

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 Rebaptization, 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 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: 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.

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 *Pertb* 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 Complaints had been made to him, since his first entrance into

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 moved his Majesty, that the Book of Articles of Religion, concluded 1562. might be explain'd in places obscure, and enlarg'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 Example.

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 remembered 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 dislike: 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 al- ' 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, Pe- nance, Orders, &c.* are not to be accounted for Sacraments of ' the Gospel : being such as have grown partly of the cor- ' rupt following the Apostles, &c. insinuateth, that the ma- king 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 Ex- ample : 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 Opini- on, besides the Judgment of the Holy Fathers, of Mr. *Calvin* and Dr. *Fulk* ; 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 mislike that anti- ent 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 strengthned and confirm'd by the Holy Ghost ; or to receive increas of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, as St. *Ambrose* saith : and a little after alludeth unto *Heb. 6. 2, &c.* Nei- ther 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 account- ed an Apostolical Institution ; and willed Dr. *Reynolds* to speak herein what he thought : who seem'd to yield thereunto, re- plying, 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. Jerome 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 potius 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 quadam & 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. Jerome 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 ἐπι-
 τιμα ἐλέσγκον. ' 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 dislike'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*

' *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 accord-
 ing to the purpose of God’s Election, however they might, and
 did, sometime fall into grievous Sins, and thereby into the pre-
 sent 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 Re-
 ' probation than before, and of the necessary conjoyning Re-
 ' pentance 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 Electi-
 ' on depend not upon any Qualities, Actions, or Works of
 ' Man, which be mutable, but upon God's eternal and immu-
 ' table Decree and Purpose; yet such is the Necessity of Re-
 ' pentance, after known Sins committed, as that, without it,
 ' there could not be, either Reconciliation with God, or Re-
 ' mission 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 igno-
 ' rant 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 *συνοικῆ* 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 gainsaying, 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 Universties; 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, saith 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 thook 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 unsettled Minds in both Universities, and
 thro the whole Realm, were corrupted and perverted; naming
 for one instance that Book entituled, *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 expresseth 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

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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 confess it. A preaching Ministry, saith his Majesty, was best; but where it might not be had, godly Prayers and Exhortations 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 Universities 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 discontented 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 Majesty 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 exacted 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* enjoin'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 meantime 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 Sira* 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 *Crámbe* *his 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 *Baptism* 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

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. *Knewstubs* took exceptions at the Cross in Baptism, being in number two. 1st, 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: *Distingue tempora, & concordabunt Scripturae*; 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^{ly}, With a Question unanswerable, asking them how long they would be Weak? Whether 45 years were not sufficient for them to grow strong? 3^{dly}, 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^{thly}, 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, 1st, 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 persuaded 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

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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 Idolatrous 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, because it is commonly term'd, *a Rag of Popery*, in scorn; but were it so, yet neither did we border upon Heathenish Nations, neither are any of them conversant with us, or commorant 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 Linnen; 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, said
 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 Wo-
 men 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 Ma-
 jesty 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 him-
 self to the Bishops, you may now safely wear your Caps:
 But I shall tell you, if you should walk in one Street in *Scot-*
land, 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. Rey-*
nolds 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 Ex-
 communicate 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 conve-
 nient; willing him in the mean time, to go to some other
 matter, if he had any. Then he desireth, that according to

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. *1 Cor. 14. 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

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 harry 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 *Cecill* acknowledg'd, that very much we are bound

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 *Eunapius* gave to that famous Rhetorician, in saying, that he was, *βιβλιοθήκη περὶ ἑμῶν, καὶ περὶ πάντων μυσσείων*, A Living Library, and a Walking Study.

Finis secundæ Diei.

The Third Day's CONFERENCE.

UPON Wednesday, *January 18.* all the Bishops aforesam'd, 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 answer'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 remedied; because, that the fault may be of that nature, as that the ordinary Jurisdiction might censure it: But oftsoons it falls out, that the Party delinquent is too great, and so the Ordinary 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 oftentimes, and without his Knowledg for the most part. My Lord Chancellor therefore offer'd it to his Majesty's Wisdom to consider, if such Commissions should not be granted to any Bishop, but such as have the largest Diocesses, which his Majesty well approv'd; and added withal, that those Bishops who have in their Diocesses the most troublesome and refractory 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 misinformation, 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 de- ceiv'd: For if any Article did touch the Party any way, ei- ther 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 Honour- able 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 Com- mon-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 Per- sons, whether quiet or turbulent; withal, it was the princi- pal 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. *Prestat 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 Ex- cellent 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 re- quise, 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, namely 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 Parties to the Stool
 ' of Repentance, and yet perhaps be 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-
 ' munion, 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, saith
 ' 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 Chancellor 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 worshipping 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 undiscree, 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* replieth, That if this were granted, the
 Copy of these Letters (especially if his Majesty had written,
 as

