



An Apologie for the Oath
OF ALLEGIANCE.

FIRST SET
FOORTH WITHOVT

a name: And now acknowledged by the

Author, the Right High and Mightie Prince,

JAMES, by the Grace of GOD, King of

Great Britaine, France and Ireland;

Defender of the Faith, &c.

Together with a PREMONITION
of his Maiesties, to all most Mightie
Monarches, Kings, free Princes
and States of Christendome.

PSAL. 2. Vers 10.

Et nunc Reges intelligite: Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.

ROM. 14. Vers 13.

*Non ergo amplius inuicem iudicemus. Sed hoc iudicate magis,
ne ponatis offencilum fratri, vel scandalum.*

Imprinted at London by *Robert*
Barker, Printer to the Kings most
Excellent Maestie.

April. 8. ANNO 1609.

Cum priuilegio Regali.



Aprill 8. Anno 1609.

WHereas the rashnesse of the Printer and error of the Examiner hath made a number of his Maiesties Bookesto be put forth and sold, being still full of the Copiers faultis, and before his Maiestie had fully reuised and compared the Copie with the Originall: These are to forewarne all Readers, that they shall no way trust to any Copie, but such as hath this present admonition imprinted, and that they hold all other imprinted Copies in English to be erroneous, and surreptitiously sold by the vnder Officers in the Printing House, without either his Maiesties approbation of his owne worke, or the allowance of any who had the charge and ouersight of the imprinting thereof. And therefore that they are all to be held as utterly disclaimed by his Maiestie.


TO

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STD 907



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TO THE MOST
SACRED AND

Invincible Prince, RODOLPHE
the II. by GODS Clemencie

Elect EMPEROVR of the
ROMANES;

KING OF GERMA-
NIE, HUNGARIE,
BOHEME, DALMATIE,
CROATIE, SCLAVONIE, &c.

ARCH-DVKE OF
AVSTRIA, DVKE OF
BURGVNDIE, STIRIA,
CARINTHIA, CARNIOLA
and WIRTEMBERG, &c.
Earle of TYROLIS, &c.

AND

AND TO ALL
OTHER RIGHT
HIGH AND MIGHTIE
KINGS;

AND RIGHT EXCELLENT
Free PRINCES and STATES
of Christendome:

Our louing BRETHREN, COSINS,
ALLIES, CONFEDERATES
and FRIENDS:

JAMES, by the Grace of GOD,
King of GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE and IRELAND;
Professor, Maintainer and DEFENDER
OF THE True, *Christian, Catholique*
and Apostolique FAITH, Protested by the
ancient and Primitiue CHVRCH, and sea-
led with the blood of so many Holy Bishops
and other Faithfull crowned with the glory
of MARTYRDOME;

WISHETH everlasting felicitie in
CHRIST our SAVIOVR.

TO

TO YO V,
 MOST SACRED
 AND INVINCIBLE EMPE-
 ROVR; RIGHT
 HIGH AND MIGHTIE
 KINGS; RIGHT EXCEL-
 LENT FREE PRINCES
 AND STATES, MY LO-
 VING BRETHREN AND
 COSINS:

*To you, I say, as of right belon-
 geth, doe I consecrate and direct this Warning of
 mine, or rather Preamble to my reprinted Apo-
 logie for the Oath of Allegiance. For the
 cause is generall, and concerneth the Authoritie
 and priuiledge of Kings in generall, and all su-
 preminent Temporall powers. And if in
 whatsoeuer Societie, or Corporation of men,
 either in Corporations of Cities, or in the Corpo-*

To all Christian Monarches,

ration of any mechanike craft or handie-worke, every man is careful to maintaine the priuiledges of that Societie whereunto hee is sworne; nay, they will rather cluster all in one, making it a common cause, exposing themselues to all sorts of perill, then suffer the least breach in their Liberties; If those of the baser sort of people, I say, be so curious and zealous for the preservation of their common priuiledges and liberties, as if the meanest amongst them bee touched in any such point, they thinke it concerneth them all: Then what should we doe in such a case, whom GOD hath placed in the highest thrones vpon earth, made his Lieutenants, & Vice gerents, and euen seated vs vpon his owne Throne to execute his Iudgements? The consideration hereof hath now moued me to expone a Case vnto you, which doeth not so neerely touch me in my particular, as it doth open a breach against our Authoritie, (I speake in the plurall of all Kings) and priuiledge in generall. And since not onely all rankes and sorts of people in all Nations doe inuolably obserue this Maxime, but euen the Ciuill Law, by which the greatest part of Christendome is gouerned, doeth giue them an interest,

qui

qui fouent consimilem causam ; *How much more then haue ye interest in this cause , not being similis or par causa to yours, but eadem with yours? and indeed yee all fouetis, or at least fouere debetis eandem causam mecum. And since this cause is common to vs all; both the Ciuill Lawes, and the municipall Lawes of all Nations, permits and warne them, that haue a common interest, to concurre in one for the defence of their common cause; yea, common sense teacheth vs with the Poet, Ecquid*

Ad te post paulò ventura pericula sentis?

Nam tua res agitur, paries cùm proximus ardet.

Awake then while it is time, and suffer not, by your longer sleepe, the strings of your Authoritie to be cut in singulis, and one and one, to your generall ruine, which by your vnitied forces, would rather make a strong rope for the enemy to hang himselfe in, with Achitophel, then that hee should euer be able to breake it. As for this Apologie of mine, it is true, that I thought good to set it first out without putting my name vnto it; but neuer so, as I thought to deny it, remembering well mine owne words, but taken out of the Scripture, in the beginning of the Preface to the
Reader,

To all Christian Monarches,

Reader, in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΡΟΝ, that nothing is so hid, which shall not be opened, &c: promising there, which with GOD his grace I shall euer performe, neuer to doe that in secret, which I shall need to be ashamed of, when it shall come to be proclaimed in publike.

In deed I thought it fit, for two respects, that this my Apologie should first visit the world without having my name written in the forehead thereof. First because of the matter, and next of the persons that I medled with. The matter, it being a Treatise, which I was to write, containing reasonse & discourses in Diuinity for the defence of the Oath of Allegiance, and refutation of the condemners therof; I thought it not comely for one of my place, to put my name to bookes concerning scholastick Disputations; whose calling is to set forth Decrees in the Imperatiue moode: for I thinke my selfe as good a man as the Pope, by his reuerence, for whom these my Answerers make the like excuse; for that his Breues are so summary without yeelding any reason vnto them. My next reason was the respect of the persons whom with I meddled: Wherein, although I shortly answered the Popes Breues; yet the point
I most

I most laboured, being the refutation of Bellarmines Letter, I was neuer the man, I confesse, that could thinke a Cardinall a meet match for a King: especially, hauing many hundreth thousands of my subiects of as good birth as he. As for his Church dignitie, his Cardinalship I meane, I know not how to ranke or value it, either by the warrant of God his word, or by the ordinance of Emperours or Kings; it being indeed onely a new Papall erection, tolerated by the sleeping conuience of our Predecessors (I meane still by the plurall of Kings.) But notwithstanding of this my forbearing to put my name vnto it, some Embassadors of some of you (my louing Brethren and Cousins) whome this cause did neerelest concerne, can witnesse, that I made Presents of some of those bookes, at their first printing, vnto them, and that auowedly in my owne name. As also the English Paragaphist, or rather peruerse Pamphleter Parsons, since all his description must runne vpon a P. hath truly obserued, that my Armes are affixed in the frontispice thereof, which oseth not to bee in bookes of other mens doing; whereby his malice in pretending his ignorance, that he might pay me the

soundlier, is the more inexcusable. But now that I find my sparing to put my name vnto it hath not procured my sparing by these answerers, who haue neither spared my Person directly in naming me, nor indirectly by railing vpon the Author of the Booke: it is now high time for me no longer to conceale nor disauow my selfe, as if I were ashamed of my owne deed. And therefore that yee may the better vnderstand the nature of the cause, I will begin at the first ground thereof.

The neuer ynough wondered at and abhorred POWDER-TREASON (though the repetition thereof grieueth, I know, the gentle hearted Iesuite Parsons) this Treason, I say, being not onely intended against me and my Posteritie, but euen against the whole house of Parliament, plotted onely by Papists, and they only led thereto by a preposterous zeale for the aduancemēt of their Religion; some of them continuing so obstinate, that euen at their death they would not acknowledge their fault; but in their last words, immediately before the expiring of their breath, refused to condemne themselves & craue pardon for their deed, except the Romish Church should
first

first condemne it; And soone after, it being discovered, that a great number of my Popish Subjects of all rankes and sexes, both men and women, as well within as without the Countrey; had a confused notion and an obscure knowledge, that some great thing was to bee done in that Parliament for the weale of the Church; although, for secrecies cause, they were not acquainted with the particulars; certaine formes of praier hauing likewise bin set downe and vsed for the good successe of that great errand; adding heereunto, that diuers times, and from diuers Priestes, the Arch-traitours themselves receiued the Sacrament for confirmation of their heart, and obseruation of secrecie; Some of the principall Iesuites likewise being found guilty of the foreknowledge of the Treason it selfe; of which number some fled from their triall, others were apprehended (as holy Garnet himselfe and Owldcorne were) and iustly executed vpon their owne plaine confession of their guilt: If this treason now, clad with these circumstances, did not minister a iust occasion to that Parliament-house, whom they thought to haue destroyed, couragiously and zealously at their next

sitting downe, to vse all meanes of triall, whether any more of that mind were yet left in the Countrey; I leaue it to you to iudge, whome God hath appoynted his highest Depute Iudges vpon earth: And amongst other things for this purpose, This Oath of Allegiance, so vniustly impugned, was then deuised and enacted. And in case any sharper Lawes were then made against the Papists, that were not obedient to the former Lawes of the Countrey; if yee will consider the Time, Place and Persons, it will bee thought no wonder, seeing that occasion did so iustly exasperate them to make seuerer Lawes then otherwise they would haue done. The Time, I say, being the very next sitting downe of the Parliament, after the discovery of that abominable Treason: the Place being the same, where they should all haue beene blowen vp, and so bringing it freshly to their memorie againe: the Persons being the very Parliament men whom they thought to haue destroyed. And yet so farre hath both my heart and gouernment beene from any bitternes, as almost neuer one of those sharpe additions to the former Lawes haue euer yet beene put in execution.

And

And that ye may yet know further, for the more convincing these Libellers of wilfull malice, who impudently affirme, That this Oath of Allegiance was devised for deceiving and intrapping of Papists in points of Conscience; The truth is, that the Lower house of Parliament at the first framing of this Oath, made it to containe, That the Pope had no power to excommunicate me; which I caused them to reforme, onely making it to conclude, That no excommunication of the Popes can warrant my Subiects to practise against my Person or State; denying the deposition of Kings to be in the Popes lawfull power; as indeede I take any such temporall violence, to bee farre without the limits of such a Spirituall censure as Excommunication is. So carefull was I that nothing should be contained in this Oath, except the profession of natural Allegiance, and civill and temporall obedience, with a promise to resist to all contrary Unciwill violence.

This Oath now grounded Upon so great and iust an occasion, set forth in so reasonable termes, and ordained onely for making of a true distinction betweene Papists of quiet disposition, and in all other things good Subiects, and such other

To all Christian Monarches,

Papists as in their hearts maintained the like violent bloody Maximes, that the Powder-traitours did: This Oath, I say, being published and put in practise, bred such euill blood in the Popes head and his Cleargie, as Breue after Breue commeth forth, vt vndam vnda sequitur; prohibiting all Catholikes from taking the same, as a thing cleane contrary to the Catholike faith; and that the taking thereof cannot stand with the saluation of their soules.

There commeth likewise a letter of Cardinall Bellarmines to Blackwell to the same purpose; but discoursing more at length vpon the sayde Oath. Whereupon, after I had entred in consideration of their vniust impugning that so iust and lawfull an Oath; and fearing that by their untrue calumnies and Sophistrie the hearts of a number of the most simple and ignorant of my people should be mis-led, vnder that faire and deceitfull cloake of Conscience; I thought good to set foorth an Apologie for the sayd Oath: wherein I proued, that as this Oath contained nothing but matter of ciuill and temporall Obedience, due by Subiects to their Soueraigne Prince; so this quarelling therewith was nothing but a
late

late Usurpation of Popes (against the warrant of all Scriptures, ancient Councels and Fathers) Upon the temporall power of Kings, wherewith onely my Apologie doth meddle. But the publishing of this Booke of mine hath brought such two Answerers, or rather Railers Upon mee, as all the world may wonder at. For my Booke being first written in English, an English Oath being the subiect thereof, and the use of it properly belonging to my subiects of England; and immediatly thereafter being translated into Latine, Upon a desire that some had of further publishing it abroad: it commeth home to mee now answered in both the Languages. And, I thinke, if it had beene set forth in all the tongues that were at the confusion of Babel, it would haue beene returned answered in them all againe. Thus may a man see how busie a Bishop the Deuill is, and how hee omitteth no diligence for venting of his poisoned wares. But herein their malice doth clearely appeare, that they pay me so quickly with a double answer; and yet haue neuer answered their owne Arch-priest, who hath written a booke for the maintenance of the same Oath, and of the temporall authority of Kings,

Kings, alledging a cloud of their owne Schoolemen against them.

