

36 *Some Account of the Lady Jane Gray.*

Siege, and with a settled Constancy to have undergone a triumph'd in such a Christian Warfare, had not only been memorable, but rare, matchless and renown'd.

To let pass the two first Suggestions, being slight, and not worthy the Labour of any serious Pen, because no doubt ought to be made where there is a probable Assurance; and to come to this last Inference touching her Temptations, being so great and heavy, that they came near to the point of Martyrdom. You shall understand, that after her most unfortunate Marriage, and the utter Defaiture almost of her Name and Honours; others Ambitions having embark'd her into those rough Waves, which of necessity must swallow her (as you may see in a large read in the whole story of our Chronicles) divers learned Roman Catholicks, and even those of the best Fame and Reputation, were sent unto her to dissuade her from that true Profession of the Gospel, which from her Cradle she had ever held; each striving by Art, by Flattery, by Threatnings, by Promise of Life, or what else might move most in the Bosom of a weak Woman, who shou'd become master of so great and worthy a Prize, but all their Labours were bootless: for she had Art to confound their Art, Wisdom to withstand their Flatterys, Resolution above their Menaces, and such a true knowledg of Life, that Death was to her no other than a most familiar Acquaintance. In the end, a deep-read Divine call'd *Mr. Feckenham*, then Chaplain to *Queen Mary*, was sent unto her about some four days before her Death, who had with her a long and tedious Disputation; but as the rest, found himself in all holy Gifts so short of her Excellence, that he acknowledged himself fitter to be her Disciple than Teacher: And thereupon humbly besought her to deliver unto him some brief Sum of her Faith, which he might hereafter keep, and as a faithful Witness publish to the World. To which she willingly condescended, and bid him boldly question her in what Points of Religion soever it pleas'd him, and she wou'd give her faithful and believing Answer, such as she wou'd ever be ready to seal with her dearest Blood. The Sum of which Conference you shall here read, as it was written with her own hand, and her Name subscrib'd thereunto, as followeth.

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*Conference between the Lady Jane Gray, and Mr. Feckenham, four days before her Death, touching her Faith and Religion.*

**Feck.** What thing is requir'd in a Christian ?

**Jane.** To believe in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God.

**Feck.** Is there nothing else requir'd in a Christian but to believe in God ?

**Jane.** Yes: We must believe in him, we must love him with all our Heart, with all our Soul, and all our Mind, and our Neighbour as our self.

**Feck.** Why then Faith justifyeth not, nor saveth not ?

**Jane.** Yes verily, Faith (as St. Paul saith) only justifyeth.

**Feck.** Why St. Paul saith, *If I have all the Faith of the World, without Love, it is nothing.*

**Jane.** True it is, for how can I love him I trust not, or how can I trust in him whom I love not ? Faith and Love ever agree together, and yet Love is comprehended in Faith.

**Feck.** How shall we love our Neighbour ?

**Jane.** To love our Neighbour is to feed the Hungry, clothe the Naked, and to give drink to the Thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to our selves.

**Feck.** Why then it is necessary to Salvation to do good Works, if it is not sufficient to believe ?

**Jane.** I deny that I affirm that Faith only saveth ; but it is not sufficient for all Christians, in token that they follow their Master Christ, to do good Works ; yet may we not say, nor in any way believe, that they profit to Salvation : for altho we have done all that we can, yet we are unprofitable Servants ; and the Faith that saveth is only in Christ's Blood, and his Merits, saveth.

**Feck.** How many Sacraments are there ?

**Jane.** Two ; the one the Sacrament of Baptism, and the other the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

**Feck.** No, there be seven Sacraments.

**Jane.** By what Scripture find you that ?

**Feck.** Well, we will talk of that hereafter : But what is signify'd by your two Sacraments ?

**Jane.** By the Sacrament of Baptism I am wash'd with Water, and regenerated in the Spirit, and that Washing is a Token to me that I am the Child of God : The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is offer'd unto me as a sure Seal and Testimony that I am, by the Blood of Christ which he shed for me on the Cross, made Partaker of the everlasting Kingdom.

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*Feck.* Why what do you receive in that Bread, do you not receive the very Body and Blood of Christ?

*Jane.* No surely, I do not believe so. I think at that Supper I receive neither Flesh nor Blood, but only Bread and Wine; the which Bread when it is broken, and the Wine when it is drunk, putteth me in mind how that for my Sins the Body of Christ was broken, and his Blood shed on the Cross, and with that Bread and Wine I receive the Benefits which came by breaking of his Body, and by the shedding of his Blood on the Cross for my Sins.

*Feck.* Why but, Madam, doth not Christ speak these words, *Take, eat, this is my Body*: Can you require any plainer words? Doth he not say, that it is his Body?

*Jane.* I grant he saith so; and so he saith likewise in other places, I am the Vine, I am the Door, it being only but a figurative borrow'd Speech. Doth not *St. Paul* say that he calleth those things which are not, as tho they were? God forbid that I shou'd say that I eat the very natural Body and Blood of Christ; for then either I should pluck away my Redemption, or confess there were two Bodys, or two Christs: two Bodys, the one Body was tormented on the Cross; and then if they did eat another Body, how absurd? Again, if his Body was eaten really, then it was not broken upon the Cross; or if it were broken upon the Cross (as it is doubtless) then it was not eaten of his Disciples.

*Feck.* Why is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his Body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a Woman without the Seed of Man, and as to walk on the Sea having a Body, and other such like Miracles which he wrought by his Power only?

*Jane.* Yes verily; If God would have done at his last Supper a Miracle, he might have done so; but I say he minded nor intended no Work or Miracle, but only to break his Body, and shed his Blood on the Cross for our Sins. But I beseech you answer me to this one Question, Where was Christ when he said, *Take, eat, this is my Body*? Was not he at the Table? When he said so, he was at that time alive, and suffer'd not till the next day. Well, what took he but Bread, and what broke he but Bread? And what gave he but Bread? Look, what he took he brake, and look what he brake, and look what he gave that they did eat; and yet all the while he himself was at Supper before his Disciples, or else they were deceiv'd.

*Feck.* You ground your Faith upon such Authors as say and unsay both with a breath, and not upon the Church, to whom you ought to give credit.

*Jane.* No : I ground my Faith upon God's Word, and not on the Church ; for if the Church be a good Church, the Faith of the Church must be try'd by God's Word, and not God's Word by the Church, neither yet my Faith : Shall I believe the Church because of Antiquity ? or shall I give credit to that Church which taketh away from me a full half part of the Lord's Supper, and will let no Layman receive it in both kinds, but the Priests only themselves ? which thing if they deny to us, they deny us part of our Salvation : And I say that it is an evil and no good Church, and not the Spouse of Christ, but the Spouse of the Devil, which altereth the Lord's Supper, and taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church, I say, God will add Plagues, and from that Church will he take their names out of the Book of Life. You may learn of *St. Paul* how he did administer it to the *Corinthians* in both kinds, which since your Church refuseth, shall I believe it ? God forbid !

*Feck.* That was done by the Wisdom of the Church, and to a most good Intent, to avoid an Heresy which then sprung in it.

*Jane.* O but the Church must not alter God's Will and Ordinances for the colour or gloss of a good intent ; it was the Error of King *Saul*, and he not only reap'd a Curse, but perish'd thereby, as is evident in the Holy Scriptures.

To this *Mr. Feckenham* gave me a long, tedious, yet eloquent Reply, using many strong and logical Persuasions to compel me to have lean'd to their Church ; but my Faith had arm'd my Resolution to withstand any Assault that Words could then use against me : Of many other Articles of Religion we reason'd, but these formerly rehears'd were the chiefest and most effectual.

Subscrib'd,

*Jane Dudley.*

This catechising Argument between the Lady *Jane* and *Mr. Feckenham* was held in the *Tower* publickly, before divers worthy and noble Personages ; in all which she bore her self with such a modest Humility, yet so honourably stout in all things, which either concern'd her God and her Religion, that she snatch'd and stole unto her all the Hearts of her Auditory, while *Mr. Feckenham* lost much of that good Opinion of his Learning, which formerly for a long time he had enjoy'd ; insomuch that finding his own Weakness, and his much Disability to refute her Truths with his scholastical Fallacys, he grew into a little Choler, and us'd unto her some immodest Speeches most unsuitable for his Gravity ; to which only her Smiles and Patience gave Answer : and amongst the rest coming to take his leave of her, he said, Madam, I am sorry for you and your Obstinacy, and now I am assur'd you and I shall never meet again.

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It is most true, Sir, we shall never meet again, except God turn your Heart; for I stand undoubtedly assur'd that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate Case: and I pray to God in the Bowels of his Mercy to send you his Holy Spirit, for he hath given you his great Gift of Utterance, if it please him to open the Eyes of your Heart to his Truth. But at these words he rudely departed without further Answer, while the Saintlike Lady withdrew her self into her private Bedchamber, where she imploy'd her self in most devout Prayer till the night before her Death; at what time she took a fair new Testament in Greek, on which, after she had read a while, offering to close up the Book, she found in the end thereof some few Leaves of clean Paper unwritten; which as it were awakening and inciting her Zeal to some good and charitable Office, she took Pen and Ink, and in those wast Leaves wrote a most learned and godly Exhortation; which as soon as she had finish'd it, she clos'd up the Book and deliver'd it to her Servant to bear unto her Sister the Lady *Katherine*, as the last Token of her Love and Remembrance, which was with great diligence perform'd. The Tenor of the Exhortation was this which followeth.

### *An Exhortation written by the Lady Jane Dudley the night before her Death, in the end of the New Testament in Greek, which she sent to her Sister the Lady Katherine Gray.*

I Have here sent you (my dear Sister *Katherine*) a Book, which altho it be not outwardly trim'd with Gold, or the curious Embroidery of the artfullest Needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the precious Mines which the vast World can boast of. It is the Book, my only best and best lov'd Sister, of the Law of the Lord: It is the Testament and last Will which he bequeath'd unto us Wretches and wretched Sinners, which shall lead you to the Path of eternal Joy: And if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting Life. It will teach you to live, and learn you to die: It shall win you more, and endow you with greater Felicity than you shou'd have gain'd by the possession of our woful Father's Lands; for as if God had prosper'd him, you shou'd have inherited his Honours and Manors; so if you apply diligently this Book, seeking to direct your Life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an Inheritor of such Riches, as neither the Covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the Thief shall steal, neither yet the Moths corrupt.

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Corrupt. Desire with *David*, my best Sister, to understand the Law of the Lord your God; live still to die, that you by Death may purchase eternal Life, and trust not that the tenderness of your Age shall lengthen your Life; for unto God, when he calleth, all Hours, Times and Seasons are alike, and bless'd are they whose Lamps are furnish'd when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorify'd in the Young as in the Old.

My good Sister, once again more let me intreat thee to learn to die; deny the World, defy the Devil, and despise the Flesh, and delight your self only in the Lord; be penitent for your Sins, and yet despair not; be strong in Faith, yet presume not, and desire with *St. Paul* to be dissolv'd and to be with Christ, with whom even in Death there is Life.

Be like the good Servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when Death cometh and stealeth upon you like a Thief in the night, you be with the Servants of Darkness found sleeping, and left for lack of Oil you be found like the five foolish Virgins, or like him that had not on the Wedding Garment, and then you be cast into Darkness, or banish'd from the Marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do; and seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can follow the steps, and be a true Imitator of your Master Christ Jesus, and take up your Cross, lay your Sins on his back, and always embrace him.

Now as touching my Death, rejoice as I do, my dearest Sister, that I shall be deliver'd of this Corruption, and put on Incorruption; for I am assur'd that I shall, for losing of a mortal Life, win one that is immortal, joyful and everlasting; the which I pray God grant you in his most blessed Hour, and send you his all-saving Grace to live in his Fear, and to die in the true Christian Faith. From which in God's Name I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of Life, nor fear of Death; for if you will deny his Truth to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your Soul's Loss wou'd prolong; but if you will cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscrib'd Comfort, and to his own Glory: To the which Glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it shall please him to call you. Farewel once again, my belov'd Sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you. Amen.

Your loving Sister,

JANE DUDLEY.

After

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After the Lady *Jane* had finish'd this Exhortation to her Sister, and sent it away by her Servant, there came unto her two Bishops and other learned Doctors, who likewise held with her more than two hours Conference, striving with all their powers to have drawn her to have died in the obedience of their Church and Fellowship, but found themselves infinitely deceiv'd; for her Faith, being built upon the Rock of Christ, was by no worldly Persuasion or Comfort to be either mov'd or shaken: so that after the Expence of Time, and the Loss of much Speech, they left her (as they said) a lost and forsaken Member; but she, as before, pray'd for them, and with a most charitable Patience endur'd their worst Censures.

