabatani, when he red the Passion vpon Palme Sunday: when he came to the place he stopped, and calling the Churchwardens saide: Neighbours, this geare must be amended; heare is Eli twise in the booke, I assure you if my L. of Elie come thys waye and see it, hee will haue the booke. Therefore by mine advice we shall scrape it out, and put in oure owne townes name, Trumpington, Trumpington, lamahzabactani: they consented, and he did so."¹¹⁸

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 42.¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 43.¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 49.¹¹⁶ *Ibid*.¹¹⁷ *Ibid*.¹¹⁸ *Harborowe*, etc., sig. G. iij. reverse.

But, in the fifth place, underneath all this froth runs a strong clear stream of argument, thus beginning: "Take heed, brethren, of your reuerend and learned brother, Martin Mar-prelate. For he meaneth in these reasons following, I can tell you, to proue that you ought not to be maintained by the authoritie of the magistrate in any Christian Commonwealth: Martin is a shrewd fellow, and reasoneth thus. Those that are pettie popes and pettie Antichrists, ought not to be maintained in anie Christian commonwealth. But everie Lord B. in England . . . all the Bb. in England, Wales and Ireland, are pettie popes, and pettie Antichrists. Therefore no Lord B. . . . is to be tollerated in any christian common welth."¹¹⁹ Then he argues that they are petty popes and Antichrists who usurp authority over other ministers and pastors, who by the ordinance of God are to be under no pastors. Still further, he cites evidence in proof that the authority exercised by Lord Bishops in England is "accounted Antichristian generally by the most churches in the worlde."¹²⁰ In connection with this specific reasoning to which, in some one of its many possible aspects, he returns again and again, he introduces also collateral arguments, all intended to help the cause of the Puritans, and discredit and disgrace the bishops before the people.

The sixth noticeable feature of this tract is the proposition which it makes. He is willing to have peace, provided the Bishops will promise: (1) to labor to promote the preaching of the word in all parts of the land; (2) to have none but godly and fit persons made ministers; (3) to suffer Mr. Cartwright's answer to the Rhemish Testament to be published; (4) to punish nobody for refusing to wear the Popish garments, or for omitting Popish corruptions from the Prayer-book, or for not kneeling at the communion, etc.; (5) to leave off private excommunication and allow public fasts; (6) to molest nobody for this his book. "These be the conditions, which you brethren bishops, shalbe bound to keepe inuiolably on your behalfe. And I your brother Martin, on the other side, do faithfully promise vpon the performauce of the premisses by you, neuer to make any more of your knauery knowne vnto the worlde."¹²¹

¹¹⁹ *Epistle*, etc., 3, 4.| ¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 5.| ¹²¹ *Ibid*, 38, 39.

And the last point which we can notice is that of the prophecies and threats which are freely introduced. "Brother Bridges, mark what Martin tels you, you will shortly I hope haue twenty fistes about your eares more thē your own."¹²² "Looke to your selues, I thinke you haue not long to raigne. Amen."¹²³ "May it please you that are L. Bb. to shewe your brother Martin, how you can escape the danger of a premunire, seeinge you vrge her Maiesties subiects to subscribe, cleane contrary to the Statute 13. Elizabeth;"¹²⁴ "I tell you . . . a premunire will take you by the backe one day, for oppressing and tyrannizing ouer her Maiesties subiects as you doe:"¹²⁵ . . . you knowe the danger of a premunire, I trowe."¹²⁶ He wants a public disputation on fair terms, and he affirms: "vnlesse you answer me, . . . Ile kindle such a fire in the holes of these foxes, as shall neuer be quenched as long as there is a L. B. in England."¹²⁷ And if they prove incorrigible, he "will place a yong Martin in euerie diocesse,"¹²⁸ and publish whatsoever they do amiss. Nay, in some parts of the kingdom, he thinks it "were best to haue 2. in a parishe:"¹²⁹ whom in time he hopes "shalbe as worthie Martins as their father is, euery one of them able to mar a prelate."¹³⁰ He intimates, in fact, that he himself has several more books of the same sort ready for the press, which will soon be issued unless the Bishops come to terms; among which are his "Paradoxes," his "Miscelanea," his "Variæ leiciones," his "Martins dreame;" his "Liues and doings of English popes;" his "Itinerarium," etc. His "Epistomastix" he will "make no mention of" at this time. His "Itinerarium" he thinks will have "nede to be in follio," in order to note all the "memorable pranckes" of all the priests in all the dioceses.¹³¹

The epistle concludes with some good sound advice, thus :

"Now, M. Prelates, I will giue you some more counsell, follow it. Repent cleargie men, and especially bishopps: preach fayth Bb. and sweare no more by it, giue ouer your Lordly callings: reform your families and your children: Praye her Maiestie to forgiue you, and the Lord first to put away your sinnes. . . . You are now worse then you were 29. yeeres ago: write no more

¹²² *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

against the cause of reformation: Your vngodlinesse is made more manifest by your writings. . . . If you should write, deal syllogistically: For you shame your selues when you vse any continued speech, because your stile is so rude and barbarous. . . . Studie more then you doe, and preache oftener: Fauor nonresidents and papists no longer: labor to clense y^e ministry of the swarms of ignorant guides wherewith it hath bin defiled: Make conscience of breaking the Sabboth, by bowling and tabling: Be ringleaders of prophanenes no longer vnto the people: Take no more bribes: Leauē your Symonie: Stretch your credit if you haue any to the furtherance of the gospell. . . . All in a word, become good Christians, and so you shall become good subiects, and leauē your tyrannie. And I would aduise you, let me hear no more of your euill dealing.

"Giuen at my Castle between two Wales, neither foure dayes from penniless benche, nor yet at the West ende of Shroffttide: but the foureteenth yeare at the least, of the age of Charing crosse, within a year of Midsommer, betweene twelue and twelue of the clocke. *Anno pontificatus vestri Quinto*, and I hope *ultimo* of all Englishe Popes. By your learned and worthie brother, Martin Marprelate."¹³²

This, as I have said, came out in November or early in December [1588]. Such a pamphlet, with so much of the vigor of an unwonted style, and so much directness of such personal assault about it, would attract attention anywhere, and at any time. It is not strange that in England in 1588, where such writing was new, and where the press was so muzzled, and even the circulation of unlicensed books was so hedged about with tremendous penalties, there was an audacity of daring about it which was an added fascination. The tract flew on the wings of the wind, and that not merely among the common class of those able to read. The Earl of Essex took one out of his bosom, and presented it to the Queen.¹³³ The students of Cambridge and Oxford hid them in the folds of their gowns.¹³⁴ There was a general ferment and guffaw. The four Bishops who in it were principally attacked, met, counseled, and decided upon two things:¹³⁵ the author and printer must, at all hazards, be unearthed, and punished; and the attack must be answered—it would never do to leave such charges as Martin had made against them, without distinct rebuttal. The whole police force

¹³² *Ibid.*, 53.

¹³³ R. Codrington. *The Life and Death of Robert, Earl of Essex*. This was reprinted in the omniverous *Harleian Miscellany* (ed. 1744), i: 214.

¹³⁴ This is implied in various passages of *Antimartinus*, eg. 42.

¹³⁵ This is directly asserted by Martin in his *Epitome* (p. 1), and implied in the *Admonition* of Bishop Cooper.

of the establishment was put vigorously upon the one duty; and Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, sat down earnestly to the other, his assaulted brethren aiding him with answers to their share of the onslaught. Letters by the Queen's order were directed to the Archbishop from the Lord Chancellor and Lord High Treasurer of England, to search, by the Ecclesiastical Commission, for "the authors and abettors of a seditious book against the Ecclesiastical government of the Church by Bishops, secretly dispersed abroad, tending to breed a dislike of the present government of the church, and expressing in a malicious manner many slanderous reports of his Grace, and other Bishops."¹³⁶ This was fortified by a proclamation on 13 Feb. following, forbidding the owning and reading, equally with the writing and printing, of such "libels;" and requiring all having knowledge of them to give notice to the authorities within thirty days, "at their uttermost perills."¹³⁷ Good speed was made, but before the tipstaffs could find author, printer or press, and before the quartette of prelates could get their joint document into the hands of the public, that public was shaking its sides over another black-letter Martin, which early in February¹³⁸ [1588-9] came suddenly abroad, even the *Epitome* promised in the *Epistle*. It was clearly from the same pen. And it began with the same dare-devil frankness:

"Why my cleargie masters, is it euen so with your terriblenes? May not a pore gentleman signifie his good will vnto you by a Letter, but presently you must put your selues to the paines and charges of calling foure Bishops together. Iohn Canterburie, Iohn London, Thomas Winchester, William of Lincolne: and posting ouer citie & countrie for poore Martin? Why, his meaning in writing vnto you, was not that you should take the paines to seeke for him. Did you thinke that he did not know where he was himselfe? Or did you thinke him to haue bene cleane lost, that you sought so diligently for him? I thanke you brethren, I can be well though you do not send to knowe how I do. My mind towards you, you shal from time to time vnderstand by my pistles."¹³⁹

Having referred at so much length to the first tract, in order to aid you to some fair idea of its general scope and spirit—which are indeed characteristic of all—I have need to be very brief with the others. This *Epitome* refers in its introduction to the fact that

¹³⁶ Strype. *Life of Whitgift*, i: 551.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, iii: 216.

¹³⁸ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 1, 19.

¹³⁹ *Epitome*, etc., iii.

the Puritans were not pleased with Martin.¹⁴⁰ They were not: for much the same reason that the Boston Association of Unitarian ministers did not enjoy Theodore Parker, and the most refined Abolitionists never specially relished the manner in which John Brown—soul and body—went marching on. Some, like good Richard Greenham, disliked it apparently because they were too serious to enjoy jesting in a good cause;¹⁴¹ others, like Thomas Cartwright, took pains to dissociate themselves from it because it was a “kind of disorderly doings,”¹⁴² and they preferred to have the whole Church of England become Presbyterian in an orderly manner. Martin defends himself for jesting: “I iested, because I delt against a worshipful iester. D. Bridges, whose writings and sermons tend to no other ende, then to make men laugh.”¹⁴³ He says, “I am plaine. I must needs call a spade a spade.”¹⁴⁴

The main purport of this second Martin is to epitomize, and answer, the first book of the Dean of Sarum's volume. The “compleat worke,” he says, is “very briefly comprehended in a portable booke, if your horse be not too weake, of an hundred threescore and twelue sheets, of good Demie paper.”¹⁴⁵ But while paying most attention to Bridges, Martin by no means forgets Whitgift and the others to whom, in the *Epistle*, he had paid his respects. Especially is this true of the Bishop of London, to whose unlucky *Harborow* he returns more than twenty times:¹⁴⁶ until one is quite prepared to believe him when he says: “Brother London, . . . I thinke you would haue spent 3. of the best Elmes which you haue cut down in Fulham, and 3. pence halfe penie besides, that I had neuer met with your booke.”¹⁴⁷ Near the close he brings an argument to an effective point thus:

“Brother parson Bridges, I praye you tell me, was there canonically obedience sworne to Archbishop Titus? What els man. Did they cal him my Lords

¹⁴⁰ The Puritans are angrie with me, I meane the puritane preachers. And why? Because I am to open. Because I iest. I did thinke that Martin shoulde not haue bene blamed of the puritans, for telling the trueth openly.” *Ibid.*, iii.

¹⁴¹ S. Clarke. *Lives of Thirty Two English Divines*, etc. (ed. 1677), 13.

¹⁴² He was able to prove by sufficient witness, that, from the beginning of Martin, he

had on every occasion testified his dislike and sorrow for such kind of disorderly doings.” *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxiv: 20.

¹⁴³ *Epitome*, etc., iii.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, etc.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

grace to? Do you dout of it? Did his gentleman Vscher go bareheaded before him? As though he could not be as popelike and pontificall, as my Lorde of Canterburie. But I hope a pore hedge priest might haue his letters of orders of him, though he would giue no bribes vnto his Secretorie, cooke, butler, &c. Might he so goodman noddie? Then how should his men I pray you be able to liue? As though bishops should giue their men any wages? Their blessing I trow will serue their men in steed of wages."¹⁴⁸

One of the wittiest things in this *Epitome* is its appended "Errata, or faults escaped," one of which is: "wheresoeuer the prelates are called my Lords—take that for a fault." A second is that "there is nothing spoken at all, of that notable hypocrite Scambler, Bishop of Norwich. Take it for a great faulte, but vnlesse he leaue his close dealing against the truth, ile bestow a whole booke of him."¹⁴⁹

When the *Epitome* came forth, the answer of the Bishops to the *Epistle* seems to have been mainly printed, and there was just time enough to make general allusion thereto before the issue of the latter; it would seem about the middle of February.¹⁵⁰ The book was a quarto of 252 pages,¹⁵¹ bearing the title of *An Admonition to the People of England: wherein are answered, not onely the slaunderous vntruethes, reprochfully uttered by Martin the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his broode, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredite the present state of the Church, &c.* The preface was modestly signed "T. C." One cannot but suspect that some old matter of a general sort which might perhaps have been in hand for an appeal on behalf of Bishops against the Puritan levelers, was worked in; and that the whole treatise was not prompted by anything which had lately occurred. The first thirty-two pages are devoted to a solemn admonition to the church and people of England, to "take heede of the contempte of those Bishops and Preachers, which God hath sent to them as messengers to bring vnto them the doctrine of their Salvation." The next forty-six pages are assigned to a refutation of "the slaunderous Libels of late pub-

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 37.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 42.

¹⁵⁰ The entry upon the *Stationers' Registers* is this: "Master Raffie Newbery. 10 Junuary: Alowed vnto him vnder the Lord Arch-

bishop of Canterburies hand *An Admonition to the people of England*: master Coldockes hand being to the copie." E. Arber, *Transcript*, etc., ii: 513.

¹⁵¹ 4to, pp. viii, 244. B. M. [3932. e. K. L.]

lished vnder a fained and fonde name of *Martin Marprelate*." Of these, fourteen are taken up with an "answere to such things as the most Reuerend the Archbishop of Canterburie is particularly charged withall in the Libell." The next twelve are similarly devoted to "my Lorde of London." The next page to the Bishop of Lincoln, after which follow fourteen, devoted to the clearing of the Bishop of Winchester—T. C. himself. The remainder of the volume is made up of eighty-two pages of "Answeres to generall quarrels made against the Bishops," and of eighty-three, of "Answeres to the Aduersaries of Bishops Liuiings." With all the care taken by the four eminent joint authors, they showed their fear of their unknown adversary, by calling in the first edition almost as soon as published, and pasting into the copies two slight verbal amendments; one of which changed the sentence "the Libeller doth but dreame, let him and his doe what they *dare*," into: "let him and his doe what they *can*;"¹⁵² and the other amended the over-strong admission as to the different quality of the primitive, to that of the prelatial church, from "I will not deny it," to the safer: "That is not yet proued."¹⁵³ This first edition appears to have been almost immediately followed by a second, bearing the date and semblance of the first, with these and a few other slight verbal corrections inwrought therein.