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, whatsoever 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 Baptism. 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 prefer the Credits of a few private Men, before the general Peace of the Church. This is just the *Scottish* 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 themselves, 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-Communion*s; saying, That the Indecency thereof was very offensive, and had driven many from the Church. And here Mr. *Chatterton* was told of *Sitting-Communion*s 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.

MAny 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.

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 imbraced 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.

Phenix VII.

FRAGMENTA REGALIA:

OR,

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

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

TO 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 *Britans*, 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 Inter-marriages 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 Concurrence 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.

She was of Personage tall, of Hair and Complexion fair, and therewith well-favour'd, but high-nos'd, of Limbs and Feature neat; and, which added to the Lustre of those exterior Graces, of Stately and Majestick Comportment; participating in this more of her Father than Mother, who was of an inferior allay, plausible, or as the *French* hath it, more debonair and affable; Virtues which might well sute with Majesty, and which descending as hereditary to the Daughter, did render her of a more sweet Temper, and endear'd her more to the love and liking of the People, who gave her the Name and Fame of a most gracious and popular Prince; the Atrocity of her Father's Nature being rebated in hers, by the Mother's sweeter Inclinations: for to take, and that no more than the Character out of his own mouth, *He never spared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Lust.*

If we search further into her Intellectuals and Abilities, the whole course of her Government deciphers them to the Admiration of Posterity; for it was full of Magnanimity temper'd with Justice and Piety; and to speak truly, noted but with one Act or Taint, all her Deprivations either of Life or Liberty, being legal and necessitated. She was learned (her Sex and the time consider'd) beyond common belief; for Letters about this time, and somewhat before, began to be of esteem and in fashion, the former Ages being overcast with the mists and Fogs of the *Roman* Ignorance: and it was the maxim that over-ruled the foregoing times, *That Ignorance was the Mother of Devotion.*

Her Wars were a long time more in the auxiliary part, in assistance of foreign Princes and States, than by Invasion of any; till common Policy advis'd it for a safer way to strike first abroad, than at home to expect the War, in all which she was felicitous and victorious.

The Change and Alteration of Religion, upon the instant of her Accession (the Smoke and Fire of her Sister's Martyrdoms scarcely quench'd) was none of her least remarkable Accounts. But the Support and Establishment thereof, with the means of her Subsistence amidst so powerful Enemies abroad, and those many domestick Practices, were (methinks) Works of Inspiration, and of no human Providence; which on her Sister's departure, she most religiously acknowledg'd, ascribing the Glory of her Deliverance to God alone; for she receiv'd the News both of the Queen's Death, and her Proclamation by the general Consent of the House, and the publick Suffrage of the People; whereat falling on her knees (after a good time of Respiration) she utter'd this Verse of the Psalms, *A Domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris:*

nostris : which we find to this day on the Stamp of her Gold, with this on her Silver, *Posui Deum adiutorem meum.*

Her Ministers and Instruments of State, such as were *Participes Curarum*, and bare a great part of the Burden, were many, and those memorable: but they were only Favourites, not Minions; such as acted more by her own Princely Rules and Judgments, than by their own Wills and Appetites, which she observ'd to the last. For we find no *Gaveston*, *Vere*, or *Spencer*, to have sway'd alone, during 44 years, which was a well-settled and advis'd Maxim; for it valu'd her the more, it aw'd the most secure, and it took best with the People, and it starv'd all Emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious Acrimony (even against the Prince) where there is only a *Major Palatii*.