The next day she was call'd down to go to the place of Execution, to which she had prepar'd her self with more Diligence than either the Malice of her Adversarys could desire, or the vigilance of any Officer, for the discharge of his Duty expect; and being come down and deliver'd into the hands of the Sheriffs, they might behold in her a Countenance so gravely settled with all modest and comely Resolution, that not the least Hair or Mote either of Fear or Grief cou'd be perceiv'd to proceed either out of her Speech or Motions: but like a demure Body, going to be united to her Heart's best and longest belov'd; so shew'd she forth all the Beams of a well-mix'd and temper'd alacrity, rather instructing Patience how it should suffer, than being by Patience any way able to indure the Travail of so grievous a Journey. With this blessed and modest boldness of Spirit, undaunted and unalter'd, she went towards the Scaffold, till whether thro the Malice of some great Adversary, or the Indiscretion of the Officers (but the latter is more credible) she incountred upon the way, as she went the headless Trunk of her new dead Lord and Husband, the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, at that instant returning from the Scaffold to the *Tower* to be buried. This Spectacle a little startled her, and many Tears were seen to descend and fall upon her Cheeks, which her Silence and great Heart soon dry'd; and being now come upon the Scaffold, after reverence done to the Lords and others in Commission (turning her self round about to the People) she spake these words as followeth:

### *The Lady Jane Dudley's Words upon the Scaffold before her Death.*

**M**Y Lords, and you good Christian People, which come to see me die; I am under a Law, and by that Law, as a never-erring Judg, I am condemn'd to die, not for any thing

I have offended the Queen's Majesty, for I will wash my hands  
guiltless thereof, and deliver to my God a Soul as pure from  
all Trespas, as Innocence from Injustice; but only for that I  
consented to the thing I was inforc'd unto, Constraint making  
the Law believe I did that which I never understood: not-  
withstanding I have offended Almighty God, in that I have  
allow'd overmuch the Lust of mine own Flesh, and the Plea-  
sures of this wretched World, neither have I liv'd according  
to the knowledg that God hath given me, for which cause  
God hath appointed unto me this kind of Death, and that  
I must worthily, according to my Deserts; howbeit I thank  
him heartily that he hath given me time to repent of my Sins  
here in this World, and to reconcile my self to my Redeemer,  
whom my former Vanities have in a great measure displeas'd.  
Therefore (my Lords, and all you good Christian People) I  
most earnestly desire you all to pray with me and for me whilst  
I am yet alive, that God of his infinite Goodness and Mercy  
will forgive me my Sins, how numberless and grievous soever  
against him: And I beseech you all to bear me witness that I  
here die a true Christian Woman, professing and avouching  
from my Soul, that I trust to be sav'd by the Blood, Passion,  
and Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour only, and by no other  
means, casting far behind me all the Works and Merits of mine  
own Actions, as things so far short of the true Duty I owe,  
that I quake to think how much they may stand up against me.  
And now I pray you all pray for me, and with me: And at those  
words, she repeated the Psalm of *Miserere mei*; which done, she  
said, Lord save my Soul, which now I commend into thy hands.  
And so with all Meekness of Spirit, and a Saintlike Patience,  
she prepar'd her self to the Block.



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# Phenix XIX.

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*A Brief Discourse of the Troubles  
begun at Frankfort in Germany  
Ann. Dom. 1554. about the  
Book of Common Prayer and Cere-  
monies, and continued by the  
Englishmen there, to the end  
of Q. Mary's Reign.*

*First publish'd in the Year 1575.*

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The P R E F A C E of the first Publisher of this  
History.

To the Christian Readers, Grace, Mercy, and Peace, in  
Christ Jesus our Lord.

**S**UCH as do well observe the Variety of mens Judgments about  
these matters of Controversy, and the suppos'd Causes of the  
same, shall find it a thing more than wonderful to behold, and  
passing strange to hear. But whoso shall well weigh and consider, what  
extreme Calamities and Miseries this Broil hath brought with it to  
many godly Persons which unfeignedly fear God; the same must of  
force, as I think (if he have but one drop of Humanity within him)  
draw forth deep and sorrowful Sighs from the Heart, and Tears from

Eyes. To pass over sundry, I will note but this one: Whereas in times  
 (both at Paul's Cross and other places) the Sounds which were  
 to be so sweet, as might justly have moved the godly Hearers to  
 out with the Prophet Isaiah, O how beautiful are the feet  
 them which bring glad Tidings of Peace, &c. are now be-  
 commonly so sour and unsavoury, that instead of Sweetness is  
 and little or nothing but Wormwood and bitter Gall. And yet I speak  
 of such, whose cruel Scoffing and unbridled Natures are too well  
 known so far to exceed, as few (discreet and wise indeed) can be  
 moved with any thing almost they either speak or write: but even  
 those I mean, whose Wisdoms, Gravity, and Learning, as the same  
 meth by good right due Reverence to the Persons, because of those  
 Gifts which God hath bestow'd upon them; so should it also put  
 in mind (especially in such places) to use (meseems) some  
 vein. And for so much as some impute the cause of all these  
 troubles to the ambitious Heads of certain special  
 Persons, who should (as hath been at Paul's Cross) stir up this  
 publicly and very furiously declar'd) stir up this  
 strife in the Church, for that they could not attain  
 Bishopricks, whenas others enjoy'd them: Some also imputing it to  
 strange Churches, as well beyond the Seas, as here among us re-  
 maining, thereby to provoke the Displeasure of the Magistrates against  
 them.

By Dr. Young  
 in Nov. 1573.

And some supposing, yea, roaring out, that this  
 happen'd by such fantastical Heads as can abide  
 Platform, but of their own devising; I have, for  
 use and such-like Considerations, thought good, by a short and brief  
 discourse, to let you see the very Original and Beginning of all this mi-  
 able Contention; leaving nevertheless to your discreet Judgments,  
 who (in these matters) are to be thought innocent, and who most to  
 blame.

Such as D.  
 Elbowrome.

And as one both of Credit, Learning, and of Au-  
 thority, thought it not only meet and expedient openly  
 at Paul's Cross (in presence of the Honourable and  
 worshipful there) to signify unto them that such a  
 hot Contention  
 about these matters had been, but also noted the  
 place where, and the Time when: So I in this Dis-  
 course thought it needful (lest happily that honourable  
 audience might mistake the matter) to set forth by  
 stating the very Order, Manner, and Proceeding of  
 the same; following herein the Steps of such, whom  
 of his goodness hath rais'd up at all times, and  
 among all Nations, to commit things to memory,  
 which hath passed in Commonweals, who have with  
 great freedom and liberty been suffer'd to make mani-  
 fest to the whole world the ill dealings even of Popes,

M. Mullins in  
 Octob. 1573.

Frankfort the  
 Place in Q.  
 Mary's time.

Platina, Pau-  
 lus, Jovius,  
 Sleidan, Fox,  
 with many  
 others.

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Cardinals, Emperors, Kings and Princes; whereas in this Discourse the highest that I touch (and that with great grief of Heart) are my knowledg but certain Bishops, and therefore I hope the more to be born withal; beseeching Almighty God, that as by these my poor simple Travels, my meaning was not (either in contempt or seeking revenge) to provoke the farther Displeasure of the meanest: That so if it be his blessed Will, the same may find favour in the eyes of our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and the right Honourable whom it hath pleas'd him to place in high Authority, for whose Prosperity and Welfare it becometh all true and faithful Subjects (as they are dutifully bound) most earnestly to pray.

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### *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany, A. D. 1554.*

**A**FTER that it had pleas'd the Lord God to take away for our Sins that Noble Prince of famous memory King *Edward* the Sixth, and had placed *Q. Mary* in his room; sundry godly men, as well Strangers as of the English Nation, fled for the Liberty of their Consciences over the Seas, some into *France*, some into *Flanders*, and some into the High Countries of the Empire: And in the Year of our Lord 1554. on the 27th of *June*, came *Edmond Sutton*, *William Williams*, *William Whittingham*, and *Thomas Wood*, with their Companies, to the City of *Frankfort* in *Germany*; the first Englishmen that there arriv'd to remain and abide. The same night came one *Mr. Valeren Pullan*, Minister, unto their Lodging, and declar'd how he had obtain'd a Church there in the name of all such as should come out of *England* for the Gospel; but especially from *Glassenbury*, which were all *Frenchmen*. Answer was made him, that as God was to be praised, who had moved the Magistrates hearts to shew the *French* such favour; even so, forasmuch as few of them understood the *French* Tongue, it would be small commodity to them, or to such as should come afterward, to join themselves to that Church.

The next day they communed with *Mr. Morello*, another Minister of the *French* Church; and also with *Mr. Castalio*, a Senior of the same (both of them godly and learned men) by their Advice and Counsel it was determin'd, that a Supplication should be drawn out, and offer'd to the Magistrates, to know first whether they would be contented, that not only

The Parties before-nam'd, but also all other *Englishmen* that should repair thither for the like cause, might thro their favour be suffer'd safely to remain within their City. This application was subscrib'd as well by the said *Sutton, Whittinham,* and the rest of the *Englishmen*, as also by *Morellio, Castalio,* and one *Adrian* a Citizen there, with whom they lodg'd. And within three days after the offering up of their Supplication, they obtain'd their Requests.

The eighth of *July* following, labour was made (by the Counsel and Advice of *Morellio* and *Castalio*, who during their Lives shew'd themselves Fathers to all *Englishmen*) to *Mr. John Woberge* one of the chiefest Senators, for a Place or Church, wherein they and all their Countrymen might have God's Word truly preach'd, and the Sacraments sincerely minister'd in their natural Tongue; who jointly promis'd his furtherance, and that he also would move the whole Senate thereof; the which he did accordingly. And the 14th Day of the same Month it was granted that they should have liberty to preach, and minister the Sacraments, in that Church which the *French* men had, the *French* one day, and the *English* another day, and on the Sunday; to chuse also their hours as they could agree among themselves: but it was with this Commandment, that the *English* should not dissent from the *French* men in Doctrine or Ceremonies, lest they should thereby minister occasion of offence; and willed farther, that before they entred their Church, they should approve and subscribe the same Confession of Faith that the *French* men had then presented, and out to put in print. To the which all the aforenam'd (and others which were by this time come thither) did subscribe.

When the Church was in this sort granted, they consulted among themselves what Order of Service they should use (for they were not so strictly bound, as was told them, to the Ceremonies of the *French* by the Magistrates, but that if the one approv'd of the other it was sufficient.) At length the *English* Order was perus'd, and this by general Consent was concluded, that the answering aloud after the Minister should not be us'd, the Litany, Surplice, and many other things also omitted, for that in those Reformed Churches such things should seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Minister (in place of the *English* Confession) should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the State and Time. And the same ended, the People to sing a Psalm in Metre in a plain Tune, as was and is accus'd in the *French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish,* and *Scotch* Churches; that done, the Minister to pray for the Assistance of God's holy Spirit, and so to proceed to the Sermon. After the

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the Sermon, a general Prayer for all Estates, and for our Country of *England*, was also devis'd, at the end of which Prayer was join'd the Lord's Prayer, and a Rehearsal of the Articles of our Belief; which ended, the People to sing another Psalm, as afore. Then the Minister pronouncing his Blessing, *The Peace of God*, &c. or some other of like effect, the People to depart.

And as touching the Ministration of the Sacraments, such dry things were also by common Consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous. After the Congregation had concluded and agreed, and had chosen their Minister and Deacons to serve for a time; they entred their Church the 29th of the same month. Then was it thought good among themselves, that forthwith they should advertise their Countrymen, and Brethren dispers'd, of this singular Benefit, the like whereof could no where else as yet be obtain'd, and to persuade them (all worldly respects put apart) to repair thither, that they might all together with one Mouth and one Heart both lament their former Wickedness, and also be thankful to their God that had given them such a Church in a strange Land, wherein they might hear God's Word truly preach'd, the Sacraments rightly minister'd, and Discipline us'd, which in their own Country could not be obtain'd.

And to this effect were Letters directed to *Strasburg*, *Zurich*, *Densburg*, and *Emden*, on the second of *August*. And for that it was thought the Church could not long continue in good Order without Discipline, there was also a brief Form devis'd, declaring the Necessity, the Causes, and the Order thereof, whereunto all those that were present subscribed, shewing thereby that they were ready and willing to submit themselves to the same, according to the Rule prescrib'd in God's holy Word; at which time it was determin'd by the Congregation, that all such as should come after, should do the like, before they were admitted as Members of the Church.

Here followeth the general Letter sent from the Congregation of *Frankfort* to *Strasburg*, *Zurich*, *Wezell*, *Emden*, &c.