In general, it will be sufficient to say that this elaborate reply conferred great respectability upon Martin, in that such men answered, and at such length answered,¹⁵⁴ his rattling pamphlet;¹⁵⁵ while the Bishops, in disposing of most of the specific charges

¹⁵² *Admonition*, etc., 40.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 140.

¹⁵⁴ Two hundred and fifty-two quarto pages in reply to fifty-four.

¹⁵⁵ It has been usual to represent the *Admonition* as answering *several* of Martin's tractates. Dr. Waddington clearly speaks of it as if it were a reply to the "series" of Mar-prelate publications. But the testimony settles it that the *Admonition* was prepared as a reply to the first Martin (the *Epistle*) and that the *Epitome* (the second Martin), coming out just before the *Admonition* left the press, the reference in the latter was made plural rather than singular, and, to cover all con-

tingencies, was phrased "three or foure odious Libels, etc." The general reference however remains, in the contents and elsewhere, to "*Martins late Libell*," and the careful reader will at once discover that no particular allusion is made, and no reply offered, to any statement except those of the *Epistle*; proving that the volume was shaped to be an answer directly to that, and to that alone. One wonders that a writer usually so careful as Mr. Maskell, should have failed to notice this. Which tempts one to say, that English literature perhaps contains no clearer illustration than this controversy affords, of the tendency to speak strongly on scant knowledge.

made, were under the awkward necessity of admitting so much of truth in them, and of so much depending upon elaborate explanation of the same, as seriously to weaken their side of the case before many minds. As to the Fulham elms: they had been cut down, to be sure, but then the Queen when she had visited Fulham misliked her lodging being so much shaded!¹⁵⁶ As to John London's bowling on the Sabbath he says: "Man may haue his meate dressed for his health vpon the Sabbath, and why may he not then haue some conuenient exercise of the body, for the health of the body?"¹⁵⁷ As to commonly swearing "by my faith," London says: "in the phrase of our speech, 'by my faith' signifieth no more, but, 'in very trueth,' 'bona fide,' 'in trueth,' 'assuredly,' 'id est,' 'Amen.'"¹⁵⁸ But then see how he lays it on upon his antagonist in a return thrust: "It is to be thought, that Martin misliketh to say 'by his faith,' because a railing and slanderous spirite can haue no faith: for where Charitie is away (the soule of all good workes) there can be no faith. . . . The contraries whereof swell in Martin as venemous humours in an infectious sore."¹⁵⁹

You will not think these likely to be the strongest passages in the book: I confess my judgment that neither are they the weakest.

Lord Bacon said he much admired "the wisdom and religion of that bishop who replied to the first pamphlet of this kind [Martin Mar-prelate] who remembered that a fool was to be answered, but not by becoming like unto him."¹⁶⁰ I can scarcely think, however, that it required the discriminating intellect of the author of the *Novum Organon*, easily to conclude that the folly of the "Admonition" is indeed of quite another kind from that of the treatise which furnished its occasion.

This book was scarcely dry from the press before a third Martin made its appearance (about the 20th Feb. 1588-9)¹⁶¹ in the unpretending shape of a Broadside in Black-Letter, entitled *Certaine Minerall and Metaphisicall School points, to be defended by the reuerende Bishops, and the rest of my cleargie masters of the Connocation house, against both the universities, and al the re-*

¹⁵⁶ *Admonition*, etc., 56.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Works* (Montagu's ed.), vii: 33.

¹⁶¹ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 2. 9. 21.

formed churches in Christendome. Wher in is layd open the very quintessence of all Catercorner diuinitie. And with all, to the preuenting of the Cauels of these wrangling Puritans, the persons by whom, and the places where these misteries are so worthely maintayned, are for the most part, pldinly set downe to the view of all men, and that to the ternall prayse of the most reuerend Fathers. This consisted of thirty-seven propositions, each one fortified by reference to one or more church authorities; and as in nearly half of these cases reference is had to the *Admonition*, it is clear that this followed that, though it could have been by the interval of only a very few days. In general style and spirit it bears a strong resemblance to the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*, and it was printed at the same press, and circulated under the same auspices, but was perhaps from a different, though coöperative pen. Two or three of its "school-points" — whether "minerall" or "metaphisicall," I shall leave others to judge — will sufficiently intimate its general quality. As, for example:

"2. That a L. B. may safely haue two wiues *in esse* at once: the defendant in this point, is father *Marmaduke*, B. of *S. Davids*, who hath 2. now liuing: the one *Elisabeth Gigge*, the other *Ales Pryme*. Prooued against him before the high commission."

"4. That our Sauour Christ in his sermons, vsually sware by his fayth. For he said Amen, Amen, which is as much to say as 'by my faith:' the defendant in this point, is father *Thomas* of *Winchester*, alias profane T. C. pag. 62."

"33. That Christ Iesus the sonne of God was not so faithfull in the gouernment of his oune house as Moses was; for Moses ordained a gouernment that might not be changed by men, so did not Christ: the defendants in this point are all the 24. orders of Bishops, and all the cleargie masters."

This broad and not uncomely page winds up in striking type at bottom with six lines running across, by exhorting the "Good Reader" if he know of any parties who are prepared to argue these points, that is, to "defend Christ Iesus, and his prerogatiue, the trueth of his word, the credite of S. Paul, the veritie of the Apostles Creed, her Maiestie & her prerogatiue, etc. . . . and gainsay popish errors;" to "set vp his name, and we will sende a Purciuant for him. Whosoeuer he be, the matters shalbe according vnto order, quietly tried out betweene him and the bare walles in the Gatehouse, or some other prison."

The fourth Martin — or as I have suggested, likely enough the third from the veritable author — was not long in follow-

ing the *Admonition* which it reviewed, being issued about the 23d March [1588-9].¹⁶² It was a Black-Letter quarto of 58 pages. Utilizing one of the street-cries of London, there was a pun taking to the masses in its very title:¹⁶³ *Hay any worke for Cooper: or a brieffe Pistle, etc. . . . wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man, I warrant you, in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned Pistles, and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off, and the Bishops Tubes to leake out of all crye.*¹⁶⁴ *Penned and Compiled by Martin the Metropolitane. Printed in Europe, not farre from some of the Bousing Priestes.*

"I see," he says, to the bishops, "you cannot forget me. I thought you to bee verye kinde when you sent your Purcivaunts about the countrie to seeke for me. But now that you your selues haue taken the paines to write, this is out of all crye. . . . Now truly brethren, I find you kinde, why ye do not know what a pleasure you haue done me. My worships books were vnknowne to many, before you allowed T. C. to admonishe the people of Englande to take heed, that if they loued you, they woulde make much of their prelates, and the chiefe of the cleargie. Now many seeke after my bookes, more then euer they did."¹⁶⁵ . . . Besides whatsoever you ouerpasse in my writings, and did not gain-say, that I hope wilbe iudged to be true. . . . You haue conformed, rather then confuted. . . . So that, brethren, the pleasure which you haue done vnto me, is out of all scotche and notche."¹⁶⁶

He has no difficulty in determining who "T. C." is. "The stile and the phrase is very like her husbands y^t was somtimes woont to write vnto doctor Day of Welles."¹⁶⁷ This was a tender point to touch, and can only be justified when one remembers that Martin was literally fighting for his life, as well as for truth which he counted dearer than life, before all men of his time who could read the English tongue. But the fact was that "T. C." was dreadfully unfortunate in his wife, whose conduct had reached that pitch of scandal that one Thomas Day had been bound in the sum of £100, not to come near her.¹⁶⁸ So

¹⁶² "Which came forth about Palm-Sunday." [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 9.] Easter-day that year was 30 March, and Palm Sunday, being the previous Sunday, would be 23 March.

¹⁶³ "Ha' ye any work for Iohn Cooper," appears to have been one of the street cries of London. See Tempesta's *Cries of London*, fol. 1711.

¹⁶⁴ "Out of all estimation," i.e.: excessively. — *Halliwell*, sub voce.

¹⁶⁵ *Hay any Worke*, etc., iii.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. "Out of all scotche and notche," contains reference to keeping the tally of a game by scoring notches upon a stick, and means "beyond all bounds." *Halliwell*, sub voce.

¹⁶⁷ *Hay any Worke*, etc., v.

¹⁶⁸ Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, i: 610, where see a curious poem, jingling stinging charges against the Bishop's wife, "made by Th. Bulkley."

that such a sentence as the following must have cut like a razor that was all edge: "Now reuerend T. C. I beseech you entreat mistris Cooper, to write to M. D. Day, sometimes of magdalins, that he may procure D. Cooper, to know of him that was the last Thomas of Lincolne, whether the now B. of Winchester be not perswaded, that reuerend Martin hath sufficiently prooued it to be vnlawful, for the ciuill magistrate to abolishe any lawfull church officer out of the church."¹⁶⁹

More distinctly and earnestly than either previous tract, this pleaded for the new polity of elders in place of the hierarchal, seeking to shew that it exactly accorded with the government of the English State: "Monarchicall, in regarde of our head Christ, Aristocraticall in the Eldership, and Democraticall in the people. Such is the ciuill gouernement of our kingdome: Monarchicall in her Maiesties person: Aristocraticall in the higher house of Parliament, or rather at the Councell table: Democraticall in the bodie of the commons of the lower house of Parliament."¹⁷⁰ Many points are expressly reserved unto *More work for the Cooper*, which is to be issued hereafter. Martin does not forget to remind Bishop T. C. of the loose way in which he had spoken of his tracts: "Good Tom Tubtrimmer, if there haue bin 3. or 4. published, why doth bishop Cooper name on [one] only, why doth he not confute all? why doth he inuent obiections of his owne, seeing he had 3. bookes more to confute, or 2. at least then he hath touched; nay, why doth he not confute one of them thoroughly, seeing therein his Bishopdome was reasonably caperclawed. I haue onely published a Pistle, and a Pitomie, wherein also I graunt that I did reasonably Pistle them. Therefore T. C. you begin with a lye, in that you say that I haue published either 3. or 4. bookes."¹⁷¹ In general it may be said that this tract is fully equal in sharpness and cleverness to its predecessors. "Good sweet boyes, . . . good sweete babes, nowe," he says to the Bishops: "be the destruction of the church no longer."¹⁷² "Ah, you Anti-Christian prelates, when will you make an ende of defending your tyrannie by the blood and rapine of her maiesties subiectes?"¹⁷³ "Though I were as

¹⁶⁹ *Hay any Worke*, etc., 10.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 26.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 35.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 34. He calls them "sweete Popes now," as well, a few lines further on.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 41.

verye an Assehead as Iohn Catercap is, yet I coulde deale well inough with cleargie men."¹⁷⁴

The next to enter upon the field of discussion appears to have been a ponderous disputant who had been struck with alarm at seeing how the young men of the two universities were endangered by these terrible tracts. He therefore printed a Latin quarto of two and sixty pages, which he entitled: *Antimartinus, sive monitio cuiusdam Londinensis ad adolescentes utriusque academice, contra personatum, quendam rabulam, qui se Anglicè Martin Marprelat. Hoc est Martinum Μαστιγάρχον, ἡ μισαρχον, vocat, etc.*¹⁷⁵ Thus particularly addressed to the young men at Cambridge and Oxford, of course it aims at learning, and looks down on Martin. It has no idea "quibus è latebris" he came, with his "mendacijs," "conuicijs," "turpissimisque illecebris."¹⁷⁶ It goes learnedly into antiquity; refreshes the memory of the ingenuous youth to whom it appeals, as to the Jews and Gentiles, Homer, Agamemnon, the Lacedæmonians, Greeks and Romans, Alexander the Great, Aaron, Abraham and Melchisedec, Constantine, the Donatists, the Nicene Council, Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius, winding all this up with Nicolas Machiævel "qui religionem ad appetitus, & ambitionis normam inconstantissimam semper flectit, & intorquet"¹⁷⁷ — which, of course, Martin was doing. He wants them to think that the question at issue by no means solely touches the prelates, but also, and especially, the very form and being of the State. He wants them to remember, moreover, that Iscariot was one of the twelve, and Ananias and Sapphira members of the earliest church, so that it is nothing very wonderful if now and then an ugly story may be told concerning a bishop. Then retorting the argument, he says: "Quid? *Martinistæ* omnes tam synceri, tam puri, tam innocentes, vt nullum crimen in illâ sectâ liceat reprehendere?" For his own part, *he* hasn't a doubt, that if only two people were associated with Martin in dispersing his libels, it would be found that there would be, in the lot, as many as three confirmed and absolute scoundrels.¹⁷⁸ After more learning, and several pages on the Roman Statutes, and the Pontifical and civil law,¹⁷⁹ imagination fails him

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 36.

¹⁷⁵ 4to, pp. li, 60.

¹⁷⁶ *Antimartinus*, 2.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 13, 14.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 22, 23.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 30-36.

to conjecture what punishment would be adequate for such a libeller.¹⁸⁰ Then, administering due reproof to what he conceives to be the unchristian quality of Martin's books, he warns the young men against them, as saturated with the worst qualities of the London theaters and low resorts;¹⁸¹ and concludes with the pious prayer that his endeavor to aid them, "puris & synceris oculis," to see Martin in his real character, may bear "fructus non solum vobis ipsis, sed & Reip. nostræ & ecclesiæ Christi, incundissimos, vtilissimos, atque sanctissimos, etc., etc. Amen."¹⁸²

About this time a new weapon was resorted to in the endeavor to counteract Martin's influence over the masses of the people. It was sought to turn him into ridicule by means of comedies upon the stage.¹⁸³ These comedies are not known to have survived, so that we are remitted to conjecture, aided only by two or three hints, for estimating the quality and value of this flank movement. One author of 1589 says: "Methought *Vetus Comædia* began to pricke him at London in the right vaine, when shee brought foorth *Diuinitie* with a scratcht face, holding of her hart, as if shee were sicke, because *Martin* would have forced her; but myssing of his purpose, he left the print of his nayles upon her cheekes, and poysened her with a vomit, which he ministred unto her to make her caste uppe her dignities and promotions."¹⁸⁴ One is prepared, from this suggestion of their quality, for the fact that Edmund Tylney, master of the Revels, made such representations to Lord Burghley, as led to action by the Lord Mayor, resulting in the appointment by the Archbishop of Canterbury of "a fytt person well learned in divinity," and by the Lord Mayor, of "a sufficient person, learned and of judgment," to act with the Master, "for the reforminge of the plaies daylie exercysed and presented publickly in & about the cittie

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁸³ Some have fancied that in the following sentence of *Hay any Worke*, etc. [47] lies a reference by Martin to this form of attack upon him, viz.: "Yea & he saw martins picture drawn when he was a yong man. I perceiue then, he was not blind," etc. "It is said that the plays against Martin were per-

formed in St. Paul's Cathedral. In the margin of 'Pappe with an hatchet,' over against the mention of a play, it is written: 'If it be shewed at Paules, it wul cost you foure pence; at the theatre, two pence; at Sainct Thomas a Watering, nothing.'" J. Hunt. *Religious Thought in England*, etc., i: 107.