The principal Note of her Reign will be, that she ruled much by Faction and Parties, which her self both made, upheld, and weaken'd, as her own great Judgment advis'd; for I dissent from the common receiv'd Opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* was absolute and above all in her Grace. And tho I come somewhat short of the knowledg of those Times, yet (that I might not rove, and shoot at random) I know from assur'd Intelligence that it was not so. For proof whereof (among many that I could present) I will both relate a short, and therein a known Truth. And it was thus: *Bowyer*, a Gentleman of the Black Rod, being charg'd by her express Command to look precisely to all Admissions into the Privy Chamber, one day staid a very gay Captain, and a Follower of my Lord of *Leicester*, from entrance, for that he was neither well known, nor a sworn Servant to the Queen. At which repulse the Gentleman bearing high on my Lord's Favour, told him, he might perchance procure him a Discharge. *Leicester* coming into the contestation, said publickly, (which was none of his wont) That he was a Knave, and should not continue long in his Office. And so turning about to go into the Queen, *Bowyer* (who was a bold Gentleman, and well belov'd) stept before him, and fell at her Majesty's feet, related the Story, and humbly crav'd her Grace's pleasure, and whether my Lord of *Leicester* was King, or her Majesty Queen: whereunto she reply'd, with her wonted Oath (*God's Death*) my Lord, I have wish'd you well, but my Favour is not so lockt up for you, that others shall not partake thereof; for I have many Servants, unto whom I have, and will at my pleasure bequeath my Favour, and likewise resume the same; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forth-coming; I will have here but one Mistress, and no Master: and look that no ill happen to him, lest it be severely requir'd at your hands. Which so quell'd my Lord of *Leicester*, that his feign'd Humility was long after one of his best Vir-

tues. Moreover, the Earl of *Suffex*, then Lord Chamberlain, was his profess'd Antagonist to his dying day: And for my Lord of *Hunsdon*, and Sir *Thomas Sackvile*, after Lord Treasurer (who were all Contemporaries) he was wont to say of them, That they were of the Tribe of *Dan*, and were *noli me tangere's*; implying, that they were not to be contested with, for they were indeed of the Queen's near Kindred. From whence, and in more Instances, I conclude that she was absolute and sovereign Mistress of her Graces; and that all those to whom she distributed her Favours, were never more than Tenants at Will, and stood on no better ground than her Princely Pleasure, and their own good Behaviour. And this also I present as a known Observation, that she was (tho very capable of Counsel) absolute enough in her own Resolutions; which was ever apparent even to her last, in that her Aversion to grant *Tyrone* the least drop of her mercy, tho earnestly and frequently advis'd, yea wrought on by the whole Council of State, with very many pressing Reasons, and as the State of her Kingdom then stood (I may speak it with assurance) necessitated Arguments.

If we look into her Inclination, as it is dispos'd either to Magnificence or Frugality, we shall find in them many notable Considerations: for all her Dispensations were so pois'd, as tho Discretion and Justice had both agreed to stand at the Beam, and see them weigh'd out in due proportion; the Maturity of her Years and Judgment meeting in a concurrency, and at such an Age as seldom lapseth into Excess.

To consider them apart, we have not many Precedents of her Liberality, or of any large Donatives to particular men, my Lord of *Essex* Book of *Parkes* only excepted, which was a Princely Gift; and some few more of a lesser size to my Lord of *Leicester*, *Hutton*, and others. Her Reward consisted chiefly in Grants of Leases, of Offices, and Places of Judicature; but for ready Mony, and in any great Sums, she was very sparing: which we partly conceive was a Vertue rather drawn out by necessity, than her nature; for she had many layings out, and to her last period. And I am of opinion with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that those many brave men of our times, and of the *Militia*, tasted little more of her Bounty, than in her Grace and good Word with their due Entertainment; for she ever paid the Soldiers well, which was the Honour of her times, and more than her great Adversary of *Spain* could perform. So that when we come to the consideration of her Frugality, the Observation will be little more, than that her Bounty and It were so woven together, that the one was suted by an honourable way of spending, the other limited by a necessitated way of sparing.