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace in Christ our Lord, &c.*

**W**E doubt not, dearly Beloved, but you have heard, as well by Letter as by Report, of the excellent Grace and Mercy which our good God and heavenly Father hath shew'd unto our little Congregation in this City of *Frankfort*, for that he hath not only made the Magistrates and Common

by favourable towards us and loving, but also hath given  
them hearts, with much compassion to tender us, insomuch  
that every man helpeth us, no man is against us; much Love,  
Grudg, glad to please, loth to annoy us: yea, and to de-  
re this Good Will not to be of the mean sort, nor so small  
our Brethren have felt otherwhere, they have granted that  
ing which among others, and in other Cities, we could not  
tain, nor durst almost hope for. For what greater Trea-  
ure, or sweeter Comfort can a Christian man desire, than to  
have a Church wherein he may serve God in Purity of Faith,  
and Integrity of Life? Which thing if we wish for, let us not  
use it, seeing where we would, we could not there obtain  
And here yet it is granted in so ample wise, that being  
ject to no blemish, no, nor so much as the Evil of Suspi-  
on (from the which few Churches are free) we may preach,  
minister, and use Discipline, to the true setting forth of God's  
Glorie, and good Example to others. And for our parts, we  
have not been negligent as touching the Execution of the  
Benefit granted. For the 29th of *July*, we had (God be  
thank'd) two Sermons to our singular Comfort, and great Joy  
all godly Men here. Wherefore Brethren, seeing you  
have endur'd the pain of Persecution with us, we thought it  
wise our Duties to make you Partakers of our Consolation,  
that all together we may give thanks to our  
Father, who is more tender over us *1 Cor. 10. Phil. 2.*  
than the Mother over her Child, neither suf-  
fereth us to be tempted above that we may bear, but even  
in the Issue of the Temptation, gave the prosperous Success;  
trusting by God's Grace, that he which hath given you that  
Gift, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his  
Name, will so direct your Hearts, that no respect of Commo-  
dity there, nor yet fear of Burden here, may once move you  
to shrink from your Vocation, which is in one Faith, one  
Administration, one Tongue, and one Consent to serve God in  
his Church.

What more manifest Sign, what plainer Declaration, what  
Word more express and lively can we have of Duty and Vo-  
cation, than when God speaketh in our Hearts by Faith,  
and guideth us out of perils thro his Grace, and now last of all  
directeth us a Resting-place of his exceeding Mercy? You re-  
member that before we have reason'd together in hope to ob-  
tain a Church; and shall we now draw back, as unmindful  
of God's Providence, which hath procured us one free from  
all Dregs of superstitious Ceremonies?

What think you if the Prophet *David* had had *Psal. 42.*  
his Offer, who desir'd to be Porter in the House

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of God, and more esteem'd one day so spent, than a thousand otherwise?

Either what meant he when he said, *Psal. 27. One Request demand of the Lord, which I will seek after, that is, that I may dwell in the House of the Lord all the days of my life?* Had David no Experience? or felt he not what grief it was to want the Congregation? And surely we must grant that he was far more perfect than we be; for he being conversant in this world, set his delight wholly in heavenly things. And many of us (we speak it to our shame) as if we had already gotten the end of our Creation, are plung'd in earthly Affections and worldly Respects; so that thro our Infirmities this excellent Benefit is like to be frustrate. For some doubt who shall be prefer'd, others seek Increase of Learning. Many follow the Commodity of living; certain look for a new Vocation: so that it is a wonder to see the Deformity of many

Affections. God grant we may learn at their Examples, which being called to the Marriage came not, what it is to esteem in time the Worthiness of God's Benefits; left by the loss of the same, after fall into unprofitable Repentance, seeking again our loss with tears, as the reprobate *Esau*, and yet never the near. We charge no one man, Brethren, nor yet mean all; and what Considerations these Excuses were pretended, we

pend our Judgments, referring the same to our Imperfection and Infirmity, whereby the Adversary ceaseth not to batter daily the Walls of God's Temple.

As touching the point of Preferment, we are persuaded thorowly that it hath this meaning, that every man thought of himself modestly, humbly submitting himself to all men, unabling no man; forasmuch as you know that he which seeketh Ambition, Glory, Advantage, or such-like, is not moved with God's Spirit; as witness the Instructions which Christ our Master gave to his Disciples, who labouring of like Disease, were admonish'd that he which did excel among them, should abase himself to his Inferior: which Malady *St. Paul* perceiving to infect like a Canker, most diligently frameth his Stile, that he might not seem to prefer himself to others in the course of his Ministry. And

*Phil. 1. Col. 1.* as for Learning, as we wish to all Men most abundantly, so we most earnestly require that comparing the Congregation's Necessity with your own private Commodity, you would rather for Christ's sake chuse the better; yea, and we assure you one good Advertisement that thro God's Grace when we shall be assembled together,

(such

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an order will be taken, that besides those things which our  
tion shall be able to furnish, we have the City most forward  
procure others. If any would pretend the Hardness of  
Country and Charges, our Experience may sufficiently  
satisfy them, who having travel'd thro most places where the  
Gospel is preach'd; have not found so many Commodities, nor  
Charges.

Resteth the time of calling, which we refer to your Con-  
ferences, beseeching you for Christ's sake to descend into your  
duties without all partiality; weighing the Gravity of the  
matter which is God's, and the silly Excuse which the Flesh  
suffreth. Consider what God would say: *I have prepar'd a  
plentiful and ripe Harvest, which standeth in a readiness, and waiteth  
for the Mower; and I have appointed thee thy Tax. I have given In-  
struments, and all things fit for the Labour: if thou forsake it, the  
crop is in danger; if thou look for oft warning, thou declarest great  
stupidity.*

This Speech, Dearly Beloved, or very like, God used to  
Abraham, Jeremiah, &c. and they thought their Voca-  
tion strong. But you through God's benefit do not only hear  
and thus persuading in your Hearts, but also have been by  
his extreme calling confirm'd, and according thereunto have  
labour'd to the great Glory of God and Profit of the Congre-  
gation. We trust therefore, Brethren, and in Jesus Christ  
require it, that you would hide your Talent no longer; but  
finding new occasion to imploy it, you would put it forth for  
our Master, his Advantage, and your own Discharge: for  
if you feel in your hearts Comfort, as we do, which are here  
assembled to hear the Word of God preach'd and the Sacra-  
ments ministred, we assure you, you should sensibly perceive  
that which the Prophet speaketh in these terms, *Psal. 41. As  
the Hart chased panteth for greediness of Waters, even so (O Lord)  
my Soul seeketh after thee; my Soul burneth for thirst in seeking  
the Lord, and saith, Alas when shall I be able to appear before the  
face of the living God?* What thing then ought we to have in  
our water recommendation than the Order and Policy which  
the Lord hath establish'd in his Church? that we may be taught  
by his Word, that we may worship him and call upon his  
name with one accord, that we may have the true use of the  
Sacraments to help us to the same? For these be the means  
whereby we must be confirm'd in the Faith, in the Fear of  
God, in Holiness of Conversation, in the Contempt of the  
World, and in the Love of Life everlasting. And for this  
consideration St. Paul saith, *Ephes. 4.* not that this Order  
which the Lord hath set in his Church should only be for the  
few and simple, but maketh it common to all, excepting no



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man. For he hath ordain'd, saith he, some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, others to be Teachers and Instructors, to confirm the Godly, and to labour to finish the building of Christ's Body, till we be all brought to one Confession in Faith, to the Knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect Man, and finally, to the just measure of a ripe Christian Age. Let us all mark, that he saith not, that God hath in the Scriptures only that every one should read it, but that he has erected a Policy and Order, that there should be some to teach, and not for one day, but all the time of our Life, even to the Death, for that is the time of our Perfection. Wherefore, Brethren, let us submit our selves, and leave off farther to tempt God, seeing that if we will be of the Body of Christ, we must obey this general Rule. Let not the Respect of worldly Policy stay us. Let no Persuasion blind us. But let us fulfil in our selves that which *Esaias* forewarned that God's Children shall be as Pigeons, which fly by flock into their Dove-house, which is the place where the Word of God is preach'd, the Sacraments ministr'd, and Praised.

To conclude therefore, Dearly Beloved, let every Man call his Conscience to counsel, and besides these sweet Allurements, let us learn to prevent our Adversaries, who seek ever to obscure God's Glory, may easily cavil at this distinction. And would to God the Slander were not already too grievous in sundry places scatter'd, insomuch that in *England* many take occasion to remain in their filth. And some think they may dissemble until a Church be confirm'd, perceiving that this our Scattering augmenteth the grief of Persecution, and so thro our Negligence we lose them for whom Christ died. Consider, Brethren, it is God's Cause, he requires you, it is your duty, Necessity urgeth, Time willeth, your Father speaketh, Children must obey, our Enemies are diligent, and the Adversary is at hand.

Almighty God grant for his Son's sake, that we may rightly ponder the matter, follow our Challenge, serve the turn, hear the Speaker, walk in obedience, and resist our Enemies. We desire you all to take this in good part, seeing we have written nothing but what Charity did indite, and that which I trust and wish you would have done to us in like case. From *Frankfort* this second of August, 1554.

Your loving Brethren,

*John Stanton,*

*William Williams,*

*William Hammon,*

*John Mabebray,*

*William Wittingham,*

*Thomas Wood,*

*Michael Gill.*

Shor

Shortly after the Learned Men of *Strasburg* answer'd to this general Letter before-mention'd in this sort: That they had consider'd the Contents thereof, and perceiv'd that the effect was no other but to have one or two take the chief Charge and Governance of the Congregation. And that in case they might get *Dr. Poynt*, *Mr. Scory*, *Dr. Bale*, or *Dr. Ox*, or two of them, they should be well furnish'd; if not, they would appoint one at *Strasburg*, and another should come from *Zurick* to serve the turn. At which time *Mr. Grindall* came to *Mr. Scory* at *Emden*, perswading him to be Superintendent of this Church of *Frankfort*, who in two several Letters to his private Friends, offer'd his Service to the Congregation; but before the receipt thereof the Congregation had written their Letters to *Mr. Knox* at *Geneva*, to *Mr. Haddon* at *Strasburg*, and *Mr. Lever* at *Zurick*, whom they had elected for their Ministers, and advertis'd *Mr. Scory* by a general Letter the same.

Now when the Answer that came from *Strasburg* was read, compar'd with the Letter written unto them, it did not in any point answer it. For the Congregation wrote not particularly for any certain number, but generally wishing all his Presence; neither did they require to have any Superintendent to take the chief Charge and Government, for the Advice and Election thereof (if such a one had been necessary) ought to have been reserv'd to the Congregation, which they determin'd at that time to have the Church govern'd by two or three grave, godly, and learned Ministers of like Authority, as is accustom'd in the best Reformed Churches.

The eleventh of *October* the Students of *Zurick* wrote also an Answer to the general Letters aforesaid, in this wise:

*The Grace and Peace of God the Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen.*

AS God by his singular Providence hath wonderfully blessed us, as well in moving the Hearts of the Senators and Ministers here, to lament our State, favour and aid us in our Requests, as also in giving happy Success for all kind of Provision to our use and behoof; so he well knoweth, that we no otherwise esteem the same than may stand with his Glory, our Profession, and the Comfort of his afflicted Church, but daily labour in the Knowledge of his Word, to the intent that when God our merciful Father shall so think good, we may be both faithful and skilful Dispensers thereof.

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And as running in the sweet race of our Vocation, ye earnestly written unto us for to repair thither, burdening so sore with your Necessity, that ye think our shrinking in this behalf should argue want of Charity, keep many *England* still, which else would willingly come forth; and our selves careless of that Congregation, whose edifying winning to Christ we only pretend to seek: These are Causes, but touching us, neither so truly objected, so grounded, nor yet so aptly apply'd, but that as sound Reason on our parts might answer the same. Yet notwithstanding inasmuch as you appeal to our Consciences, which in the Court of the Lord shall accuse or excuse us in this thing and other, we will not utterly deny your Requests, but shew ourselves as ready to seek God's Glory and the Increase of his Kingdom, either there or elsewhere, to the uttermost of our powers, as ever we did pretend to do; requiring you all in the name and fear of God, that as we, all Respects set aside and unfeignedly travelling in the necessary Knowledge of Christ, to the Profit of his Church hereafter, refuse not your needy Comfort to accomplish your Desires; so ye not interrupt our Studies, urge our removing, and bring us thither, feeling here already the exceeding Goodness of God towards us: unless ye think, and that before God, that our Absence on the one part should greatly hinder, and our Presence on the other side very much further your godly Attempts already begun, for the furnishing of that Church happily obtain'd, to all our comforts, for the which in our daily Prayers we give God most hearty and humble thanks. If by this doing ye give occasion to break our godly Fellowship, to hurt our Studies, to dissolve our Exercises, and thereby to avert our godly Purposes; ye have to answer unto him which is a faithful and just Judge, and will give unto every man according to his Deeds. Wherefore, dear Brethren, in consideration that we be all not only of one Nation, but also Members of one mystical Body in Jesus Christ our Head, and ought therefore especially in this time of trouble, and most worthily deserv'd Cross, by all means possible one to aid and comfort another, beseeching God for his Mercy's sake to assuage his Wrath, to give us repenting Heart and patient Continuance to our Brethren at home, with pity behold his Vineyard there spoil'd and trodden under foot, and call us home after his fatherly Chastisement estsoons fruitful to work in the same: We briefly make this answer. If upon the receipt hereof, ye shall without cloke or forg'd pretence but only to seek Christ, advertise us by your Letters, that our being there is so needful, as ye have already signify'd.

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that we may altogether serve and praise God as freely as uprightly (whereof private Letters receiv'd lately from Frankfort make us much to doubt) as the Order last taken in the Church of *England* permitteth and prescribeth (for we are fully determin'd to admit and use no other) then about the year next (for before we cannot) God prospering us, and without any just cause or occasion to the contrary growing in the mean time, whereby our intent may be defeated, with one consent we agree to join our selves unto you, and most willingly to do service there, as our poor Condition and Calling doth permit. In the mean time, we shall most intirely beseech Almighty God so to assist you with his holy Spirit, that your labours may help to confound Popery, set forth God's glory, and shew such Light in the face of the world, that both the wicked may be asham'd, having no just cause of Reproach, and also our weak Brethren confirm'd and won to the Truth. From *Zurick*, this 23d of *October*, 1554.