¹⁸⁴ *The Return of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius*, etc.

of London, wherein the players take upon them without judgment or decorum, to handle matters of Diuinitie and State."¹⁸⁵ A later author makes it clear that this action proved effectual, for he says:

"Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend,¹⁸⁶ and then I am sure he [Martin] would be decyphered, and so perhaps discouraged. He shall not be brought in as whilom he was, and yet verie well, with a cocks combe, an apes face, a wolfs bellie, cats clawes,¹⁸⁷ &c.; but in a cap'de cloake, and all the best apparel he ware the highest day in the yeare, thats neither on Christmas daie, Good fridaie, Easter daie, Ascension nor Trinitie sundaie, (for that were popish) but on some rainie weeke-daie, when the brothers and sisters had appointed a match for particular praiers, a thing as bad at the least as Auricular confession."¹⁸⁸

It is an interesting fact that there appears to be documentary evidence that Shakespeare, with some twenty of his fellow players, took pains to disclaim responsibility for, or connection with, those objectionable representations, against which this repressive action was taken.¹⁸⁹

But the Bishops knew a game which they thought worth much more than Latin quartos, or even stage satire, for the disposal of this troublesome pamphleteer. Which was to seize his press, and to hang him. They exerted themselves to the utmost to do both. For more than a year, Martin eluded and baffled them with astonishing skill. Waldegrave, the Puritan printer who had already suffered hard measure for his work, had contrived to save a basket or two of "letters," and they somehow managed what answered as a press. These were for a time concealed, and some work done with them at Kingston-upon-Thames in the summer, autumn and early winter of 1588, where the first Martin (the *Epistle*) had been printed.¹⁹⁰ Thence one Jeffs fetched them in a cart, at an expense of 50s., to Sir Richard Knightley's house in Fawsley, Northamptonshire, where the second Martin (the *Epitome*) was printed.¹⁹¹ Thence one Stevens took them in another cart to the house of John Hales in Coventry (who appears to have been a tenant of Sir Richard

¹⁸⁵ *Lansdowne MSS.*, lx. J. P. Collier. *Annals of the Stage*, i: 271.

¹⁸⁶ Penned.

¹⁸⁷ Here, doubtless, we get a glimpse of what was the stage "make-up" of Martin.

¹⁸⁸ *Pappe with an Hatchet*, 27.

¹⁸⁹ C. Knight. *Shakespeare Biography*, etc., 342.

¹⁹⁰ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 8. 19.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 8, 19.

Knightley), where the third and fourth Martins (the *Minerals* and *Hay any Worke*, etc.) were printed in February and March.¹⁹² The search now "being very hote,"¹⁹³ Waldegrave retired from the business, having something else to do which he thought promised more safety, and the "letters" and press were taken into "the north," that is, into what is now Newton Lane, Manchester, where one John Hodgkins was employed to work them. Here about six quires of the tract called *More Work for the Cooper* had been printed on one side, when (in some way, as was said, by "Henry, that good Earl of Derby") the retreat was traced, the implements and workmen seized, and the sheets destroyed.¹⁹⁴ This was done as they were about preparing further to print a "Latin book" — Martin probably wishing to show his learned university antagonist that he could manage to give him *quid pro quo* — and also a second part of *More Work for the Cooper* "almost as big again" as the first.¹⁹⁵

This was a terrible blow. Martin himself was still unharmed. But without the implements of printing, he would be like Samson when his hair was short. Moreover, money was the least requisite. For with the lanterns of the bishop's bailiffs flashing into every corner of the land, how was money to be so invested as to produce the materials? And what craftsman would risk his life in their use, could they be found?

The man was equal to the emergency. Hodgkins himself seems to have escaped that arrest in the north, which fell upon his two men. And lo, within a fortnight after midsummer, he is found by an acquaintance working — using a second lot of "letters" which it would seem belonged to Penry — "very privately in a low parlour" in Mr. Weekston's house at Wolston, being "kept there under the name of an Imbroyderer, that the servants might know nothing of the matter."¹⁹⁶ In all probability, work was begun here almost immediately after the break-

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 21.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 23. Henry Sharpe deposed that "asking him [Waldegrave] how it chanced that he looked so palely, he answered that one of Mr. Hales men kept him so closely at work, that for that tyme he had lyved as in a prison, & could not have often tymes warme meate." Dr. Waddington [*John Penry, the Pilgrim martyr*, etc., 224], with his really remarkable

facility for mis-stating, represents this as testimony that *Henry Sharpe* looked pale!

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 10, 24, 25; R. Halley, *Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, etc., i: 143-5; G. Paule, *Life of John Whitgift*, etc. (Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.*), iii: 589; Letter of Arch. Whitgift, *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxi: 3.

¹⁹⁵ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 10.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 25.

ing up of the other press; and hence, it would seem, was issued early in the summer the fifth of these remarkable assaults upon the Church establishment of England, to wit: *The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat wherein not withstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap:*¹⁹⁷ but defetthe all the race of them by these presents and offereth conditionally, as is farther expressed hearin by open disputation to apear in the defence of his cause against them and theirs Which chaleng if they dare not maintaine against him: then doth he alsoe publishe that he never meaneth by the assitaunce of god to leaue the assayling of them and their generation untill they be vterly extinguished out of our church Published by the worthie gentleman D martin marprelat, D. in all the faculties primat and metroPolitan. It is a little 12mo, of 32 pages, the imperfection of whose execution testifies that it had its birth among great tribulations. As may be inferred from its title, it is, however, undaunted in spirit. After a reference to the loss he had sustained: "the presse, leteres, workmen and all, apprehended and caried, as malefactors before the magistrat, whosē authoritie I reverence, and whose sword I would fear were I as wicked as our Bb. are," he piously adds: "These events I confes doe strike me, and giue me iuste cause to enter more narrowly into my selfe, to see whethere I bee at peace with god or no: but vtterlye to discourdged me from myne enterpize, a greater matterre then that coms to, I hope shall never be able."¹⁹⁸ . . . It was not vndertaken to be intermitted at euerie blast of euill successe. Naye let them knowe that by the grace of god the last yeare of *martinisme*, that is, of the discrying and displaying of L. Bb. shall not be, till full 2 yeas: after the last year of *Lambethisme*."¹⁹⁹ Touches of the old fun and satire are here. Considerable space is taken in telling what the *Hay any more work for Cooper* was to have been. "I sigh to remember the

¹⁹⁷ This word, which frequently occurs in the Mar-prelate tracts, I suppose to have been a corruption of *quater-cap* (constructed on the same principle with "quater-cousin," meaning a cousin in the fourth degree, and "quater-jacks," meaning the quarters as struck by a clock) a natural name for the four-

cornered student cap of those days, which is still worn at Oxford and Cambridge; and one easily used as a nickname for the University men, whom, with the gown, it distinguished from ordinary citizens.

¹⁹⁸ *Protestatyon*, etc., 3.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 9.

losse of it,' he says, "it was so prettie and so witty."²⁰⁰ Among the good things was "a preamble to an Eblitaph vpon the death of olde Andrew Turne-coat, to be song antiphonically in his graces Chappell on wednesdayes and Frydayes, to the lamentable tune of Orawhynemeg."²⁰¹ He has a word more about Iohn Mar-Elm of London; abates nothing of his caustic severity toward Bishops in general; says Cooper of Winchester, at his age, ought to know that "tubs made of greene timber, must needs leake out of al cry;"²⁰² thinks even "Mistresse Coopers husband," though long since "to old to blushe," ought to crimson at the abominations of the oath *ex officio* which he defends;²⁰³ and pleads with his readers to "be carefull of the reliefe and deliuerance of the distressed printers."²⁰⁴ The main intent of the tract, however, as its title implies, is to protest,²⁰⁵ in his own words:

"That I who do now go vnder the name of Martin Marprelate, do offer personally to apear, and there to make my selfe knowen in open disputation, vpon the danger not onlie of my libertie but also of my life, to maintaine against all our bishops, or any els whosoever, that shal dare in any Scholastical manner, to take their parts: the cause of the church government, which is now in controversie betwixt me and our prelats: so that I may have this condicion following inuolablie kept & obserued, vz: That for apearng, or for anye thinge that I haue eyther published or caused to be published in this cause, I be not delt with or molested, except thei overthrow me by the worde of God, which if they doe, confusion be vpon me if I doe not yeelde. But if in this encounter I overthrowe them (as I make no question of it, if they dare abide the pushe) then they to trusse vp and be packing to ROME, & to trouble our church no longer. Provided also, that if any of the Puritans will ioyn with me & venture their liues in the cause, it maye be lawfull for them to come in freely against these dragons in disputation."²⁰⁶

At an early period of the conflict some rhymester entered the arena and aimed his light shaft at Martin. His thin quarto was

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 26. Mr. Dyce quotes from Laneham's letter about Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth in 1575, this: "What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of Ballets and songs all ancient: As Broom broom on hill; So wo is me begon trolly lo; *Over a Whinny Meg*, etc." A. Dyce, *Skelton's Works*, ii: 340.

²⁰² *Protestation*, 20.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁰⁵ The literal and primary meaning of "protest," is "to be a witness before," and hence to state anything in a public and solemn manner. That use of the word which is now most common, "to make a solemn declaration against" any course, or opinion, is secondary. Martin had the first sense in view in his title.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

titled: *A Whip for an Ape: or Martin displayed, etc.*²⁰⁷ Its object was to ridicule Martin as an ape, and lash him as such. The following stanza will suffice to hint its quality, while indicating the twist which it was thought expedient to put upon the Marprelate movement:

"And thinke you not he will pull doune at length,
Aswell the top from tower, as Cocke from steeple?
And when his head hath gotten some more strength,
To play with Prince as now he doth with people?
Yes, he that now saith: Why should Bishops bee?
Will next crie out: Why kings: The Saints are free!"

Next, in this line, seems to have been the anonymous author of an eight-paged quarto in fragments of various meters, but unvarying dullness, entitled *Mar-martine*. There is no connection between these fragments other than that furnished by a common intent; and from a literary point of view all are beneath contempt, as one may judge from a very few specimens. It thus begins:

"I know not why a trueth in rime set out
Maie not as wel mar Martine and his mates,
As shamelesse lies in prose-books cast about
Mar priests & prelates, and subvert whole states.
For where truth builds, and lying overthrowes,
One truth in rime, is worth ten lies in prose."²⁰⁸

The force of the pamphlet comes out in the following:

"*Martine* the merry, who now is *Mar prelate*
Will proue madde *Martine*, and *Martine Mar-the-State*."²⁰⁹

The author thought this to be so good that he subsequently repeats the idea in another dialect, thus:

²⁰⁷ It was a tract of seven pages, and had this Latin distich for a figure-head:

"Ordo Sacerdotum fatuo turbatur ab omni,
Labitur et passim Religionis honos."

Being without date, it can only generally be assigned to some period after Martin had threatened to "place a young Martin in euerie diocese" [*Epistle*, etc., 40], to which this refers:

"Now Martin, you that say you will spawne out
Your broyling brattes in euerie towne to dwell, etc.,"
p. 6.

and the beginning of replies to him in poetry, of which this perhaps may be assumed to

have been first, inasmuch as the author says:

"Since reason (Martin) cannot stay thy pen,
We'll see what rime will doo: haue at thee then."

p. 2.

The following stanza [4] refers to the attempt to establish presbyteries over England:

"What meane they els, in every towne to craue
Their Priest and King like Christ himselfe to be:
And for one Pope ten thousand Popes to haue,
And to controll the highest he or she:
Aske Scotland that, whose king so long they crost
As he was like his kingdome to haue lost."

²⁰⁸ *Mar-Martine*, 1.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 2.

"Yclipt thou art, as people sayen, *Martin* the *Mar-prelat*,
Better the mought thie selfe benempt, *Mar-queene*, *Mar-potentat*." ²¹⁰

It closes with the following proposed epitaph :

"If Martin die by hangmans hands, as he deserves, no lesse,
This Epitaph must be engravde, his manners to expresse :—
Here hangs knaue Martine, a traitrous Libeler he was
Enemie pretended but in hart a friend to the Papa : ²¹¹
Now made meat to the birdes that about his carkas are hagling,
Learne by his example, yee route of Puritan Asses
Not to resist the doings of our moste gracious Hester ²¹²
Martin is hang'd, O the Master of al Hypocritical hangbies." ²¹³

The following couplet is perhaps its most respectable hit :

"The veriest knaues cheefe *Prurilans* and *Martinists* are found ;
And why ? They saie where sin was great, there grace will most abound." ²¹⁴

But that such stuff should have been thought worth printing, is calculated to suggest that even "the golden age of merrie England" was not without its alloy. ²¹⁵

This called out a reply in kind, which took from it the more alliterative than impressive name of *Marre Mar-Martin*, etc. Decidedly more respectable in quality than the book which occasioned it, it seems to speak, rather in the interest of peace, and as if scarcely fascinated by either party. It was surely written neither by Martin nor his friends. Its closing stanza pleads :

"If all be true that Lawyers say,
The second blowe doth make the fray :
Mar-Martins fault can be no lesse,
Than *Martins* was which brake the peace ;
Martin, *Marre-Martin*, *Barrowe*, *Browne*,
All helpe to pull Religion downe." ²¹⁶

Quite to the same purpose is another extract :

"On Whitson euen last at night,
I dreaming sawe a pretie sight,
Three monsters in a halter tide,
And one before, who seemde their guide.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, 5.

²¹¹ That is : the pope.

²¹² "Esther," i. e., Queen Elizabeth.

²¹³ *Ibid*, 8. "*Hangby*, a hanger-on, a dependant." *Halliwel & Wright*, sub voce.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 7.

²¹⁵ The following reference which con-

tains to other disputants of the day is perhaps worth noting here [*Ibid*, 2] :

"When *Browne* & *Barrowe* haue done what they dare
Their hellish *Hidraes* heads will spring with speede :
Such men as *Martins* caused all these woes :
This poison still encreaseth as it goes."

