

THE ~~13th~~ C^c
SECOND VOLUME

OF

The Phoenix :

OR, A

REVIVAL

OF

Scarce and Valuable Pieces

No where to be found but in
the Closets of the Curious.

With a PREFACE giving some Account
of the Pieces in this Volume.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers Hall. M.DCC.VIII.

Where may be had the First Volume.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

TH E Design of this Undertaking being already explain'd in the Preface to a former Volume, and generally approv'd and encourag'd even by those who thought that Volume did not answer the Expectation of the Publick; It mayn't be improper, without entring into a Defence of what's past, to take notice of the Pieces which compose this Collection, as well to satisfy the Judicious of our Care and Diligence in prosecuting the Design, as to obviate all Prejudices, by setting forth the Reasons which have determin'd us in the present Choice.

All antient or scarce Pieces may justly be esteem'd curious and valuable, either on account of their own intrinsick Perfection, or out of respect

respect to the great Names which they go under, or purely on account of their relation to the Times and nice Conjectures in which they were compos'd: and tho mean and inconsiderable in the Stile and Manner of writing, in comparison with some modern Composures, may yet deserve to be perpetuated and transmitted to Posterity, if they manifestly discover the Seeds and Principles from which the greatest Events, and perhaps Revolutions in Church and State, have taken their rise. These Characters singly or all together, have been our Rule in the present Collection.

Dr. Colet's Sermon, which stands foremost in this Volume, and is perhaps one of the oldest, as well as one of the honestest, extant in the *English* Tongue, is upon all these accounts singularly valuable. This Piece we might safely trust alone into the World without Passport or Recommendation; whether we consider it purely as a Sermon, with respect to the Language and Ornaments of Speech, tho preach'd in the Reign of *Harry VII.* or with respect to the Matter and Doctrine, tho in the Days of Popery. But the present Age abounding with infinite Variety of excellent new Sermons on all Texts, and upon all Occasions, and to all Tasts; which may tempt the Injudicious to ask, *Why an old Sermon upon us?* it mayn't be amiss to assign the Reason in the words of an Illustrious Prelate; and shew there's a wonderful

Histo-

Historical Use in an *Old Sermon*, as well as in an *Old Medal*.

‘ When I writ, says his * Lordship, my
‘ History of the Reformation, I had Dr. *Colet*’s
‘ Sermon in my hands, and once I intended to
‘ have publish’d it, as a Piece that might serve
‘ to open the Scene, and to shew the State of
‘ things at the first Beginnings of the Reforma-
‘ tion: But I was diverted from it by those
‘ under whose Direction I put that Work;
‘ They thought it might have been judg’d, that
‘ I had inserted it on design to reflect on the
‘ present, as well as on the past State of things.
‘ I submitted to their Advice, &c.

By his Lordship’s manner of taking notice he
had Dr. *Colet*’s Sermon in his *hands*, he suffi-
ciently intimates that ’twas scarce as well as
valuable, and only to be met with among the
Curious; and since the Reasons and Regards
which diverted his Lordship from publishing it
in the Reign of *Charles II.* are, it’s to be hop’d,
in a great measure chang’d or ceas’d in these
Days, we persuade our selves the reviving and
publishing it now in the *Phoenix*, will meet with
universal Satisfaction.

The *Life and Character* of this Excellent Man,
Dr. Colet, written by *Erasmus*, is the next Piece

* Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights, Powers, &c. of
an *English Convocation*, p. 5.

in the Collection, and not unworthy his incomparable Pen; describing, besides his particular good Qualities, that Friendship, that Intimacy, and those sweet Conversations which pass'd between these two illustrious Persons, during *Erasmus's* sojourning in *England*, in so lively a manner, that the Reader fancies he sees 'em together in their delightful Retirement at *Richmond*. One thing we can't forbear observing in this place, That he was the very first Man who had good Sense enough, and Courage and Freedom of Thought, to discover and explode the Vanity of the Schoolmen, not excepting the Angelical Doctor *Thomas Aquinas*. 'Twas he first deliver'd *Erasmus* himself from a slavish Reverence for their Decisions; 'twas he first shook off that Yoke of Cobweb: for which alone he might justly deserve a Statue in the Republick of Letters.

Accounts of the Great, especially those of the Fair Sex, remarkable for sudden and extraordinary Traverses of Fortune, and untimely Ends, are moving when related by Flatterers, by Poets, or suspected Historians; and even when the Passions and Indiscretions of these great Persons have hasten'd their deplor'd Fate: Their last Sayings, their Behaviour in Death, their Monuments and Inscriptions are eagerly sought after; the Mind waits on 'em to the Verge of Eternity. This induc'd us to reprint some genuine Pieces of the Lady *Jane Grey*, valuable

uable in themselves for the masculine Stile and found Reasons which appear in 'em ; but much more on her own account, who died a Victim to the State, and a Martyr to the Truth.

In the fourth place comes *the Account of the Troubles at Frankfort* ; being a Relation of the Differences and Contentions of the *English Refugees* (who fled thither under the Persecution in *Queen Mary's* days) about a Form of Religious Worship ; about the *English Liturgy* and Ceremonys, Surplice, Ring, Cross in Baptism, &c. Some may look down with Contempt and Unconcernedness on the Heats and Broils of a Handful of poor distress'd Men, in a strange Land, a hundred and fifty years ago ; and imagine such a Relation of no more moment at this time, than the Storys of *Robin Hood* or *Little John*. Yet if they consider these petty Broils, not only as the Types, but as the true original Source and Cause of all the Diffensions which have ever since shaken the Foundation of *England's* Peace : If they consider, that not only all the unhappy Distinctions of Prelatist and Puritan, Royalist and Roundhead, Whig and Tory, High Church and Low Church, and all the Feuds and Animositys consequent on 'em ; but all the Struggle and Strife of Partys, all their Plots and Counterplots to blow up one another, to oppress, discredit and defame each other ; all Tests and Penal Laws, Sequestrations, Proscriptions, Attainders, Occasional Bills ; all the Ra-

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vage in short and Desolation ever since committed, all the Blood spilt in Peace or War, has been only a Continuation of the Troubles at *Frankfort*, and playing the same Game over and over on a larger Scene, and with greater Numbers; they must needs have a Curiosity to trace the Beginnings and Embrio of these Evils, and think an Account of the first Rise and Occasions of 'em very memorable.

Next comes the *Form of Prayer*, or Liturgy us'd in the *English Church of Geneva*, at the time of the Troubles of *Frankfort*, and approv'd by *John Calvin*: A grave demure Piece, without either Responses, or Psalms, or Hymns, without Fringe or Philactery; but terribly fortify'd and pallisado'd with Texts of Scripture, which we suppose to be all right, and *secundum Artem*.

The *Burden of Issachar* is of a later date than the foregoing Pieces: The Author's no Friend to the Presbyterian Church-Government and Discipline in *North-Britain*; he treats 'em with a great deal of Sharpness, and mentions some Facts which are very remarkable. Yet is it not publish'd with a design to reflect on any Party of Christians (having already declar'd we have no regard to our own Opinions or Sentiments) but as a Piece of some Note, and justly challenging a Place among others, which are scarce and worthy to be preserv'd.

The Author of a late Treatise concerning *the Rights of the Christian Church*, is thought to make his use of this Pamphlet, in exposing that Spirit of Independency and Usurpation which he supposes runs thro' the Clergy of all Kinds and Denominations.

The two following Tracts, one entitled *Brevi Disquisitio*, or a short way with the Papists; the other, *Dissertatio de Pace*, a Discourse touching the Peace and Concord of the Church; are suppos'd to be written by the famous Mr. John Hales of Eaton, whose Character Dr. Heylin gives us in his History of Archbishop Laud, in these words, *That his Chamber was a Church, and his Chair a Pulpit*; and that he was as communicative of his Knowledg, as the Celestial Bodys of their Light and Influences. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest Genius's that ever England produc'd.

The Learned Dr. Pearson, Bishop of Chester, in his Preface to this Author's Remains, has these words of him: 'That he was a Man of as
' great Sharpness, Quickness and Stability of
' Wit, as ever this or perhaps any Nation bred.
' His Industry did strive, if it were possible, to
' equal the largeness of his Capacity: Proportionable to his Reading was his Meditation,
' which furnish'd him with a Judgment beyond
' the vulgar reach of Man; so that he really
' was a most prodigious Example of an acute
' and piercing Wit, of a vast and illimited
' Knowledg, of a severe and profound Judgment, &c.

Yet

Yet whether thro a Boldness of Thought peculiar to him, and incident to very few *Englishmen* in his Days, or thro his Conversation with some foreign Divines whilst in *Holland* at the famous Synod of *Dort*, or thro Discontent at his not being prefer'd according to his great Merit, and a desire of distinguishing himself by new Opinions, he seems in one part of his Life to have given into the *Socinian* and *Pelagian* Tenets: till Archbishop *Laud*, partly by his Arguments, partly by Preferments, regain'd and confirm'd him in an Orthodox Principle, in which he continu'd all the rest of his Life, having suffer'd with great resignation for the Testimony of a good Conscience. His *Brevis Disquisitio* particularly is one of those Pieces, in which he's suppos'd to have betray'd some inclination to the Doctrines of *Socinus*; yet they are so closely and cunningly inserted, as rather to administer ground of Suspicion than Censure. And the Author of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, pag. 126. from whence this account of him is taken, intimates as tho 'twere only a Puritan Surmise. This and all his other Pieces are so well known to the Learned World, and so highly esteem'd, that 'twere losing time to descant on 'em, or justify the rescuing 'em from Oblivion, by any other reason than that of the publick Benefit and Utility.

Manasseh Ben Israel's Defence of the Jews, written from *Amsterdam* to a Person of Quality here
about

about the time of *Oliver Cromwel*, is perhaps the only Piece of a Rabbi worth preserving; it abounds with variety of curious and entertaining Remarks, and discovers abundance of sound sense and good reading.

The Discourse of the *Eternity of Hell-Torments*, is written, or suppos'd to be written, by one *Mr. Richardson*. His Opinion is commonly accounted Heterodox; but the Arguments and Colours which he makes use of to support it, are very remarkable, discovering an ingenious Fear in himself, of the Eternity of those Torments which he'd fain disprove.