*Your loving Friends,*

*Robert Horne,*  
*Richard Chambers,*  
*Thomas Lever,*  
*Nicholas Karvile,*  
*John Mullings,*

*Thomas Spencer,*  
*Thomas Bentham,*  
*William Cole,*  
*Henry Cockraft,*  
*John Parkbuste,*

*Roger Kelbe,*  
*Robert Beamont,*  
*Laurence Humphrey,*  
*John Pretio.*

About this time Letters were receiv'd from Mr. *Haddon*, wherein he desir'd, for divers considerations, to be excused for coming to take the charge upon him at *Frankfort*.

The 24th of *October* came Mr. *Whitehead* to *Frankfort*, and at the request of the Congregation he took the Charge for a time, and preach'd upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.

About the fourth of *November* came Mr. *Chambers* to *Frankfort*, with Letters from *Zurick*, which were partly an Answer to another Letter written unto them from *Frankfort* the 26th of *September*, which was as followeth.

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace, &c.*

**A**FTER long hope of your Answer to our Letter, we thought good to put you once again in remembrance. And as we in our former, so now in this also, in God's behalf, most earnestly require you deeply to weigh this matter of God's calling, and the Necessity of this Congregation. We have throughly learned your Estate, and also made you privy to ours, and estsoon wish we might be together to bewail our

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Sins past, to pray together for our poor Brethren that are under Antichrist's Captivity, to comfort, instruct, and profit one another; and finally to bestow the time of our Persecution together, and redeem these days which are so evil. And if any desire of Knowledge stay you, certainly it would not be so little increas'd here that you should justly repent. For as touching the Company of Learned Men (as you cannot here be without) so that the thing which chiefly you can require of learned mens Judgments, and Knowledge out of their Works, you may suck most plentifully, whereof with us you can lack no store. We need not, Brethren, to make long discourse in reasoning, for we partly know that God's Spirit, which worketh in your Hearts, shall prevail with you more than disputing; not doubting but the same holy Spirit knocketh at the door of your Consciences, not only to move you of our behalf, but to admonish you to avoid the Inconveniences of Talks, and the Offences of our poor Brethren of England, whose marvelling cannot otherwise be satisfy'd. Remember therefore, Dearly Beloved, that we write as Brethren to our dear Brethren, who altogether seek our Father's Honour, our own Discharge, and the Comfort of our afflicted Countrymen.

The same sweet Father grant for his Christ's sake, that we may assemble together, to the building of this his Temple, to lett the false Workmen and Underminers, and diligently in our Vocation to help to the furnishing of the same, till it rise to Perfection. Fare ye well in Christ. From Frankfort the 16th of September, 1554.

*Your loving Friends, as in the Letter afore,  
so under this subscrib'd.*

The Answer to them of Frankfort was as followeth:

**W**E being plac'd here in quietness, with many and great Commodities for our Studies, tending all to Edification of Christ's Church, have, unto the earnest Requests of your Letters unto us, answer'd in our Letters unto you, that to discharge all Duty in conscience, and to increase and instruct your Congregation at Frankfort, with our Presence and Diligence, will not deny to remove from hence unto you; so that you charg'd of Conscience do constantly affirm, that ye have so great need of us, as by Letters was signify'd, and certainly assure us that we with you may and shall use the same Order of Service concerning Religion, which was in England last set forth by King Edward. And now also for the better understanding of such Requests and charitable Per-

Per-

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performance of Duty, upon both parts desir'd and procur'd  
by *Richard Chambers* our best Friend, a Man most charitable  
and careful for the Christian Congregation, to take pains to  
travel unto you, and with you for us: so that this matter, as  
it is begun and mov'd in writing, may be fully debated and  
concluded by his faithful means and diligence. For we be all  
agreed, and do purpose to allow and perform whatsoever he  
shall say and promise in our names unto you. Wherefore,  
we beseech you in God's name conscionably to consider the  
State and Condition both of you and us; and if thereupon  
you conclude with the said *Mr. Chambers* of our coming unto  
you, then let him not lack your charitable Help in necessary  
provision for our continuance with you. And thus beseeching  
God that your doings may tend to his Glory, and the speedy  
comfort of his afflicted Church, we wish you all Health and  
increase of true Knowledg in Christ our Lord and Saviour.  
From *Zurick* this 27th of *October*, 1554.

*Your loving Friends, as in the Letters before.*

When *Mr. Chambers* had confer'd with the Congregation,  
and saw that they could not assure him the full Use of the  
*English* Book without the hazarding of their Church, he pre-  
par'd to depart from whence he came; and by this time was  
*Mr. Knox* come from *Geneva*, and chosen Minister upon the  
receipt of a Letter sent him from the Congregation, which  
Letter was as followeth:

WE have receiv'd Letters from our Brethren of *Stras-*  
*burg*, but not in such sort and ample wise as we look'd  
for; whereupon we assembled together, in the Holy Spirit we  
hope, and have with one Voice and Consent chosen you so  
particularly to be one of the Ministers of our Congregation  
here, to preach unto us the most lively Word of God, accor-  
ding to the gift that God hath given you; forasmuch as we  
have here, thro the merciful Goodness of God, a Church to  
be congregated together in the name of Christ, and be all  
of one Body, and also being of one Nation, Tongue, and  
Country. And at this present having need of  
such a one as you, we do desire you, and also  
require you in the name of God not to deny  
us, nor to refuse these our Requests; but  
that you will aid, help, and assist us with  
your Presence in this our good and godly En-  
terprise, which we have took in hand to the  
end the profit of his Congregation, and the  
glory of God,  
and the poor Sheep of  
Christ

*Mark the cal-  
ling of Knox  
to the Pastor-  
ship.*

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Christ dispers'd abroad, who with you and like Presences would come hither and be of one Fold, whereas now they wander abroad as lost Sheep without any Guide. We mistrust not but that you will joyfully accept this calling. Farewell.  
From Frankfort the 24th of September.

*Your loving Brethren,*

*William Wittingham,  
John Bale,  
Thomas Cole,  
William Williams,  
George Chidley,  
William Hammon,  
Thomas Steward,*

*Thomas Wood,  
Edmond Sutton,  
John Stanton,  
William Walton,  
Jasper Swift,  
John Geofrie,  
John Gray,*

*Michael Gill,  
John Makebray,  
John Samsford,  
John Wood,  
Thomas Sorby,  
Anthony Carias.  
Hugh Alford.*

Now to return to the Tenour of the Letter which the Congregation of *Frankfort* wrote by *Mr. Chambers* to the Students of *Zurick*.

**WE** have receiv'd your two several Letters, the one dated the 13th of *October*, sent us from *Strasburg*, and the other the 27th of the same, by the hands of your dear Friend *Mr. Chambers*; and have confer'd with him at large touching the Contents thereof. And whenas after divers Assemblies and long Debatings, the said *Mr. Chambers* perceiv'd that we could not in all points warrant the full Use of the *Book of Service* (which seemeth to be your full scope as mark) and also weighing in Conscience the great Benefit that God hath in this City offer'd to our whole Nation, he not only rejoic'd at the same, but also promis'd to travel in persuading you to the furtherance thereof. As touching the effect of the *Book*, we desire the Execution thereof as much as you (so far as God's Word doth command it) but as for the unprofitable Ceremonies, as well by his consent as by ours, they are not to be used. And altho they were tolerable (as some are not) yet being in a strange Commonwealth, we could not suffer'd to put them in use; and better it were they should never be practis'd, than they should be the Subversion of our Church, which should fall in great hazard by using them.

The matter is not ours more than yours (except any except others in godly Zeal) but both wish God's Honour.

If a larger gate be open'd there to the same than to us upon your persuasions, ye shall not find us to draw back for this is that Necessity, Brethren, that may not be neglected.

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sted, if we wish the Comfort and gathering together of our  
dispers'd Brethren. If any think that the not using of the  
book in all points shou'd weaken our Godly Fathers and  
Brethrens Hands, or else any thing deface the worthy Ordi-  
nances and Laws of our Sovereign Lord of most famous me-  
mory, King *Edward* the Sixth; he seemeth either little to  
weigh the matter, or else, letted thro Ignorance, knoweth  
not that even they themselves have, upon considerations of  
Circumstances, alter'd heretofore many things as touching the  
same: and if God had not in these wicked days otherwise  
determin'd, wou'd hereafter have chang'd more, yea and in  
our case we doubt not but that they wou'd have done the like.  
These few Lines, concerning both our Communications, we  
have accordingly written unto you, referring the rest to the  
discretion of our good Friend *Mr. Chambers*, who knoweth that  
we have shew'd our selves most comfortable in all things that  
standeth in our Powers, and most desirous of your Companys  
according to our former Letters. The Spirit of God move  
your Hearts to do that which shall be most to his Glory, and  
the Comfort of your Brethren.

At Frankfort this  
15th of Nov.

Your loving Friends, &c.

The 28th of *Novemb.* *Mr. Chambers* came again to *Frankfort*  
from *Strasburg*, and with him *Mr. Grindall*, with Letters from  
the learned Men there, subscrib'd with sixteen of their hands;  
which Letter was as followeth.

WHEN we do consider what inward Comfort it were for  
the faithful People of *England*, now dispers'd for the  
Gospel, and wandring abroad in strange Countrys as Sheep  
without Pastor, to be gather'd together into one Congrega-  
tion, that with one Mouth, one Mind, and one Spirit they  
might glorify God: We have at all times, and do presently  
think it our Dutys, not only in heart to wish that thing, but  
also to labour by all means, so much as in us lieth, to bring  
the same to pass. And having now perfect Intelligence of  
the good Minds which the Magistrates of *Frankfort* bear to-  
wards you, and others our scatter'd Countrymen; and also un-  
derstanding of the free Grant of a Church unto us, wherein  
we may together serve God; and not doubting of their far-  
ther Friendship in permitting us frankly to use our Religion  
according to that godly Order set forth and receiv'd in *Eng-  
land*, we both give God Thanks for so great a Benefit, and also  
think it not fit to refuse so friendly an Offer, or to let slip  
so



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so good an occasion. Therefore, neither doubting of their good furtherances hereunto, nor yet distrusting your good conformity and ready desires in reducing the *English Church*, now begun there, to its former Perfection of the last had in *England*, so far as possibly can be attain'd, lest by much altering of the same we shou'd seem to condemn the chief Authors thereof; who as they now suffer, so are they most ready to confirm that fact with the price of their Bloods, and shou'd also both give occasion to our Adversarys to accuse our Doctrine of Imperfection, and us of Mutability, and the Godly to doubt of that Truth wherein before they were perswaded, and to hinder their coming hither, which before they had purpos'd. For the avoiding of these, and the obtaining of the other, mov'd hereunto in Conscience, and provok'd by your gentle Letters, we have thought it expedient to send over unto you our belov'd Brethren the Bringers hereof, to travel with the Magistrates and you concerning the Premises; whose Wisdom, Learning and godly Zeal, as they be known unto you, so their Doings in this shall fully take place with us. And if they obtain that, which we trust will not be deny'd at no hands, then we intend (God willing) to be with you the first of *February* next, there to help to set in order and stablish that Church accordingly; and so long altogether to remain with you as shall be necessary, or until just occasion shall call some of us away.

And we doubt not but that our Brethren of *Zurick*, *Emden*, *Densburge*, &c. will do the same accordingly, as we have pray'd them by our Letters, trusting that you by yours will make like request. Farewel. From *Strasburg* the 23d of *Novemb.*

Your loving Friends,

*James Haddon,*  
*Edwin Sands,*  
*Edmond Grindall,*  
*John Huntington,*  
*Guido Eaton,*  
*John Geofrte,*

*John Pedder,*  
*Thomas Eaton,*  
*Michael Reymuger,*  
*August. Bradbridge,*  
*Arthur Saul,*

*Thomas Steward,*  
*Christ. Goodman,*  
*Humphrey Alcocjon,*  
*Thomas Lakin,*  
*Thomas Crafton.*

This Letter was read to the Congregation, at which time Mr. *Grindall* declar'd the occasion of their coming, which (among other things) was chiefly for the establishing of the *Book of England*; not that they meant (as he said) to have it so strictly observ'd, but that such Ceremonys and Things, which the Country cou'd not bear, might well be omitted; so that they might have the Substance and Effect thereof.

Mr.

*Mr. Knox* and *Wittingham* ask'd them what they meant by the substance of the Book? It was answer'd by the other, that they had no Commission to dispute those Matters, but they requested that the Congregation would answer to certain Interrogatorys, which were these: First, that they might know what parts of the Book they wou'd admit; the Second was for a General Church; and the Third, what assurance they might have for their quiet habitation. To the first, Answer was made, that what they cou'd prove of that Book to stand with God's Word, and the Country permit, that should be granted them. To the second, which was for a Church, it was told them, that they understood by the Magistrates, the time they'd not to move any such matter till the Council brake up at *Ausburg*. To the third it was said, that a general Grant was made at their first coming thither to the whole Nation, and the freedom of the City offer'd to all such as were desirous of it, in as large and ample manner as they cou'd require; which was to them assurance sufficient.