²¹⁶ *Marre-Mar-Martin*, 5.

The formost lookt and lookt againe,
 As if he had not all his traine :
 With that I askt that gaping man
 His name : my name (said he) is Lvcian.²¹⁷
 This is a Jesuite, quoth he,
 These *Martin* and *Mar-martin* be :
 I seeke but now for *Machyvell*²¹⁸
 And then we would be gone to hell ! ”²¹⁹

And here is its exhortation to all concerned :

“Beare gracious Queene, *Europaes* matchles mirror :
 Beare noble Lords, renowned counsell giuers :
 Beare Clergie-men, for you must spie the error :
 Beare common people, common light beleeuers :
 Beare joyntlie one anothers weaknesse so,
 That though we wither, yet the Church may grow.”²²⁰

Two more of Martin's own phenomenal tracts — making seven, in all, having the same general origin and intent — were sent out from that “low parlor in Mr. Weekston's house at Woolston” before the hounds got the scent; one about the 22d, and the other the 29th July [1589].²²¹ The first was called *Theses Martinianæ: That is Certain demonstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned Clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great, etc., etc. Published and set foorth as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman himselfe, by a prety stripling of his, Martin Iunior, and dedicated by him to his good neame and nuncka, Maister Iohn Kankerbury.*²²² How the yongman came by them, the Reader shall vnderstande sufficiently in the *Epilogue*, etc. The theory of the tract is that Martin senior has disappeared, most likely been imprisoned, possibly murdered, and that one of his sons picks up under a hedge a roll of paper in his father's handwriting, in a weather-

²¹⁷ This reference is doubtless to the Greek satirist whom Erasmus loved, and whose *Dialogues of the Dead* have been imitated at least by Fontenelle, Voltaire and Lord Lyttelton.

²¹⁸ This was, of course, Niccolò Machiavelli, whose most celebrated treatise, *Il Principe*, has excited violent controversy, and earned for its author — justly or unjustly — with multitudes, the reputation of being the apologist, promoter and champion of hypocrisy, perfidy and despotism.

²¹⁹ *Marre-Mar-Martin*, 3.

²²⁰ *Ibid*, 5.

²²¹ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 25.

²²² *Neme* and *nuncle* were both colloquial terms for “uncle.” [*Halliwell*, sub *vocibus*.] The intent is to keep up the easy impudence of the old claim of equality with the bishops, and even with the primate, which Martin had put forth; inasmuch as if Martin junior were a nephew of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it must, of course, have been in virtue of the fact that the primate and Martin senior were brothers.

beaten state, which he prints; being one hundred and ten propositions collected out of his works by the old man²²³—who explains that the Bishops and their friends on the one side, and the Puritans on the other, all complain of his “maner of writing.”²²⁴ He is therefore minded somewhat to change his style and set down the main conclusions which he has reached, “without inueighing against either person or cause,”²²⁵ in the hope that then his positions will be altogether approved of by the latter, and “not so greatly scorned at” by the former.

In the Epilogue young Martin adds a little wit and sarcasm of his own, which hardly, however, has the old-time ring.²²⁶

The second treatise follows the cue of the first. It is entitled *The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior—Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headines of the foolish youth is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother, Martin Senior, sonne and heire*

²²³ Take the following as hinting their quality, viz :

“7. That the Lorde never placed any officers in the Newe Testament, but the offices of Apostles, Prophets, Euangelists, Pastors, Doctours, Elders and Deacons.” *Theses*, 6.

“12. That the church is nowe vnto the worldes end, to have none other offices in it, but of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.” *Ibid*, 7.

“25. That a church gouernment consisting of any other officers but pastors, Doctors, Elders & Deacons is a gouernment of maimed and mishapen members.” *Ibid*, 8.

“93. That all true subiects have better warrant to deny the superioritie of bishoppes, then the bishoppes to impose themselves upon the church.” *Ibid*, 17.

²²⁴ “The Bishops and their traine, though they stumble at the cause, yet especially mislike my maner of writing. Those whom foolishly men call Puritanes, like of the matter I have handled, but the forme they cannot brooke.” *Theses*, etc., 3.

²²⁵ *Ibid*.

²²⁶ In the absence of direct evidence, except that which connects this with the same press and parties with the previous Martins, it is to be presumed, doubtless, that this tract was from the same hand, under the name of a son of the old man; partly for the fun of the thing, partly to keep up the verisimilitude of

the transaction, now that the press had been broken up, and new arrangements made necessary, and partly, perhaps, to throw the hounds off the scent by the seeming of a new trail. If it were the old pen still at work, perhaps the heavy clouds of danger, unrelieved by any streak of hope, which were settling around him, dulled a little the former exuberance of his rollicking pen. The following passage will sample the style of this epilogue, in which Martin Junior, suggesting the possibility that the Bishops may have gotten him, says: “I pray you, nuncles, never trouble your selues with the keeping of him. I trust he shall do well though he neuer come near any of you all. And I think in reason it were more meete his sonnes, then his brethren should be charged with him; if it so came to passe that he were forced to leaue unto others. This I knowe full wel that my father would be sorry from his heart, to put you to any such cost as you intend to be at with him. A meaner house and of less strength then the Tower, the Fleete, Newgate, or the Gatehouse is, would serve him well enough: he is not of that ambitious vaine that many of his brethren the bishops are, in seeking for more costly houses than ever his father built for him. And, therefore, good sweet neames nowe, if you have him, let him be despatched out of your hands, with honesty and credit,” etc. *Ibid*, 22.

unto the renowned Martin Mar-prelate the Great. Where also, least the springall shold be utterly discouraged in his good meaning, you shall finde that hee is not bereaued of his due commendations. It is a little 12mo, of 32 pages, like its fellow. The general drift is suggested by its title. The elder Martin is represented as taking the younger over his knee after this fashion: "Foolish stripling, canst thou tell what thou hast done? I weene not, if my father should be hurt, either at the Groine, or at the suburbs of Lisbon, is this the way either to cure him, or to comforte him, to publishe his scrabled and weather-beaten papers in this sorte? What if hee hadde in purpose to write no more, seeing the daunger and trouble that comes of it? Will this be any meanes to worke the olde mans quietnes for a foolish and a headie springal²²⁷ to go set abroad his papers?"²²⁸ The accustomed banter shows itself in a speech which he represents the Archbishop of Canterbury to make, in which he says:

"Haue you diligently soght mee out Waldegrauē the Printer, Newman the Cobler,²²⁹ Sharpe the booke-binder of Northampton,²³⁰ and that seditious Welchman Penry,²³¹ who you shall see will prooue the Author of all these libelles?"²³² . . . Watch mee Paules churchyard, especially have an eie to Boyles shop at the Rose.²³³ . . . Let three or four more of you, or your substitutes, be every day at the Blacke Friers, Lincolns Inn, White-chappell, Paules chaine, as often as Charke, Gardiner, Egerton, or Cooper do preach.²³⁴ . . . Especially marke if you see any before the sermon beginnes, setting their heads together, and whispering vnder their cloakes, if you doe, be sure they are reading Martin, and haue them foorthwith to the prison. . . I would haue ye especially go into Northampton and Warwickeshires, and command the Maior and consta-

²²⁷ *Heady*, "self-willed;" *Springal*: "a youth, a young lad." *Halliwell*, sub vocibus.

²²⁸ *Iust Censure*, etc., 3.

²²⁹ Humphrey Newman seems, from various depositions, to have been the prominent agent in the dispersion of the Martinist tracts, which appear to have been sometimes forwarded to him concealed in rolls of leather. [*Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 10. 11.] He is called "*alias* Brownebread, cobler." *Ibid.*

²³⁰ Henry Sharpe made a long deposition 15 Oct., 1589, to which—and there appears to be no reason to doubt its good faith and essential accuracy—we are entitled for our best knowledge as to the details of the times, places and circumstances of the printing of these Mar-prelate publications. Strype [*Annals*, iii (2): 604] calls him "a bookseller."

²³¹ Penry had escaped into Scotland when the press was taken [*J. Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr*, 49], and being thus out of reach, might safely be spoken of in this manner.

²³² *Iust Censure*, etc., 4.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 6.

²³⁴ *William Charke*, expelled from his fellowship in Peter-house, Cambridge, and one of the members of Cartwright's Wandsworth presbytery [*Brook*, ii: 113]. *John Gardiner* of Malden, Essex; also a member of this presbytery and a subscriber to the "*Book of Discipline*," deprived and committed to Newgate by Aylmer [*Ibid.*, i: 316]. *Stephen Egerton* of the same presbytery and subscriber to the "*Discipline*," as well; afterwards many years at Blackfriars [*Ibid.*, ii: 289]. *Cooper* I have not identified.

bles of Northampton to keepe watch and warde for Sharpe and Penry.²³⁵ . . . Goe me to Deuonshire & to the North parts, where my Lords grace of Yorke also will direct his warrants by you, to seeke this traitour Martin. For I will haue him, or els I wil no longer be archbishop of Canterburie. He die at the Groine, as they saie? Naie, heele be hanged ere heele die there. He is in some corner of England, lurking and doing mischief. I tel you true, I doe thinke him and his brood to be worse then the Iesuits. [*marginal note*: Ile beleuee you o your word.]”²³⁶

He returns to the serious work in hand by laying down eleven propositions against the Archbishops and the Bishops, calling them “common simoniarkes, such as make merchandize of church livings,” etc., “guiltie of the blood of infinite thousands;”²³⁷ and carries the war into Africa, by accusing them of sowing sedition by pretending their intolerable practices to be by the Queen’s command; insists that they are legally deprivable by a *praemunire*²³⁸ on account of their manifold breaches of law and equity; and, solemnly charging the Archbishop especially with infinite wickedness in the sight of a just God, he exhorts him to repent, and let men and angels be gladdened witnesses of his conversion.

Then, swinging to the lighter side again, he says to Whitgift, if he wants “a foole in his house wearing a wooden dagger and a cockescombe, that none is so fitte for the place as his brother Iohn a Bridges, Deane of Sarum;”²³⁹ recommends Dr. Robert Some for his confessor, who, when there was no other use to which he could be put, might “reade the *starve-us* booke in his Chappell,”²⁴⁰ and thinks parson Anderson of Stepney, when not busy in robbing poor boxes, dancing morris-dances and doing worse things, would make him a good man to march at the head of his processions.²⁴¹ He draws to a close by expressing regret that a great public discussion cannot be gained; declaring that “an hundred thousand hands of knowen men in the land, all her maiesties most loyall and trustie louing sub-

²³⁵ *Iust Censure*, etc., 7.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 14, 16.

²³⁸ The *praemunire* was the offence of introducing a foreign power into the kingdom, the statute being framed to cut off the Romish power in England, and make it impossible

for an Englishman to render to any papal process that obedience which he constitutionally owed to the sovereign alone. The penalty involved honor, estate and life.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

jects,"²⁴² might be had praying for one; insists that the Puritans are the most loyal persons in the kingdom; has another slap at Cartwright, whom he thinks "to seek the peace of our Church no otherwise then his platforme may stand,"²⁴³ quoting against him the proverb: "There is no biting to the olde snake;" and charges young Martin not to know his father if he see him, and "if anie offer to talke with thee of Martin, talke thou straite of the voyage into Portugal, or of the happie death of the Duke of Guise, or some such accident; but meddle not with thy father."²⁴⁴

Seven Martins in seven months, or thereabouts; printed on two pilgrim presses; by peripatetic printers with two different lots of "small things of lead or iron"²⁴⁵ which they said were "lettres" lugged about in baskets; from "copy" dropped under a hedge by one man, for another man (not seeing the first) to pick up;²⁴⁶ in at least five different places — sheltered, sometimes, by good women who asked of their husbands leave to do a piece of work of which they were to take no knowledge —²⁴⁷ and when done smuggled to the discriminating public by being hidden in personal apparel,²⁴⁸ or wrapped in the middle of rolls of leather delivered by the common carrier:²⁴⁹ surely this was no contemptible piece of work for any one man. And although they muzzled him now at last, and his own proper voice is no more heard — I say this, for I regard the *Dialogue wherein is plainly layd open the Tyrannicall dealing of Lord Bishops against Gods children, etc.*; with Penry's *Appellation*; *M. Some laid open in his coulers, etc.*, to be collateral tracts kindred in spirit, sometimes a little resemblant in style, very likely printed on the same press, but from another hand, and lacking the peculiar grit, with grace, of Martin's own treatises — I think you will agree with me that, as matters stood at this date, having published all together but about two hundred and fifty pages, one hundred of which were very small ones, against more than three hundred quarto pages against him already issued by one Archbishop, three Bishops, a learned Latin writer, and a

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁴⁵ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 8.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1-6.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

poet, Martin could have afforded to cry quits and retire, much better than his antagonists. They thought as much. And as soon as they felt themselves perfectly sure that they had silenced him by taking away his voice, they broke out into full cry against him. In less than five months eight quartos had been discharged into the dead lion: within a twelvemonth one can count perhaps a dozen: while a rattling volley of squibs whose names suggest him, had hardly ceased sounding a half-century after.²⁵⁰

Due respect to Bancroft, subsequently Bishop of London and Primate, seems to demand that we bestow a glance upon some of the chief of those which, on his suggestion,²⁵¹ were designed to answer this fool according to his folly.

The first, apparently, was [6 Aug. 1589]²⁵² *A Countercuffe given to Martin Iunior: by the venturous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill of Englande, Caualliero. . . . Printed between the skye and the ground, wythin a myle of an Oake, etc.*, beginning: "Valiant Martin, if euer the earth carried anie Gyants, as fabulous antiquitie hath auouched, which entred into wars and conspiracies against GOD, thy father *Mar-prelat* was a whelpe of that race; who to reuiue the memory of his auncestors almost forgotten, hath broken into heauen with his blasphemies."²⁵³ The

²⁵⁰ There were at least four quartos published in or about 1645, which were clearly christened in remembrance of Martin, viz.:

The arraignment of Mr. Persecution, etc., by *Rev. Young Martin Mar-Priest, son of old Martin*, etc. 4to, pp. vi, 47.

A sacred Decretall, or hue and cry from his superlative holinesse Sir Symon Synod, for the apprehension of reverend young Martin Mar-Priest, etc.

Martins Echo: or a remonstrance from his holinesse reverend young Martin Mar-Priest responsive to the late sacred synoddicall decretall, etc. 4to, pp. 20.

Divine Observations upon the London ministers letter against Toleration: by his Synoddicall, Priest-byter-all, Nationall, Provinciall, Classicall, Congregational, Superlative, Unerring, Clerical, Academical, Holinesse Rev. young Martin Mar-Priest, Sonne and Heire to old Martin the Metropolitan, etc., etc., printed by *Martin Claw-Clergy*, etc. 4to, pp. 16.

