

Sept. 10 1730. I have just finished the
reading a small Tract in 12^o intituled
"The Excellencie of a free-State; or the Right
Constitution of a Commonwealth. wherein
all Objections are answered, & the best Way
to secure the Peoples Liberties, discovered:
With some Errors of Government, & Rules of
Politie. Published by a well-wisher to
Posterity." London 1656. This Tract I
esteem, for the Plan it goes upon, as fine
as the proceeding Tracts; & it has more
method; nor is it at all intermixed with
the religious Systems of the Times.

see some further M.S. notes in
the small 2^o edit of this Treatise
pub. 1662.

A. SHORTE TREA

tise of politike pouer, and of the true Obe-
dience which subiectes owe to kynges and other
civile Gouvernours, with an Exhortacion
to all true naturall English
men, Compyled
by.

John ♦♦ Parnet D.D.

D. I. P. B. R. VV.

Lib 9 2^o Edit^o Mary

1556.

1642. reprinted in 2^o

Psal. 118. It is better to trust in the Lorde,
than to trust in Princes.

This little Book is full of excellent
principles concerning Government, &
maintains the doctrine of killing
Tyrants; & is the more singular for he
wrote in such an Age &c.

TO THE GENTIL READER.

Intent thy self to reade otter this
shorte treatise/wherin is neither
heresie/selonye/ nor treason/ but
all that is written here in fewe/is
ment for thy pleyntifull benefite/
necessary admonition/and faithfull
instrucion. And albeit the Printour is not sure/
whether the autor be gone to God already (as
by the discourse of the mater he seemeth to be) or
yet still in this life/ yet forasmuche as the graui-
tie of the Worke/the sobrenesse of the stile / and
the equitie of the cause ioyned with substantiall
Profes/importe a mightye zeale/ and a fruent
care of the autor for his countrey/ he is pleased
to put furthe the Worke, to thintent the trauaile
of the doer be not lost/ neither true Englis he
hartes frustrate of so worthie an instructio/ on-
les they wil willingly neglecte their owne saue
garde/ the state of their countrey/ and the Pre-
seruation of theyr posteritie. God geue thee
(Good reader) a will to forsee/an heart to per-
ceauce/ and a iudgement to discern
thyne owne state in tyme/
and in Christ hartily
well to fare.

Amen.

VVHEROF POLITIKE

powver growveth, vverfore it vvas ord-
dayned, and the right use and duetic
of the same: &c.



AS OXEN, SHEPE, GOATES,
and suche other unreasoneable crea-
tures can not for lacke of reason ru-
le them selues, but must be ruled by
amore excellent creature, that is
mā: so mā, albeit he haue reason, yet bicause through
the fall of the furst man, his reason is wonderfully
corrupt, and sensualitie hath gotten the ouer han-
de, is not hable by him self to rule him self, but must
haue a more excellent gouernour. The worldinges
thought, this gouernour was their owne reason.
They thought, they might by their owne reason, doo
what them lusted, nod onely in priuate thinges, but
also in publike. Reason they thought to be the only
cause, that men furst assembled together in compa-
nies, that common welthes were made, that policies
were well gouerned and long continued: but mensee,
that suche were utterly blynded and deceaued in their
ymaginacions, their doinges and inuentiones (semed
they neuer so wise) were so easili and so sone (con-
trary to their expectacion) ouerthrowen.

A ij Eober

Wher is the wisdome of the Grecianes? wher is the fortitude of the Asirianes? wher is bothe the wisdom and force of the Romaynes become? All is vanished away, nothing almost leste to testifie that they were, but that which well declareth, that their reason was not hable to gouerne them. Therefore were suche as were desirous to knowe the perfite and only gouernour of all, constrained to seke further than them selues, and so at leynight to confesse, that it was one God that ruled all. By him we lyue, we haue our being, and be moued. He made us, and not we our selues. We be his people, and the sheepe of his pasture. He made all thinges for man; and man he made for him self, to serue and glorifie him. He hath taken upon him thordre and gouernement of man his chief creature, and prescribed him a rule, how he should behaue him self, what he should doo, and what he maye not doo.

This rule is the lawe of nature, first planted and grafted only in the mynde of mā, thā after for that his mynde was through synne defiled, filled with darknesse, and encōbred with many doubtess) set furthe in writing in the decalogue or ten cōmaundemētes: and after reduced by Christ our saueour ī to these two wordes: Thou shalt loue thy lord God aboute all thinges, and thy neighbour as thy self. The laster part vtherof he also thus expoundeth: vwhat so euer ye vwill that men doo vnto you, doo ye euen so to them.

In

In this lawe is comprehended all iustice, the perfite waye to serue and glorifie God, and the right meane to rule euery man particularly, and all men generally: and the only stayer to mayntayne euery cōmō wealthe. This is the touchestone to trye euery mānes doinges (be he king or begger) whether they be good or euil. Bi this all mēnes lawes be discerned, whether they be iuste or uniuiste, godly or wicked. As for an example. Those that haue autoritie to make lawes in a common wealthe, make this lawe, that no pyennes shalbe made, but in their owne cōūtrei. It semeth but a trifle. Yet if by this meane the people maye be kept from idlennesse, it is a good and iuste lawe and pleaseth God. For idlennesse is a vice wherwith God is offēded: and the waye to offēde him in breache of these commaundemētes: Thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be a horemonger, &c. For all these euilles come of idlennesse. On the other syde, if the people be well occupied in other thinges, and the people of an other cōūtrei lyue by pynnemaking, and uttring the same: thā if ther should be a lawe made, that they might not sell them to their neighbours of the other cōūtrei, otherwise well occupied, it were a wicked and an uniuiste lawe. For taking awaye the meane, wherby they lyue, a meane is deuised, so kill them with famyne, and so is not onely this commaundement broken: Thou shalt not kill, but also the general lawe, that sayeth: Thou shalt

A iii loue

4.
loue thy neighbour as thy self. And, what so ever ye will that men do vnto you, euen so do you vnto thē. For you your selues would not be killed with hunger.

Likewise if ther be a lawe made, vtterly prohibiting any mā that can not lye chaste, to marie: this is an vniuste, an vngodly and a wicked lawe. For it is an occasion, that wher with marieng, he might auoide synne: he not marieng dothe committe horedome in acte or thought contrary to Goddes will and commaundemēt. Thou shalt not cōmitte horedome

Agayn, a prince forceth his subiectes (vnder the name of request) to lēde him that they haue, which they doo vniwillingly: and yet for feare of a worse tourne, they must seme to be content therwith. Afterwarde he causeth to be assembled in a Parliamēt such as perchance lent nothing, or elles such as dare not displea-
se him. They to please him, remit this general debte. This is a wicked, vngodly, and vniust lawe. For they doo not, as they would be done vnto, but be an occasion, that a great number be vndone, their children for lacke of sustenance, perishe through famyne, and their seruantes forced to steele, and perchance to comyt further. So that if men will weigh well this lawe and lawe that God hathe prescribed to man, Thou shalt loue thy lord God above all thinges, and thy neighbour as thy self. And, what so ever ye will that men do vnto you, do ye euen the same vnto them:
they

5.
they maye sone learne to trye good from euil, godlynesse from vngodlynesse, right from wrong.

And it is so playne and easie to be vnderstanden, that no ignoraunce can or will excuse him that therein offendeth.

Against the offendours of this lawe, ther was no corporal punishment ordayned in this worlde, til after the destruction of the worlde with the great flood. For albeit Cayn and lamech had committed horrible murthers, yet were they not corporally punished, but had a protection of God, that none should lausfully hurte them. But after the flood, when God sawe his gentilnesse and patience could not worke his creatures to doo their duties vnforsed, but iniquitie preuailed and mischief daily encreaced, and one murthered, and destroyed another: than was he constrained to chaunge his lenitie into seueritie, and to adde corporal paynes to those that would not followe, but transgresse his ordinaunces. And so he made this lawe, which he declared to Noah: He that Sheadeth the bloud of man, his bloud shall be Shead by man. For man is made after the ymage of God.

By this ordinance and lawe he instituteth politike power and geueth authoritie to mā to make more lawes.

For

For he that geueth man autoritie ouer the body and life of man, bicause he wolde haue man to lyue quietly with mā, that all might serue him quietly in holynes and righteousnes, all the dayes of their life, it can not be denyed, but he gaue him autoritie ouer goodes, landes, possessiones and all suche thinges as might bried controuersies and discordes, and so hyndre and let, that he might not be serued and glorified, as he requireth. This ordinaunce also teacheth makers of lawes, how they should behaue thē selues in making lawes: that is, to set aparte all affectiones, and to obserue an equalitie in paynes, that they be not greater or lesse, than the fault deserueth, and that they punish be not thinnocent or smal offendour for malice, and let the mightie and great these escape for affection. And out of this ordinaunce groweth and is grounded the autoritie for Magistrates to execute lawes: for lawes without execucion, be no more profitable, than belles without clappers. But whether this authoritie to make lawes, or the power to execute the same, shall be and remayne in one person alone, or in manie, it is not expressed, but leste to the discretioⁿ of the people to make so many and so fewe, as they thinke necessarie for the mayntenaunce of the state. Eoher upon in som places, they haue ben content to obey suche lawes, as were made by one, as the Israelites were with those that Moyles ordayned: the Lacedemones with those that Licurgus made, the Athenes

with those that Solon gaue them. And in some places with suche as were made by certayn outchosen men, as in Rome by the ten men. And in some they receaued none, but suche as all the multitude agreed vnto. Likewise in some countreyes they were content to be gouerned, and the lawes executed by one king or iudge, in some places by many of the best sorte, in some places by the people of the lowest sorte, and in some places also by the king, nobilitie, and the people all together.

And these diuerse kyndes of states or policies haue their distincte names, as wher one ruled, a Monarchie: Eoher many of the best, Aristocratic: Eoher the multitude, Democratic: and wher all together, that is, a king, the nobilitie, and cōmones, a mixte state: Eoher men by long continuance haue iudged to be the best sort of all. For wher that mixte state was exerciced, ther did the cōmon wealthe longest continue. But yet euery kynde of these states tended to one ende, that is, to the mayntenaunce of iustice, to the wealthe and benefite of the hole multitude, and not of the superiour and gouernours alone. And whan they sawe, that the gouernours abused their autoritie, they altd the state. As among the Israelites, for the iniquitie of the children of ^{Sa} Samuel their iudge, from Iudges to kinges: among the Romanes, for the tyrannye and oppresion that Tarquinius

Tarquinius vsed ouer the people (as the chief occasion) and afterwarde for his sonnes lowdenesse (as the outwarde occasion) from kinges to Consules, and so from Consules (for their euil demeanour) to Decem viri and Triumviri, that is, to ten rulers and three rulers: and so from change to change, tyll it came to the state Imperial: yet alwayes preferuing and mayntening thautoritie, albeit they altered and changed the kinde of gouernement. For the Ethnikes themselves being ledde onely by the lawe of nature and their owne reason, sawe that without politike power and autoritie, mankynde could not be preserued, nor the worlde continued. The riche wold oppresse the poore, and the poore seke the destruction of the riche, to haue that he had: the mightie wold destroye the weake, and as Theodoretus sayeth, the great fishe eate vp the small, and the weake seke reuenge on the mightie, and soone seeking the others destruction, all at leynghit shoulde be vndone and come to destruction. And bicause this autoritie and power, bothe to make lawes, and execute lawes, proceded from God, the holy goost in scripture calleth them Goddes: not for that they be naturally Godds, or that they be transubstantiated in to Goddes (for he sayeth, they shall dye like men, and in dede their workes declare them to be non other than men) but for thautoritie and power which they receaue of God,

to be

to be his ministers here in earthe, in ruling and gouerning his people, and that the people should the rather obeye them, and haue them in honour and reuerence, according to his ordinance.

And the wonderfull prouidence of God is herein to be wel noted and considered, of all suche as loue and feare God, that in all places and countreyes wher Goddes worde hath ben receaued and embraced, ther for the tyme the people folowed God, no tyrannye could entre, but all the membres of the body sought the prosperitie and wealth one of another, for Goddes worde taught them so to doo. Thou shalt loue the lorde thy God (sayeth it) aboue all thinges, and thy neighbour as thy selfe. And, what ye will that men doo vnto you, doo you euen so vnto them. The frutes of his worde is loue one of another, of what state or degree in this worlde so euer they be. And the state of the policies and common wealthes haue ben disposed and ordained bi God, that the headdes could not (if they wolde) oppresse the other membres. For as among the Lacedemonians certain men called Ephori were ordayned so see that the kinges should not oppresse the people, and among the Romaynes,

Romaynes, the Tribunes were ordayned to defende
and mayntene the libertie of the people from the pri-
de and iniurie of the nobles: so in all Christian real-
mes and dominiones God ordayned meanes, that the
heads the princes and gouernours should not oppresse
the poore people after their lustes, and make their wil-
les their lawes. As in Germanye betwene the perour
and the people, a Counsaile or diet: in Fraunce and En-
glande, parliaments, wherein they mette and assem-
bled of all sortes of people, and nothing could be do-
ne without the knowlage and consent of all. But
wher the people haue forsaken God, and contened
utterly his worde, they hathe the deuill by his mini-
sters, occupied the hole countrey, and subuerted the
good ordres, iustice and equalitie, that was in the
common wealthe, and planted his unreasonable lu-
stes for good lawes, as euery man may see by the Re-
ualme of Vngarie which the Turke in our tyme ha-
the occupied. And wher the people haue not utterly
forsaken God and his worde, but haue begonne to be
weary of it: they hathe not God suffred Tyrannes by
and by to rush in, and to occupie the hole, and to
suppresse the good ordres of the common wealthe,
but by titel and litle hathe suffred them to crepe in,
first with the head, than with an arme, and so after
with a legge, and at leynight (were not the people
penitent, and in tyme conuerted to God) to bring in
the hole body, and to worke the states of Tirannes,

as hereafter it shalbe declared.

This is so manifest in most places, that it shall
not nede any particular example. Wherefore it shalbe
the parte of all Christen men to take hede, that in
forsaking God, they bring not iustly the deuill and
tyrannes to reigne ouer them. And those that be
called to councelles and parliaments (and so to be
makers of lawes, wherby the people should be bound-
den) not to neglecte their duetie, or to deceaue the
people of the trust and confidence, that was put in
them. For it is no litle daunger that maye thereby
flowe vnto them, bothe in this worlde, and in the
worlde to come. For that man that toke vpon him
to doo any thing for an other (being the thing ne-
uer so litle of ualue) and therein did use him self either
craftily, seking his owne gayne and profit, or she-
we him self not diligent, or not passing what beca-
me of the matter committed to his trust, our elders
being men of honestie, iudged and condemned for
a most uile uarlet and dishonest persone: and being
men of wisdom, made a lawe (which continueth
til this daye) not only that he should make recom-
pence for the hurt he did, but also that he should not
be allowed afterwarde in the company or nombre of
honest men, no more than an open thefe. And this
they did not by will, but by reason, not rashly, but
aduisedly, not by the moo voices, but by the more
discrete headdes, because they sawe, that men could

not be alwayes present to doo their owne thinges, but of necessitie must use the helpe and trust of others. And again, nature hathe not made every man apte for all thinges, but hathe made one man more mete for one purpose than an other : so that one hauing nede of an other, euery one should be glad to doo for an other, and all be tyed together in an undissoluble strong bande of friendship. And therefore was suche false and unfrendly dealing taken to be most uile, because it did uiolate two the chiefest vertues and most necessary thinges, without which mankynde coulde not contynue: faith, and frendship. For no man requireth an other, to doo any thing for him, whom he taketh not to be his frende, nor trusteth him, whom he thinketh not faithfull. And therefore they thought him to be a very wicked and vile persone, and not worthy the name of a man, that at one tyme and in one thing should thus undoo the knot of friendship, and deceaue him, whom he coulde not haue hurted, onles he had trusted him. Now if nature, reason, honestie and lawe dothe so greuously punishe him, and cast him out of all honest mennes companies, that is negligent in a trifle, how muche more ought he to be punished and cast out of all mennes sight, that is negligent in the greatest matiers? If he ought so sharpely to be used, that deceaueth one poore man : how muche more sharpely ought he to be punished, and

of

of all men to be abhorred. (yea cast to the dogges) that deceaueth a hole Realme often or twentie hundred thousaunt persones? If he be thus to be abhorred and punished, that is required to doo an other mannes busynesse, and deceaueth him: how muche more ought they to be abhorred and hated, that take vpon them to doo for others, not desired but suying for it: not called therto, but thrusting in them self: not prayed, but payeng, geuing many lyuereyes, procuring and making frendes to geue them their noices, obteynnyng of great mennes lettres, and ladies tokens, feasting freholders, and making great banketting cheare: not by the consent of the parte, but by force and streinght, with tropes of horsemen, billes, bowes, pykes, gonnes, and suche like kynde of qualities.

If this opinion be had, and iudgement be geuen against a man that seeketh his owne gayne with the losse of his frendes in small thinges: what opinion maye men haue, what iudgemēt shalbe geuen of those, that (to make them selues noble and riche) cutte the throtes of those that committed them selues, their wyues, their children, their goodes, yea and lyues vpon trust in to their handes?

If this iudgemēt be geuen for worldly thinges, what iudgemēt shalbe geue of those that wilfully goo about to destroye mēnes soules, and to make the a present to the deuil, so that they for a tyme maye be his deputies

here

here in earthe? If men doo thus abhorre and punish
he suche unfaithfull and unhoneft persones : how
muche more will thal mightie God abhorre , con-
demne , and exercise his seuerer iudgement on them,
that thus abuse the autoritie geuen unto them by
him , and deceaue and undoo those poore shepe of
his , in whom (as his ministers) they put their
trust?

Hearke, hearke (while tyme of repentaunce is)
to the sentence of God, pronounced by the mouthe
of his seruauant and Prophet Esaias: VVo be vnto
you (sayeth he) that make vnrighteous lauues,
and deuise thinges vvhich be to harde to be
kept, vvhetherby the poore are oppressed on eue-
ry syde , and thinnocentes of my people are
theriuith robbed of iudgement , that vuy-
douues maye be your praye, and that ye maye
robbe the fatherles. VVhat vuill ye doo in
tyme of the visitacion and destruction that
shall come from farre? To vvhom vuill ye
runne for helpe? Or to vvhom vuill ye geue
your honour, that he maye kepe it: that ye co-
me not among the prisoners , or lye among
the dead?

This terrible wo of euerlasting damnacion was
spoken not only to Ierusalem , but to Germanie,
Italie, Fraunce, Spayne, Englande, Scotlande, and
all other countreyes and naciones , wher the like
vices

vices shalbe committed. For God is iuste , and so
hateth sinne , that he neuer leaueth it in any place
vpunished: but the more common it is, the greater
plages and force dothe he vse to repressse it : as we
maye learne by the examples of the cities Sodome
and Gomor, and Ierusalem his owne citie. And besi-
des the general plage , he whippeth the autors of
it with som special scourge, that they maye be a spe-
ctacle , not only to those that are present, but also a
remembraunce to all that be to come.

But perchaunce som (that be put in trust and au-
toritie to make statutes and lawes) will saye : we
doo not willingli any thing against Goddes honour,
or the wealthe of our countrey, or deceaue any that
put their trust in vs.

If any suche thinge folowe , it is by reason that we
were ignorant.

Tell me, if besече thee, if thou hadest hyred one
to be thy shepehearde, and thy shepe should vn-
der his hande by his ignorance myscharie : or if thy
horse keeper taking wages, should (through his negli-
gence) suffre thy horse to perishe : woldest thou not
compte him faulty and loke for amendes at his han-
des? Should ignorance excuse him? No, thou wol-
dest saye, I hyred thee, and thou tokest it vpon thee.
And so thou woldest not onely force hym to make sa-
tisfaction, but also woldest thinke it iuste to haue him
punished besydes to make himself no more cōnyng

16.
than the was, not to deceaue any that put their trust
in him. Than thei are muche to blame, that being
put in trust in Courtes and parliametes to make la=
wes and statutes to the aduancement of Goddes glo=
rie, and conseruation of the liberties and common
wealthe of their countrey, neglecte their office and
charge, being appointed to be not only keepers of
Goddes people, not of hogges, neither of horses and
mules which haue no vnderstanding, but of that deare
flocke which Christ purchaced with the price of his
hart blood: but also as phisicians and surgeons, to
redresse, reforme and heale, if any thing be amyffe.
And if a phisitian for lucre or other mennes pleasure,
wold take vpon him the healing of a sore diseased per=
sone, and for lacke of knowlage or vpo other euil pur=
pose wold minisire thinges to hurt or kill the persone,
were he not worthy to be taken and punished as a bo=
cher and a man murthurer?

But ye will saye: we gaue credit to others, and they
deceaued vs. Thinke ye, that this balde excuse will
serue? Is it not written, that if the blynde leade the
blynde, bothe shall fall in to the pitte? Did the plea
that Eua made for offending in eating the forbidden
apple (whan she sayed, the serpent had deceaued her)
excuse her? Nothing lesse. She was not only her
self therfore punished with suche paynes (as greater
than death none could be deuised) hut also all her
posteritie.

Others

17.
Other perhappes of you will saie: ye dare doo
non other wise. If ye did, ye should be taken for ene=
mies of the gouernour, runne in to indignation, and
so lose your bodies and goodes, and vndoo your chil=
dren. O saynt heartes, Thinke ye, that your paren=
tes had leste you as ye be, if they had ben so saynt
harted? Or thinke ye that this will serue your turne?
Was it ynough for Adam our first father, whan he
fell with bearing his wife companie in eating the for=
bidden apple, to saye, I durst not displease my wife:
or to saye, as he sayed, The woman whome thou ga=
uest me, gaue it me? No, it auailed not, but he and all
his posteritie were plagued for his disobedience, as
we and all that shall folowe vs, doo well fele, if we ha=
ue any feare of God before our eies.

Whan the brutishe commones of Israel were
so importune vpon Aaron, that he for fyre
was sayne to make them the golden calse: wher=
with whan Moses sharply charged him he ex=
cused him self, sayeng: alas Sir, this sedicious and ra=
geing brutishe people wold nedes haue me perforce
to doo it. God knoweth, it was sore against my
will: did this excuse acquite him, trowe you? No
surely. If he had not repented, he had ben as
sure of hell fyre for his labour, as they be, which
haue set vp or sayed the beastly popyshe masse, at

B ij the

10.
the furious enforcement of the brutishe commones
or in pretense of obedience to the Quenes procedin-
ges in Englande: onles they speedily repent, and re-
nounce their wicked doing, as Aaron did his.

Thus ye haue hearde not only wherof politike
power groweth, and of the true vse and duetie therof,
but also what wilbe layed to their charge, that doo
not their duetie in making of lawes. Now see, what
is sayed by God to the executours of lawes: See
& what ye doo (sayeth God) for ye execute
not the iudgement of man, but of God.
and & what so euer ye iudge, it shall re-
dounde to your selues. Let the feare of God
therfore be before your eies, and doo all thinges with
diligence. For with the lorde our God ther is non
iniquitie, neither difference of persones, nor yet ha-
the he pleasure in rewardes or bribes.

But of the ministers of lawes and gouernours of
realmes and contreyes, more shalbe sayed hereafter.

19.
VVHETHER KINGES
princes, and other gouernours haue
an obbsolute power and authoritic
ouer their subiectes.

Forasmuche as those that be the Rulers in the
worlde, and wolde be takē for Goddes (that is, the mi-
nisters and images of God here in earthe, the xāples
and myrrours of all godlynesse, iustice, equitie, and
other vertues) clayme and exercise an absolute po-
wer, which also they call a fulnesse of power, or pre-
rogatiue to doo what they lust, and none maye gay-
nesaye them: to dispense with the lawes as pleaseth
them, and frely and without correction or offence
doo contrary to the lawe of nature, and other Goddes
lawes, and the positiuie lawes and customes of their
countreyes, or breake them: and vse their subiectes
as men doo their beastes, and as lordes doo their vil-
lanes and bondemen, getting their goodes from them
by hoke and by crooke, with Sic volo, Sic iubeo, and
spending it to the destruction of their subiectes: the
miserie of this tyme requireth to examine, whether
they doo it rightfully or wrōgfully, that if it be right
full, the people maie the more willingly obeie and re-
ceauē the same: if it be wrongful, that than those that
vse it, maye the rather for the feare of God leaue it.
For (no doubt) God will come, and iudge the worlde
with equitie, and reuēge the cause of the oppressed. Of
the popes power (who compteth him self one, yea the

chief of these kinde of Goddes, yea aboue them all, and slowe to the God of Goddes) we minde not now to treate: nother is it requisite. For all men, yea half wise women and babes can well iudge, that his power is worthy to be laught at: and were it not bolstred and propped vp with sweorde ad sagot, it wolde (as it will notwithstanding) shortly ly in the myre, for it is not buylt on the rocke, but on the sande, not planted by the father of heauen, but by the deuil of hell, as the frutes doo manifestly declare. But we will speake of the power of kynges and princes, and suche like potentates, rulers, and gouernours of common wealthes.

Before ye haue hearde, how for a great long tyme, that is vntil after the general flood, ther was no ciuile or politike power, and how it was thā first ordayned by God him self, and for what purpose he ordayned it: that is (to comprehend all briefly) to mayntene iustice: for euery one doing his deutie to God, and one to an other, is but iustice. Ye haue hearde also, howe states, bodies politike, and common wealthes haue autoritie to make lawes for the mayntenaunce of the policie, so that they be not contrary to Goddes lawe and the lawes of nature: which, if ye note well the question before propounded whether kynges and princes haue an absolute power, shall appeare not doubtfull, or if any wolde affirme it, that he shall not be hable to maintene it. For first touching Goddes lawes

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(by which name also the lawes of nature be comprehended) kynges and princes are not ioyned makers herof with God, so that therby of thē selues they might clayme any interest or autoritie to dissolue them or dispense with them, by this Maxime or principal, that he that maye knyght together, maye lose asondre: and he that maye make, maye marre: for before Magistrates were, Goddes lawes were. Neither can it be proued, that by Goddes worde they haue any autoritie to dispense or breake them: but that they be still commanded to doo right, to ministrate iustice, and not to swarue, neither on the right hande or on the lefte. Than must it nedes folowe, that this absolute autoritie which they vse, must be mayntened by mannes reason, or it must nedes be an vsurpaciō: But what can reason saye? If it be not lausfull, by no lawes (no neither by honestie) for any mannes seruauant to altre his maisters (a mortal mannes) commaundement: can reason saye, it is lausfull for any persone to altre Goddes cōmaundement, or breake it? That a mannes seruauant maye be wiser than his maister, that he maye be iuster than his maister, that he maye see what is more profitable and necessarie to be done thā his maister, cōmonly it happeneth: and therefore he maye haue som apparēt cause, to altre or breake his maisters cōmaundement. But to saye, that any creature is, or that any creature wolde seme in worde or dede, to be more wise than God, more iuste than God, more prudent

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and circumspecte than God, or knoweth what is better for the creature than the creatour him self (as it must needs be saied, that he dothe, that talketh vpon him to breake or dispence with Goddes will and commaundementes) what an horrible blasphemie is it? what licentious presumption is it?

If we will not submit our selues to Goddes iudgement herein expressed by his worde, as Christians should, let vs yet marke the sequelle: and therby gather Goddes iudgement, as Ethnikes doo. For what we haue wrought our wittes out, and deuised and done what we can, we can not so exclude God, but he will haue a saieing with vs.

Goddes worde, will and commaundement is, that he that wilfully killeth a man, shall also be killed by man: that is, the Magistrate. But this lawe hath not ben obserued and all wayes executed, but kinges and princes vpon affection haue dispensed and broken it, graunting life and libertie to traitours, robbers, murderours, &c.