These three Questions thus answer'd, *Mr. Chambers* and *Mr. Grindall* depart back again with a Letter from the Congregation, which was as followeth.

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace, &c.*

AS it was ever most true, so at this present we feel most sensibly, that wheresoever God layeth the foundation to build his Glory, there he continueth till he bring the same to a perfect Work: All Thanks and Praise be unto him therefore that hath mov'd your Hearts so, as in no point ye seem to forswear your diligence to the furtherance of the same. And as the Work is of most Excellency, so the Adversarys cease not most craftily to undermine it, or at the least, thro' false Reports and defacing of the Work begun, to state the Labourers which shou'd travel in the finishing thereof. But Truth ever cleareth it self, and as the Sun consumeth the Clouds, so Misreports by Trial are confounded. Our Brethren sent from you can certify you at length touching the Particulars of your Letter, to whom we have in all things agreed which seem'd expedient for the state of this Congregation. As for certain Ceremonys, which the Order of the Country will not bear, we necessarily omit with as little alteration as is possible (which in your Letters ye require) so that no Adversary is so impudent that dare either blame our Doctrine of Imperfection, or us of Mutability, except he be altogether wilfully ignorant, rather seeking how to find faults than

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than to amend them. Neither do we dissent from them which lie at the Ransom of their Bloods, for the Doctrine whereof they have made a most worthy Confession.

And yet we think not that any godly Man will stand to the Death in the defence of Ceremonys, which (as the Book specifies) upon just Causes may be alter'd and chang'd.

And if the not full using of the Book cause the Godly to doubt in that Truth wherein before they were persuaded, and so stay their coming hither, according as they purpos'd; either it signifieth that they were very slenderly taught, which for breach of a Ceremony will refuse such a singular Benefit; or else that you have heard them misreported by some false Brethren, who, to hinder this worthy Enterprize, spare not to sow in every place store of such poor Reasons. Last of all it remaineth that ye write, that the first of *February* next you will come to help to set in order and establish this Church accordingly: which thing, as we most wish for your Company's sake, and for that ye might see our godly Orders already here observ'd; so we put you out of doubt, that for to appoint a Journey for the establishing of Ceremonys, shou'd be more to your Charges than any general Profit, except ye were determin'd to remain with us longer than two months, as ye writ to our Countrymen at *Densburg* and *Emden*; which Letters notwithstanding are now staid, and as appeareth we never the near.

We refer the rest to our Brethren, *Mr. Chambers* and *Mr. Grindall*, who by their diligent Inquisition have learned so far of our state, as we wrote unto you in our former Letters; that is, that we have a Church freely granted to preach God's Word purely, to minister the Sacraments sincerely, and to execute Discipline truly. And as touching our Book, we will practise it so far as God's Word doth assure it, and the State of this Country permit. Farewel. At *Frankfort* this 3d of *December*.

Your loving Friends,

*George Whetnal,*  
*Thomas Whetnal,*  
*John Knox,*  
*John Bale,*  
*William Wittingham,*  
*Edward Sutton,*

*Thomas Wood,*  
*William Williams,*  
*John Stanton,*  
*John Samford,*  
*John Fox,*  
*William Keth,*

*John Makebray,*  
*William Walton,*  
*Michael Gill,*  
*Laurence Kent,*  
*John Hollingham.*

## A Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort. 63

The Answer to this Letter from Strasburg was as followeth.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace.

WE have receiv'd your Letters, and also your Answer in writing concerning certain Articles, and do perceive well by the same, as by Mr. Chambers and Mr. Grindall your Site. But forasmuch as your Opinion is, that the time doth not presently serve to move the Magistrates in those requests, the obtaining whereof was the principal cause of our sending to you: We cannot at this present condescend upon any general Meeting, at any certain time, either to remain with you, or otherwise; and therefore if you shall certainly perceive a time convenient that the Magistrates may be travel'd thither, as well for the good and quiet Habitation of the Scholars, and especially Students, as also a several Church, and to know whether the exercise of the Book shall be us'd, which we mean as no reasonable Man shall justly reprove, and that the certainty of these matters be known to the Magistrates hands.

Then (if you can let us have Intelligence) we will farther consult what is to be done on our Part, trusting God shall direct us to do so as may be most to his Glory in the end, howsoever the present time shall judg of it. From Strasburg this 13th day of December.

Your loving Friends, &c.  
as in the Letters before.

When this Letter was read to the Congregation, they requested, that forasmuch as the learned Men cou'd not condescend upon any general and certain time of meeting, as now appear'd by their Letters, they might conclude upon some certain Order by common Consent still to continue, and that without farther delay, and also to have the Holy Communion ministr'd, which the most part earnestly desir'd. At length it was agreed that the Order of Geneva (which then was already printed in English, and some Copys there among them) shou'd take place, as an Order most godly, and farthest off from Superstition. But Mr. Knox being spoken unto, as well to put that Order in practice, as to minister the Communion, refus'd to do either the one or the other; affirming, that for many Considerations he cou'd not consent that the same Order shou'd be practis'd, till the learned Men of Strasburg, Zurich, Emden, &c. were made privy. Neither yet wou'd he minister,

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minister the Communion by the Book of *England*, for there were things in it plac'd (as he said) only by warrant of Man's Authority, or no ground in God's Word for the same, and had also a long time very superstitiously in the Mass been wickedly abus'd. But if he might not be suffer'd to minister the Sacraments according to his Conscience, he then requesteth that some other might minister the Sacraments, and he would only preach; If neither cou'd be admitted, he besought that he might be discharg'd. But to that the Congregation would in no wise consent.

Whilst these things were thus in handling, came Mr. *Leighton* (before elected) who assembling the Congregation, requesteth that he might, with their Consents, appoint such an Order, shou'd be both godly, without respect of the Book of *Geneva* or any other; requesting farther, that forasmuch as that Office was of so great Importance, and that he had not been the like before, that he might between that and Easter have Tryal of them, and they of him, and so at the end of the term either take or refuse: which time of Tryal, as it was willingly granted him, so when they understood that the Order which he wou'd place and use was not altogether such as was fit for a right reform'd Church, they wou'd in no wise yield to the same.

*Knox*, *Wittingham* and others, perceiving that these Beginnings wou'd grow to somewhat, if it were not staid in time, drew forth a Plat of the whole Book of *England* into the Latin Tongue, sending the same to Mr. *Calvin* of *Geneva*, and requesting his judgment therein, and shewing him that some of their Countrymen went about to force them to the same, and wou'd admit no other, saying, that it was an Order most absolute, and that if they ever came into their Country, they wou'd do their best to establish it again. Now followeth the Description.

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### *A Description of the Liturgy, or Book of Service, which is us'd in England.*

**F**IRST of all Morning-Prayer offereth it self: The Minister having put on a white Garment (which they call a Surplice) beginneth with some Sentence of holy Scripture; for example, *If we shall say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, &c.* or some such of like sort; then he taketh in hand the Exhortation, which stirreth up to a Confession of Sin.

which the Minister pronounceth with a loud Voice, the People saying after him. To this is added an Absolution, and when these things are done, he rehearseth the Lord's Prayer, and afterward, *Lord, open thou my Lips! And my Mouth shall shew forth thy Praise. O God, be ready to be my Help! &c.* Then, *Come ye and let us sing unto the Lord, &c.* By and by also there follow three Psalms together at the end of every one. Then followeth the first Lesson, which containeth a whole Chapter of the Old Testament. After this Lesson they say or sing, *We praise thee O Lord, or, Blessed be the Lord, &c.* Then another Lesson out of the New Testament, unless peradventure the Solemnization of some high Feast hath other set and appointed Lessons. Now in Cathedral Churches they utter their Lessons in plain Song, and then afterwards is *Benedictus* added: This Book warneth that they keep this Order throughout the whole year. Afterwards the Creed is pronounc'd by the Minister (all the People the mean time standing up) afterwards, falling down upon their Knees, the Minister saith, *The Lord be with you! The Answer, And with thy Spirit.*

Then *Lord have mercy upon us! Christ have mercy upon us! Our Father, &c.* pronounc'd out loud of all, with all boldness. Then the Minister, when he standeth up, saith, *O Lord shew us thy Mercy! The Answer, Give unto us thy saving Health. O Lord save the King! In the wherein we shall call upon thee. Indue thy Ministers with Righteousness! And make thy chosen People joyful. O Lord save thy People! And bless thine Inheritance. Give Peace in our time O Lord!*

At length Collects are had in place of a Conclusion; the first for the Day, the second for Peace, the last is for the obtaining of Grace. Now the Evening-Prayers are said in a manner as the other are, saving that after the first Lesson followeth, *My Soul doth magnify the Lord.* After the second Lesson, *Now Lord, &c.* and instead of that Collect, *God, which is the Author of Peace,* is us'd, *O God, from whom all holy Desires, &c.* Besides, there is a caution added, that all Ministers shall exercise themselves continually as well in Morning Prayers as Evening Prayers, except perhaps by study in Divinity, or some other Business, they be greatly and necessarily hinder'd. Besides, upon every Sabbath-day, Wednesday and Friday, there are yet in use certain Suffrages devis'd of Popes Gregory, which begin after this manner: *O God the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us miserable Sinners! O God the Son, Redeemer of the World, &c.* only leaving out the Invocation of Saints, otherwise we use a certain conjuring of God: *By the mystery of his Incarnation, by his holy Nativity and Circumcision, by his Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation; by his Agony and bloody Sweat, &c.*

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&c. yea, it comprehendeth in plain words a Prayer to be deliver'd from sudden Death, the People answering to the end of every Clause, either *Spare us, good Lord!* or else, *Good Lord deliver us!* or, *We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord!* *O Lamb of God, that takest away the Sins of the World,* is thrice repeated. Then *Lord have mercy upon us* thrice, and then the Lord's Prayer, with this Prayer also, *O Lord, deal not with us after our Sins,* to the same adjoin'd; passing over some things, lest we shou'd seem to cite all those Drosses which remain still among us.

Now the manner of the Supper is thus: The number three at the least is counted a fit number to communicate, and yet it is permitted (the Pestilence or some other common Sicknes being among the People) the Minister alone may communicate with the sick Man in his House. First therefore the Minister must be prepar'd after this manner, in a white linen Garment (as in saying the other Service he is appointed) and must stand at the North side of the Table. Then is had the Lord's Prayer after the custom, then he reciteth the Collect, and after follow in order the Ten Commandments, but so notwithstanding, that every one of the People may answer, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this Law.* After the rehearsal of the Commandments, the Collect of the day (as it is call'd) and another for the King to be read. By and by the Epistle and Gospel followeth, to which such as the Calendar appointeth for that day. And here in this place it is to be noted, that every Holiday hath its Collect, Epistle and Gospel, which fill seventy three great Leaves of the Book, when the rest fill scarce fifty, for all Holidays are now in like use as were among the Papists, only very few excepted. Then he goeth forwards to the Creed, and after that to the Sermon (if there be any) afterwards the Parish-Priest biddeth the Holidays and Fasts on their Eves, if there be any this Week. And here the Book warneth that none defraud the Parish-Priest of his Due or Right, especially on those Feast-days that are dedicated to Offerings. Then followeth a Prayer for the State of the Church-Militant, and that not without a long heap and mixture of Muters, until they come (after a certain Confession of Sins) to *lift up your Hearts;* the People answering, *We give Thanks to the Lord, Let us give Thanks to the Lord God;* the Answer, *It is meet and right so to do. It is well meet, right, and our bounden Duty, &c.* until they come to the Clause, *O Lord, holy Father, &c.* and so the Preface according to the Feast is added. Afterwards he saith, *Therefore with Angels and Archangels,* and so endeth with *Holy, holy, holy Lord God,* till he come to *Hosanna in the highest.* Now the Priest boweth

with his Knee, acknowledging our Unworthiness in the name of all them that shall receive; and setting out God's Mercy, he beseecheth God that our Bodys may be made clean by his Blood, and that our Souls may be wash'd thro his Blood. And when he again standeth up, and taketh in hand afresh another Prayer appointed for this purpose, in which are contain'd the words of the Institution; all which being done, he first communicateth: then by and by he saith to another, kneeling, *Take, and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thanksgiving.*

Now about the end the Lord's Prayer is us'd again, the Minister saying it aloud, and all the People following; to conclude, they have a giving of Thanks in the end, with Glory to God in the highest, as it was us'd among the Papists: If it happen that there be no Sermon, only a few things are omitted, but all other things are done in order aforesaid.