There was also a *Vox Borealis* (1641, 4to, pp. 20), "printed by *Margary Mar-Prelat*, in

Thwack-coat Lane," reprinted in the *Har. Mis.*

²⁵¹ "He was by his diligent search the first detector of Martin Marprelate's press and books: where and by whom they were printed, etc. He was a special man that gave the instructions to her Majesty's learned Council, when Martin's agents were brought into the Star-chamber. By his advice that course was taken, which did principally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths; vix: to have them answered after their own vain writings." *Strype, Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D. D.* (ed. 1822), ii: 387; compare *Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Cant.*, x: 196.

²⁵² The copy in the Lambeth library says: "From *Graues ende Barge* the sixt of August;" that in the British Museum says: "From *Gravesende Barge* the eight of August." I noticed no other special difference between the two. The copy consulted by Maskell, which seems to have been in the Bodleian, he quotes as giving the date "the eyght of August." [*Hist. Mar-Mar-Prel. Controversy*, 212.]

²⁵³ *Countercuffe*, etc., 3.

only symptom of skill in this effort is the suggestion of a counter attack upon the character of the Presbyterian ministry. Pasquill says he has "vndertaken to write a very famous worke Entituled *The Owles Almanacke*: wherein the night labours and byrth"²⁵⁴ of the new religion are to be set down; he also proposes to write a "fruitfull Volume of *The Liues of the Saints*,"²⁵⁵ and intimates a few tidbits of slander which he can insert therein. Two of these are: a reverend Elder who is compelled to keep the poor funds to himself because there are none needing almes in his locality;²⁵⁶ and a reverend Pastor in Devonshire, who having occasion to crave advice of a neighboring minister, "rapt it out lustilie: Si tu non vis venire mihi, ego volo venire tibi: and so by the leakes that remaine in his Latin, made more worke for the Tinker, than ever your father made for the Cooper."²⁵⁷

During the same month, I think, came out another volume in which this new method of replication was carried neither to its height, nor quite to its depth. It had really four titles, thus: *Pappe with an hatchet*.²⁵⁸ *Alias, A figge for my God sonne. Or, Cracke me this nut. Or, A Countrie cuffe, that is, a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his peace, seeing the patch will take no warning. Written by one that dares call a dog, a dog, and made to preuent Martins dog daies.* This is dedicated "to the Father, and the two Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe and Snuffe, the three tame ruffians of the Church, which take pepper in the nose, because they can not marre Prelates. . . . Roome for a royster; so thats well sayd, itch a little further for a good fellowe. Now haue at you all my gaffers of the rayling religion, tis I that must take you a peg lower."²⁵⁹ . . . If a Martin can play at chestes, as well as his nephewe the ape, he shall knowe what it is for a scaddle pawne to crosse a Bishop in his owne walke. Such dydoppers²⁶⁰ must be taken vp els theile not stick to

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* The pamphlet concludes with these lines [8]:

"To come to the close,
In Rime or in Prose,
In spight of thy nose,
Thine for these seauen yeeres;
Pasquill of Englande."

²⁵⁸ To give pap [infant's food] with a hatchet, seems to have been a proverbial phrase for

the doing of a kind thing in a rough and unkind way. The following illustrates it: "They give us pap with a spoone before we can speake, and when we speake for that we love, *pap with a hatchet.*" Lyly, *Court Comed.*, sig. z. 12. reverse.

²⁵⁹ I cite Petheram's reprint (1844), not having the original by me.

²⁶⁰ Probably for "didapper," which is the name of a little diving bird — the "dab-chick," or *podiceps minor*.

check the king."²⁶¹ "To the Indifferent Reader," this writer proceeds to explain, that:

"It is high time to search in what corner of the Church the fire is kindled, being crept so far, as that with the verie smoke the consciences of diuers are smothered. It is found that certaine Martins . . . haue thrown fire, not into the Church porch, but into the Chauncell, and though not able by learning and iudgement to displace a Sexton, yet seeke to remooue Bishops. They haue scattered diuers libels, all so taunting and slaunderous, as it is hard to iudge, whether their lyes exceed their bitterness, or their bitterness their fables. If they be answered by the grauitie of learned Prelates, they presentlie reply with railings."²⁶² . . . I thought it more conuenient to giue them a whisk with their oune wand, than to haue them spurd with deeper learning."²⁶³

Here is a specimen of its wit:

"There is small difference between Swallowes & *Martins*, either in shape or nature, saue onely, that the *Martins* haue a more beetle head; they both breed in Churches, and hauing fledged their young ones, leaue nothing behind them but durt. Vnworthie to come into the Church porch, or to be nourished vnder anie good mans eues, that gnawe the bowels in which they were bred, and defile the place in which they were ingendred."²⁶⁴

A few stories are told to slur the Puritans: "There is a good Ladie that lent one of these Martinists fortie pounds, and when at the daie shee required her money, Martin began to storne, and said, he thought her not the child of God, for they must lend, looking for nothing againe, and so to acquite himselfe of the blot of vsurie, he kepte the principall"²⁶⁵—and so on.

One does not wonder that it seemed to be necessary to go on still—for surely in the length and breadth of England somebody must be able to think of something less stupid than all this. So, on the 20th October,²⁶⁶ came out *The Returne of the renowned Cauliero Pasquill of England from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange. Where they encounter with a little houshold talke of Martin and Martinisme, discovering the scabbe that is bredde in England: and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the golden Legende of the liues of the Saints. If my breath be so hote that I burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed by Pepper Allie.*

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁶⁶ The following, near the close of the pamphlet, seems to settle this date: "Dated 20 Octobris. Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo, per me venturous Pasquill the Cavaliero." *Returne*, etc., 30.

We need not dwell upon this, which seems to have been by the author of the *Countercuffe*. It is less rattle-brained in style, and perhaps, on the whole, less feeble in substance of thought, than that last considered; yet its most effective point is in its proposed "Golden Legend" of Martinist saints.²⁶⁷

Next, perhaps, was issued *An Almond for a Parrat, or, Cutbert Curry-knaues Almes. Fit for the knaue Martin, and the rest of those impudent Beggars, that can not be content to stay their stomakes with a Benefice, but they will needes breake their fastes with our Bishops*, etc.²⁶⁸ Beginning with a lying tale about being lately at Bergamo on his way home from Venice, finding the church bells all ringing, bonfires burning, and every sign of the most extravagant popular joy, and on inquiring the cause, being told that "there was a famous Schismaticke, one Martin, newe sprung vp in England, who by his bookes, libels and writings had brought that to passe which neither the Pope by his Seminaries, Philip by his power, nor all the holy League by their vnderhand practises and policies, could at any time effect;"²⁶⁹ he goes on largely to fill up his pages by scurrilous intimations, or stories in a very small way designed to damage the Puritans. Cartwright "hath undone more printers with his pybald pamphlets, then his dish-clout discipline will sette vp agayne this seauen yeeres."²⁷⁰ "Bro. Pag." [et] is over shrewd in predicting "by a coves water how many pintes of milke she will give in a yeere,"²⁷¹ and in clearing "three pounds a yeere," over all costs and charges, from a laying hen.²⁷² And so he goes on from bad to worse, until it becomes quite impossible in the presence of decency even to hint his indecency and blasphemy; winding up by threatening to disgorge another assortment of the same quality, if Martin presume (the cowardly rascal knows very well that poor Martin is safely gagged) to speak again!²⁷³

We have now reached that which was by much the cleverest of all the attempts made to pay off Martin in his own coin; which, nevertheless, often reminds one that it is by no means his.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 3.

²⁶⁸ "Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a Place, by the Ass-ignes of Signior Somebody; and are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue street, at the signe of the Standish." This is not very loud thunder, to be sure, but,

such as it is, it was all stolen from Martin.

²⁶⁹ *An Almond*, etc., 6.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 29.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, 30.

²⁷² *Ibid*.

²⁷³ *Ibid*, 46.

Its title is: *Martins Months minde*,²⁷⁴ that is, *A certaine report, and true description of the Death, and Funeralls, of olde Martin Marreprelate, the great makebate*²⁷⁵ of England, and father of the Faction. Contayning the cause of his death, the manner of his buriall, and the right copies both of his Will, and of such Epitaphs, as by sundrie his dearest friends, and other of his well willers, were framed for him,²⁷⁶ etc. After an elaborate epistle of dedication and address to the reader together of thirty pages, it gives a circumstantial account of the old gentleman's last days and ailments; of the post-mortem, when were found a "wonderfull corrupt carcasse," a "hollowe heart," lungs "huge and made to prate," a tongue "wonderfullie swolne in his mouth; I thinke by reason of his blasphemie;" and a head with "no crumme of braine within it,"²⁷⁷ and of his last will and testament. He desired to be buried from no church and in no churchyard,²⁷⁸ and by no parson, but by his sons, and to lie north and south, with only "M. M. M." as his epitaph — opinions differing whether the letters stood for *Memoriæ Martini Magni*, or *Monstrum Mundi Martinus*.²⁷⁹ Seventeen epitaphs, purporting to be contributed by various condoling friends, are appended; all of which except the last, "by the author," are exceedingly stupid.²⁸⁰ That is worth quoting in full:

"Hic iacet, ut pinus,
Nec Caesar, nec Ninus,
Nec magnus Godwinus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam clandestinus,
Miser ille Martinus,
Videte singuli.

²⁷⁴ In the phrase of the time a "Months-mind" was a celebration in remembrance of the dead a month after their decease, when often what is now called the funeral sermon was preached. See citation of authorities, and illustrations, in *Halliwell & Wright's Nares*, etc., s. v.

²⁷⁵ "A disturber of peace, a causer of quarrels; from *to make*, and *bate*, a quarrel." *Ibid*, s. v.

²⁷⁶ The following fills out the title of this quarto of 64 pages, viz.:

"*Martin the Ape, the dronke, and the madde, The three Martins are, whose workes we have had.*

If Martin the fourth come, after Martins so euill, Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the deuill."

²⁷⁷ *Martin's Months Minde*, etc., 54.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 48.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 49.

²⁸⁰ Witness these two:—

By R. L.

"HA, he, tse, tse, py, hy, see fortunes wheelles,
So how, *Mad Martin*, hath turnde up his heeles."
By "Cliffe the godlie Cobler."

"A DIEU both naule amd bristles, now for euer;
The shoe and soale (ah woe is me) must seuer.
Bewalle mine Aule, thy sharpest point is gone.
My bristle's broke, and I am left alone.
Farewell old shoes, thombe stall, and clouting lether,
Martin is done, and we vudone together."

"O vos Martinistæ,
 Et vos Brownistæ,
 Et Famililouistæ,
 Et Anabaptistæ,
 Et omnes sectistæ,
 Et Machiuelistæ,
 Et Atheistæ,
 Quorum dux fuit iste
 Lugete singuli."²⁸¹

"At gens Anglorum
 Præsertim verorum,
 Nec non, qui morum,
 Estis bonorum,
 Inimici horum,
 Ut est decorum,
 Per omne forum,
 In sæcula sæculorum
 Guadete singuli."²⁸²

Not content to rest here, the tract goes on with a four page conclusion to the young Martins, which deals in low abuse, threatens them with the hangman, and contributes epitaphs for them also, one of which I cite:

"Here swingeth he,
 one of the three,
 Well known to be,
 rebellious mates:
 But this leud swad,²⁸³
 His match nere had,
 No not his dad,
 for foe to States."²⁸⁴

I have cited this last rather to make excuse for going back to Martin; that I may give you from his last tract (*The iust censure*,

²⁸¹ J. Weever in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, etc. (1631), gives a version of this epitaph differing somewhat from that in the text. The third, fourth and fifth lines of the first stanza are these:

"Nec Petrus nec Linus,
 Nec Celestinus,
 Nec magnus Godwinus."

and the second stanza is thus given:

"O vos Martinistæ,
 Et vos Brownistæ,
 Et vos Barowistæ,
 Et vos Atheistæ,

Et Anabaptistæ,
 Et vos Haketistæ,
 Et Wiggintonistæ,
 Et omnes Sectistæ,
 Quorum dux fuit iste,
 Lugete singuli." [56.]

The *Athena Oxonienses* (Bliss's ed. 1813) [i: 596], reprints these "whimsical rhymes" from Weever.

²⁸² *Martins Months Minde*, etc., 59.

²⁸³ A rude clown, a rustic; a term of contempt. *Halliwel & Wright's Nares*, etc., s.v.

²⁸⁴ *Months Minde*, 63.

etc.) an illustration of how much better, after all, he could do even this kind of thing than Bancroft's attornies. It is in a few lines from an epitaph he had proposed for one who had assaulted him :

"If that Mar-Martine die the death that to the dog is due,
Vpon his tomb engraue this verse & you shal find it true :
He lies endiched here that from the ladder toppe,
Did once beblesse the people thus — but first he kist the rope :

Come neere quoth he, take heed by me,

I loued to lie by ryming,

Tis just you see, and doth agree,

that now I die by climing :

What wretch but I, that vowed to lie,

al falshoode still defending ?

Who may say fie ? No beast but I,

loe here you see my ending.

I lived a wretch, I die the stretch,

my daies and death agree :

Whose life is blamefull, his death is shamefull,

be warnd, ye rogues, by mee.

The justest I hated, the godliest I rated,

and thus I railed my fill :

The good I detested, the best things I wrested,

to serue mine own beastlie will.

Religion I lothed, my selfe I betrothed.

to all the lewd snares of sinne.

Aske you the cause ? I spurnd at God's laws,

and hence comes all my wracke ;

Where should he dwel, that feares not hel,

but with the furies blacke ?

A beast that braues, a tongue that raues,

will God revenge in ire.

Then vengeance must (for God is iust)

fall to Mar-Martins hire,"²⁸⁵ etc.

I think but one more Anti-Martinist pamphlet of this special and extraordinary character was published, viz. : *Plaine Percevall the Peace-maker of England. Sweetly indeuoring with his blunt persuasions to botch up a Reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother*, etc., a black-letter quarto of thirty-four pages, which appears to have come out early in the winter of 1589-90. Mr. Massell, who seems to have devoted more labor to the study of this

²⁸⁵ *The iust censure and reproofe of Martin | Iunior*, etc., 29.

controversy than any other Englishman, thought he had made the discovery that this was "a last gasp" on the Martinist side.²⁸⁶ There is clear contemporaneous evidence, however, that it was written by a Church of England man, afterward Vicar of Saffron Walden, and was understood to be — as we have seen to have been true of *Marre Mar-Martin* — rather in the interest of peace. It was certainly complained of, two years after, as playing "the Iacke of both sides twixt Martin and vs;"²⁸⁷ and Mr. Maskell's opinion, I must think, has no ground whatever to stand upon.