The two Sermons preach'd at *Oxford* by *Robert Jones*, D. D. one a Repetition, the other a Recantation Sermon, about the Year 1619. made formerly a great noise in the world. *Mr. Cressy*, who wrote in defence of the Church of *Rome*, against the Learned *Dr. Stillington*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*, making a comparison between this Sermon and a Discourse of the Doctor's, proving the first Authors of the Contemplative Life, *St. Bennet*, *St. Romualde*, *St. Francis*, *St. Dominic*, &c. downright Fanaticks; gives this account of it: 'I have heard, says he, that kind of Wit before, when I was a young Student in *Oxford*, in a *Repetition-Sermon* to the University, which if Fancy be alone consider'd, far better deserv'd Applause [meaning than the Doctor's] where-
' in

‘ in the Preacher descanting upon the whole
 ‘ Life of our Saviour, render’d him and his At-
 ‘ tendants, Men and Women, Objects of the ut-
 ‘ most Scorn and Aversion, as if they all of ’em
 ‘ had been only a Pack of dissolute Vagabonds
 ‘ and Cheats. But presently the Preacher chan-
 ‘ ging his Stile, as became a Disciple of Christ,
 ‘ with such admirable Dexterity and Force of
 ‘ Reason, answer’d all the Cavillations and In-
 ‘ vectives made before, that the loudly-repeated
 ‘ Applause of his Hearers hinder’d him a good
 ‘ space from proceeding : Notwithstanding
 ‘ which, the grave Doctors and Governors of
 ‘ the University, tho much fatisfy’d with his
 ‘ Abilitys, yet wisely considering that a petulant
 ‘ Histrionical Stile, even in Objections, did not
 ‘ fit so Sacred a Subject; and that it was not
 ‘ lawful too naturally to personate a deriding
 ‘ Jew; oblig’d the Preacher to a publick *Re-*
 ‘ *cantation Sermon* in the same Pulpit the Sunday
 ‘ following.

My Lord *Clarendon*, in his Animadversions on
 this Answer of Mr. *Cressy* to Dr. *Stillington*, and
 this place of it, agrees with him as to the
 Wit and Fancy of the Sermon, at which him-
 self was likewise present, and the general Ap-
 plause it met with ; but differs as to the Reasons
 of his being enjoin’d to make the Recantation
 Sermon, which his Lordship says was on account
 of some unwary and indecent Expressions in it
 against the then sitting Parliament. ’Tis fur-
 ther remarkable, that my Lord *Clarendon*, who
 says

ays he heard this Sermon, affirms 'twas preach'd by one Mr. *Lushington*, and not by Dr. *Robert Jones*, under whose name it now goes.

The *Account of the new Sect of Latitude-Men at Cambridge*, just after the Restoration, is considerable, as it shews the first Rise of that Party which were afterwards call'd *Latitudinarians*, and are at this day our Low Churchmen. The particular Persons describ'd and vindicated in this account, may be easily known, by inquiring which of our late Great Men in the Church were bred at that University; such as Dr. *T.* Dr. *B.* &c.

As to the two remaining Discourses, which close this Volume, one of the *Reasonableness of Mens having a Religion*, by the late Duke of *Buckingham*; the other of *Human Reason* by *Matthew Clifford*, Esq; late Master of the *Charterhouse*: These Names, and the establish'd Reputation of the Works, render all Recommendation needless.

We shall add no more, only renew our Request to all Gentlemen, who have any scarce or valuable Pieces by 'em, whether in Print or Manuscript, That they wou'd be pleas'd to impart 'em for the Benefit of the Publick, or give the Undertakers notice by a Line to *Fellows's Coffee-House* in *Aldersgate-street*, where they may be waited upon.

T H E

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PHENIX XVII.

VOL. II.

*A Sermon of Conforming
and Reforming, made to the
Convocation at St. Paul's Church
in London, by JOHN
COLET, D. D. Dean of
the said Church, in the Year
1511.*

*To which is added, The Life of Dr. COLET,
writ by Erasmus Roterodamus.*

YE are this day come together (Fathers and right
wise Brethren) to enter into Council: in which,
what ye will do, and what matters ye will handle,
we do not yet understand. But we wish, that once
remembering your Name and Profession, ye would
mind the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Affairs: for assure
your selves there never was more need of it, the state of the
Church

2 *Dr. Colet's Sermon to the Convocation.*

Church did never more desire your Endeavours. The Spouse of Christ (whom ye would should be without spot or wrinkle) is made deform'd and ill-favour'd; as saith *Esaias*, *The faithful City is become an Harlot*, Chap. 1. ver. 21. *She hath play'd the Whore with many Lovers*, Jer. 3. 1. whereby she hath conceiv'd many Seeds of Wickedness, and daily bringeth forth very foul Fruit. Wherefore I come hither to day (Fathers) to warn you, that in this your Council ye bestow your whole thoughts upon the Reformation of the Church.

But indeed I came not willingly, being sufficiently conscious of my own Unworthiness; and foreseeing how hard it will be to please the precise judgment of so many men, I esteem'd it very unmeet (almost too malapert) that I a Servant should counsel my Lords, that I a Son should teach you my Fathers. Truly this had been more fit for some one of the Fathers themselves; that is to say, You Prelates might have done it with far more grave Authority and greater Wisdom: But the Command of the most Reverend Father and Lord the Archbishop (President of this Council) must be obey'd, who laid upon me this burden (which is in truth too heavy for my shoulders) for I remember that the Prophet *Samuel* said, *Obedience is better than Sacrifice*. Wherefore I pray and beseech you to sustain my weakness with your Goodness and Patience: in the first place to help me with your good Prayers; and before all things, *Let us pray to God the Father Almighty, first remembering our most holy Father the Pope, and all Spiritual Pastours, with all Christian People; furthermore the most Reverend Father and Lord the Archbishop, President of this Council, and all Bishops, and all the Clergy, and all the People of England; remembering finally this your Congregation; desiring God to inspire your Minds so accordingly to agree, to the benefit and fruit of the Church, that ye may not seem, when the Council is finish'd, to have been gather'd together in vain, and without cause. Let us all say, Pater noster, &c.*

To exhort you, Reverend Fathers, to endeavour Reformation, because nothing hath so disfigur'd the face of the Church, as hath the fashion of secular and worldly living in Clerks and Priests; I know not where more conveniently to begin my Discourse, than from the Apostle *Paul* (in whose Temple ye are gather'd together) for he writing to the *Romans* (and under their name to you) saith,

ROM. xii. 2.

Be not conform'd to this World, but be ye reform'd by the renewing of your mind; that ye may prove what is that good Will of God, well-pleasing and perfect.

THIS the Apostle writ to all Christian Men, but most chiefly to Priests and Bishops. Priests and Bishops are the Light of the World; for he said unto them, *Ye are the Light of the World*; and he said also, *If the Light that is in you be Darkness, how great is that Darkness?* that is, if Priests and Bishops (who should be as Lights) run in the dark way of the World, how dark then shall the secular People be? Wherefore St. Paul said chiefly to Priests and Bishops, *Be ye not conform'd to this World, but be ye reform'd.* In which words the Apostle saith both two things. 1. He *forbids*, that we be not conform'd to this World and made carnal. And then, 2. He *commands*, that we be reform'd in the Spirit of God, and become spiritual.

Intending to follow this Order, I shall speak,

I. Of Conformation. And then,

II. Of Reformation: *Be not conform'd to this World.*

By the word *World*, the Apostle meaneth the ways and manner of secular living, which chiefly consists in four Evils of this World; that is, in devilish Pride, carnal Lust, worldly Covetousness, and secular Business: These are in the World, as St. John witnesseth, 1 Ep. 2. 16. for he saith, *All that is in the World is either the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eyes, or the Pride of Life.* These same things now are and reign in the Church and Ecclesiastical Persons; so that we may seem truly to say, All that is in the Church is either the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eyes, or Pride of Life.

1. And first to speak of *Pride of Life*. How much Greediness and Appetite of Honour and Dignity is seen now-a-days in Clergymen? How run they (yea almost out of breath) from one Benefice to another, from the less to the greater, from the lower to the higher? Who seeth not this? And who seeing, sorroweth not? And most of those who are in these Dignities carry their Heads so high, and are so stately, that they seem not to be put in the humble Bishoprick of Christ, but rather in the high Lordship and Power of the World; not knowing, or not minding, what Christ the Master of all Meekness said

4 *Dr. Colet's Sermon to the Convocation.*

unto his Disciples (whom he call'd to be Bishops and Priests) *The Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them, and those that be in Authority have Power; but do ye not so. Whosoever will be chief amongst you (highest in Dignity) let him be your Servant. The Son of Man came not to be ministred unto, but to minister,* Mat. 20. 25, &c. By which words our Saviour doth plainly teach that a Prelacy in the Church is nothing else but a Ministration, that an high Dignity in an Ecclesiastical Person ought to be nothing but a meek Service.

2. The second secular Evil is carnal *Concupiscence*. And hath not this Vice grown and encreas'd in the Church so far, that in this most busy Age, the far greater number of Priests mind nothing but what doth delight and please their Senses? They give themselves to Feasts and Banqueting, spend their time in vain babbling, are addicted to Hunting and Hawking; and in a word, drown'd in the Delights of this World, diligently only in proggng for those Lusts they set by. Against which sort of Men *St. Jude* exclaims in his Epistle, saying, *Wo unto them which have gone the way of Cain; they are foul and beastly, feasting in their Meats, without Fear feeding themselves, Flouds of the wild Sea, foaming out their own shame; unto whom the storm of Darkness is reserv'd for everlasting.*

3. *Covetousness* is the third secular Evil, which *St. John* call the *Lust of the Eyes*, and *St. Paul*, *Idolatry*. This abominable Pestilence hath so enter'd into the Minds of almost all Priests hath so blinded the Eyes of their Understanding, that we see nothing but that which seems to bring unto us some gain. What other thing seek we now-a-days in the Church, except fat Benefices and high Promotions? And it were well if we minded the Duty of those when we have them; but he that hath many great Benefices, minds not the Office of one small one. And in these high Promotions, what other thing do we pass upon, but only our Tythes and Rents? We care not how vast our Charge of Souls be, how many or how great Benefices we take, so they be of large value. Oh *Covetousness! Covetousness!* *St. Paul* justly call'd thee *the Root of all Evil*: Of thee cometh this heaping of Benefices upon Benefices: Of thee so great Pensions assign'd, from many Benefices resign'd: Of thee so much suing for Tythes, for Offerings, for Mortuaries, for Delapidations, by the Right and Title of the Church; for which things we contend as eagerly as for our Lives. Oh *Covetousness!* Of thee it comes that these Visitations of Bishops are so chargeable: Of thee the corruptness of Courts, and these daily new Inventions, wherewith the poor silly People are so vex'd: Of thee cometh the Besytc and Wantonness of Officials. O *Covetousness!* Mother of all Iniquity!

unity! Of thee comes this fervent study of Ordinarys to divide their Jurisdictions: Of thee comes this peevish and raging contention in Ordinarys: Of thee Insinuation of Testaments: Of thee the undue Sequestration of Fruits: Of thee comes the superstitious Observation of all those Laws that stand to any Lucre, setting aside and despising those that concern the Amendment of Manners. What should I rehearse the rest? To be short (and to conclude at one word) all Corruptness, all the Decay of the Church, all the Offences and Scandals of the World come from the Covetousness of the Priests, according to that of *St. Paul*, which here I repeat again, and beat into your Ears, *Covetousness is the Root of all Evil.*

4. The fourth secular Evil that spotteth the face of the Church, is *continual secular Occupation*; wherein Priests and Bishops now-a-days do busy themselves, becoming the Servants rather of Men than God, the Warriours rather of this World than of Jesus Christ. For the Apostle *Paul* writeth to *Timothy* (2 Ep. 2. 3.) that no man who is a good Soldier of Christ, or that warreth for God, entangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life, is turmoil'd with secular Business. The Warfare of God's Soldier is not carnal, but spiritual: Our warring is to pray devoutly, to read and study Scriptures diligently, to preach the Word of God sincerely, to administer the Holy Sacraments rightly, and offer Sacrifice for the People: for we are Mediators and Intercessors unto God for Men; which *St. Paul* witnesseth, writing to the *Hebrews*, *Every Bishop, saith he, taken of Men, is ordain'd for Men in those things that be unto God, that he may offer Gifts and Sacrifices for Sins.* Wherefore those Apostles, who were the first Priests and Bishops, did so much abhor all manner of meddling in secular things, that they would not minister the Meat that was necessary to poor People, altho it were a great Work of Vertue; but they said, *It is not meet that we should leave the Word of God and serve Tables, we will give our selves continually to Prayer and Preaching the Word of God,* Acts 6. 2, 4. And *St. Paul* crys to the *Corinthians*, 1 Ep. 6. 4. *If you have judgments of things pertaining to this Life, let them to be Judges that be most in contempt in the Church.* Many Evils doubtless do ensue from this Secularity, when Clergymen and Priests (leaving all Spirituality) turmoil themselves with earthly Occupations.