But what hath followed of it? Haue they (whose offences haue ben so pardoned) after ward shewed them selues penitent to God, and thankfully profitable to the common wealth? No, God and the commonwealth haue had no greater enemies. They haue added murder to murder, mischief to mischief, and of priuate malefactours, haue become publike, and of men killers, they haue at leinght gro-

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wen to be destroyers of their countrey, yea and many tymes of them that saued them from hanging and other iust paines of the lawe. And no marvail: for God dothe not oneli punishe the principalles and authors of such mischief, but also those that be accessories and mayntenours of it, and plageth iniquitie with iniquitie. Ye mai likewise see, what frutes haue followed, wher popes, haue dispensed, that mariages might be made contrarie to Goddes lawes. We shall not nede to rehearse any: thende will declare all. But let vs leaue to reason that, wherin nothing can be saied for it. And let vs come to that, wherin somwhat maye be saied: that is, whether kinges and princes maye doo thinges contrary to the positie lawes of their countrey. As for example.

It is a lawe positie, that a meane kinde of apparel, or a meane kynde of diet should be vsed in a common wealth, to thintent that men leauing the excessse therof, wherof many occasiones bothe to destroye nature and to offende God folowe, they might conuerte that they before euil spent, to the relief of the pouertie, or defense of their countrey.

For answer to this question, this diuision ought to be made, that ther be two kyndes of kinges, princes, and gouernours.

The one, who alone maye make positie lawes, because the hole state and body of their countrey haue geue, and resigned to th:m their authoritie so to doo:

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which neuertheles is rather to be compted a tiranne than a king, as Dionisius, Philippus and Alexander were, who saued whom they wold ad spilt whom they lusted. And thother be suche, vnto whom the people haue not geuen suche autoritie, but kepe it them selues: as we haue before sayed cöcerning the mixte state.

True it is, that in maters indifferent, that is, that of them selues be neither good nor euil, hurtfull or profitable, but for a decent ordre: Kinges and Princes (to whom the people haue geuen their autoritie) maie make suche lawes, and dispense with them. But in maters not indifferent, but godly and profitably ordayned for the common wealth, ther can they not (for all their autoritie) breake thē or dispense with them. For Princes are ordained to doo good, not to doo euil: to take awaie euil, not to increase it: to geue example of well doing, not to be procurers of euil: to procure the wealth and benefite of their subiectes, and not to worke their hurt or vndoing. And in thempire wher (by the ciuile lawes) thempourers claime, that the people gaue them their autoritie to make lawes, albeit they haue ben willing, and ofte attēpted to execute their autoritie, which som Pikethākes (to please them) saie they haue by the lawes, yet haue they ben forced of them selues to leaue of their enterprise. But such as be indifferent expounders of the lawes, be of that minde that we before haue declared: and therefore
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make this a general conclusion, and as it were a rule, that theprouer willing any thing to be done, ther is no more to be done, than the lawes permit to be done. For (saie they) neither pope, Emperour, nor king may doo any thing to the hurt of his people without their cösent. King Antigonous Chancelour, saieing vnto him, that all thinges were honest ad laifull to kinges: ye saie true (quod the king) but to suche kinges as be beastes, barbarous ad without humanitie: but to true ad good Princes, nothing is honest, but that is honest in dede, and nothing is iuste, but that is iuste in dede.

Anthiochus the thrid king of Asia, considering that as he was aboute the people, so the lawes were aboute him, wrote general lettres to all the cities of his countrey, that if they should perceaue, that he by any lettres, should require any thing contrary to the lawes, they should thinke, that suche lettres were obtained without his cösent, and therefore they should not obeie them.

Now if wher the people haue geuen their autoritie to their gouernour to make suche lawes, yet can he not breake or dispense with the positieue lawes: how muche lesse maie suche gouernours, kinges, and princes to whō the people haue not geuen their autoritie (but they with the people, ad the people with thē make the lawes) breake them or dispense with them? If this were tolerable, thā were it in vaine to make solēne assemblies of the hole state, long Parliaments &c: ye
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(I beseeche the) what certayntie should ther be in any thynge, wher all should depende on ones will and affection? But it wilbe saied, that albeit kinges and princes can not make lawes, but with the consent of the people, yet maie they dispense with any positive lawe, by reason that of long tyme they haue vsed so to doo, and prescribe so to doo : for long custome maketh a lawe.

To this it maye be answered; euil customes (be they neuer so olde) are not to be suffred, but vtterly to be abolished: and non maie prescribe to doo euil, be he king or subiecte. If the lawes appoint thee the time of thrittie or fourtie yeares to claime a sure and a perfit interesse of that thow enioiest, yet if thow knowe, that either thy self or those by whom thow claimest, came wrongfully by it, thow art not in dede a perfit owener of it, but art bounden to restore it. Although the lawes of man doo excuse and defende thee frō outwarde trouble and punishemēt, yet cā they not quiet the cōsciēce, but whā thy cōsciēce remēbreth, that thow enioiest that is not thyne, it will byte the that thow haste done wrong: it will accuse the before the iudgement seat of God, and condemne the. And if princes and gouernours wolde shew the selues half so wise, as they wolde men shoulde take them to be, and by the example of others learne what mischief might happen to them selues, they wolde not (if they might)

might) claime, muche lesse execute any suche absolute authoritie. No, neither wold their Counsaillours (if they loued them) maintene them in it: nor yet the subiectes (if they did but conside their owne sauetic and felicitie in this life) wold not if they might, suffre their Prince to doo what him lusted.

For thone purchase to them selues a perpetuall vncertaintie bothe of life and goodes: and thother procureth the hatred of all, which albeit it be couloured and dissembled for a season, yet dothe it at leyngh tyme burst out, and worketh the reuenge with extremite.

Ther lacke no examples to verifie this. It was dryven in to the head of temperour C. Caligula, that he was subiecte to no power, that he was aboue all lawes, and that he might lausfully doo what him lusted. This lesson was so swete to the fleshe, that it was no soner moued than desired, no soner taught than learned, no soner hearde than practiced. First by like that thempire should not goo out of his owne race, he coupleth not with one, but with all his sisters, like bitche and dogge. He killeth his brother Tiberius, and all his chieffest frendes: he murdereth many of the Senatours of Rome. He delited to haue honest men to be garshed, scotched and cut in the faces, and so to make him pleasure, to haue them cast

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to rauinous beastes to be torne and deuoured in his sight, or to be sawed asondre in the middes. It was a pleasunt pastyme for him, to see the parentes stande by, lamenting and weping, whiles their children were tormented and killed. He vsed to complayne and lament, that no common calamitie and notable miseries happened in his time. He reioyced muche whan newes were brought him of the slaughters of hole armies of men, great hongre, pestilence, townes burnyng, and openynges of the earthe, wherin many people were swalowed vp. But the daye he sawe any of these him self, he neded neither meat nor drinke, he was so iocunde and merye. And being gluttid with the pastime of euery mannes deathe, by him self (to procure a newe appetite) he deuised an other, if he could haue brought it to passe. But whan he could not haue it done, the memorie thereof was so swete, that he ofte desired: that is, that all the headdes of the people of Rome shode on one mannes necke, that he might with one swashe cut it of. Many other noble actes by his absolute power he wrought: and at leynght he commaunded that his ymage should be set vp in the temple at Ierusalem, and ther worshipped: as not vnlike sait Gardiners (for he hath done no smal thiges) shalbe shortly by Anticipacio in Englad. But what was thende of Caligulaes absolute power? whā he had reigned three yeares and ten monethes, his owne householde seruantes conspired

conspired against hym, and the general of his owne Armie slewe him.

Nero theperour was of nature very modest, gentle, and mercifull, and the first five yeares of this reigne, he behaued him self very vertuously. After, other counsaillours and maisters, than Seneca crept into his fauour, who tolde him that he might doo what him lustid. He was sone perswaded therunto, And to shewe som profte that he had well caried awaye their aduise: he killed his mother Agrippina. This cruel acte did so moue his wicked conscience, that he durst not come abroade in the Senate, but kept him self secrete in his priuie chābre. For he feared the hatred of the people, and knewe not what was best for hi to doo. He lacked no flattering Counsaillours. Ther were pleintie that sought their owne profit and gayne, and the satisfieng of their lustes, more than their princes honour and sauetie, and the cōmon wealthe of their cōtreie saie they: Sir, whi should ye be thus amased with the deathe of this womā? She was of all people abhorred and hated: the people wōderfully reioyce in your doig, and cōmēde you aboue the moone for so noble an acte. They desire, that ye will returne in to the citie, that they maie with triumphe expresse how muche their ioie and gladnesse is, and how they loue you for so noble a feate. These craftie knaues seing how they might blinde their maisters eies, cōmaunded in theperours behalf, that all the people should come out of Rome,

Rome, to mete the murtherer. The Senate in their best apparail cometh out, alle other ordres likewise after their degrees folowe, and finally man, woman and childe.

Themperour when he sawe them, thought all was done from the botome of their heart. The Senate shewed suche outward honour, the commones so great loue, eueri body pretended so great ioye and gladnesse. And thinke ye, ther were not about him that said. Dothe not your Maiestie well finde all our saienes true? maye ye not credite vs in that we counsaile and aduise you? What folowed? Themperour embrewed with the blood of his mother, and his vnnatural acte commended by his wicked Counsaillours, ceaseth not from his crueltie, but earnestly goeth forward He putteth awaie his wife Octauiā, because she seemed to be baren. He marieth his harlot called Puppie. He sendeth his wife Octauiā in to an Islande, he byndeth her in chaines, and causeth her to be let blood in all partes; and fearing least feare wolde dryue the blood to the harte, and so she lyue longer than he wolde, he setteth her in a bayne of hotte water, that her blood might the soner come out. But what becometh of his deare darling Puppie? he dalieth a while with his Puppie and at leynight his hotte loue being turned in to displeasur, he spurneth her (being with Childe) on the belye, and so she dieth. To late he repented, but yet ceased not his crueltie. He killed

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his maister Seneca, he persecuted the church of Christ most miserably, and so thinking that he might doo what him lusted, and that all was well done, were it neuer so euil done, he neuer leste of his crueltie, til the people finding occasion and oportunitie to vttra their dissembled hatred, slewe him.

But what thinke you? who were to be blamed for these cruell actes? He for doing thē, or others for flattring hī, or the Senate and people of Rome in suffering him? Surely ther is none of them to be excused, but all to be blamed, and chiefly those that might haue bridled him, and did not.

He is a good citez in, that dothe non euil (saieith a noble wiseman) but he is a better that letteth others, that they shall not doo hurt nor vnjustice to others. The blood of innocentes shalbe demanded not only at the handes of the shedders of blood, but also of those that make or consent to wicked lawes, to condemne innocentes, or suffre their head to kill them contrary to iust lawes, or to spoile them of that they iustly enioie by the ordre of the lawe.

Now sithe kings, princes, and gouernours of common wealthes haue not nor can iustly clayme any absolute autoritie, but that thende of their autoritie is determined and certain to maintene iustice, to defende the innocent, to punishe the euil. And that so many euilles and mischiefs maie folowe, wher such absolute and (in dede) tirānical power is vsurped: let vs prairie

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that they maie knowe their duetie, and discharge the
selues to God and to the worlde, or elles that those
which haue the autoritie to refourme them, maie
know and doo their duetie, that the people finding
and acknowlageing the benefite of good rulers, maie
thake God for them, and labour euery one to doo their
duetie: and that seing the head is not spared,
but euilles in it punished, they maie the
more willingly absteine fro tyrā
nie and other euil doings,
and do their dueties,
and so all glori
fie God.

VVHETHER KINGS,
princes, and other politike Gouver
nours be subiecte to Goddes lawes, and
the positiue lawes of theyr
countreyes.

HE that noteth the proceedinges of princes and
gouernours in these our daies, how ambitious
they are to vsurpe others Dominiones, and how neclī
gēt they be to see their owne well gouerned, might thinke,
hat they beleue, that either ther is no God, or that
he hath not care ouer the thinges of the worlde: or that
they thinke themselues exempr frome Goddes lawes
and power. But the wonderfull ouerthrowe of their
deuises (whan they thinke themselues most sure and
certain) is so manifest, that it is not possible to denye,
but that bothe ther is a God, and that he hath care
ouer the thinges of the worlde. And his worde is so
playne, that non can gaynsaye, but that they be sub
iecte and ought to be obedient to Goddes lawes and
swoorde. For the hole decalog and euery part therof is
as well written to kings, princes, and other publike
persones, as to priuate persones. A king maye no more
committe Idolatrie, than a priuat man; he maye
not take the name of God in vayne, he maye not brea
ke the sabbat, no more than any priuate man. It is
not lausfull for him to disobeye his parētes, to kill any
person contrary to the lawes, to be an hooremōger,

to steale, to lye and beare false witnesse, to desire and couet any mannes house, wife, seruaunt, mayde, oxe, asse, or any thing that is an others, more than any other priuate man. No, he is bounden and charged vnder greater paines to kepe them than any other, because he is bothe a priuate man in respecte of his owne persone, and a publike in respecte of his office, which maye appeare in a great meigny of places where of parte I will recite. The holy goft by the mouth of a king and prophet, saith: And now ye kinges vnderstande, be ye learned that iudge the earthe. Serue the Lorde in feare, and reioice with trembling. Kisse the sonne, that is, receaue with honour, least the Lorde be angrie, and ye lose the waye, whan his wrathe shall in a moment be kyndled. And in an other place thus: The Lorde vpon thy right hāde shal Smyte and breake in pieces euē kinges in the daye of his wrathe. Esaias also the prophet saith: The Lorde shal comme to iudgemēt against the princes and elders of the people: Likewise saith the Prophet Michas speaking to all princes and gouernours vnder the heades of the house of iacob, and the leaders of the house of israel: Heare ye princes and gouernours, saith Michas: Should ye not knowe what were lafull and right? But ye hate the good, and loue the euil, ye plucke of

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mēnes skynnes, and the fleshe from their bones: ye cheoppe them in pieces, as it were in to a Caldron, and as fleshe in to a potte. Now the tyme shall come, that whā ye call vnto the lorde, he shall not heare you, but hyde his face from you, by cause that through your owne ymaginations ye haue dealt so wickedly. And again he saith: O heare ye rulers and gouernours, ye that abhorre the thing that is laful, and wraсте asyde the thing that is straight: ye that builde vp Sion with blood your magestie and tirannie with doing wrong. For so maie Sion and Ierusalem be well expounded: O you iudges, ye geue sentence for gistes: O ye priestes, ye teache for lucre: O ye prophetes, ye prophecie for money: yet will they be takē as those that holde vpō God, and saie: Is not the lorde amōg vs? How can than any mysfortune happen to vs? But Sion (that is, your cities) for your sakes shalbe plowed like a field: and Ierusalē (that is, your palaces) shall become an heape of stones, and the hill of the tēple (that is, your Monasteries, frieries, and chāuntries) shall become an high woodde. The holy goost also by the mouth of king Salomon, sayeth: Heare O ye kinges, and vnderstande. O learne ye that

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be iudges of the eēdes of the earthe. Geue
eare ye that rule the multitudes, and deli-
te in muche people. For the power is ge-
uē unto you of the lorde, and the strenght
from the highest, who shall trye your wor-
kes, and searche out your ymaginaciones,
how that ye being officers of his kingdom
haue not kept the lawe of righteousnesse
nor walked after his will. Horribly and
that sone shall he appeare vnto you, for vpon
the most high, he will execute most seuerē
iudgement. Mercie is graunted unto the
simple, but they that be in autoritie, shalbe
sore punished. For God which is lorde
ouer all, shall except no mannes person,
neither shall he regarde any mannes grea-
tnes for he hath made the small and great-
and careth for all alike, but the mightie
shall haue the sorer punishment. To you
therefore (O princes) doo I speake, that ye
maye learne wisdome, and not offende.

These saienings nede no particular examples to con-
firme them, but loke on all governours and rulers
named in the hole Bible, or in any other historie; and
among all ye shall finde, that none hath escaped God-
des punishment, but alwayes their iniquitie hath
ben plagued in them selues or their posteritie.

The cause and maner of king Saules punishemēt
and

and extinguishing of his posteritie, is more common-
ly knowne, than nedeth any rehearsall. Roboam
because he wold reigne as a tyranne and not be subie-
ct to lawe nor counsaill, hade ten tribes of his king-
dome taken frō him, and geuen to Ieroboam: who
also forasmuche as he contented not him selfe to be sub-
iecte to Goddes written worde and lawe, but fell to his
owne Idolatrous inuenciones, and caused his subie-
ctes to folowe his proceedinges: was so stripped from
the enheritaunce of his crowne, that his sede was vt-
terly rooted out.

The ende of Achab and Iesabel is well ynough
vnderstanden. And kyng Ioram for his stout
stryuing against Goddes lawes and the ordre of his
countrie was so sore striken of the lorde with hor-
rible diseases, that at leynghit his guttes for extreme
anguishe flewe out of his bely. But wherto bring I
out paticular examples of Goddes plagues and pu-
nishementes vpon kinges and princes that wold not
be subiecte to Goddes lawes, and the lawes of nature,
seing the hole body of the Bible, and writers of pro-
phane histories be full of them?

Therefore seing no king or governour is exempted
from the lawes, hande, and power of God, but that he
ought to feare and tremble at it, we maye procede
to the other part of the question: that is, whe-
ther kinges, princes, and other governours ought to

be obedient and subiecte to the positie lawes of their countrey. To discusse this question, the right waye and meane is as in all other things, to resort to the fountaynes and rootes, and not to depende on the ryuers and braunches. For as if men should admyt, that the churche of Rome were the catholike churche, and the pope the head of it, and Goddes onely vicare in earthe, and not seke further how he cometh by that autoritie: than could noman saie, but that all his doings (were they neuer so wicked) should seme iust: so if men should buyde vpon thauthoritie that kinges and princes vsurpe ouer their subiects, and not seke from whens they haue theyr autoritie, nor whether that which they vse, be iust, ther could be nothing produced to let their cruell tyrannye. But for as muche as we see from whence all politike power and autoritie cometh; that is, from God: and why it was ordained, that is, to mayntene iustice: we ought (if we will iudge rightly) by Goddes worde examine to trie this mater.

Saint Paule treating who should doo obedience, and to whom obedience should be done, saith: Let euery soule be subiecte to the powers that rule, for ther is no power but of God. Ther are that wolde haue this worde, Soule, taken for man, not as he consisteth of soule and body bothe together, but onely of the fleshe: and that so by the worde (Soule) should be vnderstanden onely a worldly man, that is, a laye man or temporall man (as we term

me it) and not a spiritual man and a minister of the churche. Soher vpon Antichrist, the bishop of Rome seeking for subiectes to be vnder his kingdom, hath take for his subiects the cleargie with tagge and ragge that to them belongeth: and hath made lawes, that they should be his subiectes, obedient to him and not to the politike power and autoritie, wher vnto he leaueth for subiectes onely the temporallie.

But in scripture this worde (Soule) is taken for euery kinde of mā, as may appeare whā it saith, that all the soules (that is, man and womā) that were in the arke with Noe, were eight. And that all the soules of the house of Iacob, which cam in to Egypt were lxx. In which nombres it can not be denyed, but that ther were as holy and as spirituall persones, as any are or were in the kingdome of the bishop of Rome. And Chrysostome (a priest) expounding this texte (Let euery soule be subiecte to the higher powers) sayeth: yea if thou be an apostle, an euangelist, a prophet, or what so euer thou art: for this subiection destroieth not religion. So that it can not be denyed, but by this worde (Soule) is comprehended, euery persone, and none excepted. Now touching this worde (Power) some wold haue it interpreted for all those persones that execute iustice, be he kaiser, king, mayre, Sherif, constable, borsholder, or neuer so lowe: and some wold haue it to be interpreted only of kinges and chiefest officers. But it is here to be

taken for the ministerie and autoritie, that all officers of iustice doo execute: and so it maie appeare by Christes owne wordes, when he saith: The kinges of the naciones rule ouer' shē, and those that exercise thautoritie or power, be called gracious Benefactors, or well doers. For as all mē and womē that seme to lyue together in the holy ordinance of Matrimonie, be not mā and wife, for it maie be, that the man hath an other wife liuing or the wife other an husbände, or that they came not together, for the loue of God only, and to auoide sinne, but for sensualiitie, and to get riches, and so thordinaunce it self is one thing, and the persones, that is, the mā and woman an other: euē so is the politike power or autoritie beig thordinaūce and good giste of God, one thig, and the psonē that executeth the same (be he king or kaifer) an other thing. The ordinaūce being godly, the mā may be euil and not of God, nor come therto by God, as the Prophet of see saith: They haue made them a king, and not through me: a prince, and not through my counsaile and will,

Neither is that power and autoritie which kinges, princes, and other ministres of iustice exercise, only called a power: but also thautoritie that parentes haue ouer their children, and maisters ouer their seruantes, is also called a power: and neither be the parentes nor maisters the power it self, but they be ministres and executours of the power, being geuen

unto them by God: which also S. Paule in an other place plainly sheweth, saing to Titus: Swarne them to be subiecte to the principalities and powers. which some interpret, princes and powers, to make a distinction betwene the minister and the Ministerie. And it foloweth: to obey thofficers, so that alwaies the difference maie be perceaued. So than if by this worde (Soule) is ment euery person spiritual and temporal, man and woman: and by this worde (power) thautoritie that kinges and princes execute, than can not kinges and princes, but be contained vnder this general worde (Soule) as well as others. And they being but executours of Goddes lawes, and mennes iust ordinaunces, be also not exempted from them, but be bounden to be subiecte and obedient vnto them. For good and iuste lawes of man be Goddes power and ordinaunces, and they are but ministres of the lawes, and not the lawes self. And if they were exēpt from the lawes, and so it were lausfull for them to doo what them lusteth, their autoritie beig of God, it might be saied, that God allowed their tyrānie robbery of their subiectes, killig thē without lawe, and so God thauthor of euil: which were a great blasphemie. Iustiniā thēperour well cōsidered, when he made this saing to be put into the body of the lawes. It is a worthy saing (saith he) for the Maiesie of him that is i autoritie, to cōfesse that the price is subiecte to the lawes, thautoritie of the price dothe so muche depende

depende on thautoritie of the lawes. And certainly it is more honour than the honour of the empire, to submitte the principallitie vnto the lawes. For in dede lawes be made, that the wilfull self will of men should not rule, but that they should haue a line to leade them, as they might not goo out of the waie of iustice: and that (if any wolde saie, they did them wrong) they might alledge the lawe for their warraunt and autoritie. It is also a principle of all lawes grounded on the lawe of nature, that euery man should vse him self and be obedient to that lawe, that he will others be bounden vnto. For otherwise he taketh awaye that equalitie (for ther is no difference betwene the head and foote, concerning the vse and benefite of the lawes) wherby common wealthes be maintained and kept vp. What equalitie (I beseeche you) should ther be, wher the subiect should doo to his ruler all the ruler wolde: and the ruler to the subiect, that the ruler lusted?

The good emperour Traianus (whom for his iust behaueour, the Senate of Rome toke to be a God) being in possession of his office, and minding to shewe, that he was not ordained to be a tiranne, but to see the people well gouerned, and that, albeit he was the minister of the lawes, yet was he subiect to the lawes, toke a sweorde, and gaue it to the Captain of the horsemen, and saied: Take this sweorde, use it for me against mine

mine enemies in iust causes: and if I my self doo not iustly use it, than use it against me.

Zaleuchus the ruler and maker of lawes to the loeres, whan he made this lawe, that an aduourer should be punished with the losse of bothe his eies, and his sonne had offended the same, albeit the people made great intercession, that his paines might be pardoned him, he wold not consent vnto it, but pulling out one of his sonnes eies, to fulfill and kepe the lawe, he suffred one of his owne eies also to be pulled out.

But thow wilt saie: What haue we to doo with Ethnikes? Why should we be ordred by Ethnikes doinges? I answer, that whan Ethnikes doo by nature that thow art bounden also to doo, not only by nature, but by the lawes of God and man, such Ethnikes shall rise in the vniuersal iudgement, to accuse the, and worke thy condemnation. The bishop of Romes lawes (which albeit he vse not in him self, yet will he haue them practiced in others) saie thus: It is requisite and iust, that a prince obeie his owne lawes. For than maie he loke that others shall kepe his lawes, whan he him self hathe them in honour. Iustice will, that princes be obedient and bounden to their owne lawes, and that they can not in their owne doinges condemne

ne those lawes which they prescribe unto others. Thauthoritie of their sayeng is iust and indifferent, if that thei suffre not them selues to doo that they prohibite unto their people. This saith the bishop of Romes lawe. And vpon this principle after in the great general counsaile of Lateran, & which pope Innocent the thirde helde, it may seme, it was ordained and decreed (as they saie) that whan kinges and princes that knowlaged no superiour, should fall out among them selues, or should misuse their power and autoritie ouer their subiectes, that than the matier should be hearde & corrected by the bishop of Rome

But here it maie be asked, who did this iustice on kinges and princes before that time, sith it was but than comitted to the bishop of Rome? To that at this time we shall not nede to answer, for that we doo not seke presetyly to knowe who should be iudge, but onely to declare and proue, that kinges and princes ought, bothe by Goddes lawe, the lawe of nature, mannes lawes, and good reason, to be obedient and subiecte to the positiuue lawes of their countrey, and maie not breake them, and that they be not exempt from them, nor maie dispense with them, onles the makers of the lawes geue them expresse autoritie so to doo.

& who shalbe the kinges iudges, hereafter thou shalt heare.

IN

IN WHAT THINGES, AND

how farre subiectes are bounden
to obcie their princes and gouernours.

AS THE BODY OF MAN IS KNIT and kept together in due proporciõ by the sinewes, so is euery comũ wealthe kept & maintained in good ordre by obedience. But as if the sinowes be to muche racked & stretched out, or to muche shrunked together, it briedeth wonderfull paines and deformitie in mānes body: so if obedience be to muche or to litell in a common wealthe, it causeth muche euil and disordre. For to muche maketh the gouernours to forget their vocacion, and to usurpe vpon their subiectes: to litel briedeth a licencious libertie, and maketh the people to forget their duetie. And so bothe waies the common wealthe groweth out of ordre, and at leinght cometh to hauocke and vtter destruction,

Some ther be that will haue to littel obedience, as the Anabaptistes. For they bicause they heare of a christian libertie, wolde haue all politike power taken awaye: and so in dede no obedience.

Others (as thenglishe papistes) racke and stretche out obedience to muche, and wil nedes haue ciuile power obciẽd in all thinges, and that
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what so euer it commaundeth, without respect it ought and must be done. But bothe of them be in great errors. For the baptistes mistake christian libertie, thinking that men maye liue without sinne, and forget the fall of man, wherby he was brought in to suche miserie, that he is no more hable to rule himself by him self, than one beast is hable to rule an other: and that therefore God ordained ciuile power (his ministre) to rule him, and to call him backe, when so euer he should passe the limites of his duetie, and wold that an obedience should be geuen vnto him.

And the papistes neither conside the degrees of powers, nor ouer what things ciuile power hath the autoritie, ne yet how farre subiectes ought to obeye their gouernours. And this they doo not for lacke of knowledge, but of a spiritual malice, bicause it maketh against their purpose, that the truthe should be disclosed.

If any christian prince should goo about to redresse the abuses of the Sacraments (brought in and deuised by the papistes to maintee their kingdome) to correcte their abominable life, their hooredome, buggery, dronkenesse, pride, and suche like vices: than is he an other Ozias, an other Osa, an heretike, a schismatike, cursed from toppetoo, with boke, bell, and candle, as blacke as a potte side: no obedience of the subiectes ought to be geuen vnto him.