As for the English Answerer, my vnnaturall and fugitiue Subiect; I will neither defile my pen, nor your sacred eyes or eares with the describing of him, who ashames, nay, abhorres not to rayle, nay, to rage and spew foorth blasphemies against the late Queene of famous memory. A Subiect to raile against his naturall Soueraigne by birth; A man to raile against a Lady by sexe; A holy man (in outward profession) to insult vpon the dead; nay, to take Radamanthus office ouer his head, and to sit downe and play the Iudge in hell; And all his quarrell is, that either her Successour, or any of her seruants should speake honourably of her. Cursed be he that curseth the Anointed of God: and destroyed mought he be with the destruction of Korah, that hath sinned in the contradiction of Korah. Without mought such dogs and swine be, cast foorth, I say, out of the spirituall Ierusalem.

As for my Latine Answerer, I haue nothing to say to his person; he is not my Subiect; he standeth or falleth vnto his owne Lord: But sure I am, they two haue casten lots vpon my Booke, since

since they could not diuide it : the one of them, my fugitiue, to rayle vpon my late Predecessor (but a rope is the fittest answer for such an Historian ;) the other, a stranger, thinketh he may be boldest both to pay my person and my booke, as indeed he doeth ; which how iustly either in matter or maner, we are now to examine.

But first, who should be the true Authour of this booke, I can but guesse. He calleth himselfe Mattheus Tortus, Cardinal Bellarmins Chaplain. ^aA throwen Euangelist indeed, full of throward Diuinitie ; an obscure Author, vtterly vknownen to me, being yet little knownen to the world for any other of his workes : and therefore must be a very desperate fellow in beginning his apprenticeship, not only to refute, but to raile vpon a King. But who will consider the cariage of the whole booke, shall find that hee writeth with such authoritie, or at the least tam elato stylo, so little sparing either Kings in generall, or my person in particular ; and with such a greatnesse, ^bHabemus enim exemplaria Breuium illorum in manibus, and ^cDecernimus : as it shall appeare, or at least be very probable, that it is the Masters, and not the mans

(c) labour ;

a Being a proper word to expresse the true meaning of Tortus.

b P. 46.

c P. 63.

Pag. 69.

labour ; especially in one place, where he quarrel-
 leth mee for casting up his morallis certitudo
 and piè credi vnto him ; hee there grossely for-
 getting himselfe, saith, malâ fide nobiscum a-
 git, thereby making this Author to be one person
 with Bellarmine. But let it bee the worke of a
 Tortus indeed, and not of a personated Cardi-
 nall ; yet must it bee the Cardinals deed, since
 Master Tortus is the Cardinals man, and doeth
 it in his masters defence. The errand then be-
 ing the Cardinals, and done by his owne man, it
 cannot but be accounted as his owne deed ; esp-
 ecially since the English Answerer doeth foure
 times promise, that Bellarmine, or one by his ap-
 pointment, shall sufficiently answer it.

And now to come to his matter and manner
 of Answer: Surely if there were no more but his
 unmanerly manner, it is enough to disgrace the
 whole matter thereof. For first, to shew his
 pride, in his Printers preface of the Politan edi-
 tion of this elegans libellus, hee must equall the
 Cardinals greatnesse with mine in euery thing.
 For though he confesseth this Master Tortus to
 bee an obscure man ; yet being the Cardinals
 (haplaine, he is sufficient enough forsooth to an-
 swere

*were an English booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour: as if a personated obscure name for Authour of a Cardinals booke, were a meete match for answering a Kings booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour; and a Cardinals Chap-
leine to meete with the Deane of the Kings Chappell, whom Parsons with the Cardinall haue (as it seemeth) agreed vpon to intitle to bee the Authour of my Apologie. And not onely in the Preface, but also through the whole booke doeth he keepe this comparatiue greatnesse. He must be as short in his answer, as I am in my booke, he must refute all that I haue said against the Popes second Breue, with equall breuity, and vpon one page almost, as I haue done mine: and because I haue set downe the substance of the Oath in 14. Articles; in iust as many articles must hee set downe that Acte of Parliament of mine, wherein the Oath is contained: And yet, had hee contented himselfe with his owne pride, by the demonstration of his owne greatnesse, without further wronging of me, it had bene the more tolerable. But what cause gaue I him to farce his whole booke with iniuries, both against my Person and booke? For whereas in all my Apologie*

I haue neuer giuen him a foule word, and especially neuer gaue him the Lye: he by the contrary giueth me nine times the Lye in expresse termes, and seuen times chargeth mee, with falsbood, which phrasē is equiualent with a Lye. And as for all other words of reproch; as nugæ, conuitia, temeritas, vanitas, impudentia, blasphemix, sermonis barbaries, cum eadem foelicitate scribendi, cauillationes, applicatio inepta, fingere historias, audacia quæ in hominem sanæ mentis cadere non potest, vel sensu cōmuni caret, imperitia & leuitas, omnem omnino pudorem & conscientiam exuisse, malâ fide nobiscum agit vt lectoribus per fas & ne-tas imponat: of such like reproches, I say, I doubt if there be a page in all his booke free, except where he idly sets down the Popes Breues and his owne Letter. And in case this might onely seeme to touch the Unknowen Authour of the booke, whom notwithstanding he knew well enough, as I shew before; he spareth not my Person with my owne name: sometimes saying, that Pope Clement thought me to be inclined to their Religion: sometimes, that I was a Puritane in Scotland, and a persecutour of Protestants.

Pag 47.

Pag 98.

restants. *In one place hee concludeth, Quia Iacobus non est Catholicus, hoc ipso Hæreticus est. In another place, Ex Christiano Caluinistam fecerunt. In another place hee sayth, Neq; omnino verum est, Iacobum nunquam deseruisse Religionem quam primò suscepit. And in another place, after that hee hath compared and ranked me with Iulian the Apostate, he concludeth, Cùm Catholicus non sit, neq; Christianus est. If this now be mannerly dealing with a King, I leaue it to you to iudge, who cannot but resent such indignities done to one of your qualitie.*

Pag.87.

Pag.98.

Ibid.

Pag.97.

And as for the matter of his booke, it well fits indeed the manner thereof: for he neuer answereth directly to the maine question in my booke. For whereas my Apologie handleth onely two points, as I told you before; One, to proue that the Oath of Allegiance doeth onely meddle with the ciuil and temporal obedience, due by Subiects to their naturall Soueraignes; The other, that this late Usurpation of Popes ouer the temporall power of Princes, is against the rule of all Scriptures, ancient Councels and Fathers: hee neuer improues the first, but by a false inference; that

(c 3)

the



the Oath denieth the Popes power of excommunication directly, since it denieth his authoritie in deposing of Kings. And for the second point, he bringeth no prooffe to the contrary, but, Pafce oues meas: and, Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum: and, That no Catholike euer doubted of it. So as I may truely say of him, that he either vnderstandeth not, or at least will not seeme to vnderstand my Booke, in neuer directly answering the maine question, as I haue already said; and so may I iustly turne ouer vpon himselfe that doome of ignorance, which in the beginning of his booke hee rashly pronounceth vpon mee; saying that I neither vnderstand the Popes Breues, his Letter, nor the Oath it selfe; And as hee delighteth to repeat ouer and ouer, I know not how oft, and triumpheth in this wrong inference of his; That to deny the Popes power to depose Kings, is to deny the Popes Primacie, and his spirituall power of Excommunication: So doeth he, vpon that ground of Pafce oues meas, giue the Pope so ample a power ouer Kings, to throne or dethrone them at his pleasure (and yet onely subiecting Christian Kings to that slavery) as I doubt not but in your owne Honours yee will represent

sent you of such indignities; the rather since it concernes so many of you as professe the Romish religion, farre more then me. For since hee accounteth me an heretike, & like Iulian the Apostle; I am consequently extra caulam, and none of the Popes flocke, and so am in the case of Ethnicke Princes, ouer whom hee confesseth the Pope hath no power. But yee are in the Popes folde; and you, that great Pastour may leade as sheepe to the slaughter, when it shall please him. And as the asses eares must be hornes, if the Lion list so to interpret it; so must yee be remooued as scabbed sheepe from the flocke, if so the Pope thinke you to bee, though your skinne be indeed neuer so sound.

Thus hath he set such a new goodly interpretation vpon the word; of CHRIST, Pasce oues meas, as if it were as much to say, as, depose Christian Kings; and that Quodcunq; solueris gauet the Pope power to dispense with all sorts of Othes, Vowes, Penalties, Censures and Lawes, euen with the naturall obedience of Subiects to their Soueraigne Lords; much like to that new coined glosse that his brother^a Baronius made vpon the words in S. Peters vision, Surge Petre,

^a Sentsen. Card.
Baron. super ex-
com: Vnes.

tre, occide & manduca ; That is, (said hee to the Pope) Goe kill and confound the Venetians.

And because I haue in my Booke (by citing a place in his controuerfies) discovered him to be a small friend to Kings, hee is much commoued. For whereas in his said Controuerfies, speaking de Clericis, hee is so bold as to affirme, that Church-men are exempted from the power of earthly Kings; and that they ought them no subiection euen in temporall matters, but onely vi rationis and in their owne discretion, for the preservation of peace and good order; because, I say, citing this place of his in my Booke, I tell with admiration, that he freeth all Church-men from any subiection to Kings, euen those that are their borne-Subiects: hee is angry with this phrase, and sayth it is an addition for breeding enuie vnto him, and raising of hatred against him. For, saith hee, although Bellarmine affirmed generally, that Church-men were not subiect to earthly Kings; yet did he not insert that particular clause [though they were borne and dwelling in their dominions] as if the wordes of Church-men and earthly Kings in generall imported not as much: for Layicks as well as Church-

*Lib. de Cler.
cap. 28.*

Church-men are subiect to none but to their naturall Soueraigne. And yet doeth he not sticke to confesse that he meant it, though it was not fit (he saith) to be expressed.

And thus quarrels hee mee for reuealing his Printed secret. But whose hatred did he feare in this? Was it not yours? Who haue interest, but KINGS, in the withdrawing of due Subiection from Kings? And when the greatest Monarchs amongst you will remember, that almost the third part of your Subiects and of your Territories, is Church-men and Church-liuings; I hope, yee will then consider and weigh, what a feather he puls out of your wings, when he denueth you of so many Subiects and their possessions, in the Popes fauour: nay, what bryers and thornes are left within the heart of your dominions, when so populous and potent a partie shall haue their birth, education and liuelyhood in your Countries, and yet owe you no Subiection, nor acknowledge you for their SOVERAIGNES? So as where the Church-men of old were content with their tythe of euery mans goods, the Pope now will haue little lesse then the third part of euery Kings Subiects and Domi-

(d) nions.

unions. And as in this place, so throughout all the rest of his booke, hee doeth nothing but amplifie the Popes power ouer Kings, and exaggerate my vnreasonable rigour for pressing this Oath; which he will needs haue to be nothing but a renewed Oath of Supremacie in more subtile and crafty termes, onely to robbe the Pope of his Primacie and spirituall power: making his temporall power and authoritie ouer Princes, to be one of the chiefe ARTICLES of the Catholike faith.

But that it may the better appeare vnto you, that all my labour and intention in this errand, was onely to meddle with that due temporall Obedience which my Subiects owe vnto me; and not to intrap or inthrall their Consciences, as he most falsly affirmes: Ye shall first see how farre other Godly and Christian Emperours and Kings were from acknowledging the Popes temporall Supremacie ouer them; nay, haue created, controlled and deposed Popes: and next, what a number of my Predecessors in this Kingdom haue at all occasions, euen in the times of the greatest Greatnesse of Popes, resisted and plaineely withstood them in this point.

And

And first, all Christian Emperours were for a long time so farre from acknowledging the Popes Superioritie ouer them, as by the contrary the Popes acknowledged themselues for their Vassals, reuerencing and obeying the Emperours as their Lords; for prooffe whereof, I remit you to my Apologie.

And for the creating of Popes; the Emperours were in so long and continuall possession thereof, as I will vse for my first witnesse a Pope himselfe; who (in a^a Synode of an hundredth fifty and three Bishops and Abbots) did ordaine, That the Emperour CHARLES the Great should haue the Right of choosing the Pope, and ordaining the Apostolicall Seate, and the dignitie of the Romane Principalitie: nay, farther bee ordained, That all Archbishops and Bishops should receiue their Investiture from the Emperour, or els be of no auaille; And, that a Bishop wanting it should not bee consecrate; pronouncing an Anathema against all that should disobey this Sentence.