(1.) The Dignity of Priesthood is dishonour'd, which is greater than either that of Kings or Emperors, equal with the Dignity of Angels; but the brightness of this great Dignity is sore shadow'd, when Priests are employ'd in Earthly things, whose Conversation ought to be in Heaven.

6 Dr. Colet's Sermon to the Convocation.

(2.) Priesthood is despis'd, when there is no difference between such Priests and Lay-People; but according to the Prophecy of *Hosea*, *As the People be, so are the Priests.*

(3.) The beautiful Order and holy Dignity in the Church is confus'd, when the highest in the Church do meddle with vile and earthly things; and in their stead vile and abject Persons do exercise high and heavenly things.

(4.) The Lay-People have great occasion offer'd them Evils, and cause to fall; when those Men, whose Duty it is to draw others from the Affection of this World, do, by their continual Conversation in this World, teach Men to love the World; and by the Love of the World cast them down headlong into Hell.

Moreover, in such Priests that be so employ'd, there must needs follow Hypocrisy: For when they be so mix'd and confus'd with Lay-people, under the garment and habit of a Priest they live plainly after the Lay-fashion; and thro' spiritual Weakness, Bondage, and Fear (being made weak with the waters of this World) they dare neither do nor say any, but such things as they know to be pleasing and grateful to the Prince's Ears. At last thro' Ignorance and Blindness (where they are blinded with the Darkness of this World) they see nothing but earthly things. Wherefore our Saviour Christ (not without cause) did warn the Prelates of his Church in this manner: *Take heed to your selves, lest at any time your Hearts be overcharg'd with Gluttony and Drunkenness, and the Cares of this World,* Luke 21. 34. The Cares, saith he, of this World wherewith when the Hearts of Priests being sore charg'd, they cannot mind the other Life, nor lift up their Souls to high and heavenly things. There be many other Evils beside these that follow of the Secularity of Priests, which were long here to rehearse; but I make an end.

These be the four Evils that I have spoken of (O Fathers O Priests!) by which we are conformable to this World, by which the face of the Church is made ill-favour'd, by which the state of it is destroy'd; much more truly than it was in the beginning by the Persecution of Tyrants, or afterward by the Invasion of Hereticks that follow'd: For in the Persecution of Tyrants, the Church being afflicted was made stronger and brighter; in the Invasion of Hereticks, the Church being shaken, was made wiser and more skilful in Holy Writ; but since this Secularity was brought in, since the worldly manner of living crept in among Churchmen, the Root of all spiritual Life (that is, *Charity*) hath been extinct; which being taken away, the Church can neither be wise nor strong in God.

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In this Age we are sensible of the Contradiction of Lay-people ; but they are not so much contrary to us, as we are to our selves. Their Contrariness hurteth not us so much as the Contrariness of our own evil Life, which is contrary both to God and Christ, who said, *He that is not with me is against me.* We are also now-adays troubled with Hereticks (Men intoxicated with strange Opinions) but the Heresys of them are not so pestilent and pernicious to us and the People, as the naughty Lives of Priests, which (if we believe St. Bernard) is a kind of Heresy, nay the chief of all, and most perillous. For that holy Father preaching in a certain Convocation to the Priests of his time, had these words in his Sermon: *Many Men are Catholick in their Speaking and Preaching, which are Hereticks in their Works and Actions: For what the Hereticks do by evil Teaching, the same do these Men by ill Example, viz. they lead the People out of the right way, and bring them into Error of Life; and these Men are so much worse than Hereticks, by how much their Works prevail more than their Words.* This that holy Father St. Bernard spoke with a fervent Spirit against the Sect of evil Priests in his time. By which words he sheweth plainly that there be two kinds of Heresys; one arising from perverse Teaching, and the other from a naughty Life; of which two this latter is far worse, and more perillous, reigning (now) in Priests, who do not live like themselves, nor Priestly, but secularly, to the utter and miserable Destruction of the Church of God. Wherefore you Fathers! you Priests! and all you of the Clergy! at last awake and look up from this your Sleep in this forgetful World; and being well awak'd, hear St. Paul crying unto you, *Be ye not conform'd to this World.* Thus much for the first Part. Now let us come to the

II. Of Reformation. *But be ye reform'd by the renewing of your Mind.*

The second thing that St. Paul commandeth, is, *That we be reform'd by the renewing of our Mind, that we may prove what is the good Will of God, well-pleasing and perfect.* Let us be reform'd in those Vices which be in us contrary to those Vertues I mention'd even now; that is, to Meekness, to Sobriety, to Charity, to spiritual Occupation, that (as the said St. Paul writeth unto Titus) *denying all Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we may live soberly, righteously and vertuously in this present World.*

This Reformation, and restoring the Churches Estate, must needs begin of you our Fathers, and so follow in us your Priests, and in all the Clergy. You are the Heads, you are an Example of living to us; upon you we look as upon marks of our Direction; in you and in your Lives we desire to read (as

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in lively Books) how and after what manner we ought to live: Wherefore if you will consider and pull out the Motes that be in your Eyes; 'tis an old Proverb, *Physician heal thy self*; let me beseech you, spiritual Physicians, first to take your selves this Purgation of Manners, and then afterwards offer us the same to take.

Now the way whereby the Church may be reform'd into a better fashion, is, not to make new Laws, there be already Laws enough, if not too many. *Nothing is new under the Sun*, as saith Solomon, *Eccles. 1. 9.* For the Evils that are now in the Church were before in times past; and there is no fault committed among us, for which our Forefathers have not provided very good Remedys: there are no Trespases, but there be Remedys against them in the Body of the Canon Law. 'Tis not needful then that new Laws and new Constitutions be made, but those which are made already be well kept and put in execution: Wherefore, I pray you, let those Canons and Laws, which are made, be call'd for and rehears'd before you in this your Assembly; those Canons, I mean, that restrain Vice, and those that further Vertue.

1. Let those Canons be rehears'd that do learn you, O Fathers! not to lay hands suddenly on any Man, not to be too facile in admitting into Holy Orders; for here lies the Original and Spring-head of all our Mischiefs, that the Gate of Ordination is too broad, the Entrance too wide and open; every Man that offers himself is admitted every where without putting back. Hence comes it that we have such a multitude of Priests, who have little Learning and less Piety. In my judgment 'tis not enough for a Priest to construe a Collect, to put forth a Question, to answer a Sophism; but an honest, a pure and a holy Life is much more necessary, approv'd Manners, competent Learning in Holy Scripture, some Knowledge of the Sacraments; but chiefly and above all things, the Fear of God, and Love of Heavenly Life.

Let the Canons be rehears'd which command that Benefices of the Church be given only to those that are worthy, and that Promotions be made by the right balance of Vertue, not by nearest Kindred, or carnal Affection, or acception of Persons; whereby it happeneth now-a-days that Boys, and Fools, and Ill-livers do reign and rule in the Church, instead of old Men, and wise, and good.

To this end let the Canons be rehears'd, which forbid and oppose the Dirt of Simony: which Corruption, which Infection, which cruel and detestable Pestilence, doth now creep abroad like a Canker in the minds of Priests; so that in these days many are not afraid, by Intreaty and servile Attendances,

by

Dr. Colet's Sermon to the Convocation. 9

by Rewards and Promises, to procure to themselves great Dignitys.

Let the Canons be rehears'd that command personal residence of Curates in their Churches; for of this many Evils grow, because all Offices now-a-days are perform'd by Vicars and Parish-Priests, yea and those foolish and unmeet, oftentimes wicked, that seek nothing among the Laity but filthy Lucre, whereof cometh occasion of evil Heresys, and ill Christendom in the People.

Let the Canons be rehears'd which concern the Lives of you Fathers, and the Honesty of us Priests; which forbid a Clergyman to meddle in Merchandise, that he be no Usurer, no Hunter, no common Gamer or Player, that he bear no Weapon.

The Canons that forbid Clergymen to haunt Taverns, that forbid them to have suspected familiarity with Women; the Canons that command Sobriety, Moderation in Apparel, and Temperance in adorning the Body.

And to, my Lords, these Monks, Prebends and religious Men, let the Canons be rehears'd, which command them to go the strait way that leads to Heaven, leaving the broad way of the World; which command them not to turmoil themselves in Business, neither secular nor other; which command that they do not sow * in Princes Courts for earthly things: for it is decreed in the first Council of Calcedon †, That Monks ought only to give themselves to Prayer and Fasting, and to the chastizing of the Flesh, and observing of their Rules.

* Lay-plots.

† Πρὸς ἔχειν μὲν τῇ νουσεῖα καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ, &c. Can. 4. & 7.

Above all things, let the Canons be rehears'd that appertain to you my Reverend Fathers and Lord Bishops, Laws concerning your just and canonical Election in the Chapters of your Churches, calling upon the Holy Ghost: For because those Canons are not obey'd now-a-days (but Prelates are chosen oftentimes more by the favour of Men, than by the Grace of God) hence truly it comes to pass, that we have not seldom Bishops who have little Spirituality in them, Men rather worldly than heavenly, favouring more the Spirit of this World than the Spirit of Christ.

Let the Canons be rehears'd of the residence of Bishops in their Diocesses, which command that they look diligently to the health of Souls, that they sow the Word of God, that they shew themselves in their Churches, at least on great Holidays; that they officiate in their own Persons, and do sacrifice for their People; that they hear the Causes and Matters of poor Men; that they sustain fatherless Children and Widows, and exercise themselves in Works of Vertue. Let

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Let the Canons be rehears'd concerning the right bestowing of the Patrimony of Christ; the Canons which command that the Goods of the Church be spent not in costly Building, not in sumptuous Apparel and Pomps, not in Feasting and Banqueting, not in Excess and Wantonness, not in enriching of Kinsfolk, not in keeping of Hounds; but in things profitable and necessary for the Church. For when *St. Augustine* the Monk (once Bishop of *England*) ask'd Pope *Gregory*, how the Bishops and Prelates in *England* should spend their Goods, which were the Offerings of faithful People; the said Pope answer'd (and his Answer is put into the Decrees, *cap. 12. quest. 2.*) *That the Goods of the Bishops ought to be divided into four parts; whereof one part ought to be for the Bishop and his Household, another to his poorer Clergymen, the third to repair and uphold his Tenements, the fourth to poor People.*

Let the Canons be rehears'd (yea and that oftentimes) which take away the Filthiness and Corruption of your Courts, which take away those daily new-found Crafts for Lucre; which effectually pull away this foul Covetousness, which is the Spring and Cause of all the Evils that we feel, the Fountain of all Iniquity.