Percevall fears he will be dull: "Sith Martin and his brood hath furnished the first course, with sundry dishes, and sawced them throughly: and againe his heauie frinds *Pasquill*, *Marforius*, and the fresh Cater of late, haue counter coursd him, with messes somewhat hoat of the spice: (for the *Pap* had corns of long Pepper as big as a hatchet :) I follow like a plaine dunstable Groome, with salt and spoones on a trencher."²⁸⁸ There is ground for his fear, and all which need be quoted from him is a single sentence that might stand motto for the whole tract: "Well then *Martin*, and you professed *Mar-Martins*, in presence of me *Percevall* shake hands and be friendes, meet halfe way, and I standing iump in the middle will crie aime to you both: so as you come not running with force and maine, and crush me betwixt you for my good will."²⁸⁹

There was indeed another tract entitled: *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie. Wherin he renders a reason to his friendes of his long silence*: — a silence, I suppose, since the same pen issued the *Return of Pasquil*, which we have noted in the previous October. Its imprint, which is: *Printed where I was, and where I will bee readie by the helpe of God and my Muse, to send you the Maygame of Martinisme for an intermedium, betweene the first and seconde part of the Apologie*; has given an impression that it has a

²⁸⁶ *History Mar. Mar-Prelate Controversy* (1845), 199.

²⁸⁷ Thomas Nash [*Strange Neues* (1592) sig. 2.] says, addressing Gabriel Harvey: "thy hot-spirited brother Richard (a notable rufian with his pen) hauing first tooke vpon him in his blundring *Persual* to play the Iacke of both sides twixt Martin and vs, and snarled prively at Pap-hatchet, Pasquil, and others, that oppoode themselves against the open

slaunder of that mightie platformer of Atheisme, presently after dribbed forth another fooles bolt, a booke I should say, which he christened *The Lambe of God*." Gabriel and Richard were sons of a rope-maker at Saffron Walden; the latter after entering the church was presented to the vicarage of his native parish.

²⁸⁸ *Plaine Percevall*, etc., 2.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 20.

place directly in this controversy. Such is not the fact. It is, as its sub-title indicates, a reply to "the *Treatise of Reformation*, lately written by a fugitive, Iohn Penrie."²⁹⁰ This Treatise was one of six little volumes, on which I cannot here specifically dwell, which, sandwiched between the Martinist issues, appear to have been printed upon the Mar-prelate press, by Puritan authors, in general plea for reform and a change of church government. But as they do not appear to have been from Martin's pen, are not in his peculiar style, and had little, if any, vital connection with his special struggle, they rather belong to the general controversial literature of the time; and take with themselves out of our special range this bitter quarto in reply to one of their number; which, indeed, has this one passage in which it seeks to connect Penry with the Martinist pamphlets: "Who had the ouersight of the Libell at Fawslie? *John* of Wales: Who was corrector to the Presse at Couentrie? *John* of Wales: Who wrote the last treatise of Reformation so full of slaunders, but *John* of Wales? Is it so brother *John*, can you byte and whine? then heare thyselfe indited againe by *Pasquill*."²⁹¹

During 1590 three more serious attempts were made to heal the wounds inflicted by Martin upon the church: by Richard Harvey, in *A Theological discourse of the Lamb of God and his enemies: containing a brief Commentary of Christian Faith, together with a detection of old and new Barbarisme now called Martinisme*, etc.; by Leonard Wright, in *A Friendly Admonition to Martin Mar-prelate and his mates*, etc.; and by Thomas Turswell, in *A Mirror for Martinists: And all other Schismatiques, which in these dangerous daies doe breake the godlie vnitie, and disturb the Christian peace of the Church*. Of these, Wright inclines to violent epithet and insinuation; calls Martin, "vile, base and churlish,"²⁹² and says he and his fellows lead people up and down

²⁹⁰ Mr. Maskell [*History Mar. Mar-Prel. Con.* etc., 21] catalogues both of these tracts as belonging to the Mar-prelate series. But I find no evidence to warrant such a classification (and he refers to none), other than the general fact—true as well in the case of others in regard to which no such claim has ever been made—of some community of origin and purpose.

²⁹¹ This is quite like the following in *An Almond for a Parrat*, etc. [34]: "Pen.; I. Pen.; Welch Pen.; Pen. the Protestationer, Demonstrationer, Supplicationer, Appellationer; Pen. the father; Pen. the sonne; Pen. Martin Iunior, Martin Martinus; Pen. the scholler of Oxford to his friend at Cambridge; Pen. *totum in toto, et totum in qualibet parte*," etc.

²⁹² *Friendly Admonition*, etc., 2.

by the ears "to heare their vaine conceits, as it were a foole to the storkes, till they were as wise in the end as Waltams calfe."²⁹³

Turswell, on the other hand, is plaintive, pious and harangueful: "I beseech you, brethren, by the bleeding wounds of our saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ, that none doe increase olde faultes by new offences, but rather that every man in sinceritie and holy obedience reforme his owne waies. . . . Let us beautifie the chambers of our hearts with the flourishing branches of a godly life, mortifying and killing all those euill and peruerse affections which may blemish and darken those bright beames of Christian profession. Let us beare the sailes of our conuersations euen with the wind of Gods word: and beseech we the holy Ghost to rule the stearne, and guide the rudder of our thoughts, least at anie time we cracke the barke of our religion against the rockes of euill tongues."²⁹⁴

There are two or three misapprehensions which ought to be removed, before we leave a subject remarkable alike in its relation to English literature, and to the history of the progress of human thought.

One is that of Mr. Maskell, who maintains that the Martin Mar-prelate tracts were the result of a concerted move on the part of the chief Puritans;²⁹⁵ that the programme was carried out by them as long as it seemed politic, and that, in their extremity of failure, *Plaine Percevall* was their exhausted cry for peace.²⁹⁶ But I hold nothing easier to prove by evidence abundant, from within, and from without, than that the Puritans, as such, had nothing to do with Martin; but, in their great majority, from the first, repudiated him. Such certainly was Martin's own view. It is in evidence that Waldegrave gave as a prominent reason for retiring from further printing of these tracts after he had issued the first four, that: "all the Preachers that I have conferred withall do mislike it."²⁹⁷ The feeling which

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4. Explained in the margin thus: "that ran ix. mile to sucke a bull."

²⁹⁴ *Myrror for Martinists*, etc., 34.

²⁹⁵ "All this was not a disunited effort by individuals, but the plan of a clever, earnest party, working in concert, under most able guidance, and careless what were the instru-

ments they used. They had an object before them, sufficient to justify any means, however bad. At last they ventured upon *Martin*, ventured . . . beyond the sympathy of lookers on," etc. *Hist. Mar-Prel. Contr.*, 222.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 199.

²⁹⁷ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 23.

the devoutest Puritan preachers most likely had—and we can easily see how natural it was to those of a certain turn of mind—would be that expressed by Browne's tutor, Richard Greenham, who, we are told, "when Martin Mar Prelate came first out . . . being to preach at St. Maries in Cambridge, spake freely against that Book, manifesting his dislike of the same: For (said he) the tendency of this Book is to make sin ridiculous, whereas it ought to be made odious."²⁹⁸ Neither in those perilous times, does it seem possible for more than a *very few* persons, at the outside, to have been intimately connected with so dangerous an undertaking. The theory which, to my mind, carries the vast preponderance of probability, is, that mainly one man alone did the writing, and mainly another managed the printing; each being careful publicly to know the other, in it, as little as possible. It is very likely that three or four Puritans may have counseled the undertaking, and furnished suggestions to it, but of these poor Udall, whom all the evidence would more directly than any other involve in the transactions, proves himself, in his examinations and various letters, to have lacked most of those qualities which Martin had, and which it was indispensable that he should possess. I believe the day which revealeth all things will make it clear, that, aside from Waldegrave, and Hodgkins, and other workmen employed, on the one hand; and from Sir Richard Knightley, the Weekstons of Wolston, and others who aided with money and shelter, on the other; and from Udall, Field, Throgmorton, Wiggington, and possibly others, who added good wishes and moral support; *Martin* was essentially the work of two men—one of whom, to put the thing in modern phrase, was author, and the other publisher.

A second misapprehension is one which is inherently so absurd that there could be no excuse for naming it, but that two or three authors who might easily have known better, have confidently affirmed its truth. It is, that Martin Mar-prelate was the work of the Jesuits! Perhaps the most confident of these writers,²⁹⁹ alleges only these three flimsy reasons in support of

²⁹⁸ S. Clark, *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines famous in their Generations for Learning and Piety*, etc. (ed. 1677), 13.

²⁹⁹ W. Osburn, *Hidden Works of Darkness, or the doings of the Jesuits*, etc., London, 1846. 82-84.

his hypothesis, that: (1) "the expense" of such publications must have been "very formidable;" (2) the time of their issue—just as the nation was recovering from its alarm about the Spanish Armada, was "untoward;" and (3) that "numbers of Popish books flew abroad the same year over all England." "We shall"—he goes on—"most satisfactorily solve the difficulty [in these reasons suggested] by assuming that the authors, or rather secret instigators, of Martin Mar-prelate, were not Protestants at all, but concealed Papists; and that it was, in reality, one portion of that concerted movement against English Protestantism, which all the forces under the command of the Papacy were directed to make in that year." Such a theory I deem to be sufficiently refuted in being named.

A third misapprehension as to the quality of the writings themselves, has been strangely—one might almost say, unaccountably—fallen into by nearly all writers, Dissenters as well as others, who have referred to the subject. I know that these tracts have not been specially abundant in our time, and therefore few even of those who have criticised them, can have read them all; while the old Church of England authors naturally broke out into full cry after them. One is, of course, prepared to hear Fuller brand them as "foul-mouthed papers" and "bastardly libels," "altogether unbeseeming a pious spirit;"³⁰⁰ and Isaac Walton condemn them as "venomous," "absurd and scurrilous," "malicious" and "senseless;"³⁰¹ and Josias Nichols mourn over Martin as a "foolish jester;"³⁰² and Lord Bacon stigmatize the style of these productions as "an immodest and deformed manner of writing;"³⁰³ and Sir George Paule declare them to be "shameless," and "fraughted only with odious and scurrilous calumniation;"³⁰⁴ and Strype abuse them as "foul-mouthed and lying;"³⁰⁵ and even the judicious Hooker deprecate "the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty of Martinism."³⁰⁶ Nor perhaps can one be surprised

³⁰⁰ *Chh. Hist. Eng.*, v: 128, 130, 131.

³⁰¹ *Life of R. Hooker*, prefixed to Hanbury's *Hooker's Works* (1830), i: lxxxvi.

³⁰² *Plea of the Innocent*, 31.

³⁰³ *Works* (Montagu's ed.), vii: 32.

³⁰⁴ *Life of Archb. Whitgift*, in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii: 589.

³⁰⁵ *Life and Acts of J. Whitgift*, etc., i: 13.

³⁰⁶ Epistle Dedicatory of *Eccl. Polity*. *Hook-*

er's Works (as above), i: 6. Hooker introduces here the following anecdote, no name being given: "The first published schedules whereof [i. e. Martinism] being brought to the hands of a grave and very honorable Knight, with signification, that the book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the title was, read over an unsavory sentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this answer, 'I

to find authors of the same stand-point of a later date so generally intelligent as Dean Hook, Maskell, Soame, Dr. Wordsworth, and Prebendary Curteis, the first denouncing them as "most coarse, scurrilous and indecent pasquinades;"³⁰⁷ the second charging them with "ribaldry and plain lying," and intimating that their vulgarity cannot be quoted;³⁰⁸ the third protesting against them as characterized by "low buffoonery," the "coarsest invectives, and foulest imputations;"³⁰⁹ the fourth affirming that they "perhaps were never surpassed in scurrility and malignity;"³¹⁰ and the fifth deliberately incorporating in a Bampton Lecture for 1871, the declaration: "It is impossible to give any extracts from these abominable and filthy lampoons."³¹¹ Nor could a mere *littérateur*, like Benjamin Disraeli, be expected to do much better than to say of these tracts: "their slanders were not only coarse buffooneries, but the hottest effusions of hatred, with an unparalleled invective of nicknames."³¹² But one thinks that such a man as Neal ought at least to have read them carefully before speaking contemptuously of them as running "dregs;"³¹³ and wonders to find Price, with great show of candor, admitting that they "were written in a coarse and abusive style, abounded in reproaches and calumny, and were as unworthy of the cause they advocated, as their spirit was foreign from the meekness of Christianity;"³¹⁴ and wishes that Mr. Hanbury had seen his way clear to refute, rather than to quote with silent endorsement, old slanders against them;³¹⁵ and regrets to find Prof. Masson turning away from them with a sneer as "scurrilities against the Bishops that had been vented anonymously by some particular nest of Brownists, or their allies," which "had disgusted and enraged many who would have tolerated moderate Nonconformity;"³¹⁶ and Mr. Marsden talking of the "insolent and seditious spirit" of "these anonymous li-

am sorry you are of the mind to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own."

³⁰⁷ *Lives of the Archbishops of Cant.*, x: 147.

³⁰⁸ *Hist. M. M. P. Controversy*, 24, 99, 186, etc.

³⁰⁹ H. Soames, *Elizabethan Religious History* (1839), 372, 373.

³¹⁰ *Eccles. Biography*, iii: 589 (note).

³¹¹ *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of*

England. Eight Lectures at Oxford, etc., 76.

³¹² *Calamities and Quarrels of Authors* (ed. 1869), 512.

³¹³ *Hist. Puritans* (ed. 1837), i: 328.

³¹⁴ T. Price, *Hist. Prot. Nonconformity in Eng.* (1836), i: 369.

³¹⁵ *Hist. Mem. Independents, etc.*, i: 5, 80. Hanbury himself calls them "bitter and satirical." *Life of Cartwright, etc.*, ccii.