But if
he be

he be contented to wyne at their abominaciones, to runne with them, to dishonour God, to commit idolatrie, to kill the true ministers and confessours of Christ, to destroye the poore innocētes which abhor the papistes wicked vices, and be desirous that Goddes kingdome should be promoted: than is he an other Ezechias, a Iosias, a catholike prince, a deare sonne of the churche, the protectour of the churche, the defendour of the faith, the fosterour of the churche, a confessor while he lyueth, after his deathe a saynt (yea a saint deuil) canonized with Ora pro nobis: when Beelzebub daunceth at his Dirige.

Suche a one (saie they) must be obeyed in all things, none maie speake against his procedings, for he that resisteth the power, resisteth thordinaunce of God, and he that resisteth, purchaceth to him self damnaciō: as though to leaue euil vndone, and to doo good, were to resist the power. And here also they wryng this sayeng of S. Petre (Seruauntes obeye your maisters, although they be froward and churlishe) to free subiectes vnder a king: as if bounde men and free men were all one, and kinges and bondemens lordes had like autoritie. So with violent wrynging and false applyng of Goddes healthe geuing worde, Caiphas and Herode ryde cheke by cheke, and walke arme in arme, with bothe the sweordes and crosse before them. Errende to the one, frende

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to bothe : and he that is an heretike with Caiphaz,
must be a traitour to Herode :

Thus they goo about to bleare mennes eies to con-
firme and encrease their deuilliske kingdome. But
popishe prelates practises are no warrant to dis-
charge a christian mannes conscience. He must seeke
what God will haue him doo, and not what the sub-
tilltie and violēce of wicked men will force him to doo.
He maye not robbe petre to clothe Paule, nor take
from God his due to geue it vnto ciuile power: neither
maie he make confusio of the powers, but yelde vnto
euery one that is his due, nor yet obeyeng the infe-
riours commaundement, leaue the commaundement of
the highest vndone. Yelde vnto Cesar, those
things that be Cesares (sayeth Christ) and
vnto God, those things that be Goddes.
Ciuiile power is a power and ordinaunce of God, ap-
pointed to certain things, but no general minister
ouer all things. God hathe not geuen it power ouer
the one and the best parte of man, that is, the soule and
conscience of man, but onely ouer the other and the
worst part of man, that is, the body, and those things
that belong vnto this temporall life of man.

And yet ouer that parte with thappurtenaunces
hathe he not only not geuen man the hole power, and
stripped

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stripped him self quite of all thauthoritie, but also he
hathe reserued to him self the power therof. For we
reade, that whan ciuile power (his minister) hathe ben
negligent in doing his duetie, or winked at the euil life
of the people, God hathe not holden his hande, but
hathe whipped and plagued suche people, as he did
the Sodomites, Gomorrianes, and diuers tymes the
Iewes.

And in our dayes his hāde is not shortened, but he ha-
the and daily dothe plage blasphemours, hooremon-
gers, dronkerdes, murderours, theues, traitours, ty-
rannes, suche as in mannes sight no man durst or at
the least wolde touche: som with incurable plagés of
their bodye, some with losse of their children, some
with losse of their goodes, and some with shamefull
deathes.

And contrary wise whan the worldly pa-
wers haue violently, tyrannously, ouer sharply,
and wrongfully oppressed and condemned innocen-
tes, God (to testifie that he hathe also power
of the body) hathe many tymes in all ages
myghtily and miraculously deliuered his people
from the power of tyrannes: as the Israelites from
Pharao, Mardocheus from Aman, Susanna from the
lecherous iudges: Sedrach Mesach, and Abednego frō
the burnyng ouen: Daniel from the Lyons denne, Petre
from Herode, and infinite other examples we

D ij haue

haue in scriptures and histories. And the like haue not wanted in our daies also, if we will aduisedly cōsidre the condicion and state of our tyme. So that we see God to be the supreme power of the hole man, as well to punishe as to deliuer at his owne will.

God is the highest power, yea the power of powers, frō him is deriued all power. All people be his seruantes made to serue and glorifie him. All other powers are but his ministers, set to ouerseer that euery one behaue him selfe, as he ought towarde God, and to doo those thinges, that he is iustly commaunded to doo, by God.

What so euer God commaundeth man to doo, be ought not to considre the mater, but straight to obieie the commaunder. For we are sure, what he commaundeth, is iust and right: for from him that is all together iuste and right, no iniustice nor wrong can come.

So did Abraham, whan contrary to that semed to be right and iust (yea contrary to Goddes general commaundement) he made himself ready to kill and offre in sacrifice his onely promised sonne Isaac, according to Goddes special commaundement. So did also the children of Israel, contrary to the general commaundement (Thou shalt not steale) robb and spoile the Egipcianes, by Goddes special commaundement. And so did Phinees, who albeit he were

were no Magistrate, yet of a great zeale by the inward mocion of Goddes spirit thrust his sweorde through those two whom he founde committing Horedome,

But cōtrary in maānes cōmaundementes, men ought to considre the matier, and not the man. For all men what so euer mynisterie or vocatiō they exerceise, are but mē; and so maye erre. We see cōuñcelles against cōuñcelles, parliamētes against parliamētes, cōmaundemēt against cōmaundement, this daye one thing to morow another. It is not the mannes waraunt that can discharge the, but it is the thing it self that must iustifie thee. It is the mater that will accuse thee, and defende thee: acquyte thee, and condemne thee: whan thou shalt come before the throne of the highest and euerlasting power, wher no temporal power will appeare for thee, to make answer or to defende thee: but thou thy self must answer for thy self, and for what so euer thou hast done. And therefore christen men ought well to considre, and weighe mennes commaundementes, before they be hastie to doo them, to see if they be contrarie or repugnaut to Goddes commaundementes and iustice: which if they be, they are cruell and euill, and ought not to be obeyed. We haue this special commaundement from God the highest power, ofte repeted by the holy goost. Forbear to doo euil, and doo that is good.

D iij Saint

S. Paule (the true teacher of obediēce) teacheth, that
 ciuile power and princes be not ordayned to be a ter-
 row to those that doo wel but to those that doo euil,
 ād will not that mē should do what so euer the power
 commaundeth, but sayeth, wilt thou not feare the po-
 wer? doo that is good, and thou shalt haue
 praise of it: for it is the minister of God
 ordained for thy benefite, and not to thy
 destruction. But if thou doo that is euil,
 than feare: for it carieth not the sweorde in
 wayne : for it is the minister of God, a
 reuenger and execucionar, to punishe
 him that shal doo euil. And therefore it is orday-
 ned, that euil might be taken awaye. Men must be sub-
 iecte, not only for feare of punishment, but also for
 conscience sake. For not to obeie the power, that de-
 fendeth the good and vertuous, and punisheth the euil
 and wicked, is deadly synne, And the selfsame also S.
 Petre teacheth. Wherfore the marke that all men
 ought to shoote at, is to doo good, and in no wise to
 doo euil, who so euer commaundeth it. If the mini-
 sters of the ciuile power commaunde thee to ho-
 nour and glorifie God, as God wilbe honoured, to de-
 fende (with thy persone and goodes) thy countreye
 against thenemies, to doo suche thinges as be for the
 wealth and benefite of thy countreye: thou art bound-
 en to doo it: for it is good, and God will haue thee to
 doo it. And if thou doo it not, thou synnest against
 God,

God, and iustly deseruest the punishment not only
 of the power, but of euerlasting damnacion But if the
 ministers of the ciuile power commaunde thee to dis-
 honour God, to committe idolatrie, to kill an inno-
 cent, to fight against thy countrey, to geue or lende
 that thou hast, to suche as mynde the subuersion and
 destruction of thy countrey, or to mayntene them in
 their wickednesse, thou oughtest not to doo it, but to
 leaue it vndone: for it is euil, and God (the supreme ād
 highest power) will not that thou shouldest doo it.
 Thapostles in tyme of persecution did not onely geue
 vs an example so to doo, when the worldly powers
 wolde haue had them to solo we their proceedinges, but
 also leste vs a lesso so to doo. God must be obeied (saye
 they) rather than men. And this lesson euen from the
 begynning before it was written, was by the holy
 goost printed in mānes heart. Whan Pharao the ty-
 ranne commaunded the mydwyues of the Egipcianes,
 to kill all the male children that should be borne of
 the Israelites wyues: thinke ye, he did only commaun-
 de them? No without doubt. Ye maye be sure, he com-
 maunded not only vpō threatned paynes, but also pro-
 mised them largely: and perchance as largely as tho-
 se doo, that being desirous of children, procure the
 mydwyues to saye, they be with childe, whan their
 bely is puffed vp with the dropse or molle, ād hauing
 bleared the cōmon peoples eies with processioning,
 Te deum singing, and boncfire banketting, vse all cere

monies and crying out, whilest an other birdes egge is layed in the nest. But these good mydwiues fearing God (the high power) who hadde commaunded them, not to kill, wolde not obeye this tyranne Pharaoes commaundement, but leste it vndone.

Sohan the Ioiyle quene Iesabel commaunded, that the prophetes of God should be destroyed, that none should be leste to speake against her idoles, but that all men should folowe her proceedinges: did Abdias the chief officer to the king her husbände saye, your grace dothe very well to ridde the worlde of the for those that worship the true liuing God, cannot be but traitours to my souerayne lorde and maistre the king your husbände, and to your grace: and it is these heretikes, that bewitche and confure you, that your grace cannot be deliuered of your childe, nor slepe quietly in your bedde: let me alone, I will finde the meanes to despesche them all, only haue your grace a good opinion of me, and thinke I am your owne? No. Abdias (a man fearing God, and knowing this commaundement to be a wicked womans will) did cleane contrary to her commaundement, and hidde and preserved an hundred of the prophetes vnder the earthe in caues. Sohan the wicked king Saul commaunded his howne householde wayters and familiar seruautes to kill the priest Ahimelech and his children for hatred to Dauid: did those his owne neresst wayting seruautes flatter him forward, and saye: your

Maieste

Maieste shall neuer be in sauetie and quiet so long as this traitour and his prating children (that are alwayes in their sermons and bokes, meddling of the kinges maters) be suffred to lye? we wilbe your true obedient seruautes, we will beleue as the king be leueth, we will doo as the king biddeth vs, according to our most bounden ductie of allegeaunce, we shall sone ease your highnesse of this grief: other of your graces chaplaynes be more mete for that rowme than this hypocrite traitour? No. they vsed no suche court crueltie, but considering God to be the supreme power, and seing Ahimelech (by his answeres) and his householde to be gittles of suche mater in forme and intent as (by Doeges accusation). Saul charged him with all, they refused to kill any of them, or ones to laye violent handes vpon them, but playnly and vtterly (being yet the kinges true seruautes and subiectes) denyed to obeye the kinges vnlawfull commaundement. And when the same hypocrite Saul commaunded his seruautes or souldiours to kill noble Ionathas his sonne, who for necessitie hade taken a litel honie to recouer his strenght contrary to the king his fathers commaundement: did they saie, let vs kill him as we be willed, so shall some of vs be made the kinges lieutenant, we shalbe an ynche nerer to the succession, we shall haue his landes, possessiones, goodes and offices parted

amög vs: let vs not sicke to doo it. Sohan he is despe
 ched out of the worlde, he can make no reuenge, for
 dead men doo no harme. No, no, cleane cōtrary. They
 knewe that innocent Abels blood did crie to the
 lorde, Vengeaunce, uengeaunce, uengea-
 unce. And that albeit Cain hade a marke, that no
 man might lawfully kill him in this life, yet hangeth
 he now (as good writers saie) in chaines in hell. And
 thefore they wolde not obeie the wicked and cruel ti-
 rannes commaundement, but knowing that God
 will not haue innocentes blood shead, but innocentes
 against tyrannes defended, they toke vpon them the
 defense of the good sonne against the tyrannicall him-
 pocrite and vnnatural father.

Iulian theperour, albeit he were an Apostata
 from Christ, and a great persecutour of Christes
 churche, yet hade he vnder him souldiours that pro-
 fessed Christ. Sohan he commaunded them to set fore-
 ward to fight for the defense of the common weal-
 the, they obeyed him, and did it willingly: but did they
 before they were commaūded, seke for the christianes,
 and bring them to the one and twentie Commissiona-
 res, or to the bisshoppes colehouse? or whan he willed
 and commaunded them to destroye such as wold not
 denie Christ, and folowe his proceedinges, worship-
 ping idoles: did they bring them to the fire, and stande
 about, that they should not speake? and to see, that
 none should come nere thē, to comforte and streingh-
 ten

ten them in their faith? or whan they spake, did they
 cleaue their headdes in pieces with their halbeardes,
 or stoppe their mouthes with their billes? No, they
 confessed, that in that theperour of heauen thalmi-
 ghtie God (and not theperour of the earthe a wicked
 mā, and a rebelle against God) was their emperour and
 Captai: and therein they wolde not obeie Iulia nor doo
 that he commaunded in that behalfe. And this answer
 bothe S. Ambrose and S. Augustine, yea and
 the papistes (although they thē selues doo not so) pro-
 pounde and set furthe for a christē doctrine and a ca-
 tholike exāple, how christē and good subiectes shoulde
 behaue thē selues towarde wicked princes, and their wi-
 cked cōmaundemētes: that is, in no wise to obeie thē,
 but to teauc thē undone. And as mē ought not to obeie
 their superiours, that shall cōmaunde thē to doo any
 thig agaiſt Goddes worde, or the lawes of nature: so
 maie they not doo that they shall cōmaūde thē cōtra-
 ry to ciuile iustice, or to the hurt of the hole state. Nei-
 ther will good princes attēpt or goo about any suche
 thing: for it is the next waie to bring thē out of their
 seates, and to make thē of kinges no kinges. How can
 that head liue and cōtinewe, wher the body is cōsumed
 and dissolued? And how cā that body be lustie, wher the
 sinowes (the lawes) are broken, and iustice (the marie
 that should nourishe it) utterly wasted and decayed?
 Antiochus the thrid, king of Siria wrote
 thus to all the cities of his dominion, that if he did cō-
 maunde

maunde anything that should be contrary to the lawes, they should not passe thereon, but that rather they should thinke, it was stolen or forged without his knowlage, considering that the prince or gouernour is nothing elles but the minister of the lawes. And this same saieing of this most noble king semed to be so iuste and reasonable, that it is taken for a common principle; how subiectes should knowe, when they should doo that they be commaunded, and when they ought not.

Likewise a bishop of Rome, called Alexander the thrid, wrote to an Archebishop, to doo a thing which semed to the Archebishop to be vnreasonable and contrary to the lawes, the pope perceauing that the archbishop was offended with his writing, and wolde not doo that he required: desired him not to be pffended, but that if ther were cause, why he thought he should not do that he required, he wolde aduertise him, and he therwith wolde be satisfied.

This is a popes saieing: which who is so hardy dar die to denie to be of lesse autoritie than a lawe: yea not flouwe, but aboute Goddes worde? & oher vpon this is a general rule, that the pope is not to be obeyed, but in lausfull and honest things; And so by good Argument from the more to the lesse, that princes (being but foote stooles and stirrop holders to popes) commaunding their subiectes that is not godly, not iuste, not lausfull, or hurtfull to their country, ought not to be

to be obeyed, but withstanden. For the subiectes ought not (against nature) to further their owne destructiō, but to seke their owne saluacion: not to maintene euil but to suppressse euil: for not only the doers but also the consentours to euil, shalbe punished, saie bothe Goddes and mannes lawes. And men ought to haue more respecte to their country, than to their prince: to the common wealthe, than to any one persone. For the country and common wealthe is a degree aboue the king. Next vnto God men ought to loue their country, and the hole common wealthe before any membre of it: as kinges and princes (be they neuer so great) are but membres: and common wealthes may stande well ynough and florifhe, albeit ther be no kinges, but contrary wise without a common wealthe ther can be no king. Common wealthes and realmes may liue, when the head is cut of, and may put on a newe head, that is, make them a newe gouernour, when they see their olde head seke to muche his owne will and not the wealthe of the hole body, for the which he was only ordained. And by that iustice and lawe, that lately hath ben excuted in Englande (if it maie be called iustice and lawe) it should appeare, that the ministers of ciuile power doo sometimes commaunde that, that the subiectes ought not to doo.

Whan the innocent Lady Iane contrary to her will, yea by force, with teares dropping downe her chekes, suffred her self to be called Queene of Englande

glande: yet ye see, because she consented to that which was not by ciuile iustice lausfull, she ad her husbande for company suffred the paines of Traitors, bothe headles buried in one pitte.

Whan the blessed mā of God, Thomas Cranmer Archebischop of Cantorbury did what he might to resiste to subscribe to King Edwardes will, whereby his two sisters, the ladies Mary and Elizabeth should haue ben wrongfully disherited: yet because he afterwarde (to contēt the kinges minde and commaundement, yea in dede to saue the innocent king from the uiolece of most wicked traitorous tirannes) did subscribe vnto it against his will: was it not laied vnto him by the wicked Iudge Morgā (whom God not long after plaged with taking awaie his wittes that was a foole before) that he ought not to doo any thing unlausfull, bi commaundemēt of any power? And so he (an innocent) piked out among a great nombre of very euil doers (to satisfie the lawe) was condemned as a traitour before he suffred as a martir. Were not the ymages ad Roodelofstes in Englande destroyed by autoritie of ciuile power? And dothe not Boner the Archbocher of londō for all that force them that obeyed the autoritie (because he saieith, it was not lausfull) to make thē vp agai at their owne charges? But Boner, thou that allowest nothing to be well done (by what so euer autoritie it be done) except it be lausfull, nor nothing to be laus-

full,

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full that is not agreing to thy Canon lawes: I haue to saie to thee, Stāde stil a while, whilest I rubbe the. Tell me plainly, and face not out a lie, as thou arte wont: speake not one thing, and thinke an other, as thy nature is: ones in thy life tell the truthe, and shame thy maister the deuil. If thou were the sonne of the earthe by thy fathers side, and of an erraunt hoore by the mother, and so a bastarde: by what autoritie saiest thou thy masse, when thy lawes suffre no bastarades to be priestes without dispensacion: how comest thou to be a bishop, when thy lawes saie, thou maiest be no priest? How be thy iudgementes lausfull, when thou by thy Canones maiest be no iudge? All men knowe, that thy mother when thou wast begoten, was an hoore.

The common voice and same saieith, and the truthe is, that albeit one Boner (a bare whippe lacke) for lucre of money toke vpon him to be thy father, and than to mary thy mother, yet thou wast persone! Sauages bastarde: and of that race come thy Cousins Swimmeslowe thy Archdiacon of london (a mete eie for suche a grosse head) and Swimmeslowe his brother, and a great meany moo notable. These things be so euidēt ad plaine, that thou canest not (without blushing) denie them: neither thou wilt (I knowe) denie thē. For thou boastest ad braggest muche, that thou comest of gentil blood.

But thou wilt saie, thou hast a bull of dispensacion from

from the pope. I require to knowe, what time it was graunted. Thou saiest, when thou wast at Rome. It is euen that I required. Thou wast in dede at Rome, proclour for the princes dowager the Queenes mother, in the cause of diuorce betwene King Henry the viij. and her.

Howan thou sawest that no prebendes, no Archidiaconies, no bishoprikes were to be gotten by continuing on her parte, thou betraidest her cause, and becamest of Counsaile with the king. O noble counsaillour. O seuerer and lausfull iudge.

A mete man to sit in condemnation of so many innocentes: yea more mete to stande on the pillarie, than in a pulpit: to be tied vp in a boare franke, than walke in a princes chambre: to weare a Tiburne tippet, than a graie amise. But what if thou haue no dispensacion? What a murtherour art thou of true English men? What a tormentour of the people of God? How hast thou deceaued the Erles of Oxeforde and Suffex, the Lorde Riche, the Maires and Sheriffes of London, and many other of the nobilitie, gentilmen, and Commones, forcing them to washe their handes in innocentes blood with thee? what consciences maie they haue through thee? How cannest thou salue their wounded soules? But thou wilt saie, it maketh no matier. The cleargie is faire ridde of a great meany of enemies. A dead man can doo no hurt. But be thou certain, thou wilt be

deceaued

deceaued. What so euer becometh of thy bocherly body I wishe thy soule to be saued. Repent therefore in tyme: become Paule of Saul.

Howan the prince of Sebech called Adonisebech cut of the handes and sete of Seuentie kinges, and made them lyue by licking vp the cromes that fell vnder his table, he thought those poore maymed men could doo him no hurt: but God payed him home. For he him self hade his handes and sete cut of, and was forced to pike vp cromes vnder the table, as he hade forced the other kinges.

King Abimelech caused his thre score and tē brethren by the sather side, to be all killed, bicause he might reigne alone: he thought all was Cocke, and so did they that holpe him to execute so horrible an acte. But what? did they escape? No. God suffred the deuill to make discorde betwene the king and his deare dearlinges, and first they were iustly destroyed by their king, and after he him self hauing his head broken with a pece of a stone lette fall out of a weake womans handes, for shame willed his seruauant to kill him with a sworde, that it should not be reported, a woman hade killed him. King Achab and Quene Ieabel thought non should reuenge poore Naboths deathe: but contrary to their expectation, by Goddes iustice, dogges slosed and licked vp the blood of them bothe. Quene Athalia thought her self sure whan she had killed all the kinges progenie, but God

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serued her with the like sawce: she reigned not long,
but she was killed. All the miserie and mischief in the
Realme of Naples came by a woman, called Quene
Ioane (a woman of much lust) who after she had
ben a while married to a noble gentelman, and waxed
weary of his worke, caused him to be hanged out of
an open galerie in the toppe of the house (bicause
roman should see him) and not after the poore the-
ues maner with an halter of hempe, but with a rope
of golde wrought with her owne and her sisters
Madam Mari malecasta her owne syngers.
She triumpheth for a while, and after besides an vn-
speakeable nombre of pryvie mariages she made sou-
re by daye in a litle space, but at leyngh t God pla-
geth her, and she was hanged in that place, wher she
before hanged her husbände.

Whan those that conspired the death of the two
brethren, the Admiral and the Protector had
brought it to passe, so as they might robbe the
king, and spoile the Realme at their pleasure: did they
at leyngh t escape scotte free? No. Som of them by the
iust iudgement of God were plagued with the like pu-
nishemēt, with the same axe, vpon the self same bloc-
ke and in the same place. And the rest hereafter are
not vnlike without repentaunce (which they shewe
not) to receaue their rewardes, either in them selues
or their posteritie. O wonderfull workes, O iust
iudgement of God, that hateth those that doo euil,
and

and destroyeth those that worke mischief: that abhor-
reth blood thirstie people, and those that haue double
baries and treble tongues.

But Boner, maye not leaue thee thus. Geue me
leaue (Sauage Boner) to dispute this mater of
lausfull and not lausfull, a litle more with thee. If thou
and the rest of the traitours thy Cōpanions should
persuade the frēdeles Quene of England (whō
ye haue enchaūted) to geue ouer the towne of Cale-
se and Barwike to a straunge prince, and (contra-
ry to her othe not to diminishe any parte of the
rightes of the Crowne and liberties of the people,
which kinges of England at their Coronacion in ty-
mes past made, and which she also made to her subie-
ctes, Whan she was crowned before she was a perfit
Quene) she folowed your counsail, and som noble
personage sent thider to deliuer the keyes, and the de-
putie and garison did not strike of the messagiers
head, and set it on the gates, but obeyed it, and not
reisted it: wer not thou ād thi felowes traitours for p-
suading her so doo? had not she broken her othe and
promyse? were not thattournay a traitour for doing
that he was commaunded? Were not the deputie and
garison traitours for suffring it to be done? Ans-
wer. Whāt cannest thou saie for thy self and thy
folowes? Giltie, or not giltie? Thou standest mewet,
Whāt not a worde? Thou art sure, your good will, will
E ij stande

stande you in as good stede, as the dede done. Neither doo ye passe, though the crowes be sedde with your carion carcasses, and the deuil with your soules, so ye maye leaue behinde you a fame, that by your traytourie, the laitie of Englad was destroyed, and the spiritualltie restored to their pompe and lorlly power.

But before the halter stoppe thy winde, Boner, let vs knowe, what thou canst saye for her. Sayest thou, princes be not bounden by theyr othes and promisses: ynough. What for the rest? let them remembre that not lōg agoo their neighbour Mōsieur Veruin, Captain of Boloigne was punished as a traitour, for that by neecessitie and extremitie of force he redred vp Boloigne to king Hēry theight and did not die in the defense of it: But thou wilt saie, he did it without commaundement of his maister: and these shall doo it by cōmaundement of their maistres. But what if the commaundement be not lausfull: doest thou not saie thy self, it is not to be obeyed? Thou saiest to others, that non maie do that is not lausfull for any commaundement. But thou wilt saie: it is the Quenes owne, and she maye lausfully doo with her owne what she lusteth. What if it be denyed to be her owne? But thou wilt saie: she hathe the crowne by enheritaunce, and maie dispose of the realme, and euery parte of the Realme, as pleaseth her. But I answer: that albeit she haue it bi enheritaunce, yet she hathe it with

it with an othe, lawe and condicion to kepe and mayntene it, not to departe with it or diminishe it. If she haue no more right to the Realme than her father hadde, and her father as muche as euer any king of Englande: what neded he to require the consent of the Nobilitie and commons (by parliament) to geue the Crowne to his daughter or any other?