Lastly, let those Canons and Constitutions of our Forefathers be renew'd, which concern the Celebration of Councils; which appoint Provincial Synods to be oftner us'd for the Reformation of the Church, because there never happens any thing more hurtful to the Church of Christ than the lack of Councils, both general and provincial.

When these Canons are rehears'd (and such others as concern us and the Correction of our Manners) nothing will be lacking, but that the same be put in execution with all Authority and Power, that once (seeing we have a Law) we live according to the Law. For which things, with all due reverence, I call chiefly upon you Fathers (for this execution of the Canons, and observing of the Constitutions, must needs begin at you) that ye may teach us Priests to follow you by lively Examples; or else truly it will be said of you, *They lay grievous Burdens upon other Mens Backs, but they themselves will not as much as touch them with their little Finger,* *Mat. 23. 4.*

For indeed if you keep the Laws, and first reform your own Lives to the Rules of the Canon-Laws, then shall ye give us light (in which we may see what is to be done on our part) that is to say, the Light of your good Example: And we seeing our Fathers so keep the Laws, will gladly follow their steps.

The Clergy and Spiritual Men being thus once reform'd in the Church, we may then with a just Order proceed to the Reformation of the Laity's part: which truly will be very easily done, if we be first reform'd our selves. For the Body follows the Soul; and such as the Rulers in the City be, such are the Inhabitants. Wherefore if Priests that have the Charge of Souls be good, the People will streight be good too. Our Goodness will teach them far more clearly and effectually to be good, than all other Teachings and Preachings whatsoever: Our Goodness shall compel them into the right way, truly more powerfully than all your Suspensions, Excommunications, and Cursings.

Wherefore if ye will have the Lay-People to live after your Wish and Will, first live you your selves after the Will of God; and so (trust me) ye shall effect in them whatsoever ye would.

Ye would be obey'd by them; and 'tis fit ye should (for these are the words of *St. Paul* to the Lay-People, *Heb. 13. 17.* *Obey them that have rule over you, and submit your selves*) But if you will have this Obedience, first do you perform within your selves that which is the reason and cause why they ought to obey you, which the said *St. Paul* teacheth (and it follows in the Text) viz. *Take you heed diligently, as those that must give a reckoning for their Souls*; and they will obey you.

Ye would be honour'd of the People; and reason good (for *St. Paul* writes to *Timothy*, that the *Priests who rule well are worthy of double Honour, especially they who labour in the Word and Teaching*, *1 Tim. 3. 17.*) But if you desire to be honour'd, first look that you rule well, and that you labour in Word and Teaching: and then shall the People have you in all honour.

You would reap their carnal things, and gather Tithes and Offerings without contention; and it is very fit (for *St. Paul* writing to the *Romans*, saith, *It is their Duty to minister unto you in carnal things*, *Rom. 15. 27.*) But you ought first to sow your spiritual things, and then ye shall reap plentifully their carnal things: For truly that man is very hard and unjust, who will reap where he never did sow, and desires to gather where he never scatter'd.

Ye would have the Church's Liberty, and not be drawn before secular Judges, this also is reasonable (for it is in the *Psalms*, *Touch not mine Anointed*, *Psal. 105. 15.*) But if ye desire this Liberty, first unloose yourselves from the worldly Bondage, from trucking with the World, and from the vile Services of Men; and lift up your selves to the true Liberty, the spiritual Liberty of *Christ*: Place your Hearts and Affections
upon

upon his Service, which is perfect Freedom. Serve you God, and reign in him; and then (believe me) the People will not touch the Anointed of their Lord God.

Ye would be out of business, in rest and peace; and that is convenient: But if ye would have Peace, return to the God of Peace and Love. Come again to Christ (in whom is true Peace, which passeth all Understanding) come again to yourselves, and to your priestly living. And (to make an end) as *St. Paul* saith, *Be ye reformed by the renewing of your Mind, that ye may savour the things that be of God, and the Peace of God shall be with you.*

Thus have I recited to you (Reverend Fathers, and right Famous Men) the Particulars which I thought fit to be spoke for the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Affairs. I trust you will take all (out of your Gentleness) in good part. If peradventure it be thought that I have pass'd my bounds in this Sermon, or have said any thing out of temper, forgive it me; and ye shall forgive a Man speaking out of mere Zeal, a Man heartily lamenting the Decay of the Church: and consider the thing it self, not regarding any Foolishness. Consider the miserable Condition and State of the Church, and endeavour your selves with all your Souls and Abilities to reform it.

Suffer not, Fathers, this your great Convocation to depart in vain; suffer not this your Congregation to be for no end. Truly ye are gather'd oftentimes together, but (by your favour to speak the Truth) I see not yet what good cometh of your assembling, namely to the Church.

Go ye now in the Spirit that ye have call'd upon, that by the help of it ye may in this your Council find out, decree, and ordain those things that may be profitable to the Church, a Praise unto You, and an Honour to God; unto whom be all Honour and Glory now and for ever. *Amen.*

The LIFE of Dr. COLET.

Written by Erasmus Roterodamus.

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1. **JOHN COLET** was born in London, the Son of *Henry Colet* (Knight, and twice Lord Mayor of that City) and *Christian* his Wife; who was a Matron of very rare Piety and Christian Fortitude, whereof I will give but one Instance. She had eleven Sons, and as many Daughters of the same Husband; all which she saw buried, except *John* who was her First-born. God was pleas'd to take *Sir Henry* away, when she was a very old Woman. And when she was fourscore and ten years of age, her Countenance was so comely and entire, her Behaviour so cheerful and pleasant, that if you had seen her, you would have said, sure she never had any Sorrow or any Child-bearing in her Life: yet, unless my memory fail much, she out-liv'd her Son *John*. So much Strength of Mind was there even in a Woman, caus'd not by Philosophy or human Learning, but by sincere Piety to God and Trust in Christ. A shame for many Men!

§. 2. *Lib. xv. Epist. 14. pag. 702.* Of these two and twenty Children, *John* being the eldest, was according to the Law of England his Father's sole Heir; whereby he must have inherited a very considerable Fortune, tho the rest had all lived: but they were all dead when I first began to know him. And Nature was as indulgent to him as Fortune; for he had a very proper, tall, handsom, and comely Body. In his younger

ger days he much addicted himself to the Study of Scholastical Philosophy, and commenc'd in *England* Master of Arts; an Honour due not so much to his standing in the University, as his Knowledg in the seven liberal Sciences: in none where of he had been then ignorant, in most of them exquisitely learned. All *Tully's* Works were as familiar to him as his Epistles. He had read over *Plato* and *Plotinus* so diligently, that when I heard him speak, methought I heard *Plato* himself talk, *lib. 5. ep. 2. pag. 309. c.* And he had a Smattering in each part of Mathematicks.

§. 3. Being thus well principled at home, he began to look abroad, and improve his Stock in Foreign Parts. In *France* he added to his *Humanity*, what he thought necessary for the Study of *Divinity*: which then he effectually prosecuted in *Italy*. Amongst the Antients he was most taken with *Dionysius*, *Origen*, *St. Cyprian*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Hierom*: but among them all he most digested *St. Augustin*. And yet he did not so tie himself to Antiquity, but that (as occasion serv'd) he sometimes survey'd *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, and other Schoolmen. In a word, he was well vers'd in both Laws, and singularly read in History, both Civil and Ecclesiastical. And because he saw that *England* had her *Dantes* and *Petrarchs* as well as *Italy*, (who have perform'd the same here, which they did there) those and these, he both read and diligently imitated; accommodating thereby his Stile to the Pulpit, and Preaching of the Gospel.

§. 4. After his Return from *Italy*, he staid not long in *London* (where his Parents lived) but chose to live in *Oxford*, where he publickly (yet freely and without stipend) expounded *St. Paul's* Epistles, being not full thirty years of Age, younger than I was by two or three months. There and then I had the happiness to come first acquainted with him: For tho at that time he had neither took nor desir'd any Degree in *Divinity*, yet there was no Doctor whatsoever, either of *Theology* or *Law*, no Abbot nor dignify'd Person in the whole University, that did not frequent, and (which is more) take Notes of his Lectures. Which was to be imputed either to *Colet's* Authority, or their Studiousness and Modesty, chuse you whether.

§. 5. But before he left *Oxford*, they honour'd him with the Degree of Doctor; which he accepted rather to please the Givers than himself. From that University and these Sacred Employments, he was call'd back to *London* by the Favour of *K. Henry VII.* who bestow'd upon him the Deanery of *St. Paul's*, that he might be President of his College, whose Epistles and Learning he loved so well. [He was made both Doctor and Dean, *Ann. 1504. l. 10. ep. 8. p. 512.*] Of all the Deaneries

Deaneries in England the highest in esteem, but not of greatest value: which Colet embrac'd rather as a burdensom Charge, than Honour. And therefore as soon as he had regulated his College of Prebends, and rais'd up the antient Discipline that was fallen down, he resolv'd (which was not usual in those times) to preach every Holiday in his Cathedral, over and above his Sermons at Court, and many other Churches. At St. Paul's he expounded the Scriptures, not by Retail, but by Wholesale; running over sometimes a whole Epistle, sometimes a whole Gospel, the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. Where-ever he preach'd, he was exceedingly follow'd, both by the Chief Citizens and Courtiers: which appears by this following Letter sent him by Sir Thomas More (afterwards Lord Chancellor of England) which you may see in Stapleton, tom. 4. pag. 92. operum in folio.

SIR, I lately met your Boy in Cheapside, whom I was very glad to see, chiefly because I thought he had not return'd without you. But when he told me that you were not only not come, but not coming; you cannot imagine into what a dump of Sadness I fell from an height of Joy. For what can be more troublesom to me, than to be depriv'd of your most sweet Company? having been so long used to enjoy your most prudent Counsel, to be refresht with your most pleasant Society, to be rouz'd with your most grave Sermons, and better'd by your excellent Example and Life: in a word, in whose very Countenance and Gesture I was wont to be unspeakably delighted. As methought I was strengthen'd by these things while I had them, so for want of them I seem to languish. And because of late by following you I had almost got out of the Faws of Hell, now again like another Euridice (yet by a contrary Law, for she fell because Orpheus lookt upon her, but I fall because you do not look upon me) I am carry'd back by a kind of Force and Necessity into sad Darkness. For what is there in this City that should move any body to live well, and not rather (while he is of his own disposition climbing up the steep Hill of Vertue) pull him back by a thousand Allurements and Devices? Which way soever I walk, what do I hear of but Dissembling and the sugar'd Poisons of Flatterers? What do Men talk of but Quarrels and Law-Suits? Which way soever I look, what do I see but Alehouses, Taverns, Cooks, Butchers, Fishers, Fowlers, and such rattel; who prog for Belly-timber, and serve the World, and the Devil the Prince thereof? I know not how it comes to pass, but methinks the very Tops of the Houses almost meet sometimes, and take away a good part of the pleasant Light; and will not suffer us to look upon Heaven freely: so it is not the Circumference of the Horizon, but the House-top that bounds the Air. For which cause I may excuse you the more, if you are not yet weary of the Country, where you see
People

People dealing plainly, and not acquainted with the Knavery of the City; where which way soever you turn your Eyes, the smiling Face of the Earth pleases, the sweet Temper of the Air refresheth, and the goodly Aspect of the Heaven delighteth you. You see nothing there but the bountiful Gifts of Nature, and some holy Footsteps of Innocence.