And that the Emperours assent to the Popes Election was a thing ordinary for a long time,

(d 2)

^b Platina,

a Sigebert. ad
ann. 773.
Walsham.
Naumburg. lib.
de Episc. inue-
stitura. Mars.
Polon. ad. ann.
780. Theod. à
Niem de pri-
uileg. & iurib.
Imperij & dist.
63. C. Hadrian.

b See *latin.*
in vit. Pelag. 2.
Gregor. 1. &
Seuerini.
 c *Lib. de Cle-*
ricis.

d *In Chron. a.*
ann. 680.

e *In vit. Ago-*
thon & Anast.

f *vit. eiusd. A-*
gath. & Herm.
Contract. ad.

ann 678. e *dis-*
posuer. & Diff.

63. c. *Agatho.*
 f *Luitpr. Hist.*

lib. 6. cap. 10. 11.
Rhegno ad an.

963. & *Platin.*
in vit. Ioan. 13.

g *Marianus*
Scot. Sigeb. Ab-

bas. Vrsper ad
ann. 1046. &

Platin. in vit.
Greg. 6.

^bPlatina, and a number of the Popes owne Writers beare witnesse: And ^cBellarmino him selfe, in his booke of Controuersies, cannot get it handsomely denied. Nay, the Popes were euen forced then to pay a certain summe of money to the Emperours for their Confirmation: And this lasted almost seuen hundreth yeeres after CHRIST; witnesse ^dSigebert and ^eLuitprandus, with other Popish Historians.

And for Emperours deposing of Popes, there are likewise diuers examples. The Emperour ^fOtho deposed Pope Iohn the twelfth of that name, for diuers crimes and vices; especially of lecherie. The Emperour ^gHenry the third in a short time deposed three Popes; Benedict the ninth, Siluester the third, and Gregorie the sixth, as well for the sinne of Auarice, as for abusing their extraordinarie authoritie against Kings and Princes.

And as for Kings that haue denied this temporall Superioritie of Popes; First, wee haue the vnamine testimonie of diuers famous Historiographers for the generall of many Christian Kingdomes. As, ^hWalthran testifieth, That the Bishops of Spaine, Scotland,

^h *Walthram.*
Naumburg. in
Lib

land, England, Hungarie, from ancient institution till this moderne noueltie, had their Inuestiture by Kings, with peaceable inioying of their temporalities wholly and entirely; and whoſoever (*ſaith hee*) is peaceably ſolicitous, let him peruſe the liues of the Ancients, and reade the Hiſtories, and hee ſhall vnderſtand thus much. And for verification of this generall aſſertion; wee will firſt beginne at the praſtiſe of the Kings of France, though not named by Waltham in this his enumeration of Kingdomes: amongſt whom my firſt witneſſe ſhall bee that vulgarly known letter of ⁱ Philip le Bel King of France to Pope Boniface the viij. the beginning whereof, after a ſcornefull ſalutation, is, *Sciat tua maxima fatuitas, nos in temporalibus nemini ſubeſſe.*

And likewise after that ^k Lewes the ninth, ſurnamed Sanctus, had by a publicke inſtrument (called Pragmatica ſanctio) forbidden all the exactions of the Popes Court within his Realme: Pope Pius ^l the ij. in the beginning of Lewes the eleventh his time, greatly miſliking this Decree ſo long before made, ſent his Legat

(d 3)

to

*lib. de inueſt.
Epiſc.
Vixit circa
ann. 1110.*

*i See Annales
Franciae Nico-
lai Gillij in
Philip. Pulchro.*

*k Anno 1268.
ex Arreſtis Se-
natus Parisienſis.*

*l Ioan. Maie-
r. us. lib. de
ſciſmat. &
Concil.*

to the said King Lewes with Letters-patents, Urging his promise which he had made when he was Dolphin of France, to repeale that Sancti-on if euer hee came to be King. The King re-ferreth the Legate ouer with his Letters-pa-tents to the Councell of Paris: where the mat-ter being propounded, was impugned by Ioan. Romanus, the Kings Atturney; with whose opi-nion the Vniuersitie of Paris concurring, an Ap-peale was made from the attempts of the Pope to the next generall councell; the Cardinall de-parting with indignation.

But that the King of France and Church therof haue euer stoken to their Gallican immu-nitie, in denying the Pope any temporall power ouer them, and in resisting the Popes as oft as euer they prest to meddle with their temporall power, euen in the donation of Benefices; the Histories are so full of them, as the onely exam-ples thereof would make up a bigge Volume by it selfe. And so farre were the Sorbonists for the Kings and French Churches priuledge in this point, as they were wont to maintain; That if the Pope fell a quarrelling the King for that cause, the Gallican Church might elect a Patriarch of
their

their own, renouncing any obedience to the Pope. And Gerson was so farre from giuing the Pope that temporal authority ouer Kings (who otherwise was a deuoute Roman Catholike) as hee wrote a Booke de Auferibilitate Pape; not only from the power ouer Kings, but euen ouer the Church.

And now pretermittting all further examples of forraigne Kings actions, I will onely content me at this time with some of my owne Predecessors examples of this kingdome of England; that it may thereby the more clearly appeare, that euen in those times when the world was fullest of darkened blindnesse and ignorance, the Kings of England haue oftentimes, not onely repined, but euen strongly resisted and withstood this temporall Usurpation and encroachment of ambitious Popes.

And I will first begin at^o King Henry the first of that name, after the Conquest; who after he was crowned gaue the Bishopricke of Winchester to William Gifford, and forthwith inuested him into all the possessions belonging to the Bishopricke, contrary to the Canons of the new Synod. P King Hen-
ric

^o Mats. Paris.
in Henr. 1. ann^o
1100.

p Idem ibid.
ann. 1113.

rie also gaue the Archbishopricke of *Canterbury* to *Radulph* Bishop of *London*; and gaue him iuueiltiture by a Ring and a Cro-
liers staffe.

¶ *Idem ibid.*
anno 1119.

Also Pope *Calixtus* held a Councell at *Rhemes*, whither King *Henrie* had appointed certaine Bishops of *England* and *Normandie* to goe; *Thurstan* also, elected Archbishop of *Yorke*, got leaue of the King to goe thither, giuing his faith that hee would not receiue Consecration of the Pope; And comming to the Synode, by his liberall gifts (as the fashion is) wanne the *Romanes* fauour, and by their meanes obtained to bee consecrated at the Popes hand. Which assoone as the King of *England* knewe, hee forbade him to come within his Dominions.

¶ *Exe Archieuis*
Regni.

Moreover King *Edward the first* prohibited the Abbot of *Waltham* and Dean of *Pauls*, to collect a tenth of euery mans goods for a supply to the holy Land, which the Pope by three Bulles had committed to their charge; and the said Deane of *Pauls* compeering before the King and his Councell, promised for the reue-
rence

rence he did beare vnto the King, not to meddle any more in that matter, without the Kings good leaue and permission. Here (I hope) a Church man disobeyed the Pope for obedience to his Prince euen in Church matters: but this new Iesuited Diuinitie was not then known in the world.

The same Edward I. impleaded the Deane of the Chappell of Vuluerhampton, because the said Deane had, against the priuiledges of the Kingdome, giuen a Prebend of the same Chappell to one at the Popes command: whereupon the said Deane compeered, and put himselfe in the Kings will for his offence.

The said Edward I. deprived also the Bishop of Durham of all his liberties, for disobeying a prohibition of the Kings. So as it appeareth, the Kings in those dayes thought the Church-men their SVBIECTS, though now we be taught other Seraphicall doctrine.

For further prooffe whereof Iohn of Ibstocke was committed to the goale by the saide King for hauing a suit in the Court of Rome seuen yeeres for the Rectorie of Newchurch.

And Edward II. following the footsteps of

(e)

his

To all Christian Monarches,

his Father; after giuing out a Summons against the Abbot of Walden, for citing the Abbot of S. Albons and others in the Court of Rome, gaue out letters for his apprehension.

And likewise, because a certaine Prebend of Banbury had drawen one Beuercoat by a Plea to Rome without the Kings Dominions, therefore were letters of Caption sent forth against the said Prebend.

And Edward III. following likewise the example of his Predecessors; Because a Parson of Liche had summoned the Prior of S. Oswaldis before the Pope at Auinion; for hauing before the Iudges in England recouered the arrerage of a pension; directed a Precept, for seasing upon all the goods both spirituall and Temporall of the said Parson, because hee had done this in preiudice of the King and Crowne. The saide King also made one Harwoden to bee declared culpable and worthy to bee punished, for procuring the Popes Bulles against a Iudgement that was giuen by the Kings Iudges.

And likewise; Because one entred upon the Priory of Barnewell by the Popes Bull, the said
Intrant

Intrant was committed to the Tower of London, there to remaine during the Kings pleasure.

So as my Predecessors (ye see) of this Kingdome, euen when the Popes triumphed in their greatnesse, spared not to punish any of their Subiects, that would preferre the Popes Obedience to theirs euen in Church matters: So farre were they then from either acknowledging the Pope for their temporall Superiour, or yet from doubting that their owne Church-men were not their Subiects. And now I will close up all these examples with an Act of Parliament in King Richard II. his time; whereby it was prohibited, That none should procure a Benefice from Rome, vnder paine to be put out of the Kings protection. And thus may ye see, that what those Kings successiuelly one to another by foure generations haue acted in priuate, the same was also maintained by a publike Law.

By these few examples now (I hope) I haue sufficiently cleered my selfe from the imputation, that any ambition or desire of Noueltie in me should haue stirred me, either to robbe the Pope of any thing due vnto him, or to assume vnto

my selfe any farther authoritie, then that which other Christian Emperours and Kings through the world, and my owne Predecessours of England in especiall, haue long agoe maintained. Neither is it enough to say (as Parsons doeth in his answere to the Lord Cooke) That farre more Kings of this Countrey haue giuen many more examples of acknowledging, or not resisting the Popes vsurped Authoritie; some perchance lacking the occasion; and some the ability of resisting them: for euen by the Ciuill Law, in the case of violent intrusion and long and wrongfull possession against me, it is enough if I proue that I haue made lawfull interruption vpon conuenient occasions.

But the Cardinall thinkes the Oath, not onely vnlawfull for the substance thereof, but also in regard of the Person whom vnto it is to bee sworne: For (saith he) The King is not a Catholike; And in two or three other places of his booke, he sticketh not to call me by my name very broadly, an Heretike, as I haue already tolde. But yet before I be publikely declared an Heretike; by the Popes owne Law my people ought not to refuse their Obedience vnto mee. And

(I trust) if I were but a Subiect, and accused by the Pope in his Conclaue before his Cardinals, hee would haue hard prouing mee an Heretike, if he iudged mee by their owne ancient Orders.

For first, I am no Apostate, as the Cardinal would make mee; not onely hauing euer beene brought up in that Religion which I presently professe, but euen my Father and Grandfather on that side professing the same: and so cannot be properly an Heretike, by their owne doctrine, since I neuer was of their Church. And as for the Queene my Mother of worthy memorie; although she continued in that Religion wherein she was nourished; yet was she so farre from being superstitious or Iesuited therein, that at my Baptisme (although I was baptized by a Popish Archbishop) shee sent him word to forbear to use the spetle in my Baptisme; which was obeyed, being in deed a filthy and an apish trick, rather in scorne then imitation of CHRIST. And her owne very words were, That shee would not haue a pockie Priest to spit in her child's mouth. As also the Font wherein I was Christened, was sent from the late Queene here of fa-

mous memorie, who was my Godmother ; and what her Religion was, Pius V. was not ignorant. And for further prooffe, that that renowned Queene my Mother was not superstitious; as in all her Letters (whereof I receiued many) she neuer made mention of Religion, nor laboured to perswade mee in it; so at her last wordes, she commaunded her Master-houfhold, a Scottish Gentleman my seruant and yet aliuie, shee commanded him (I say) to tell me; That although she was of another Religion then that wherein I was brought vp; yet she would not presse mee to change, except my owne Conscience forced mee to it. For so that I led a good life, and were carefull to doe Iustice and gouerne well; she doubted not but I would be in a good case with the profession of my owne Religion. Thus am I no Apostate, nor yet a deborder from that Religion which one part of my Parents professed, and another part gaue me good allowance of. Neither can my Baptisme in the rites of their Religion make me an Apostate, or Heretike in respect of my present profession, since we all agree in the substance thereof, being all baptized In the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy

holy Ghost: Upon which head there is no variance amongst vs.

And now for the point of Heretike; I will neuer be ashamed to render an account of my profession, and of that hope that is in me, as the Apostle prescribeth. I am such a CATHOLIKE CHRISTIAN, as beleeueth the three Creeds; That of the Apostles, that of the Councell of Nice, and that of Athanasius; the two latter being Paraphrases to the former: And I beleue them in that sense, as the Ancient Fathers and Councils that made them did understand them. To which three Creeds all the Ministers of England doe subscribe at their Ordination. And I also acknowledge for Orthodoxe all those other formes of Creeds, that either were deuised by Councils or particular Fathers, against such particular Heresies as most raigned in their times.

I reuerence and admit the foure first generall Councils as Catholique and Orthodoxe. And the said foure generall Councils are acknowledged by our Acts of Parliament, and receiued for Orthodoxe by our Church.