The *Irish* Action we may call a Malady, and a Consumption of her times; for it accompany'd her to her end, and it was of so profuse and vast an Expence, that it drew near a Distemperature of State, and of Passion in her self; for toward her last, she grew somewhat hard to please. Her Arms being accustom'd to Prosperity, and the *Irish* Persecution not answering her Expectation, and wonted Success for a good while, it was an unthrifty and inauspicious War, which did much disturb, and mislead her Judgment: and the more, for that it was a Precedent which was taken out of her own Pattern. For as the Queen (by way of diversion) had at the coming to the Crown, supported the revolted States of *Holland*; so did the King of *Spain* turn the trick on her self towards her going out, by cherishing the *Irish* Rebellion: Where it falls under consideration, what the State of the Kingdom, and the Crown Revenues were then able to embrace and endure. If we look into the Establishment of those times, with the List of the *Irish* Army, considering the Defeatments of *Blackwater*, with all precedent Expences, as it stood from my Lord of *Essex's* Undertaking to the Surrender of *Kingsale* under the General *Mountjoy*, and somewhat after, we shall find the Horse and Foot Troops, were for three or four years together much about 20000. Which, besides the Naval Charge that was a Dependent on the same War, in that the Queen was then forc'd to keep in continual pay a strong Fleet at Sea, to attend the *Spanish* Coasts and Ports, both to alarm the *Spaniard*, and to interrupt his Forces design'd for the *Irish* Assistance; so that the Charge of that War alone did cost the Queen 300000*l.* per annum at least; which was not the Moity of her other Disbursements. An Expence which (without the publick Aid) the State and the Royal Receipts could not have much longer endur'd; which out of her own frequent Letters and Complaints to the Deputy *Mountjoy*, for cashiering part of that List as soon as he could, may be collected; for the Queen was then driven into a strait.

We are naturally prone to applaud the Times behind us, and to vilify the present; for the current of her Fame carries it to this day, how royally and victoriously she liv'd and dy'd, without the grievance and grudge of the People. Yet that Truth may appear without Retraction from the Honour of so great a Princess, it is manifest she left more Debts unpay'd, taken upon the Credit of her Privy Seals, than her Progenitors did, or could have taken up that way in a hundred years before her: Which was an inforc'd piece of State, to lay the burden on that Horse that was best able to bear it, at the dead list, when neither her Receipts could yield her Re-
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lief at the pinch, nor the Urgency of her Affairs endure the Delays of Parliamentary Assistance; and for such Aids it is likewise apparent, that she receiv'd more, and with the Love of the People, than any two of her Predecessors that took most. Which was a Fortune strain'd out of the Subject, thro' the plausibility of her Comportment, and as I would say without offence, the prodigal Distribution of her Graces to all sorts of Subjects; for I believe no Prince living that was so tender of Honour, and so exactly stood for the Preservation of Sovereignty, was so great a Courtier of her People, yea of the Commons, and that stoopt and descended lower in presenting her Person to the publick view, as she past in her Progresses and Perambulations, and in the Ejaculation of her Prayers on her People. And truly tho' much may be given in praise of her Magnanimity, and therewith comply with her Parliaments, and for all that come off at last with Honour and Profit; yet must we ascribe some part of the Commendation to the Wisdom of the times, and the Choice of Parliament-men: For I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious Dispute, Elections being made of grave and discreet Persons, not factious and ambitious of Fame, such as came not to the House with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with a Preparation to consult on the publick Good, rather to comply than contest with her Majesty. Neither do I find that the House was at any time weaken'd and pester'd with the Admission of too many young Heads, as it hath been of later times. Which remembers me of Recorder *Martin's* Speech, about the tenth of our late Sovereign Lord King *James*, when there were accounts taken of forty Gentlemen, not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen: which mov'd him to say, That it was the antient Custom for old Men to make Laws for young ones; but that then he saw the case alter'd, and that there were Children elected into the great Council of the Kingdom, which came to invade and invert Nature, and to enact Laws to govern their Fathers. Sure we are, the House always took the common Cause into their consideration, and they saw the Queen had just occasion and need enough to use their Assistance. Neither do I remember that the House did ever capitulate, or prefer their private Affairs to the publick, &c. The Queen's Necessities but waited their times, and in the first place gave their Supply, and according to the Exigency of her Affairs; yet fail'd not at last to obtain what they desir'd. So that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the 'good fortune to depart in love, and on reciprocal terms: Which are Considerations that have not been so exactly observ'd in our last Assemblies,