§. 7. But, Sir, I wou'd be loth you should be so far taken with these Delights, as to be detain'd long from us: for if the Inconveniences of the City displease you, yet Stepney (of which you should have some care) will be as convenient for you as the place that you are now in; whence you may step into the City (where you have an huge opportunity of doing good) as into an Inn. For whereas Men in the Country are of themselves either almost innocent, or not so abominably bad as they be here; any Physician may do good among them. But in this City, both by reason of the multitude of the Inhabitants, and the inveterate hold which the Diseases of Sin have got; a Doctor comes to no purpose, unless he be excellently skill'd. I confess, some come into your Pulpit at St. Paul's sometimes, who promise fair; but when they seem to have made an excellent Discourse, their Lives differ much from their Words, that they do increase rather than assuage the Malady. For they who themselves are sickest of all, will never persuade People, that they are fit to be charg'd with the Care and Cure of other folks Distempers: which when Men feel touch'd by those whom they see full of Ulcers, they cannot but winch, kick, and be angry. But if (as the Philosophers say) he be the fittest Physician, in whom the sick Person hath greatest confidence, doubtless none is more likely than you to cure this whole City. By whom, how willing they are to have their Wounds handled, in whom what confidence they put, and how ready they are to obey you, appears sufficiently by the Experience you have of them, and the incredible Expectation they have of you. Therefore make hast away, my good Colet, either for your Town Stepney's sake, which laments your long Absence as much as a Child doth his Mother's; or for your native Country's sake (London) whereof you ought to have as much care as of your Parents. In the last, tho least place, be moved by your respect to me, who have dedicated my self wholly to you, and do hugely long for your Return.

Farewell, and still love,

London, Oct. 23.

Your very Affectionate,

THOMAS MORE.

§. 8. The Dean's Table, which in former times had under pretence of good Housekeeping been too much prostitute to excess, he reduc'd to Frugality. For he kept himself to one Meal a day many years together, both before and after his Preferment: which at once cut off all his Supper-Guests

(late)

(late Dinners not a few) and the more, because his Entertainment (tho neat) was neither costly nor excessive, his sitting short, and his whole Discourse such as pleas'd none but those that were either learned or pious. For soon after he had said Grace, his Boy read a Chapter (distinctly and aloud) out of *St. Paul's Epistles*, or *Solomon's Proverbs*; from which he himself for the most part pickt the Subject of that Meal's Discourse; asking not only Scholars, but even ordinary People (if they were ingenious) what was the meaning of this or that Passage. And he so order'd his Words, that tho he were holy and grave, yet he seem'd no whit tedious or supercilious. And at the end of the Meal, when their Hunger (not Pleasure) was satisfy'd, he fell upon another Subject. Thus dismissing his Guests, with as much Satisfaction to their Minds as Refreshment to their Bodies, desiring they should depart better men than they came, not with bigger Bellies. He was hugely delighted with the Conference of his Friends, who oft kept him till late at night; but all his Conference was either of Literature or Jesus Christ. If he had no acceptable Friend to chat with (for every one did not please him) his Boy did read somewhat to him out of godly Books. Sometimes he call'd me to ride abroad with him, and then he was as merry as any man alive; but a good Book was always his Comrade in his Journey, and his Talk was continually of Christ.

§. 9. He was so much averse from all Filthiness, that he could not endure Solecisms or barbarous Language. He affected Neatness in his Household-stuff, Clothes, Books, Meat; but not Magnificence. He wore no Garments but black, whereas in *England* Doctors in Divinity, and other eminent Clergymen, commonly wear Scarlet. His upper Garment was always of Cloth, plain and without trimming, which in hard Frosts he fortify'd with Fur [*Præfat. ad notas in N. T.*] And he being an eminent Advancer of Divine Philosophy, lent me two very old Latin Copies of the New Testament, when I wrote Notes upon it, writ in Characters that were like *Saxon*, and indeed so old, that I was forc'd to turn Child again, and begin anew to learn my Alphabet, before I could read them.

§. 10. Whatsoever Revenues accrued unto him by the Church, he intirely committed to his Steward, to be distributed, and spent in Housekeeping. His own hereditary Rents and Profits (which were vast) he himself distributed to pious Uses. For his Father being dead, Money flow'd in apace from what was left him by Inheritance; and lest that being kept should breed some Disease in him, he

therewith erected a stately new School in *St. Paul's Church* yard, dedicated to the Holy Child Jesus: whereunto he joind fair Dwellings for two School-masters, to whom he assign'd liberal Stipends, that they might teach *gratis*, but so as that they should not be enjoind to admit above a certain Number, *viz.* 153.

§. 11. The whole Fabrick he divided into four parts: whereof one (at the entrance) is as it were for the *Catechumeni* (and yet none is admitted till he can read and write) the second for such as are under the Usher. The third part is for those whom the upper Master teacheth. These two ends are divided by a Curtain, which is drawn to and fro when they please. Above the Master's Chair stands the Holy Child Jesus, curiously engraven, in the posture of one reading a Lecture, with this Motto, *Hear him*; which words I advis'd him to set up. And all the young Fry, when they come in and go out of School (besides their appointed Prayers) salute Christ with an Hymn. At the upper end is a Chappel, in which Divine Service may be said. The whole Building hath no corners nor lurking-holes for Dunces, having neither Chamber nor Dining-Room in it. Every Boy has his proper Seat distinguish'd by spaces of wood, and the Forms have three Ascents. Every Class containeth sixteen Boys (the two lowest much more) and the best Scholar of each sits in a Seat somewhat more eminent than the rest, with the word *CAPITANEUS* engraven in golden Letters over his Head.

§. 12. The Masters of this School do not rashly admit of all that are brought, but choice is made of the most towardsly Wits and best Dispositions; lest in that laborious Employment they should toil in vain. For some men in this age are so base (as I told *Dr. Colet*, lib. 31. ep. 45. p. 2046. g.) as to set those to be Scholars, and profess Divinity (the chief of all Sciences) whom for their dull Capacity and bad Natures they think scarce fit for any other Study. He entreated me [*lib. 10. ep. 17. & 18. p. 518. f. & 520. e*] to seek out a Man whom I thought a fit Under-Master for this his School (*Will. Lilly* being the first Upper Master) I enquir'd in many places, but could hear of none. At length being at *Cambridg* among some Masters of Arts, I propounded it to them: One of them (and he of no mean esteem) smiling, said, *Who would endure to live in that School among Boys, that could make a shift to scrape up a Livelihood any where else?* I answer'd modestly, that it seem'd to me a very honest Employment to instruct young People in Learning and Good Manners; that Christ did not despise that Age; that a Man could bestow his pains upon no Age better; and in no place expect a better Effect or Reward of his pains than at *St. Paul's School*, because it is in the midst of *London*,
and

and *London* the chief City of the Kingdom; where from all other Parts the Lines (or Gentry and ingenious People) meet as in a Center. And I added, that if Men were truly pious, they would think that they could no way serve God better than by bringing Children to Christ. But he drawing up his Nose and scoffing, reply'd, *If any have a mind to serve Christ, let him go into a Monastery or Religious House.* I answer'd, that *St. Paul* plac'd true Religion in the Duties of Charity; and that Charity consisted in doing as much Good to our Neighbours as we could. He rejected that as fillily spoken: *Behold,* quoth he, *we have left all;* therein is Perfection. I finally told him, that that man hath not left all, who when it is in his power to do good to very many People, shuns the Imployment because he thinks it too mean for him. — And so (lest we should have wrangled) I left the man. But you here see the Wisdom of the *Scotists*.

§. 13. Our quick-sighted *Dr. Colet* saw very well, that the main Hope and Pillar of a Commonwealth consists in furnishing Youth with good Literature, and therefore did he bestow so much Care and Cost on this School. Tho it stood him in an infinite Sum of Money to build and endow it, yet he would accept of no Copartner. One left indeed a Legacy of 100 *l.* Sterling to the Structure of it; but *Colet* thinking, that if he took it, some Lay-People would challenge to themselves I know not what Authority over the School, did by the permission of his Bishop bestow it upon holy Vestments for the Choir: Yet tho he would suffer no Laynian to have a finger in the Building, he entrusted no Clergyman (not so much as the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of *St. Paul*), nor any of the Nobility, with the Oversight of the Revenues; but some married Citizens of honest Report. When he was ask'd why he would do so, he answer'd, That there was nothing certain in human Affairs; but he found least Corruption in such men.

§. 14. As all men highly commended him for his School, so many wonder'd why he would build so stately an House within the Bounds of the *Carthusian* Monastery, which is not far from the Palace at *Richmond*: but he told them, that he provided that Seat for himself in his old Age, when he should be unfit for Labours, or broken with Diseases, and so constrain'd to retire from the Society of Men. There he intended to philosophize with two or three eminent Friends, among which he was wont to reckon me; but Death prevented him. For being few years before his Decease visited thrice with the Sweating Sicknes (a Disease which seiz'd no Countrymen but *English*) tho he recover'd, yet he thereupon grew confumative, and so died. One Physician thought that the Dropsy kill'd

kill'd him; but when he was dissected, they saw nothing extraordinary, only the capillary Vessels of his Liver were beset with Pustles. He was buried in the South side of the Choir of his own Cathedral, in a low Sepulcher, which he to that end had chose for himself some years before, with this Inscription, *JOHN COLET.*

§. 15. In the mean while I shall say somewhat, first of his *Nature*, secondly of his paradoxical *Opinions*, and lastly of those *Afflictions* wherewith his ingenuous Piety was exercis'd; for some whereof he might have thank'd his own natural Temper. For he was of a very high Spirit, hugely impatient of any Injury, wonderfully prone to Lasciviousness, Luxury, and overmuch Sleep; to Jestings and Facetiousness above measure (all this he confess'd to me himself) and he was not wholly safe from Covetousness. But against each of these he fought such a good Fight by Philosophy, Divine Contemplations, Watching, Fasting, and Prayer, that he led the whole course of his Life free from the Infections of this World; and as far as I could any way gather (by Familiarity and much liberal Converse with him) was a pure Virgin to his dying Day. All his Wealth he distributed to pious Uses; of which I have said somewhat already, and shall say more anon.