As for the Fathers; I reuerence them as much
and

and more then the Iesuites doe, and as much as themselves euer craued. For what euer the Fathers for the first five hundred yeeres did with an Unanime consent agree upon, to be beleueed as a necessary point of saluation, I either will beleue it also, or at least will be humbly silent; not taking upon me to condemne the same: But for euery priuate Fathers opinion, it bindes not my conscience more then Bellarmines; euery one of the Fathers usually contradicting others. I will therefore in that case follow S.^a Augustines rule in iudging of their opinions, as I finde them agree with the Scriptures: what I find agreeable thereunto I will gladly imbrace; what is otherwise I will (with their reuerence) reiect.

As for the Scriptures; no man doubteth I will beleue them. But euen for the Apocrypha; I hold them in the same account that the Ancients did. They are still printed and bound with our Bibles, and publicly read in our Churches. I reuerence them as the writings of holy and good men: but since they are not found in the Canon, wee account them to be *secundæ lectionis*, or *b ordinis* (which is Bellarmines owne distinction) and therefore not sufficient whereupon alone

a Lib. 2. cont.
Cresconium.
cap. 52.

b Lib. I. de
verb. Dei. c. 4.

alone to ground any article of Faith, except it be confirmed by some other place of Canonickall Scripture; Concluding this point with Ruffinus (who is no Nouelist, I hope) That the Apocryphall Bookes were by the Fathers permitted to be read; not for Confirmation of Doctrine, but onely for instruction of the people.

As for the Saints departed; I honour their memory, and in honour of them doe wee in our Church obserue the dayes of so many of them, as the Scripture doth canonize for Saints; but I am loath to beleue all the tales of the Legended Saints.

And first for the blessed Virgin M A R I E, I yeeld her that which the Angell Gabriel pronounced of her, and which in her Canticle shee prophesied of herselfe: that is, That^a shee is blessed amongst women, and^b That all generations shall call her blessed. I reuerence her as the Mother of CHRIST, whom of our Sauiour tooke his flesh, and so the Mother of GOD, since the Diuinitie and Humanitie of CHRIST are inseparable. And I freely confesse, that shee is in glory both aboue Angels and men; her owne Sonne (that is both GOD and man) onely excepted.

(f)

a Luc. i. 28.

b Ibid. ver. 48.

ted. But I dare not mocke her and blaspheme against GOD, calling her not onely Diua but Dea, and praying her to command and controule her Sonne, who is her GOD, and her SAVIOUR. Nor yet can I thinke, that she hath no other thing to doe in beauen, then to heare every idle mans suite and busie her selfe in their errands; whiles requesting, whiles commanding her sonne; whiles comming downe to kisse and make loue with Priests, and whiles disputing and brawling with Devils. In beauen shee is in eternall glory and ioy, neuer to bee interrupted with any worldly busines; and there I leaue her with her blessed SONNE our Saviour and hers in eternall felicitie.

Math. 11. 28.

Coloss. 2. 8. 23.

As for Prayer to Saints; Christ (I am sure) hath commanded vs to Come all to him that are loaden with sinne, and hee will relieue vs: and S. Paul hath forbidden vs to worship Angels; or to vse any such voluntary worship, that hath a shew of humility in that it spareth not the flesh. But what warrant wee haue to haue recourse vnto these Dij Penates or Tutelares, these Courtiers of God, I know not; I permit that to these philosophicall neoterike Diuines. It satisfieth

sieth mee to pray to GOD through CHRIST as I am commanded, which I am sure must be the safest way; and I am sure the SAFEST way is the best way in points of saluatiō. But if the Romish Church hath coined new articles of faith, neuer heard of in the first 500. yeeres after Christ, I hope I shall neuer be condemned for an Heretike, for not being a Nouelist. Such are the priuate Masses, where the Priest playeth the part both of the Priest and of the people; And such are the Amputation of the one halfe of the Sacrament from the people; The Transubstantiation, Eleuation for Adoration, and Circumportation in proceſsion of the Sacrament; the workes of Supererogation, rightly named Thesaurus Ecclesiæ; the Baptizing of Bels, and a thousand other trickes; But above all the worshipping of Images. If my faith be weake in these, I confesse I had rather beleeue too little then too much. And yet since I beleeue as much as the Scriptures doe warrant, the Creedes do perswade, & the ancient Cōcels decreed; I may well be a Schismaticke from Rome, but I am sure I am no Heretike.

For Reliques of Saints; If I had any such

(f 2)

that

To all Christian Monarches,

that I were assured were members of their bodies, I would honourably bury them, and not giue them the reward of condemned mens members, which are onely ordained to bee deprived of buriall: But for worshipping either them or Images, I must account it damnable Idolatrie.

I am no Iconomachus; I quarrell not the making of Images, either for publike decoration, or for mens priuate vses: But that they should be worshipped, be prayed to, or any holinesse attributed vnto them, was neuer knowne of the Ancients: and the Scriptures are so directly, vehemently and punctually against it, as I wonder what braine of man, or suggestion of Sathan durst offer it to Christians; and all must bee salued with nice Philosophicall distinctions: As, *Idolum nihil est*: and, *They worship (forsooth) the Images of things in being, and the Image of the true GOD*. But the Scripture forbiddeth to worship the Image of any thing that GOD created. It was not a nihil then that GOD forbade onely to be worshipped, neither was the brasen Serpent, nor the body of Moses a nihil; and yet the one was destroyed, and the other hidden for eschewing of Idolatrie. Yea, the Image
of

of GOD himfelfe is not onely exprefly forbid-
den to be worfhipped, but euen to be made. The
reason is giuen, That no eye euer faw GOD;
and how can wee paint his face, when Moses
(the man that euer was moſt familiar with
GOD) neuer faw but his backe parts? Surely,
ſince he cannot bee drawen to the viue, it is a
thankeleſſe labour to marre it with a falſe repre-
ſentation; which no Prince, nor ſcarce any other
man will bee contented with in their owne pi-
ctures. Let them therefore that maintaine this
Doctrin, anſwere it to CHRIST at the latter
day when he ſhall accuſe them of Idolatrie; And
then I doubt if he will bee payed with ſuch nice
ſophiſticall Diſtinctions.

But Chriffs Croſſe muſt haue a particular
priuiledge (ſay they) and be worſhipped *ratione*
contactus. But firſt we muſt know what kinde
of touching of Chriffs body drew a vertue from
it; whether euery touching, or onely touching by
faith? That euery touching of his body drew not
vertue from it, is more then manifeſt. When
the Woman in the bloody flux touched him, ſhe
was healed of her faith: But Peter then tolde
him that a crowd and throng of many people

a Luc. 8.

then touched him; and yet none of them receiued any benefite or vertue from him. Iudas touched him many and many a time, besides his last kisse; so did the villaines that buffeted and crucified him; and yet I may safely pronounce them accursed, that would bestow any worshippe vppon their reliques: yea wee cannot denie but the land of Canaan it selfe (whereupon our Lord did daily tread) is so visibly accursed, beeing gouerned by faithlesse Turkes, full of innumerable sects of heretical Christians, and the very fertility thereof so farre degenerated into a pitifull sterility, as he must bee accursed that accounteth it blessed. Nay, when a certaine Woman blessed the belly that bare Christ, and the breasts that gaue him sucke; Nay rather (saith he) Blessed are those that heare the VVord of God and keepe it. Except then they could first prooue that Christ had resolved to blesse that tree of the Crosse whereupon he was nailed; they can neuer proue that his touching it could giue it any vertue. And put the case it had a vertue of doing miracles, as Peters shadow had; yet doth it not follow, that it is lawfull to worship it, which Peter would neuer accept of. Surely the Prophets that
in

in so many places curse those that worship Images that haue eyes and see not, that haue eares and heare not, would much more haue cursed them that worship a piece of a sticke, that hath not so much as any resemblance or representation of eyes or eares.

As for Purgatorie and all the *trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; Bellarmine cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me; If that faire Greene Meadow that is in Purgatorie, haue a brooke running thorow it; that in case I come there, I may haue bawking vpon it. But as for me; I am sure there is a Heauen and a Hell, præmium & pœna, for the Eleæd and reprobate: How many other roomes there be, I am not on God his counsell. *Multæ sunt mansiones in domo Patris mei*, saith CHRIST who is the true Purgatorie for our sinnes: But how many chambers and anti-chambers the Deuill hath, they can best tell that goe to him: But in case there were more places for soules to goe to then wee know of, yet let vs content vs with that which in his Word hee hath reuealed vnto vs, and not inquire further into his secrets.

Heauen

*Iubilces Indulgences, satisfactions for the dead, &c.

Lib. 2. de Purgat. cap. 7.

Iohn. 14.

To all Christian Monarches,

Heauen and Hell are there reuealed to be the eternall home of all mankinde : let vs indeauour to winne the one and eschew the other; and there is an end.

Now in all this discourse haue I yet left out the maine Article of the Romish faith; and that is the Head of the Church or Peters Primacie; for who denieth this, denieth fidem Catholicam, saith Bellarmine. That Bishops ought to be in the Church, I euer maintained it, as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God; contrarie to the Puritanes, and like wise to Bellarmine; who denies that Bishops haue their Iurisdiction immediatly from God (But it is no wonder he takes the Puritanes part, since Iesuits are nothing but Puritan-Papists.) And as I euer maintained the state of Bishops and the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie for order sake; so was I euer an enemy to the confused Anarchie or parttie of the Puritanes, as wel appeareth in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. Heauen is gouerned by order, and all the good Angels there; nay, Hell it selfe could not subsist without some order; And the very Devils are diuided into Legions and haue their chieftaines : how can any societie then vpon earth

*a Bellar. lib. 4
de Rom. Pont.
cap. 25.*

earth subsist without order and degrees? And therefore I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face this Answerer could say, That I was a Puritane in Scotland, and an enemy to Protestants: I that was persecuted by Puritanes there, not from my birth only, but euen since foure moneths before my birth? I that in the yeare of GOD 84. erected Bishops, and depressed all their popular Paritie, I then being not 18. yeeres of age? I that in my said Booke to my Sonne, doe speake tenne times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists; hauing in my second Edition therof affixed a long Apologetike Preface, onely in odium Puritanorum? and I that for the space of fixe yeares before my comming into England, laboured nothing so much as to depresse their Paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe? Nay, if the daily Commentaries of my life and actions in Scotland, were written (as Iulius Cæsars were) there would scarcely a moneth passe in all my life, since my entring into the 13. yeare of my age, wherein some accident or other would not conuince the Cardinall of a lye in this point. And surely I giue a faire commendation to the Puraitnes in that place of my booke, Where I as-

Page. 98.

firme that I haue found greater honestie with the high-land & border theeuues, then with that sort of people. But leauing him to his owne impudence, I returne to my purpose.

Of Bishops and Church Hierarchie I very well allowe (as I said before) and likewise of Ranks and Degrees amongst Bishops. Patriarches (I know) were in the time of the Primitive Church, and I likewise reuerence that Institution for order sake : and amongst them was a contention for the first place. And for my selfe (if that were yet the question) I would with all my heart giue my consent that the Bishop of Rome should haue the first Seate : I being a westerne King would goe with the Patriarch of the West. And for his temporall Principallitie ouer the Signory of Rome, I doe not quarrell it neither ; let him in God his Name be Primus Episcopus inter omnes Episcopos, and Princeps Episcoporum ; so it be no otherwise but as Peter was Princeps Apostolorum. But as I well allow of the Hierarchie of the Church for distinction of Orders (for so I vnderstand it) so I utterly deny that there is an earthly Monarch thereof, whose word must be a Law, and
who

who cannot erre in his Sentence, by an infallibilitie of Spirit. Because earthly Kingdomes must haue earthly Monarches; it doeth not follow, that the Church must haue a visible Monarch too: for the world hath not ONE earthly temporall Monarch. CHRIST is his Churches Monarch, and the holy Ghost his Deputie: Reges gentium dominantur eorū, vos autem non sic. CHRIST did not promise before his ascension, to leaue Peter with them to direct and instruct them in all things; but hee promised to send the holy Ghost vnto them for that end.

Luke 22.25,

Iohn 14.26.

And as for these two before cited places, whereby Bellarmine maketh the Pope to triumph ouer Kings; I meane Pasce oues, and Tibi dabo claues: the Cardinall knowes well enough, that the same words of Tibi dabo, are in another place spoken by Christ in the plural number. And he likewise knowes what reason the Ancients doe giue, why Christ bade Peter pascere oues: and also what a cloude of witnesses there is, both of Ancients, and euen of late Popish writers, yea diuers Cardinals, that do all agree that both these speeches vsed to Peter, were meant to all the Apostles represented in his person: Otherwise

Matth. 18.18.

1. Cor. 5. 4.

A& 15. 12, 23.