But thou wilt saie, it was more than neded: for without consent of the parliamēt, he might doo with the Realme ad eucrupte therof, what it pleased him. Take hede what thou sayest. If that be true, that king Henry might do with it without cōsent of the parliament: how is the Ladimari Quene? Why might not King Edwarde his some (a prince borne in lausfull matrimonie, and right heire to the Crowne) bequeathe the Crowne wher he wolde, and as he did? Take hede what thou doest. If the king and Quene geue thee a thousaūt perdones, yet shalt thou be founde a ranke Traitour to the Realme of Englande. For albeit the king or Quene of a reaime haue the Crowne neuer iustly, yet maye they not dispose of the Crowne or realme, as it pleaseth them. They haue the Crowne to minister iustice, but the Realme being a bodi of free men and not of bondemen, he nor she can not geue or sell them as slaues and bondemen. No, they can not geue or sell awaye the holdes and fortes (as Calese and Barwike, or suche like) without the consent of the Communes: for it was purchaced

with their blood ad noneie. Yea ad thine owne popes lawes (wherby thou measurest all thiges to be lausfull or not lausfull) saie, that if a kig or gouernour of any realme goo about to diminishe the regalities ad righ-tes of his crowne, he ought to be deposed. Thus did Pope Honorius the thrid cōmaunde tharchebishop of Collossa ad his suffraganes to deprive a kig of Vngarie, which wēt about to waste, sell ad geue awaye the Regalities ad righ-tes of his crowne, onles in tyme he ceassed ad called backe that he hade done. It is so plaine, thou canst not denie it. But I see, Boner, I haue cha- fed thee to muche: thi chekes blushe ad swell for very agre. M. D. C. be ad sei, M. D. Pēdletō, M. Cosins, or sō of you Chaplaines, get my lorde a cup of seecke, to cō- fort his spirites My lorde ad I agree almost like bel-les; we iarre sō what but not muche, his lordship mea- neth that mē ought to be alwaies but not at all tymes honest. But I saie, thei must be honest alwaies ad at all tymes. His lordship wolde fayne haue a placarde or prouiso for hī ad his, that they might sōtimes (that is frō the beginig to thēde of the weke) plaie their par-tes. But I saie, albeit his lordship haue suche a priuile- ge, yet maie no honest mā at any tyme doo that is not honest, iuste, ad lausfull, bi kaisers, kizes, Quenes no, neither his cōmaundement. For if those thinges which only in mennes opinionones seme to be vnlausfull maye by no autoritie be done, and those that doo thē, be no lesse to be punisshed, than if they had done them with- out autoritie: how muche lesse maye suche thin-

ges by any commaundement be committed, that are in- dede vnlausfull: but shalbe punished according to the desertes, by what so euer power or autoritie they be executed? Men therefore ought to take hede, that by going about to come out of the smoke, they fall not in to the fire: and by pleasing of men, they runne not in to the displeasure of God. If mennes ordinaunces and lawes, or the gouernours autoritie and commaunde- ment were a sufficient discharge for men to doo what so euer were prescribed or cōmaunded vnto thē, tell me (I beseeche thee) why did Esaias the Prop het suffre rather to be sawed in pieces, than to solowe the procedinges of Manasses? why did Daniel not solowe king Darius and his counsaillēs commaun- dement, forbearing to worship the true God: but was content to be cast to the lyones? why did not the three children, Sadrach, Mesach, and Abednego obeye Nabuchadnesar in worshipping the gol- den idole, ad so auoide the hotte burnig fornace? why did Eleazarus submitte him self to death, and not dissemble? why did he not eat his owne meat, ad ab- steyne frō porke fleshe, that the king cōmaunded the Iewes to eat cōtrary to the lawes, ad saie that he ha- de eatē it, as his olde trustye frēdes of the court cō- sailed hī? why did he not sue for a bul or perād of An- tiochus, that he might vse his owne religiō, as our En- glishe haltig gossellers doo of the pope, cōfessing his autoriti, which is the thig that he oly passeth vpo: ad

rareth not how many soules be ledde to the deuile? & why did not the seuen brethrē and their mother obeie the kinges commaundement, and saue their lyues and goodes, as thauuncient Catharistes. and newe puristes doo, saieing : all thinges be pure to the pure, and no Idolatrie nor filthyneffe can infecte him that is pure and cleane? or why did they not saie, as the Priscianistes and Papistes did in tyme past, and as the marchauntes Hill and Petrefonne with their double tongued traine ad dissembling secte at this present saie, that it is lausfull (and no sinne) to saie one thing and meane an other? to lye with the lyppes, so they haue the truthe in the heart? to denye God in wordes and workes, so they cōfesse him in thought ad mynde? to daunce with the deuil all daye, and lodge with Christ at night? why did Paule suffre so many imprisonmētes, so muche beating, scourgeing and tormenting? And why at leinght did he not saue his life, and folowe Kaiser Neroes commaundement? & why did not the Prophetes, thapostles, and so many thousandes of martirs folowe the wicked tirannes commaundemētes and procedinges, but resisted them, and with their blood testified, that they allowed thē not: But all these holy mēnes doiges in confesig ad obeigēg the highest power God, ad not thinferiour powers in wicked ad euil thigēs, are cōmēded ad leste bi the holy gooste to vs in holi christ to folowe ad doo the like. If mēnes lawes ad cōmaundementes were a sufficient

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wardū to mē, to doo what so euer is cōmaūded thē: tell me (I praie thee) to what purpose is suffrig of persecuciō so ofte repeted, so earnestly taught, so highly commended in scripture? Christ saieith: He that taketh not up his crosse and foloweth me, is not mete for me. And again: blessed be those that suffer persecution for righteoufnesse sake, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. Blessed are ye, whan men shall curse you, and persecute you, and speake all euil against you, lieng for my sake: be glad and reioice, for your rewarde is pleintifull in heauen. So did they persecute the prophetes that were before you. And thapostle saieith: All that will liue godly in Christ Iesus, shall suffre persecution. And so in a great nombre of places of scriptures.

By suche persecution can not be ment the iniuries that priuate man dothe to priuate man: for God haue the ordained a meane, that is, the magistrate to redresse them. But by persecution is ment the iniuries and tirannie that the Magistrates and gouernours exercise ouer God les people. For they not contented to let a christiā man haue iustice in ciuile thinges against a papist, nor an honest man against suche a one as sauoureth their procedinges, doo thē selues spoile the christiānes and honest of their goodes: and not onely spoile them, but by all maner of force, uiolence,

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and snares seke their life and blood , not onely in their owne country , but wher they haue non auctoritie , bicause they will not obeie their commaundements , and folowe their wicked proceedinges .

God will haue his tried by persecucion , that the worlde maie see , who loue the chief power , more than the inferiour powers : his commaundementes , more than mennes sonde proceedinges : the soule , more than the fleshe : the sure and euerlasting inheritaunce of heauen , more than the vncertain and temporal possessiones of this worlde . Yea he hathe non other waie to let the difference appeare to mennes eyes betwene his seruauntes and princes Parasites , than only by persecucion . Papists , Turkes , Jewes , gentiles can dissemble , they can seme to fast , to praie , to geue almose , to builde monasteries , and chauntries , and to doo notwarde workes gaie to theie , bicause they wolde be accompted holy of men , but to refuse to doo that is euil for iustice sake , to be slaundred , spoken euil of , whipped , scourged , spoiled of their goodes , killed of the worldly princes and tirannes , rather than they wolde disobeie God , and forsake Christ : this can neither papists nor Turkes , Jewes nor gentiles , nor non other doo , but onely the electes of God . And yet God dothe not so severely require of his people , that they should streight offre them selues to the princes slaughterhouse , their neckes to the halter , their headdes

to

to the blocke , their blood to make princes puddinges , their entrailles to make tripes , their quartres to be boiled or rosted : but he hathe lefte them a special rule and commaundement , wherby to guide them selues , that is , in all thinges to seke first the kingdome of God . If he that is persecuted , fele in his conscience , that he maie doo God greater seruice and glorie by suffring than by fleing , he ought rather to suffre a thousand deathes , than to flee one foote . But if his conscience witnesseth with him that he maie doo God greater glorie by stiong than by tarieng , he ought not to tempr God with tarieng , but is bounden by commaundement to departe . If they persecute you in one citie (saith Christ) fflye in to an other . And he did not only teache it , but did it himself , forsaking Iewrie , and goig into Galile , whā he hearde Iohn Baptist was laied bi the heles , bicause the time was not yet come , wherin he was appointed to glorifie God . And bicause God wolde haue a refuge place , and sanctuarie for his , whan suche tirannie and persecucion should be exerciced , he wolde neuer suffre the power and ambitious tirannes , to make one perfite Monarchie of all , but whan they hade done their best to bring all together , and the string hade bē almost in the nicke of the bowe (as the prouerbe is) it hathe sodainly slipt , and not only destroyed the doer , but it hathe fallen in to a great meany moo shiuers than euer it was before . Thus God daliceth and plaiceth with his puppettes the princelinges of this worlde .

Swer-

wherefore we be Goddes people and seruantes, and he our lord and the highest power: and the princes of the worlde be but his ministres and inferior powers, ordained to doo good and not euil: we ought to seke chiefly to doo Goddes commaundementes before all mennes, to please God rather than men. For the princes (doo they the worst they can) can but take from men their goodes and liues: but God can take from vs bothe goodes and bodie, and cast bothe body and soule in to hell. And yet should not they be habble to worke their will in this worlde, nor execute their malice, if men wolde behaue them selues towards their lord and maister God, as they ought. For as he can, so wolde he sone despeche the worlde of tiranes. But bicause many be opē enemies of God, and many dissemblers with God, God sendeth ad suffreth euil gouernours (and will sende worse) to plage the people for their iniquitie, and to trie the faithe of his electe, from whom not one heare of the head can be taken without Goddes wil. And therfore seking alwaies to do that is good, they should alwayes eschue to doo that is euil, and committe thende to God.

But admitte ther be a great nombre that haue dronken of the hoore of Babilons cuppe, and thinke, that ther is neither heauen nor hell, and that Goddes worde is but friers maters: and that therfore (like Sardanapalus) they should seke to eat and drinke, and serue their lusts, and nothing elles: yet were
this

this no sure waie for them to doo that they wolde, if they should obeie their princes in what so euer they commaunded.

The nature of wicked Princes is muche like to the moldewarpes, which if they be suffred to haue their snowtes in the grounde, and be not further with letted, will sodainly haue in all the body: or to the weselles, that conueith in his hole body, wher he hath ones gotten in his head. So they if they be obeied in any euil thing (be it neuer so litell) wilbe obeied in all at leinght. What letteth but that they maie not only sende for mennes goodes, but for their headdes also, as the Turke dothe to his best Bassa, and all his subiectes whan it pleaseth him? Why maie not they sende for their subiectes children, cause them to be killed, baked, and geue it to their parentes in steade of other meat: and for a seconde course bring in to them, the heades, fete, and handes, as king Astiages did to Harpagus? All the papir of England wold not serue to set our the mischiefes, that might folowe, whā princes euil commaundements should be obeied and fulfilled. But men that be wise, maie bi a litell, conside the hole.

Seing therfore that God will not princes commaundementes should be obeied in all thinges, but will haue his rather suffre a thousaunt deathes, than do any thing that is euil: and sence also so many euilles and mischiefes may folowe in this list, wher wicked
princes

princes willes maie stande for lawes, men ought bōa
the for Goddes sake and commaundement absteine to
obeie suche commaundementes, and cleaue vnto this
Maxime: we must obeie God rather than man, for
whose sake if we lose bothe goodes and life, we ought
to reioice, that we be called to serue him, and not
doubt, but as he is habile to recompence it, so will he
(according to his promise) rewarde it. And besides
also they ought to considre, that princes be ordained
for the wealth and benefite of the people, and not to
their destruction: to maintene common wealthes, and
not to subuert them: which rather than any man
should consent vnto, he ought (being a faithfull
mā to his country) to abide all losses, bothe of
body and goodes. For next after God,
men be borne to loue, honour,
and maintenc their
country.



¶ HETHER ALL THE SVB-
iectes goodes be the Kayfers and kin-
ges owne, and that they maie lausfully take
them as their owne;

THE Anabaptistes wresting scripture to
serue their madnesse, amōg other foule errors,
haue this: that all thinges ought to be common, they
ymage man to be of that puritie that he was before
the fall, that is, cleane without sinne, or that (if he
will) he maie so be; and that as whan ther was no sin-
ne, all thinges were common, so they ought now to be.
But this mingling of the state of man before the
fall, and of him after the fall muche deceaueth them.
For by the fall, and euer after the fall, this corruptible
fleshe of man is clogged with sinne, and shall neuer
be ridde of sinne, as long as it is in this corrupt worl-
de, but shalbe alwaies disposed and prone to doo that is
euil. And therefore as one meanes to be the rather vn-
combred of the heape of sinne, God ordained that mā
should get his liuing by the swette of his browes:
and that he should be the more forced to labour, the di-
stinctiō of thinges and proprietie (mine, and thine) was
(cōtrary to platoes opiniō) ordained, as appeareth by
these two lawes: Thou shalt not steale: Thou
shalt not couet thy neighbours wife, nor his
seruaūt, nor his maide, nor his oxe, nor his Asse, nor
any

any thing that is his. Afterwarde in dede scripture speaketh of communion of things, not that they ought so to be (for so scripture should be directly against scripture) but that there was such charitie among the people, that of their owne free will, they gaue and solde all they had, to releue the miserie of their poore brethren: who for impotencie, or for multitude of children, were not with their Labour hable to get sufficient to releue their necessitie. Nor of this so geuen might euery man take as much as him lusted, but to euery one (accordig to his necessitie) sufficient was distributed, so that it stode in the liberalitie of the geuer, and not in the libertie of the taker.

But there be some in these daies, not of the meaneft or poorest sorte, but of the chieft and richest: that is, many wicked gouernours and rulers, who in this error excell the common Anabaptistes. For the common Anabaptistes doo not onely take other mens goodes as common, but are content to let their owne also be common, which hath some smacke of Charitie: for they them selues doo none other, but that they them selues are content to suffre.

But the euil gouernours and rulers will haue all that their subiectes haue, common to them selues, but they themselues will departe with nothing, but where they ought not: no, not so much as paie for those thinges, that in wordes they pretende to buie of their subiectes, nor paie those poore men their wages,

whom

whom they force to labour and toyle in their workes. But the maner of coming thereby is so diuerse, that it maketh the iustnesse of their doinges much suspected. For some doo it vnder pretense to doo the people good: some by craftie and subtil meanes, colour their doinges: and some of right (but without right) claime them for their owne.

Of the first sort be those, that put great taxes and impositions on drinke for so much as the people with ouermuch drinking become dronkerdes (and so sinne against God) they wolde seme by making the paye as much or more to them as the drinke is worthe, they should force them the rather to absteyne from ouermuch drinking, and so from sinne. But in this it may appeare, they seke not abstinence for synne, and the wealth of the people, but their owne priuate profit. For if they had their eye to Goddes glorie and the benefite of the people, and the vice to be taken cleane awaie: they wold not cropp of the braiches of the tree, and let the roote growe, but they wold roote vp the roote that it should no more growe. And so of this sort doo it to this ende, to make thinges better cheape. For (thinke they) if there were but littell money, then must thinges be solde better cheape. As though it laye in them to make plenty and scarcitie, and as though there were not the bounteous benefite of God sent to them that feare and loue him: and the other his plage iustly powred on them that hate him.

F This

This kinde of practice was, if not first founde, yet
vsed by Emperour Iulian thapostata, a tiranne
ad persecutour of the Christianes (as before you haue
heard) who being a subtil man, and not hauing his
Cōsailours, sould yours ad subiectes (at his deuaciō)
ready to kill whom he wolde of the Christianes (whō
he knewe for no priuate cause wolde rebelle) ment by
policie to murder them, spoiling them of that they
had, and so not leauing them wherwith to buye to re-
leue their necessitie. Saieth this enemy of God: I will
use you after your Christes gospel. For it saieth: bles-
sen be ye poore, for yours is the kingdome
of God. And therefore I take from you all that ye ha-
ue presently, that ye maie the soner come by that is
promised you. Doubtles if this waie were as good ad
beneficial for the agentes and doers of it, as it maie be
profitable for the subiectes and sufferers: no doubt it
were to be desired that it were done out of hande,
rather than one minute of an houre differred to be
done. For the people from the lesse to the more, from
toppe to too, all be geuen to couetousnesse, scraping,
snatching and ketching.

And from Pope to the hedge masse mōging priest,
all be geuen to subtiltie, crafte, lieng, traiterourie,
and false dealing. Their heart is so on their halpeny,
that neither they considre their duetie to God (no
they knowe him not) nor remembre how muche
they are bounden to their countrey: but vpon a vaine
hope

hope to saue their owne, are content either them sel-
ues to betraie their countreie, or to suffre it to be be-
traied of others, and one of them deuoureth ad eateth
vp an other, that for a litel while he maie the more
liue after his owne lust: where contrarie wise, pouer-
tie maketh men to remembre, seke, and call on God, to
loue and defende their countreie, one to loue an other
like brothrē, and finally deuifeth and worketh what so-
euer good is. But none maie pille or polle, robbe or
spoil, or doo any mischief (saieth thapostle) that good
maie therof folowe: and specially kinges and gouer-
nours of people, whom bicause they be ordained to
doo good, and should doo nothing but well, Christ
called Benefactours and not Malefactours.
If they doo it, whilest they pretende (but meane it
not) to bring others to heauen, they maie be sure to
bring them selues to hell.

The seconde sorte be those that robbe the people
in dede, yet wolde not haue their doinges knowne.
They walke in nettes, and thinke no mā dotte see thē.
And of this kinde be those, that contrary to all lawes
(bothe of God and man) and contrary to their othe,
countrefaict the coine that is ordained to runne be-
twene mā and mā, turning the substance from golde
to copper, frō siluer to worse then pewter, ad aduau-
ceing and diminishig the price at their pleasure. For
in coines all lawes commaunde and equitie will, that
these foure thinges be obserued and straightly kept.

62 First, the purenesse of the matier, that it be not corrupted or countrefaicted. Seconde, that it haue the iust weight. Thirdly, that it be not clipped. The last, that it be not at the princes will somtyme priced at a more value, and somtyme at a lesse: For if a prince might doo herein euen what him lusted: how might he not lightly spoyle his subiectes of all that they haue, or could come by, which thing the great deuill and cutthroate of Englande (the papistes God) in his Sermon that he made at Paules crosse, vpon this Theme (now is is the tyme to wake from slepe, my brethren, for now is our ioie and pompe more nye, than when we before dissembled to beleue in Christ. Be of good cheare, my disciples, our trouble is past, our ioie is at hande) letted not to blustre out. In this Sermon to bring the dead innocent and blessed king Edwarde (whom for his vertue he hated) in hatred of the people: for he imputed to him (a childe and a ward) the lewde and wicked behaueour of his cruell Counsaillours, and saied, he maruailed that the people could suffre so great iniurie, to be robbed of their prince, by altring the coyne from golde to copper, and siluer to leade, and to pull it from twelue pence to sixe pence, and not rise against the king to redresse their iniurie. He saue, that this and suche like iniuries were not tolerable in a prince, and wolde haue had the

people

82
people doo that against him (whom he for his vertue hated) which neither for this nor any vice he wolde haue done, where as he seemed to fauour. For at the beginning to mayntene Boloigne warres, which he deuide, to pull king Heries minde fro matiers of religiō, or (as afterwarde good likely hood appeared) to haue hym taken in the warres, and caried to the bishop of Rome: the same deuill Gardyner was than the chief Counsaillour to haue the money abased, to maintene the same. And now lately (when he hath broken his chayne) deuised Rosemary pence, worse than euer any coyne was before, as the experience sheweth, they being at leinght cryed to be nothing.

The thrid sorte of these euil princes be those, that claime all their subiectes good for their owne, who allege for them this common sayeng: All things be the kaisers, all things be the kings, all things be the Princes. And as the deuill brought fur the scripture so serue his purpose against Christ, so thei abhorring all other partes of scripture, that teach them their office or Christen duetie, pike out onely a peece that maye mayntene their tyrannye. It is thus written, saye they in the first boke of kinges. This shal be the right or lawe of the king that shall rule ouer you: he will take your sonnes, and put them to his charettes, and make his horsemen of them, and they must

F iij run=

runne before his charet , and will make him Captaines of them, ouer thousandes and ouer fifties , and will set them to aire his grounde, and gather in his haruest, and to make instruments of warre and cartes. And of your daughters he will make him oyntement makers, his cokes, and bakers. And he will take the best of your fieldes and of your olyue trees, and geue them to his seruantes. And he will take the tenth of your fede and of your vines, and geue it to his lordes and to his seruantes. And he will take the best of your men seruantes, and women seruantes, and yongmē, and of your asses , and do his worke with them. And he will take the tenth of your shepe, and ye shalbe his seruantes. But when ye shall crie out at that tyme vpon your king, which ye shall haue chosen you, the lorde will not heare you at that daie,

This peece of scripture is their clooke : but it serueth no more a kinges wicked doinges , than that of the wicked sonnes of Eli, and the sacrificers (whome men call priestes) to take out of mennes pottes, what peece them lusted, or to take their porcion rawe, contrary to Goddes ordinaunce. For as in thone place it is called the right or lawe of the king : so is it in the other place called the right or lawe of the priestes.

But

But in nother of these places it is called the lawe or right that God appoited to kinges or priestes, which he set out in other places , but suche as they wolde vsurpe ouer the people. Nother will this mayntene the purpose, that here he speaketh of a king and not of a tyranne , for at the first a kinges name was as odious, and as muche abhorred, as a tyrannes. But this was spoken of the prophet Samuel to feare the people, that they should not goo about to altre the ordre and policie that God had ordayned : which if they did , they should fele what a plague it were to haue a king geuen in Goddes furie. And if they had onely sought to be ruled by one (as partly in this, that one alone ruleth, a king dothe diffre from other gouernours) they wolde haue ben content with Samuel alone, who as he was appointed by God to rule alone ouer the Israelites, so did he exercite and vse his office most vprightly: but they wolde nedes haue a galaunt and pompous king , one that should ryde out with his trompettes before him, a great trope of horsemen before and behinde him, his garde all together in silke with their halbeardes about hym , and eueri one to fall flatte to the groude that should meete him , as the Gentiles hade, who were in dede tyrannes , as appeareth by the first called Nemrod , who for his rebellion against God, and deuourig of Goddes people , was called the stowte

F iij . hun-

80 huntour before or against God. And in the same king dome of the Israelites God shewed by an euident terrour to all gouernours, that he did not allowe suche right, as the prophet sayed, the king wolde vse ouer his subiectes. For whan king Achab wolde haue bought of his subiecte Naboth his vineorde (which he neded not to haue done, if the subiectes goods be the higes) ad he refused to sel it, as he might doo, for by Goddes lawe he had a propertie therin, from which without his will and consent, he could not be forced to departe, the king fretted so muche bicause he could not haue his will, that he fell sicke in his bedde, ad wolde not eate. His wife Dame Iesabel, a woman full of malice and mischief (as that kynde is very apte and prone to those vertues, and within shorte space doo so therin excell, as fewe men can in long tyme matche them) taketh the matier in hande. What (sayeth she) be you a meteman to be a king ouer Israel, that will suffre suche dishonour at your slaues handes, one that bi your auncient prerogatiue which hath continued thes hundred and three score yeares, yea from the first king of Israel) ye maye vse in body and goodes, as pleaseth you? Phy for shame, pull your courage to you, arise, eat your meat, be mery, I warant you the vineorde. Out goeth a Commission in the kinges name, to certain Comissionares where Naboth dwelt, suche as the Quenes grace was sure, shewred her proceedinges. Those she requi-

81 requireth to cause Naboth to be endyted and condemned for an heretike and a traitour: and so cause him to be stoned to deathe. Her will is furthewith satisfied, matier ynough against Naboth prisoner at the Barre, bicause she wold so haue it: no man might be admitted nor durst speake the truth in the prisoners cause, least they had ben clapped fast and trussed vp also for speaking against the king and Quene: no queste durst quite him, for fear of kising the flete: no lawes, no equitie, no iustice might defende the poore innocent. So the vineorde is the kinges by the ordre of lawe. Those newes be caried in post to Iesabel, she sheweth them to her husbände, wherwith he (as sone as he hearde them) was recouered, and goeth to take possession of the vineorde. But what foloweth this crueltie ad tiranie? Are not bothe the kinges Maiestie and the Quenes highnesse within while after killed, ad their blood licked vp of dogges, according as the Prophet declared to hi in the vineorde, whā he toke possession of it? and all his house so destroyed, that ther was not lefte therof so muche as a dogge to pisse against the wall? Thus ye maie see thende of lustie lordes and ladies that will haue their lustes a lawe, and their will to be folowed and obeyed of their subiects as a right in dede. The true right and prerogatiue of a king was written in a particular boke by the Prophete Samuel, and laied vp by the Arke, which boke (among many other) was loste, yet who so lusteth to

Knowe it, maie see it set out by God i the boke of Deu-
teronomie. After that God had prescribed who shold
be their king, that is, no aliene or straunger, but one
of their owne brethren: for naturally straungers doo
not fauour straungers. And a straunge prince seketh
by all meanes to destroy the natural inborne, that he
maie with quietnesse and suretie enioie and vsethat
he cometh euil by, and so leaue it to his succession:
than is set furthe the right and prerogatiue of a king
thus. Whā your king is made, he shall not kepe many
horses, nor putting his trust in his horsemen, he shall
not bring the people again into Egipte. He shall not
haue many wiucs, leaſt they altre his minde frō God:
nother yet great treasure of siluer ād golde. But whā
he is set in his throne, he shall cause a copie of these
lawes and statutes to be written out of thoriginal re-
maining with the Leuites, and the same he shall haue
with hi all the daies of his life, that he maie learne to
feare the lorde his God, ād to kepe (not to breake) all
the wordes and ceremonies that be cōmaunded in the
lawe, and also to fulfill thē in his doinges: And he shal
not be prowde and hault ouer his brethren, neither
shall he swarue from the lawe towarde the right han-
de or lifte hande, that he and his children maie long
reigne ouer Israel. But besides this lawe appoited for
all kinges, he that wilbe accompted a christian king or
gouernour, must remembre, that he is a christian man,
and that bi being made a king, he is not exempt from
the

the lawes and ductie of a christen mā, which euery one
professeth in Baptisme: but as he is called and exalted
aboue the rest of his brethren, so should he be an ex-
ample to them of good luying and vertue, in obseruig
the lawe, which saieith aswell to kinges as to beggers:
Thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not couet any thing
that is thy neighbours: and so it stablisseth and con-
firmeth, that euery one maie iustly kepe that is his
owne, and none maie take it from him by ani meane
against his will, be it king or kaiser.

And by the doinges of Samuel, who albeit he were
not a king in name, yet hade he (being the lieute-
nant and viceroie to God the chief king) as great
autoritie as any king in the earthe: it maie appeare,
that all thinges of the subiectes be not the kinges ow-
ne propre. For if they had ben his owne, what neded
Samuel (at the surrendre of his office) to offere to ma-
ke an accompt? And to whom, I praie you? To any
bribing Auditour? No, he offred to make it to God,
and to the king that succeeded him. Beholde (saieith
the) I haue done all that ye desired me. I ha-
ue made you a king to rule you. My chil-
dren yet shall be with you. But I am olde,
and hore headed: that is, I cā not long cōti-
nue. I haue bē amōg you frō a child to this
daie. Lo, I ā ready to make mine accōpte
before God and your kig, for all thiges that cā be laied
to me by any of you, whose bullocke haue i take: whose
asse

asse haue I hade? to whom haue I done any violence or wrong? whom haue I oppressed? of whom haue I taken any bribes, to maintene him in his wickednesse, to winke at his faultes, or to stoppe iustice? let him come furthe, and I will make satisfaction. And none of them could saie, blacke was his eie.

No, saith Samuel, I take God and your king to witness agaiſt you: I am so nette, that ye shall not finde one iote in my finnes, but I am hable to laie ynough agaiſt you wicked people, &c.

O Samuel, Samuel, what king or prince can saie to thee, as thou diddest to the Israelites? They loke not to make an accompt: no, they haue counsaile of craftie Alcibiades, how they maie make non accompt.

But they can not escape it, they shall mete with an other maner of auditour, than any of Mousire Cinquebonets prentices: they shall reckon before him, that hathe all their doings truly totted and faire engrossed all ready before hande, and wher he shall in the daie of his general Audit, saie to Samuel and all true gouernours that rule according to Goddes rule: well fare ye, ye good and faithfull seruantes. Come, entre in to your Maisters ioie: He shall contrary wise committe these oppressours and tirannes not to the lieutenant of the towre, or to the wardoin of the Flete, but vnto the

the Tailour of gehenna (to be chained in the ward of eternal paine) and saie: Awaie with these decea uours of mi people to the dogges of hell, ye were maisters, and not ministers? ye were beare baitours, and not bailifes, ye were stroyes, and no swardes,

But let vs ymagine an vnruthe, that all the subiectes goodes were the princes, and that he might take them at his pleasure. Let vs ymagine, that the subiectes were only carnall men without the knowlage ad feare of God. Yea ad let it be graunted also, that they were spoiled of all their armour, and great garisones set in euery place to kepe them in obeisaunce, so that they had not wherewith to redresse their iuries, as nature wold: counsaile them: were this a waie to make the people labour, whan others should take the bread out of their mouth? woulde they desire to liue, to be in suche miserie them selues? woulde they desire to increace the worlde with children, whan they knewe that they should be leste in worse case, than vnreasonable beastes? No surely, and that ye maie see by the worke of nature in the people of the West Indies, now called newe Spain: who knewe of Christ nothing at all, and of God no more than nature taught them. The people of that countreie whan the catholike Spaniards came thider, were simple and plaine men, and liued without great labour, the lande was naturally so pleintifull of all thinges, and continually

continually the trees had ripe frute on them. Robart the Spaniardes had by flatterie put in their foote, and by litel and litel made them selues stong, building fortes in diuerse places, they to get the golde that was ther, forced the people (that were not vsed to labour) to stande all the daie in the hotte sunne gathering golde in the sande of the riuers. By this meanes a great nombre of them (not vsed to suche paines) died, and a great nombre of them (seing them selues brought from so quiet a life to suche miserie and slaueerie) of desperacion killed them selues. And many wolde not mary, bicause they wolde not haue their children slaues to the Spaniardes. The women when they felte them self with childe, wolde eat a certain herbe to destroie the childe in the wombe. So that where at the comming thider of the Spaniardes, they were accompted to be in that country nine hundred thousand persones, they were in short time by this meanes so fewe lefte, as Petre martir (who was one of theperour Charles the fisthes counsail there, and wrote this historie to theperour) saith, it was a shame for him to name.