§. 16. [*Lib. 23. ep. 5. p. 1206. a.*] He had an Uncle that was a very old ill-condition'd man, with whom he did not agree. The Difference between them was not about a Trifle, but so vast a Sum of Mony, that a Son might almost have fought with his Father about it. *Colet* being to dine with the Reverend Father in God *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, took me in the Boat with him from *St. Paul's* to *Lambeth*. All the way he read the Remedy of Anger in my *Enchiridion*, but did not tell me wherefore he read it. When we sat down, it chanc'd that *Colet* sat over against his Uncle; and there he was very sad, neither speaking a word, nor eating a bit. Now the Archbishop had an excellent Faculty in such a case (to make every one merry at his Table) ordering his Discourse according to each man's peculiar Temper; so he began to compare our several Ages, and then those who sat musing before, fell to chatting: and the Uncle (as old Men are wont to do) began to brag, that tho he were so far stricken in years, he felt no Decay of his Strength. After dinner they two had some discourse betwixt themselves; but what I cannot tell. When *Colet* and I were come back to the Boat, he told me that he saw I was a happy Man: I answer'd, that I wonder'd why he should call me happy, who thought myself the unhappiest Person in the world: Whereupon he told me, that he had been that day so angry with his Uncle,

that

That he had almost resolv'd (breaking all Bonds of Christian Modesty and natural Affection to his Kindred) to have sued him openly at Law; That for this reason he took my *Enchiridion* in his hand along with him, to read the Remedy against Anger, and that the reading of it had done him much good; That by that prattle in Dinner-time, the Bitterness and Heat of each was so far allay'd, as that when the Archbishop stept aside, and they talkt together privately, the whole Difference was compos'd. In a word, *Colet* did daily so endeavour to conquer all his Passions, and subdue the Haughtiness of his Mind by Reason, that he would take it well to be admonish'd even by a Child.

§. 17. Lasciviousness, Sleep, and Luxury he chas'd away by abstaining constantly from Supper, by continual Sobriety, indefatigable Study, and holy Conferences. But yet when there was occasion, either to discourse with fair Ladies, or jest with witty Persons, or feast with pleasant, a man might easily perceive some Footsteps of his Nature, which made him for the most part keep from the Society of all Lay-People; but especially from Banquets, to which when he must needs come, he commonly took with him me or some learned Friend, with whom he discoursed in *Latin*, that he might avoid idle Talk. His custom was to eat only of one Dish, to content himself with one Glass of Beer or Ale, or two at the most. And though he was delighted with good Wine, yet he drank very little of it; always suspecting his own sanguine Complexion and Inclination, and being very wary of all those things, by which he might offend any Person whatsoever.

§. 18. In all my life I never saw a more happy Wit, and thence it came that he was exceedingly pleas'd with such Wits as were like himself: but at all times when he might choose his Discourse, it was of such things as prepar'd him for the Immortality of a Life to come. And when at any time he refresh'd himself with pleasant Stories, he did not fail to make use of his Philosophy in them. He was much pleas'd with the Purity and Simplicity of Nature in little Children (to the Imitation of whom we are call'd by our blessed Saviour) being wont to compare them to Angels.

§. 19. Now for the second Particular, his Opinions; he much differ'd in them from the Vulgar. The *Scotists* (of whose Acuteness most men have a high Conceit) he esteem'd heavy Fellows, and any thing rather than ingenious. And yet he had a worse opinion of *Thomas Aquinas* (for what reason I know not) than of *Scotus*. For when I sometimes commended *Thomas* to him as no contemptible Author (among the Moderns) because he seem'd to have read both Scriptures

and Fathers (as I guess'd by his *Catena Aurea*) and to have somewhat of affection in his Writings; *Colet* seem'd not to mind me two or three times, and said nothing. But when at another Discourse I spoke the same again with more vehemency, he look'd stedfastly upon me, to see whether I were in jest or in earnest; and when he saw I spoke seriously, he reply'd thus in a Passion, *Why do you commend this Man to me? who if he had not been very arrogant would never so rashly (and yet so magisterially) have presum'd to define all Points of Religion; and if he had not savour'd too much of the Spirit of the World, he would not have polluted all the Doctrine of Christ with so much of his own profane Philosophy.* I wondred at the enthusiastick Posture of the Man, and after that set upon reading *Aquinas* his Works more attentively; and I must needs confess that my Opinion of him abated much.

§. 20. No Man was more a Friend to true Christian Piety, yet he had little or no Kindness for Monks, or rather I should say for those who are now (for the most part fall'y) so call'd; and therefore while he liv'd he gave them but little, and when he died nothing; not that he hated the Profession, but because he saw they did not live according to it. Yet his Desire was to have disingag'd himself from the World, and betaken himself to a Monastery, if he could any where have found a Society that was truly and unanimously resolv'd upon an Evangelical Life. And when I went into *Italy*, he charg'd me to seek for such an one, telling me that he had found some Monks there who were really prudent and pious; commending also some *Germans*, among whom he thought that the footsteps of the good old Religion did still remain.

§. 21. Tho he liv'd very chastly himself, yet he had a very charitable Opinion of those Priests and Monks, who had no other Crime but Venery. Not that he did not heartily abhor the Sin, but because he found such Men far less mischievous than others (if compar'd) who were haughty, envious, backbiters, hypocrites, vain, unlearned, wholly given to the getting of Money and Honour. Yet these had a mighty Opinion of themselves; whereas others, by acknowledging their Infirmity, were made more humble and modest. He said, that to be covetous and proud, was more abominable in a Priest than to have an hundred Concubines: not that he thought Incontinence to be a light Sin, but Covetousness and Pride to be at a greater distance from true Piety. And he was not more averse to any sort of Men, than such Bishops who were Wolves instead of Shepherds; and commended themselves by external Service of God, Ceremonys, Benedictions and Indulgences to the People, while with all their Hearts they serv'd the World,
that

that is, Glory and Gain. He was not much displeas'd with them who would not have Images (either Painted or Carv'd, Gold or Silver) worship'd in Churches; nor with them, who doubted whether a notorious wicked Priest could consecrate the Sacrament. Hereby not favouring their Error, but expressing his Indignation against such Clergymen, who by an open bad Life gave occasion to this Suspicion.

§. 22. He said, That the Colleges in *England*, which are large and stately, hinder good Literature, and are Receptacles of idle People; nor did he much regard the publick Schools, because their Ambition and Gain did corrupt the Sincerity of old Discipline. As he did much approve of secret Confession (professing that he never had so much Comfort from any thing as that) so he much condemn'd Anxiety in it, and Repetition. Whereas it is the Custom in *England* for Priests to consecrate the Host, and receive it almost every day; he was content to sacrifice on Sundays and Holidays, or some few days beside; either to gain more time for his sacred Studys, and fit himself the better for his Pulpit-Employments, and the Business of his Cathedral; or because he found that his Devotion had a greater edg, when it was sharpned with Intervals: And yet he wou'd not condemn them who were minded to come to the Lord's Table every day. Tho he was a very learned Man himself, yet he did not prize that anxious and laborious sort of Wisdom, which is fully attain'd by knowledg of several Sciences, and reading a multitude of Books; saying oft, that the native sound Constitution of Mens Parts, and the Sincerity of their Wit, was lost thereby; and that they rather got a learned sort of Madness, than any true Incentive to Christian Innocence, Simplicity, and Charity.

§. 23. He attributed very much to the Epistles of the Holy Apostles; but when he compar'd them with that wonderful Majesty which is to be found in our Saviour's own Sayings and Sermons, he thought them somewhat dry. He had very ingeniously reduc'd almost all the Sayings of Christ to Ternaries, and intended to write a Book of them. He wondred that *Roman* Priests shou'd be forc'd to say so many Prayers every day; nay, tho they are much employ'd, whether at Home or in a Journey; but he much approv'd of the performing Divine Service magnificently. He dissented from innumerable Opinions now commonly receiv'd in the Schools, in which he wou'd sometimes tell his Mind to his Friends, but say nothing to others, lest he shou'd incur a double Inconvenience, *viz.* lose his own Credit, and do them no good, perhaps harm. There was no Book so heretical that he was not willing to read over attentively, professing that sometimes he advantag'd himself

more by such, than by their Works who determine every Question which they handle in such a manner, that they often flatter their Leaders, and sometimes themselves.

§. 24. He endur'd not that any one shou'd, in speaking fluently, be guided altogether by the Precepts of Grammar (that he said, oft hindred one from speaking well) but by his reading the best Authors. Which Opinion brought its own Punishment along with it; for tho he had Eloquence both by Nature and Education, and had wonderful store of Matter in his Head when he began to make a Speech, yet he oft tripped in those things which Criticks are wont to take notice of. And thereupon I suppose he abstain'd from writing Books, which I wish he had not done; for *I heartily desire the Meditations or Works of this Man, in what Language soever they are pen'd.*

§. 25. And now, lest you shou'd think any thing wanting to the complete Piety of *Dr. Colet*, in the last place hear his Afflictions: He never agreed well with his Bishop, who (to say nothing of his Manners) was a superstitious and stubborn Scotist, and thereupon thought himself half a God. Of which sort of Men, tho I know some whom I will not call Knaves, yet I never saw one whom I thought I might truly term a Christian. Neither was the Doctor acceptable to most of his own College, because he was very tenacious of regular Discipline; and the Prebends complain'd that he us'd them as if they were Monks, whereas indeed that College was antiently (and in old Records is call'd) the Eastern Monastery [*as Westmonasterium, the Western Monastery.*]

§. 26. But when the old Bishop's (for he was fourscore years of Age) Hatred grew too high to be smother'd, the Fire broke out; and adjoining two other Bishops, as wise and virulent as himself, he began to trouble *Dr. Colet*, exhibiting Articles against him to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, taken out of his Sermons. 1. That he said, Images were not to be worship'd. 2. That preaching upon that passage in the Gospel, *Feed, feed, feed my Sheep*, he expounded the first by good Example, the second by sound Doctrine (as other Expositors do) but in the third he differ'd from them; denying that the Apostles, who were poor Men, were commanded to feed their Sheep with temporal Revenue, because they had none of it themselves; and that he nam'd somewhat else in this third place. Lastly, That by blaming those that read all or most of their Sermons (which I confess many do now in *England* very coldly) he had obliquely tax'd his Diocesan, who being a very old Man was wont to do so. The Archbishop being well acquainted with *Colet's* Excellencys, receiv'd the Articles; but instead of being his Judg, became his Advocate.

S. 27. Yet the old Man's Fury did not end so, but strove to incense the Court against him, especially King *Henry VIII.* himself; because the Doctor had said in a Sermon, *That an un-just Peace was to be prefer'd before a most just War*: which Sermon was preach'd in that nick of time, when the King was raising Forces against the *French*. Two Minim Friars were the chief Men that manag'd this Business; whereof one was an Incendiary of the War (for which he deserv'd a Bishoprick) the other, with a pair of huge Lungs, declaim'd in his Sermons against Poets, thereby aiming at *Colet*, who tho' he had Skill in Musick, yet was in truth averse from Poetry.

S. 28. Here the King (who was an excellent Person in his Youth) gave an evident proof of his royal Parts, exhorting *Colet* privately to go on in his Preaching, freely to tax the corrupt Manners of that Age, and not to withdraw his Light in those most dark times; adding, *That he knew very well what incens'd the Bishops so highly against him, and how much good Colet had done by his Divine Life and Holy Doctrine to the English Church and Nation. Lastly, that he wou'd so curb their Endeavours, that it shou'd appear to the World whoever troubled Colet shou'd not escape unpunish'd.* Hereupon *Colet* humbly thank'd the King for his Royal Favour, but beseech'd him not to do so, professing that he had rather lay down his Preferment, than that any shou'd suffer for his sake.