1. Cor. 1. 12.

Galat. 2.

how could Paul direct the Church of Corinth to excommunicate the incestuous person cum spiritu suo, whereas he should then haue sayd, cum spiritu Petri? And how could all the Apostles haue otherwise vsed all their censures, only in Christs Name, and neuer a word of his Vicar? Peter (wee reade) did in all the Apostles meetings sit amongst them as one of their number: And when chosen men were sent to Antiochia from that great Apostolike Council at Ierusalem (Acts 15) The text saith, It seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church, to send chosen men, but no mention made of the Head thereof; and so in their Letters no mention is made of Peter, but only of the Apostles, Elders and Brethren. And it is a wonder, why Paul rebuketh the Church of Corinth for making exception of Persons, because some followed Paul, some Apollos, some Cephas, if Peter was their visible Head! for then those that followed not Peter or Cephas, renounced the Catholike faith. But it appeareth well that Paul knew little of our new doctrine, since he handleth Peter so rudely, as he not onely compareth but preferreth himself vnto him. But
our

our Cardinall proues Peters *superioritie*, by Pauls going to *visite* him. Indeed Paul saith, he went to Ierusalem to *visite* Peter, and conferre with him; but he should haue added, and to *kisse* his feet.

Gal. 1.18.

To conclude then, The truth is that Peter was both in age, and in the time of CHRISTs calling him, one of the first of the Apostles; In order the principall of the first twelue, and one of the three whom CHRIST for order sake preferred to all the rest. And no further did the Bishop of Rome claime for three hundreth yeres after CHRIST: *Snbiect* they were to the generall Councils, and euen but of late did the Councell of Constance depose three Popes, and set up the fourth. And *Untill* Phocas dayes (that murdered his master) were they *subiect* to Emperours. But how they are now come to be Christs Vicars, nay, Gods on earth, triple-crowned, Kings of heauen, earth and hell, Iudges of all the world, and none to iudge them; Heads of the faith, Absolute deciders of all Controuersies by the infallibility of their spirit, hauing all power both Spirituall and Temporall in their hands; the high Bishops, Monarches

To all Christian Monarches,

Bellarmino
Rom. Pont. lib.
I. cap. 17.

of the whole earth, Superiours to all Emperours and Kings; yea, Supreme Vice-gods, who whether they will or not cannot erre: how they are now come (I say) to the toppe of greatness, I know not: but sure I am, Wee that are KINGS haue greatest neede to looke vnto it. As for mee, Paul and Peter I know, but these men I know not: And yet to doubt of this; is to denie the Catholique faith; Nay, the world it selfe must be turned vpside downe, and the order of Nature inuerted (making the left hand to haue the place before the Right, and the last named to be the first in honour) that this primacie may be maintained.

Thus haue I now made a free Confession of my Faith: And (I hope) I haue fully cleared my selfe from being an Apostate; and as far from being an Heretike, as one may bee that beleeueth the Scriptures, and the three Creedes, and acknowledgeth the foure first generall Councils. If I bee loath to beleue too much, especially of Nouelties, men of greater knowledge may well pitie my weakenesse; but I am sure none will condemne me for an Heretike, saue such as make the Pope their God; and thinke him such a speaking

king Scripture, as they can define *Hereſie* no otherwiſe, but to bee whatſoever Opinion is maintained againſt the Popes definition of faith. And I will ſincerely promiſe, that when euer any point of the Religion I profeſſe, ſhalbe proued to be new, and not Ancient, Catholike, and Apoſtolike (I meane for matter of Faith) I will as ſoone renounce it; cloſing up this head with the Maxime of Vincentius Lirinensis, that I will n. u. r. reſuſe to imbrace any opinion in Diuinity neceſſary to ſaluation, which the whole Catholike Church with an vnanime conſent, haue conſtantly taught and beleeued euen from the Apoſtles daies, for the ſpace of many ages thereafter without interruption. But in the Cardinals opinion, I haue ſhewed my ſelfe an *Heretike* (I am ſure) in playing with the name of Babylon, and the Towne vpon ſeuē hils; as if I would inſinuate Rome at this preſent to bee ſpiritually Babylon. And yet that Rome is called Babylon, both in S. Peters Epistle and in the Apocalyps, our Anſwerer freely confeſſeth. As for the definition of the Antichriſt, I wil not vrge ſo obſcure a point, as a matter of Faith to be neceſſarily beleeued of al Chriſtians; but what I thinke herein,

Libello aduerſus hæreſes.

1. Pet. 5. 13.

herein, I will simply declare.

2. Theff. 2.

That there must be an ANTICHRIST, and in his time a generall Defection; we all agree. But the Time, Seat, and Person of this Antichrist, are the chiefe Questions whereupon we differ: and for that, wee must search the Scriptures for our resolution. As for my opinion; I thinke S. Paul in the 2. to the Theſſalonians doeth utter more clearly that which S. Iohn speaketh more mystically of the Antichrist.

Verse 3.

First that in that place he meaneth the Antichrist, it is plain, since he saith there must be first a Defection; and that in the Antichrists time onely that eclipse of Defection must fall upon the Church, all the Romish Catholikes are strong enough: otherwise their Church must be daily subiect to erre, which is cleane contrary to their maine doctrine. Then describing him (he saith) that The man of Sin, Filius perditionis, shal exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God. But who these be whom of the Psalmist saith Dixi, vos Dij estis, Bellarmine can tell. In old Diuinitie it was wont to be Kings: Bellarmine wil adde Church-men; Let it be both. It is well enough known, who

Verse 3, 4.

Psal. 82. 6.

now

now exalteth himselfe above both the swords.

And after that S. Paul hath thus described the Person, he next describeth the Seat; and telleth that He shall sit in the Temple of God, that is, the bosome of the Church; yea, in the very heart thereof. Now where this Apostolike Seat is, I leaue it to be guessed: And likewise who it is that sitting there, sheweth himselfe to be God; pardoning sinnes, redeeming Soules, and defining Faith, controuling and iudging all men, and to be iudged of none.

2. Thess. 2. 4.

Anent the Time, S. Paul is plainest of all. For he calleth the Thessalonians to memory, That when hee was with them he told them these things: and therefore they know (saith hee) what the impediment was, and who did withhold that the man of sinne was not reuealed, although the mystery of iniquitie was already working. That the Romane Emperours in S. Pauls time needed no reuealing to the Christians to be men of Sinne or sinfull men, no childe doubteth: but the reuelation hee speaketh of was a mysterie, a secret; It should therefore seeme that hee durst not publish in his Epistle what that impediment was. It may be he meant

Verse 5.

Verse 6.

Verse 7.

(b)

by

by the translating of the Seate of the Romane Empire, and that the translation thereof should leaue a rourne for the man of Sinne to sit downe in. And that he meant not that man of Sinne of these Ethnicke Emperours in his time, his introduction to this discourse maketh it more then manifest. For he saith (fearing they should be deceiued, thinking the day of the Lords second comming to be at hand) hee hath therefore thought good to forewarne them that this generall Defection must first come. Whereby it well appeareth that hee could not meane by the present time but by a future, and that a good long time: otherwise he proued ill his argument, that the Lords comming was not at hand. Neither can the forme of the Destruction of this man of Sinne agree with that maner of spoile, that the Gothes & Vandals made of *Ethnick Rome. For our Apostle saith, ^a That this wicked man shall be consumed by the Spirit of the Lords mouth, and abolished by his comming. Now I would thinke that the word of God and the Preaching thereof, should bee meant by the Spirit of the Lords mouth, which should peece and peece consume and diminish the power of that

* For so doeth
Fortus call
Rome when it
was spoiled by
them, though
it was Christi-
an many yeres
before.

a Verse 8,

that man of Sinne, till the brightnesse of the Lords second comming should utterly abolish him. And by his expressing the meanes of his working, he doeth likewise (in my opinion) exp^laine his meaning very much. For he saith, It shall be by a strong delusion, by lying wonders, &c. Well, what Church it is that Vanteth them of their innumerable miracles, and yet most of them contrary to their owne doctrine: Beilarmine can best tell you with his hungry Mare, that turned her taile to her prouender and kneeled to the Sacrament; And yet (I am sure) he will be ashamed to say, that the holy Sacrament is ordained to be worshipped by Oues & Boues, & cætera pecora campi.

Verse 8.9.

Bellar. lib. 3. de
Eucharist. cap. 8.

Thus haue I prooued out of S. Paul now, that the time of the Antichrists comming, and the generall Defection was not to bee till long after the time that he wrote in; That his Seat was to be in the Temple and Church of God; and, That his Action (which can best point at his Person) should be to Exalt himselke aboue all that were called Gods. S. Iohn indeed doth more amply, though mystically describe this Antichrist, which Under the figure of a monstrous Beast, with se-

Reuel. 17. v. 1.

Vers. 3.

Vers. 18.

Vers. 5.

Cap. 18. v. 2.

Vers. 5.

uen heads and ten hornes, be sets forth in the xij. chap. and then interpreteth in the xvij. where he calles her a Whore sitting vpon many waters, and riding vpon the sayd monstrous Beast; concluding that chapter with calling that Woman, that great City which reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth. And both in that Chapter, and in the beginning of the next he calles that great Citie, Babylon.

So as to continue herein my formerly proposed Methode, of the Time, Seat, and Person of Antichrist; this place doth clearely and vnderenyably declare that Rome is, or shalbe the Seat of that Antichrist. For first, no Papist now denieth that by Babylon here Rome is directly meant; and that this Woman is the Antichrist, doeth clearely appeare by the time of his working (described by 42. moneths in the xij. Chap.) which doeth iustly agree with that three yeeres and a halfe time, which all the Papists giue to the Reigne of Antichrist. Besides that, the Beast it selfe with seuen heads and tenne hornes, hauing one of her heads wounded and healed againe, is described iust alike in the xij. and xvij. Chap. being in the former prooued to be the Antichrist

tichrist by the time of her reign; and in the latter Rome by the name of Babylon, by the confession of all the Papists: So as one point is now cleare, that Rome is the Seat of the Antichrist.

Neither will that place in the xj. Chap. serue to shifft off this point, and proue the Antichrists Seat to bee in Ierusalem, where it is saide; That the Corpses of the Witnesses shall lie in the great City, spiritually Sodome and Egypt, where our Lord also was crucified. For the word spiritually is applied both to Sodome, Egypt and Ierusalem in that place; And when hee hath named Sodome and Egypt, hee doeth not subioyne Ierusalem with a single vbi; but with an vbi &, as if hee would say; and this Antichrists abomination shall be so great, as his Seate shall be as full of Spirituall whoredomes and Idolatries, as Sodome and Egypt was; nay, & so bloody in the persecution of the Saints, as our Lord shall bee crucified againe in his members. And who hath so meanelly read the Scriptures (if he haue euer read them at all) that knoweth it not to be a common phrase in them, to call CHRIST persecuted and slaine, when his Saints are so vsed? So did CHRIST say,

(b 3)

spea=

Chap. 11. 8.

Matt. 25. 40.

Acts 9.4.

Reuel. 18.24.

speaking of the latter day; and in the same style did hee speake to S. Paul at his conuersion. And that Babylon, or Rome (since Bellarmine is contented it bee so called) is that great Citie where our Lord was crucified, the last verse of the xviij. Chap. doeth also clearly proue it. For there it is said, That in that Citie was found the blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were slaine vpon the earth; and I hope CHRIST was one of them that were slaine vpon the earth. And besides that it may well bee said that hee was slaine in that great Citie Babylon, since by the Romane authoritie hee was put to death, vnder a Romane Iudge, and for a Romane quarrell: for he could not bee a friend to Cæsar, that was not hisemie.

Cap. 13.3.

This poynt now being cleared of the Antichrists Seate, as I haue already sayd; we are next to find out the Time when the Antichrist shall raigne, if it bee not already come. In the xiiij. Chapter S. Iohn saith, that this Beast with the seven heads and tenne hornes, had one of his heads wounded and healed againe; and interpreting that in the xviij. he saith, that these seven

seven heads are also seven Kings, whereof five are fallen, one is, and an other is not yet come, and when he commeth hee shall continue a short space. And the Beast that was and is not, is the eight, and yet one of the seven. By which Beast hee meaneth the Antichrist, who was not then come, I meane in the Apostles dayes, but was to come after. So as betwene the time of the Apostles and the end of the worlde, must the Time of the Antichrists comming be; and with this the Papists doe also agree. Whereby it appeareth that Babylon, which is Rome, shall bee the Seate of the Antichrist; but not that Ethnicke Rome which was in the Apostles dayes (for Iohn himselfe professeth that he is to write of nothing, but that which is to come after his time.) Nor yet that turning Christian Rome while shee was in the conuerting, which immediatly followed the Apostles time, glorious by the Martyrdome of so many godly Bishops: But that Antichristian Rome, when as the Antichrist shall set downe his seate there, after that by the working of that Myserie of iniquitie, Christian Rome shall become to bee corrupted; and so that deadly wound,

Cap. 17. 10.

Verse 11.

Reuel. 17. 1.
& cap. 4. 1.

wound, which the Gothes and Vandales gaue Rome, shall be cured in that Head or King, the Antichrist, who thereafter shall arise & reigne for a long space.