This is the frute, wher Princes take all their subiectes things as their owne. And wherūto at leinght will it come, but that either they must be no kinges, or elles kinges without people, which is all one. But thou wilt saie: wherof cometh this common saieng: all things be the kaisers, all things be the kinges? It can
not

not come of nothig. But by that that is all ready said, ye see that euery mā maie kepe his owne, and none maie take it frō him, so that it cā not be interpreted, that all things be the kaisers or kinges, as his owne propre, or that they maie take thē frō their subiectes at their pleasure, but thus it is to be expoūded, that they ought to defende, that euery man hathe, that he maie quietly enioie his owne, and to see that they be not robbed or spoiled therof. For as in a great mānes house, all thiges be saied to be the Stuardes, bicause it is committed to his charge, to see that euery man in the house behaue him self honestly, and doo his duetie, to see that all things be well kept and preferued and maie take nothing awaie from any man, nor mispend or wast, and of his doinges he must rendre accompt to his lorde for all: so in a Realme or other dominion, the realme and countreie are Goddes, he is the lorde, the people are his seruautes, and the king or gouernour is but Goddes minister or stuarde, ordained not to misuse the seruautes, that is, the people, neither to spoile thē of that they haue, but to see the people doo their duetie to their lorde God, that the goodes of this worlde be not abused but spent to Goodes glorie, to the maïtenaūce and defense of the cōmon wealth, and not to the destructiō of it. The princes watche ought to defende the poore mannes house, his labour the subiectes ease, his diligēce the subiectes pleasure, his trouble the subiectes quietnesse. And as the sunne neuer
standeth

standeth still but continually goeth about the worlde, doing his office: with his heate refreshing and cōfortig all naturall thinges in the worlde:so ought a good prince to be continually occupied in his ministrie, not seking his owne profit, but the wealth of those that be committed to his charge. And therefore Saleuchus king of Siria vsed to saie:if men knewe, how muche busines and how litle quietnesse it were to doo the duetie of a king, none wold take vpon him that office, if he might haue the crowne for taking it vp out of the mire. And Antiochus the great king also of Siria, when he was driuen out of his cōtrey by Scipio the Capitain of the Romanes, and had lost all Asia, and the countreies about:he thanked the Romaines, that by their meane he was deliuered of so great a parte of his cares. He sawe it was so impossible for one mā (were he neuer so diligent and watching) to execute well so great a charge.

If these two great kinges (who knewe not God, but thought them selues Goddes: that hoped not on euerlasting life, but thought ther was non other but this life: those that thought they could not be forced to make accompt of their doings to ani persone) thought it so great a charge to haue a rule ouer countreies:how muche more should such Princes, as pretende to be christianes, that knowe them selues mortal men, no Goddes: seruauntes, no maisters:and who
 must

must (because God hathe saied it shalbe so) make accompt for all their doings, for all soules, men, women, and children: thinke their office and ministerie an heauye burthen, and so geue ouer seking and hunting after their owne glorie, their pompe, their pride:and seke the glorie of God and the wealth (and not the destruction) of those that be committed to their charge, and tremble at this sayeng of Chriofostome:

I marvail that any gouernour can be saued, which is not spoken in wayne.

ne.

G



VV E T H E R I T B E
laūfull to depose an euil gouer-
nour, and kill a tyr-
ranne.

As ther is no better nor happier cōmon wealthe nor no greater blessing of God, thā wher one ruleth, if he be a good, iuste and godly mā : so is ther nō worse nor non more miserable, nor greater plague of God, thā wher one ruleth, that is euil, vniuste and vngodly. A good man knowing that he or those by whō he claymeth was to sucbe offic called for his vertue, to see the hole state well gōuerned, and the people defended frō iniuries: neglecteth vterly his owne pleasure and profit, and bestoweth all his studie and labour to see his office well discharged. And as a good phisician earnestly seketh the health of his pacient and a Shipmaister the wealth and sauegarde of those he hathe in his ship, so dothe a good gouernour seke the wealth of those he ruleth. And therefore the people feling the benefit comyng by good gouernours, vsed in tyme past to call such good gouernours, fathers: and gaue thē no lesse honour, thā childrē owe to their parentes. An euil persone comyng to the gouernemēt of any state, either by vsurpaciō, or by electiō or by successiō, vterly neglectig the cause why kinges, princes and other gouernours in cōmō wealthes be made (that is, the

is, the wealth of the people) seketh onli or chiefly his owne profit and pleasure. And as a sowe comyng in to a faire gardin, roteth vp all the faire and sweet flowers and holsome simples, leauing nothing behinde, but her owne silthye dirte : so dothe an euil gouernour subuert the lawes and ordres, or maketh them to be wrenched or racked to serue his affectiones, that they can no longer doo their office. He spoyleth the people of their goodes, either by open violence, making his ministers to take it from them without payment thereof, or promising and neuer payeng : or craftily vnder the name of loanes, beneuolences, contribuciones, and suchelike gaye paynted wordes, or for feare he geteth out of their possession that they haue, and neuer restoreth it. And whan he hathe it, consumeth it, not to the benefite and profit of the common wealth, but on hooures, hooremongers, dyceing, carding, banketting, vniust warres, and such like euilles and mischieues, wherin he dely teth. He spoileth and taketh awaye from them their armour and harnesse, that they shall not be hable to vse any force to defende their right. And not contented to haue brought thē in to such miserie (to be sure of his state) seketh and taketh all occasiones to despeche them of their lyues. If a man kepe his house, and meddle in nothing, than shall it be sayed, that he fretteth at the state. If he come abroad and speake to any other,

G ij furthe

20 further with it is taken for a iuste conspiciacé. If he
saye nothing, and shewe a mery countenance, it is
a token, that he despiseth the gouernement. If he loke
sorrowfully, than he lamenteth the state of his coun-
treie, how many so euer be for any cause committed
to prison, are not only asked, but be racked also to
shewe whether he be pryue of their doinges. If he de
parte, bicause he wold lyue quietly, than is he proclai-
med on open enemye. To be shorte, ther is no doing,
no gesture, no behaueour, no place can preserue or
defende innocency against suche a gouernours cruel-
tie: but as an hurtour maketh wilde beastes his praie,
and vseth toiles, nettes, snares, trappes, dogges, firret
tes, mynyng and digging the grounde, gōnes, bowes,
speares, and all other instrumentes, engynes, deu-
ises subtilties ad meanes, & other by he maie come by his
praye: so dothe a wicked gouernour make the peo-
ple his game and praye, and vseth all kindes of sub-
tilties, deceates, craftes, policie, force, violence,
crueltie, and suche like deuillish wayes, to spoyle
and destroye the people, that be comitted to his char-
ge. And whan he is not hable without most manifest
crueltie to doo by him self that he desireth, than say-
neth he vniust causes to cast them in to prison, wher
like as the bearewardes mosell the beares, and tye
them to the stakes, whyles they be baited, and killed,
of mastiues and cures, so he kepeth them in chaines,
whi-

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whilest the bishoppes and other his tormentours
and heretical inquisitours doo teare and deuoure
them. Fynally he saieth and denyeth, he promisseth
and breaketh promyse, he sweareth and forswear-
eth, and nother passeth on God nor the deuil (as the
commung sayeng is) so he maye bring to passe that
he desireth. Suche an euil gouernour proprely men
call a Tiranne.

Now forasmuche as ther is no expresse positieue
lawe for punishment of a Tyranne among christen
men, the question is, whether it be lausfull to kill su-
che a monstre and cruell beast couered with the shapc
of a man.

And first for the better and more playne prose of
this mater, the manifolde and continuall examples
that haue ben from tyme to tyme of the deposing of
kinges, and killing of tyrānes, doo most certainly con-
firme it to be most true, iust and cōsonaunt to Goddes
iudgement. The historie of kinges in the olde testa-
ment is full of it. And as Carnal Phooole truly citeth,
England lacketh not the practice and experience of
the same. For they deprived king Edwarde the secon-
de, bicause without lawe he killed his subiectes, spoi-
led them of their goodes, and wasted the treasure of
the Realme. And upon what iust causes Richard the
the secōde was thrust out, and Hēry the fourth put in
his place, I referre it to their owne iudgement. Den-
marke also now in our dayes did nobly the like act,

whan they deprivied **Christierne** the tiranne, and committed him to perpetual prison.

Zacharias the pope that invented first the lawes in the church, deposed **Chilperichus**, king of Fraunce, because he was sayed to be a lecherous person, and an unprofitable governour of the realme: and forced him to be a monke, and made **Pipine** (father of **Charles**) king of Fraunce.

Pope Honorious (as ye hearde before) commaunded, that the king of Vngarie should be deprivied, because he diminished the rightes of the Crowne: onles he repented, and vndid all that he had done.

A certayn king of Portugale was very negli- get in his office: he consumed and wasted awaye the treasure of his Realme, he oppressed his subiectes, and misused the. Wherefore **Pope inocet** the fourth made the kings brother therle of Bolone coadiutour to the king, and gaue hi the hole charge of the Realme, discharged the people of their othe to the king, and commaunded them to be obedient to the kings brother in all things, as king. But the Popes learned counsaill saied, that he ought to haue be vtterly deposed of the Crowne. These doinges of Popes I rehearse not, as though their usurped autoritie were to be allowed, but for that ye maye see, that it is no newe thing to depose euil kinges and governours: and that those that haue the iust autoritie, maie and ought for the like causes, doo as they did. For albeit thautoritie of the pope be not lausfull, yet is the reason that moued them so to doo,

honest and iust, and mete to be receaued and executed among reasonable creatures. And this lawe of nature to depose and punishe wicked governours, hath not be only receaued and exercised in politike maters, but also in the church. For the canonistes (the popes owne championes) grounding them selues upon this lawe of nature, saie, that popes who maye be in dede (by their saieng) the lieutenautes of the deuill, albeit they call the selues the vicars of God, maie be deprivied by the body of the church. And so at one clappe, in the counsaill holden at **Cöstaüce** in Germanie, in the year of our lorde 1415. were three popes popped out of their places, **Gregory**, **Iohn**, and **Benet**, and the fourth (called **Martin** the fift) chosen. Afterwarde in the Counsaill of **Basil** was **Pope Eugeniüs** serued with that sawce. For the unluckinesse of the countrey the rest of Popes haue sith refused that any general counsaill should be kept in Germany, fearing least they all hauing deserued as muche as the other foure deposed, should haue the like punishemēt. And thus they cōfirme their doinges. If (saie they) the Pope hade not a superiour, he might beig suffred in his euil, brig the church to destruction. And therefore if he can not otherwise be brought to amende himself, it is lausfull to use the lawe of nature, that is, to remoue him from his office: for he is no bishop or pope, that abuseth his Popedome and bishopriche. An euil prelate and unreformable semeth not to be ordayned by the will of God, saie the Canonistes, alledging the wordes of **S. Ierome**, upon

the sayēg of the prophet Osee, that a prince or iudge is not alwayes ordayned by God. And he bringeth for example king Saul, against whom God sayed: Seing the people haue made them selues a king, and not a ruler by me, and not by my counsaile: ad yet God hade chosen Saul. But yet bycause he was not chosen according to the will of God, but according to the mynde and desertes of the synfull people, God denyed him to be ordayned by his will or counsaile. The Canonistes also saie, that albeit the Popedome be by the lawe of God (as it is not in dede, sayeth the truthe) yet that this man or that, Paule or Iulie is pope, it cometh by the acte of man. For the Cardinales representing the uniuersal church, chose him. And therefore if he be not according to the will of God, and for the wealth of the uniuersal church, that is: if he be not one that seketh Goddes glorie, ad the wealth of christes church, he maye be iustly depryued, bycause they erred in choosing him. And God semeth not to be agaiſt the putting out of suche an euil persone, but to fauour and further it. For he sayed: If the salt be unsauerie, it is good for no use, but to be cast out, and troden under foote of all mē. And agaiſt: If thi right eie be a let unto thee, pul it out, ad cast it frō thee. For it is better that one mēbre perish, thā that the hole bodi should be cast in to hell. And agaiſt saie the Canonistes (the popes lawers) in rehearceig Christes words: If our eie, foote, or hāde offēde vs, let it be takē frō the rest of the bodi: for it is better to lacke mēbres i this woorld, thā that

thei should cari the rest of the body in to hell. By salt, 103
eie, foote, and hande, is vnderstanden the headdes and rulers, and not the other mēbres and subiectes. And not only the headdes and rulers in the church, but also in all policiees and common wealthes.

Now if it be lausfull for the body of the church to depose and punishe a Pope, being the chief priest, anointed not on the arme or sholder, as kinges be, but on the head and handes, to declare an higher autoritie than kinges haue: nor crowned with a simple crowne, as Emperours ad kinges be, but with a triple crowne, to shewe his Regalitie and power aboue all others; how muche more by the like argumentes, reasones and autoritie, maie Emperours, kinges, princes and other gouernours abusing their office, be deposed and remoued out of their places and offices, bi the body or state of the Realme or common wealthes.

By this lawe and argumentes of the Canonistes and example of deprivation of a Pope, are all clokes (wherwith Popes, bishoppes, priests, kaisers and kinges vse to defende their iniquitie) vtterly taken awaie. Saie they: *Exe* are anointed, ye maie not touche vs: *Exe* are only subiecte to God, and euery man to vs. God will haue vs (O most wiked popes, bishoppes, priests, cruell and euil princes) reigne to plage you people, for your iniquitie.

But here ye see, the body of euery state maie (If it will) yea and ought to redresse and correcte the vices

and headdes of their gouernours. And forasmuche as
ye haue already sene, wherof politike power and go-
uernement groweth, and thende wherunto it was or-
dained: and seing it is before manifestly and sufficiētly
proued, that kinges and princes haue not an absolute
power ouer their subiectes: that they are and ought to
be subiecte to the lawe of God, and the holosome po-
sitiuē lawes of their cōutrey: and that they maie not
lauffully take or vse their subiectes goods at their plea-
sure: the reasones, argumentes and lawe that serue for
the deposing and displacēg of an euil gouernour, will
doo as muche for the prooffe, that it is lauffull to kill a
tiranne, if they maie be indifferently hearde. As God
hathe ordained Magistrates to heare and determine
priuate mennes matiers, and to punishē their vices:
so also will he, that the magistrates doinges be called
to accompt and reckoning, and their vices correctēd
and punished by the body of the hole cōgregacion or
common wealthe.

As it is manifest by the memorie of the ancient
office of the highe Constable of Englande, vnto who-
se autoritie it pertained, ont only to sumnone the
king personally before the parliament or other cour-
tes of iudgement (to answer and receaue according
to iustice) but also vpon iuste occasion to committe
him vnto wardē.

Kinges, Princes and gouernours haue their auto-
ritie

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ritie of the people, as all lawes, vsages and policies
doo declare and testifie.

For in some places and countreies they haue mo-
re and greater autoritie, in some places lesse. And in
some the people haue not geuen this autoritie to any
other, but reitene and exercise it them selues. And
is any man so vnreasonable to denie, that the hole
maie doo as muche as they haue permitted one mem-
bre to doo? or those that haue appointed an office
vpon trust, haue not autoritie vpon iuste occasion (as
the abuse of it) to take awaie that they gaue? All la-
wes doo agree, that men maie reuoke their proxies
and lettres of Attournaie, whan it pleaseth them: mu-
che more whan they see their proccours and attour-
naies abuse it.

But now to proue the later parte of this question
affirmatiuely, that it is lauffull to kill a tirāne: ther is
no man can denie, but that the Ethnikes (albeit they
had not the right and perfite true knowlage of God)
were endued with the knowlage of the lawe of na-
ture.

For it is no priuate lawe to a fewe or certain peo-
ple, but common to all: not written in bokes, but
graffed in the heartes of men: not made by man, but
ordained of God: which we haue not learned, re-
ceaued or redde, but haue taken, sucked, and
drawne it out of nature: wherunto we are not
taught, but made: not instructed, but seasoned: and

106 (as S. Paule saith) mannes conscience bearing witness of it.

This lawe testifieth to euery mannes conscience, that it is naturall to cutte awaie an incurable membre, which (beig suffred) wolde destroye the hole body.

Kinges, Princes and other gouernours, albeit they are the headdes of a politike body, yet they are not the hole body. And though they be the chief membres, yet they are but membres: nother are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people:

W^ho this lawe of nature, ad to cōserue the hole body the Ethnikes not knowing that the soule is imortall, nor that ther shalbe a Resurrection of the body and soule to iudgement, but thought the soule perished with the body, and that ther was no difference betweene a brute beast and mannes life: thought it reasonable, and made it lausfull (by their positiuue lawe) for euery man to kill a tiranne. And to encourage men to entreprife to kill a tiranne, they esteemed the dede to be worthy so great rewardes, that they thought him worthy perdone that killed a tiranne, though he had killed his owne naturall father before. And besides this, when they sawe, that tirannes vsed to haue their bodies defended with great garifones and gardes of forain people, or kept them selues in strong holdes and secret chambres, so as none without great hasarde and peril might come vnto them: they poun-

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douned great rewardes to him that should destroye a tiranne. Nother thought they rewardes or giftes to be a sufficient recompence for so vertuous an acte, but they vsed also to make the ymage of him that killed a tiranne, in brasse: and to set it vpin the most solemne place of the citie, for a perpetual memorie of the acte, the commendacion of the doer, and the encouragement of others to doo the like. They dedicated to his praise and honour songes and verses, and wolde haue them taken of men as Goddes worthy immortalitie.

Wherof came the name of Nobilitie, or how were those that be called heroical or noble personages diuided from others, and had in suche honour and reuerence, seing all men came of one man and one woman was it for their lustie hawking and hunting? for their nimble dicing and cōning carding? for their fine singing and daunceing: for their open bragging and swearing? for their false flatering and flattereing? for their subtil piking and straling? for their cruel polling and pilling? for their merciles man murthering? for their vnnatural destroyeing of their natural countrey men, and traiterous betraieing of their countrey? No, no, ther was no suche thing. The respecte only of their vertue ad loue to their countrey brought them therto. Bicause they reuenged and deliuered the oppressed people out of the handes of their gouernours, who abused their autoritie, ad wickedly, cruelly and tirannously ruled ouer them: the people of a
grate

grate and thakefull minde, gaue them that estimacion and honour. Of this kinde of nobilitie was Hercules, Theseus, and suche like.

Good kinges, gouernours and states in time past tooke it to be the greatest honour that could be, not to take cities and Realmes to their owne vse (what they were called to aide and releue thoppressed) as princes doo now a daies; but to rescue and deliuer the people and countreies from the tiranie of the gouernours, and to restore them to their libertie. So did the Romanes, the Lacedemonianes out of the tirannie of Onabis, and all Grece from the bondage that Philippus (Demetrius sonne) king of Macedonia hadde them in. So did the noble mē of the people of God also come to their highe estimacion and honour, as Gedeō, Barac, Iepthe, and Samson, who for the deliuerie of his contrey from the power of the idolatrous cruell Philistines, pulled vpon him self present death. So that this principle that euil ād euil doers ought to be punished, and rotten membres to be cut awaie, was no peculiar lawe of the Ethnikes, but it procedeth of nature, and therefore common to all men, as it is plaine by the Chronicles and experience of all ages, and purposely exemplified for our sure staie and learning as wel in the boke of Iudges, as in many other histories of holy scriptures, according to the expresse worde and commaundement (applied to this sense and meaning) which saith: Let euil be taken out of the

of the middes of the congregacion, that the rest which heare of it, maie be afraied. and not entreprise to doo the like. And Christ pronounceth, that euery tree which bringeth not furthe good frute, shalbe cut downe, and cast in to the fire: muche more the euil tree, that brigeth furthe euil frute. And albeit some doo holde, that the maner and meane to punish the euil ād euil doers, is not all one amōg Christianes (which be in dede that they professe i worde) ād Ethnikes, which thike it lausful for euery priuate mā (without respecte of ordre ād time) to punish the euil: yet the lawes of many christiane regiones doo permitte, that priuate mē maie kil malefactours, yea though they were magistrates, in some cases: as whā a gouernour shall sodailly with his sworde rene vpō an innocēt, or goo about to shoote him through with a gōne, or if he should be foude in bedde with a mānes wife, or goo about to defloure ād rauishe a mānes daughtther: muche more if goo about to betraie ād make awaie his cōntrey to foraiers, &c. Neuertheles forasmuche as all thiges i euery christē cōmō wealth ought to be done decētly ād accordig to ordre ād charitie: I thike it cā not be maiented by Goddes worde, that any priuate mā maie kill, except (wher executiō of iuste pūissemēt vpō tirānes, idolatcrs, ād traiterous gouernours is either by the hole state vtterly neglected, or the price with the nobilitie ād counsaile cōspire the subuersiō or alteraciō of their cōtrey ād people)

any priuate man haue som special inwardecōmāndement or surely proued mocion of God : as Moses had to kill the Egipciā, Phinees the Lecherours, and Abud king Eglon, with suche like: or be otherwise commaūded or permitted by common autoritie vpon iuste occasion and common necessitie to kill.

But now perchance thou wilt demaunde, why christen mē neuer made expresse positiue lawe of the kinde of punishment of tirannes. Might it not be answered, as Solō did (excusing that he had not made a lawe for suche as killed their parentes) that no man wolde suspecte, that so vnnatural a facte should be thought, muche lesse committed: or that those that should be the ministers, yea the ymages of God here in earthe, charged bothe by God and man, to see the people defended from iniuries, should so muche abuse their office and autoritie, as to conuerte the sworde to the destruction of them, whose championes and defendours they ought to be? Yea rather of all to saie (which is most certain) the simple people deceaued by great othes, and begiled with faire promises, suffered their gouernours to vsurpe suche autoritie and power ouer them, and so long winked and bare with their iniquitie, that they were not hable to take it from them.

But I beseeche thee, what nedeth to make one general lawe to punish bi one name a great many offenses, when the lawe is all ready made for the punishment

ment of eueri one of them particularly. If a prince robbe and spoile his subiectes, it is theste, and as a theste ought to be punished. If he kill and murder them contrary or without the lawes of his countrey, it is murder, and as a murderour he ought to be punished. If he committe aduoutrie, he is an aduoutrour and ought to be punished with the same paynes that others be. If he violently rauishe mennes wyues, daughters or maydens, the lawes that are made against rauishers, ought to be executed on him. If he goo about to betraie his countrey, and to bring the people vnder a foreyn power: he is a traitour, and as a traitour he ought to suffre. And those that be iudges in cōmō wealthes, ought (vpon complaynt) to summe and cite them to answer to their crymes, and so to procede, as they doo with others. For the prophet speaking vnto those that haue the rule in cōmon wealthes, and that be iudges and other ministers of iustice, saith: ministre iustice to the poore and orphan, pronounce the miserable and poore to be innocent, if he be innocent: take the poore, and deliuer the nedey out of the handes of the wicked. Sohan ye sitte to iudge, ye shall haue respecte of persones, whether they be riche or poore, great or smal: feare no man, for ye execute the iudgement of God, sayeth the holy goost by the mouth of Moses. Iudge not after the outwarde apperaunce of men, but iudge rightly: sayeth Christ.

God him self gaue the example of punishment of

euil gouernours. For when the children of Israel haue committed idolatrie, he commaunded moſes to take the Princes of the people, and to hang them up againſt the Sunne, that his wrathe and furie might be turned from Iſrael.

When that doughtie dame Queene Athalia, the woman tyrannic (ſeing after her ſonne Ahaziahu was dead, that ſhe was childles, and paſt hope to haue any childrē) haue killed all the kynges progenye (ſauiug Ioas, whom Ichoſaba Iorams daughter hid and get with his nource out of the waye) purpoſing to reigne therby inſecuritie, and to tranſpoſe the right of the crowne to ſtraungers or ſom other fauourer of her cruel proceedinges at her pleaſur by the helpe and ſubtilty of her traiterous Counſaillours, and ſo went on in all abominacion and crueltye without comptrolling a great ſpace: Did her ſubicctes ſuffre her in her wickedneſſe ſtill unpuniſhed though ſhe was the vndoubted Queene and chief gouernour of the lande? No, no. But as ſone as Ioas was a littell nource vp, and crept ſomewhat out of the ſhell being a childe of ſeuē years olde: the nobilitie and commones ſeling by experience what miſerie it was to lye vnder the gouernement of a miſchieuous woman, not only garded Ioas with mē and all decent regal ceremonies vnto the houſe of God (by thaduife and appoyntement of Icoiada

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the high prieſt) and ther crowned him ſolemnely: but alſo when Athalia the Queenes highneſſe cam in, mourning what adoo that was, and perccauing the matter, rent her clothes howling and crieng, as the manner of madde women is, ſpecially in the hotte ſeaſones of the yeare: they layed handes on her (for all her crieng, Treason, treason) and when they haue caried her out of the houſe of God, they ſlewe her. And ſo was the realme ridde of a tyrannic, the right enheritor poſſeſſed in his regal aſtate, the people made a newe bade with God to ſerue him ſincerely accordig to his worde, and baniſhed all idolatrie and falſe religion (which the Queene had ſet vp and vſed) and the common wealth flouriſhed afreſhe in her former peace and libertie.

The prophet Elias being no ciuile magiſtrate, caſt ſed the kyng and Queenes highneſſe chaplaynes Baals prieſtes to be killed before Achabs face, bicauſe they were idolaters, and taught and mayntened falſe religion, though ſcarce ſo falſe and idolatrous, as the popes maſſe and religion is. And when the Queenes maieſtic dame Ieſabel (that the deuill ſaw Iehu cō to her palace, cried and reuiled hi as a traitour. Iehu not paſſing vpō her wordes (though ſhe was his ſoueraigne lady ad maiſtres) cried aloude: who is on my ſide, who? As though he haue ſaid, if ther be any among you, that ſetteth more by Goddes true religiō and their natural countrie than by that idolatrous witche the Queene:

H ij caſt

cast her out at the wyndow. And so two or thre of her priuie Chambre threwe her out to him, burstyng her necke and bones against the walles. And as sone as Iehu hade trode her vnder his fete, dogges (as ye hearde before) eat vp her fleshe, ad slossed vp her blood,

Ioram was knowne the king and right enheriour of the crowne of Israel. And yet whan he sawe Iehu and his cöpanie come towarde him, he asked him whither he came in peace. Iehu saied: what peace should ther be, as long as the horedomes of thy mother Iesabel and her witchcraftes be so great? And so for his idolatrous tyrannie and euil gouernement Iehu slewe him. And many moo suche examples in scriptures we haue, which (as the rest of the Bible is) be leste for the instruction of all christen common wealthes in like case, as we want not also the like experiece and examples euen in these our dayes. Bicause the remembrance of the horrible destruction of the euil gouernours, and alteration of the common wealthes in Schwytzerlande and certain other places in high Almayne, now in our tyme is not very pleasaunt, I will purposely passe it ouer, albeit the mater is so freshe and grene yet still in all mennes sightes, that it is spoken of vnyuersally through the worlde. And was not Petrus Aloysius (Pope Paule the thridde sonne, and duke of Placenza) iustly slayne now lately of his owne

owne people, bicause of the euil gouernement and tyrannye he vsed among them?

And wher this iustice is not executed, but the prince and the people play together, and one wynteth and beareth with the others faultes, ther can not be, but a most corrupte, vngodly ad vicious state, which albeit it prospere for a season, yet no doubt at leyngh tyme they maye be sure, that vnto thē shall come that came to Sodome, Gomorra, Ierusalem, ad such other, that were vtterly destroyed.

And on the other side, wher the nobilitie and people loke diligently and earnestly upon their autorties, and doo see the same executed on their headdes and gouernours, making them to yelde accompt of their doinges: than without faile will the princes and gouernours be as diligent to see the people doo their duetie. And so shall the common wealthes be godly, and prospere, and God shalbe glorified in all. But thou wilt saye, what if the nobilitie, and those that be called to cömon Cönselles, and should be the defendours of the people, will not or dare not execute their autortie: what is than to be done? The people be not so destitute of remedie, but God hath provided an other meane, that is, to complayne to som minister of the worde of God, to whö the keyes be geuen to exömunicate not only common people for all notorious and open euilles: but also kaisers, kinges, princes, and all other gouernours, whan they spoile, robbe, and doo ad

kill their poore subiectes without iustice and good lawes. And what so euer suche minister of Goddes worde byndeth vpon those occasiones here in earthe, it is fast bounden in heauen before the face of God. And no meane to vndoo it, by any good worke (muchelisse by popes pardone or friers prayers) without repentaunte of the partie offending, and satisfactiō made to the partie offended for the iniustice and iniuries committed: and the mercie of God through the only merites of our saueour Iesus Christ. Exāple we haue of S Ambrose, who being no pope, nor popes Comisary, but bishop of Millane excommunicated the Emperour Theodosius. Whose doinges, bicause thou maiest the better knowe, I will in fewe wordes expresse the effecte of the historie. This Theodosius, albeit he were an Emperour, and a Christen man, yet was he of nature colerike, and muche disposed to be āgrie: and as it semeth, without consideration. It chaunced that in a sediciō at Theßalonica, soōf his officers were stoned to deathe, and some very euil intreated. He in a rage sendeth thider a nōbre of merciles men of warre, who making no differēce betwene thautours of the sediciō and thinnocent people, make an horrible slaughter of the poore people, mā, woman and childe. Afterwarde thēperour after his accustomed maner, came towarde the churche, and S. Ambrose mette him at the churche dore, and wolde not suffre him to entre: but not only tolde him, it was no place for murtherers, but also did excommunicate him out of all christen com-

panie, til he repented and made satisfactiō for the horrible murther cōmitted by his souldiours. Thēperour being brought vp and instructed in the worde of God (as I wolde to God all christē princes were at this present) and knowing thoffice bothe of the minister of Goddes worde, and of an Emperour, obeyed: and returned wepig and crieng to his palace. Eight monetes after, came the feast of the natiuitie of Christ: and Ruffinus lorde great maister or stuarde of his house came to thēperour, whō he founde very heauie, weping and sobbing. He beig familiar with him, desired to knowe the cause of his sorowe. Ah Ruffinus (saie the mperour) thou art mery, for thou selest not mi paines. I La mēt and mourne for my calamitie. It is free for slaues and beggers to goo to the churche, and ther to praye to God, but I maie not come ther: no, heaue gats be schut to me. Christes words goo not out of my hart: what so euer ye binde on earthe, shal be boūdē also in heaue. At leynght beig ēcouraged by Ruffinus, :hat he might be absoiled of S. Ambrose, he sendeth hī before, to be a meane for hī, and he him selfe folowed. But Ruffinus could not intreat the bishop. After the mperour cometh, but durst not entre in to the churche, but without the dores fell on his knees to S. Ambrose, and desired absolucion. S. Ambrose saied, he was not mete to be absoiled, for his comyng was more like a tiranne, one that wolde by force be absoiled, than a christen man that shewed

him self penitēt and sory. No (sayeth thēperour) I wil not presume against the ordre of the churche to entre in by force, but I hūbly beseeche thee to lose me out of these bōdes of excomunicatiō, ād that thou wilt remēbre the mercie that God useth; and that thou wilt not shutte against me the gate that God opened to all that be penitent. The bishop asked him, what worthy penaūce he had shewed syth the tyme he had cōmitted that wicked acte, or with what medicine he had healed those most greuous woundes. It is your part (sayeth thēperour) to prepare the meādicine, and myne to receaue and use it. At leyngh t S. Ambrose required ther might be a lawe ordayned, that the execucion of reuēge should not be done sodainly but delaied, so as it should not proced of angre, and thēperour made that lawe. Afterwarde he was releassed of the excomunicatiō: ād commyng in to the churche, he made his praiers, not standing nor kneeling, but lyeng flatte on the grounde, pulling his heare, beating his browe, wepīg, lamēting and cryeng with Dauid: My soule cleaueth to the pavement, quicken me (O lorde) according to thy worde: ād asked mercie ād forgeuēse. Thus ye see, what any minister of the churche maie doo upō the greatest prince, if he will execute his office ād the power that Christ geweth him. But thou wilt saie, what if the minister passe not on his duetie, but be contēt to winke at all the wices of the gouernours, be thei neuer so wicked, so he maie haue a bishopriche, a deārie, a prebēde, or a good fatte benefice, ād liue unpunished in all abomi-

naciō? Yea ād what if ther be suche special grudges betwene the nobilitie and commones, that the one forte neither trusteth nor loueth the other, so as the one dare not open the necessitie ād meane of suche correction and redresse of the euil gouernours vices, for feare least if the purpose come to light before hande, the mater be dashed, and the mocionar leape headles for his labour, as it is in these daies often sene: What shifte than? In dede ther be certain examples and paternes in the holy Bible, & which I will not sticke to rehearse, though not expounde, but holly referre them to the further debating and iudgemēt of thine owne conscience, through the holy goost, by whose prouidence they are enrolled for our learning.

We reade that after the lorde God hade sondry times deliuered his people of Israel from wicked tirānes, with whom he hade plaged them for their wickednesse and idolatrie: at leinght whan through a boundaunce of wealth and quietnesse they fell to a certain careles securitie of life, not only forgetting God and his holy sincere worde, but also seeking euery one his owne singular self gainē with the hurt and contempt of his neighbour. God toke from them their natural liege lorde, the good Iudge Othoniel, and placed, yee (saie the scripture) he streynghened a straunge prince among them, an idolatrous persone and a wicked, called Eglon. This Eglon vsed the matier so with bribing those Israelites, that

for preferment wold be traitours to their natural cuntry, and specially in bringing in a great power of Ammonites ad Amalekites (two kinds of people in beggerly pride and filthinesse of life muche like to the common nature of Italianes and Spaniards) as well to garde his pson, as to fortifie the strög holdes ad municioēs: that by ad by seig himself strög ynough with his straungers and Inborne traitours, he brought the cuntry and people vnder his subiection by fine force, so that he continued their ordinary Prince and chief ruler xvij. years long. What oppressing of the poore, what robbing of the riche, what taking vp of corne and vitail for the king and his straungers, and no money paid for it, what taxes and paymentes the people were yowked withall, what rauishing of mennes wiues, daughters and seruauantes, what beading and hanging of the natural Israelites to make the straungers lordes and gentilmen, what common miseries and continual calamities ther were during that space, no doubt it is vspeakeable.

But what remedy? No man durst make moane to his neighbour for feare of bewraieing, none durst ones whistle against the king, they must bende or breake, no remedy, pacience perforce, all were faine to serue and please king Eglon. But at leinght they sent (as their yearly accustomed maner was) a present to the king by a wittye messagier, called Ahud: who hauing acesse to the kig, saied he had to saie vnto his Maie-

tie

tie secretly from God. And whan the king hade commaunded all his seruauantes awaie, so that Ahud and the king were alone in his somer parlour, Ahud thrust his dagger so harde in to the kinges fatte paunche, that ther laie king Eglon dead, and Ahud fled awaie.

Now, was this well done or euil? Forsothe the dede is so commended in scripture, that the holy goost reporteth Ahud to be a saueour of Israel.

But note by the waie, the texte saieith not, that Ahud was sent of the people to kill the king, nor that he tolde them what he intended: for by that meane, one Iudas or other wolde haue betrayed him, and so should he haue ben drawen, hanged and quartered for his entreprise, and all his conspiratours haue lost bothe life, landes and goodes for their conspiracie.

Only the scripture saieith, that Ahud (being a priuate persone) was stered vp only by the spirite of God.

Likewise whan Sisara lieutenaunt general of king Iabins warres fleing from Barac sought succour to hide his head, hauing long noied and hurt Israel with oppression and warres, a woman named Iael called him in to her house, and hidde him vnder a Couering. He thought him selfe sure, and for wearinesse dropped harde on slepe.

Iael taketh a great long spikig nayle, and driueth it with a hämer so harde in to his braines, that Sisara troubled Israel no more, nor neuer tolde who hurt hi.

Mattathias

122 Mattathias being by the kinges Commissionaires required and commaunded to conformance him self to the kinges proceedinges (which was to committe Idolatrie) as all his countrey men the Iewes had done (and as the like case standeth now in Englande) not only refused to obey king Antiochus commaundement, or to folowe his proceedinges in that behalfe, but also when he sawe a Iewe committe Idolatrie before his face, he ranne vpon the Iewe in a great zeale and slewe him, and fell also vpon the ordinary Commissioners sent from Antiochus the ordinary king of the Realme, and slewe them out of hande. These examples nede no further exposition, the scripture is plaine inough. But if neither the hole state nor the minister of Goddes worde wolde doo their common duetie, nor any other lausfull shifte before mencioned can be hade, nor dare be attempted: yet are not the poore people desitute all together of remedy: but God hath the lesse vnto them twoo weapones, hable to conquire and destroe the greatest Tirane that euer was: that is, Penance and Praier. Penance for their owne sinnes, which prouoke the angre and displeasure of God, and make him to suffre tirannes, warres, famine, pestilence and all plagues to reigne among the people. And praier, that he will withdrawe his wrath, and shewe his mercifull countenance.

Hereof we haue not only commaundement, but also manifest examples in the scriptures. For when the

123 the Arke of God was taken awaie from the people of Israel by the Philistines in batail, and the glorie of Israel brought vnder foote (the people being miserably for their sinnes pressed and plagued by the Philistines twentie yeares long) so that the people despairing of their honour and libertie, and seing no martial wepon, nor helpe of man hable to redresse their state, cried and continued in lamenting their thraldom and greuous condicion: at leynight by the aduise and commaundement of the good Prophet Samuel, the people fell to these two meanes: Penance, and praier, with fasting: and the lorde God not only deliuered them out of thoppression of the Philistines vnto their former libertie, but also gaue them suche victories, that the Philistines many yeares after, durst not ones moue warre against them.

Thus was also the cruel tiranne Herode vainquished. Thapostles ad people in the primatiue church lamenting their sinnes, and calling to God for mercie, the angel of God stroke Herode sitting in his throne, in his princely apparail, making an Oracion to the people, and they comending it to be the voice of God, and not of man, and so he was eatē vp of lice or wormes. Likewise when Iulian theperour and Apostata had long persecuted the church, at leynight whō the people fell to repenataunce and common praier, he going in to Persia, was slaine, and none of the familie of Constantine (wherof he came) after that was Emperour

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Emperour. And in like maner not long sith when that tiranne Duke George of Saxonie persecuted all suche as professed the worde of God, reuiued and pulled out of purgatorie, by the worthy instrument of God D. Luther: and at leynght threatned, that he wolde burne and destroye the vniuersitie of wittenberg, which when Luther hearde, he went in to the pulpit, and exhorted eueri man to put on his armour: that is, Penance and prayer. And sone after, God rid the worlde of that tiranne, and so not only deliuered his churche, but also augmented it with an other vniuersitie, called Lipsia, and all the hole countrey of this cruel duke was conuerted to Christes Gospell.

These be the wonderfull workes of almightie God, whose power is as great and as ready at a pinche as euer it was, and his mercie as willing to be shewed, if his poore afflicted people wolde doo on their weapon: that is, be sory for their sinnes, and, desire him to with drawe his scourges, and to holde his mercifull hande ouer them.

123
VVHAT CONFIDENCE is to be geuen to princes and potentates.

WHAN the King of Macedonia, Alexander the great, heard the philosopher Anaxagoras saye ther were many worldes, the worme of ambicion so tickled and troubled his harte, that the water gushed out of his eies. And when he was asked, what made him to wepe: haue I not iuste occasion to wepe (saith he) that hearing of so many worldes, I am not yet lord of one? This worme without faile was the deuill, who not contented that kinges (the ministers of God) should serue God in their vocation (to haue them the soner fall from God, and serue him) putteth them in hope they shalbe lordes of all the worlde, if they will take him for their chief lord and soueraigne. But bicause he seeth the inconstauncie of kinges, that they no longer abyde by their othes and promises than they maie ther by haue profit, gayne, and their desire, he dothe not furthewith put them in possession, but to trye their fidelitie, he sheweth them bi what meanes they shall come to it, putting to their good will, helpe, and industrie. He doubteth not, but if he maye bring them ones in to the puddle ouer the shoen, they will through thicke ad thine whatsoeuer cometh of it, to come to that thei looked for. These waies of the Deuil pcede out of his schole of practices and

and they be in a generalitie, two: that is, open force and secret subtiltie: the one whereof, that is, force and manhood, hauing ofte tried and most tymes it hath not succeeded after their minde, they haue not so muche put in vse, but haue rather truste on thother, that is, subtiltie and craft whereby they worke a great deale more mischief than by open force and strenght of men, and with lesse peril of them selues. For when they goo about it by force, the deuill their maister is not hable to warraunt them the successe. For all victorie and good successe cometh of God, who when he seeth the people (against whom the deuill and his kinges worke) fall to repentance for their sinnes, he overthroweth his and their enemies with a fillip, as he did proud Olofernes and Sēnacherib: the one being slaine by the good and faithfull woman to God and her countrey Iudith: all his power being an hundred and twentie thousand souldiers, and twelue thousand archers on horsebacke destroyed by a fewe. And the others armie being an hundred foure score and fife thousand persones was destroyed by the angel of God without the worke of man, and he forced to flie: and at his returne home was killed of his owne two sonnes.

But the other meanes, that is, subtiltie and craft (which the world calleth policie) they more practice: and therein daily do so procede, that within short time many of them haue bene doctours. And they haue a

principle

principle of this arte, which is, that to come by a kingdome, to come by that they desire, they maye breake all mennes lawes, all othes, all promises, yea the lawes of God and honestie. This arte of subtiltie of princes (otherwise called policie) consisteth chiefly in this, for a man to appeare outwardly that he is not inwardly: to saye one thing with the mouthe, and thinke another in the hart: to smile vpon him, whose throte he wolde gladly see cutte: and so pretende to the eie all amitie, beneuolence and loue, when they beare greatest hatred, enuy, and malice, till conuenient tyme maie be had with least daungier, to execute their concealed mischief. And because they be not hable alone to doo their feates, loke when they can vnderstande of any of their nature, them they reteyne, to them geue they great charynes of golde, fede them with great pensions and fees promised. And yet they be not ignorant, that such vile men (as will for money betraye their owne countrey, and serue their wicked purposes) are like vnto common souldiours and launce knights, who serue him that geueth a peny more: and will, when they maie haue greater bribes of another, some buye and sell their present maister. For how is it possible for any man to thinke, that he whom he hath corrupted with rewards to serue his purpose, will or can be faithfull to hi that is a strainger, that so well knoweth what they be, and iudgeth them false

to their native countrey: in the defense wherof all the
 next men be bounden, and be content to bestowe their
 life, their blood, their goodes, and what so euer they
 haue: Doo not princes vse traitours, as men vse Co-
 loquintes, Turbith, Elleborum, and such like poiso-
 nes: that is, to serue their purpose, when they haue
 neede of them, and after can not abyde their sight, no,
 not their sauour, but cast them out on the dong hill?

Yes doubtles it is most certain. & when one had be-
 trayed in to Cæsars handes certain townes: what saied
 Cæsar? I loue treason (sayeth he) but traitours I doo
 abhorre. So saied also king Antigonus. I loue trai-
 tours (sayeth he) wilest they betraye, but when they
 haue betrayed, and serued my purpose, I vtterly hate
 and abhorre t. em,

Aurelianus the temperour hauing long besieged
 the citie of Tiana in Asia, and being without hope
 to get it by force, practised with one Heracleo (a
 great rich man ad citezin of the citie, than being in
 the citie) to betraye the citie to him.

This Heracleo fearing least if the citie should be
 wonne by force, he should also lose his riches, and hop-
 ping of great gayne by this bargayn, consented to
 the temperour, and did that he required. The temperour
 assone as he came into the citie, caused this traitour
 Heracleo to be killed (albeit he had done alone that
 for the temperour, that all the temperours power was not
 habie to obteyne for the temperour) because he could not
 abyde

abyde his sight, that had betrayed his countrey, the de-
 athe was so horrible and against nature. Yet because he
 wold not seme to haue done it for desire of his riches,
 he gaue them to his children, whom he preferred. And
 writing to his frende the mater as it was done, she-
 weth that he could not loue nor abyde Traitours, nor
 that he could keepe promise with suche as should not be
 faithfull and louing to their countrey.

It is written of one called Cacanus king in Ba-
 terland in Germanie, that he inuaded a countrey som-
 tyme called Carnia, now called Frioly in Italie, and
 other places belonging to the Venecianes with a
 great power: and at the first meting of him and the
 enemies, he ouercame and killed one Gislefus a Lom-
 barde, Duke of that countrey. After that he besieged a
 citie, wherein Romilda the Dukes wife was.

She desiring to see this king what maner man he
 was, neded not to haue his ymage pourtred vnto her,
 but looked ouer the walles aduisedly vpon him. & when
 she sawe he was a goodly ad faire persone, she was by
 and by in loue with him. She wisheth, that she mi-
 ght fele him entre in to her owne holde. Meane while
 he could do her good, she could not sleape, she sobbeth
 she howleth, she soudeeth, she teareth her heare, and is
 more thā halfe made, for lacke of her lust.

To be shorte, contrary to all honestie and
 womanly shamefastnesse, she woeth him to be her
 husbände: and hauing no regarde of the loue
 I ij that

that euer honest creature ought to beare to his countrey, she promiseth to geue him citie, countrey, iewel-les, goodes, and what so euer she could polle of her subiectes, and make for him, so that he wolde marie her. The kig lacking no witte (or at least wanting no wyttie counsaile) and knowing what perill might chaunce vnto him, if he should seke to winne it by force, taketh the offere.

And according to his promise he married her, and one night toke paynes to shake vp her lecherous rotten ribbes. In the next morning he leaueth his chamber, and her gates open free to euery man: and (as some say) God geue them grace to repent in tyme, did to the wicked woman of Feuersham in Kent, that not long since killed her husbände) he gaue euery man libertie that wolde, to offere his deuocion in to her corpore. So at leynghth when he thought her tyred, and her vnfaciable luste somewhat stanchèd (for by like it wolde neuer haue ben fully glutted) he caused her to be thrust on a stake naked, that all mē might see those vgly partes, which to satisfie she was content to betraye her natural countreic: and that it should be an example to all others, to take hede to doo the like, he causeth the hole citie to be cleane ouerthrowen.

This maye ye see, that kinges spare neither male nor female, great nor small, that for any respect betraye their owne natural countrey: because they knowe, those can neuer be faithfull to straungers that be
false

false to their parēt, their countrey. And wold to God they were as earnestly set to absteyne frō doing euill, as i these exāples they to haue be ready to doo iustice.

But what shall we nede to bring furthe examples of practicers, of straunge and farre countreyes, whā euery man maye fynde pleyntie in his owne? To what purpose shall it be, to alledge those of a great meany yeares past and stale, when ther be pleyntie euery daye freshe to be founde? Only to let men see by comparison of the olde with the newe, and the newe with the olde, the present with the past, and the past with the present, that the deuill hathe alwayes ben, is and shalbe the deuill: and such fetches as he hathe vsed, suche he dothe and will vse. And that his disciples, as thei neuer forget the principles of their science, so haue they at leynghth their maisters reward, worthy their desertes.

Roan wriothesley, Arundell and Southwell conspired with thambitious and subtil Alcibiades of England, the Erle of warwike (afterward duke of Northumberland) to pull the good duke of Somerset king Edwardes vnclè and protectour out of his authoritie, and by forgeing a great meany of false lettres ad lies to make the Protectour hated, brought to passe warwikes purpose: who than for a while, but they three? wriothesley that before was banished the Court, is lodged with his wife and sonne next to the king.

Euery man repairerth to

Coriothesley, honoureth Coriothesley, sueth vnto Coriothesley (as the Affirians did to Ammon) and all things be done by his aduise: and who but Coriothesley Arundell his promised to be next to the king, grome of his stole, or Comptrollour of his house at the least. Southwell (for his whisking and double diligence) must be a great Counsaillour in any wise. But what was thence? The erle as craftie as the best (seing that his desire should not take place, if these men might haue that they hoped for) so handleth the matier, that Coriothesley is sayne in the night to get him out of the court to his owne house: vnder vpon narrow examination, fearing lest he should come to some open shamsfull ende, he either poisoned him self, or pynded awaye for thought.

Southwell is committed to the Flete, wher being examined, he confessed ynough to be hanged for, and hade gone very nere it, hade not his examiners vpon hope of his amendement breaking out of his eie, but not out of his hart, obteyned therles fauour.

And at therles sute Arundel bathe his head with the axe diuided from the shoulders.

And how at leight was P. the maister of practises handled, that will haue one parte in euery pagent, if he maye by prayeng or paieng put in his foote? But before I procede to speake of this maister of practises

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Gardiner
it shall not be amyffe, that I tell you somwhat of his maister the doctour of practises. For albeit this doctour be now (but to late) throughly knowen, yet it shall be requisite, that our posteritie knowe what he was, and by his description see, how nature had shaped the outwarde partes, to declare what was within. This doctour had a swart colour, an hanging loke, frowning browes, eies an ynche within the head, a nose hooked like a buffarde, wyde nose trilles like a horse, euer snuffing in to the wynde, a sparowe mouthe, great pawes like the deuil, talantes on his fete like a grype, two ynches longer than the naturall toes, and so tyed to with sinowes, that he coule not abyde to be touched, nor scarce suffre them to touche the stones.

And nature hauing thus shaped the forme of an outwarde monstre, it gaue him a vengeable witte, which at Cambridge by labour and diligence he hade made a great deale worse, and brought vp many in that facultie: Coriothesley, Germaine Gardiner (whom he caused speedily to be hanged, lest he should haue to muche disclosed his maisters arte) and among many other, this maister or proctour of practises, whom we are now entred to speake of.

This doctour to geuesome significatiō of his nature and cōning to come alofte, that he might doo the more mischief, betrayeth his M. Carnall wolfe: and more

than any other labourer the diuorse betwene king
Henry and the dowager. And by and by he earnestly
sought to haue riddē in the kīges bootēs: worse could
not content him. But whā he sawe that wold not be,
and considred it better to haue floare than one only
paire (for so perchance he might haue founde them
somytēs not all cleane whā he wolde haue vsed thē,
ād also it should be a let to bring to passe that he pur
posed) he chaungeth his purpose: and bycause none
shoulde remembre his practises before, nor suspecte
the rest to come, he shaueth his crowne as broade as
a sawcer, and decketh him self with a white smocke li
ke a portour of the Stiliarde. But what nedeth suche
circumlocucion, whā euery body knoweth this do
ctour of practises was called D. Stephan Gardi
ner? After this, his lucke was to be committed to the
towre, whā Tyburne hadē ben a place more worthy
his desertes. His scholar the maister or proctour of
practises, remembreing how muche he had prospred
by the meanes of the doctour, and bending his disposi
cion to make thankfull requizal of parte of his re
ceaued benefites, putteth the doctour in memorie of
an olde lesson he had taught him: that is, to geue backe
twoo sote with the ramme, that he might winne the
third. But whether this D. Gardiner was offended
with his scholar the proctour, for his ouerranke
practiseing, or how it happened, I can not tell,
I am sure that in this one, he answered hone
stly:

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stly: let my scholar go on as he hath begonne
(saieth he) for Gardiner can not plaie the knaue so.
wordes of Gardier: but he was not vnskilled (I saie) i
the arte of practises. No in dede, he was excellent in
that state, as it well appeared. For whā he had
wrought and made sure the great marriage to auoide
the hatred of the people, he made his scholar to sa
ther it, and to haue the outwarde thanks. And no
maruail of his conning. For he was his maister, and
hadē studied longer the arte, than the proctour, and
hadē a better witte, and spent yearly the halfe of his
bischopricke in bribing, or elles he had lost his head
long before: for his treasones were not altogether
vnknowen, albeit they were couered and hidden.

But what dothe this maister or proctour of pra
ctises? Dothe he not dissemble with the erle of war
wike, serueth his turne i al that his wittes wold serue?

But what at leight becometh of our practiseing
P.? He is committed to warde, his garter with shame
pulled from his legge, his robe frō his backe, his coa
te armour pulled downe, spurred out of Windsofe
churche, troden vnder sote, and he him self at leight
with great fauour obtaineth, that he might redeme
the rest of his corporal paines with open confession
at the barre in the Starre chambre on his knes of his
bribery, extorcion, dissimulation, ambicion, robbing
of the king, and suche like vertues, wherby he became
noble.

If we minded in this place to displaye the packing and practicing of the Nobilitie and counsaile of Englande in the sicknesse and at the death of King Edward the vi. for the pretended placing of the lady Iane in the regalesse, and their sodain slipping the coler. and deceauing of one another: it were matter ynough to teache men, how litel confidence and trust ought to be geuen either to the smother countenances; faire wordes, confident promises, bloody othes, or swearing vpon the holy Euangelies, either yet to the lettres and hadē writings of the Princes and potentates of the world. They that were sworne chief of counsaile with the lady Iane, and caused the Quene to be proclaimed a bastarde throughout all Englande and Irelande: and they that were the foremost forcers of men (yea vnder the threatned paines of Treason) to swear and subscribe vnto their doings, bewraied the matter them selues vnder hande by their wiues and other secret shiftes, and afterwarde became counsaillours (I will not saie, procurers) of the innocent Lady Ianes death: and at this present are in the highest autoritie in the Quenes house, and the chiefest officers and doers in the common wealth.

And som of them that wrote most earnestly to a certain auncient lorde of the Realme (among many other, in the fauour of the Lady Iane, bebastarding and railing vpon the Quene, were not ashamed within fewe daies after (whan the same lorde was

locked

locked vp in the towre, for his constant although constrained obedience to the common ordre of the Counsaile) to be his most straunge and rough examiners on the contrary part, as though they them selues had neuer halted in the matter.

But I knowe these practicers answer: that if they had not vsed that practice, they should not only haue standen in safarde them selues, but also failed of their priuie purpose. Well. In the meane tyme it is ynough to knowe, that a man maie not trust nor beleue them, either by their wordes, othes, or hande writings further than he seeth and heareth them, and scarcely so farre.

And I praie you, hath not the realme good cause to thanke and trust the potentates, Prelates and Parliament men for banishing the sacred testament and Gospel of God with the sincere administracion of his holy Sacramentes, and for bringing the deuillish power of the Romishe Antichrist in to Englande again with his miserable Masse and all popishe slavery? By the which they haue not only brokē their othe and loyaltie to God, and to the imperial Crowne of Englande, pullig eternal cōdenaciō vpon theselues, and puokig the heauie had of Goddes wrath and plage vpon their sede, and vpon the hole realme, in cōpelling the people to sinne by fallig fro the true seruice of the liuig God into most wicked supersticion and idolatrie (alas therefore) but also haue ben and are gilty of the innocent blood of

sonary

thanks, and the *Queens* fauour increaced towarde him. But his iuste rewarde yet is not come, let hi not loke to speede any better than *Heracleo*, if he continue *Judas* still. I wolde wishe, he wolde in time become a *Petre*, I trust he is not so farre past, but he maie be praied for. He is my good lord, and *Mason* ones my great frende, ad nere neighbour. I wishe them bothe well. Thus ye see the final successe and rewarde of traitours. Soberfore it is to be wondred, that suche practicers which worke so muche mischief for others, can not take hede of the euil that is towarde them selues. But *Goddess* worde must be verified of the wicked. Beholde, the wicked trauaileth with mischief (saith the worthy prophet and king *Dauid*, a man of great experience) He hathe coceaue: unhappines, and brought furthe a lie. He hathe grauen and digged up a pitte, but he shall fall him self in to the pitte that he hathe made. For the mischief that he mindeth to others, shall come on his owne head, and his wickednesse shall fall on his owne pate.

But forasmuche as all these fetches and practices be only made and laied to disceane those that be honest, faithfull, true, and natural to their countreie: it is requisite to treate how they maie be auoided. Deceat wold not be knocked out with deceat, if it might so be, but honest men should alwayes and at all times deale

deale plainly and honestly. And therefore the honestest meane before things be done, is to be wise and circumspect: and to see the end, what mischief maie folowe, before they sodainly, rashely and vnadvisedly consent to any thing. To vse suche honest wisdom and foresight, is permitted bothe by *Goddess* worde and nature. Yea *Goddess* worde and nature commaunde honest men to vse it. For those things that can but ones be done, and wheron so great weigh thangeth, ought to be well done. Therefore men ought not to gree create to faire wordes, large promises, and great othes (for these are the instruments to deceaue the honest and well meaning) but the fairer the wordes be, the larger the promises, ad the greater the othes, the more to suspecte. For godly and honest things maie be well ynough done without painted and smothe wordes, faire promises and othes. Ther ought to be such equalitie in doing of things, that such deceates nede not. Only subtiltie and craste deuised long writings, great promises, and many solempne ceremonies. & whā the great marriage was treated in the priuie Counsaile ad so great promises made, the olde Duke of *Norfolke* saied, they were golden wordes, but how shall they be perfourmed, saied he? Afterwarde when it was propounded to the lordes in the parliament to be ratified, the Lord *Windfor* i like maner asked who should be suertie for the perfourmaunce therof, ad who should sue the forfaitie? Nother of the lacked wisdom

wisdom and foresight, to see that vnder painted pa-
 pir, much mischief was hidde. Long experience had
 taught it the duke, being long trained in Princes
 practices: and nature suffred not the other lorde to
 be utterly void of it. But bothe of them lacked that
 courage, magnanimitie, and fortitude, that ought to
 be in noble men. But it might be, that they had it,
 but durst not vtire it, partly for that thone was in
 hope to recouer that he had a time lacked, and the
 other for feare to lose that he had: but chiefly (as it
 maie be gathered) bicause they sawe their peeres mou-
 ths stopped. But let them be sure, all will not serue, if
 practicers partes maie take place. For suche things
 would be all together ouerthrowen, or not meddled
 with: for at leight the least let wil be called to memo-
 rie, they maie be sure. And bicause publike maters of
 a Realme, that concerne all and euery mannes life, wi-
 fe, children, landes, goodes, and what so euer can not
 be trettet vpon by all mē, but all must put their trust
 in a fewe: men ought to be wise and circūspecte whō
 they trust. For ther be to many that passe not what
 become of their neighbours, so they maie prospere
 them selues: what become of the hole Realme, so their
 owne families maie stande still. He that maketh sute to
 be a deputie for a multitude, semeth to sue for his
 owne vainglorie or profit. Those that sende lettres,
 not to chose this man, but to chose suche a man: haue
 in their headdes more than the vniuersal wealtbe of

all.

all. He that bringeth lettres to be preferred, meaneth
 not the benefite of them that he wolde serue. He that
 geueth monye, and maketh great feastes, thinketh
 som other fetch, than the seruice of his neighbour.
 He that refuseth or releaseth his ordinarie wages,
 loketh for som greater extraordinary rewarde. He
 that is alwayes or ofte at prices platters, or in practi-
 cers Palaces, cā not long cōtinue the peoples true pro-
 fteour. And therefore in Venece (as they write) none
 of the Senate and officers vpon payne of his head, da-
 re talke pryuilly with an other, nor take rewarde or
 fees of any for ayn Prince. For they are so gelous of
 the hole state, bicause they haue ben so often decea-
 ued by practicers in their owne companies. Which
 lesson all wise men and honest men should learne, and
 by all meanes suspecte princes promises and withstan-
 de practicers doinges, and not beleue one wordc that
 they saye, be it neuer so gentil: nor yet their dedes,
 what so euer shyne or pretense of loue they declare.
 Such a realme as Englād is, is well gottē, how so euer
 it is gotten. But thou that arte a true englishe man,
 seing the fetches and falsehead of these named and such
 other as they be, loke in tyme to thy selfe and to the
 state of thy naturall countraye, and trust not vnto
 them, though they vse neuer so muche fltering, though
 they sweare neuer so fast, though they speake neuer
 so faire, and though they geue thee their hande wri-
 ting. Be thou Prometheus and not Epime-
 theus.

K theus.

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theus. Remembre that our countrey man Adam
Afterwitte hathe a great while ben the lorde For
rewittes foole. Be taught therfore in tyme, before
thou be taken. Saye not to late: Hade I wist.

Thou hast sufficient warning, God geue
thee grace to confidre it
and vse it.

A N

145
AN EXHORTACION
or rather a warnyng to the Lordes
and Commones of Eng=
lande.

IHARTILY wishe (natural english
men and good countrey men) that it had pleased
God, to haue geuen som cause, wherby ye with me,
and I with you might haue reioyced, and not to haue
lamented one of vs to an other of our miserie. For so-
rowfull things are neither grate to the hearer, nor
pleasaunt to the teller. But as if one should come to his
deare frende or good neighbour, finding him very so-
re wounded, and did but lament with him, and not went
about to helpe him to cure his woundes, he should ra-
ther augment his paynes and increace his sorowe: so
if in this miserable miserie, wherin we and our poore
countrey of England stande, and yet is not come to
the full and ripenessse, I should but lament and way-
le with you, which I can not but doo, onles I
should shewe my self toto vnnatural and vn-
kynde, I should but encrease (I thinke) your
sorowes and paynes: but most certaynly I am
sure myne owne. But as it is a most sure

K ij tokē

token of death, when the sicke man feleth not his disease, nor can tell when his grief is, being asked in what place his payne lyeth: so in all Realmes and congregaciones of people, when they doo not fele the common calamities and miseries that are among them, it is a most certain and infallible signe that the destruction and thende of it is at hande. And therefore geue me leaue (I beseeche you) to open your woundes, and to searche the cause of your calamities, and than to ministrate and powre in to them some holsome bawme, and couer them with some comfortable plastre.

And albeit I doo it not so finely as som others can, but boisteously after my rude maner, yet I doubt not, but by Goddes grace ye shall finde comfort, or at least perceaue, that I haue an earnest desire to see you holpen. For I meane your wealthe and health, as one brother ought of an other, that is borne of the same father and mother.

There was neuer great miserie, destruction, plage or visitacion of God, that came on any nacion, citie or country, which as they be in dede, so may they iustly be called woundes, but be sent of God for sinne, and be not sodaynly layed on the people, but are before prophecied and declared by the prophetes and ministers of Goddes worde, or by some reuelaciones, wondres, monstres inthe earth, or to kens and signes in thelement.

For

For God as he is most iust, and will not faile to punishe synne, so is he most mercifull, and will not the death of sinners, but rather that they should turne to him and lyue.

And therefore before hande geueth them warning what shall folowe, if in tyme they repent not, as by the histories of all ages it dothe appeare. And none of these admoniciones haue ye lacked, country men.

For the preachers and ministers of Goddes worde, in the tyme of the godly Iosias king Edwarde the Sixthe preached and prophecied vnto you, what miseries and plages should certaynly come to you: the foode of Goddes worde to be cleane taken away from you, samyn of the body, pestilence, warres, the losse of your goodes, the deflouring and rauishing of your wyues and daughters before your eies, the captiuitie of your bodies, wyues and children: the subuersion of the policie and state of the Realme: that a straunge king and straunge people (not only in country, but also in condiciones and maners in respect of your owne) should reigne and rule by force ouer you, if ye in tyme repented you not of your wickednesse, amended your lyues, and called to God for mercie.

But than ye passed nothing on it, but as the Iewes being downed in sinne, mocked, scorned and murdered the prophetes of God which long before prophecied

K iij vnto

unto them their captiuities and vtter destruction : so
ye laughed and iested at your preachers wordes, no-
thing regarding the threattes of God, but contēnyng
thē, yea increaceig in your wickednesse, ād now at leyn
ght murthering most cruelly the ministers of God.

And seing wordes of warnyng toke no place with
you, God for his louing mercie hath warned you al-
so by monstrous maruailes on the earthe, and horri-
ble wonders in thelement, to put you beside all maner
of excuses. *What wonderful monstres haue ther now
lately ben borne in Englande? What celestial signes
most horrible? Achilde borne besides Oxforde in
the yeare, M. D. LII. with two heades and two
partes of two euil shaped bodyes ioyned in one. A
childe borne at Couentree, in the yeare M. D. LV
without armes or legges. A childe borne at Fulhā
by Londō euen now this yeare, with a great head, euil
shaped, the armes with bagges hanging out at the
Elbowes and heles, and fete lame. A childe newe bor-
ne at Lōdō furthewith speaking as a prophet and mes-
sager of God. An horrible Comete this year, besides
diuerse eclipses, whiche solowe. But what were these?
only bare signes? No certaynly, they doo and must
signifie the great wrathe and indignacion of God.*

Not long after the passion of our saucour Christ,
whā the Britaines our cōtreymen went about to re-
couer their libertie, and to be despeched of the most
cruel seruitude and miserie which the Romaines kept
thē in, wherin no Britayn was certayn of wife, childrē

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goodes, no, not of their liues, all thigs were so in bōdā
ge of the cruel Romaynes pleasur : ther were of our
cōtreymē slayne at one tyme threescore ād ten thou-
saūt mē, ād at an other tyme thrittie thousaūt. Before
which slaughters ther were many wōderes sene in Eng-
lād. Thimage of the Idole which the Romaines had in
their tēple called Victorie was turned backe, as thou-
gh she gaue place to thenenies. The sea was like blood,
ymages of mēnes bodyes founde on the sea syde. And
womē were out of their wittes, ād cried: destructiō at
hāde, destructiō at hāde: so that the Britaynes were in
great hope, ād the Romaynes in great feare. Before
Britayn (now called Englād) came in to the full power
of the Danes, kīg Edmūde the sōne of Ethelberte beig
slayne, ther were diuerse straūge thinges, wherby all
men gessed, that an alteration of the Realme was to-
warde: but chiesly they gessed the great calamitie by
the sodain swelling of the sea without any euident cau-
se, which so brake in to the lande, that it destroyed
many townes and people. Before that great slaughter
of Englishe men and Normādes which was by reason
of the warres that were in Normandie, betwene kīg
Hēri the first, king of Englāde, and Robert Duke of
Normandie his brother (at which tyme Normandie
was ioyned to Englande) the ryuer of Trent did not
runne one hole daye together, but was so emptie, that
men passed ouer on fote : and at that tyme a sowe
brought furthe a monstre with the face of a man, and

150 a henne a foure footed monstre. So that by that that is past, ye maye the boldlier diuine of that that is to come.

The childe by Oxforde, what did it betoken, but that our one swete head, king Edward should be taken awaye (as he was in dede) and that ther should be in his place two headdes, diuerse gouernours, and a towarde diuision of the people, but not all together: which so manifestly folowed, that no man can denye it: or two people should be knytte together, but not in god proporcion nor agrement. The childe of Co-uentrie without the principal membes to helpe and defende the body, must nedes signifie, that the natural body, that is, the people of Englande shalbe helpeles, ready to be troden vnder the fote of euery creature, and non to releue or succour it.

The childe of Fulham, what can it signifie, but that the natural body of England shalbe weake, the chief membes (tharmes and legges) which is the nobilitie, so clogged with chaynes of golde, and bagges of money, that the hande shall not be hable to drawe out the sweorde, nor the heles to spurre the horse to helpe and defende the body, that is, the commones.

And as the head of it is the greatest part, and greater than it ought to be, with to muche superfluitie of that it should not haue, wherfore it must pull from the other membes to consort it, and lacke of that

151 that good proporcion it ought to haue: so shall the gouernours and headdes of Englande sucke out the wealth and substaunce of the people (the politike body) and kepe it bare, so that it shall not be hable to helpe it self, yet shall the head neuer come to that nature requireth. What is to be gathered of the yōg childe, I doo not saie it is true, because the father was forced (onles he wold haue lost his life) to recant it: but might it not be true? Is ther not as muche to be saied for it, as for the popes trāsubstāciacion? Dothe not Eusebii Pamphili (a man of as good credite, as Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Gratianus, and suche other the inuētours and maintainers of transubstanciation) write, that a lambe contrary to nature and possibilitie, did in plaine wordes before declare the nature and disposicion of Bochorus king of Egipt? They that write the cronicles of the Romaines saie, that a dogge, a serpent, and oxen did speake. But scripture plainly saith, that Baalams asse (a creature vnreasonable, without possibilitie to speake) did saie to his maister: why beatest thou me? And Iohn the baptist contrary to the common course of nature, lept and reioiced in his mothers wombe, whan Christes mother being with childe came to see Elizabeth his mother.

If men that beleued not the miracles, which the gogle tied Roode of Boxley, the Idole of walsinghā, the bawde of willeśā, which euery soole might see to be deceates and open illusions, were condemned and

burned for heretikes: how should they be taken, that doo not beleue the manifest workes of God?

The horrible Comete and blasing starre that was sene this yeare greater in Englande than elles wher, what elles dothe it betoken, but the great displeasure of God? and therefore famin, pestilence, warres, sedicio, death of princes, inuasion of forain naciones, destruction of som or many cities and countreies, and the alteration and chaungeing of the state and gouernement? For if it be lausfull for man to diuine of Goddes wonderfull workes, and by the like thinges past, coniecture those that be to come: why should we not affirme, that these plages will folowe? Before the great warres made by Xerxes against the Greciaues, and the ouerthrowing of the hole state of Grece, ther was a blasing starre sene of the shape of an horne, and an eclipse of the sunne.

Before the last and vtter destruction of the citie of Ierusalem, ther was sene hanging in thelement ouer the temple a burning sword almost the space of a hole yeare. In the time of cruel Nero, ther was a Comete that continued sixe monethes.

After that folowed great sedicion and alteration in the empire: and the kingdome of the Iewes (marke well) was vtterly destroyed. Before the death of our countrey man Constantine the great, who was the first professour of the Gospell of Christ among all the emperours: and no doubt a special fauourour and

promotour

of it. For he did not prohibite laie men to reade Goddes worde, as som princes doo at this tyme, but he caused examples of the Bible to be written at his owne charges, and sent in to all countreies: ther was a great Comete, and afterwarde folowed a wonderfull and cruel warre, which who so deliteth in histories, maie perceauc.

Before the diffension and deadly warres that was betwene the brethren of Lotarius the emperour, sonne of Lodonicus Piu., for the diuision of thinheritance (wherby suche slaughter grewe in Fraunce, that the Frenchemen were neuer after hable to recouer peacefully their force) ther were many Cometes sene.

About the yeare of Christ M. i. ther was an horrible Comete sene, and than folowed wonderfull fumes and pestilence.

In the yeare MLXI. before thinuasion of Rwillia Conquerour into England, and the conquest of the same, and in which Heralde king of England with twentie thousaunt true Englishmen in the defence of their countrey against the tiranne were slaine: ther was sene a wonderfull Comete, which euery man thought (as in dede it folowed) to be muche mischief and thalteracion of the state, as hereafter ye shall heare. A litle before the great warres in Normandie (wherof ye haue heard before) ther was sene in Normandie a great Comete, and two full mones at one time shynyng, thone in the east, thother in the west.

west. In the yeare M C C X X I. whilst the warres were in Asia betwene the christen men and the vnchristen, wher vnto king Henry the thrid sent a power of Englishemen vnder therle of Chestre (for the maintenaunce wherof the nobilitie first graūted the king the wardeship of their children, as Polidore writeth) before the Christen men lost the citie of Damiatra, and a great ouerthrowe of them was in Egipt, many wonders were sene in diuerse places, and also in Englande a very great Comete, a wonderfull great earthequake, all the wynter horrible thonders, which in Englande seldome in Somer be hearde: suche great raines, and tempestes of windes, that it ouerthrowe many houses: and the sea drowned mani places, which euery man saied, betokened the hurt that folowed on christen men. In the yeare M C C X L I. a litle before wales was brought to the subiection of the king of Englande, ther appeared in England a terrible Comete, by the space of xxx. daies.

In the yeare M. D. X X X I. ther was an horrible Comete. And what folowed of it? The Turke occupied a great parte of Vngarie: the kīg of Denmarke Christerne inuading his cōtreie with a great armie, and so minding to recouer his kingdome, was taken and his sonne. And why should not ye of Englande thinke, that these signes be only (or at the least chiefly) for you? Compare your selues, and your liues and doinges with the Iewes, or the worst nacion, if any

can

can be worse: and see whether ye be not hable to matche them, yea to ouermatche them, and to droppe vie, thrce for one? In what nacion vnder the cope of heauen, hath God shewed greater tokens of his fauour, and it so litle set by, as in Englande? What contempt of him, his worde and ministers hath be ther? What dissimulation with God? what hipocrisie? What swearing and soreswearing? What traiterye to their countreye? What disobedience to the gouernours in good, godly and necessary thinges? What ready obedience to their rulers in wicked and euil thinges? What vnnatural bitcherie vsed betwene the father and daughter, brother and sister? What abominable hoodome suffred unpunished? yea in many and the chiefest places the greatest hooremongers, the impudentest ribauldes, the peltingest bribers, and the lewdest persones made Iustices of the peace, and correctours of vice? What railing and reuiling of the worthy pure preachers of Goddes gospell for only rebuking of vice? What horrible murders secret and open, not only of priuate persones, but also of the most honorable pecces and reuerende ministers of God? What boch:ring and burning of true Englishe christianes, yong and olde, hole and lame, seing and blynde, man, woman, and child, without respects of age, sexe or estate? What pillig and polling, taking and snatching, stealing and robbing, not only among the meane sorte, but among the greatest? What is so great hatred

and

and malice, so litle loue and charitie, as in Englandes
 I should neuer make an ende, if I should tell but that
 I haue my selfe and knowe, muche lesse if I should
 declare all that other credible persones of their owne
 knowlage report to be most certain and true.

But to retourne to the mater. Loke well England,
 loke well, whether this Comete past, and eclipses to
 come, touche the? Art thou not all ready plaged with
 famin? Yes, and with suche a famin, as thou neuer be-
 fore heardest of. It is true, ye had darthes in the time
 of kinges Henry and Edwarde, but those were dear-
 thes without nede: only they were occasioned by the
 greedinesse and malice of naughtie men without scar-
 citie or lacke of thinges: ad for lacke of diligēt ouer-
 seing and good gouernement, and not by the directe
 plage of God. But these two yeares since hig Edwardes
 death, from the restitution of your cursed popish
 he masse, ye haue had scarcitie by the directe plage of
 God. The earthe not brought furthe suche plaintie as
 it customably did before. Sober before time the coun-
 trey fedde London, London contrary wise was and is
 forced of her former prouision to fede the countreie.
 Sober Dantise ad other the northe east partes were
 the barnes and garners of corne, for they had the
 prouision of corne for many yeares before hande, ad
 nourished all the lowe partes of Germanie, Denmar-
 ke Friesland, holande, Zelande, Brabaunt, Flanders,
 Hispaine and many other: now by reason of their
 bringing

bringing so muche to releue Englande, onles a staie be
 made in time, they them selues will perishe of famin.
 Sohan were euer thinges so deare in Englande, as in
 this time of the popish masse ad other idolatrie resto-
 red? Soho euer hearde or redde before, that a pounce
 of beeste was at iij. d. A shepe xx. s. A poude of Can-
 delles at iij. d. A poude of Buttur at iij. d. ob. A pou-
 de of Chese at iij. d. two egges a penie, a quarter of
 wheat, lxiiij. s. A quartre of malt at l. s. or aboue:
 the people driuen of hongre to grinde accornes for
 bread meale, and to drinke water in stede of ale? And
 what? Shall this famin awaie, before his walkig mate
 and selowe (pestilence) come? No surely, without your
 earnest spedy repentaunce, and Goddes exceeding mi-
 raculous mercie, it is not possible: for hitherto the one
 went neuer before, but the other cam either arme in
 arme, or elles quickly after.

But it shall almost come to late for common
 persones, for they be so hanged vp by xx. and xl. in
 a plumpe (and a great nombre of them, bicause
 they confessed and professed, that they should be sa-
 ued by thonly merites of Christs passion) that the
 pestilence shall haue litle matier amog the meane sor-
 te to be occupied on: but therefore must be the more
 occupied with the great.

And hast thou (England) had no sedicion and
 inwarde grudge? Yes, so muche that the headdes and
 gouernours

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gouernours durst not pepe out of their priuie cham-
bres; nor one neighbour seme to talke with an other,
for feare to be noted and accused of conspiracie. Yea
and that (that is worst of all, and to be lamented of
all englishe men) ther is inwarde grudge, and secret
malice betwene the membres, that is, the Nobilitie ad
Commones.

The one hateth and contemneth the other, which
is the worke of the deuil, and his ministers the popi-
she Prelates and priestes. They cast water in to the
coles, to make the fire greater: for they knowe, onles
such diuision and dissension be softred and nourished,
their kingdome wolde sone lie in the dirte. This is
the practice of suche as minde the conquest or vtter
destruction of any people, to maintene and pricke fo-
rewarde dissension, diuision and discord among the
people. For Christes wordes are true, who saith,
that euery kingdome diuided in it self shalbe desolate,
and euery citie or house diuided against it self, shall
not continue. The prophet prophecien of the de-
struction of the kingdome of the Iewes, sated befo-
re, that ther should be ciuile and inwarde sedicion, as
ther was in dede in Ierusalem, betwene three pestilent
factions and partes, wherof Symon, Ioannes, and
Eleazarus were the autors and headdes. This was
Xerxes practice to set the Grecianes by the eares, to
maintene Ciuile warres and dissension among them,
that so whan one had destroyed an other, he
might

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might easily enioye all. This policie haue all other
ambitious monarkes hitherto in all places practiced.
And as Gardynor whan he should dye, did not lament
his synnes, but sent for the Quene, and wept to her,
that he could no longer lyue to serue her grace, that
is, to vndoo the nobilitie and comons of the Realme:
but he desired her to procede as he counsailed her by
his worde and writing: so Granuell whan he should
also dye, sent worde to theperour Charles, and requi-
red him, not to forget his counsaile, but still vse it, that
is, to nourishe and mayntene dissension among the sta-
tes of Germanie, and so he should at leyngh tyme
come by the hole. In like maner if the traitorous bis-
hoppes and priestes can ones set the comones against
the nobilitie and gentilmen, they will sone (the nobili-
tie being ones suppressed) sende the comones to clym-
be a dawes nest, and vse them at their pleasur. But wi-
se men and suche as loued their countrey in tyme past,
foresawe this mischief that came by inwarde grudge
and ciuile discord: and euer (as muche as in them laie)
went about to let it. They thought it was most neces-
sary to prouyde for the sauegarde of the hole by all
meanes, and not for any particular parte: which maye
wel appear by the wisdome of Thrasibulus, who being dry-
uen out of Athens (his countrey) by the xxx. tiran-
nes, bicause he wolde not consent to their tyrannye, ad-
to see his countrey destroyed: at leyngh tyme gathered to
gether all those that were banished with him, and by

the helpe of the Thebanes their neighbours, toke a castle besides Athenes, and afterwarde in batail he ouercame the tirannes, and restored all those that were banished, to their countrey, and their olde lawes that were take awaie by the tyrānes. And seig what mischief might folowe, if he did not tak awaie this warde grudge that was among the people, and make an vnitie betwene the, albeit the poore banished men were spoiled of all that they had, and their goodes in those handes, that had no right therto, yet made he the all to geue a promyse, that non should claime any thing of an other, but that all should be forgeuen and forgotten. And the same wisedom did the Romaynes many times vse, to make quietnesse among the people, and to preserue the hole common wealthe. Yea the noble men of Rome, albeit they were as ambitious as others, and some enuied an others glorie, yet when the common wealthe was in basarde, and that their seruice must be vsed for the defense of their countrey, they did cleane forgeue and forget all priuate iniuries and inward grudge: yea it was the chief meane to reconcile enemies. And no maruail among wisemen, for they sawe, if the hole body of their countrey should perishe, they could not prospre. Ther can be no arme, wher ther is no body: and it is a feble body that lacketh the armes and legges. Yea it is a most miserable body wher the armes and legges beate the body, and the body goeth about to shake of tharms and legges.

And

And albeit ther be no people, that haue ben more plagued by inward sedicion and ciuile discorde, than Englishemen: yet is ther none that lesse considre it. I can not tell, wherof it cometh, but commonly they neither remembre that is past, nor forsee that is to come, but only (as vnreasonable creatures) loke vpon those things that be present. The disension and discorde that was in Britayne our countrey (which now is called England) and betwene our owne countrey men, brought first the Romaynes in to England: who after they were entered, some toke all to the selues: they murdered a great nombre of the Britaynes, of som they toke their children pledges, and sent the to Rome: and to ridde the Realme of strong and lustie psones, that ther might be none to withstāde the, they sent armies and garisones of the out of the realme, to serue in forayn countreies. Those that were left at home, they spoiled of their goodes with great taxes and imposiciones: and a great nombre made slaues and bondemen, and glad was he, that could fynde fauour to enioye any litle parte of his owne as long as he lyued. By this meanes was the realme almost made desolate, and than the Pictes (a barbarous and cruel nacion) inuaded Britayne, and destroied man, woman, and childe, that came in to their handes: and so greater miseric folowed, the people forced to flye in to montaynes, wooddes and caues for their sauegarde, and by that meanes the grounde not tilled, great famyn came on them, and

L ij than

than wonderfull pestilence, as lightli thone goeth not without the other. Thus our countreimen the Britaynes being oppressed by the Pictes, sought aide of the Saxones (men of great force, but of litle truthe) who whan they were come in to the Realme, and sawe the fertilitie of it, subtilly dewysed, to marie Ronix daughter to their captayn Hengistus, to the king of Britayne called Vortiger. She being instructe what she should doo founde the meanes, that her owne countreyemen should be placed nyghest the kyng, and haue the greatest offices. Thus were our countreyemen the Britaynes remoued from their king, straungers placed in all offices and holdes, and at leyngh the lande was ouerrunne, and possessed of Straungers. And the mane of Britayne put away, and the realme called Englande.

The Danes after vnderstanding how fertile and pleyntifull England was, sought meanes by litle and litle, to place themselues in Englande, and after a king of Demarke in his owne persone inuaded Englad in the Northe, and made woderfull cruell warres, they spared none, thry burned and wasted Yorkeshire, Northumberlande, and all places, so that the enhabitantes were forced to sue for peace at the Danes handes. Then built they the towne of Dancastre (that is, the Castle of the Danes) and whiles they had peace, sent for moo Danes: and whan they thought their force and power bigge ynough, they passed not vpon promises

myes and leagues that they had made, but reuened th^e warres, killed, burned and spoiled in euery place, til they came to Excestre: the people and realme was most miserably tormented, and made tributarie to them. Diuerse of the nobilitie of England vpon light yea no occasiones, but only bicause they were thought not to fauour the Danes, were taken, their nose trilles most villanously slytted, their handes cut of. Ah good God, who can remembre these thinges without weeping? Who that feareth thy wrathe (lorde) will not amende his life, and call to thee for mercie? What nauhtie nobilitie were that, that wolde oppresse the commones, and afterward be vsed and oppressed them selues, by straungers, as their predecessours haue ben before tyme? What deuillische Comones might that be called, that wolde repyne or rebelle against the nobilitie and gentilmen, and than to be ouerrunne them selues with priestes and forayners, and to be pyned with suche miserie, as ye heare that our auncettours were: and all bicause the gentilmen and comones agreed not among them selues? Who is a natural Englishe man, that will not in tyme forsee and considre the miserie towarde his countreye and him selfe, and by all meanes seke to let it? who is it, that can hope for quietnesse, peace, healthe, pleyntie, and such like gifstes of God, without Goddes fauour and mercie. And how is it possible that God should vse mercie with them, that beare inwarde hatred and grudge one to an other, and will vse

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no merci with others? If ye forgeue other mē their of-
fenses that thei cōmitte agaiſt you (ſaieſh Chriſt) your
heauenly father will forgeue thoſſenſes that ye haue
cōmitted agaiſt him. But if ye doo not forgeue other
mē their faultes, neither will your father forgeue you
your faultes. No whileſt ye ſaye the lordes praier, ād
be full of rācour, malice, hatred, ād eūie towarde your
neighbour, ye cōdemne your ſelues, and deſire Goddes
plages and vengeaunce to fall on your ſelues: for ye
meane vēgeāuce to your neighbours, ād wiſhe all euill
to fall on them. And ſo it dothe fall on you: as ye ſee by
experiēce of the playes ād miſeries that are ād ſhall
come to you. But from inwarde ſedicion and ciuile diſ-
corde, that briedeth ſo muche miſchief, let vs come to
outwarde warres and inuaſiones made by ſtraūgers.
But ye will ſaye, ye haue no warres with any forain
prince. It is true: but ſhall ye haue none? yes, yes: the
tyme is not yet come, all is not hatched that is vnder
the henne. Your winges muſt be dubbed, your fetters
muſt be pulled, your cōbes muſt be cut, your muſt be cle
ane piked, your ſubſtaunce ſhalbe gotten by littel and
littell out of your handes, by taxes and ſubſidies, by be
neuolences and loanes, and ſo frō a litell to more, and
frō more to more: and at leyngh all the marchauntes
goodes to be conſiſcate in Flaunders by an inquiſitiō,
and others in England by an opē excōmunicatiō. And
whan ye be ones cleane ſtripped of your ſtoare, and
thus weakened out of courage, ād your harte in your
hoſe, as they ſaie: than ſhall your king returne to his

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welbeloued wiſe, England, with great pōpe ād power,
and ſhall cōpell you (in deſpight of your hartes) to rē
dre and deliuer her holly in to his handes. Than ſhall
the eafterlinges (vpon hope to recouer their olde and
greater priuileges) aide him with mē, money and ſhip
pes: as already they haue offred and promiſed, as di-
uerſe credible lettres haue declared. Thā ſhall they in-
uade Englande, and ſhalbe by ſhiploades (if no worſe
happē vnto you) caried in to newe Spaine, ād ther not
lyue at libertie, but bicauſe ye are a ſtubburne and vn
faithfull generaciō, ye ſhalbe tyed in chaynes, forced
to rowe in the galie, to digge in the mynes ād to pike
vp the golde in the hotte ſande. And ſo with ſorowe to
your ſoppes, your three mānes ſong ſhall be, Alas, and
ſoeale awaye. Than ſhall ye knowe the pride ād lorde
lynneſſe of the Spanyardes, though for a while til they
maie get the ouer hande, they crape and crouche, ſe-
de men with ſwete wordes (Baſo las manos) and wo-
men with conſettes, ſwete wyneſ, pleaſaunt pfumes,
gaye apparail, and ſuche like wayne toyes: but whan
they be ones aloſte, ther is no naciō vnder the cope of
Chriſt, like thē in pride, crueltye, vnmercifulneſſe, nor
ſo farre frō all humanitie as the Spanyardes be: which
thig the realme of Naples, the Dukedome of Milane,
the citie of Siena, many partes of Duchelande, and the
lande of Iulike Cleuelande and Geldre lande can to
theyr coſte right well teſtiſe.

And maie it not be thought, that the Frēche kīg (whā
he ſeeth oportunitie) wil ſet in a ſote, makīg clayme to

100 Englande, in the right of the Quene of Scottes, as heire to king Hēry theight by his eldest syster? And maie it not be suspected, that the pope (to doo the Frenche king a pleasure) shall saye the Diuorce betwene king Henry and the dowager was by the canon lawes lawfull: and shall excommunicate the realme, onles they reuoke thaffe of parliament, wherby the Dyuorce of late was iudged vnlauffull?

Remēbre, remembre (good cōuntry men, and true English hartes) the miserie that folowed in our poore cōuntry vpon the conquest made by thambitious William Duke of Normādie: vpon how small a title he entred, ād how tyrānously he vsed him self. His only colour was a bequest or promise made to him by king Edward, brother to Cauntus and Heraldus kinges of England, whā he was a banished man in Normādie, if he should dye without issue, as he did. At his first entrie, he had a great batail with the newe chose king of Englad, ād slawe hī ād twētie thousāūt of our cōūtreymē, which put suche a feare in all men, the Nobilitie, the cleargie, the Lōdoners, ād others the cōmons, that it made thē sue for peace, ād to geue pledges for their fidelitie, whom he sent in to Normādie. At the first he made thē many sayre promises of peace, quietnesse ād iustice, wherwith the folishe fōde people were sone begyled. They thought they had hade God by the too, but they hade the wolfe (yea the deuil) by the eares. He first fortified the holdes and portes by the sea side,

and in

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ād in his absence (as many times he was forced vpo rebelliones in Normādie, to tetourne) he made a Cōnsail of his owne cōūtreymē, ād made the Bishop of Baion his brother, his lieutenant in Englad. But whā he was ones satled, ād thought him self strong ynough to kepe the Englishmē vnder: thā Fare well all faire promises, he begineth to plaie Rex, yea the deuil in dede.

He spoiled the nobilitie of their goodes ād possessiones, made thē slaues, ād his owne slaues Lordes: and vpo the Cōmōs he put wōderfull taxes ād impositiones. He toke frō the people their weapones ād harnesse, ād made a lawe, that no mā should come out of his house after the bel rōg, which was at eight of the clocke, but to couer the fire ād to bedde. Soherfore vntill this daie the bel that thā ringeth, is called Couerfiere. And thā he built at Notinghā, lyncolne, yorke, ād hasting, ād set in thē garisons of Normādes. And not cōtented herewith, he executed many wonderfull cruell thiges, ād specially on the nobilitie, ād suche as he sawe to be stowte mē: som he caused to be murthred, som their noses to be slitte, and their handes cut of. Happie was he that could fie out of the Realme: he so spoiled yorke shire, ād durhā, ād all the northe ptes, that tē yeares together it laie waste ād vnhabited. He could in no wise abide the English nobilitie, but vtterly destroyed thē. And all this he did by the lawe of the deuil, whiche they cal the lawe of armes. The good lawes ād customes of Englad he cleane toke awaie, and

made his owne lustres his lawes, ad put the in his owne Normade tongue, that his frēdes might alwaies haue thinterpretacion of the, and that he might cathe the poore Englishemā, whā it pleased him: ad wolde haue the lawes to be pleaded ad al thigges to be done in Frēche. And he was not takē to be the Normādes frēde, nor no gentilman, that could not speake frenche. And therof cometh the olde puerbe: Iacke wold be a gētilmā, but he cā no frēche. He remoued then- glishe bishoppes, and placed Normādes by the aide of the bishop of Rome. He pulled downe towne, villages, and houses, and put out the poore people to make him sportig places, pricely pleasures, forestes, pkes ad chaces. O miserable Englāde, thet ones thus wast by a tiranne and outwarde enemies plaged. But how muche more miserable shalt thou be by the warres that are most certain to come shortly ont hee. God be mercifull vnto thee. But me thinkes I heare your papistes bishoppes, priestes, friers, and suche like Antichristiā mōstres saie, that these plages which haue fallen and shal come to England (for they knowe, they can not be a voided, no they are occasioned ad holpē forewarde by them) haue growne for thinges done in king Henry and king Edwardes time, for that their abominacion was disclosed, their buries and dēnes digged vp, their monasteries throwē downe, and the landes diuided ad solde to the laitie. Ah hipocrites, Ah subtil wolues, ah viperous generacion. Sohan the foxe preacheth, bewa

re your

re your geese. Soher in scripture do they finde, that a ny suche bely Goddes as they are, should be maitened? No, scriptur wold haue such marchāutes whipped out of the churche, such buiers ad sellers of mēs soules, wo be vnto you hipocrites (saieih Christ) for ye swalowe vp the houses of the poore and miserable, that is, that which should be cōuerted to the relief of the poore ad nedey: ad that vnder pretise of lōg praiers. Soho be vnto you (ye masking Mahoundes) which goo frō place to place, by sea and by lande, to make a nouice of your owne ordre, and whan ye haue him, ye make him the childe of hel fire two folde more thā your selfe. I knowe you not (saieih Christ) awaie frō me, ye workers of iniquitie. It is only their God the bely, that they seake to serue, they nother passe on the God in heauen, nor the deuil in hell, so they maie haue wherwith to maintene them selues on earthe, in their hooredome, burgerie, pride and al abominacion. And this that I saie, is not feined nor ymaged, but euident in all mennes eies that will not be wilfully blinde. Those that be desirous to be rulers in monasteries, abottes and priours before they come to it, they pine them selfe awaie with fasting, weare heare, and vse the rest of this trumētes of hipocrisie for a while: but whā they haue ones caught the fishe they cast for, they shewe what they be plainly. Soho so great bely Goddes? Soho so great hooremongers? Soher suche knauerie vsed? I am ashamed to tell it. In like maner plaie these

Chaplaynes

Chaplaines of honour, that seeke for bishopriches: all
sauiug onc M. doctour ðœstō (the cōmō bull of
dissembled virginite, and the boarc of olde rusted wi-
dowhead) who before hāde shewth what he wil be. But
as the worlde goeth, his pla:ne dealing hathe not nor
wil put hī to any afterdeale. ðoher is suche an hoore-
mōger (yea worse thā an hooremōger) as this olde in-
pocrite Paule the fourthe now bishop of Rome?
ðwho so great a gluttō: ðwho so .proue ād ambitious?
ðwho so great a tirāne ād tormētour? ðwho so great a
warriour? And yet before he came to that highe seat
of antichrist, he wold seme a saint, no religiō nor or-
dre of hipocrites was strait ynough for him. He was
a frier, a monke, a Capuccine an anchorite, yea what
was he not? But ye see the marke these hipocrites sho
otc at. And I cā tel thee somewhat of mine owne know-
lage, which maie not be denied: for the autor is a man
of good credēce bothe abrode ād at home with the gre-
atest ād meanest. After the beginig of the Quenes rei-
gne, ād the sodain alteraciō of all thinges (cōtrary to
othe ād .pmise) ther came one of mine ordre vnto me,
as I walked in a gardein, ād wēt about to psuade me to
icline to the Quenes .pcedigs: Plaie the wise mā (sai-
eth he) ād doo as I ād other mē doo: I haue knowē thee
of lōg time, to be a good selowe. I warrāūt thee, thou
shalt recouer thy losse ād liue in honour, if thou wilt
be ruled by reason. And with that he lept vp to clappe
me on the sholder, for onles he stode on tippe to, he
could

could not reache it. Tushe (said he) thou art a soole:
if the Turke ruled in Englād, I wold frame mi self to
liue accordig. I maie not nor wil tel you his name, bi-
cause I hope he wil ones remēbre hī self, ād cal to God
for grace. But to put you somewhat frō musig, I will
tel you somewhat. In king Henries time, whā Gardiner
was called the beare, he was called the ape. ðwhat said
drōkē doctour ðœstō in the middes of his cuppes (for
wine will disclose secretes, if it be as well plied, as his
maisterhip dothe) by the masse, saieth he, that bocher
the bishop of Lōōd wil cut al the gētilmēs throtes in
Englād, if he cā. Thus ye maie see the marcke, wherat
these hippocrites the papistes shoote. They make re-
ligiō ād Goddes worde nothing elles thā a colour to
couer their wickednesse, ād to maitene their lewdnes-
se. And therefore they wraсте and wrythe scripture to
serue their purpose, and so they haue nede to doo: for
ther is not one worde in all the scripture for thē, but
euery worde against thē. And bicause ye be returned
to their deuociōnes, haue forsaken God ād his worde,
ād cleaue to the pope and his tradiciōnes, ād maintene
suche a sorte of hipocrites, dissemblers, and open ene-
mies of God ād the Realme of Englād: therefore haue
all these plagis lighted on you, ād the rest will shortly
folowe without fail. Loke vpon the xx viij. Chap. of
deuteronomie, wher it is writtē thus. If thou wilt not
hearkē to the voice of the Lorde thy God, to hepe and
to doo all his cōmaūdemētes ād his ordinaūces, which

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I cōmaūde the this daie, al these curses shal come vpon thee ad ouertake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the towne, ad cursed i the felde, cursed shal thy basket be and thy stowre. Cursed shalbe the frute of thy body, ad the frute of thy lande, and the frute of thyne oxen, and the flockes of thy shepe. The lorde shal sende vpon thee cursing, destruction and rebuke, to all that thou settest thy handeto, and that thou doest, vntil he destroye thee, and bring thee to naught quickly, bicause of the wickednesse of thine inuenciones, and bicause thou hast forsaken me. The lorde shall smite thee with madnesse, blynānesse, and dasing of heart. Thou shalt be oppressed with wrong, and be polled euermore, and no man shal succour thee. Thou shalt be betrothed to a wife, and an other man shall lie with her. Thou shalt builde an house, and not dwell therin. Thine oxē shalbe killed before thine eies, and thou shalt not eate therof. Thine asse shalbe violently taken from thee, ad shall not be restored to the againe. Thy shepe shalbe guen to thine enemies, and no man shall rescue thē. The frute of thy lande and all thy labours shall a nacion which thou knowest not, eat: ad thou shalt continually suffre violence, and be oppressed alwaie, so that thou shalt be cleane beside thy self, for the sight that thine eies shall see. Thou shalt cary muche fede out in to the felde, and shalt gather but a litel in, for the gresse hoppers shall destroye it. All thy trees and frute of thy lande shalbe marred with blasting.

The

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The stranger that is among you, shall climbe about thee on highe, ad thou shalt come downe beneathe a lowe. Moreover all these curses shall come vpon thee, ad shal folowe the ad ouertake the, til thou be destroyed: bicause thou herkenedest not to the voice of the lorde thy God, to kepe his cōmaūdemētes ad ordinaūces, which he cōmaūded the, ad they shalbe vpon the as miracles, and vpon thy sede for euer, bicause thou seruedest not the lorde thy, God with ioufulness ad with a good heart, when thou hadest abouūdaūce of al thiges: therefore thou shalt serue thine enemy, which the lorde shal sende vpon thee, in hūgre and thirst, in nakednesse and in nede of all thing: and he shall put a yowke of Iron about thy necke, til he haue brought the to naught. And the lorde shall bring a nacion vpon thee, a nacion whose tongue thou shalt not vnderstande: an harde fauoured naciō, which shal not regard the persone of the olde, nor haue cōpassion on the yong. The same shall eat the frute of thy catail, and the frute of thy lande, til he haue destroyed thee: and shall leaue thee neither corne, wine nor oile, neither the increace of thine oxen, nor the flockes of thy shepe, til he haue brought the to naught. And the lorde shall sende vpon the and thy sede great plagues and of long continuance, euil sickeneses and of long duraunce. And it shall come to passe, that as the lorde reioiced ouer you to doo you good, and to multiplie you; euen so he will reioyce ouer you.

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to deströie you, and to bring you to naught, And among
these naciones thou shalt finde non ease, neither shall
the sole of thy foote haue rest. But the lord shall geue
the an vnquiet hart, and dasing eies, and sorowe of minde,
de, &c. And in the ende of the xxix. Chap. of the same
me it foloweth. Than shall all naciones saie, wherefore
hathe the lord done on this facion vnto this lande?
And men shall saie: because th y leste the Testamēt of
their fathers, which he made with them, when he
brought the out of the lāde of Egypt. For they went
and serued straunge goddes, and worshipped the. Goddes
which they knowe not, and which hade geuen them
naught. And the wrathe of the lord waxed hotte a-
gainst this lāde, to bring vpon it all the curses that are
writtē in this boke. &c. By this scripture ye are plain-
ly tolde the vdeniable cause and mater, wherefore the
lord God threatneth and sendeth plages. Reade all
the histories of the bible, and the pphesies of the Pro-
phetes, and ye shall euidently see, how people and nacio-
ns haue bene destroyed for maintainēg of suche idolaters
and wicked liuers, as the papistes are, and where suche
wickednesse hathe bene vsed (as is among you) and not cor-
rected, as I haue before declared. But thow wilt
saie: what shall we doo, to auoide the calamitie and mi-
serie that is bothe present and towarde: wolde to God
thou diddest aske it from the botome of thy harte. But
I feare thou doest diss. mble and speake it with thy lip-
pes only, as thou wast wont. *whā the great sweat was*

in

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in England in the tyme of king Edward, a litle signi-
ficatio of a greater scourge foloweing: and many that
were merry at dnyer, were buried in the euenyng:
som that went at night to slepe lustie, were founde
in bedde dead in the morning: some that went not far-
re from their owne house, neuer returned. Than as long
as the seruētnesse of the plage lasted, ther was cryeng
Peccauī, peccauī, peccauī: I haue synned, I haue
synned, I haue synned, mercie good lord, mercie, mercie,
mercie. The ministers of Goddes worde were sought
for in euery corner, they could not rest, they might not
slepe: ye must come to my lord, ye must come to my
lady, my maister prayeth you to come straight vnto
hē, my maistres must nedes speake with you. Come, if
ye loue God: and if ye loue their saluaciō, tarye not.
For Goddes sake, M. Minister (saye the sicke folkes)
tell vs what we shall doo, to auoide Godds wrothe. Ta-
ke these bagges, paye so muche to suche a man, for I
deccauded him: geue him so muche, for I gate it of him
by vsurie: I made a craftie bargain with such a one,
restore him so muche, and desyre him to forgue me. I
haue taken bribes of suche a one, I pray you geue him
so muche more again. I haue spokē euil of suche a mā,
God forgue me, I haue ben a hooremōgre, a bawde,
God perdone me. Dyuide this bagge among the poore,
carie this to the hospital, pray for me for Goddes sa-
ke. Good lord forgue me, I haue dissembled with thee:
I pretended to loue thy worde with my lippes, but I

and

thought

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thought it not with my hart: but now I see thou knowest the secretest secretes, and wilt not leaue euil vnpunished. Haue mercie on me, and forgiue me good lord, I beseeche thee from the botome of my harte. This was the dissimulaciō of the people for three or foure daies whiles the execution was: but after whā the rage was somewhat swaged, than returne they to their vomite, worse than euer they were. Than that they had before caused to be restored and geuen in almofe, they seke to recover by more euil fauoured Cheuisaunses. But God is not blynde, nother is his hande shortened: he hath begonne to mete with you, and will paye you that he oweth you to thuttermost. But whether thou requirest me vnfaignedly, to knowe how to auoide the plague to come, or doest disseble with me, I hade rather thou shouldest be founde in fault, than I not to doo that I before promised thee. Goddes worde require: haad cōmaundeth euery man to helpe his neighbour in worde and dede, as muche as in him lieth. I will therefore tell thee my best aduise, and hartily pray God thou maiest earnestly, folowe it. All these plages that before thou hast hearde rehearced, famyn, pestilence, sediciō, warres, destructiones of countrayes, captiuitie of people, and alteraciones of states, are the instrumentes of God sent and powred on the people for their synnes, that they should be jorie and repēt thē of their former wicked life, call to God for mercie, and leade a newe life in holynesse and righteousnesse at the dayes of their life:

Whiche

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Whiche if ye will earnestly doo, no doubt but as God is mercifull, so will he vse mercie towards you. For God that neuer deceaued any, but abhorreth all practises, all deceit, and all practicers (the workers of deceit) promiset it by the mouthe of his prophet Ezechiel. If (sayeth he) the vngodly will turne awaye from all his sinnes that he hath done, and will kepe all my cōmaundementes, and doo the thing that is iust and right, doubtles he shal lyue and not dye. For al the sines that he did before, shall not be thought vpon any more: but in his righteousnesse that he hath done, he shall lyue. For I haue no pleasur in the death of a synner (saith God) but that he should repent him of his wicked lyfe and lyue &c. It foloweth in the prophet thus: wherfore repēt and returne frō your wickednesse, and your wickednesse shal not be your destructiō. Caste frō you all your vngodlynesse, make you a newe hart and a newe spirite: wherfore will ye dye, O you house of Israel (that is, all such as trust to be saued by christ) seing I haue no pleasur in the death of him that dieth, sayeth the lorde God. Turne therefore, and ye shall lyue.

This is not holy water of the court, bare wordes of course, as the princes of the worlde vse, whiles they goo about to deceaue the poore people with their practises, but he saith no lesse, than he wil doo: he promiset no more, than he will iustly and fully performe. Scripture is full of exāples to proue it. After the death of Gedeon, the children of Israel fell from the

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worshipping of the true God, became Idolaters, and worshipped Baalim and Astaroth, and other Goddesses as the Ethnikes did, wherefore God plagued them wonderfully with inuasions and ouerrunning of the Philistines by the space of xvij. yeares: they seemed in wordes to doo penance, but God sawe they did but dissemble with him, and therefore he would not heare them. But after they had done penance in dede, that is, destroyed the Idoles, and cast them out of their countrey, than God sent them the noble captain Iephte, who defended them, and reuenged the malice of the philistines, Likewise when the children of Israel had in the tyme of Hely the priest receaued by the Philistines many slaughters of the people, and had lost many cities and townes for the Idolatrie they had committed, yet when by thadmonicon of Samuel they repented (as ye heard before) and turned to God, God turned to them, and was mercifull. And when the philistines had prepared a wonderfull great force against the children of Israel, God sent sodaynly such a terrible thondre and lightenyng, that they were dispersed and rane awaye. The childre of Israel persecuted them and slewe them, and recovered their cities, and all that they had lost. When the moabites, amonites and Idumites thought to haue ouerrunne Iuda in the tyme of king Iosaphat, yet when the king and his people lamented to God and called for mercie, God turned awaie his wrathe, and poured it on their enemies, and made them to fall out
among

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among them selues, and so to kil one another. When Benadab the king of Siria besieged Samaria, there was so great a famine in the citie, that women ate their owne children; but when king Ioram and the people fell to repentance, and called to God for mercie, they had in one daie pleite of all things. For God sent such a terrour among the Sirianes with the noise of armour, that they fled, and lefte all their vitale bagge and baggage behinde them for those of Samaria. Ye haue heard before also, how Oloftrnes and Sinacherib that inuaded Israel, were with their holt armies destroyed of God, after the people repented them of their sinnes, and called for mercie. And so ye haue innumerable examples of the great mercie of God towards all that repented truly, and called for mercie. As of the citie of Ninue, whom albeit God had threatened utterly to destroye them, yet when God sawe they were penitent for their former wicked life, and called vnto him for mercie, he withdrewe his plague, and held out his mercifull hande ouer them: euē so ye (good countrey men and true englishe hartes) if ye wil in time earnestly repent you of your sinnes, leaue your Idolatrie, and honour and worship God truly, as ye were taught, in blessed King Edwardes time, abhorre the fonde phantasies and folishe tradiciones of men, and cleaue to the sincere worde of God, and be desirous of the knowlage of it: leaue your blasphemie and vaine swearing and horrible forswearing and periurie, no longer hate your countrey, but be true and faith-

fall to it, ad by all godly meanes seke the wealth and sauegarde of it: if ye wil obey Goddes cōmaūdmētes before your gouernours, ad your gouernours in that is godly, honest, and iust, and not elles: if ye will leaue your bawdric, horedome ad bitcherye, ad driue out of al places al hoores, hooremōgers ad stuchouses, ad all suche as fauour ad maitene thē: if ye will abstine frō cruclmurthering of the Saintes of God ad innocētes, ad rather your selues be cōtēt to suffre all martirdome, thā ye wil embrewe your singres i their blood, or cōsent to it: if ye wil leaue oppressing of your neighbours, your subtiltie, crafte and deceat, ad your selues leaue to loue greedinesse, and inordinate desire of the trashē of this worlde: if you leaue your inwarde hatred, grudge ad malice one to an other, if the nobilitie will loue ad chearishē the cōmonaltie, ad the cōmones honour ad loue the nobilitie: if one wil shewe him self a brother and neighbour in dede to an other: thā no doubt if ye doo these shiges frō the botome of the harte, that the mouthe ad harte agree together, your sainges ad doinges be al one: than shall ye pceaue, that God wilbe easily intreated to turne. Thā maie ye boldly aske of God in Christes name, ad your desires shall be hearde ad graūted. But ye maie i nowise dissemble with hī, as the Israclites did, whā they saied thei wold cōmitte no more Idolatrie, ad yet kept their Idoles, as you pulled do one your ymages, but yet kept them secretly in your chābres: nor yet as Iudas Iscarioth did,

who

who lamented his sinnes ad repēted, but returned not to God: nor yet as your selues did dissemble in the last sweat, whiles Goddes whippe was in your neckes, but ye must cleane doo awaie the olde mā and put on the newe: ye must refuse ad cast awaie all euilles, and doo that is good, ad euer studie to do that shal please God, ad in nowise loke (as lottes wife did) backward: but still goo forwarde. And thā if ye call to God for mercie, putting your ful ad onely trust in him, he wil heare you, ad take frō you those plages that lie on you, ad the other which most certainly (if ye repēt not, hang ouer you, and wil come vpon you. Than will he sende you his benedictiō for maledictiō, pleitic for samē, heal the for pestilēce, peace for warres, quietnes for trouble, for cruel tirānie, a godly ad iuste gouernemēt: for sediō, suche force ad power, that you beig a fewe, shalbe hable to withstāde all the tirannes of the worlde, and enemies of God ad our cōūtrey, ad vtterly cōfōūde thē ad destrōic thē. Ye shall auoide the eternal paines of hel prepared for sinners: and at leight ye shalbe sure also to make a chāūge frō your earthly cōūtrey, to the heauēly Paradise: frō variable Englād, to the cōstaunt Ierusalem: frō the cōpany of men, to the felowship of Angelles: from mutable and frowning cōūtenāūces of worldely powers, to the vnchāūgeable ad most cōfōrtable sight of the kīg of all kinges, our most mercifull eternal heauēly father. To whō with the sonne ad the holy goost, be all honour, praise and glory now and euer.

Amen.