In Baptism the Godfathers are demanded in the name of the Child, *Whether they renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Lusts of the World, &c.* and they answer, *I renounce them.* Then, *Whether they believe the Articles of the Faith?* which being confess'd, *Wilt thou* (saith he, turning himself to both the Witnesses) *be baptiz'd into this Faith?* and they say, *Yea, I will.* After a few things rehears'd, he taketh the Child and dippeth him in, but warily and discreetly, as it is in the Book; upon whose Forehead also he shall make a Cross, in token forsooth that when he is old he shall not be asham'd to confess the Faith of Christ crucify'd. Afterward, sending away the Godfathers and Godmothers, he chargeth them *that they bring the Child to be confirm'd of the Bishop as soon as he can say the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.* And seeing there be many Causes, as the Book saith, which shou'd move them to the Confirmation of Children, this forsooth of all others is the weightiest, that by Imposition of Hands they may receive Strength and Defence against all Temptations of Sin, and the Assaults of the World and the Devil; because that when Children come to that Age, partly by the frailty of their own Flesh, partly by the assaults of the World and the Devil, they begin to be in danger. And lest any shou'd think any Error to be in this Confirmation, therefore they take a certain Pamphlet of a Catechism, which consisteth of the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and all this is dispatch'd in less than two Leaves.

To these is join'd their manner of Marriage, of which, that we may pass over many petty Ceremonys, these Follys who can suffer? The Husband layeth down a Ring upon the Book, which the Minister taking, he giveth it in his hand, and biddeth him



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him to put it on the fourth finger of his Wife's left hand. Then he useth this form of words, *With this Ring (saith he) thee wed, with my Body I thee worship, with all my worldly Goods thee endue: In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*

A little after the Minister saith to the new marry'd Persons kneeling before the Lord's Table, *Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us; Our Father which art &c. Lord save thy Servant and thy Handmaid, &c.* and so a few things being rehears'd, they must be brought to the Lord's Supper. The Visitation of the Sick is after this manner: *Peace be to this House.* The Answer, *And to all that dwell in the same: Lord have mercy upon us, &c. Our Father, &c. Lord save thy Servant.* Answer, *Which trusteth in thee. Send forth thy help from thy holy Hill, and with speed save him, &c.* As in the other Prefaces with Questions and Answers. Of the Burial:

The Priest meeteth the Corps at the entrance of the Churchyard, either singing or softly pronouncing, *I am the Resurrection and the Life, &c. I know that my Redeemer liveth, Job 19.* Being come to the Grave, it is said, *Man born of a Woman, Job 14.* When the Earth is thrown in, *We commit (saith he) Earth to Earth, Dust to Dust, &c. the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. I heard a Voice from Heaven, saying, Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord, Lord have mercy upon us, &c.*

The Purification of Women in Childbed, which they call giving of Thanks, is not only in all things with us almost common with the Papists, but also with the Jews, because they are commanded instead of a Lamb or Dove to offer Mony.

Other things, not so much Shame it self, as *Knox and Wittingham* certain kind of Pity compelleth us to keep close; in the mean season, nothing diminishing the Honour due to those reverend Men, who partly being hindred by those times, and by the Obstinacy, and also multitude of Adversaries (to whom nothing was ever delightful besides their own Corruptions) being as it were overflown, did always in their Mind, continually as much as they cou'd, strive to more perfect things.

*Note, That this Description is very favourably put down; if ye confer it with the Book of Order in all points, and the Usage of the Book in many Churches of this Realm, you can confess no less. And hereby we may gather what Mr. Calvin would have written, if they had noted all the Abuses of the same.*

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*The Answer and Judgment of that famous and excellent learned Man, Mr. John Calvin, the late Pastor of Geneva, touching the Book of England, after that he had perus'd the same faithfully translated out of Latin by Mr. Wittingham.*

*the godly and learned Men, Mr. John Knox, and Mr. William Wittingham, his faithful Brethren at Frankfort, &c.*

**T**HIS thing truly grieveth me very much, and it is a great shame that Contention shou'd arise among Brethren, banish'd and driven out of their Country for one Faith, for that cause which only ought to have holden you bound together, as it were with an holy Band, in this your Dispersion. For what might you do better in this dolorous and miserable plague, than (being pull'd violently from your Country) to procure your selves a Church, which shou'd receive and nourish you (being join'd together in Minds and Language) in your motherly Lap? But now for some Men to strive as touching the Form of Prayer and for Ceremonys, as tho ye were at rest and Prosperity, and to suffer that to be an Impediment that ye cannot there join into one body of the Church (as I think) it is too much out of season.

Yet notwithstanding I allow their Constancy which strive for a just cause, being forc'd against their wills unto Contention; I do worthily condemn frowardness, which doth hinder and stay the holy carefulness of reforming the Church.

And as I behave my self gentle and tractable in mean things (as external Ceremonys) so do I not always judg it profitable to give place to the foolish stoutness, which will forsake nothing of their own wonted Custom. In the Liturgy of England, I see that there were many tolerable foolish things; by these words I mean, that there

was not the Purity which was to be desir'd. These Vices, tho they cou'd not at the first day be amended, yet seeing there was manifest Impiety, they were for a season to be tolerated:

*Many tolerable foolish things in the Book, by Calvin's judgment.*

Therefore it was lawful to begin of such Rudiments or Abecedarys,

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cedarys, but so, that it behov'd the learned, grave and godly Ministers of Christ to enterprize farther, and to set forth something more fil'd from Rust, and purer. If godly Religion had flourish'd till this day in *England*, there ought to have been a thing better corrected, and many things clean taken away. Now when these Principles be overthrow'n, a Church must be set up in another place, where ye may freely make a new Order again, which shall be apparent to be most commodious to the Use and Edification of the Church. I cannot tell what they mean which so greatly delight in the leavings of

*The Book trifling and childish by Calvin's Judgment*

Popish Dregs: They love the things whereunto they are accusom'd: First of all, this is a thing both trifling and childish; furthermore, this new Order far differeth from the former Change.

Therefore, as I would not have you fierce over them whose Infirmary will not suffer to ascend an higher step; so wou'd I advertise others, that they please not themselves too much in their foolishness; also, that by their forwardness, they do not lett the course of the holy Building. Last of all, lest that foolish vain-glory steal them away. For what cause have they to contend, except it be for that they are ashamed to give place to better things? But I speak in vain to them which perchance esteem me not so well, as they will vouchsafe to admit the Counsel that cometh from such an Author. If they fear the evil Rumour in *England*, as tho' they had fallen from that Religion which was the cause of their Banishment, they are far deceiv'd; for this true and sincere Religion will rather compel them that there remain, faithfully to consider into what deep Gulf they have fallen; their Downfall shall more grievously wound them, when they perceive you going forward beyond midcourse, from the which they are turn'd. Farewel, dearly beloved Brethren, and faithful Servants of Christ, the Lord defend and govern you. From *Geneva* this 22d of *January*, Anno 1555.

Yours,

*John Calvin*

When the Letter of *Calvin's* was read to them of the Congregation, it so wrought in the hearts of many, that they were not before so stout to maintain all the parts of the Book of *England*, as afterwards they were bent against it. But not to return: Whilst these things were in doing, the Congregation (as you have heard before) cou'd not agree upon any certain Order; till after long debating to and fro, it was concluded

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ed, that Mr. Knox, Mr. Wittingham, Mr. Gilby, Mr. Fox, and Mr. T. Cole shou'd draw forth some Order meet for their state and time; which thing was by them accomplish'd and offer'd to the Congregation (being the same Order of Geneva which is now in print.) This Order was very well liked of many; but such as were bent to the Book of England could not abide it: Yea, Contention grew at length so hot, and the one Party which sought Sincerity, so sore charg'd with new Fangledness and Singularity, and to be Stirrers of Contention and Unquietness, that Mr. Gilby with a godly Grief (as well appear'd) kneel'd down before them, and besought them with tears to reform their Judgments, solemnly protesting that in this matter they sought not themselves, but only the Glory of God, as he was verily persuaded; wishing farther that that Hand which he then held up were stricken off, if by that a godly Peace and Unity might ensue and follow. In the end, another way was taken by the Congregation, which was that Mr. Knox and Mr. Wittingham, Mr. Parry and Mr. Lever should devise some Order, if it might be, to end all Strife and Contention.

*The Humbleness of Gilby, and his godly Zeal.*

These four assembled for that purpose. And first Mr. Knox spake to the rest in this wise: Forso much, saith he, as I perceive no end of Contention is to be hoped for, unless the one part something relent, this will I do for my part, that Quietness may ensue. I will shew my Judgment how (as I think) it may be best for the Edification of this poor Flock, which if ye will not accept nor follow (after that I have discharg'd my Conscience) I will cease, and commit the whole matter to be order'd by you, as you will answer before Christ Jesus at the last day, and to this his Congregation in this Life, &c. Whereupon after some Conference, an Order was agreed upon; some part taken forth of the English Book and other things put to, as the State of the Church requir'd.

*The Modesty of Knox.*

And this Order, by the consent of the Congregation, should continue to the last of April following. If any Contention should arise in the mean time, the matter then to be determin'd by these 5 notable learned Men, to wit, Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret. This Agreement was put in writing. To that all gave their consents. This Day was joyful. Thanks were given to God, brotherly Reconciliation follow'd, great Familiarity used, the former Grudges seem'd to be forgotten. Yea, the holy Communion was upon this happy Agreement also ministr'd. And this

*This Order was taken the sixth of Febr.*

*This Agree-*

Friendship continu'd till the 13th of *March* following; at which time *Dr. Cox* and others with him, came to *Frankfort* out of *England*, who began to break that Order which was agreed upon first, in answering aloud after the Minister, contrary to the Church's Determination. And being admonish'd thereof by the Seniors of the Congregation, he, with the rest that came with him made answer, that they would do as they had done in *England*, and that they would have the face of an *English* Church. And the Sunday following, one of his Company, without the consent and knowledg of the Congregation, got up suddenly into the Pulpit, read the Litany, and *Dr. Cox* with his Company answer'd aloud; whereby the Determination of the Church was broken. The same Sunday at Afternoon it came to *Mr. Knox's* turn to preach, who having pass'd so far in *Genesis* that he was come to *Noah* as he lay open in his Tent, he spake these words following:

*The Effect of Knox's Sermon.* As divers things, saith he, ought to be kept secret, even so such things as tend to the dishonour of God, and disquieting of his Church, ought to be disclos'd and openly reprov'd. And thereupon he shew'd, how that after long Trouble and Contention among them, a godly Agreement was made, and how that the same that day was ungodlily broken; which thing became not (as he said) the proudest of them all to have attempted: alledging furthermore, that like as by the Word of God we must seek our warrant for the establishing of Religion, and without that to thrust nothing into any Christian Congregation; so forasmuch as in the *English* Book were things both superstitious, impure, and imperfect (which he offer'd to prove before all men) he would not consent that of that Church it should be receiv'd; and that in case men would go about to burden that free Congregation therewith, so oft as he should come in that place (the Text offering occasion) he would not fail to speak against it.

He farther affirm'd, That among many things which provok'd God's Anger against *England*, Slackness to reform Religion (when Time and Place was granted) was one. And therefore it became them to be circumspect how they laid their Foundation. And were some men asham'd not to say, that there was no lett or stop in *England*, but that Religion might be, and was already brought to perfection, he prov'd the contrary by the want of Discipline. Also by the Troubles which *Mr. Hooper* sustain'd for the *Rechet*, and such-like, in the Book commanded and allow'd.

And

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And for that one Man was permitted to have three, four, five Benefices, to the great slander of the Gospel, and de-riding of the Flock of Christ of their lively Food and Substance. These were the chief Notes of his Sermon, which was so stomach'd of some, especially of such as had many Friends in *England*, that he was very sharply charg'd and rebuk'd so soon as he came out of the Pulpit, for the same.

The Tuesday following was appointed to speak of these things more at large. When all were assembled, earnest Request was made that *Dr. Cox* with his Company might be admitted to have Voices in the Congregation. Answer was made by the others, That the matter yet in controversy among them, ought to be determin'd. Secondly, that they should subscribe Discipline as others had done before them; and farther, was greatly suspected that they had been some of them) at *Mass* in *England*, and others had subscrib'd to wicked Articles, as one of them shortly after, even in the Pulpit, sorrowfully confess'd. For these Considerations, such-like, the Congregation withstood the

*Dr. Cox* sharply rebuk'd him.

*But that they refused, and at length overthrow it.*

mission of *Dr. Cox* and his Company. *Knox* at last began to make intreaty that they might have their Voices among the rest; to whose Request when certain had yielded, they then became the greater part, and so were by them admitted as Members of the Church. They being thus admitted by the most part, *Dr. Knox* forthwith forbad *Knox* to meddle any more in that Congregation.

*Mr. Jewel.*

The next Day being Wednesday, *Wittingham* went to *Mr. John Glauburge* (who was the chief means in obtaining the Church) and made the matter unto him, declaring how that certain, now come out of *England*, had forbidden their Minister appointed to preach that day, and intended to set up an Order, which he doubted would not be well taken. And therefore, lest any Inconvenience should happen, he thought good to make him privy thereto. Whereupon the said Magistrate sent immediately, and gave commandment that there should be no Sermon that day. Afterward he sent for *Valeran* the French Minister, commanding him that two learned Men should be appointed of either part, and that he and they should consult and agree upon some good Order, and to make report unto him accordingly. Then were appointed *Dr. Cox* and *Lever* of the one side, and *Knox* and *Wittingham* on the other side. To decide the matter, *Valeran* was

*Knox* put out by those which he brought in.

was

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was appointed to put down in writing what they should agree upon. But when in this Conference they came to the Order of Mattins, and that Dr. Cox said, *Ego volo habere*, there could be no agreement among them, and so brake off. Whereupon the Congregation drew up a Supplication in *Latin*, and presented it to the said Master *Glanburge*, requesting him to endeavour that the same might be consider'd of among the Senators: the *English* whereof was as followeth.