But here it may bee obiected, that the Antichrist cannot reigne a long space; since S. Iohn saith in two or three sundry places, that the Antichrist shall worke but the space of three yeres and a halfe. Surely who will but a little acquaint himselfe with the phrases and Style of S. Iohn in his Apocalyps, shall finde that hee doeth ordinarily set downe numerum certum pro incerto. So doeth hee in his twelue thousand of euery tribe that will bee safe; so doeth hee in his Army of two hundred thousand, that were sent to kill the third part of the men; and so doeth he in diuers other places. And therefore who will but remember that in all his Visions in the said Booke, hee directly imitates the fashions of the Prophet Ezekiels, Daniels, and Zacharies Visions (borrowing their phrases that propheciea before CHRIST, to utter his Prophecies in, that was to speake of the last dayes) shall finde it very probable that in these three dayes and a halfe, hee imitated Daniels Weekes, accounting

cap. 7.

cap. 9. 16. 18.

ting for his Weeke the time between CHRIST
first and second comming, and making Anti-
christ to triumph the halfe of that time or spiri-
tuall Weeke. For as to that literall interpreta-
tion (as all the Papills make it) of three yeares
and a halfe, and that time to fall out directly the
very last dayes, saue five and fortie, before
CHRIST his second comming, it is directly
repugnant to the whole New Testament. For
CHRIST saith, That in the latter dayes men
shall be feasting, marrying and at all such world-
ly businesse, when the last houre shall come in a
clappe vpon them; One shall bee at the Mill.
One vpon the toppe of the house, and so foorth.
CHRIST telleth a Parable of the five foolish
Virgins to shew the vnlooked-for comming of
this houre; Nay, he saith the Sonne of man, nor
the Angels in heauen know not this time. S. Peter
biddeth vs WATCH AND PRAY, euer
awaiting vpon that houre. And S. Iohn in this
same Apocalyps doeth ^atwise tell vs, that
CHRIST will come as a thiefe in the night;
And so doeth CHRIST say in the ^bEuangel.
Whereas if the Antichrist shall reigne three
yeares and a halfe before the latter day, and that

(i)

there

Matth. 24. 41.

Matth. 25.

^a Reuel. 3. 3.
and 16. 15.

^b Matth. 24. 44.

To all Christian Monarches,

there shall be but iust 45. daies of time after his destruction; then shall not the iust day and houre of the latter day, be vnknownen to them that shall be aliuie in the world at the time of Antichrists destruction. For first according to the Papists doctrine, all the world shall know him to bee the Antichrist, both by the two Witnesses doctrine, and his sudden destruction; And consequently they cannot be ignorant, that the latter day shall come iust 45. daies after: and so CHRIST shall not come as a thiefe, nor the world bee taken at vnawares; contrary to all the Scriptures before alleadged, and many more. And thus haue we proued Rome to be the Seat of the Antichrist, and the second halfe of that spirituall weeke between the first and second comming of CHRIST. to be the time of his Reigne. For in the first halfe thereof the mysterie of iniquitie beganne to worke; but the man of Sinne was not yet reuealed.

But who these Witnesses should be, is a great question. The generall conceit of the Papists is, that it must bee Enoch and Elias: And herein is Bellarmine so strong, as bee thinketh him in a great error (if not an Heretike) that doubteth

of

of it. But the vanity of this Iewish fable I will in few words discover.

The Cardinall, in his booke of Controversies bringeth foure places of Scripture for probation of this idle dreame: two in the Olde Testament, Malachie and Ecclesiasticus; and two in the New, CHRIST in Matthew (hee might haue added Marke too) and Iohn in the xi. of the Apocalyps. First, for the generall of all those places, I dare boldly affirme, That there is not a word in them, nor in all the rest of the Scriptures that saith; that either Enoch or Elias shal returne to fight against Antichrist, and shall be slaine by him, nor any such like matter. Next as to euery place in particular, to beginne with Malachie, I know not who can better interpret him then CHRISTS; who twise in Matthew, chap. xi. and xviij. and once in Marke tels both the multitude, and his owne Disciples; that Iohn Baptist was that promised Elias. And herein doth Bellarmine deale most vnfaithfully with CHRISTS: for in his demonstration that Antichrist is not yet come, because Enoch and Elias are not yet returned; hee, for his probation thereof, citeth these wordes of

Bellar. de Rom.
Pont. lib. 3.
cap. 6.

Mat. 11. 14.
and 17. 12.
Mar. 9. 13

Christ in the xvij. of Matthew, Elias shal indeed come and restore all things; but omits his very next words interpreting the same, That he is already come in the person of Iohn Baptist. Nay, wherby he taketh vpon him to answer Biblianders obiection, that CHRIST did by Iohn the Baptist, vnderstand the prophecie of Elias comming to be accomplished, he picketh out the words, Qui habet aures, audiat, in the xi. of Matthew, immediatly following that purpose of Elias, making of them a great mysterie: and neuer taketh knowledge, that in the xvij. by him selfe before alledged, CHRIST doth interpret Malachie in the same maner without any subioyning of these words, Qui habet aures, audiat; adioyning shamelesly hereunto a foule Paraphrase of his owne, telling vs what CHRIST would haue saide; nay, in my conscience, hee meant what CHRIST should and ought to haue said, if he had beene a good Catholike. setting downe there a glosse of Orleance that destroyes the Text. Thus yee see, how shamefully hee abuseth CHRISTs wordes, who in three sundry places (as I haue said) interpreteth the second comming of Elias to be meant by Iohn the Baptist.

Baptist. He likewise caulls most dishonestly
 vpon that word Venturus. For CHRIST
 vseth that word but in the repeating their opi-
 nion: but interpreting it, that hee was alreadie
 come in the person of Iohn Baptist. As if hee
 had said, The prophesie is indeed true that Elias
 shall come; but I say vnto you that Elias iam
 venit, meaning of Iohn Baptist: and so hee first
 repeates the words of the Prophesie in the future
 time, as the Prophet spake them; and next shew-
 eth them to be now aaccomplished in the Person
 of Iohn, in the present time. Neither can these
 words of Malachie [Dies magnus & horri-
 bilis] falsifie CHRISTs Commentarie vpon
 him. For if that day whereupon the Sauour of
 the world suffered, when the^a Sunne was totally
 obscured from the sixt houre to the ninth; the
 vaile of the Temple rent asunder from the top to
 the bottome; and the earth did quake, the stones
 were clouen, the graues did open themselues and
 the dead arose: If that day (I say) was not a great
 and horrible day, I know not what to cal a horri-
 ble day. Which day no doubt had destroyed the
 whole nation of the Iewes without exception by
 a iust Anatheme, if the said Iohn the fore-run-

(i 3)

ner

Matt. 17. 12.

Malach. 4. 5.

Matth. 27.

^a This obscur-
 ring of the
 Sunne was so
 extraordinary
 and fearefull,
 that Dionysius,
 onely led by
 the light of
 nature and
 humane ler-
 ning, cryed
 out at the
 sight thereof,
*Aut Deus pa-
 titur. aut Vi-
 ces patientis
 dolet.*

Mala. 4. 6.

ner had not first conuerted many, by the doctrine of Repentance and by Baptisme. But why should I presume any more to interpret Malachy, since it is sufficient that CHRIST himselfe hath interpreted him so? And since Ipse dixit; nay, ter dixit, per quem facta sunt omnia, what mortall man dare interpret him other wise; nay, directly contrary?

Ecclef. 48. 9.

Mal. 4. 6]

Now for that place of Ecclesiasticus; as the sonne of Sirach only borroweth it from Malachie (as appeareth by these wordes of his, of conuerting the sonnes hearts to their Fathers, which are Malachies owne wordes) so doth CHRISTs Commentary serue as well to interpret the one as the other: it being no shame for that mortall Iesus to bee commented and interpreted by the immortall and true IESVS, though to the shame and confusion of the Iesuits heresies herein.

Ecclef. 44. 16.

But Enoch must bee ioyned to Elias in this errand, onely to beare vpp the couples, as I thinke. For no place of Scripture speaketh of his returning againe, only it is said in Ecclesiasticus the xliij, that Enoch pleased GOD, and was translated to Paradise, vt daret Gentibus

tibus sapientiam, or pœnitentiam; since they will haue it so. And what is this to say? marry that Enoch shall retorne againe to this worlde, and fight against the Antichrist. A prettie large Comment indeed, but no right Commentarie vpon that Text. When Bellarmine was talking of Elias, he insisted, That Elias must come to conuert the Iewes principally, restituere tribus Iacob. But when he speaketh here of Enoch, he must dare Gentibus pœnitentiam, and not a word of Iewes. Belike they shal come for sundry errands, and not both for one: Or like Paul and Peter, the one shall be Apostle for the Iewes, and the other for the Gentiles. What need such wilde racked Commentaries for such three wordes? Will not the sense stand well and clearely enough, that Enoch pleased GOD and was translated to Paradise; that by the example of his reward, the Nations might repent and imitate his holy footsteps? For what could more mightily perswade the Nations to repent; then by letting them see that holy Man carried quicke vp to Heauen, for reward of his vprightnesse; whereas all the rest of the people died and went to corruption? And where Scripture

ture faileth, the Cardinall must helpe himselfe with the Fathers, to proue both that Enoch and Elias are yet alieue, and that they shall hereafter die; but with the like felicity, as in his alledging of Scriptures; to vse his owne wordes of mee in his ^a pamphlet. For which purpose hee citeth five Fathers; Irenæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Hierome and Augustine. Vpon this they all agree in deed, that Enoch and Elias are still alieue both, which no Christian (I hope) wil denie. For Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob are all still alieue, as Christ telleth vs; for God is Deus uiuentium, non mortuorum. Much more then are Enoch and Elias alieue, who neuer tasted of death after the manner of other men. But as to the next point, that they should die hereafter, his first two witnessses, Irenæus and Tertullian say the direct contrary. For Irenæus saith, that they shall remaine in Paradise till the consummation, cōspicantes incorruptionem. Now to remain there till the consummation, and to see incorruption, is directly contrarie to their returning to the world againe and suffering of death. Tertullian likewise agreeing hereunto saith most clearly, That Enoch hath neuer tasted of death, vt æternitatis

^a P. 27.

Mat. 22. 32.

Lib. 9.

Lib. contr. Iu-
deos. cap. 2.

nitatis candidatus : now hee is ill priuiledged with eternitie, if he must die againe . As for his places cited out of the other three Fathers , they all confirme that first point, That they are still alive : but that they must die againe, they make no mention.

But he speaking of the Ancient Fathers, let me take this occasion to forwarne you concerning them : That though they mistake and vnderstand not rightly many mysteries in the Apocalyps, it is no wonder. For the booke thereof, was still sealed in their dayes. And though the Mysterie of iniquitie was already working, yet was not the man of Sinne yet reuealed. And it is a certaine rule in all darke prophesies; That they are neuer clearely vnderstood, till they be accomplished.

1. The II. 2.

And thus hauing answered his two places, in the Olde Testament, by his third in the New Testament, containing Christs owne wordes : which being, luce clariora , I neede speake no more of them. I am now to speake of the fourth place of Scripture, which is in the xj. of the Apocalyps. For the two Witnesses (forsooth) there mentioned, must bee Enoch and Elias.

Reuelat. 11.

(k)

But

But how this can stand with any point of Diuinity or likelihood of Reason that these two glorified Bodies shall come downe out of heauen or Paradise, (make it what you will) preach, and fight against the Antichrist, bee slaine by him after many thousand yeeres exempted from the naturall course of death, rise againe the third day in imitation of Christ, & then (hauing wrought many wonders) to goe up againe to Heauen, making an ordinary Post betweene Heauen and Earth: how this (I say) can agree either with Diuinitie or good Reason, I confesse it passeth my capacity. And especially that they must bee clad in Sackcloth, whose bodies (I hope) haue beene so long agoe free from sinne, as I thinke they shall neede no more such maceration for sinne. For they must be now either in Heauen or Paradise. If in Heauen (as doubtlesse they are) their bodies must bee glorified: for no corruptible thing can enter there; and consequently they can no more be subiect to the sensible things of this world, especially to death. But if they be in earthly Paradise, wee must first know where it is.

Reuel. 21. 27.

Lib. de Gra.
r'us homini.

Bellarmino indeede in his Controuerfies is
much

much troubled to finde out the place where Paradise is, and whether it be in the earth, or in the aire. But these are all vanities. The Scriptures tell us, that Paradiſe and the garden of Eden therein, was a certaine place upon the earth, which God chose out to set Adam into, and hauing thereafter for his sinne banished him from the same, it is a blasphemie to thinke that any of Adams posteritie came euer there againe. For in Adam were all his posteritie accursed, and banished from the earthly Paradise: like as all the earth in generall, and Paradise in speciall were accursed in him; the second Adam hauing by grace, called a certaine number of them to be Coheritours with him of the heauenly Paradise and Ierusalem. And doubtlesly, the earthly Paradise was defaced at the Flood, if not before: and so lost all that exquisite fertilitie and pleasantnesse, wherein it once surpassed all the rest of the earth. And that it should be lifted up in the aire, is like one of the dreames of the Alcoran. Surely no such miracle is mentioned in the Scriptures, and hath no ground, but from the curious fancies of some boyling braines, who cannot bee content, Sapere ad sobrietatem.

Gene. 2.

Rom. 12. 3.

Gene. 5. 24.

2. Kings 2. 11.
10.

In heauen then for certaine are Enoch and Elias : for Enoch (saith the text) walked with GOD, and was taken up, and Elias was seene carried up to heauen in a fierie Chariot. And that they who haue beene the In-dwellers of Heauen these many thousand yeeres, and are freed from the Lawes of mortalitie; that these glorious and incorruptible bodies (I say) shall come in the world againe, preach and worke miracles, and fighting against the Antichrist be slaine by him, whom naturall death could not before take hold of: as it is a fabulous inuention, so is it quite contrary to the nature of such sanctified creatures. Especially I wonder, why Enoch should bee thought to be one of these two Witnesses for CHRIST. For it was Moses and Elias that were with CHRIST, at the transfiguration; signifying the Law and the Prophets: which would be the fittest witnesses for conuincing of Antichrist. But why they haue exempted Moses, and put Enochs head in the yoke, I cannot conceiue. So as I haue too much laboured in the refuting of this foolish, and indeed childish fable; which I am so farre from beleeuing in any sort, as I protest in GODS presence, I cannot hold

hold any learned Diuine (in our age now) to be a Christian, that will beleue it; but worthy to be ranked with the Scribes and Pharises, that raued and dreamed vpon the comming againe of Elias, though CHRIST told them the contrary. As for some of the Ancients that mistooke this matter, I do not censure them so hardly; for the reason that I haue already alledged concerning them.

And hauing now refuted that idle fable; that those two Witnesses were Enoch and Elias: it falleth mee next to guesse, what in my opinion should be meant by them. I confesse, it is farre easier to refute such a groundlesse fable as this is, contrary to all grounds of Diuinity and Reason; then to set downe a true interpretation of so high and darke a Mystery. And therefore as I wil not presume to binde any other man to my opinion herein, if his owne Reason leade him not thereunto; so shal I propone such probable coniectures, as (I hope) shall be free from Heresie, or vnlawfull curiositie.

In two diuers fashions may the Mysterie of these Witnesses be lawfully and probably interpreted, in my opinion. Whereof the one is, that by these two Witnesses should be meant the Olde

and New Testaments. For as the Antichrist cannot chuse but be an aduersary to the Word of GOD aboue all things; so will hee omit no endeavour to disgrace, corrupt, suppress and destroy the same. And now whether this Booke of the two Testaments, or two Witnesses of CHRIST, haue suffered any violence by the Babylonian Monarchy or not: I need say nothing; Res ipsa loquitur. I will not weary you with recounting those Common Places used for disgracing it: as calling it a Nose of waxe, a dead Letter, a leaden Rule, a hundreth such like phrases of reproch. But how farre the Traditions of men, and authoritie of the Church are preferred to these Witnesses, doeth sufficiently appeare in the Babylonian doctrine. And if there were no more but that little booke, with that pretty Inscription, De l' Insuffisance de l' Escriture Sainte, it is enough to proue it.

Cardinall
Peron.

Luc. 15. 8.

Iohn 21. 22,
23.

And as to the corrupting therof; the corruptions of the old Latine translation must not be corrected, though it bid euertere domũ in stead of euerrere, for seeking of a peny; and though it say of Iohn, Sic eum volo manere donec veniam, in place of Si, though it be knowen a plaine lie, and that

that the very next words of the Text disprove the same. Nay, so far must we be from correcting it, as that the vulgar Translation must be preferred by Catholikes, to the Bible in the owne Originall tongue. And is it a small corrupting of Scriptures to make all, or the most part of the Apocrypha of equall faith with the Canonicall Scriptures, contrary to the Fathers opinions and Decrees of ancient Councils? And what blasphemous corrupting of Scripture is it, to turne Dominus into Domina throughout the whole Psalmes? And thus our Ladies Psalter was lately reprinted in Paris. Is not this to confound CHRISTs person with hers? And as for suppressing of the Scriptures; how many hundreth yeeres were the people kept in such blindness, as these Witnesses were almost unknown? for the Layicks durst not, being forbidden, and the most part of the Cleargie, either would or could not meddle with them.

Thus were these two Witnesses of Christ (whom of himselfe saith, Scrutamini Scripturas, illæ enim testimonium perhibent de me) These^a two Oliues bringing peace to all the beleekers, euen peace of Conscience: These^b two
Candle.

Made by Bonaventura
Doctor Seraphicus.

Iohn 5. 39.

a Reuel. 11. 4.

b Ibid.

Sec Expositio
Missæ, annex-
ed to Ordo
Romanus, set
foorth by G.
Caſander.

Verſe 8.

Coloff. 2. 20.

Verſe 8.

*Candlesticks standing in the sight of GOD, and giuing light to the Nations; represented by Candlesticks euen in the very Order of the Roman Masse: Thus were these two Witnesses (I say) disgraced, corrupted and suppressed (nay, so suppressed and silenced, as he was brent for an Heretike that durst presume to looke vpon them) kept close in a strange tongue that they might not bee vnderstood, Legends and lying wonders supplying their place in the Pulpits. And so did their Bodies lie in the Streetes of the great Citie, spiritually Sodome, for spirituall fornication which is idolatry; spiritually Egypt, for bringing the Saints of GOD in bondage of humane Traditions [Quare oneramini ritibus?] So did their bodies (I say) lie 3. daies and a halfe; that is, the halfe of that spirituall Weeke betweene Christ his first and second coming; and as dead carcases indeed did the Scriptures then lye without a monument, being layed open to all contempt, cared for almost by none, vnderstood by as few; nay, no man durst call for them for feare of punishment, as I haue already said. And thus lying dead, as it were, without life or vigour (as the Law of GOD did
till*

till it was reuiued in Iosias time) The Inhabitants of the earth, that is, worldly men reioyc-
ced and sent gifts to other, for ioy that their
fleshy libertie was now no more awed, nor cur-
bed by that two edged sword, for they were now
sure, that doe what they would, their purse
would procure them pardons from Babylon.
Omnia vænalia Romæ; so as men needed no
more to looke v̄p to heauen, but downe to their
purses to finde Pardons. Nay, what needed any
more suing to heauen, or taking it by violence
and seruencie of zeale; when the Pardons came
and offered themselues at euery mans doores?
And diuers spirituall men wanted themselues,
that they neither vnderstood Olde Testa-
ment nor New.

Thus were these two Witnesse used in the
second halfe of this spirituall Weeke; who in the
first halfe thereof were clad in sackcloth;
that is, preached repentance to all Nations, for
the space of fīue or sixe hundreth yeeres after
Christ: GOD making his Word or Wit-
nesse so triumph, riding v̄pon the white Horse
in the time of the Primitiue church, as that they
ouercame all that opposed themselues v̄nto it,
(l) beating

2. Chro. 34. 14.

Verse 10.

Verse 3.

Reuel. 6. 2.

Deut. 19. 15.

Reuel. 11. 3.

a Sanguis
Martyrum est
semen Ecclesie.
Verse 11.

Acts 2. 41.

Reuel. 18. 4.

Few they were that first beganne to reueale the
man of Sinne, and discover his corruptions ; and
therefore well described by the number of two
Witnesses : Nam in ore duorum aut trium
testiū stabit omne verbum. And in no greater
number were they that begun this worke , then
the greatnesse of the errand did necessarily re-
quire. They prophesied in sackcloth, for they
preached Repentance. That diuers of them were
put to cruell deaths , it notorious to the world :
And likewise that (in the persons of their Suc-
cessours in doctrine) ^a they arose againe ; and
that in such power and efficacie, as is more then
miraculous. For where it is accounted in the
Scriptures a miraculous work of GOD wrought
by his holy Spirit, when the Apostle S. Peter con-
uerted about three thousand in one day ; these
Witnesses I speake of, by the force of the same
Spirit , conuerted many mighty Nations in few
yeeres, who still continue praising GOD, that
he hath deliuered vs from the tyrannie of An-
tichrist that raigneth ouer that great Citie; and
with a fullerie proclaiming, Get out of her
my people, lest ye be partaker of her sinnes
and of her plagues. Let therefore these Mi-
racle=

racle-mongers that surfet the world, and raise the price of paper daily, with setting forth old, though new gilded Miracles & Legends of lies; Let such (I say) consider of this great & wonderfull Miracle indeed, and to their shame compare it with their poultry wares. Thus hauing in two fashions deliuered my coniecture, what I take to be meant by these two Witnesses in the xj. of the Apocalyps, there being no great difference betweene them: In the one, taking it to be the Word of GOD it selfe; In the other, the Word of GOD too, but in the mouthes of his Preachers: It resteth now that I come to the third point of the description of Antichrist; which is anent his Person.

That by the Whoore of Babylon that rideth vpon the Beast, is meant a Seat of an Empire, and a successiue number of men sitting thereupon, and not any one Man; doth well appeare by the forme of the description of the Antichrist thorowout all the said Booke. For in the last Verse of the x-vij. Chapter the Woman is expounded to be, That great Citie that reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth; which cannot signifie the only Person of one man, but a succes-

(13)

sive

Cap. xvij.

Verse 18.

Verse 9.

Verse 13.

Verse 12.

a From the time of Constantine the great his removing of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople, till the time of Bonifacius the third, to wit, about 276 yeeres,

five number of men (as I haue already sayd) whose seat that great City must be: like as in the same Chapter, The seven heads of the Beast are two wayes expounded. First, they are called seven Hills, which is plaine; And next they are called seven Kings, which cannot be meant by the Kings that shall giue their power to the Beast, and be subiect vnto her, which is immediately after expressed by the tenne hornes: But rather appeareth to be those seven formes of gouernment of that Seat: five of which had already been and fallen; As Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemviri and Tribuni militum. The sixth was in the time of S. Iohn his writing of this booke, which was the Gouvernement of the Emperour. The seventh which was not yet come, and was to last but for a short space, was the^a Ecclesiasticall gouernment by Bishops, which was not come vpon the translation of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople; though their gouernment was in a maner substitute to the Emperours. For though that forme of Gouvernement lasted about the space of 276. yeeres; yet was it but short in comparison of the long time of the reigne of the Antichrist (not yet

yet expired) which succeeded immediately thereunto. And the eight, which is the Beast that was and is not, and is to goe to perdition, is the Antichrist: the eight forme of Gouvernement indeed by his absolutenesse, and yet the seventh, because he seemeth but to succede to the Bishop in an Ecclesiasticall forme of gouernement; though by his greatnes he shall make Babylons Empire in glory, like to that Magnificence wherein that great Citie triumphed, when it most flourished: which in S. Iohns time was much decayed, by the factions of the great men, the mutinies of the armies, and the unworthinesse of the Emperours. And so that flourishing state of that great Citie or Beast, which it was in before S. Iohns time, and Being much decayed was but in a maner in his time, should be restored vnto it againe by Antichrist: who as he ascendeth out of the bottomlesse pit, so must hee goe to Destruction. And likewise by that great lamentation that is made for the destruction of Babylon in the xviij. Chapter, both by the Kings and by the Merchants of the earth; where it is thrice repeated for aggrauating the pitie of her desolation, that That great Citie fell

Verse 11.

a Not in respect of the extent, and limites of the Empire: but in regard of the gouernement thereof, and glory of the citie.

Reuel. xviij.
Verse 9.
and 11.
Verse 10.
16. 19.

Verſe 9.

Verſe 12.

fell in an houre : By that great lamentation (I ſay) it well appeareth , That the raigne of Antichriſt muſt continue longer then three yeeres and a halfe , or any one mans time. For the Kings that had committed fornication with her, & in delicijs vixerant ; behoued to haue had a longer time for contracting of that great acquaintance : And the Merchants of the earth ſet her forth and deſcribe her at great length, as the very ſtaple of all their riches ; which could not be ſo ſoone gathered as in one mans time. And to conclude now this deſcription of the Antichriſt ; I will ſet downe vnto you all that is ſpoken of him in the Apocalyps in a ſhort methode , for the further explaining of theſe three points that I haue already handled.

1. Deſcription
of Antichriſt.

Reuel. cap. vj.

Verſe 2.

Verſe 4.