³¹⁶ *Life of Milton, etc.*, ii: 538.

bels" of the "most atrocious character;"³¹⁷ and even Dr. Bacon implying condemnation of their "characteristic spirit;"³¹⁸ and Mr. Punchard, while he has the discrimination to characterize the Anti-Martinist members of the series as "downright blackguardism, and often very vulgar blackguardism, too," "often even very unclean," still admitting the genuine Martins to be "saucy libels."³¹⁹ Surely Dr. Waddington, with these tracts all within reach of his daily walks and open to his habitual studies, should not again and again have written about them with so little knowledge at first hand, that he could concede them to be "vulgar" as well as "objectionable," and take the greatest pains—as if to save the Welshman's character—to dissociate John Penry from all responsibility for their authorship.³²⁰ The Rev. Charles Stovel has come perhaps nearer than any other modern writer to a due understanding of the merits of the case, in declaring that these tracts, "with a sarcasm which was burning because so just, dealt so unsparingly in actual statistics of Episcopal criminality, that however abused, they never could be answered."³²¹ With him³²² may be classed Prof. Morley, whose judgment is: "The Martinists were earnest men, who affected light speech to win light minds of the many to their side."³²³

I could not go so far as the good Dr. Halley when he says: "With much vigor and ability," they are "coarse, personal and abusive."³²⁴ Doubtless it is "coarse, personal and abusive" to knock a man down; but there are occasions, if one be fighting

³¹⁷ J. B. Marsden, *Hist. Early Puritans* [204, 206]. One knows not what this writer can mean by talking of "Martin's forty pamphlets" answered "by at least an equal number, scarcely less truculent, or less contemptuous." 206.

³¹⁸ *Genesis of New. Eng. Churches*, 163, 164.

³¹⁹ *History of Congregationalism*, etc. (1867), iii: 142, 150, 151. Mr. S. Hopkins, while generally very fair in the view he takes of Martin, yet winds up with the remark: [*The Puritans*, etc. (1861), iii: 299]. "When, as here, sarcasm descends to sauciness, satire to railing, and buffoonery to ribaldry—especially in religious affairs,—we make no apology for these things, however great the provocation."

³²⁰ *John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr*, etc., 45, 217-230.

³²¹ Introduction to *Canne's Necessity of Separation*, etc. [Han. Knol. Soc. Ed. 1849], lxx.

³²² Rev. John Hunt, in his extremely valuable and interesting *Religious Thought in England*, etc. (1870) [i: 71-86, and 100-107], deals with the Mar-prelate discussion at some length, and Churchman as he is, with a candor and breadth of knowledge which would certainly grace Nonconformist writers when treating their own side of the great, and protracted church controversy.

³²³ *A First Sketch of English Literature*, 431.

³²⁴ R. Halley, *Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, i: 144.

for his life, or for something dearer and holier, when other epithets become more fit to describe an act which may clear the beleaguered way of truth, and vindicate the imperiled sway of righteousness. In my judgment, there is absolutely nothing in the seven tracts for which Martin is properly responsible, of which anybody—Churchman, or Dissenter—need be ashamed, or for which apology need be made. Surely there is no word in anything of Martin's own that is blasphemous or obscene; nothing which indicates either a brutal head or a beastly heart. Of course they run—that kind of writing in that day must always have done so—often very near to the perilous edge of that precipice whose feet are washed by the sea of words that cannot be spoken; they often employ terms which would now seem extreme in violence, and sometimes lay hold of an epithet from which the taste of our age would shrink. But Martin was writing in and for the sixteenth, and not the nineteenth century; and was, of set purpose, launching out into a style of rough and rollicking satire new to his time, with the intent to seize and hold the convictions of the more intelligent masses of the English people as he knew them to be. Dr. Halley pleads apologetically: "A man beaten when his hands are bound, may be excused for making the most of his tongue. The prelates fined and imprisoned, and the martyrs retaliated with angry words, biting sarcasm, and rough abuse."³³⁵ But, to my mind, this kindly suggestion is a little aside from the true equity of the case. I cannot see in the Martin Mar-prelate Tracts any such flavor of merely, or mainly, personal conflict. Martin was not defending himself, or storming at *his* oppressors. He was attacking what he firmly believed to be grievous error, and monstrous wrong, in Church and State, and was doing his earnest utmost, not to worst the Prelacy in a hand-to-hand conflict, but to persuade his countrymen that it was an abomination in the sight of the Lord which ought to be swept clean away, and which no man could be guiltless and still cherish and defend. That—especially toward the last, as the coils of oppression more and more tightened around this solitary combatant—a tinge of bitterness crept sometimes into his utterance, need not be denied. But a high,

³³⁵ *Ibid.* Dissenters have been all too willing to take their tone from the Church.

unselfish, noble purpose animated, and I must think justified, all; and a clean and wholesome savor, as of bitter herbs, flavors even his rudest and coarsest speech.³²⁶

I wish as much could be said of several of the small quartos, which by some of the wits of the time, prompted, counseled and endorsed by the Bishops,³²⁷ were issued against him.

Our discussion should hardly end without a few words as to the authorship of these tracts which made such a stir in England. As to several of the least important, there can be no special doubt. *Antimartinus* is signed "Totus vester, A. L." but the world has managed to get along quietly thus far, without being able to fill out the letters.³²⁸ The *Countercuffe*, the *Almond for a Parrat*, the *Return*, and *Pasquil's Apology* are attributed to Thomas Nash; *Pappe with an Hatchet* to John Lyly, and *Plain Perccual* to Richard Harvey.³²⁹

But who was Martin Mar-prelate? His secret was well kept, his name never revealed; a fact the more strange when not merely, as in the case of Junius, an eager literary curiosity has been stimulated to lift the veil, but the whole detective force of a kingdom was set in motion at the time to seize the man whom all could hear snapping his fingers in their faces in the dark, but on whom they could never lay their hands in the light. Great folio pages of contemporary depositions³³⁰ lie open still to the curious inquirer, to indicate how diligent were the efforts of the law officers of the crown to find Martin — and how vain.

³²⁶ Very much of this was due to the fashion of the times. Mr. Hopkins [*Puritans*, iii: 300] has accumulated illustrations of the coarse way of speech then thought becoming on the part of cultured and good men; and shows, among many similar instances, how Aylmer called the Popish clergy "spiritual spiders," and Bonner (who was fat) "My Lord Lubber of London," and a brother clergyman "an ass, an idiot and a fool;" and how one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners stormed at the Rev. Mr. Wilson, thus: "thou art an ass; thou art a dolt; thou art a beardless boy," etc., etc.

³²⁷ "It is recorded in Strype's *Life of Whitgift* [ii: 387], that the answers [to the Martinist tracts] were written by the advice of Ban-

croft, and there is reason to believe that he had to do with the writing of some of them." J. Hunt, *Relig. Thought in Eng.*, i: 107.

³²⁸ Could this have been *Arthur Lake*, who died in 1626, Bishop of Bath and Wells; or *Augustin Lindsell*, who died in 1634, Bishop of Peterborough?

³²⁹ See *Maskell*, 215, and Petherham's introductions to his reprints of *Pappe with an Hatchet*, *An Almond for a Parrat*, and *Plaine Perccuall*.

³³⁰ I refer particularly to *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: [pp. 1-15, 19-32, 96-104, etc.,] and *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxi: 22. The latter is a "Secret report to Lord Burghley of the Authors of the Martin Mar-prelate Tracts." Mr. Arber has printed it, *Stat. Reg.*, ii: 816, 817.

The conviction has more and more grown upon me with my study of the subject, that, as already intimated, two persons only had special responsible connection with this business; one as author,³³¹ and one as publisher. Who the latter was admits of small question. The depositions to which I have referred — and I can see no reason to doubt their essential trustworthiness³³² — make it clear that one man sought of Sir Richard Knightley the privilege of a room in his house at Fawsley for storing the press and types, and took the key of the said room, and carried people to that room;³³³ in fact that, sometimes in one disguise, and sometimes in another, he constantly frequented the houses to which the two presses and two lots of “letters” were successively taken;³³⁴ that he owned one of the presses, and one of the fonts of type;³³⁵ that he contrived that manuscript dropped by somebody under the hedge should be found by the printer;³³⁶ that he gave out the “copy” to the various workmen;³³⁷ that he corrected the proofs,³³⁸ sometimes rewriting sentences, and even modifying arguments into what he thought better sense;³³⁹ that he used to pay the printers,³⁴⁰ and would sometimes carry away the printed books;³⁴¹ and in general, that he talked about the tracts as one having responsibility for them, and “appeared to be a principall dealer in all the action everywhere.”³⁴² Moreover, when, in the summer of 1589, the second press with its type had been discovered, and before the hot pursuit of the officers this man fled into Scotland, the issue of the Martin Mar-prelate tracts came to a sudden and perpetual end. This man, then, was the publisher. And he was John Penry,

³³¹ “I am alone. No man vnder heauen is priuy, or hath bin priuie vnto my writings against you. I used the aduise of non therein. You haue and do suspect diuers, as master Paggett, master Wiggington, master Udall, and master Penri, &c., to make Martin. If they cannot cleare their selues their sillinesse is pitifull, and they are worthy to bear Martins punishment.” *Hay any Worke*, etc., 21.

³³² Mr. Edward Arber—who is now doing scholars the very great service of superintending a careful reprint of these Martinist tracts; whose general eminence as an accurate student of the earlier English literature is not unknown upon our side of the Atlan-

tic; and who I imagine may have devoted more attention than any other person to the minute facts of this controversy; assures me that he is thoroughly convinced of the substantial credibility of these papers in evidence.

³³³ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 1, 2, 5.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 7, 20; *Lansdowne MSS.*, lxi: 22.

³³⁵ *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 7, 26.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4, 6.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 6, 21.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 6, 19, 25.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 3, 26.

or Ap. Henry — the “poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales,”³⁴³ of whom we are to hear more hereafter.

But was John Penry author as well as publisher; was he *Martin*? This, on the whole, was the belief of the time, and was openly charged;³⁴⁴ probably it has been the prevalent judgment down to our day.

On the other hand, it is of great significance that the by no means scrupulous Bishops could not muster evidence enough that Penry was Martin, to venture to hang him upon it. While it is noticeable also that some of his contemporaries whose opinion was surely entitled to great respect, did not believe that he wrote the tracts whose printing he procured. Wiggington when asked before the Commission: “Is Mr. Penry, then, the author of Martin Mar-prelate?” replied: “I think he is not. And I think you are greatly deceived in charging him with it.”³⁴⁵ Udall testified to the same effect, and said that he had seen a letter of Penry, “wherein he denied it in such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.”³⁴⁶ And so again he testified: “I am fully persuaded that those books were not done by any minister.”³⁴⁷ There is a bit of testimony to the same effect from our side of the sea. John Cotton says, in his *Reply to Mr. Williams*,³⁴⁸ etc., that “he received it from Mr. Hildersom”³⁴⁹ (a man of a thousand) that Mr. Penry did ingenuously acknowledge before his death “that he “had not deserved death for any dishonour put upon the Queene, by that Booke (which was found in his study, and intended by himselfe to be presented to her own hand :) nor by the compiling of Martin Mar-prelate (of both of which he was falsly charged).” While Penry’s acknowledged works, of which nine or ten remain, scarcely suggest much probability that he was the author also of these others. They are able — with a different ability.

Must we, then, relinquish this search, and leave Martin, with Junius, forever to stand *magni nominis umbra*?

³⁴³ Lansdowne MSS., cix: 35.

³⁴⁴ *Almond for a Parrat*, sign. E. 2, reverse.

³⁴⁵ Brook, *Lives of Puritans*, i: 425 [citing *MS. Register* in Dr. Williams’s library — now in Grafton Street, Gower Street, London, but a few steps from the Gower Street station of the Underground Railway].

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, ii: 11.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, and *Life of Penry*, 228.

³⁴⁸ *A Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination, and Answer of the Letters sent to him by John Cotton*, etc., 117.

³⁴⁹ Arthur Hildersham, of Ashby de la Zouch.

There are two internal clews which have led me to a conjecture on the subject, which, so far as I know, is new to its literature. And it is in the line indicated by Udall's doubt whether "any minister" wrote the tracts in controversy. To my mind there are some signs that a lawyer wrote them. I find plenty of phrases more natural, as I conceive, to the working of the mind of a barrister than of a minister; such as: "you would *mende your answers*;"³⁵⁰ "lest a *Scandalum magnatum* should be had against me;"³⁵¹ "the parties were neuer calde *in Coram* for it;"³⁵² "a pore *freeholder* in Fulham;"³⁵³ "a gentleman of Fulham, that belongeth to the *Court of Requests*;"³⁵⁴ "my masters of the *Requests*;"³⁵⁵ "may it please you to yeeld vnto a *suite* that I haue to your worships;"³⁵⁶ "and leave *the cause*, as he like a coward hath done;"³⁵⁷ "he bringeth in nothing *without testimonie*;"³⁵⁸ "I speak not of things *by heresay* as of reports, but I bring my witnesses to prooue my matters;"³⁵⁹ "plain *theft*,"³⁶⁰ etc. Then there are turns of argument which look in the same direction, as where Martin insists that his booke cannot be indicted as a libel, showing how he has "prevented them of that advantage in lawe;"³⁶¹ his discussion of the subject of treason;³⁶² where he treats of the Star-chamber decree;³⁶³ where he again and again threatens the Bishops with the penalties of a *premunire*;³⁶⁴ and where he repeatedly considers the case of subscription contrary to the statute of 13 Elizabeth,³⁶⁵ what subscription the statute required,³⁶⁶ and whether a layman could lawfully be imprisoned for refusing to subscribe.³⁶⁷

These instances all occur in the first Martin, the *Epistle*; but I think they fairly sample the six others which appear to have been from the same hand.³⁶⁸ So that I maintain there is, to say the least, some colorable evidence that a lawyer wrote them.

³⁵⁰ *Epistle*, etc., 14.

³⁵¹ *Ibid*, 23.

³⁵² *Ibid*, 24.

³⁵³ *Ibid*, 21.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 20.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 27.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 17.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 9.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 27.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 10.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, 40.

³⁶² *Ibid*, 13, 14.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, 24.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 21 (*bis*), 22, 26, 32.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 38.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 31.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 32.

³⁶⁸ In the brief compass of the *Protestation* I have noted the following kindred examples [I cite from Mr. Arber's reprint]: "by these presents" [*title*]; "nor lawe of the land doth

Then, in *The Protestation*, where, all badinage aside, the author seems to be speaking with a seriousness almost saddened into solemnity, he says: "Wil you beleue me then if I tel you the truth? To put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest vnto you with a good conscience, that howsoever the speech may sound strange vnto many, yet the very truth is, that hitherto I neuer had wife nor childe in all my life."³⁶⁹ So he returns to the subject on the last page to say again; "As I protested vnto thee without all fraud and ambiguitie, I was neuer as yet married in my life."³⁷⁰ Admit this test, and it at once cuts off Penry, and all the old candidates.

Was there, then, any bachelor barrister at that time so endowed, situated and persuaded, as to have been naturally capable of this authorship?