*The Supplication to the Senate.*

**L**ET it not molest you, most grave and worthy Senators, that your Affairs are letted with a few words. And if we should trouble you with prolixity, you shall understand the matter briefly. When your great and unspeakable Humanity thro the Providence of God, had granted us a Church; we undertook forthwith (as became us) to consult about the Orders of the same, and to set out a Liturgy. And because we saw that in the prolix and ceremonious Book of the Liturgy of *England*, be many things (that we may speak no word of it) not most perfect; it seem'd best to reduce it to a perfect Rule of the Scriptures, and to accommodate our selves to the Examples of that Church wherein we teach, and

To wit, the  
French  
Church.

whom we have subscrib'd. But when this Enterprise offended some of our Countrymen (tho the greatest number agreed unto us) that we would decline from the Decrees of our Elders; hereupon there grew to us for a few months no small trouble.

At the length, when there appear'd no end, for peace and concord sake we gave place to their Will, and suffer'd them at their pleasure to pick out of their Book the chiefest or best things, upon this condition, that the same should continue without alteration, at the least unto the last Day of *April*; the which day (if there should any new Contention arise) that then all the matter should be refer'd to these five notable Men, *Calvin*, *Musculus*, *Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Vyret*. We need many words? This Condition was willingly accepted and the Covenant ratify'd on both parts. A writing was made thereof to testify the Promise made of the one to the other. Moreover, thanks were given to God with great joy, and common Prayers were made, for that Men thought that to be the end of Discord. Besides this, they receiv'd the Communion as the sure Token or Seal of their mutual Agreement, which was omitted before by the space of three months.

Valer

eran also, the French Minister, was partaker of this Communion, and a Furtherer of Concord, and a Witness of these things. Now of late days, certain of our Countrymen came to us, who have endeavour'd by all means to obtrude that large Volume of Ceremonies upon us, to break the Covenant, and to overthrow the Liberty of the Church granted by your benevolence. And no doubt, this they enterprize and mind to do under the title and name of your Defence, whereby they may abuse the Authority of your Name, to satisfy their Lust. We are here compel'd to omit many things which would make for our Cause, no less rightly than profitably; but we remit these to our Brethren for Concord sake.

You have here, most honourable Senators, a brief Sum of our Case and Contention, whereby you may easily understand what to judg of the whole matter.

What manner of Book this is for which they so cruelly contend, ye may consider by *The Letter & Epistle that Calvin lately wrote unto us; little before.* the which he hath signify'd his mind, as well plainly of the Book, as also of the Uprightness of our Cause. We could have pointed out unto you the foolish and absurd things of the Book; but passing over an infinite number of things, this one will we bring for many, the which shall be necessary well to be mark'd. Within

these three years arose a great Conflict between the Bishops of the Realm and the Bishop of Gloucester Mr. Hooper, a Man worthy of perpetual memory, whom we hear to be burnt of late. This Man being made Bishop by *This Controversy hath been since K. Edward's Reign, as ye see.* King Edward, there was obtruded by other

Bishops of the same Order (according to this Book) a Rochet and a Bishop's Robe: This Man being well learned, and a long time nourish'd and brought up in Germany, as soon as he refus'd these proud things that Fools marvel at, he was cast into prison, and at length by their importunity overcome; and relenting, he was compel'd, to his shame, to give place to their Impudency, with the common Grief and Sorrow of all godly Minds.

But wherefore speak you of these things, will ye say, that appertain nothing to us? Yes verily, we think it touches you very much: for if these Men, arm'd by your Authority, shall do what they list, this Evil shall be in time establish'd by you, and never be redress'd, neither shall there for ever be any end of this Controversy in England. But if it would please your honourable Authority to decree this Moderation between us, that this whole matter may be refer'd to the Judgment



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ment of the five above-nam'd; not we alone that are here present, but our whole Posterity, yea our whole *English* Nation and all good men, to the perpetual memory of your Names, shall be bound unto you for this great Benefit. We might have used more words in this Narration, for we fear not that we should take Reasons, but rather that Time should fail you, letted with more serious Business. Therefore we by these things leave the rest to the Consideration of your Wisdoms.

The 22d of *March* Mr. *Glauburge* came to the *English* Church and shew'd the Congregation, that it was commanded them by the Magistrates (when by his procurement the Church was granted) that they should agree with the *French* Church both in Doctrine and Ceremony; and that they understood how the falling from that Order had bred much Dissension among them. Therefore he strictly charg'd and commanded, that from thenceforth they should not dissent from that Order; if they did, as he had open'd the Church-door unto them, so would he shut it again. And that such as would not obey thereunto, should not tarry within that City, willing them to consult together out of hand, and to give him an answer before he departed. Dr. *Cox* then spake to the Congregation in this wise; *I have* (saith he) *read the French Order, and do think it to be both good and godly in all points*; and therefore he wish'd them to obey the Magistrates commandment: whereupon the whole Congregation gave consent; so as before the Magistrate departed the Church, Dr. *Cox*, *Lever*, and *Whittingham* made report unto him accordingly. Dr. *Cox* also at that present requested that it would please him, notwithstanding their ill Behaviour, to shew unto them his accustomed Favour and Goodness, which he most gently and lovingly promised.

At the next meeting of the Congregation that Order was put in practice, to the comfort and rejoicing of the most part. Nevertheless, such as would so fain have had the Book of *England*, left not the matter thus. And for that they saw *Knox* to be in such credit with many of the Congregation, they first of all essay'd by a most cruel, barbarous, and bloody Practice, to dispatch him out of the way, to the end they might with the more ease attain the thing which they so greatly sought, which was the placing of their Book. They had among them a Book of his, intituled, *An Admonition to Christians*, written in the *English* Tongue; wherein by occasion he spake of the Emperor, of *Philip* his Son, and *Mary* then Queen of *England*. This Book certain of them presented to the Magistrates, who

(upon

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upon receipt of the same) sent for *Wittingham*, and ask'd  
of *Knox* their Minister, what manner of man he was?  
*Wittingham* answer'd, that such a one there was among them,  
and to his knowledg both a learned, wise, and godly Man.  
Then one of the Magistrates said unto him, certain of your  
Countrymen have accus'd him unto us, *Lese*  
*Majestatis Imperatoris*, that is, of High Treason  
against the Emperor, his Son, and the Queen  
of England. Here is the Book, and the Places  
which they have noted, the true and perfect  
sense whereof we command you (*sub poena pa-*  
*nae*) to bring unto us in the *Latin* Tongue at  
the end of the clock in the Afternoon: which thing he did ac-  
cordingly; at which time (after certain communication among  
themselves) they commanded that *Knox* should preach no more  
to their Pleasure were further known. The words concerning  
the Emperor were these, spoken in the Pulpit in a Town of  
*Wiltshire*, in the beginning of *Queen Mary's* Reign, as by  
the said Book appears, where it is said; O England, England,  
thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract  
Marriage, Confederacy, or League with such Princes as do maintain  
and advance Idolatry, such as the Emperor (who is no less Enemy to  
Christ than was Nero) if for the Pleasure and Friendship, I say,  
with such Princes thou return to thine old Abominations before us'd under  
the Ministry; then assuredly (O England) thou shalt be plagued and  
brought to Desolation by the means of those whose Favour thou seekest,  
and by whom thou art procur'd to fall from Christ and serve Anti-  
Christ. There were other eight Places, but this was most  
noted, in that it touch'd the Emperor. But it seem'd the  
Magistrates abhor'd this bloody, cruel, and outrageous At-  
tempt; for that whenas certain of *Knox's* Enemies follow'd the  
Magistrates to know what should be done with him, they did  
not only shew most evident signs of disliking their unnatural  
Act, but also sent for *Mr. Williams* and *Wit-*  
*tingham*, willing them that *Mr. Knox* should de-  
part the City; for otherwise (as they said) they  
should be forc'd to deliver him, if the  
Emperor's Council (which then lay at *Ausburg*) should upon  
the information send for him.

*Knox accused  
of Treason.*

*The Places in  
all were eight.*

*The Banishment  
of Knox.*

The 25th of *March* *Mr. Knox*, the night before his depar-  
ture, made a most comfortable Sermon at his Lodging to fifty  
Persons, or thereabouts, then present; which Sermon was  
of the Death and Resurrection of Christ, and of the un-  
sayable Joys which were prepar'd for God's Elect, who in  
this Life suffer Trouble and Persecution for the Testimony of  
his blessed Name. The next day he was brought three or  
four

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four mile in his way by some of those unto whom the night before he had made that Exhortation; who with great Heaviness of Heart and Plenty of Tears committed him to the Lord.

The very same day, being the 26th of *May* *Many of the learned Men were now come from all places.* one \* *Adulphus Glauburge* (a Doctor of Law, and Nephew to Mr. *John Glauburge* the Senator whom Dr. *Cox* and the rest had won unto the) sent for *Wittingham*, and told him that they were presented to the Magistrates three Doctors, thirteen Batchelors of Divinity, besides others; and that the Magistrates at their suits had granted them the full use of the *English Book*: commanding and charging him therefore not to meddle any more to the contrary; for (as he said) it was fully concluded that so it should be. And supposing that *Wittingham* would let it what he might, the next day again sent for him home to his House, where he gave the Charge (Dr. *Cox* and others present, by whose procurement the same was done) *Wittingham* answer'd, that if it were concluded he would willingly obey, not doubting but that it might be lawful for him and others to join themselves to some other Church. But Dr. *Cox* besought the Lawyer that it might not so be suffer'd; whereto *Wittingham* answer'd, That it would be too great cruelty to force Men, contrary to their Consciences, to obey their disorder'd Doings; offering, that if it would please the Magistrates to give him and others the hearing, they would dispute the matter against all the contrary part, and prove that the Order which they sought to establish, ought not to take place in any Reformed Church. The Doctor of Law made a plain Answer, That Disputation there should be none; using his former words of charging and commanding not to deal further in that matter.

Whenas the Congregation heard of the cruel and more than tyrannical Dealings of the Doctor, Mr. *Gilby* and others with him, were sent to Mr. *John Glauburge* (by whose commandment, as ye heard, they had receiv'd the *English Order*) putting him in remembrance of the same, and shewing him that certain late come among them had sought (as they were credibly inform'd) to overthrow their Church by placing the *English Book* among them. To this Mr. *Glauburge* made answer, that he

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\* This *Adulphus* was before this time a great Furtherer of the Church, and the Orders of the same, howsoever he was turn'd.

orm'd how that both Parties were fully agreed and con-  
ted, and that thereupon he had committed  
to the whole matter to the Lawyer his Cousin. *Mark this*  
when he ask'd, for *Wittingham*: It was an- *practice.*  
er'd that strict charge was given him, that  
should meddle no more in that matter. The Magistrate  
d again of whom he had that Commandment; and when  
was told him that the Doctor his Cousin had given him that  
arge, he then began very gently to persuade with Mr. *Gilby*  
the rest, that they should be contented, and he would see  
t nothing should be used, but that which should be tolera-  
; and so Mr. *Gilby* and the rest departed.  
The 28th of *March* Dr. *Cox* assembled all such as had been  
ests and Ministers in *England* to his Lodging, and there de-  
r'd how the Magistrates had granted them the Use of the  
*English* Book, and that he thought requisite that they should  
sult together, whom they thought most meet  
e Bishop, Superintendent, or Pastor, with *At length they*  
rest of the Officers, as Seniors, Ministers, *agreed upon the*  
Deacons. Whereunto Mr. *Christopher Good-* *Name Pastor.*  
n answer'd, That his Opinion was, that they  
ght first to agree upon some perfect and godly Order for  
e Church, and thereto to have the consent of the Congre-  
tion, whereby it might appear that they contemn'd not the  
t of their Brethren: And further, to proceed to the Elec-  
n, which he thought also ought not to be attempted with-  
t the consent of the whole Church. To this was answer'd,  
at for the Order it was already determin'd, and other Or-  
r than the Book of *England* they should not have: so that  
e Persuasions of *Goodman* nothing at all prevail'd, neither  
one thing or other. Yea, the Proceedings of sundry Per-  
ns (which I could name) were such, as if there had been  
ither Orders, Officers, or Church there before their com-  
g, or any Promises to be kept on their parts after they came,  
may more plainly appear to the Reader by this Letter fol-  
wing, written by Mr. *Wittingham* to a Friend of his in *Eng-*  
d; which Letter is of his own hand to be seen.