S. 29. But soon after another occasion was offer'd, by which they hop'd to ruin him: For it happen'd that the King made preparation to march after Easter against the *French*; and upon Good-Friday *Colet* made a Sermon to the King and Courtiers, which was much admir'd, concerning the Victory of Christ; wherein he exhorted all Christians to fight under the Banner of their heavenly King, and overcome, saying, *That they who either thro' Hatred, or Ambition, or Covetousness, do fight with evil Men, and so kill one another, fight not under the Banner of Christ, but the Devil; shewing withal, how hard a thing it is to die like a Christian, how few go forth to Battel free from Hatred and Covetousness, and how difficult for such to be in Charity (without which no Man shall see God) who sheathe their Swords in their Brethrens Bowels. Adding, that they shou'd rather imitate their King Christ, than Pagan Casars and Alexanders.* And he had so many other smart Passages to this purpose, that his Majesty was somewhat afraid lest this Sermon would dishearten his Soldiers that were list'd.

S. 30. Hereupon all the Birds of Prey flock'd about *Colet* like an Owl, hoping the King wou'd be incens'd against him. His Majesty commands *Colet* to come before him at *Greenwich*.

He goes into the Garden of the Monastery of the *Franciscans* which was near, presently dismisseth his Attendants. When they two were alone, the King bid *Colet* cover his Head, and speak his Mind freely: and then his Highness began thus *Dean, be not surpriz'd with needless Fear, I did not send for you hither to disturb your most holy Labours (which I resolve to cherish as much as I can) but to unload my Conscience of some Scruples, and to desire your Advice concerning my Duty.* The Conference lasted almost an hour and an half, and I must not relate it all. In the mean while *Bricot* (the *Franciscan* Bishop) was in the Court stark wild, hoping that *Colet* had been in great danger; whereas the King and he agreed in every particular very well. Only his Majesty wish'd that what *Colet* spoke truly, he would speak (sometime or other) more plainly, lest the rude Soldiers should misunderstand it, as if he had said, *That no War is lawful among Christians.* And thus *Colet* (by his singular Prudence and Moderation) not only satisfy'd the King, but got farther into his Favour.

§. 31. When they return'd from the Garden to the Court the King being about to dismiss *Colet*, call'd for a Cup, and drank to him, embrac'd him most kindly; and promising him all the Favours that could be expected from a most loving Prince, dismiss'd him. And now the Courtiers, standing round the King, expected to know the Issue of this long Conference; and the King, in the hearing of them all, said, *Well, let other Men chuse what Doctors they please, and make much of them, the Man shall be my Doctor.* Whereupon *Bricot*; with the rest of the gaping Wolves, departed, and from that day forward never dar'd trouble *Colet* any more; a Person that in an high Fortune and Plenty was led and govern'd not by his Nature, but by Christ: In a word, whom I shall not doubt to reckon in the Catalogue of my Saints, tho he be never canoniz'd by any Pope.

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Phenix XVIII.

Some Account of the Lady Jane Gray, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, particularly before her Death. Together with four Papers written with her own Hand, viz.

I. An Admonition to such as are weak in Faith, in

a Letter to a noble Friend who had apostatiz'd.

II. A Conference between her and Mr. Feckenham

in the Tower, a little before her Death.

III. An Exhortation to her Sister. And,

IV. Her Words at her Death.

SOME worthy Parcels or excellent Essays of the never-enough to be imitated Vertues, of that most admirable, wise, learned and religious Lady, the Lady Jane Gray, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and unfortunate Wife of the Lord Guilford Dudley, Son to the Duke of Northumberland, coming in an old antient printed Copy unto my Hands, as it were half forgotten in the World; or like a curious Monument, whose well-carv'd Figures and rare Architecture the Dust and Cobwebs had injuriously defac'd: I cou'd not, out
of

28 *Some Account of the Lady Jane Gray.*

of Charity and Christian Love to a Mirror of such Excellency but with my best Art and Industry polish and cleanse a Perfection so noble, holy, and worthy all good Mens Imitation and as it were to awaken the sleepy World from her fantastical Lethargy, to behold in that, which we call the weaker Sex a strength matchless and invincible: A *Sheba* that had so heard the Wisdom of *Solomon*, that ten thousand of our *Sermons* may come now to be instructed at this *Sheba*. Briefly, Lady in all Goodness so perfect, that whosoever could get but some part of her shadow, might have enough in these latter days to boast, and rank themselves with the best that call'd vertuous: so flatteringly are Attributes cast upon the Living, and so maliciously slander upon the Dead.

To return then to my Discourse, you may by that which hath been formerly spoke of her Birth and Marriage, judge the Greatness of her Blood and Place, both which were far outshin'd by her Vertues, as shall be declar'd hereafter: She was born in *England*, and there brought up in Learning and Religion with that prosperous and devout Painfulness, that Seed cast upon the best and most fruitful Ground, brought forth her Increase in such abundance of Infinites, that the least of her Excellencies were impossible to be circumscrib'd. For proof whereof, that every judgment may be confirmed in the Opinion of her Perfection, I will here deliver unto you an Epistle of her own penning, sent to a noble Friend of hers in the Court of *England*, being, in those days of Persecution, fallen from the Truth of God's holy Word for fear of the World; in which you shall find so much Learning, Charity and Divine Readings, that by this one Tale only this Princely Eagle may be truly discover'd how potent and unmatched the great substance of so rich a Vertue is.

An Epistle of the Lady Jane Gray's to a Noble Friend of her's, newly fallen from the Truth.

SO oft as I call to mind (dear Friend and chosen Brother) the dreadful and fearful Sayings of God, That he who layeth hold upon the Plow, and looketh back again, is not meet for the Kingdom of Heaven; and on the other side to remember the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ, to all those that forsaking themselves do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy Case, that thou which sometimes wast an lively Member of Christ, but now the deform'd Image of the Devil; sometimes the beautiful Temple of God, but now

stinking and filthy Kennel of Satan; sometimes the un-
blessed Spouse of thy Saviour, but now the unshamefac'd Para-
mour of Antichrist; sometimes my faithful Brother, but now
stranger and Apostate; yea sometimes a stout Christian Sol-
dier, but now a cowardly Runaway. So oft as I consider the
Oaths and Promises of the Divine Justice to all those
which faithfully love him, I cannot but speak to thee, yea ra-
ther cry out and exclaim against thee, thou Seed of Satan,
not of *Juda*, whom the Devil hath deceiv'd, the World
hath beguil'd, and desire of Life hath subverted, and made
a Christian an Infidel.

Wherefore hast thou taken upon thee the Testament of the
Lord in thy Mouth? Wherefore hast thou hitherto yielded
thy Body to the Fire, and to the bloody hands of cruel Ty-
rants? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in
the Testament and Law of the Lord, when thou thy self prea-
dest (as it were not to steal) yet most abominably stealest,
not from Men, but from God; and as a most heinous sacrile-
gious Robber, robbest Christ thy Redeemer of his right in his
Members, thy Body and thy Soul; when thou thy self dost
rather chuse to live miserably (with shame) in this World,
than to die gloriously and reign in Honour with Christ to the
end of all Eternity, in whom even in Death there is Life be-
yond all wish, beyond all expression. And when I say thou thy
self art most weak, thou oughtest to show thy self most strong,
the strength of a Fort is not known before the Assault;
thou yieldest (like a faint Captain) thy Hold before any
battery be brought against thee.

Oh wretched and unhappy man! what art thou but Dust
and Ashes? and wilt thou resist thy Maker that form'd and
nourish'd thee? Wilt thou now forsake him that call'd thee
his Custom-gathering among the Romish Antichristians, to
be an Ambassador and Messenger of his eternal Word? He
that first fram'd thee, and since thy Creation and Birth pre-
serv'd thee, nourish'd thee, and kept thee, yea and inspir'd
thee with the Spirit of Knowledg (I cannot, I wou'd I cou'd,
I wou'd I cou'd) shall he not possess thee? darest thou deliver up
thy self to another, being not thine own but his? How canst
thou, having Knowledg, or how darest thou neglect the Law
of the Lord, and follow the vain Traditions of Men? and
whereas thou hast been a publick Professor of his Name, be-
come now a Defacer of his Glory?

I will not refuse the true God, and worship the Invention of
Man, the golden Calf, the Whore of *Babylon*, the Romish
Religion, the abominable Idol, the most wicked Mass: Wilt
thou

thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious Body our Saviour Christ with thy bodily and fleshly Teeth, with the breaking whereof upon the Cross our Sins and Transgressions could else no way be redeem'd? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any Sacrifice unto God for our Sins, considering that Christ offer'd up himself (as *St. Paul* saith) upon the Cross, a lively Sacrifice once for all?

Can neither the Punishment of the *Israelites* (which for the Idolatry so oft they receiv'd) move thee, neither the terrible Threatnings of the antient Prophets stir thee, nor the Cross of God's own Mouth fear thee to honour any other God than him? Wilt thou so regard him that spar'd not his dear only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea utterly extinguishing his Glory, that thou wilt attribute the Praise and Honour to Idols, which have Mouths and speak not, Eyes and see not, Ears and yet hear not, which shall perish with them that make them? What saith the Prophet *Baruck*, where he reciteth the Epistle of *Jeremiah* written to the captive *Jews*, did he not forewarn them that in *Babylon* they should see Gods of Gold, Silver, Wood and Stone born upon Mens Shoulders, to cause a fear upon the Heathen? But be not ye afraid of them (saith *Jeremiah*) nor do as others do: But when you see others worship them, say you in your Hearts, It is thou (O Lord) that oughtest only to be worship'd; for as touching the Timber of those Gods the Carpenter fram'd them, and polish'd them, yea gilded they be, and laid over with Silver, and vain things, and cannot speak. He sheweth moreover the Abuse of their Deckings, how the Priests took off their Ornaments, and apparel'd their Women therewithal; How one holdeth a Scepter, another a Sword in his hand, and yet can they judge of no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either Hatred or Murder, nor yet from gnawing Worms, Dust, Filch, or any other evil thing: These and such like words speaketh *Jeremy* unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things and no Gods; and at last he concludeth thus: *Confounded be those that worship them.*

They were warn'd by *Jeremy*, and thou as *Jeremy* hast warn'd others, and art warn'd thy self by many Scriptures in many Places.

God saith he is a jealous God, which will have all Honour, Glory and Worship given to him only: And Christ saith in the fourth of *Luke* to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Satan, the same *Beelzebub*, the same Devil which hath prevail'd against thee: *It is written* (saith he) *thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.*

These and such like do prohibit thee and all Christians to worship any other God than he which was before all Worlds, and laid the foundations both of Heaven and Earth; and wilt thou honour a detestable Idol, invented by the Popes of Rome, and the uncharitable College of politick Cardinals?

Christ offer'd up himself once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? But thou wilt say thou do it for a good Intent: Oh Sink of Sin! Oh Child of Perdition! canst thou dream of any good intent therein, when thy Conscience beareth thee witness of the Wrath of God pronounced against thee?

How did Saul, who for that he disobey'd the Word of God for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal Kingdom: Shalt thou then, which dost so deface God's Honour, and rob him of his Right, inherit the eternal heaven-Kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of Heaven, and make his Death void, and deface the Triumph of his Cross, offering him up daily? Wilt thou either for fear of Death, or hope of Life, deny and refuse thy God, who enrich'd thy Poverty, heal'd thine Infirmity, and yielded to thy Victory if thou wou'dst have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the Thread of Life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it hard to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not remember the Saying of David, a notable King, which teacheth thee, a miserable Wretch, in his 104th Psalm, where he saith, *When thou takest away thy Spirit (O Lord) from Men, they die, and are turn'd again to their Dust; but when thou lettest their Breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the Earth.*

Remember the Saying of Christ in his Gospel, *Whosoever will save his Life, shall lose it; but whosoever will lose it for my sake, shall find it.* And in another place, *Whosoever loveth his Father or Mother above me, is not meet for me; for he that will be my Disciple, must forsake Father, and Mother, and himself, and take up his Cross and follow me:* What Cross? the Cross of Infamy and Shame, of Misery and Poverty, of Affliction and Persecution for his Name's sake.

Let the oft-falling of those heavenly Showers pierce thy Conscience; let the two-edg'd Sword of God's Holy Word cut awunder the knit-together Sinews of worldly respects, even to the very Marrow and Life-Blood of thy carnal Heart, that thou may'st once again forsake thy self to embrace Christ: and like as good Subjects will not refuse to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal Governors; so fly thou like a white-liver'd Milk-sop from thy Standard, whereby thy

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thy chief Captain Christ hath plac'd thee in a noble Array of this Life: *Viriliter ago, confortetur cor tuum, & sustine Dominum* Fight manfully, come Life, come Death, the Quarrel is Gods and undoubtedly the Victory is ours.

But thou wilt say, I will not break Unity. What? Not the Unity of Satan, and his Members; not the Unity of Darkness, the Agreement of Antichrist, and his Adherents; no then thou deceivest thy self with fond Imaginations of such a Unity as is amongst the Enemys of Christ: Were not the false Prophets in an Unity; were not *Joseph's* Brethren, *Jacob's* Sons, in an Unity; were not the Heathen, as the *Amalekites*, the *Perizzites* and *Jebusites*, in an Unity? I keep no order but look rather to my matter: Were not the Scribes and Pharisees in an Unity? Doth not King *David* testify, *Convenient in unum adversus Dominum*? Yea Thieves and Murderers, Conspirators and Traitors have their Unity.

Mark, my dear Friend (yea Friend, if thou bee'st not Gods Enemy) there is no Unity but when Christ knitteth the Knot amongst such as be his: yea be you well assur'd that where his Truth is resident, there it is verify'd that he saith, *veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium*; that is, Christ came to set one against another; the Son against the Father, the Daughter against the Mother. Deceive not thy self therefore with the glittering and glorious name of Unity: for Antichrist hath his Unity, yet not in Deed, but in Name; for the Agreement of evil Men is not an Unity, but a Conspiracy.

Thou hast heard some Threatnings, some Curses, and some Admonishments of the Scriptures to those which love themselves above Christ.

Thou hast heard also the sharp and biting words to those which deny him for Love of Life; saith he not, that *he which denieth me before Men, I will deny him before my Father which is in Heaven.* And to the same effect writeth *St. Paul* in the sixth to the *Hebrews*, saying, *It is impossible that they which have been once lightned, and have tasted of the heavenly Gift of Grace, and have made Partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have relish'd of the precious Word of God, if they fall and slide away, it is impossible that they should be renew'd again by Repentance, crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making him as it were a Mocking-stock, or game of their Fancies.* And again (saith he) *If we shall willingly fall away after we have receiv'd the knowledg of the Truth, there is no Oblation left for Sin, but the terrible expectation of Judgment and Fire which shall devour the Adversarys.* Thus *St. Paul* writeth, and thus thou readest, and dost thou not quake and tremble? Well, if these terrible and thundering Alarms cannot stir thee to arise and cleave unto Christ, and forsake the World; yet let the sweet

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Consolations and Promises of the Scriptures, let the Exam-
ples of Christ and his Apostles, both Martyrs and Confessors,
encourage thee to take faster hold by Christ. Hearken what
he saith again in his Holy Gospel, *Blessed are you when Men
wile you, and persecute you for my sake; rejoyce and be glad, for
that is your Reward in Heaven, for so persecuted they the Prophets
before you.*

Hear what *Isaiab* saith, *Fear not the Curse of Men, be not afraid
their Blasphemys and Revilings, for Worms and Moths shall eat
them up like Cloth and Wool, but my Righteousness shall endure for
ever, and my saving health from Generation to Generation: What art
thou then (saith he) that fearest a mortal Man, the Child of a Man,
which fadeth away as doth the Flower, and forgettest the Lord that
made thee, that spread out the Heavens like a Curtain, and laid the
foundations of the Earth so sure that they cannot be remov'd? I am
the Lord thy God, which maketh the Sea to rage, and to be still, who
the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my Word in thy Mouth, and defend
thee with the turning of a hand. And our Saviour Christ saith
to his Disciples, They shall accuse you, and bring you before the
Princes and Rulers for my name-sake, and some of you they shall per-
secute and kill; but fear you not (saith he) neither care you not
what you shall say; for it is my Spirit that speaketh in you, the
Spirit of the Highest shall defend you, for the Hairs of your Heads
are numbered, and none of them shall perish. I have laid up Treas-
ure for you (saith he) where no Thief can steal, nor Moth corrupt;
and happy are you if you endure to the end. Fear not them (saith
Christ) which have power over the Body only; but fear him that hath
power both over the Body and the Soul. The World loveth her own,
and if you were of the World, the World would love you; but you
are not of the World, and therefore the World doth hate you.*

Let these and such like Consolations out of the Scriptures
strengthen you to Godward: let not the Examples of holy
Men and Women go out of your Mind, as that of *Daniel* and
the rest of the Prophets; of the three Children of *Eleazars*,
that constant Father; the *Maccabees* Children, that of *Peter*,
Paul, *Stephen*, and other Apostles and holy Martyrs, in the
beginning and infancy of the Church; as of good *Simeon*
Archbishop of *Seloma*, and *Zerrophone*, with infinite others, an-
other *Sapores* the King of the *Persians* and *Indians*, who contemn'd
all Torments devis'd by the Tyrants for their Saviour's sake.

Return, return again for Honour and Mercies sake into the
way of Christ Jesus; and, as becometh a faithful Soldier, put
on that Armor which *St. Paul* teacheth to be most necessary
for a Christian Man, and above all things, take to you the
shield of Faith.

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And be you most devoutly provok'd by Christ's own Example, to withstand the Devil, to forsake the World, and to become a true and faithful Member of his mystical Body, who spar'd not his own Flesh for our Sins. Throw down thy self with the fear of his threatned Vengeance, for this so great and heinous Offence of Apostacy, and comfort your self on the other part with the Mercy, Blood, and Promises of him that is ready to turn to you whensoever you turn to him: Dildaine not to come again with the lost Son, seeing you have so waded with him: Be not asham'd to turn again with him from the Swill of Strangers, to the Delicates of the most benig and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against Heaven and Earth; against Heaven, by staining his glorious Name, and causing his most sincere and pure Word to be evil-spoken of thro you; against Earth, by offending your so many weak Brethren, to whom you have been a Stumbling-block thro your sudden sliding.

Be not asham'd to come again with *Mary*, and to weep bitterly with *Peter*, not only with shedding of Tears out of your bodily Eyes, but also pouring out the Streams of your Heart to wash away, out of the sight of God, the Filth and Mire of your offensive Fall: Be not asham'd to say with the Publican, *Lord be merciful to me a Sinner.* Remember the horrible History of *Julian* of old, and the lamentable Case of *Francis Spier* of late, whose remembrance methinks shou'd yet be so grievous to your memory, that being a thing of our time, you shou'd fear the like Inconvenience, seeing that you are fallen into the like Offence. Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last Day be always before your Eyes, remembering the Terror that such shall be in at that time, with the Runnagates and Fugitives from Christ; who setting more by the World than by Heaven, more by their Life than by him that gave them their Life; more by the Vanity of a painful Breath, than the perfect assurance of eternal Salvation, did shrink, yea did clean fall away from him that never forsook them. And contrariwise, the inestimable Joys prepar'd for them, which feared no Peril, nor dreading Death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumph'd over all power of Darkness, over Hell, Death and Damnation, thro their most redoubted Captain Jesus Christ our Saviour, who even now stretcheth out his Arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your Neck and kiss you; and last of all, to feast you with the Daintys and Delicates of his own most precious Blood, which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost: To whom with the Fa-
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her and the Holy Ghost, be all Honour, Praise and Glory
everlastingly. *Amen.*

Your's, if you be Christ's,

JANE GRAY.

Postscript.

*Be constant, be constant, fear not for Pain,
Christ hath deliver'd thee, and Heaven is thy Gain.*

J. G.

THUS having read her own Words, pen'd by her own
Hand, and weigh'd well the Depth and Greatness of her
most charitable Devotion, her pregnant and rare knowledg in
the Book of God, her sweet Elocution in the scholarlike Con-
texture and Marriage of the best Words and Phrases together;
who can have that possible dulness of Spirit in him, as not to
conclude and believe that her Birth, her Education, and all
the natural Inclinations of her own Spirits, were suitable and
agreeing with that best Goodness, which (how seldom extant)
yet is ever expected in all noble Personages; for indeed Gen-
tly it self is but Vertue: and all Dignity added to Gentry
doth but as it were baptize it with a more renown'd Title of
the most excellent Vertue; in which stile this Lady might take
a large boast, and instead of *Cesar's Veni, Vidi, Vici*, of her
may be said, she was *Noble, Chaste, and Religious*. But some
over-curious to examine Goodness) may reply unto me, That
her Honour was her Ancestors, and not the work of her fun-
damental Institution, and therefore not altogether so glorious:
that her sober and chaste Life was either a singular Gift from
above, or a tormenting fear of the shame of this World conti-
nually stir'd up in her Blood, thro the Discourse of Readings
of Examples; and that her Religion being traduc'd from the
Instructions of her first Parents, and seconded by the learned
Admonitions of them of the same Opinion; her Mind, as it
were, being utterly unacquainted with any other contrary Ar-
gument, but ever sooth'd up and fortify'd in one Path only, that
it was no great work either of marvel or mastery that she con-
tinu'd either so good, constant or violent in the heat of her
zealousness; whereas if she had heard the continual Tempta-
tions of the Adversary, and been inforc'd to have held a long
Battel with Men, esteem'd profound in a quite opposite Opi-
nion, or had been burden'd with the heavy and tyrannous Yoke
of Authority, which by intolerable Afflictions wou'd have not
only threaten'd the bending, but the breaking of her Heart
and Bowels, if she had not yielded to the Will of their Opi-
nions; then for her bravely to have held out such a weary
Siege,