The minds of all close students of the men and the literature of those times, must turn at once to *Henry Barrowe*—fast prisoner since the autumn of 1586 in the Fleet, whose better acquaintance we hope soon to make—as, in most respects of natural gift, training and conviction, remarkably the sort of person of whom we are in search. It is moreover clear that an intimacy between him and Penry soon afterwards existed, with

Permitt" [3]; "prooving the lawfullnes of their places" [5]; "a thousand warrants, a thousand purseuants" [5]; vnlawfull callings" [5]; vnlawfull tyranny" [5]; "lawfull meanes of triall" [6]; "lawfully proclaime" [7]; "no lawfull way of tryall" [8]; "were it not more for feare of law" [10]; "what remedie shoulde the partie haue" [11]; "ile haue the *scandalum magnatum* against him" [11]; "flatt contrarye to the expresse lawes of the land" [11]; "the law is so far from compelling anye to appeache himselfe in a cause wherein eyther life, goods or good name is called in question" [11]; "as may more at large appeare in a plaine Statute of the 25. of Hen. 8. in the tytyle of heresie" [12]; "there was noe other waye of tryall, nor no State could stand and continue without it" [12]; "eyther perpetuall imprisonment, losse of cares or some other lim" [12]; "suborned against me" [13]; etc., etc.

Weigh also expressions like this from the *Epitome*: "may you put men to their othe against law? Is there any law to force men

to accuse themselves? No. Therefore looke what this dealing will procure at the length: Euen a plain *premunire* upon your backs, for vrging an oth contrary to statute, which is a piece of the forraine power banished by statute." [iv.] And like this from *Hay any Worke*, etc.: "It is treson by Statute, for any subiect in this land to proceed doctor of the canō law, and dare you professe your church government to be ruled by that law," etc. [25]; "The lawes of England haue beene made when there was neuer a bishop in the Parliament, as in the first yere of her Maiestie," etc. [26]; "I hope he wil see both the *quare impedit*, and the *premunire* to, brought vpon the bones of father Edmond of Worcester" etc. [43].

The extent of my suggestion is, that, in connection with other proofs, such phrases and turns of expression add weight to the hypothesis which would make some lawyer to have been Martin.

³⁶⁹ *Protestation*, etc., 15.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 32.

no evidence that it did not date back far enough to cover all the needs of the case.

Following this suggestion, I find considerable similarity of style between Barrowe's acknowledged books, and the Mar-prelate tracts—in general, and in particular. The same remark is true of one book signed "I. G." and ascribed to Greenwood, in writing which—so decidedly does it differ in style, in parts, from other books bearing his name—I am persuaded Barrowe had a considerable hand. Incarcerated together, and paired in nearly all their experiences, even to the halter which at last pulled open heaven's gate for them, and avowedly joint authors of several volumes, I imagine both pens worked indiscriminately upon this.³⁷¹

Many epithets not in common use are common to Barrowe's *Brief Discoverie*, and to Martin. For example: "this geare"³⁷² repeatedly occurs;³⁷³ "masse [for master, or masters] vice chancellor"³⁷⁴ "masse commissarie,"³⁷⁵ etc.; "archbeast" (as a synonym for archbishop);³⁷⁶ "trumperie to be brought into the church,"³⁷⁷ etc., etc. There is the same freedom of assault, sometimes almost amounting to violence of invective, in Barrowe that there is in Martin. Barrowe calls some man an "old Sadducee that thus sophisticallie hath propounded these questions;"³⁷⁸ and another "an old captious Sadducee;"³⁷⁹ he says of the Bishops and priests: "These cormorants are never satisfied, these horse-leaches still suck, though blood in abundance runne oute of their wide mouths."³⁸⁰ He says again: "Here would not be forgotten also the sweete psalmodical harmonie of the Vultures, Crows, Gleades, Owles, Geese; of the Leopards, Beares, Wolues, Dogs, Foxes, Swine, Goates (pardon me, for thus the Holy Ghost termeth & likeneth the prophane confuse multitudes assembled in the false church),"³⁸¹ etc. So he describes an English clergyman as occupying "a prescript place like a tubbe called their pulpyt," where he "for the most part disputes to the howerglasse, which being runne his sermocina-

³⁷¹ *M. Some laid open in his coulours*, etc.

³⁷² "Gear: matter, subject, or business in general." *Halliwell & Wright*, s. v.

³⁷³ *Brief Discoverie*, etc., 52, 83, etc.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 202.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 221.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 180.

tion must be at an end ;”³⁸² and still again he describes the way in which the Bishops ordain, thus: “They must now kneel downe at their holy father the Bishop his feete, who solemnly sitting in a chaire layeth his simoniacal hands upon him, delivereth him the bible into his hands, breatheth upon him, & giveth, or rather selleth him his *un*-holy Ghost, as he shall know by the price of his boxe and writinges ere he goe,”³⁸³ etc.; and further he says of Dr. Some: “This is but a reproch of his own absurd brayne, to bring the truth into slaunder;”³⁸⁴ and still further: “By following this bird over-far, I had almost beene trained [lured] from the nest;” and once more he thunders at the monks: “These idle bellies, these caterpillers, these sodomites, these locusts.”³⁸⁵ I cannot help thinking that the man who could write these sentences, and plenty more like them,³⁸⁶ could have written Martin. Take two more examples, which might almost have come out of the *Epistle* or the *Epitome*. This in the milder vein: “These sycophants, these trencher-priests, will most cunningly insinuate into some great or noble mans house, where they are sure to be wel fed, and safe from all stormes: euen the meanest of them will neuer be without their good hosts & dames where they may lay their knife aboard, & fill their belly of the best.”³⁸⁷ And this in a severer mood: “Is this old rotten Leitourgis their new songs they sing unto the Lord, with and for his graces? May such old written rotten stuffe be called prayer, the odours of the Saintes?”³⁸⁸

It seems to me in this connection significant that contemporaries criticised the acknowledged writings of Barrowe and Greenwood in almost the same terms as those used about Martin. Thus Bernard of Batcombe characterized those works as: “possessed with a fearefull spirit of rayling and scoffing into which cursed speaking they fell aboue all that euer we heard or can reade of, pretending such holinesse. There cannot any instrument of God be nominated, who euer filling [ed?] their mouthes with bitternes of rayling, and cursed speaking, as

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 137.

³⁸⁶ See whole of the discussions upon pp. 54, 65, 148, etc.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

these haue done against all the people of God & holie things of God practised amongst vs."³⁸⁹ Henry Ainsworth (1608) in replying to Bernard, while speaking apologetically for Barrowe, argues: "I suppose you can hardly shew any hard speech that Mr. Barrowe ther writeth, which the Prophets and Apostles haue not vsed before. But if he were overcaried with some seuerer speeches in a good cause neyther we nor himself euer iustified that infirmitie; we know that we are frayl men, let the sharpnesse therefore be his, but the trueth (which he sharply teacheth) God's."³⁹⁰ John Smyth said (1609): "That Mr. Barrowe ironically vpbraydeth the preaching and Worship of the assemblies, following therein Elias his example, I dare not censure that as an ungodly act. I wil not vndertake the defence of Mr. Barrowes tartnes, neither dare I absolutely condemne it, seeing the prophet Esay is as sharpe against the true Church as ever was Mr. Barrowe against the false."³⁹¹ Rathband (1644) cites several passages from Barrowe's acknowledged writings in order to justify his accusation of "their scurrilous and ruffianlike profanesse, wherein they seem to us to haue excelled all that in a show of zeale and sinceritie, have written or dealt in the holy things of God," concluding what he has to say about them with these words: "Sure we are that by this which is already set downe, it will well appeare to the wise and Christian Reader, that Gods Spirit never taught men to write as those men (who are knowne to have beene the chiefe perswaders and seducers of these our deceased brethren) have done."³⁹² Pagitt (1645) said much the same; while Bancroft cites an "intercepted" letter of Greenwood, in which he speaks of Martin's tracts in a singularly favorable way.³⁹³

Consider further: (1) Martin was always pleading to be allowed a public conference or disputation with the Bishops upon the matters in debate between them, and again and again offered — so sure was he of the goodness of his cause before the tribunal of Inspiration — to abide by the result of one, fairly

³⁸⁹ *Separatists Schisme*, etc., 34.

³⁹⁰ *Counterpoysion*, etc. (ed. 1642), 29.

³⁹¹ *Paralleles, Censures, Observations*, 134.

³⁹² *Grave and Modest Confutation*, etc., 69-71.

³⁹³ *Heresiography*, etc. (ed. 1654), 55. Sur-

vey of *Pretended Dis.*, etc., 430. He wants "new minors, or conclusions" put to them, and so "in one little nosegay," as "bigg as an almanac," to present them "for an answer" to Cartwright, etc.

conducted, with his life.³⁹⁴ Barrowe strenuously and repeatedly urged the same thing.³⁹⁵ (2) Martin talks about the principal Puritans, and especially about Cartwright,³⁹⁶ exactly as Barrowe did again and again.³⁹⁷ (3) Barrowe refers incidentally to Martin several times in his *Brief Discouerie of the false Church*, but never in such a manner as to imply hostility, or to damage my hypothesis; while once he says: "It is pittie Martin his presse was gone before this reason had an answer."³⁹⁸ More to the point is the fact that in a *Petition directed to her Majesty*, etc. [1590], attributed to Barrowe's authorship, we find, at the length of several pages, an elaborate defence of Martin on two points as to which he had been accused of stirring up sedition, in which it is asserted that his real intent was far otherwise.³⁹⁹ How did Barrowe know what was Martin's real intent? (4) In the *Protestatyon* Martin makes use of this language: "As for my self, my life and whateuer els I possesse, I haue long agone set vp my rest, making that account of it, as in standing against the enemies of God, and for the libertie of his church, it is of no value in my sight. My life in this cause shalbe a gayne to the church, and no losse to my selfe, I knowe right wel."⁴⁰⁰ We shall have occasion to notice hereafter that this was the spirit, and these almost the words, with which Barrowe accepted martyrdom. (5) In the *Protestatyon*, again, where Martin is rebutting the charge of his adversaries that he, and those whom he represented, were seeking to pull down the Established Church for their own pecuniary advantage, he makes these two points: (a) that the charge is absurd in his case, who is not a minister: "I can no more abide Church-robberie in a temporall man, then I can brooke sacriledge in a presumptuous priest;"⁴⁰¹ and (b) that his own private circumstances were such that he was in no pecuniary need: "I haue, I thanke God, of mine own, wherwith I am better content then they are, with all their spoile and roberie."⁴⁰² Both of these would be exactly true of Barrowe, who,

³⁹⁴ *Epitome*, etc., iv; *Protestatyon*, 6; *Hay any Worke*, etc., 13, etc.

³⁹⁵ See, for example, his letter asking such a conference in *Harleian MSS.*, 7042: 330.

³⁹⁶ *Iust Censure*, etc., 28.

³⁹⁷ *Collection of Certain Letters*, etc., 67-70.

³⁹⁸ *Brief Discouerie*, etc., 228.

³⁹⁹ That is, as to the famous threat about "20 fists, etc.," of the *Epistle* [2], and Martin Senior's "spectacle of 100,000 hands," etc. *Petition*, etc., 44, 45.

⁴⁰⁰ *Protestatyon*, 14; Arber's repr., 8.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 9.

probably by inheritance, was above the reach of want. (6) It does not seem unworthy of notice, in this connection, that there was special security in the whole difficult arrangement, if a man already in prison were writing these Martins, since nobody would ever think of looking for him there.

And this leads me to say that if Barrowe were Martin, and Penry the only man then outside the Fleet who was master of the secret; we may well think that, in the midst of the sharpness of all their troubles, the two men must sometimes have broken out into a noisy and almost uproarious glee, at the inherent queerness of the thought of the Bishops and their bailiffs scurrying up and down the land, and of Bancroft's listening miscellaneously at English key-holes, in the frantic endeavor to identify and arrest a man, whom they had already had for more than two long years behind the bars of one of their safest dungeons! While, finally, if Barrowe were Martin, and Penry his only ally, as the two men took the close secret to heaven with them within sixty days of each other in 1593, it is small wonder that it has been so well-kept since!⁴⁰³

Mr. Maskell judges this Martin-Mar-prelate pamphlet war to have been "*the controversy of the Elizabethan age.*"⁴⁰⁴ With-

⁴⁰³ This lecture was first read before the students at Andover in June, 1877. Some report thereof found its way into the columns of the New York *Independent*, from which, copied into the London journal of the same name, it met the eye of Dr. Waddington, who lost no time in communicating to that paper a criticism in reply, closing with the words: "Is it possible to imagine that, under such circumstances, Barrowe could have the opportunity, or the inclination, to indulge in the buffoonery of the Mar-prelate Tracts? There is not a line in his writings to justify the supposition." The "circumstances" to which he thus alludes, he has previously explained to be close imprisonment under privation. As Barrowe confessedly somehow managed under these "circumstances" to write four or five volumes,—one of which was a dense quarto of more than 250 pages,—and which seem quite to equal in "buffoonery" the Martinist publications, it is not altogether clear what stood in the way of his writing also those little tracts. While as to the question of resemblance of style, I think I have shown not merely frequent likeness, but occasional identity,

both of phrase and spirit, to a degree to relieve my argument from any danger of being altogether crushed even by so courteous and learned an *ipse dixit*.

⁴⁰⁴ *History of the Mar. Mar-prel. Controversy*, 221. Dean Hook says: "The libelous productions of Martin Mar-prelate had a more powerful effect than is sometimes supposed." But he goes on to specify, in a manner which illustrates the excessive carelessness with which some writers of repute have allowed themselves to treat the subject. He says: "A spirit of insubordination and an encouragement of heretical notions reached the University of Cambridge itself [i. e., in consequence of these "productions"], and about the year 1576 involved Whitgift in a controversy which caused him much trouble. The dissentients found a leader in Thomas Cartwright." As the first Martin was not printed until twelve years after the date here named, it is clear that something must have been wrong in these calculations of this venerable and veteran author. [*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, x: 194.] The quotation with which this lecture concludes is from Horace, *Odes*, i: 34.

out going into any comparisons which such a judgment might provoke, it is enough to see in it the strong hand of God acting through novel instruments to break fetters which for ages had shackled all free motion of the common mind of England; disenchanting it of that fictitious and exaggerated reverence for a hierarchy which had hindered its presuming to think for itself; demonstrating that an unknown man might not only differ intrepidly if not victoriously with a Doctor in Divinity, even when clad in the lawn sleeves of a magnate of the church, but might cite the Bishops as a class before the highest court — the great star-chamber of the common sense and common conscience of the world — and triumph, though he died; so heartening every plain believer to study his Bible for himself, and for himself conclude (meekly and in the fear of Him whose Word it is) what that Bible was designed to teach men, whether the great prelates hear or forbear! Even a heathen poet could sing:

— “*Valet ima summis
Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens.*”



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