blies, as they might, and I would to God they had been. For considering the great Debt left on the King, and in what Incumbrances the House it self had then drawn him, his Majesty was not well us'd; tho I lay not the blame on the whole Suffrage of the House, where he had many good Friends. For I dare avouch, had the House been freed of half a dozen of popular and discontented Persons, such as (with the Fellow that burnt the Temple at *Ephesus*) would be talk'd of, tho but for doing of mischief; I am confident the King had obtain'd that which in reason, and at his first Accession, he ought to have receiv'd freely and without any condition. But pardon the Digression, which is here remember'd, not in the way of Aggravation, but in true Zeal to the publick Good, and presented as a Caveat to future times; for I am not ignorant how the Spirit of the Kingdom now moves to make his Majesty amends on any occasion, and how desirous the Subject is to expiate that Offence at any rate; may it please his Majesty graciously to make trial of his Subjects Affection, and at what price they now value his Goodness and Magnanimity. But to our purpose: The Queen was not to learn, that as the Strength of her Kingdom consisted in the multitude of her Subjects, so the Security of her Person rested in the Love and Fidelity of her People, which she politickly affected (as it hath been thought) somewhat beneath the height of her Spirit and natural Magnanimity. Moreover, it will be a true Note of her Providence, that she would always listen to her Profit; for she would not refuse the Informations of mean Persons, with purpos'd Improvement, and had learn'd the Philosophy of *Hoc agere*, to look into her own Work: of the which there is a notable Example of one *Carwarden*, an Under-Officer of the Custom-house, who observing his time, presented her with a Paper, shewing how she was abus'd in the under-renting of her Customs; and therewithal humbly desir'd her Majesty to conceal him, for that it did concern two or three of her great Counsellors, whom Customer *Smith* had bribed with 200 *l.* a man, so to lose the Queen 2000 *l. per ann.* Which being made known to the Lords, they gave strict order, that *Carwarden* should not have access to the Back-stairs, till at last her Majesty smelling the craft, and missing *Carwarden*, she sent for him back, and encourag'd him to stand to his Information; which the poor man did so handsomly, that within the space of ten years he brought *Smith* to double his Rent, or to leave the Customs to new Farmers. So that we may take this also into Observation, that there were of the Queen's Council that were not in the Catalogue of Saints.

Now as we have taken a view of some particular Notions of her Times, her Nature, and Necessities, it is not without the Text to give a short touch on the Helps and Advantages of her Reign, which were without parallel; for she had neither Husband, Brother, Sister, nor Children to provide for, who as they are Dependents of the Crown, so do they necessarily draw maintenance from thence, and do oftentimes exhaust and draw deep, especially when there is an ample Fraternity of the Blood Royal, and of the Princes of the Blood, as it was in the time of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth. For then when the Crown cannot, the Publick ought to give them honourable Allowance; for they are the Honour and Hopes of the Kingdom, and the Publick which enjoys them, hath alike Interest in them, with the Father that begot them: And our Common Law, which is the Heritage of the Kingdom, did ever of old provide Aids for the *Primogenitures*, and the eldest Daughter. So that the multiplicity of Courts, and the great Charge which necessarily follow a King and Queen, a Prince, and the Royal Issue, was a thing which was not *in rerum natura* during the space of forty years; and which by time was worn out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times. Insomuch that the Aids given to the late and right Noble Prince *Henry*, and to his Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, were at first generally receiv'd for Impositions of a new Coinage. Yea the late Impositions for Knighthood (tho an ancient Law) fell also into the imputation of a Tax of novelty; for that it lay long cover'd in the Embers of Division, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and forgotten or conniv'd at by the succeeding Princes. So that the strangeness of the Observation, and the difference of those latter Reigns, is; That the Queen took up beyond the Power of the Law, which fell not into the murmur of the People; and her Successors nothing but by Warrant of the Law, which nevertheless was conceiv'd (thro disuse) to be injurious to the Liberty of the Kingdom.

Now before I come to any further mention of her Favourites, (for hitherto I have deliver'd but some obvious Passages, thereby to prepare and smooch a way for the rest that follows) it is requisite that I touch on the Reliques of the other Reign; I mean the Body of her Sister's Council of State, which she retain'd intire, neither removing nor discontenting any, altho she knew them averse to her Religion (and in her Sister's time perverse towards her Person) and private to her Troubles and Imprisonment: A Prudence which was incompatible with her Sister's nature; for she both dissipated and persecuted the major part of her Brother's Council. But this will be of certainty,

tainty, that how compliable soever and obsequious she found them, yet for a good space she made little use of their Counsels, more than in the ordinary course of the Board; for she held a dormant Table in her own Princely Breast, yet she kept them together, and their places without any sudden change. So that we may say of them, that they were of the Court, not of the Council; for whilst she amuz'd them with a kind of permissive Disputation concerning the Points controverted by both Churches, she did set down her own Reservations, without their privity, and made all her Progressions Gradations; but so that the Tenents of her Secrecy, with intent of her Establishment, were pitcht before it was known where the Court would set down. Neither do I find that any of her Sister's Council of State were either repugnant to her Religion, or oppos'd her Doings (*Englefield*, Master of the Horse, excepted) who withdrew himself from the Board, and shortly after from out of her Dominions; so pliable and obedient they were to change with the times, and their Princes: and of this there will fall in here a Relation both of Recreation and known Truth.