*Grace, Mercy, and Peace, thro Christ our Lord.*

S you require a brief Answer to your short  
Letter, so neither time permitteth, nor I  
tend to trouble you farther than the very ne-  
ssity of the matter asketh. And first, for  
at ye seem to hang in such extreme perplexity,  
rtly because of sundry Talks and divers Let-

*An Answer to  
a Letter sent  
him out of  
England.*

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ters of Men of good credit, which causeth you not a little to marvel; and partly by reason of the good Opinion once conceived and yet retain'd, of certain Persons both godly and learned which maketh you to doubt: I think it best, briefly and simply to open a few chief Points, upon which the rest of the matter dependeth. After certain months that we had here lived in great Consolation and Quietness, it chanc'd that as our Number did increase, so some entred in, who busily undermin'd our Liberty, and labour'd to overthrow our Discipline which Troubles grew at length in so great quantity, that in the greatest part it was concluded, that no man should hereafter to subscribe to any Discipline, forasmuch as they supposed that none would come hither who should have need thereof. Which done, they alter'd our Orders in Prayers and other things, thinking to bring in place the full Use of the great *English* Book; which notwithstanding, by reason of divers Imperfections, we could not admit: So that to grow to a common Concord, it was agreed, and the Name of God invoked, that the whole matter should be refer'd to Mr. *Cavin*, Mr. *Musculus*, Mr. *Martyr*, Mr. *Bullinger*, and Mr. *Vyren* that both parts should draw their Orders, and that to be received, which by the Judgments of these five excellent Men should be thought most agreeable to a Reformed Church. In the mean time, every man to stand content with that Order which was then agreed upon and used. But within a few days after, this Determination was broken; a Stranger craftily brought in to preach, who had both been at Mass, and also subscrib'd to blasphemous Articles. Many taunting bitter Sermons were made (as they thought) to our defacing; inasmuch as Mr. *Knox*, being desir'd thereunto by divers, was enforced to purge himself in sundry Points, and spake his mind freely in the Pulpit, as well in reproving certain parts of the *English* Book, as declaring the Punishment of God, which partly had fallen upon our Country for slackness in Religion: as they seem'd to take the matter so to heart, that by their false delation in accusing him before the Magistrates of Treason against the Emperor and the Queen, in a certain Book of his writing to our Countrymen of *England*; he was commanded to depart.

And the Magistrates understanding their Fetches, as greedy searching of their own Glory (who seem'd to spare no kind of Contention to purchase the same) commanded that we should receive the *French* Order, which is according to the Order of *Geneva*, the purest reformed Church in *Christendom*. Whereupon all agreed, and Dr. *Cox* with others commending the same to the Congregation, gave thanks to the Magistrates.

all our Names. Here you may note their double Faces, bearing the Magistrate in hand that they receiv'd his commandment joyfully, privily practis'd, and so labour'd unhand, that they made this Magistrate unsay, and so obtain'd their Book; promising notwithstanding, both to the Magistrate and certain of the Congregation, as well to prove the Word of God so much of the Book as they would use, also to set forth the same in writing, that they (before the said Order should be chang'd) might judg of the Equity thereof. But preferring the Joy of their unhop'd Victory above their Promise, did neither the one, because they could neither the other, because they durst not. And yet have they not made an end of their Triumph. For beginning in Church not only to neglect all Orders in the Election of their Ministers and other Officers, but also to scold and taunt others in their daily Sermons, do not yet cease, as now appeareth by their slanderous and lying Letters.

But to the end we might be deliver'd from this insupportable Yoke, God of his mercy hath provided better for us, and this Incommodity hath granted us a double Benefit; inso-much as, contrary to their Hope, he hath not only at *Basil* moved the Magistrates hearts towards us in granting us a Church, but also at *Geneva*, where God's Word is truly teach'd, Manners best reform'd, and in earth the chiefest place of true Comfort. Thus in few lines I have gone about to satisfy your Request, bearing with Time which hasteth, also following mine own Judgment, which persuadeth me never to give you a Taste of things (which I moved in Conscience write as most true) than to fill you with the whole course, which if this may not suffice, you may by continuance have at your commandment. Pray for us, Brother, in this our Banishment, that the Fruits of this incorruptible Kingdom may spring most abundantly; as we pray continually that Heavenly Father would so strengthen you with his Spirit and Boldness, that you may not only resist, but also triumph over all your Enemies, to the Glory of God and the Confusion of the Adversaries. Know before you judg, and believe not flying Tales; keep one ear open, and report the best.

Yours, *William Wittingham.*

Whereas Mr. *Wittingham* in this his Letter makes mention of a Church granted them before at *Basil* and *Geneva*, it is to be noted that he himself was the Man which the oppressed Congregation requir'd to travel therein, and thro God's great Mercy obtain'd it with great Favour; who in his Journey

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pass'd by *Zurick* to know of *Mr. Bullinger* what he thought of the Book of *England*, for that he (who had reported to *Williams, Wittingham, Gilby*, and others, that *Cranmer* Bishop of *Canterbury* had drawn up a Book of Prayer an hundred more perfect than this that we now have; yet the same could not take place, for that he was match'd with such a wicked Council and Convocation; with other Enemies) even he, understood in this, that *Mr. Bullinger* did like well of the English Order, and had it in his Study. But when *Wittingham* had demanded that Question, *Bullinger* told him, that indeed *Mr. Bullinger* and *Mr. C.* ask'd his Judgment concerning certain Points in that Book, as Surplice, private Baptism, Churching of women, the Ring in Marriage, with such like, which (as he said) he allow'd not, and that he neither could if he would, nor neither would if he might, use the same in his Church, whatsoever had been reported.

*Wittingham* passing from thence to *Geneva*, *Mr. Calvin* shew'd him a Letter from *Dr. Cox*, and from fourteen more of *Frankfort*; in which Letter they partly excus'd themselves, that they put Order in their Church without his Counsel ask'd, partly rejoicing for that they had (as they said) brought to the most part that had withstood their Doings to their Opinion, which notwithstanding was far otherwise.

They wrote also, that they had elected a Pastor, two Ministers, four Seniors, and two Deacons, &c. but how partly they proceeded in their Elections (those that were in *Order* neither discharg'd, nor yet their Consents requir'd) I leave to the Consciences of them which saw those Disorders.

To this Letter of theirs, the Contents whereof are above touch'd, *Mr. Calvin* answereth in this wise.

*To the Worshipful and Loving Brethren in the Lord, Mr. Richard Hooker and the rest of the English Men which now remain at Frankfort.*

**P**Eradventure I answer your Letter, Worshipful Friends and Brethren, more slowly than either ye hop'd or look'd for; but forasmuch as ye know the ways for a time so to be troubled with Thieves, that no Messenger almost could pass from here to you, the Excuse of my long delay towards you shall be the easier.

I express'd my mind frankly to our beloved Brother *Thomas* *Son*, of that whereof I was inform'd by the Letters of certain of you as touching the Contention unluckily stir'd up among you. For certain of my Friends found themselves griev'd, that they would so precisely urge the Ceremonies of *England*; whereunto they might appear that ye are more given and addit'd to your Custom.

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more than Reason would. I confess that I heard certain Reasons alledg'd on your behalf, which would not suffer you to part from the receiv'd Order; but they might be soon and easily confuted. Now, as I counsel'd mine own Friends who consented from you, to yield somewhat, if they might conveniently; so it offended me that there was nothing granted or consented on your parts. Because there was no Man named to me, I durst not enterprise to meddle with the matter, lest my Credit should incur the Suspicion of Rashness. Now that you are more mild and tractable in this Controversy, and that you have, as ye say, stilled the matter with quietness, I am very glad.

Verily no Man well instructed, or of a sound Judgment, will deny (as I think) that Lights and Crossings, or such-like Rites, sprang or issu'd out of Superstition: whereupon I am persuaded that they who retain these Ceremonies in a free choice, or when they may do otherwise, are over-greedy and desirous to drink off the Dregs. Neither do I see to what purpose it is to burden the Church with trifling and unprofitable Ceremonies; or as I may term them with their proper name, hurtful and offensive Ceremonies, whenas there is liberty to have a simple and pure Order. But I keep in and refrain myself, lest I should seem to begin to move a new Contention of that matter, which, as you report, is well ended.

All good Men will allow the Pastors and other Ministers objections with common Voices, so that none complain that the other part of the Church was oppress'd fraudulently and with crafty practices. For it standeth your Wisdoms in hand to consider, that how much Commodity the Goodness of the State doth deserve, so much Envy shall you be guilty of, or charg'd withal, if you have abus'd their Lenity or Gentleness, which were so well affected towards your Nation. Yet I should not have this so taken, that I go about to be prejudicial to any man, but I had rather shew plainly what may be said, than to nourish an ill Opinion by silence, or in holding of peace. But certainly, this one thing I cannot keep secret, that Mr. Knox was, in my judgment, neither godly nor brotherly dealt withal; if he were accus'd by the subtil Suggestion of certain, it had been better for them to have carried all in their own Land, than unjustly to have brought into far Countries the Firebrand of Cruelty, to set on fire those that could not be kindled.

Notwithstanding, because it grieveth me to speak slightly of these Evils, the remembrance hereof I would wish to be buried in perpetual Forgetfulness; therefore I only counsel

*They begin prettily.*



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you (not without cause) to be wounded, that ye apply yourselves to make them amends for the Fault committed.

When I heard that the one part was minded to depart thence, I earnestly admonish'd them (as it became me) that if they could not well remain there, that the distance of place should not dissipate, or rend in sunder their brotherly Agreement; for I fear'd much, lest that some privy Grudge of the former Contention remain'd. And certainly, nothing could more comfort my Heart, than to be deliver'd from this fear. For if any haply come to us, it would grieve me that there should be (as it were) but a Suspicion of any secret Debate between you.

Therefore as touching that ye have written of your Agreement, I desire that it may be firm and stable; that if it chance the one part to go to another place, yet, that you being sundred by distance of places, may keep sure the holy Bond of Amity: for the Fault already committed is too much, and tho thro Discord it creep no further. Wherefore it shall well beseem your Wisdoms (that ye may be Friends) to purge diligently whatsoever remaineth of this Breach. Fare ye well Brethren; the Lord succour you with his Aid, and govern you with his Spirit; pour his Blessings upon you, and mitigate the Sorrow of your Exile. From Geneva this last of May Anno 1555.

Yours, *John Calvin.*

Because that Mr. *Calvin* in his Letter maketh mention of Lights, some might gather that he was untruly inform'd, that in the *English* Book Lights were prescrib'd (the contrary whereof appeareth by the Description before) where it is manifest to such as be learned, that he useth the Figure *Analogy*, and that this is his Argument, *a majore ad minus*; forasmuch as Lights and Crossings be two of the most antient Ceremonies, having continu'd in the Church above three hundred Years, are yet for such causes abolish'd; how much more ought all other, that have not had the like continuance (and yet abus'd) be utterly remov'd?

And for that Mr. *Calvin* in this Letter earnestly wish'd that all Strife should cease, and if that any were minded to depart their Departure might be such, as all Occasions of Offence might be cut off and clean taken away; it was thought good by such as were determin'd to go away, within three weeks after, to follow his Counsel. And the rather, for that some which took themselves to be learned, had openly term'd their Departure a Schism; whereupon they wrote to the Pastor

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for, Ministers, and whole Congregation this Letter follow-  
g, and deliver'd it in the open Congregation.

Forasmuch as thro the Benefit of God we have obtain'd a  
Church in another place, we thought it good to adver-  
se you of the same. And to the intent that not only slan-  
derous Reports may cease, but also if any Offence be either  
taken or given, the same may come to trial; we desire that  
for your part would appoint two Arbiters, and we shall  
appoint other two: Who hearing our matters throughly o-  
ver'd, may witness where the Fault resteth. At which time  
we will undertake to defend our Departure to be lawful, con-  
trary to the slanderous Reports of some, who unlearnedly  
call it a Schism. Thus far, Brethren, we thought good to  
signify unto you, thinking this to be the only means of our  
mutual Quietness; whereof how desirous we are, our tedious  
and chargeable Journey may be a sufficient proof: being  
thoroughly persuaded that hereby Strife may be ended, Cha-  
rity reviv'd, Friendship continu'd, God's Glory advanc'd, and  
Brethren edify'd. Fare ye well, this 17th of August.

*William Williams,  
William Wittingham,  
Anthony Gilby,  
Christopher Goodman,  
Thomas Cole,  
John Fox,*

*Thomas Wood,  
William Kethe,  
John Kelke,  
John Hilton,  
Christo. Soothous,  
Nicholas Purfote,*

*John Escot,  
Thomas Crafton,  
William Walton,  
Laurence Kent,  
John Hellingham,  
Anthony Carier.*

When the Pastor had read this Letter openly to the Con-  
gregation, and was desir'd to know when they should have an  
answer, he said unto them, That so far as he perceiv'd, it  
quir'd none but that which might presently be made; which  
was, that they might depart, seeing they were so minded.  
It was reply'd, that forasmuch as it was manifest that they had  
been slander'd not only by Letters into divers parts, but also  
by some that then were present, who had affirm'd their De-  
parture to be a Schism; and further, that they could find no  
differency at their hands: it was thought necessary to com-  
mit the Hearing of that Controversy to learned and indiffe-  
rent Judges, by both Parties to be chosen, whereby the Fault  
might appear where it was indeed, and so they either ex-  
cuse'd or found guilty.

Dr. Cox at length told them, that their Letter should be con-  
sider'd of, and Answer should be given them the Friday after.  
On Friday the 30th of August both Parties met: The Pastor  
(company'd with the Ministers and Elders) spake this unto  
them: