

*Queen Mary's Letter to the Dean and Chapter of  
Christ-Church in Dublin, to receive the Arch-  
bishop of Dublin honourably, and with due re-  
spect. Copia vera, ex Libro nigro Sanctæ  
Trinitatis Dublini.*

MARY the Queen.

**T**Rusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well; and forasmuch as the Right Reverend Father in God, our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Counsellor the Archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for that See, repaireth speedily to that our Realm of Ireland, as well to reside upon the Cure of his Bishoprick, which now of long time hath been destitute of a Catholick Bishop, as also to occupy the Office of our High Chancellor of that our Realm; albeit we have good hopes ye will in all things of your selves carry your selves towards him as becometh you, yet to the intent he might the better govern the Charge committed unto him, to the Honour of Almighty God, and for the remain of our Service, We have thought fit to require and charge you, that for your part ye do reverently receive him, honour and humbly obey him in all things, as appertaineth to your Duties, tending to God's Glory, our Honour, and the Common Weal of that our Realm; whereby ye shall please God, and do us acceptable Service.

Given under our Signet at our Mannor of Greenwich, the 25th of September, in the second and third Years of our Reign.

*To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Dean and  
Chapter of the Cathedral of Christ-  
Church, within our Realm of Ireland.*

I have here inserted this Letter upon two Accounts: First, as being a Record remaining in the Cathedral; Secondly, because there hath been some discourse of late, whether the Archbishop of Dublin had power herein, or whether it was upon King Henry's Mutation made a Deanery, as *Whitehall Chappel* is, and no Cathedral; but by this Letter it shews it is both still a Cathedral, and subject to the Archbishop of Dublin.

George Browne liv'd not long after the Consecration of this *Hugh Corwine*; yet I have, among my Manuscripts, a Writing of a Papist, who would fain have persuaded the World, that this *George Browne* died through Joy, having had a Bull from the Pope to be restor'd to his See of Dublin: which must needs

be false, upon this account of Sir *James Ware's*, who writeth these very words of him, in his Book entituled *De Prasulibus Hibernia*, pag. 120. 1554. *Circa tempus Georgius Brouneus (quod conjugatus esset) per Dowdallum Archiepiscopum Armachanum & alios Delegatos exauthoritatus est*; otherwise the Pope, if he had granted such a Bull, must likewise have dispensed with his Marriage, it being contrary to the *Romish* Tenents for Bishops to marry. Having related thus much of *George Browne*, and of Ecclesiastical Matters during his Life, we shall proceed a little further concerning a short Sermon of his, preached unto the People in *Christ-Church*, upon the first *Sunday* after *Easter*, Anno 1551. being a Copy of the same given to Sir *James Ware* Knight, by *Anthony Marin* late Bishop of *Meath*, who formerly was Tutor to the said Sir *James Ware*, when he was a Student in *Trinity-College, Dublin*.

The T E X T, Psal. 119. Ver. 18.

*Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy Law.*

THE Wonders of the Lord God have for a long time been hid from the Children of Men, which hath happened by *Rome's* not permitting the Common People to read the Holy Scriptures; for to prevent you, that you might not know the comfort of your Salvation, but to depend wholly on the Church of *Rome*, they will not permit it to be in any Tongue but in the Latin, saying, That Latin was the *Roman* Tongue; But the wonderful God inspir'd the Holy Apostles with the Knowledg of all Languages, that they might teach all People in their proper Tongue and Language, which caus'd our wise King *Henry*, before his Death, to have the Holy Scriptures translated into the English Tongue, for the good of his Subjects, that their Eyes may be opened to behold the wondrous things out of the Law of the Lord. But there are false Prophets at this instant, and will be to the end of the World, that shall deceive you with false Doctrines, expounding this Text, or that, purposely to confound your Understandings, and to lead you captive into a Wilderness of Confusion, whom you shall take as your Friends, but they shall be your greatest Enemies, speaking against the Tenents of *Rome*, and yet be set on by *Rome*; these shall be a rigid People, full of Fury and Envy.

But, to prevent these things that are to come, observe Christ and his Apostles: *Let all things be done with decency, with mildness, and in order; fervently crying unto God, Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the wondrous things out of thy Law,*

then

‘ then should you rightly keep the Law and the Prophets.  
 ‘ It is the part of a Prince to be wise, for he hath a great  
 ‘ Charge to Rule and Govern a Nation: Your late King  
 ‘ foreseeing *Rome* and her Pope’s Intentions, how that he in-  
 ‘ tended to enslave his Subjects, and to keep them in the state  
 ‘ of Ignorance, consulted with the Learned of his Realm,  
 ‘ knowing that Youth might quickly be wrought on; there-  
 ‘ fore he prepar’d before his Death a wise and learned sort  
 ‘ of Counsellors for his Son’s Overseers; not trusting to one  
 ‘ or two, but to several, that he might the better rule his  
 ‘ People, whose Eyes the Lord God Almighty hath opened  
 ‘ betimes, to behold his *wondrous Works*.

‘ Tho the Words of my Text be plainly thus (*Open thou  
 mine eyes*) the meanest of you that hear me have Eyes;  
 ‘ but the true meaning of the Words is, Endue us with Un-  
 ‘ derstanding: for a Fool hath Eyes, and sees Men, Women,  
 ‘ Beasts, Birds, and other things, but yet wants Understand-  
 ‘ ing: So when we say, *Open thou our Eyes*, we desire the Lord  
 ‘ God to instruct and teach us the Knowledg of his Laws.

‘ When you were lately led in Blindness, your Eyes beheld  
 ‘ the Images that then stood in several of the Monasteries  
 ‘ and Churches until they were remov’d; yet all this while  
 ‘ were your Understandings blinded, because ye believ’d in  
 ‘ them, and plac’d your Trust in them.

‘ Suppose an Artift or Workman make an Image either of  
 ‘ Man or Woman, and at last a Clergy-man of *Rome* give it  
 ‘ such a name, calling it *St. Peter*, or *St. Paul*, or *St. Mary*,  
 ‘ or *St. Anne*; must not that Man, tho he behold his own  
 ‘ handy-work and knows in his heart that it was his own  
 ‘ work, be blind, and void of Reason, and Understanding of  
 ‘ the Law of God, and of the *wondrous things that are contain’d  
 in the Law of the Lord?* Yes surely, he must be blind, and  
 ‘ void of Reason, and of the true Faith, that would worship  
 ‘ the same.

‘ The Workman carv’d the Eyes, but these Eyes see not;  
 ‘ he likewise carv’d the Ears, but they hear not; the Nose,  
 ‘ and it smells not; the Mouth, and it neither breathes nor  
 ‘ speaks; the Hands, they feel not; the Feet, but they stand  
 ‘ stock still.

‘ How therefore can your Prayers be acceptable unto this  
 ‘ Image, that sees you not approaching towards it, that hears  
 ‘ you not when you pray to it, that smells not the sweet Smells,  
 ‘ be they of *Myrrhe* or *Frankincense*, burning before it? How can  
 ‘ it absolve you, when the Mouth is not able to say, *Thy sins  
 are forgiven thee?* And if you place a certain Sum of Mony  
 ‘ in the Palm of the Hand of that Image; come you again

to morrow, the Mony, it is true, shall find a customer, but the Image never the wiser, who took it; and if you desire to have it come unto you, it cannot without help: Therefore the Workman that made this Image is as blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of sense as the Image it self; and so be ye all that put your Trust in them.

Therefore of late, new Artificers, by Springs, have made artificial ones, which for a certain time shall move, and ye shall believe it to be real and certain: But beware, good people, for they be but lying Wonders, purposely that ye may break the Law of God. And thus hath the Devil devised a lying Wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the Law of the Lord; which is, *Thou shalt not make unto thy self any Graven Image.* O Lord, *open thou our Eyes, our Ears, and our Understanding, that we may behold the wondrous things that are in thy Law.* The Law of God is an undefiled Law. Oh! why should we be so wicked then as to defile that Law, which the Almighty God hath made so pure without blemish. *Jesus came to fulfil the Law, and not to abolish the Law.* But there are a new Fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees manner amongst the *Jews*: They shall strive to abolish the Truth, and shall come very near to do it; for these sorts will turn themselves into several Forms; with the Heathen, an Heathenist; with Atheists, an Atheist; with the Jews, a Jew; and with the Reformers, a Reformade, purposely to know your Intentions, your Minds, your Hearts, and your Inclinations; and thereby bring you at last to be like the Fool, that *said in his heart, There was no God.* These shall spread over the whole World, shall be admitted into the Council of Princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your Princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein unto them, and yet they not perceive it: which will happen from falling from the Law of God, by neglect of fulfilling of the Law of God, and by winking at their Sins. Yet in the end, God to justify his Law, shall suddenly cut off this Society, even by the hands of those who have most succour'd them, and made use of them; so that at the end they shall become odious to all Nations: They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon the Earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit. Now, to arm you all, good Christians, against these things that are to come, lest ye be led into temptation; cry unto the Lord your God, and heartily pray that he would be so merciful unto you, as to *open the eyes of your understanding, that you may behold the*

*wonders*

*wonders and pleasantness that is in his Law.* Which God of his  
 ' Mercy grant that you may all do.

Thus concluding with the Acts and Deeds of this Reverend Father, we shall end with Queen *Mary's* Designs, how she intended to have persecuted the Protestants in *Ireland*, but was by Providence prevented; as you shall further know by this following Relation, being averred by several sufficient Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil.

Queen *Mary* having dealt severely with the Protestants in *England*, about the latter end of her Reign, signed a Commission for to take the same course with them in *Ireland*: and to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. *Cole* one of the Commissioners, sending the Commission by this Doctor, who in his Journey coming to *Chester*, the Mayor of that City hearing her Majesty was sending a Messenger into *Ireland*, and he being a Churchman, waited on the Doctor, who, in discourse with the Mayor, taketh out of a Cloak-bag a Leather Box, saying unto him, *Here is a Commission that shall Lish the Hereticks of Ireland*, calling the Protestants by that Title. The good Woman of the House being well affected to the Protestant Religion, and also having a Brother named *John Edmonds* of the same, then a Citizen in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the Doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, whilst the Mayor took his leave, and the Doctor complementing him down the Stairs, she opens the Box and takes the Commission out, placing in lieu thereof a Sheet of Paper with a Pack of Cards, the Knave of Clubs faced uppermost, wrapt up. The Doctor coming up to his Chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the Box as formerly. The next day, going to the Water-side, Wind and Weather serving him, he sails towards *Ireland*, and landed on the 7th of *October*, 1558. at *Dublin*; then coming to the Castle, the Lord *Fitz-Walters* being Lord Deputy, sent for him to come before him and the Privy Council; who coming in, after he had made a Speech, relating upon what account he came over, he presents the Box unto the Lord Deputy; who causing it to be opened, that the Secretary might read the Commission, there was nothing save a Pack of Cards, with the Knave of Clubs uppermost; which not only startled the Lord Deputy and Council, but the Doctor, who assured them he had a Commission, but knew not how it was gone: Then the Lord Deputy made answer, *Let us have another Commission, and we will shuffle the Cards in the meanwhile.* The Doctor being troubled in his Mind, went away, and returned into *Eng-land*;

land; and coming to the Court, obtain'd another Commission; but staying for a Wind at the Water-side, News came unto him, that the Queen was dead: and thus God preserv'd the Protestants in Ireland.

This is a Copy of *Richard Earl of Cork's* Memorials, as also of *Henry Usher*, sometime Lord Primate of *Armagh*, being also entred amongst *Sir James Ware's* Manuscripts, who hath often heard the late *James Usher*, Nephew to the said *Henry*, and also Primate of *Armagh*, aver the same, and wondred that *Mr. Fox* had not inserted it in his *Acts and Monuments*; there is yet living a Reverend Father of the Church, *Henry* now Lord Bishop of *Meath*, who can affirm this Relation from the said *James Usher*, late Lord Primate of all *Ireland*.

Upon the recalling of the Lord *Fitz-Walters* into *England*, *Queen Elizabeth*, who succeeded her Sister, discoursing with the said Lord concerning several Passages in *Ireland*; amongst other Discourses, he related the aforesaid passage that had hapned in *Ireland*: which so delighted the Queen, that her Majesty sent for the good Woman, named *Elizabeth Edmonds*, but by her Husband named *Mattershad*, and gave her a Pension of Forty pound *durante vita*, for saving her Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*.

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# Phenix VI.

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*The Sum and Substance of the Conference, which it pleas'd his Excellent Majesty to have with the Lords Bishops, and others of his Clergy (at which most of the Lords of the Council were present) in his Majesty's Privy Chamber at Hampton Court, Jan. 14. 1603.*

*Contracted by WILLIAM BARLOW,  
Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Chester.*

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## TO the READER.

**T**HIS Copy of the Conference in January last hath been long expected, and long since it was finish'd, Impeachments of the divulging were many; Archiepis. Cantuar. two main above the rest: One, his untimely Death, who first impos'd it upon me, with whom is buried the most famous Glory of our English Church, and the most kind Encouragement to Pains and Study: A Man happy in his Life and Death; loved of the best while he liv'd, and heard of God for

for his Decease; most earnestly desiring, not many days before he was stricken, that he might not yet live to see this Parliament, as near as it was.

The other, an Expectation of this late Comitial Conference, much threatned before, and triumph'd in by many; as if that Regal and most honourable Proceeding should thereby have receiv'd his Counterblast for being too forward. But his Majesty's Constancy having by the last added Comfort and Strength to this former, which now at length comes abroad; therein, Good Reader, thou mayst both see those huge pretended Scandals (for which our flourishing Church hath been so long disturb'd) objected and removed; and withal behold the expresse and vive Image of a most learned and judicious King, whose manifold Gifts of Grace and Nature, my scant measure of Gift is not able to delineate, nor am I willing to enumerate, because I have ever accounted the personal Commendation of living Princes, in men of our sort, a verbal Symony. Such Flies there are too many, which puff the Skin, but taint the Flesh. His Majesty's humble Deportment in those Sublimitys, will be the eternizing of his Memory; the rather, because *καταπελατίζον τὴν ὄλβον*, to digest so great Felicity without Surfeit of Surquedry, is a Virtue rare in great Personages; and that which the King of Heaven fear'd; even the King of his own choice would want. The more eminent he is in all Princely Qualities, the happier shall we be: Our Duty, as we are Christians, is Prayer for him; as we are Subjects, Obedience to him; as we are Men, Acknowledgment of our settled State in him. Our Unthankfulness may remove him, as it did the Mirror of Princes, our late Famous Elizabeth. She rests with God; the Phenix of her Ashes reigns over us, and long may he so do to God's Glory, and the Church's Good; which his excellent Knowledge beautifies, and Government adjoin'd will beatify it. A Hope of this last we conceive by his written *Βασιλικόν*; a Specimen of the other in this Interlocutory Conference; whereof take this, which is printed, but as an Extract, wherein is the Substance of the whole. Intercourse of Speeches, there occasion'd, would cause Prolixity without Profit. What every Man said, point device, I neither could, nor cared to observe. The Vigor of every Objection, with the Sum of each Answer, I guess, I miss not: For the first day, I had no help beyond mine own; yet some of good place and understanding have

\* Ep. Londi.

Deans of Chr.  
Church, Win-  
chest. Windsor,  
Archdeacon of  
Nottingham,  
and mine own.

seen it, and not control'd it, except for the Brevity: for the two last, out of divers \* Copies, I have selected and order'd what you here see. In them all, next unto God, the King's Majesty alone must have the Glory: Yet to say, that the present State of our Church is very much oblig'd to the Reverend Fathers, my Lords of London and Winton, their Pains and Dexterity in this business; were neither Detraction from other, nor Flattery of them.

His



His Highness purposed to compose all Quarrels of this kind; whereby, and supposing he had settled all matters of the Church, it pleas'd him so to signify by Proclamation after it was done; but there is a Triple Generation in the world, of whom the Wise Man speaketh, Prov. 30. 12, 13, 14. Marry, I say nothing (for even private Speeches cannot now pass without the smear of a Black Cole) in one rank whereof you may place our Hercules Limbomastix, whom it might have pleas'd, without this Gnathonical Appeal, to have rested in his Majesty's Determination; and being a Synoptical Theologue, ἐν πλατεί; and angry that he was not so, κατ' ἐπιτόμιον, have learn'd the difference in Divinity between *viam Regis* and *viam Gregis*.

Many Copies of divers sorts have been scatter'd and sent abroad, some partial, some untrue, some slanderous. What is here set down, for the Truth thereof shall be justify'd: the only wrong therein is to his Excellent Majesty, a Syllable of whose admirable Speeches it was pity to lose; his words, as they were utter'd by him, being as Solomon speaks, like Apples of Gold with Pictures of Silver. And therefore I request thee, good Reader, when thou comest to any of his Highness's Speeches, to turn Martial's Apostrophe upon me,

Tu male jam recitas, incipit esse tuus.

And I will take it kindly. If thou be honest and courteous, thou wilt rest satisfy'd, and that is my Content. To lay a Pillow for a Dog, sutes neither with my Leisvre nor Purpose. Farewel.

Thine in Christ Jesus,

W. BARLOW.

### The First Day's CONFERENCE.

**T**HE Day appointed was, as by his Majesty's Proclamation we all know, Thursday the 12th of January; on which there met at Hampton-Court by nine of the clock, all the Bishops and Deans summon'd by Letters, namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Worcester, St. Davids, Chichester, Carlisle, and Peterborow; the Deans of the Chappel, Christ-Church, Worcester, Westminster, Pauls, Chester, Windsor, with Dr. Field, and Dr. King Archdeacon of Nottingham: Who, tho the night before they heard a rumor that it was defer'd till the fourteenth day, yet according to the first Summons, thought it their Duty to

to offer themselves to the King's Presence, which they did. At which time it pleas'd his Highness to signify to the Bishops, That the Day having prevented or deceiv'd him, he would have them return on Saturday next following. On which day all the Deans and Doctors attending my Lords the Bishops into the Presence Chamber, there we found sitting upon a Form, Dr. *Reinolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chaderton*, Agents for the Millenary Plaintiffs. The Bishops entering the Privy Chamber, staid there, till Commandment came from his Majesty, that none of any sort should be present, but only the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Bishops, with five Deans, viz. of the Chappel, *Westminster*, *Pauls*, *Westchester*, *Salisbury*; who being call'd in, the Door was close shut by my Lord Chamberlain.

After a while his excellent Majesty came in, and having pass'd a few pleasant Gratulations with some of the Lords, he sat down in his Chair, remov'd forward from the Cloth of State a pretty distance; where beginning with a most grave and princely Declaration of his general drift in calling this Assembly, 'no noval Device, but according to the Example  
' of all Christian Princes, who in the Commencement of their  
' Reign usually take the first course for the establishing of  
' the Church, both for Doctrine and Policy, to which the  
' very Heathens themselves had relation in their Proverb,  
' *A Jove principium*; and particularly in this Land, King  
' *Henry VIII.* toward the end of his Reign: after him, King  
' *Edward VI.* who alter'd more; after him, Queen *Mary*,  
' who revers'd all; and last the Queen of famous Memory;  
' so his Highness added (for it is worth noting, that his Majesty never remember'd her, but with some honourable Addition) 'who settled it as it now standeth: Wherein he said  
' that he was happier than they, in this, because they were  
' fain to alter all things they found establish'd, but he saw  
' yet no cause so much to alter and change any thing, as  
' to confirm that which he found well settled already: Which  
' State, as it seem'd, so affected his Royal Heart, that it  
' pleas'd him both to enter into a Gratulation to Almighty  
' God (at which words he put off his Hat) for bringing him  
' into the Promis'd Land, where Religion was purely profess'd, where he sat among grave, learned, and reverend  
' Men; not, as before elsewhere, a King without State, without Honour, without Order, where heedless Boys would  
' brave him to his face. And to assure us, that he call'd not  
' this Assembly for any Innovation, acknowledging the Government Ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have been approv'd  
' by manifold Blessings from God himself, both for the Increase.

of the Gospel, and with a most happy and glorious Peace ;  
 yet because nothing could be so absolutely order'd, but some-  
 thing might be added afterward thereunto ; and in any  
 State, as in the Body of Man, Corruptions might insensibly  
 grow, either thro Time or Persons ; and in that he had  
 receiv'd many Complaints since his first entrance into the  
 Kingdom, especially thro the Dissensions in the Church, of  
 many Disorders, as he heard, and much Disobedience to the  
 Laws, with a great falling away to Popery ; his purpose  
 therefore was, like a good Physician, to examine and try  
 the Complaints, and fully to remove the occasions thereof,  
 if they prove scandalous, or to cure them if they were dan-  
 gerous ; or if but frivolous, yet to take knowledg of them,  
 thereby to cast a sop into *Cerberus's* mouth, that he may ne-  
 ver bark again : his meaning being, as he pleas'd to profess,  
 to give factious Spirits no occasion hereby of boasting or glory,  
 for which cause he had call'd the Bishops in severally by them-  
 selves, not to be confronted by the contrary Opponents,  
 that if any thing should be found meet to be redress'd, it  
 might be done (which his Majesty twice or thrice reiterated,  
 as occasion serv'd) without any visible Alteration.

And this was the Sum, so far as my dull Head could con-  
 ceive and carry it, of his Majesty's general Speech. In par-  
 ticular he signify'd unto them, the principal matters, why  
 he call'd them alone, with whom he would consult about  
 some special Points, wherein himself desir'd to be satisfy'd.  
 These he reduc'd to three Heads: First, concerning the  
 Book of Common Prayer, and Divine Service used in this  
 Church. Secondly, Excommunication in the Ecclesiastical  
 Courts. Thirdly, the providing of fit and able Ministers  
 for *Ireland*.

In the Book he requir'd Satisfaction about three things.  
 First, about Confirmation : (1.) For the Name, if arguing  
 a confirming of Baptism, as if this Sacrament without it  
 were of no validity, then were it blasphemous. (2.) For  
 the Use, first brought upon this occasion ; Infants being  
 baptiz'd, and answering by their *Patrini*, it was necessary  
 they should be examin'd, when they came to years of Dis-  
 cretion, and after their Profession made by themselves, to be  
 confirm'd with a Blessing or Prayer of the Bishop, laying his  
 hands upon their Heads ; abhorring the Abuse in Popery,  
 where it was made a Sacrament and Corroboration to Baptism.

The second was for Absolution, which how we us'd it in  
 our Church, he knew not : He had heard it liken'd to the  
 Pope's Pardons, but his Majesty's Opinion was, that there  
 being only two kinds thereof from God, the one gene-  
 ral,

ral, the other particular; for the first, all Prayers and Preachings do import an Absolution; for the second, it is to be apply'd to special Parties, who having committed a Scandal, and repenting, are absolv'd: otherwise, where there precedes not either Excommunication or Penance, there needs no Absolution.

The third was private Baptism; if private for place, his Majesty thought it agreed with the Use of the primitive Church; if for Persons, that any but a lawful Minister might baptize any where, he utterly dislik'd: and in this point his Highness grew somewhat earnest against the baptizing by Women and Laicks.

The second Head was Excommunication, wherein he offer'd two things to be consider'd of; first the Matter, secondly the Person. In the Matter; first, whether it were executed (as it is complain'd) in light causes: secondly, whether it were not used too often. In the Persons; first, why Laymen, as Chancellors and Commissaries, should do it? Secondly, why the Bishops themselves, for the more Dignity to so high and weighty a Censure, should not take unto them, for their Assistants, the Dean and Chapter, or other Ministers and Chaplains of gravity and account; and so likewise in other Censures, and giving of Orders, &c?

The last for *Ireland*, his Majesty referred, as you shall in the last day's Conference hear, to a Consultation. His Highness (to whom I offer great wrong, in being as *Phocion* to *Demosthenes*, *κόπτισῶν λόγων*, the Hatchet to cut short so amiable a Speech) having ended, the Lord Arch-Bishop, after that on his Knee he had signified how much this whole Land was bound to God, for setting over us a King, so wise, learned and judicious, address'd himself to inform his Majesty of all these points in their several order.

And first, as touching Confirmation, he shewed at large the Antiquity of it, as being used in the Catholick Church ever since the Apostles time, till that of late some particular Churches had unadvisedly rejected it. Then he declared the lawful use of it, agreeable to his Majesties former Speech, affirming it to be a mere Calumiation, and a very untrue Suggestion, if any had inform'd his Highness, that the Church of *England* did hold or teach, that without Confirmation, Baptism was imperfect, or that it did add any thing to the Virtue and Strength thereof. And this he made manifest by the Rubricks in the Communion-Book set before Confirmation, which were there read.

My Lord of *London* succeeded, saying, That the Authority of Confirmation did not depend only upon the Antiquity and Practice

Practice of the primitive Church, which out of *Cyprian*, Ep. 73. and *Hieron. adversus Luciferian.* he shew'd, but that it was an Institution Apostolical, and one of the particular Points of the Apostles Catechism, set down and named in express words, *Heb. 6. 2.* and so did Mr. *Calvin* expound that very place, who wish'd earnestly the Restitution thereof in those Reformed Churches, where it had been abolish'd. Upon which place the Bishop of *Carlisle* also insisted, and urg'd it both gravely and learnedly. His Majesty call'd for the Bible, read the place of the *Hebrews*, and approv'd the Exposition.

Something also the Bishop of *Durham* noted, out of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, for the Imposition of Hands upon Children. The Conclusion was, for the fuller Explanation (that we make it not a Sacrament, or a Corroboration to a former Sacrament) that it should be consider'd of by their Lordships, whether it might not without alteration (whereof his Majesty was still very wary) be intitled an Examination with a Confirmation.

Next in order was the point of Absolution, which the Lord Archbishop clear'd from all Abuse or Superstition, as it is used in our Church of *England*; reading unto his Majesty both the Confession in the beginning of the Communion Book, and the Absolution following it, wherein, saith he, the Minister doth nothing else but pronounce an Absolution in general. His Highness perused them both in the Book it self, liking and approving them, finding it to be very true, which my Lord Archbishop said. But the Bishop of *London* stepping forward, added, it becometh us to deal plainly with your Majesty; there is also in the Communion Book another more particular and personal Form of Absolution, prescribed to be used in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick. This the King requir'd to see, and whilst Master Dean of the Chappel was turning to it, the said Bishop alledg'd, that not only the Confessions of *Augusta*, *Bohemia*, *Saxony*, which he there cited, do retain and allow it; but that Mr. *Calvin* did also approve such a general kind of Confession and Absolution, as the Church of *England* useth; and withal did very well like of those which are private, for so he terms them. The said particular Absolution in the Common Prayer Book being read, his Majesty exceedingly well approv'd it: adding, ' That it was ' Apostolical, and a very good Ordinance, in that it was given ' in the name of Christ to one that desir'd it, and upon the ' clearing of his Conscience.

The conclusion was, that it should be consulted of by the Bishops, whether unto the Rubrick of the general Absolution, these words, *Remission of Sins*, might not be added for explanation sake.

In the third place, the Lord Archbishop proceeded to speak of private Baptism; shewing his Majesty, that the Administration of Baptism by Women and Lay-persons was not allow'd in the Practice of the Church, but enquir'd of by Bishops in their Visitation, and censur'd; neither do the words in the Book infer any such meaning. Whereunto the King excepted, 'urging and pressing the words of the Book, 'that they could not but intend a Permission, and suffering of 'Women and private Persons to baptize.. Here the Bishop of *Worcester* said; that indeed the words were doubtful, and might be press'd to that meaning; but yet it seem'd by the contrary Practice of our Church (censuring Women in this case) that the Compilers of the Book did not so intend them, and yet propounded them ambiguously, because otherwise perhaps the Book would not have then pass'd in the Parliament (and for this conjecture, as I remember, he cited the Testimony of my Lord ABp of *York*) whereunto the Bp of *London* reply'd, that those Learned and Reverend Men, who framed the Book of Common Prayer, intended not by ambiguous terms to deceive any, but did indeed by those words intend a Permission of private Persons, to baptize in case of necessity, whereof their Letters were Witnesses: some parts whereof he then read, and withal declar'd that the same was agreeable to the Practice of the ancient Church; urging to that purpose, both *Acts* 2. where 3000 were baptiz'd in one day, which for the Apostles alone to do, was impossible, at least improbable; and besides the Apostles, there were then no Bishops or Priests: and also the Authority of *Tertullian*, and *St. Ambrose* in the fourth to the *Ephesians*, plain in that point; laying also open the Absurdities and Impieties of their Opinion, who think there is no necessity of Baptism. Which word *Necessity*, he so press'd not, as if God without Baptism could not save the Child: but the case put, that the State of the Infant dying unbaptiz'd being uncertain, and to God only known; but if it die baptiz'd, there is an evident assurance that it is sav'd; Who is he that having any Religion in him, would not speedily, by any means, procure his Child to be baptiz'd, and rather ground his Action upon Christ's Promise, than his Omission thereof upon God's secret Judgment?

His Majesty reply'd, first to that place of the *Acts*, 'That 'it was an Act extraordinary, neither is it sound Reasoning 'from things done before a Church be settled and grounded, 'unto those which are to be perform'd in a Church stablish'd 'and flourishing. That he also maintain'd the Necessity of 'Baptism, and always thought, that the place of *St. John*, 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua, &c. was meant of the Sacra-  
ment

ment of Baptism, and that he had so defended it against some Ministers in *Scotland*. And it may seem strange to you my Lords, said his Majesty, that I, who now think you in *England* give too much to Baptism, did fourteen months ago in *Scotland* argue with my Divines there for ascribing too little to that Holy Sacrament. Insomuch that a pert Minister ask'd me, if I thought Baptism so necessary, that if it were omitted, the Child should be damn'd: I answer'd him, No; but if you, being call'd to baptize the Child, tho' privately, should refuse to come, I think you shall be damned. But this Necessity of Baptism his Majesty so expounded that it was necessary to be had where it might be lawfully had, *id est*, minister'd by lawful Ministers, by whom alone and by no private Person, he thought it might not in any case be administer'd; and yet utterly dislik'd all Re-baptization; altho' either Women or Laicks had baptized.

Here the Bishop of *Winchester* spake very learnedly and earnestly in that point, affirming, that the denying of private Persons, in cases of necessity, to baptize, were to cross all Antiquity; seeing that it had been the antient and common Practice of the Church, when Ministers at such times could not be got, and that it was also a Rule agreed upon among Divines, that the Minister is not of the Essence of the Sacrament. His Majesty answer'd, Tho' he be not of the Essence of the Sacrament, yet is he of the Essence of the right and lawful Ministry of the Sacrament, taking for his ground the Commission of Christ to his Disciples, *Mat. 28. 20. Go preach and baptize.*

The issue was a consultation, whether into the Rubrick of private Baptism; which leaves it indifferently to all Laicks or Clergy; the words, *Curate or Lawful Minister*, might not be inserted; which was not so much stuck at by the Bishops. And so his Majesty proceeded to the next point, about Excommunication in causes of lesser moment: first, whether the Name might not be alter'd, and yet the same Censure be retain'd: or secondly, whether in place of it, another Coercion equivalent thereunto might not be invented and thought of. A thing very easily yielded unto of all sides, because it had been long and often desir'd, but could not be obtain'd from her Majesty, who resolv'd to be still *semper eadem*, and to alter nothing which she had once settled.

And thus the Wednesday succeeding being appointed for the exhibiting of their Determinations in these points, and the Monday next immediately following this present day, for the Opponents to bring in their Complaints, we were dismiss'd after three hours and more spent. Which were soon gone,

so admirably both for Understanding, Speech, and Judgment did his Majesty handle all those Points, sending us away, not with Contentment only, but Astonishment; and, which is pitiful you will say, with shame to us all, that a King brought up among Puritans, not the learnedst men in the world, and school'd by them; swaying a Kingdom full of business and troubles, naturally given to much Exercise and Repast, should in points of Divinity shew himself so expedite and perfect, that the greatest Scholars, and most industrious Students there present might not outstrip him. But this one thing I might not omit, that his Majesty should profess, howsoever he liv'd among Puritans, and was kept for the most part as a Ward under them, yet since he was of the age of his Son, ten years old, he ever dislik'd their Opinions; as the Saviour of the World said, *Tho he lived among them, he was not of them.*

*Finis primæ diei.*

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### *The Second Day's* CONFERENCE.

ON Monday, *January* 16. between eleven and twelve of the clock, were the four Plaintiffs call'd into the Privy Chamber (the two Bishops of *London* and *Winchester* being there before) and after them all the Deans and Doctors present, which had been summon'd, *Patr. Galloway*, sometime Minister of *Perth* in *Scotland*, admitted also to be there; the King's Majesty entring the Chamber, presently took his Chair, placed as the day before (the noble young Prince sitting by upon a Stool) where making a short, but a pithy and sweet Speech, to the same purpose which the first day he made, *viz.* ' of the end of the Conference, meet to be had, he said, by every King at his first entrance to the Crown; not to innovate the Government presently establish'd, which by long Experience he had found accompany'd with so singular Blessings of God forty five years, as that no Church upon the face of the Earth more flourish'd than this of *England*. But first to settle an uniform Order thro the whole Church: Secondly, to plant Unity for the suppressing of Papists and Enemies to Religion: Thirdly, to amend Abuses, as natural to Bodys Politick and corrupt Man, as the Shadow to the Body, which once being enter'd, hold on as a wheel, his motion once set going. And because many grievous Com-  
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 ' the



the Land, he thought it best to send for some, whom his Majesty understood to be the most grave, learned, and modest of the aggrieved sort, whom being there present, he was now ready to hear at large what they could object or say; and so will'd them to begin. Whereupon they four kneeling down, Dr. Reynolds the Foreman, after a short Preamble gratulatory, and signifying his Majesty's Summons, by virtue whereof they then and there appear'd, reduced all matters dilik'd or question'd into these four Heads:

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserv'd in Purity according to God's Word.

2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.

3. That the Church-Government might be sincerely ministr'd, according to God's Word.

4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of Piety.

1. For the first, he mov'd his Majesty, that the Book of Articles of Religion, concluded 1562. might be explain'd in places obscure, and eniarg'd where some things were defective. For Example; whereas *Acts* 16. the words are these; *After we have receiv'd the Holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace*: Notwithstanding the meaning be sound, yet he desir'd that, because they may seem to be contrary to the Doctrine of God's Predestination and Election in the 17th Article, both those words might be explain'd with this or the like addition, *Yet neither totally, nor finally*; and also that the nine Assertions Orthodoxal, as he term'd them, concluded upon at *Lambeth*, might be inserted into that Book of Articles.

2. Secondly, Where it is said in the 23d Article, 'That it is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of Preaching or Administring the Sacraments, in the Congregation, before he be lawfully call'd'; Dr. Reynolds took exception to these words, *In the Congregation*; as implying a Lawfulness for any Man whatsoever, out of the Congregation, to Preach and Administer the Sacraments, tho he had no lawful Calling thereunto.

Thirdly, In the 25th Article, these Words touching Confirmation, grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles, being opposite to those in the Collect of Confirmation in the Communion-Book; upon whom, after the Example of the Apostles, argue, saith he, a Contrariety each to other: The first, confessing Confirmation, to be a deprav'd Imitation of the Apostles: The second, grounding it upon their Exam-

ple, *Act.* 8. and 9. as if the Bishop, in Confirming of Children, did by his Imposing of Hands, as the Apostles in those places, give the visible Graces of the Holy Ghost; and therefore he desir'd that both the Contradiction might be consider'd, and this ground of Confirmation examin'd.

Thus far *Dr. Reynolds* went on without any interruption: But here, as he was proceeding, the Bishop of *London*, much moved to hear these Men, who some of them the Evening before, and the same Morning, had made semblance of joining with the Bishops, and that they sought for nothing but Unity, now strive to overthrow (if they could) all at once, cut him off; and kneeling down, most humbly desir'd his Majesty, first, That the antient Canon might be remember'd which saith, that *Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi*. Secondly, That if any of these Parties were in the Number of the Thousand Ministers, who had once subscrib'd to the Communion-Book, and yet had lately exhibited a Petition to his Majesty against it, they might be remov'd, and not heard, according to the Decree of a very antient Council; providing, that no Man should be admitted to speak against that, whereto he had formerly subscrib'd. Thirdly, He put *Dr. Reynolds* and his Associates in mind, how much they were bound to his Majesty's exceeding great Clemency, in that they were permitted, contrary to the Statute, *1 Eliz.* to speak so freely against the Liturgy and Discipline establish'd. Lastly, Forasmuch as that he perceiv'd they took a course, tending to the utter overthrow of the Orders of the Church, thus long continu'd, he desir'd to know the End which they aim'd at, alledging a place out of *Mr. Cartwright*; affirming, that we ought rather to conform our selves in Orders and Ceremonies to the fashion of the *Turks*, than to the *Papists*: which Position, he doubted, they approv'd; because, contrary to the Orders of the Universities, they appear'd before his Majesty in *Turkey-Gowns*, not in their Scholastical Habits, sorting to their Degrees.

His Majesty perceiving my Lord of *London* to speak in some Passion, said, 'That there was in it something which he might excuse, something that he did mislike: Excuse his Passion he might, thinking he had just Cause to be so mov'd; both in respect that they did thus traduce the present well-settled Church-Government; and also, did proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their own pretence, and the intent of that meeting also. Yet he mislik'd his sudden interruption of *Dr. Reynolds*, whom he should have suffer'd to have taken his course and liberty; concluding, that there is

no Order, nor can be any effectual Issue of Disputation, if each Party might not be suffer'd, without chopping, to speak at large what he would. And therefore willed, that either the Doctor should proceed, or that the Bishop would frame his Answer to these Motions already made; altho, saith his Majesty, some of them are very needless. It was thought fitter to answer, lest the Number of Objections increasing, the Answers would prove confus'd.

Upon the first Motion, concerning falling from Grace: The Bishop of *London* took occasion to signify to his Majesty, how very many in these days, neglecting Holiness of Life, presum'd too much of persisting in Grace, laying all their Religion upon Predestination, If I shall be sav'd, I shall be sav'd; which he term'd a desperate Doctrine, shewing it to be contrary to good Divinity, and the true Doctrine of Predestination; wherein we should reason rather *ascendendo*, than *descendendo*, thus: I live in Obedience to God, in Love with my Neighbour; I follow my Vocation, &c. therefore I trust that God hath elected me, and predestinated me to Salvation: Not thus, which is the usual course of Argument, God hath predestinated and chosen me to Life; therefore tho I sin never so grievously, yet I shall not be damn'd: *For whom he once loveth, he loveth to the end.* Whereupon he shew'd his Majesty out of the next Article, what was the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, touching Predestination, in the very last Paragraph; *scil.* We must receive God's Promises, in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture, and in our doings, that the Will of God is to be follow'd, which we have expressly declar'd unto us in the Word of God: which part of the Article his Majesty very well approv'd; and after he had, after his manner, very singularly discours'd on that place of *St. Paul*, *Work out your Salvation with fear and trembling*; he left it to be consider'd, whether any thing were meet to be added, for the clearing of the Doctor's Doubt, by putting in the word *Often*, or the like; as thus: We may often depart from Grace; but in the mean time wish'd, that the Doctrine of Predestination might be very tenderly handled, and with great discretion; lest on the one side, God's Omnipotency might be call'd in question, by impeaching the Doctrine of his eternal Predestination; or, on the other, a desperate presumption might be arrear'd, by inferring the necessary Certainty of standing and persisting in Grace.

To the second it was answer'd, that it was a vain Objection, because, by the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *England*, none but a licensed Minister might preach, nor either

publickly or privately administer the Eucharist, or the Lord's Supper. ' And as for private Baptism, his Majesty answer'd, ' That he had taken Order for that with the Bishops already ready.

In the third Point ( which was about Confirmation ) was observ'd either Curiosity or Malice ; because the Article which was there presently read, in those words ; ' These five, ' commonly call'd *Sacraments* ; that is to say, *Confirmation, Penance, Orders, &c.* are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Gospel : being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles, &c. intinuateth, that the making of *Confirmation* to be a Sacrament, is a corrupt Imitation ; but the Communion-Book aiming at the right use, and proper course thereof, makes it to be according to the Apostles Example : which his Majesty observing, and reading both the places, concluded the Objection to be a meer Cavil. And this was for the pretended contradiction.

Now, for the ground thereof, the Bishop of *London* added, That it was not so much founded upon the places in the *Acts* of the Apostles, which some of the Fathers had often shew'd ; but upon *Heb. 6. 2.* where it is made, as the first day he had said, a part of the Apostles Catechism ; which was the Opinion, besides the Judgment of the Holy Fathers, of Mr. *Calvin* and Dr. *Falk* ; the one upon *Heb. 6. 2.* as upon *Saturday* he had declar'd ; the other upon *Acts 8. verse 27.* where, with St. *Augustine*, he saith, that we do not in any wise dislike that ancient Ceremony ( of Imposition of Hands, for strengthening and confirming such as had been Baptiz'd ) but use it in our selves, being nothing else but, as St. *Austin* affirmeth, Prayer over a Man to be strengthened and confirm'd by the Holy Ghost ; or to receive increase of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, as St. *Ambrose* saith : and a little after alludeth unto *Heb. 6. 2, &c.* Neither need there any great proof of this ( saith my Lord ) for Confirmation to be unlawful, it was not their Opinion who objected this, as he suppos'd : This was it that vex'd them, that they had not the use thereof in their own hands, every Pastor in his Parish to confirm, for then it would be accounted an Apostolical Institution ; and willed Dr. *Reynolds* to speak herein what he thought : who seem'd to yield thereunto, replying, That some Diocess of a Bishop, having therein Six hundred Parish-Churches ( which Number caus'd the Bishop of *London* to think himself personally touch'd, because in his Diocess there are 609, or thereabouts ) it was a thing very inconvenient to commit Confirmation unto the Bishop alone, supposing it impossible that he could take due Examination of them

them all which came to be confirm'd. To the Fact, my Lord of *London* answer'd, for his Majesty's Information, That the Bishops, in their Visitations, give out notice to them, who are desirous either to be themselves, or to have their Children confirm'd, of the place where they will be; and appoint either their Chaplains, or some other Ministers, to examine them, which are to be confirm'd, and lightly confirm none, but either by the Testimony or Report of the Parsons or Curates where the Children are bred, and brought up. To the Opinion he reply'd, That none of all the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm but Bishops alone; yea, even *St. Jerom* himself, tho otherwise no friend to Bishops, by reason of a quarrel between the Bishop of *Jerusalem* and him; yet confesseth, that the execution thereof was restrain'd to Bishops only, *Ad honorem patius Sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem*. Whereof, namely of this Prerogative of Bishops, he giveth this reason; *Ecclesie salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendit; cui si non exors quedam & ab omnibus eminent detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiis efficerentur schismata, quot Sacerdotes*. My Lord Bishop of *Winchester* challeng'd *Dr. Reynolds*, willing him, of his Learning, to shew wherever he had read, that Confirmation was at all us'd in antient Times by any other but Bishops; and added withal, that it was us'd, partly to examine Children, and after Examination, by Imposition of Hands (which was a Ceremony of Blessing among the *Jews*) to bless them and pray over them: and partly to try whether they had been baptiz'd in the right Form or no. For, in former Ages, Baptism was administred in divers sorts: some gave it, *In nomine Patris & Filii, &c.* Others, *In nomine Patris majoris, & Filii minoris*, as the *Arians* did: Some, *In nomine Patris per Filium, in Spiritu sancto*; Others, not in the Name of the Trinity, but in the Death of Christ, &c. Whereupon Catholick Bishops were constrain'd to examine them who were Baptiz'd *in remotis*, far from them, how they were taught to believe concerning Baptism: If it were right, to confirm them; if amiss, to instruct them.

His Majesty concluded this Point, first by taxing *St. Jerom* for his Assertion, that a Bishop was not *Divine Ordinationis*; (the Bishop of *London* thereupon inferring, That unless he could prove his Ordination lawful out of the Scriptures, he would not be a Bishop four Hours) which Opinion his Majesty much distast'd, approving their Calling and Use in the Church, and clos'd it up with this short Aphorism, *No Bishop, no King*. Secondly, For Confirmation, his Highness thought, that it sort'd neither with the Authority, nor Decency of the same, that every ordinary Pastor should do it: and therefore said, That for his part, he meant not to take that

• that from the Bishops, which they had so long retain'd and  
 • enjoy'd ; seeing, as it pleased him to add, as great reason,  
 • that none should confirm without the Bishop's License, as  
 • none should preach without his License : and so referring,  
 • as the day before, the word *Examination* to be added to the  
 • Rubrick, in the Title of Confirmation in the Communion-  
 • Book, if it were thought good so to do, He willed Dr. Rey-  
 • nolds to proceed.

Who after that he had deprecated the Imputation of Schism,  
 with a Protestation, That he meant not to gall any Man, go-  
 eth on to the 37th Article, ' wherein he said these words,  
 ' The Bishop of *Rome* hath no Authority in this Land, not to  
 ' be sufficient, unless it were added, nor ought to have.  
 Whereat his Majesty heartily laugh'd, and so did the Lords:  
 the King adding an Answer, which the Rhetoricians call ἐγώ-  
 τημα ἐλέγχον. ' What speak you of the Pope's Authority here?  
 ' *Habemus jure quod habemus* ; and therefore, in as much as it is  
 ' said, he hath not ; it is plain enough, that he ought not to  
 ' have.

This, and some other Motions, seeming both to the King  
 and Lords very idle and frivolous, occasion was taken, in some  
 by-talk, to remember a certain description, which Mr. *Butler*  
 of *Cambridge* made of a Puritan ; viz. A Puritan is a Protestant  
 frayed out of his Wits. But my Lord of *London* there seriously  
 put his Majesty in mind of the Speeches, which the *French*  
 Embassador Mr. *Rogne* gave out concerning our Church of  
*England*, both at *Canterbury* after his Arrival ; and after, at the  
 Court, upon the view of our solemn Service and Ceremonies ;  
 namely, that if the Reformed Churches in *France* had kept the  
 same Orders among them which we have, he was assured that  
 there would have been many Thousands of Protestants more  
 there, than now there are ; And yet our Men stumble and  
 strain at these petty Quillets, thereby to disturb and disgrace  
 the whole Church.

After this the Doctor mov'd that this Proposition, *The In-  
 tention of the Minister is not of the Essence of the Sacrament*, might  
 be added unto the Book of Articles ; the rather, because that  
 some in *England* had preach'd it to be Essential. And here  
 again he remembered the nine Orthodoxal Assertions con-  
 cluded at *Lambeth*. ' His Majesty utterly dislik'd that first  
 • part of the Motion, for two Reasons : First, thinking it un-  
 • fit to thrust into the Book every Position negative, which  
 • would both make the Book swell into a Volume as big as  
 • the Bible, and also confound the Reader ; bringing, for  
 • Example, the Course of one Mr. *Craig*, in the like case, in  
 • *Scotland*, who with his, *I renounce and abhor his Detestations and*

ε Abrenun-

Abrenunciations, did so amaze the simple People, that they, not able to conceive all those things, utterly gave over all, falling back to Popery, or remaining still in their former Ignorance. Yea, if I, said his Majesty, should have been bound to his Form, the Confession of my Faith must have been in my Table-book, not in my Head. But because you speak of *Intention*, saith his Highness, I will apply it thus: If you come hither with a good Intention, to be inform'd and satisfy'd where you shall find just Cause, the whole Work will sort to the better effect: but if your Intention be to go as you came (whatsoever shall be said) it will prove that the Intention is very material and essential to the end of this present Action. To the other part, for the nine Assertions, his Majesty could not suddenly answer, because he understood not what the Doctor meant by those Assertions or Propositions at *Lambeth*; but when it was inform'd his Majesty, that by reason of some Controversies arising in *Cambridge* about certain Points of Divinity, my Lord's Grace assembled some Divines of especial Note, to set down their Opinions, which they drew into nine Assertions, and so sent them to the University, for the appeasing of those Quarrels: Then his Majesty answer'd, First, That when such Questions arise among Scholars, the quietest Proceeding were, to determine them in the Universities, and not to stuff the Book with all conclusions Theological. Secondly, The better course would be to punish the Broachers of false Doctrine, as occasion should be offer'd: For were the Articles never so many and sound, who can prevent the contrary Opinions of Men till they be heard?

Upon this the Dean of *St. Paul's* kneeling down, humbly desir'd leave to speak, signifying unto his Majesty, that this matter somewhat more nearly concern'd him, by reason of Controversy between him and some other in *Cambridge*, upon a Proposition which he had deliver'd there; Namely, that whosoever (altho before justified) did commit any grievous Sin, as Adultery, Murder, Treason, or the like, did become, *ipso facto*, subject to God's Wrath, and guilty of Damnation, or were in a state of Damnation (*quoad presentem statum*) until they repented; adding hereto, that those which were called and justified according to the purpose of God's Election, however they might, and did, sometime fall into grievous Sins, and thereby into the present state of Wrath and Damnation; yet did never fall, either totally from all the Graces of God, to be utterly destitute of all the Parts and Seed thereof, nor finally from Justification, but were in time renew'd, by God's Spirit, unto a lively Faith and Repentance; and so justified from those Sins, and the Wrath,

Wrath, Curse, and Guilt annex'd thereunto, whereinto they are fallen, and wherein they lay, so long as they were without true Repentance for the same. Against which Doctrine, he said, that some had opposed; teaching, that all such persons as were once truly justified, tho' after they fell into never so grievous Sins; yet remain'd still just, or in the state of Justification, before they actually repented of those Sins; yea, and tho' they never repented of them, through forgetfulness or sudden death, yet they should be justified and saved without Repentance. In utter dislike of this Doctrine, his Majesty entred into a longer Speech of Predestination and Reprobation than before, and of the necessary conjoyning Repentance and Holiness of Life with true Faith; concluding, that it was Hypocrisy, and not true justifying Faith, which was severed from them: For altho' Predestination and Election depend not upon any Qualities, Actions, or Works of Man, which be mutable, but upon God's eternal and immutable Decree and Purpose; yet such is the Necessity of Repentance, after known Sins committed, as that, without it, there could not be, either Reconciliation with God, or Remission of those Sins.

Next to this, Dr. Reynolds complain'd, that the Catechism in the Common-Prayer-Book was too brief; for which one by Mr. Newell, late Dean of St. Paul's, was added, and that too long for young Novices to learn by heart: Requested therefore, that one uniform Catechism might be made, which, and none other, might be generally receiv'd. It was demanded of him, Whether if, to the short Catechism in the Communion-Book, something were added for the Doctrine of the Sacrament, it would not serve? His Majesty thought the Doctor's Request very reasonable: but yet so, that he would have a Catechism in the fewest and plainest Affirmative terms that may be; taxing withal, the Number of ignorant Catechisms set out in Scotland, by every one that was the Son of a Good Man: Insomuch as, that which was Catechism-Doctrine in one Congregation, was in another scarcely accepted as Sound and Orthodox; wished therefore, one to be made and agreed upon, adding this Excellent, Gnomical and Canon-like Conclusion, That in Reforming of a Church, he would have two Rules observ'd: First, that old, curious, deep and intricate Questions might be avoided in the fundamental Instruction of a People. Secondly, That there should not be any such departure from the Papists in all things, as that, because we in some Points agree with them; therefore we should be accounted to be in an Error.



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To the former, Dr. Reynolds did add the Prophanation of the Sabbath-day, and Contempt of his Majesty's Proclamation, made for the Reforming of that Abuse, of which he earnestly desir'd a straighter course for Reformation thereof; and unto this he found a general and unanimous Assent.

After that, he mov'd his Majesty, that there might be a New Translation of the Bible; because, those which were allow'd in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth, were corrupt, and not answerable to the Truth of the Original. For Example; First, *Galat.* 4. 25. the Greek word *οὐκ ἔστιν* is not well translated, as now it is; *Bordereth*, neither expressing the force of the word, nor the Apostle's sense, nor the Situation of the place.

Secondly, *Psalms* 105. 28. They were not *obedient*; The Original being, They were not *disobedient*.

Thirdly, *Psalms* 106. verse 30. *Then stood up Phinehas, and prayed*; the Hebrew hath it, *Executed judgment*. To which motion there was, at the present, no gainaying, the Objections being trivial and old, and already in Print, often answer'd: Only my Lord of *London* well added, That if every Man's humour should be follow'd, there would be no end of Translating. Whereupon his Highness wish'd, that some especial pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform Translation (professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated into *English*; but the worst of all his Majesty thought the *Geneva* to be) and this to be done by the Best Learned in both Univerlities; after them to be review'd by the Bishops, and the chief Learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly, to be ratify'd by his Royal Authority; and so this whole Church to be bound unto it, and none other. Marry, withal he gave this Caveat, (upon a word cast out by my Lord of *London*) that no marginal Notes should be added, having found in them which are annex'd to the *Geneva* Translation (which he saw in a Bible given him by an *English* Lady) some Notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous Conceits. As for example, the first Chapter of *Exodus* and the nineteenth Verse, where the marginal Note alloweth Disobedience unto Kings. And 2 *Chron.* 15. 16. the Note taxeth *Asa* for deposing his Mother only, and not killing her. And so concludeth this point as all the rest, with a grave and judicious Advice. First, that Errors in matters of Faith might be rectify'd and amended. Secondly, that matters indifferent might rather be interrupted, and a gloss added; alledging from *Bartolus de Regno*, that as better a King with some weakness than still a Change; so rather a Church with some

' some faults than an Innovation. And surely, faith his Ma-  
 ' jesty, if these be the greatest matters you be griev'd with,  
 ' I need not have been troubled with such Importunities and  
 ' Complaints, as have been made unto me; some other more  
 ' private course might have been taken for your Satisfaction;  
 ' and withal looking upon the Lords, he shook his Head,  
 ' smiling.

The last Point (noted by Dr. Reynolds) in this first Head,  
 for Doctrine, was, That unlawful and seditious Books might  
 be suppress'd, at least restrain'd, and imparted to a few: for  
 by the liberty of publishing such Books so commonly, many  
 young Scholars, and unfettled Minds in both Universities, and  
 thro the whole Realm, were corrupted and perverted; naming  
 for one instance that Book entitled, *De jure Magistratus in Sub-*  
*ditos*, publish'd of late by *Ficlerus* a Papist, and apply'd against  
 the Queen's Majesty that last was, for the Pope. The Bishop  
 of London supposing, as it seem'd, himself to be principally  
 aim'd at, answer'd first to the general, that there was no such  
 licentious divulging of those Books, as he imagin'd or com-  
 plain'd of; and that none, except it were such as Dr. Reynolds,  
 who were suppos'd would consume them, had liberty by Autho-  
 rity to buy them. Again, such Books came into the Realm  
 by many secret Conveyances; so that there could not be a  
 perfect notice had of their Importation. Secondly, to the  
 particular Instance of *Ficlerus*, he said that the Author *De*  
*Jure, &c.* was a great Disciplinarian; whereby it did appear  
 what advantage that sort gave unto the Papists, who *mutatis*  
*personis*, could apply their own Arguments against Princes of  
 the Religion: but for his own part he said, he detested both  
 the Author and the Applier alike. My Lord Cecil here taxing  
 also the unlimited Liberty of the dispersing and divulging these  
 Popish and seditious Pamphlets, both in *Paul's Churchyard*  
 and the Universities, instanc'd one lately set forth and pub-  
 lish'd, namely, *Speculum Tragicum*; which both his Majesty  
 and the Lord *H. Howard*, now Earl of *Northampton*, term'd a  
 dangerous Book, both for Matter and Intention. And the  
 Lord Chancellor also dividing all such Book into *Latin* and  
*English*, concluded, that these last dispers'd, did most harm.  
 Yet the Lord Secretary affirm'd, that my Lord of London had  
 done therein what might be for the suppressing of them; and  
 that he knew no man else had done any thing in that kind but  
 he. At length it pleas'd his excellent Majesty to tell Dr.  
*Reynolds*, ' That he was a better Collegeman than a States-  
 ' man; for if his meaning were, to tax the Bishop of London  
 ' for suffering those Books, between the Secular Priests and  
 ' Jesuits, lately publish'd, so freely to pass abroad; his Ma-  
 ' jesty

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‘ Majesty would have him and his Associates to know, and willed  
‘ them also to acquaint their Adherents and Friends abroad  
‘ therewith, that the said Bishop was much injur’d and slan-  
‘ der’d in that behalf; who did nothing therein but by war-  
‘ rant from the Lords of the Council; whereby both a Schism  
‘ between them was nourish’d, and also his Majesty’s own  
‘ Cause and Title handled. The Lord Cecil affirming there-  
‘ unto, that therefore they were tolerated, because in them  
‘ was the Title of *Spain* confuted. The Lord Treasurer added,  
‘ That Dr. Reynolds might have observ’d another use of those  
‘ Books, viz. that now by the Testimony of those Priests them-  
‘ selves, her late Majesty and the State were clear’d of that  
‘ Imputation, of putting Papists to death for their Consciences  
‘ only, and for their Religion, seeing in those Books they them-  
‘ selves confess, that they were executed for Treason. Dr. Rey-  
‘ nolds excus’d himself, expounding his Complaint, not meant  
‘ of such Books as had been printed in *England*, but such as  
‘ came from beyond the Seas, as Commentaries both in Philo-  
‘ sophy and Divinity. And these were the parts of the first  
‘ Head, concerning Purity of Doctrine.

Touching Pastors } Resident,  
                          } Learned.

To the second general Point concerning the planting of  
Ministers learned in every Parish; it pleas’d his Majesty to  
answer, ‘ That he had consulted with his Bishops about that,  
‘ whom he found willing and ready to second him in it; in-  
‘ veighing herein against the Negligence and Carelessness  
‘ which he heard of many in this Land: but as *subita Evacua-*  
‘ *tio was periculosa, so subita mutatio.* Therefore this matter  
‘ was not for a present Resolution, because to appoint to e-  
‘ very Parish a sufficient Minister, were impossible; the Uni-  
‘ versities would not afford them. Again, he had found al-  
‘ ready that he had more learned Men in this Realm, than he  
‘ had sufficient Maintenance for; so that Maintenance must  
‘ first be provided, and then the other to be required.  
‘ In the mean time, ignorant Ministers, if young, to be re-  
‘ mov’d, if there were no hope of their Amendment; if old,  
‘ their Death must be expected, that the next course may be  
‘ better supply’d: and so concluded this Point with a most  
‘ religious and zealous Protestation, of doing something daily  
‘ in this case, because *Jerusalem* could not be built up in a day.  
The Bishop of *Winchester* made known to the King, that this  
Insufficiency of the Clergy, be it as it is, comes not by the  
Bishops Defaults, but partly by Lay-Patrons, who present very  
mean

mean Men to their Cures; whereof in himself he shew'd an Instance, how that since his being Bishop of *Winchester*, very few Masters of Arts were presented to good Benefices: partly, by the Law of the Land, which admitteth of a very mean and tolerable Sufficiency in any Clerk; so that if the Bishop should not admit them, then presently a *Quare impedit* is sent out against him.

Here my Lord of *London* kneeling, humbly desir'd his Majesty (because he saw, as he said, it was a time of moving Petitions) that he might have leave to make two or three. First, that there might be amongst us a Praying Ministry another while: for whereas there are in the Ministry many excellent Duties to be perform'd, as the absolving of the Penitent, praying for and blessing of the People, administering of the Sacraments, and the like; it is come to that pass now, that some sort of Men thought it the only Duty requir'd of a Minister, to spend the time in speaking out of a Pulpit; sometimes, God wot, very indiscreetly and unlearnedly: and this with so great injury and prejudice to the Celebration of Divine Service, that some Ministers would be content to walk in the Churchyard till Sermon time, rather than to be present at publick Prayer. He confess'd, that in a Church new to be planted, Preaching was most necessary; but among us, now long establish'd in the Faith, he thought it not the only necessary Duty to be perform'd, and the other to be so profanely neglected and contemn'd. Which Motion his Majesty liked exceeding well, 'very acutely taxing the Hypocrisy of  
' our times, which placeth all Religion in the Ear, thro which  
' there is an easy Passage; but Prayer, which expresth the  
' Heart's Affection, and is the true Devotion of the Mind, as  
' a matter putting us to overmuch trouble (wherein there  
' concur, if Prayer be as it ought, an impartial Consideration  
' of our own Estates, a due Examination to whom we pray, an  
' humble Confession of our Sins, with an hearty Sorrow  
' for them, and Repentance not sever'd from Faith) is ac-  
' counted and used as the least part of Religion.

The second was, That till such time as learned and sufficient Men might be planted in every Congregation, that godly Homilies might be read, and the number of them increas'd; and that the Opponents would labour to bring them into credit again, as formerly they brought them into contempt. Every man, saith he, that can pronounce well, cannot indite well.

' The King's Majesty approv'd this Motion, especially where  
' the Living is not sufficient for Maintenance of a learned  
' Preacher; as also in places where plenty of Sermons are, as

' in the City and great Towns. In the Country Villages,  
 ' where Preachers are not near together, he could wish  
 ' Preaching; but where there are a multitude of Sermons,  
 ' there he would have *Homilies* to be read divers times; and  
 ' therein he ask'd the Assent of the Plaintiffs, and they con-  
 ' fess it. A preaching Ministry, saith his Majesty, was best;  
 ' but where it might not be had, godly Prayers and Exhor-  
 ' tations did much good. That that may be done, let it, and  
 ' let the rest that cannot, be tolerated. Somewhat was here  
 spoken by the Lord Chancellor, of Livings rather wanting  
 Learned Men, than Learned Men Livings. Many in the Uni-  
 versities pining, Masters, Batchelors, and upwards; wishing  
 therefore, that some might have single Coats, before others  
 had Doublets: And here his Lordship shewed the Course, that  
 he had ever taken, in bestowing the King's Benefices. My Lord  
 of *London* commending his Honourable Care that way; withal  
 excepted, that a Doublet was necessary in cold Weather: The  
 Lord Chancellor reply'd, That he did it not for dislike of the  
 Liberty of our Church, in granting one Man two Benefices,  
 but out of his own private purpose and practice, grounded  
 upon the foresaid Reason,

The last Motion by my Lord of *London* was, That Pulpits  
 might not be made Pasquils, wherein every humorous or dis-  
 contented Fellow might traduce his Superiors. ' Which the  
 ' King very graciously accepted, exceedingly reprovng that  
 ' as a lewd Custom; threatning, that if he should but hear  
 ' of such a one in a Pulpit, he would make him an Example;  
 ' concluding with a sage Admonition to the Opponents, that  
 ' every Man should solicit and draw his Friends to make  
 ' Peace; and if any thing were amiss in the Church-Officers,  
 ' not to make the Pulpit the place of personal Reproof, but  
 ' to let his Majesty hear of it; yet by degrees.

' First, let complaint be to the Ordinary of the place, from  
 ' him to go to the Archbishop; from him, to the Lords of his  
 ' Majesty's Council; and from them, if in all these places no  
 ' remedy is found, to his own self. Which Caveat his Majesty  
 put in, for that the Bishop of *London* had told him, that if he  
 left himself open to admit of all Complaints, neither his Ma-  
 jesty should ever be quiet, nor his Under-Officers regarded;  
 seeing that now already no fault can be censured, but presently  
 the Delinquent threatneth a Complaint to the King: and for  
 an instance, he added, how a Printer, whom he had taken  
 faulty, very lately answer'd him in that very kind.

Dr. *Reynolds* cometh now to *Subscription* (which concerneth  
 the fourth General Head, as he first propounded it, namely,  
*The Communion Book*) taking occasion to leap into it here, as

making the urging of it to be a great Impeachment to a learned Ministry; and therefore intreated it might not be enacted as heretofore, for which many good Men were kept out, others remov'd, and many disquieted. To subscribe according to the Statutes of the Realm, namely, to the Articles of Religion, and the King's Supremacy, they were not unwilling. The reason of their Backwardness to subscribe otherwise was, first the Book *Apocryphal*, which the *Common Prayer Book* enjoyn'd to be read in the Church, albeit there are in some of those Chapters appointed, manifest Errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures: the particular instance, which he then infer'd, was *Ecclus. 48. 10.* where he charg'd the Author of that Book, to have held the same Opinion with the *Jews* at this day, namely, that *Elias* in person was to come before Christ; and therefore as yet Christ, by that reason, not come in the flesh: and so consequently it imply'd a Denial of the chief Article of our Redemption. His reason of thus charging the Author was, because that *Ecclus.* used the very word of *Elias in person*, which the Prophet *Malachi*, chap. 4. doth apply to an *Elias* in resemblance; which both an Angel, *Luke 17.* and our Saviour Christ, *Mat. 11.* did interpret to be *John Baptist*. The Answer was, as the Objection, twofold. First, General, for *Apocryphal Books*; the Bishop of *London* shewing, first, for the Antiquity of them, that the most of the Objections made against those Books, were the old Cavils of the *Jews*, renew'd by *St. Jerom* in his time, who was the first that gave them the name of *Apocrypha*; which Opinion, upon *Ruffinus's* Challenge, he after a sort disclaim'd; the rather, because a general Offence was taken at his Speeches in that kind: first for the continuance of them in the Church, out of *Kimedoncius* and *Chemnitius*, two modern Writers.

The Bishop of *Winton* remember'd the Distinction of *St. Jerom*; *Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem*: which Distinction, he said, must be held for the justifying of fundry Councils. His Majesty in the end said, ' he would  
' take an even order between both; affirming, that he would  
' not wish all *Canonical Books* to be read in the Church, unless  
' there were one to interpret, nor any *Apocrypha* at all, where-  
' in there was any Error; but for the other, which were clear  
' and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them  
' read: for else, saith his Majesty, why were they printed?  
' and therein shew'd the use of the Books of *Maccabees*, very  
' good to make up the Story of the Persecution of the *Jews*;  
' but not to teach a Man either to sacrifice for the Dead, or  
' to kill himself.

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And here his Highness arose from his Chair, and withdrew himself into his inner Chamber a little space. In the mean time a great questioning was amongst the Lords, about that place of *Ecclus.* with which, as if it had been their rest and upshot, they began afresh, at his Majesty's return; who seeing them so to urge it, and stand upon it, calling for a Bible, first shew'd the Author of that Book, who he was, then the cause why he wrote that Book; next analiz'd the Chapter it self, shewing the Precedents and Consequents thereof; lastly, so exactly and Divine-like unfolded the Sum of that place, arguing and demonstrating, that whatsoever *Ben Sirach* had said there of *Elias*, *Elias* had in his own person, while he liv'd, perform'd and accomplish'd. So that the *Susurrus* at the first mention was not so great, as the Astonishment was now at the King's sudden and sound, and indeed so admirable an Interpretation: Concluding first with a serious Check to *Dr. Reynolds*, That it was not good to impose upon a man that was dead, a Sense never meant by him. Secondly, with a pleasant *Apostrophe* to the Lords; *What, trow ye, make these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? By my Soul I think he was a Bishop, or else they would never use him so.* But for the general, it was appointed by his Majesty, that *Dr. Reynolds* should note those Chapters in the *Apocrypha* Book, where those offensive places were; and should bring them unto the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* against Wednesday next; and so he was willed to go on.

The next Scruple against *Subscription* was: That old *Crambe bis posita*; that in the Common Prayer Book it is twice set down, *Jesus said to his Disciples*; when as by the next Original it is plain, that he spake to the *Pharisees*. To which it was answer'd, that for ought that could appear by the places, he might speak as well to his *Disciples*, they being present, as to the *Pharisees*. But his Majesty keeping an even hand, willed that the word *Disciples* should be omitted, and the words *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different Letter, that might appear not to be a part of the Text.

The third Objection against *Subscription*; were *Interrogatories in Baptism*, propounded to Infants, which being a profound Point, was put upon *Mr. Knewstubs* to pursue; who in a long and perplex'd Speech said something out of *Austin*; that *Baptizare* was *Credere*; but what it was, his Majesty plainly confess'd; *Ego non intelligo*; and asked the Lords, what they thought he meant: It seem'd that one present conceiv'd him; for he standing at his back, bad him urge that Point, *Urge that Point, that is a good Point.* My Lord of *Winton* aiming at his meaning, shew'd him the use thereof out of *St. Austin*; and added the

M r

Father's

Father's reason for it, *Qui peccavit in altero, credat in altero*; which was seconded by his Majesty (whom it pleas'd, for the rest of the matters which follow'd, himself alone to answer; and justly might he appropriate it to himself, for none present were able with quicker Conceit to understand, with a more singular Dexterity to refute, with a more judicious Resolution to determine, than his Majesty: herein being more admirable, that these Points, wherein some thought him prejudicial to the contrary, all of us suppos'd him to have been but a Stranger to them, he could so intelligently apprehend, and so readily argue about them) it was, I say, seconded by his Majesty: First, by reason that the Question should be propounded to the Party whom it principally concern'd. Secondly, by example of himself, to whom Interrogatories were propounded when he was crown'd in his Infancy, King of Scotland.

And here his Majesty (as hereafter at the end of every Objection he did) asked them, whether they had any more to say.

Mr. *Knewslubs* took exceptions at the Cross in Baptism, being in number two. 1<sup>st</sup>, The Offence of weak Brethren, grounded upon the words of *St. Paul, Rom. 14.* and *1 Cor. 8.* viz. the Consciences of the Weak not to be offended. Which places his excellent Majesty answer'd most acutely, beginning with that general Rule of the Fathers: *Distigue tempora, & concordabunt Scripturæ*; shewing here the difference of those times and ours, then a Church not fully planted nor settled, but ours long stablish'd and flourishing; then Christians newly call'd from Paganism, and not thoroly grounded; which is not the case of this Church, seeing that Heathenish Doctrine for many years has been hence abandon'd. 2<sup>ly</sup>, With a Question unanswerable, asking them how long they would be Weak? Whether 45 years were not sufficient for them to grow strong? 3<sup>dly</sup>, Who they were pretended this Weakness: For we, saith the King, require not now Subscription of Laicks and Idiots, but Preachers and Ministers, who are not still, I trow, to be fed with milk, but are enabled to feed others. 4<sup>thly</sup>, That it was to be doubted some of them were strong enough, if not headstrong; and howsoever they in this case pretended Weakness, yet some, in whose behalf they now spake, thought themselves able to teach him, and all the Bishops of the Land.

His Objection against the Cross consisted of three Interrogatories: First, Whether the Church had power to institute an external significant Sign? To which was reply'd, 1<sup>st</sup>, That he mistook the Use of the Cross with us, which was not used



in Baptism, any otherwise than only as a Ceremony. 2dly, By their own example, who make Imposition of Hands, in their Ordination of Pastors, to be a Sign significant.

Thirdly, in Prayer, saith the Bishop of *Winton*, the kneeling on the ground, the lifting up of our Hands, the knocking of our Breasts, are Ceremonies significant; the first, of our Humility coming before the mighty God; the second, of our Confidence and Hope; the other of our Sorrow and Detestation of our Sins: and these are and may lawfully be used. Lastly, Mr. Dean of the Chappel remember'd the Practice of the *Jews*, who unto the Institution of the Passover, prescribed unto them by *Moses*, had, as the Rabbins witness, added both Signs and Words, eating four Herbs, and drinking Wine, with these words to both, *Take and eat these in remembrance, &c. Drink this in remembrance, &c.* Upon which Addition and Tradition of theirs, our Saviour instituted the Sacrament of his last Supper, in celebrating it with the same words, and after the same manner; thereby approving that Fact of theirs in particular, and generally, that a Church may institute and retain a Sign significant: which satisfy'd his Majesty exceeding well.

And here the King desir'd to have himself made acquainted about the Antiquity of the Use of the Cross, which Dr. *Reynolds* confess'd to have been ever since the Apostles times; but this was the difficulty, to prove it of that antient use in Baptism. For that at their going abroad, or entering into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions, it was used by the Antients, requir'd no great proof. But whether in Baptism, Antiquity approv'd it, was the doubt cast in by Mr. Dean of *Sarum*, whom his Majesty singled out, with a special Encomium, that he was a man well vers'd in the Antients: Which doubt was answer'd, *obsignatis tabulis*, by the Dean of *Westminster* (whom the King's Majesty, upon my Lord of *London*'s motion, willed to speak to that point) out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, and others, that it was used in *Immortali lavacro*; which words being a little descanted, it fell from one, I think it was my Lord of *Winchester*, *obiter*, to say, that in *Constantine*'s time it was used in Baptism. 'What, quoth the King, and 'is it now come to that pass, that we shall appeach *Constantine* 'of Popery and Superstition? If then it were used, saith his 'Majesty, I see no reason but that still we may continue it.

Mr. *Knewstubs*'s second Question was, That put case the Church had such power to add significant Signs, whether it might there add them, where Christ had already ordain'd one; which he said was no less derogatory to Christ's Institution, as he thought, than if any Potentate of this Land should pre-

sume to add his Seal to the Great Seal of *England*. To which his Majesty answer'd, ' that the case was not alike; for that  
 ' no sign or thing was added to the Sacrament, which was  
 ' fully and perfectly finish'd, before any mention of the Cross  
 ' is made; for Confirmation whereof, he willed the place  
 ' to be read.

Lastly, if the Church had that Power also, yet the greatest Scruple to their Conscience was, how far such an Ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without impeaching their Christian Liberty? Whereat the King, as it seem'd, was much moved, and told him, ' he would not argue that Point  
 ' with him, but answer therein, as Kings are wont to speak  
 ' in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera*; adding withal, that it smell'd  
 ' very rankly of Anabaptism: comparing it to the Usage  
 ' of a beardless Boy (one Mr. *John Black*) who the last Conference his Majesty had with the Ministers of *Scotland*, in  
 ' *December* 1602. told him, That he would hold Conformity  
 ' with his Majesty's Ordinances, for matters of Doctrine; but  
 ' for matters of Ceremony, they were to be left in Christian  
 ' Liberty to every man, as he receiv'd more and more Light  
 ' from the Illumination of God's Spirit: Even till they go mad,  
 ' quoth the King, with their own Light. But I will none of  
 ' that; I will have one Doctrine, and one Discipline, one  
 ' Religion in Substance and in Ceremony: and therefore I  
 ' charge you never to speak more to that point (how far you  
 ' are bound to obey) when the Church hath ordain'd it.  
 And so asked them again, if they had any thing else to say.

Dr. *Reynolds* objected the Example of the Brazen Serpent, demolish'd and stamp'd to powder by *Hezechiah*, because the People abus'd it to Idolatry, wishing that in like sort the Cross should be abandon'd, because in the time of Popery it had been superstitiously abus'd. Whereunto the King's Majesty answer'd divers ways: First, quoth he, tho I be sufficiently perswaded of the Cross in Baptism, and the commendable Use thereof in the Church so long; yet if there  
 ' were nothing else to move me, this very Argument were  
 ' an Inducement to me for the retaining of it, as it is  
 ' now by Order establish'd. For inasmuch as it was abus'd,  
 ' so you say, to Superstition in time of Popery, it doth  
 ' plainly imply, that it was well used before Popery. I will  
 ' tell you, I have lived among this sort of men (speaking to  
 ' the Lords and Bishops) ever since I was ten years old; but  
 ' I may say of my self, as Christ did of himself, Tho I lived  
 ' among them, yet since I had Ability to judg, I was never  
 ' of them: neither did any thing make me more to condemn  
 ' and detest their courses, than that they did so peremptorily  
 ' disallow

' disallow of all things, which at all had been used in Popery.  
 ' For my part, I know not how to answer the Objection of the  
 ' Papists, when they charge us with Novelties; but truly to  
 ' tell them, that their Abuses are new, but the things which  
 ' they abused, we retain in their primitive Use, and forsake  
 ' only the novel Corruption. By this Argument we might  
 ' renounce the Trinity, and all that is Holy, because it was  
 ' abused in Popery: and (speaking to Dr. Reynolds merrily)  
 ' they used to wear Hose and Shoos in Popery, therefore  
 ' you shall now go barefoot.

' Secondly, quoth his Majesty, what resemblance is there  
 ' between the Brazen Serpent, a material visible thing, and  
 ' the Sign of the Cross made in the Air?

' Thirdly, I am given to understand by the Bishops, and I  
 ' find it true, that the Papists themselves did never ascribe  
 ' any Power or spiritual Grace to the Sign of the Cross in  
 ' Baptism.

' Fourthly, you see that the material Crosses, which in  
 ' time of Popery were made, for men to fall down before  
 ' them, as they pass'd by them to worship them (as the Ido-  
 ' latrous Jews did the Brazen Serpent) are demolish'd, as  
 ' you desire.

The next thing which was objected, was the wearing of  
 the Surplice, a kind of Garment, which the Priests of *Isis*  
 used to wear. ' Surely, saith his Majesty, till of late I did  
 ' not think that it had been borrow'd from the Heathen, be-  
 ' cause it is commonly term'd, *a Rag of Popery*, in scorn; but  
 ' were it so, yet neither did we border upon Heathenish Na-  
 ' tions, neither are any of them conversant with us, or com-  
 ' morant amongst us, who thereby might take just occasion  
 ' to be strengthened, or confirm'd in Paganism; for then there  
 ' were just cause to suppress the wearing it: but seeing it  
 ' appear'd out of Antiquity, that in the Celebration of Divine  
 ' Service, a different Habit appertaineth to the Ministry,  
 ' and principally of white Linen; he saw no reason, but that  
 ' in this Church, as it had been for comeliness and for order  
 ' sake, it might still be continued. This being his constant  
 ' and resolute Opinion, That no Church ought further to  
 ' separate it self from the Church of *Rome*, either in Doctrine  
 ' or Ceremony, than she had departed from herself, when she  
 ' was in her flourishing and best Estate, and from Christ her  
 ' Lord and Head. And here again he ask'd what more they  
 ' had to say,

Dr. Reynolds took exceptions at those words in the Common  
 Prayer Book, of Matrimony, *With my Body I thee worship*. His  
 Majesty looking upon the place; ' I was made believe, saith

he, that the Phrase did import no less than Divine Worship and Adoration: But by the Examination I find, that it is an usual English term, as a *Gentleman of Worship*, &c. and the sense agreeable unto the Scripture's *Giving honour to the Wife*, &c. But turning to *Dr. Reynolds* (with smiling, saith his Majesty) Many a Man speaks of *Robin Hood*, who never shot in his Bow: If you had a good Wife your self, you would think all the Honour and Worship you could do to her, were well bestow'd.

The Dean of *Sarum* mention'd the Ring in Marriage; which *Dr. Reynolds* approv'd, and the King confess'd that he was Married withal; and added, that he thought they would prove to be scarce well Married, who are not Married with a Ring.

He likewise spake of the Churching of Women, by the name of *Purification*; which being read out of the Book, his Majesty very well allow'd it, and pleasantly said, That Women were loth enough of themselves to come to Church; and therefore he would have this, or any other occasion, to draw them thither.

And this was the Substance and Sum of that Third general Point. At which pause, it growing toward night, his Majesty ask'd again, if they had any more to say? If they had, because it was late, they should have another day: but *M. Dr. Reynolds* told him, That they had but one Point more, which was the last General Head. But it pleas'd his Majesty, first to ask, what they could say to the Corner'd Cap? They all approv'd it: Well then, said his Majesty, turning himself to the Bishops, you may now safely wear your Caps: But I shall tell you, if you should walk in one Street in *Scotland*, with such a Cap on your Head, if I were not with you, you should be stoned to Death with your Cap.

In the fourth General Head, touching Discipline, *Dr. Reynolds* first took exception to the committing of Ecclesiastical Censures unto Lay-Chancellors: His Reason was, That in the Statute made in King *Henry's* time for their Authority, that was Abrogated in Queen *Mary's* time, and not revived in the late Queen's days; and Abridg'd by Bishops themselves 1571. ordering, that the said Lay-Chancellors should not Excommunicate in Matters of Correction; and Anno 1584, and 1589. not in Matters of Instance, but to be done only by them, who had Power of the Keys. His Majesty answer'd, He had already conferred with his Bishops about that Point, and that such order should be taken therein, as was convenient; willing him in the mean time, to go to some other matter, if he had any. Then he desireth, that according to  
certain

certain Provincial Constitutions, they of the Clergy might, have Meetings once every three Weeks: First, in Rural Deanries, and therein to have Prophecyng, according as the Reverend Father Archbishop *Grindall*, and other Bishops desir'd of her late Majesty. Secondly, That such things as could not be resolv'd upon there, might be referred to the Archdeacon's Visitation: And so, Thirdly, from thence to the Episcopal Synod, where the Bishop, with his Presbytery, should determine all such Points, as before could not be decided. *Acts 21.*

At which Speech, his Majesty was somewhat stirred; yet, which is admirable in him, without Passion, or shew thereof; thinking that they aimed at a Scottish Presbytery, which, saith he, as well agreeth with a Monarchy, as God and the Devil. ' Then *Jack*, and *Tom*, and *Will*, and ' *Dick* shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my ' Council, and all our Proceedings: Then *Will*. shall stand up ' and say, It must be thus: Then *Dick* shall reply, and say, ' Nay, marry, but we will have it thus. And therefore, here ' I must once reiterate my former Speech, *Le Roy s'avisera*: ' Stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand ' that of me; and if then you find me purisy and fat, and my ' Wind-pipes stuff'd, I will perhaps hearken to you: For let ' that Government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in ' breath; then shall we all of us have work enough, both our ' hands full. But, *Dr. Reynolds*, till you find that I grow lazy, ' let that alone.

And here, because that *Dr. Reynolds* had twice before obtruded the King's Supremacy; First, in the Article concerning the Pope; Secondly, in the Point of Subscription; his Majesty at those times said nothing: But now growing to an end, he said, I shall speak of one Matter more; yet somewhat out of order: but it skilleth not. *Dr. Reynolds*, quoth the King, you have often spoken for my Supremacy; and it is well: But know you any here, or any elsewhere, who like of the present Government Ecclesiastical, that find fault, or dislike my Supremacy? *Dr. Reynolds* said, No. Why then, said his Majesty, I will tell you a Tale. After that the Religion restor'd by King *Edward* the Sixth was soon overthrown by the Succession of Queen *Mary* here in *England*, we in *Scotland* felt the effect of it. Whereupon *Mr. Knox* writes to the Queen Regent, (of whom, without Flattery, I may say, that she was a vertuous and moderate Lady) telling her, that she was Supreme Head of the Church; and charg'd her as she would answer it before God's Tribunal, to take care

of Christ's Evangel, and of suppressing the Popish Prelates,  
 who withstood the same. But how long, trow ye, did this  
 continue? Even so long, till by her Authority, the Popish  
 Bishops were repress'd, he himself, and his Adherents, were  
 brought in, and well settled, and by these means made strong  
 enough to undertake the Matters of Reformation them-  
 selves. Then lo, they began to make small account of her  
 Supremacy, nor would longer rest on her Authority, but  
 took the Cause into their own hand, and according to that  
 more light, wherewith they were illuminated, made a fur-  
 ther Reformation of Religion. How they us'd that poor  
 Lady, my Mother, is not unknown, and with grief I may  
 remember it: Who, because she had not been otherwise in-  
 structed, did desire only a private Chappel, wherein to serve  
 God after her manner, with some few selected Persons; but  
 her Supremacy was not sufficient to obtain it at their hands:  
 And how they dealt with me in my Minority, you all know;  
 it was not done secretly; and tho I would, I cannot conceal  
 it. I will apply it thus: And then putting his Hand to  
 his Hat, his Majesty said, My Lords the Bishops, I may  
 thank you, that these Men do thus plead for my Supremacy.  
 They think they cannot make their Party good against you,  
 but by appealing unto it, as if you, or some that adhere un-  
 to you, were not well affected towards it. But if once you  
 were out, and they in place, I know what would become of  
 my Supremacy. No Bishop, no King, as before I said. Nei-  
 ther do I thus speak at random, without ground; for I have  
 observ'd, since my coming into *England*, that some Preachers  
 before me, can be content to pray for *James King of Eng-  
 land, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith;*  
 but as for supreme Governor, in all Causes, and over all Per-  
 sons (as well Ecclesiastical as Civil) they pass that over with  
 silence; and what Cut they have been of, I after learned.  
 After this, asking them, If they had any more to object? and  
 Dr. Reynolds answering, No; his Majesty appointed the next  
 Wednesday for both Parties to meet before him; and rising  
 from his Chair, as he was going to his inner Chamber, 'If  
 this be all, quoth he, that they have to say, I shall make  
 them conform themselves, or I will herry them out of this  
 Land, or else do worse. And this was the Sum of the Se-  
 cond Day's Conference; which raised such an admiration in  
 the Lords, in respect of the King's singular Readiness, and  
 exact Knowledg, that one of them said, He was fully per-  
 suaded his Majesty spake by the Instinct of the Spirit of God.  
 My Lord *Cecil* acknowledg'd, that very much we are bound  
 to

to God, who had given us a King of an understanding Heart, My Lord Chancellor passing out of the Privy Chamber, said unto the Dean of *Chester*, standing by the Door, I have often heard and read, that *Rex est mixta persona cum Sacerdote*; but I never saw the Truth thereof till this day.

Surely, Whosoever heard his Majesty, might justly think, that Title did more properly fit him, which *Euparius* gave to that famous Rhetorician, in saying, that he was, *βιβλιοθήκη περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ περιπατῶν μυσεῖον*, A Living Library, and a Walking Study.

*Finis secundæ Diei.*

### The Third Day's CONFERENCE.

UPON Wednesday, *January 18.* all the Bishops aforesaid, attended at the Court, and the Deans: who were all call'd into the Privy Chamber; and whoso else my Lord Archbishop appointed, (for such was his Majesty's pleasure) whereupon the Knights and Doctors of the Arches, *viz.* Sir *Daniel Dunne*, Sir *Thomas Crumpton*, Sir *Richard Swale*, Sir *John Bennet*, and Dr. *Drury* entred in. As soon as the King was set, the Lord Archbishop presented unto him a Note of those Points, which his Majesty had referred to their Consideration upon the first Day, and the Alteration, or rather Explanation of them in our Liturgy.

1. Absolution or Remission of Sins, in the Rubrick of Absolution.
2. In private Baptism, the lawful Minister present.
3. Examination, with Confirmation of Children.
4. *Jesus* said to them, twice to be put into the Dominical Gospels, instead of *Jesus* said to his Disciples.

His Majesty here taking the Common-Prayer-book, and turning to private Baptism, willed, that where the Words were (in the Rubrick, the second Paragraph) *They Baptize not Children*, now it should be thus read; *They cause not Children to be Baptized.* And again, in the same Paragraph, for those words, *Then they Minister it*; it should be, *The Curate, or lawful Minister present, shall do it on this fashion.* Concluding very gravely, that in this Conference, he aim'd at three Things principally. First, The setting down of Words fit and convenient. Secondly, Contriving how Things might

be

‘ be best done, without appearance of alteration. Thirdly,  
 ‘ Practised, that each Man may do his Duty in his place.

‘ After this, his Majesty fell into discourse about the High  
 ‘ Commission; wherein he said, that he understood how the  
 ‘ Parties named therein, were too many and too mean; that  
 ‘ the Matters they dealt in were base, and such as Ordinaries  
 ‘ at home, in their Courts, might censure; that the Branches  
 ‘ granted out to the Bishops, in their several Diocesses, were  
 ‘ too frequent and large. To which my Lord's Grace an-  
 ‘ swer'd severally. First, For the Number, it was requisite it  
 ‘ should be great; for otherwise, he must be forc'd, as oft-times  
 ‘ now it fell out, to sit alone; because, that albeit all the Lords  
 ‘ of the Privy-Council were in, all the Bishops, many of the  
 ‘ Judges at Law, and some of the Clerks of the Council, yet  
 ‘ very few, or none of them, sitting with him at ordinary times,  
 ‘ some of meaner place, as Deans, and Doctors of Divinity, and  
 ‘ Law, must needs be put in; whose Attendance his Grace  
 ‘ might with more Authority command and expect. Secondly,  
 ‘ For the Matters handled therein, he said, That he oftentimes  
 ‘ had complained thereof, but saw that it could not be reme-  
 ‘ died; because, that the fault may be of that nature, as that  
 ‘ the ordinary Jurisdiction might censure it: But eftsoons it falls  
 ‘ out, that the Party delinquent is too great, and so the Or-  
 ‘ dinary dare not proceed against him; or so mighty in his  
 ‘ State, or so wilful in his Contumacy, that he will not obey  
 ‘ the Summons or Censure; and so the Ordinary is forc'd to  
 ‘ crave help at the High Commission. To the third, his Grace  
 ‘ said, that it concern'd not him to make answer thereunto, for  
 ‘ such Commissions have been granted against his Will often-  
 ‘ times, and without his Knowledg for the most part. My Lord  
 ‘ Chancellor therefore offer'd it to his Majesty's Wisdom to con-  
 ‘ sider, if such Commissions should not be granted to any Bi-  
 ‘ shop, but such as have the largest Diocesses, which his Ma-  
 ‘ jesty well approv'd; and added withal, that those Bishops  
 ‘ who have in their Diocesses the most troublesome and re-  
 ‘ fractory persons, either Papists, or Puritans: But of this, as  
 ‘ also of the other things found fault with herein, he willed  
 ‘ those to consult, to whom should be appointed the Review  
 ‘ of the Commission. And here that Point had ended, but  
 ‘ that one of the Lords (I think verily rather upon misinfor-  
 ‘ mation, than set-purpose) pleased to say, That the proceeding  
 ‘ thereby, was like unto the *Spanish* Inquisition, wherein Men  
 ‘ were urg'd to subscribe more than Law requir'd; that by the  
 ‘ Oath *Ex Officio*, they were inforc'd to accuse themselves; that  
 ‘ they were examin'd upon 20, or 24 Articles, upon the sudden,  
 ‘ without



without deliberation, and for the most part against themselves: For the Evidence thereof, a Letter was shewed of an antient Honourable Counsellor, written to the Lord Archbishop, Anno 1584. of two Ministers of *Cambridgeshire*, then or thereabouts, examin'd upon many Articles, and in the end depriv'd. The Lord Archbishop answer'd, first, to the matter; that in the manner of proceeding, and examining, his Lordship was deceiv'd: For if any Article did touch the Party any way, either for Life, Liberty, or Scandal, he might refuse to answer, neither was he urg'd thereunto. Secondly, To the Letter, being in a Cause twenty years since determin'd, he could not answer the particulars; but if his Answer to that Letter were found out, he doubted not, but as it did satisfy that Honourable Counsellor when he lived, so it would also sufficiently clear this Complaint before his Majesty.

My Lord of *London*, for the matter of Subscription, shewed his Highness the three Articles, which the Churchmen of *England* are to approve by Subscribing; namely, the King's Supremacy; the Articles of Religion; and the Book of Common-Prayer. All which it pleas'd his Majesty himself to read, and (after a little glance given, that the mention of the Oath *Ex Officio*, came in before his due time) he dilated, First, how necessary Subscription was, in every well-govern'd Church; that it was to be urg'd for the keeping of Peace: For as Laws to prevent Killing, did provide there should be no Quarrelling; so, to prevent greater Tumults in the Church, Subscription was requisite. Secondly, Because the Bishop is to answer for every Minister, whom he admitteth into his Diocess, it were fittest for him to know the Affection of the Party before his admittance; the best way to know him, and to prevent future Factions, was to urge his Subscription at his first Entrance: For, *Turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur hospes*. Thirdly, As Subscription was a good means to discern the Affection of Persons, whether quiet or turbulent; withal, it was the principal way to avoid Confusion: concluding, that if any, after Things were well order'd, would not be quiet, and shew his Obedience, the Church were better without him, he were worthy to be hang'd. *Præstat ut pereat unus, quam unitas*.

Touching the Oath, *Ex Officio*, the Lord Chancellor, and after him the Lord Treasurer, spake both for the Necessity and Use thereof in divers Courts and Cases. ' But his Excellent Majesty preventing that old Allegation, *Nemo cogitur detegere suam turpitudinem*, said, That the Civil Proceedings only punish'd Facts; but in Courts Ecclesiastical, it was requisite, that Fame and Scandals should be look'd unto. That here was necessary, the Oath *Compurgatory*, and the Oath *Ex Officio*

Officio too; and yet great Moderation should be us'd, First,  
 In *gravioribus criminibus*: And Secondly, in such, whereof  
 there is a publick Fame: Thirdly, In distinguishing of pub-  
 lick Fame, either caused by the inordinate Demeanor of  
 the Offendor, or raised by the indiscreet proceeding in trial  
 of the Fact: As, naniely in *Scotland*, where the lying with  
 a Wench (tho done privately, and known, or scarce sus-  
 pected by two or three persons before) was made openly  
 known to the King, to the Queen, to the Prince, to many  
 hundreds in the Court, by bringing the Partics to the Stool  
 of Repentance, and yet perhaps he but a suspicion only.  
 And here his Majesty so soundly describ'd the Oath *Ex Offi-  
 cio*: First, For the Ground thereof. Secondly, The Wis-  
 dom of the Law therein. Thirdly, The Manner of pro-  
 ceeding thereby, and the necessary and profitable Effect  
 thereof, in such a compendious, but absolute Order; that  
 all the Lords, and the rest of the present Auditors, stood  
 amaz'd at it. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, that un-  
 doubtedly his Majesty spake by the special Assistance of God's  
 Spirit: The Bishop of *London* upon his Knee protested, that  
 his Heart melted within him, (as so, he doubted not, did the  
 Hearts of the whole Company) with joy, and made haste to  
 acknowledg unto Almighty God, the singular Mercy we have  
 receiv'd at his hands, in giving us such a King, as, since  
 Christ's time, the like, he thought, had not been; whereunto  
 the Lords, with one Voice, did yield a very affectionate Ac-  
 clamation. The Civilians present confessed, that they could  
 not in many Hours warning, have so judicially, plainly, and  
 accurately, and in such a Brief describ'd it:

After this, his Majesty committed some weighty Matters  
 to be consulted of, by the Lords and Bishops: First, For  
 Excommunication, in Causes of less moment; the Name  
 or Censure to be altered. Secondly, For the High Com-  
 mission, the Quality of the Persons to be nam'd, and the  
 Nature of the Causes to be handled therein. Thirdly, For  
 Recusant Communicants: For there are three sorts, faith  
 his Majesty, of the Papists: Some, First, which come to  
 Sermons, but not to Service and Prayer: Secondly, Some  
 which come to both of them, but not to the Communion:  
 Thirdly, A Number which abstain from all. That Inquiry  
 might be made of all those, who were of the first, second,  
 or third Rank; concluding therein, That the Weak were  
 to be inform'd, the Wilful to be punish'd.

Here my Lord Cancellor mention'd the Writ, *De Excom-  
 municato capiendo*, which his Honour said did most affright the  
 Papists, of all other Punishments; because, by reason of that,  
 they

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they were many ways disabled in Law: Therefore he would take Order, if his Majesty so pleas'd, to send that Writ out against them freely, without charge; and if they were not executed, his Lordship would lay the Under-Sheriffs in Prison; and to this the King assented.

' The fourth Thing to be consulted of, was for the sending and appointing of Preachers into *Ireland*; whereof, saith his Majesty, I am but half a King, being Lord over their Bodies; but their Souls seduced by Popery, he much pitied; affirming, that where there is not true Religion, there can be no continued Obedience: Nor for *Ireland* only, but for some part of *Wales*, and the Northern Borders, so once call'd, tho now no Borders: The Men to be sent, not to be factious, or scandalous; for Weeds will be Weeds, where-soever they be, and are good for nothing, but to be pick'd over the Wall; therefore they should single out Men of Sincerity, of Knowledg, of Courage.

' The last was, for Provision of sufficient Maintenance for the Clergy; and withal, for the planting of a learned and painful Minister in every Parish, as time shall serve.

To every of those, his Majesty willed, that several Commissioners of his Council and Bishops should be appointed by the Lords, upon the dissolving the Assembly present.

And thus having conferred of these Points with the Bishops, and referred other-some of them, as you heard, to Special Committees; his Majesty willed, that Dr. *Reynolds*, and his Associates, should be call'd in; to whom he presently signified what was done, and caused the Alterations, or Explications, before named, to be read unto them. A little disputing there was about the Words in Marriage, *With my Body I thee Worship*; and arguing no other thing to be meant by the word *Worship*; than that which St. *Paul* willeth, 1 *Cor.* 7. 4. the Man thereby acknowledging, that hereby he worshippeth his Wife, in that he appropriateth his Body unto her alone; nor any more than that which St. *Peter* counselleth, 1 *Pet.* 3. 7. That the Man should give honour to his Wife, as the weaker Vessel; yet for their satisfaction, should be put in, *With my Body I thee worship and honour*, if it were thought fit: and so his Majesty shut up all with a most pithy Exhortation to both sides for Unity; persuading Diligence in each man's place, without Violence on the one Party, or Disobedience on the other; and willed them to deal with their Friends abroad to that purpose: For his Majesty feared, and had some experience, that many of them were ticklish and humorous; nor that only, but Labourers to pervert others to their fancies. He now saw, that the Exceptions against the Communion-Book; were

' were matters of Weakness : Therefore, if the Persons re-  
 ' luctant be discreet, they will be won betimes, and by good  
 ' persuasions ; if indiscreet, better they were remov'd ; for  
 ' many, by their factious Behaviour, were driven to be Pa-  
 ' pists. Now then of their Fruits he shall judg them ; Obe-  
 ' dience and Humility being marks of honest and good Men.  
 ' Those he expected of them, and by their Example and  
 ' Persuasion of all their sort abroad ; for if hereafter, things  
 ' being thus well order'd, they should be unquiet, neither his  
 ' Majesty nor the State had any cause to think well of them.  
 To which they gave all their unanimous Assent, taking ex-  
 ception against nothing that was said or done, but promised to  
 perform all Duty to the Bishops, as their Reverend Fathers,  
 and to join with them against the common Adversaries, and  
 for the Quiet of the Church.

Only, Mr. *Chatterton* of *Emanuel* College, kneeling, requested,  
 that the Wearing of the Surplice, and the Use of the Cross  
 in Baptism, might not be urg'd upon some honest, godly, and  
 painful Ministers in some Parts of *Lancashire* ; who feared, that  
 if they should be forced unto them, many whom they had  
 won to the Gospel, would slide back, and revolt unto Popery  
 again ; and particularly, instanced the Vicar of *Ratesdale*, (he  
 could not have light upon a worse ) for not many years be-  
 fore, he was prov'd before my Lord Archbishop, as his Grace  
 there testified, and my Lord Chancellor, by his unseemly and  
 unreverent Usage of the Eucharist, dealing the Bread out of  
 a Basket, every Man putting in his hand, and taking out a  
 piece, to have made many loath the Holy Communion, and  
 wholly refuse to come to Church. His Majesty answer'd,  
 ' That it was not to his purpose, and he durst answer for the  
 ' Bishops, that it was not their intent, presently, and out of  
 ' hand, to inforce those things, without fatherly Admonitions,  
 ' Conferences and Persuasions premised ; but wished, that it  
 ' should be examined, if those Men by their Pains and Preach-  
 ' ing had converted any from Popery, and were withal Men  
 ' quiet of disposition, honest of life, and diligent in their  
 ' calling ; if so, Letters should be written to the Bishop of  
 ' *Chester* ( of whom his Majesty gave a very good Testimony )  
 ' to that purpose : If not, but that they were of a turbulent  
 ' and opposite spirit, both they and other of that unquiet  
 ' humor should presently be enforced to a Conformity. And  
 ' so for that Point, it was concluded, that my Lord Arch-  
 ' bishop should write to the Bishop of *Chester*, his Letters for  
 ' that matter.

My Lord of *London* replyeth, That if this were granted, the  
 Copy of these Letters ( especially if his Majesty had written,

as at first it was proposed) would fly over all *England*, and then other, for their Confines, would make the same request; and so no fruit should follow of this Conference, but things would be worse than they were before. Therefore he humbly desir'd his Majesty, that a time should be limited, within which compass they should conform themselves. ' To which  
' his Majesty readily assented, and willed, that the Bishop of  
' the Diocess should set them down the time, and in the mean  
' while confer with them; and if they would not yield, what-  
' soever they were, to remove them, after their time expired.

No sooner was that Motion ended, but down falls Mr. *Knewstubs*; and he requests the like favour of Forbearance, for some honest Ministers in *Suffolk*; telling the King, it would make much against their Credits in the Country, to be now forc'd to the Surplice, and the Cross in Baptisin. My Lord's Grace was answering; ' Nay, saith his Majesty, let me alone with him.  
' Sir, saith the King, you shew your self an uncharitable Man;  
' we have here taken pains, and in the end have concluded  
' of an Unity, and Uniformity; and you, forsooth, must pre-  
' fer the Credits of a few private Men, before the general  
' Peace of the Church. This is just the *Scotish* Argument:  
' For when any thing was there concluded, which disliked  
' some humors, the only reason why they would not obey, was,  
' it stood not with their credits to yield, having so long time  
' been of the contrary Opinion. I will none of that, saith  
' the King; and therefore, either let them conform them-  
' selves, and that shortly, or they shall hear of it. My Lord  
*Cecill* put his Majesty in mind, of a word his Highness had us'd the day before; namely, of Ambling-Communions; say-  
ing, That the Indecency thereof was very offensive, and had  
driven many from the Church. And here Mr. *Chatterton* was  
told of Sitting-Communions in *Emanuel* College; which he  
said was so, by reason of the Seats, so placed as they be; yet,  
that they had some Kneeling also.

Finally, They jointly promis'd to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be the King's mind to have it so. His Majesty's gracious Conclusion was so piercing, as that it fetch'd Tears from some on both sides. My Lord of *London* ended all, in the Name of the whole Company, with a Thanksgiving unto God for his Majesty, and a Prayer for the Health and Prosperity of his Highness, our gracious Queen, the young Prince, and all their Royal Issue.

His Majesty departed into the Inner Chamber: All the Lords went presently to the Council-Chamber, to appoint Commissioners, for the several matters before referred.

## The P R E F A C E.

**M**Any Copies were sent me, whereof some were so shamelesly untrue, and I assure you so obscene, that I think his Majesty would have been as much offended with me for Printing, as with the Authors for Dispersing them. I have chosen thereof the best and cleanliest, which do here-under follow.

I give no Censure, neither know I the Dispersers; let the Reader confer and judg. Rectum est iudex sui & obliqui.

## The First C O P Y.

January 15. 1603.

S I R,

I Cannot conceal from you the good Success, which it hath pleas'd God to send us, by the Conference which his Majesty had with the Bishops at the Court. There appear'd none but the Bishops, which were with the King above three Hours. *Cant. Lond. Win.* fell down on their Knees, and desir'd, that all things might remain, lest the Papists should think we have been in an Error. The King reply'd, that in 42 years Corruptions might creep in. He spake of Confirmation, private Baptism, the Cross, Dumb Ministry, Non-residence, the Courts, which he promised to amend; especially he spake bitterly against private Baptism, saying, He had as lieve an Ape as a Woman should Baptize his Child; and against Courts, which, he said, he would put down. The Lord Chief Justice, and the Lord Keeper, spake much against them, and the Lord *Cecill* against Excommunications by Lay-men. Mr. Dean of the Chappel, speaking something to the King in his Ear, the Bishop of *London* insolently said unto him, Dr. *Montague*, speak out, that we may hear you, and seek not to cross us. At their departure they said, That if the King should use the Ministers in such sort as they were used, they would be too insolent. The King said, they were his Subjects; and if he would not hear them, then they had just Cause to complain. The Bishops brought forth many Popish Arguments, which the King very earnestly answer'd, and learnedly, more than ten times calling them Popish Arguments, and said, by those Reasons they might prove Popery. The Bishop of *Winchester* said,  
That

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That if he took away private Baptism, he overthrew all Antiquity. The Bishop of *Peterborow* brought forth a foolish Argument, with much disgrace to himself. The Bishops having taken Wednesday to consider of the King's Speech, the Ministers came to the King on Monday at Nine of the Clock. Honest Men about the Court are comforted. Conformitans hang down their heads, and the Bishop's Men curse the Puritans.

*Sic explicit prima dies.*

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### Another C O P Y:

I Have sent you the Declaration of the Conference; the which was in this manner. The first day the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *London*, and *Winchester*, making earnest suit, that all things might stand as they did, lest the Papists should take offence, who might say, We would persuade them to come to a Church, having Errors in it; and the Puritans will say, they have been persecuted long. The King answer'd, That the best State would gather Corruptions; and that it was no Argument for them to say, They would not be cured of the Pox, because they had had it 30 years. He concluded against Absolution, Confirmation, and private Baptism, the dumb and scandalous Ministers, Pluralities, the Courts, and the Authority of the Bishops by the High Commissioners, &c. The second Day the Ministers were convented before the King, who answer'd fearfully and modestly: The Bishop of *London* behav'd himself insolently, saying, These are *Cartwright's* Scholars, Schismaticks, Breakers of your Majesty's Laws; you may know them by their Turkey-Gowns, and silk Turkey Grogoram. The third Day they met all, where the King spake much to Unity, that they might join against the Papists. All the three Days the King behav'd himself admirable to the Beholders, granting to the Ministers their earnest request, that the Ceremonies of the Cross in Baptism, and the Surplices reverent for Antiquity, should not be urg'd upon the Consciences of the Ministers; so that they were peaceable Men, and that they should have time to consider of them; many hundreds being resolv'd rather to have lost their Places, than to have yielded to those Superstitions against which they had preached. The last Day the Bishop of *Canterbury* was intreated, to be a means that the Ceremonies might not be pressed: But he answer'd, They had been urg'd as necessary,

cessary, and should be so still. But it pleas'd God to move his Majesty to a more peaceable Course. The Bishop of *Peterborow* came in with his Argument about Baptism, which the King made void to his great Reproach. The King said many times, that the Bishop's Reasons were Popish, and that they might establish Popery by them. It is thought that the King will be shortly in *Huntingtonshire*. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Cecill*, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General, must set down some Course for the High Commission, and the Spiritual Courts.

### A Third Copy.

*Some of the Speeches that are bruted upon M. Doctor Reynolds's Return to Oxon, concerning the late Conference before his Majesty.*

1. **T**HAT the King's Majesty did gratify Master Dr. *Reynolds* in every thing which he propos'd; or that Dr. *Reynolds* obtain'd and prevail'd in every thing he did desire.
2. That if any Man report the contrary, he doth lye, or that they should give him the Lye, from Mr. Doctor *Reynolds*.
3. That these things, now obtain'd by the Reformers, were but the beginning of Reformation: the greater Matters are yet to come.
4. That my Lord of *Winton* stood mute, and said little or nothing.
5. That my Lord of *London* call'd Dr. *Reynolds* Schismatick indeed (he thanks him for it) but otherwise said little to purpose.
6. That the King's Majesty us'd the Bishops with very hard words, but embraced Master Dr. *Reynolds*, and us'd most kind Speeches to him.
7. That my Lord of *Canterbury*, or my Lord of *London*, falling on his Knees, besought his Majesty to take their Cause into his own hands, and to make some good End of it, such as might stand with their Credit.



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# Phenix VII.

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FRAGMENTA REGALIA:

OR,

*Observations on the Late Queen  
ELIZABETH, Her Times and  
Favourites.*

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*Written by Sir ROBERT NAUNTON,  
Master of the Court of Wards.*

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**T**O take herein the Original, she was Daughter to Henry VIII. by Anne Bullen, the second of six Wives, which he had, and one of the Maids of Honour to the divorced Queen Katherine of Austria, or (as they now stile it) Infanta of Spain, and from thence taken into the Royal Bed.

That she was not of a most Noble and Royal Extract by her Father, will not fall into question; for on that side there was disimbogued into her Veins, by a Confluence of Blood, the very Abstract of all the greatest Houses in *Christendom*. And remarkable it is (concerning that violent Desertion of the

Royal House of the *Britains*, by the Invasion of the *Saxons*, and afterwards by the Conquest of the *Normans*) that by their Vicissitude of Times, and thro a discontinuance (almost a thousand years) the Royal Scepter should fall back into the Current of the old *British* Blood, in the person of her renown'd Grandfather, *Henry VII.* together with whatsoever the *German*, *Norman*, *Burgundian*, *Castilian*, and *French* Atchievements, with the Intermarriages which eight hundred years had acquir'd, incorporated, and brought back into the old Royal Line.

By her Mother she was of no Sovereign Descent, yet Noble, and very antient in the Name and Family of *Bullen*; tho some erroneously brand it with a Citizen's Rise or Original, which was yet but of a second Brother, who as it were divining the Greatness and Lustre to come to his House, was sent into the City to acquire Wealth, *ad edificandum antiquam domum*; unto whose Atchievements (for he was Lord Mayor of *London*) fell in, as it was aver'd, both the Blood and Inheritance of the eldest Brother, for want of Issue Male; by which Accumulation the House within a few Descents mounted *in culmen honoris*, and was suddenly related to the best Families of *England* and *Ireland*, as *Howard*, *Ormond*, *Sackville*, and divers others. Having thus touch'd, and now leaving her Strip, I come to her Person, and as she came to the Crown by the Decease of her Brother and Sister. Under *Edward*, she was his, and one of the Darlings of Fortune; for besides the consideration of Blood, there was between these two Princes a Concurrency and Sympathy in their Natures and Affections together, with the celestial Bond (Conformity in Religion) which made them one and Friends; for the King ever call'd her his sweetest and dearest Sister, and was scarce his own man, she being absent; which was not so between him and the *Lady Mary*.

Under her Sister she found her condition much alter'd: for it was resolv'd, and her Destiny had decreed to set her an Apprentice in the School of Affliction, and to draw her thro the Ordeal fire of trial, the better to mould and fashion her to Rule and Sovereignty: which finish'd, and Fortune calling to mind, that the time of her Servitude was expir'd, gave up her Indentures, and therewith deliver'd up into her custody a Scepter, as a Reward for her Patience: Which was about the 26th year of her Age; a time in which, as for Externals, she was full blown, so was she for her Internals grown ripe, and season'd with Adversity, and in the exercise of her Virtue: For it seems Fortune meant no more, than to shew her a piece of her Variety, and Changeableness of her Nature, and so to conduct her to her destin'd Felicity.

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