Pawlet Marquis of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer; having serv'd then four Princes in as various and changeable season, that I may well say, Time nor any Age hath yielded the like Precedent: This Man being noted to grow high in her Favour (as his Place and Experience requir'd) was question'd by an intimate Friend of his, how he stood up for thirty years together amidst the Changes and Reigns of so many Chancellors and great Personages. Why, quoth the Marquis, *Ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu; I was made of the pliable Willow, not of the stubborn Oak.* And truly the old man hath taught them all, especially *William* Earl of *Pembroke*; for they two were always of the King's Religion, and over-zealous Professors. Of this it is said, That being both younger Brothers (yet of Noble Houses) they spent what was left them, and came on trust to the Court; where, upon the bare stock of their Wits, they began to traffick for themselves, and prosper'd so well, that they got, spent, and left more than any Subjects from the *Norman* Conquest to their own times. Whereunto it hath been prettily reply'd, That they liv'd in a time of Dissolution. To conclude then; of any of the former Reign, it is said, that these two liv'd and dy'd chiefly in her favour. The latter, upon his Son's Marriage with the *Lady Katherine Grey*, was like utterly to have lost himself; but at the instant of the Consummation, apprehending the Insafety and Danger of an Intermarriage with the Blood Royal, he fell at the Queen's feet, where he both acknowledg'd his Presumption with tears,
and

and projected the Cause and the Divorce together; and so quick he was at his work (for it stood him upon) that upon Repudiation of the Lady, he clapt up a Marriage for his Son, the Lord *Herbert*, with *Mary Sidney* Daughter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*: The Blow falling on *Edward* late Earl of *Hereford*, who (to his cost) took up the divorc'd Lady, of whom the Lord *Beauchampe* was born, and *William* Earl of *Hereford* is descended.

I come now to present those of her own Election, which she either admitted to her Secrets of State, or took into her Grace and Favour; of whom, in their order, I crave leave to give unto Posterity a cautious Description, with a short Character or Draught of the Persons themselves: For without offence to others, I would be true to my self; their Memories and Merits distinguishing them of the *Militia*, from the *Togati*; and of these she had as many, and those as able Ministers, as any of her Progenitors.

LEICESTER.

IT will be out of doubt, that my Lord of *Leicester* was one of the first whom she made Master of the Horse: He was the youngest Son (then living) of the Duke of *Northumberland*, beheaded *primo Maria*; and his Father was that *Dudley*, which our Histories couple with *Empson*, and both so much infam'd for the Caterpillars of the Commonwealth, during the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh. Who being of Noble Extract, was executed the first year of *Henry* the Eighth; but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful Estate, and such a Son, who (as the Vulgar speaks it) could live without the Teat: For out of the Ashes of his Father's Infamy, he rose to be a Duke, and as high as Subjection could permit, or Sovereignty endure. And tho he could not find out any Appellation to assume the Crown in his own Person, yet he projected, and very nearly effected it for his Son *Gilbert*, by Intermarriage with the Lady *Jane Grey*, and so by that way to bring it about into his Loins. Observations, which tho they lie behind us, and seem impertinent to the Text, yet are they not much extravagant; for they must lead and shew us how the After-Passages were brought about with the Dependences, and on the Hinges of a collateral Workmanship. And truly it may amaze a well-settled Judgment to look back into those times, and to consider how this Duke could attain to such a pitch of Greatness, his Father dying in ignominy, and at the Gallows, his Estate confiscate, and that for peeling and polling, by the
Clamour

Clamour and *Crucifige* of the People. But when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a Sacrifice to please the People, not for any Offence committed against the Person of the King; so that upon the matter he was a Martyr of the Prerogative, and the King in honour could do no less than give back to his Son the Privilege of his Blood, with the Acquirings of his Father's Profession; for he was a Lawyer, and of the King's Counsel at Law, before he came to be *ex interioribus Consiliis*: where besides the lickings of his own fingers, he got the King a Mass of Riches; and that not with the hazard, but the loss of his Fame and Life, for the King's Father's sake. Certain it is, that his Son was left rich in Purse and Brain, which are good Foundations, and full to Ambition; and it may be suppos'd, he was on all occasions well heard of the King, as a Person of mark and compassion in his eye: but I find not that he did put up for Advancement, during *Henry* the Eighth's time, tho' a vast Aspirer and provident Storier. It seems he thought the King's Reign was much given to the Falling Sickness; but espying his time fitting, and the Sovereignty in the hands of a pupil Prince, he thought he might as well then put up for it as the best. For having then possession of Blood, and a Purse, with a Head-piece of a vast extent, he soon got Honour; and no sooner there, but he began to sive it with the best, even with the Protector: and in conclusion got his and his Brother's Heads; still aspiring, till he expir'd in the loss of his own. So that Posterity may, by reading the Father and Grandfather, make judgment of the Son: For we shall find that this *Robert* (whose Original we have now trac'd, the better to present him) was Inheritor of the Genius and Craft of his Father; and *Ambrose*, of the Estate; of whom, hereafter we shall make some short mention.

We take him now as he was admitted into the Court, and the Queen's Favour, where he was not to seek to play his part well and dexterously. But his play was chiefly at the Fore-game, not that he was a Learner at the latter, but he lov'd not the After-wit. For they report (and I think not untruly) that he was seldom behind-hand with his Gamesters, and that they always went away with the loss.

He was a very goodly Person, and singular well-featur'd, and all his Youth well-favour'd, and of a sweet aspect, but high-foreheaded, which, as I should take it, was of no discommendation: but towards his latter end (which with old Men was but a middle Age) he grew high-colour'd and red-fac'd. So that the Queen in this had much of her Father; for (excepting some of her Kindred, and some few that had handsom

Wits in crooked Bodies) she always took Personage in the way of her Election ; for the People have it to this day in proverb, *King Harry loved a Man*. Being thus in her Grace, she call'd to mind the Sufferings of his Ancestors, both in her Father's and Sister's Reigns, and restor'd his and his Brother's Blood ; creating *Ambrose*, the elder, Earl of *Warwick*, and himself Earl of *Leicester*, &c. And he was *ex primitis*, or of her first choice ; for he rested not there, but long enjoy'd her Favour, and therewith much what he list'd, till Time and Emulation (the Companions of Great ones) had resolv'd on his period ; and to cover him at the setting in a cloud at *Coribury*, not by so violent a Death, and by the fatal Sentence of Judicature, as that of his Father's and Grandfather's was, but as it is suggested, by that Poison which he had prepar'd for others : wherein they report him a rare Artist. I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar Relations, or to the Libels of the Times, which are commonly forc'd, and falsify'd suitable to the Moods and Humours of Men in passion and discontent ; but that which leads me to think him no good Man, is (amongst others of known Truth) that of my Lord of *Essex's* Death in *Ireland*, and the Marriage of his Lady yet living ; which I forbear to press, in regard that he is long since dead, and others living, whom it may concern.

To take him in the Observations of his Letters and Writings (which should best set him off) for such as fell into my hands, I never yet saw a Stile or Phrase more seemingly Religious, and fuller of the Strains of Devotion ; and were they not sincere, I doubt much of his Well-being : And I may fear he was too well seen in the Aphorisms and Principles of *Nicholas the Florentine*, and in the Reaches of *Cesar Borgia*. And hitherto I have only touch'd him in his Courtship.

I conclude him in his Lance : He was sent Governour by the Queen to the United States of *Holland*, where we read not of his Wonders ; for they say that he had more of *Mercury* than *Mars*, and that his Device might have been, without prejudice to the Great *Cesar*, *Veni, Vidi, Redii*.

S U S S E X.

HIS Corriual before mention'd, was *Thomas Radcliff* Earl of *Suffex* ; who (in his Constellation) was his direct Opposite, for he was indeed one of the Queen's Martialists, and did very good service in *Ireland* at her first Accesion ; till she recall'd him to the Court, where she made him Lord Chamberlain : But he play'd not his game with that Cunning and
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Dexterity

Dexterity as *Leicester* did; who was much more the face of a Courtier, tho' *Suffex* was thought much the honest Man, and far the better Soldier; but he lay too open on his guard.

He was a goodly Gentleman, and of a brave noble nature, true and constant to his Friends and Servants; he was also of a very noble and antient Lineage, honour'd thro' many Descents by the Title of Viscounts *Fitzwalters*. Moreover, there was such an Antipathy in his Nature to that of *Leicester's*, that being together in Court, and both in high Employments, they grew to a direct Frowardness, and were in continual opposition; the one setting the Watch, the other the Centinel, each on the other's Actions and Motions. For my Lord of *Suffex* was of a great Spirit; which, backt with the Queen's special Favour, and supported by a great and antient Inheritance, could not brook the other's Empire: Infomuch as the Queen upon sundry occasions had somewhat to do to appease and attain them, till Death parted the Competition, and left the place of *Leicester*, who was not long alone without his Rival, in Grace and Command. And to conclude this Favourite, it is confidently affirm'd, That lying in his last Sickness, he gave this Caveat to his Friends: *I am now passing into another World; and I must now leave you to your Fortunes, and to the Queen's Grace and Goodness; but beware of the Gipsy (meaning Leicester) for he will be too hard for you all: You know not the Beast so well as I do.*

Lord BURLEIGH.

I Now come to the next, which was Secretary *William Cecil*: For on the death of the old Marquis of *Winchester*, he came up in his room. A Person of a most subtil and active Spirit; who stood not altogether by the way of Constellation, and making up of a Part and Faction; for he was wholly intentive to the Service of his Mistress, and his Dexterity, Experience, and Merit, challeng'd a room in the Queen's Favour; which eclips'd the others over-seeming Greatness, and made it appear that there were others that steer'd and stood at the Helm besides himself; and more Stars in the Firmament of her Grace than *Ursa major*, or the Bear with the ragged Staff.

He was born (as they say) in *Lincolnshire*; but as some upon knowledgaver, of a younger Brother of the *Cecils* of *Hertfordshire*; a Family (of my own knowledg) tho' now private, yet of no mean Antiquity: who being expos'd, and sent to the City, as poor Gentlemen use to do their younger Sons, he

came

came to be a rich man on *London Bridg*, and purchasing in *Lincolnshire*, where this man was born, he was sent to *Cambridge*, then to the *Inns of Court*, and so he came to serve the Duke of *Somerset*, in the time of his Protectorship, as Secretary. And having a pregnancy to great Inclinations, he came by degrees to a higher Conversation with the chiefest Affairs of State and Councils. But on the Fall of the Duke he stood some years in umbrage, and without Employment, till the State found and needed his Abilities. And tho we find not that he was taken into any place during *Mary's* Reign, unless (as some have said) towards the last; yet the Council on several occasions made use of him: And at the Queen's entrance he was admitted Secretary of State; afterwards he was made Master of the Court of Wards, then Lord Treasurer; a Person of most requisite Abilities: and indeed the Queen began then to need, and to seek out for Men of both Garbs. And so I conclude, and rank this great Instrument of State among the *Togati*; for he had not to do with the Sword, more than as the great Paymaster and Contriver of the War, which shortly follow'd, wherein he accomplish'd much thro his Theoretical Knowledg at home, and his Intelligence abroad, by unlocking the Counsels of the Queen's Enemies.

We must now take (and that of Truth) into observation, That until the Tenth of her Reign, her Times were calm and serene, tho sometimes a little overcast, as the most glorious Sunrisings are subject to shadowings and droppings in; for the Clouds of *Spain*, and Vapors of the Holy League, began then to disperse and threaten her Serenity. Moreover, she was then to provide against some intestine Storms, which began to gather in the very Heart of her Kingdom, all which had a relation and correspondency each with the other to dethrone her, and to disturb the publick Tranquillity, and therewithal (as a principal Work) the Establish'd Religion; for the name of *Recusant* began then, and first to be known in the World, and till then the Catholics were no more than Church-Papists, but were commanded by the Pope's express Letters to appear, and forbear Church going, as they tender their Holy Father, and the Holy Catholick Church their Mother. So that it seems the Pope had then his aims to take a true muster of his Children; but the Queen had the greater advantage, for she likewise took tale of her Apostate Subjects, their Strength, and how many they were that had given up their Names unto *Baal*; who then, by the hands of some of his Profelytes, fix'd his Bulls on the Gates of *Paul's*, which discharg'd her Subjects of all Fidelity, and laid siege to the receiv'd Faith, and so under the Veil of the next Successor, to replant the Catholick.