The Antichriſt is foure times (in my opinion) deſcribed by Iohn in the Apocalyps, in foure ſundry viſions; and a ſhort Compendium of him repeated againe in the xx. Chapter. He is firſt deſcribed by a pale Horſe in the viſion of the Seales in the fixt Chapter. For after that CHRIST had triumphed vpon a white Horſe in the firſt Seale, by the propagation of the Goſpel; and that the red Horſe in the ſecond Seale,
is as

is as busie in persecution, as CHRIST is in ouercomming by the constancie of his Martyrs; and that famine and other plagues signified by the blacke Horse in the third Seale, haue succeeded to these former persecutions: Then cometh foorth the Antichrist vpon a pale Horse in the fourth Seale, hauing Death for his rider, and Hell for his conuoy; which rider fitted well his colour of palenesse: and he had power giuen^a him ouer the fourth part of the earth (which is Europe) to kill with the sword and Use great persecution; as Ethnick Rome did, figured by the red Horse: and to kill with spirituall hunger or famine of the true word of GOD; as the blacke Horse did by corporall famine and with death, whereby spirituall death is meant. For the Antichrist, signified by this pale Horse, shall afflict the Church both by persecution and temporall death; as also by alluring the Nations to idolatry, and so to spirituall death: and by the beast of the earth shall hee procure their spirituall death; for hee shall send out the Locusts (ouer whom he is King) mentioned in the ninth Chapter of this booke; and the three Frogges, mentioned in the xvj. of the

Verse 5.

Verse 8.

a Or them, after other Translations, whereby is ioyntly vnderstood the said pale horse, together with his rider and cōuoy, Death and Hell.

(m)

same;

Verse 9.

Verse 10.

Verse 12.

The second
description.Reuel. Cap. ix.
Verse 1.

Verse 2.

Verse 3.

same; for intising of all Kings and Nations to drinke of the cup of her abominations. That that description now of Antichrist endeth there, it is more then plaine: for at the opening of the first Seale, the soules and blood of the murdered Saints cry for vengeance and hastning of iudgement; which in the sixt Seale is graunted vnto them by CHRISTs comming at the latter day; signified by heauens departing away, like a scrol when it is rolled: with a number of other sentences to the same purpose.

But because this might seeme a short and obscure description of the Antichrist; hee describeth him much more largely & specifickely, especially in the vision of the Trumpets in the ninth Chapter. For there hee saith, at the blowing of the fift Trumpet, Heresies being first spread abroad in three of the four former blasts; to wit, in the first, third, and fourth blast (for I take temporall persecution to be onely signified by the second blast) hee then saw a starre fall from Heauen, to whom was giuen the key of the bottomlesse pit; which being opened by him, with the smoke thereof came forth a number of Locusts, whom he largely describeth,

describeth, both by their craft & their strength;
and then telleth the name of this their King,
who brought them out of the bottomlesse pit,
which is, Destroyer: By this Starre fallen from
heaven, being signified, as I take it, some
Person of great dignitie in the Church, whose
duety being to give light to the world (as
CHRIST saith) doth contrary thereunto fall
away like Lucifer, and set up a Kingdome, by
the sending forth of that noysome packe of craft-
ie cruell vermine, described by Locusts: and
so is the Seat of the Antichrist begun to be e-
rected, whose doctrine is at length declared in
the second woe, after the blast of the first
Trumpet; where it is said, That the remnant of
men which were not killed by the plagues,
repented not of the workes of their hands,
that they should not worship Devils, and
idols of golde, and of siluer and of brasse,
and of stone, and of wood, which nei-
ther can see, heare, nor goe. (As for
worshipping of Devils; looke your great
Iesuited Doctor, Vasques: and as for all the
rest, it is the maine doctrine of the Roman
Church.) And then it is subioyned in this text,
(m 2) that

Verse 11.

Matth. 5. 14.

Verse 13.

Verse 20.

Lib. de Cultu
Adoration.
lib. 3. disp. 1.
cap. 5.

Verse 21.

that they repented not of their murther, their sorcerie, their fornications, nor their theft.

By their murther, their persecution is meant, and bloody massacres. For their Sorcery consider of their Agnus Dei, that will stocken fire; of the hallowed shirts, and diuers sorts of Reliques; and also of Prayers that will preserue men from the violence of shot, of fire, of sword, of thunder, and such like dangers; And iudge, if this be not very like to Sorcerie and incantation of charmes.

*By their Fornication is meant both their spirituall fornication of Idolatry, and also their corporall fornication; which doth the more abound amongst them, as well by reason of the restraint of their Churchmen from marriage, as also because of the many Orders of idle Monastike liues amongst them, as well for men as women: And continuall experience prooueth, that idlenesse is euer the greatest spurre to lecherie. And they are guiltie of Theft, in stealing from GOD the titles and greatnes of power due to him, and bestowing it vpon their head, the Antichrist: As also by heaping vpon their treasure with their iuggling wares and merchandise of
the*

the soules of men, by Iubiles, Pardons, Reliques and such like strong delusions.

That he endeth this description of Antichrist in the same ninth Chapter may likewise well appeare, by the Oath that that Mightie Angell sweareth in the sixth verse of the tenth Chapter: And after the blast of the sixth Trumpet, that time shall be no more, and that when the seventh Angell shall blow his Trumpet, the mysterie of God shall be finished, as he had declared it to his seruants the Prophets. Onely in the eleuenth Chapter he describeth the means whereby the Antichrist was ouercome, whose raigne he had before described in the ix. Chapter; and telleth vs that the two witnesses, after that they haue beene persecuted by the Antichrist shall in the end procure his destruction. And in case any should thinke, that the Antichrist is onely spoken of in the xj. Chapter, and that the Beast spoken of in the xij. and xvij. Chapters doth onely signifie Ethnicke Rome; there needeth no other refutation of that conceit, then to remember them, that the Antichrist is neuer named in all that xi. Chapter, but where hee is called in the seventh verse thereof

Cap. 10. ver. 6.

Verse 7.

Cap. 11.

Verse 3.

Cap. 11.

Verse 7.

the Beatt that commeth foorth of the bottomles pit: *which by the description of the place he commeth out of, prooueth it to be the same Beast which hath the same originall in the xvij. Chapter, and in the very same words; so as it is euer but the same Antichrist repeated, and diuersly described in diuers visions.*

The third description.

Now in the xij. and xij. Chapters and so foorth till the xvij. he maketh a more large and ample propheticall description of the state of the Church, and raigne of the Antichrist. For in the xij. Chap. he figureth the Church by a Woman flying from the Dragon (the Deuill) to the wilderness; And when the Dragon seeth he cannot otherwise ouer-reach her, he speweth forth waters like floods to cary her away; which signifieth many Nations, that were let loose to persecute and vex the Church. And in the xij. Chapter, out of that Sea of Nations that persecuted her ariseth that great Citie (Queene of all the Nations, and head of that persecution) figured by a Beatt with seuen heads and ten hornes, like a Leopard; as well for the colour because it was full of spots, that is, defiled with corruptions; as also vsing a bastard forme of gouernement, in shew

Chap. xij.
Verse 6.

Verse 15.

Chap. xij.

Verse 1.

Verse 2.

shew / spirituall, but in deed temporall ouer the Kings of the earth; like the Leopard that is a bastard beast betwixt a Lion and a Parde: ha- uing teete like a Beare, to signifie his great strength; and the mouth of a Lion, to shew his rauenuous and cruell disposition.

This Beast who had his power from the Dragon, and had gotten a deadly wound in one of his heads, or formes of gouernment (by the Gothes and Vandals) and yet was healed againe; opened his mouth to blasphemies, and made warre against the Saints: nay, all the world must worship him; which worship Ethnicke Rome neuer craued of any, being contented to call their neighbour Kings Amici & socij populi Romani. And whether worship or adoration, euen with that same title, hee vsed to Popes at their creation, our Cardinall can best tell you.

But then commeth another beast vp out of the earth, hauing indeed a more firme & settled originall: for she doth visibly and outwardly succeed to the true Church, and therefore she hath two hornes like the Lambe, in outward shew representing the spouse of CHRIST, and

Verse 3.

Verse 6.

Verse 7.

Verse 11.

Verse 12.

2. Thes. 2. 9.

Verse 13.

Verse 15.

but pretending CHRIST to bee her defence: But shee speaketh like the Dragon, teaching damnable and deuillish doctrine. And this Apostatike (I should say Apostolike) Church, after that she hath made her great power manifest to the world, by doing all that the first Beast could doe, In conspectu eius; that is, by shewing the greatnesse of her power, to be nothing inferiour to the greatnesse of the former Ethnicke Empire: shee then is moued with so great a desire to aduance this Beast, now become Antichrist, as shee causeth the earth and all that dwell therein, to worship this former Beast or Roman Monarch; transferring so, as it were, her owne power in his person. Yea, euen Emperours and Kings shall be faine to kisse his feet. And for this purpose shall she worke great Miracles, wherein she greatly prides her selfe, deceiuing men with lying wonders and efficacie of lyes, as S. Paul saith. And amongst the rest of her wonders, she must bring Fire out of heauen, Fulmen excommunications, which can dethrone Princes. So that all that will not worship the image of the Beast, that is, his Unlimited Supremacie, must be killed and burnt as Heretikes.

Heretikes. Yea, so peremptory will this Beast or false Prophet be (so called in the xvj. Chapter of this booke) for the aduancement of the other Beast or Antichrist; as all sorts and rankes of people must receiue the marke or name of that Beast in their right hand, or in their forehead; without the which it should bee lawfull to none to buy, or sell: by the Marke in the forehead, signifying their outward profession and acknowledgement of their subiection vnto her; And by the Marke in their right hand, signifying their actuall implicite obedience vnto her, who they thinke cannot erre, though shee should commaund them to rebell against their naturall princes; like that Cœca obedientia wherunto all the Iesuits are sworne: and like those Romish Priests in this Countrey, that haue renounced and forsworne againe that Oath of Allegiance, grounded vpon their naturall Oath; which though at their taking it, they confessed they did it out of conscience, and as obliged thereunto by their naturall duetie; yet now must they forswear it againe, for obedience to the Popes command; to whose will their conscience and reason must be blindly captiuated. And

Verse 17.

Verse 16.

(n)

who

who euer denied this absolute power, might neither buy nor sell; for no man was bound to keepe any faith, or obserue any ciuill contracts with Heretikes: yea, to equiuocate and commit periury towards them, is a lawfull thing in a Catholike.

Verse 17.

Irenæus aduersus Heres. lib. 5

a Epist. lib. 6. cap. 30.

Now as to the Myserie anent the Number of his name; whether it shalbe understood by the number composed of the Letters in that Greeke word ΑΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ; which word wel suites with the Romish Church, Romish Faith, and Latine Service: Or whether in respect that in the Text it is called the number of the man, ye wil take it for the number or date of the yere of G O D, wherein that first man liued, that first tooke the title of the Antichrist upon him; I leaue it to the Readers choice. By that first Man, I meane Bonifacius tertius, who first called himselfe Vniuersall Bishop; which S. Gregorie, that liued till within three yeeres of his time, a foretold would be the stile of the Antichrist, or his Præcursor: for though he died threescore yeeres before the 666. of CHRIST; yet was that Title but sully settled upon his Successors, sixtie yeeres after his time. Or if ye list to count it from

from Pompey his spoiling of the Temple, to this same Mans time; it will goe very neere to make iust up the said number 666.

Now the raigne of the Antichrist being thus prophetically described in the xiiij. Chapter, his fall is prophesied in the xiiij. First by the ioyfull and triumphall New song of the Saints in heauen: And next by the proclamation of three Angels; whereof the first hauing an euerlasting Gospel in his hand to preach to all Nations (the true armour indeed wherewith the Witnesses fought against the Antichrist;) The first Angel, I say, proclaimed Feare and glory to G O D, since the houre of his Iudgement was come. And the second proclaimed the fall of Babylon, which is the destruction of the Antichrist. And the third prohibited Under great paines, euen the paine of eternall damnation, that none should worship the Beast, or receiue his Marke. But though that in the rest of this Chapter the Latter day be againe prophesied, as a thing that shall come shortly after the reucaling of the man of Sinne: yet in the xv. Chap. he telleth of seuen plagues, Under the name of Vials, that shall first fall

Chap. xiiij.
Verse 3.

Verse 6.

Verse 7.

Verse 8.

Verse 9.

Chap. xv.
Verse 1.

Cap. xvi.

Verse 10.

Verse 12.

Dan. 5. 2.

Verse 13.

upon the Antichrist and his kingdome; which, being particularly set downe in the xvj. Chapter, he reckoneth amongst the rest. In the fift Viall, the plague of darkenesse; yea, such darkenesse as the kingdome of Antichrist shall be obscured. whereby at the powring foorth of the sixt Viall, the way of the Kings of the East shalbe prepared; the man of Sinne being begun to be reuealed, and so all impediments remooued that might let the inuasion of that Monarchie: euen as that great riuer Euphrates that runneth by the literall Babylon, guarded it from the Kings of the East, the Medes and Persians, the time of the Babylonian Monarchie, till by the drying thereof, or vnexpected passage made through it by Cyrus, Babylon was wonne, and Baltasar destroyed, and his Monarchie ouerthrowne; euen while he was sitting in that literall Babylon, corporally drunken and quassing in the vessels ordained for GODS Seruice; and so sitting as it were in the Temple of GOD, and abusing the holy Mysteries thereof.

For remedy whereof, at the powring forth of the sixt Viall, three vncleane Spirits, like frogs, shall then come foorth out of the mouth of the

the

the Dragon, that beast, and of the false Prophet; which I take to be as much to say, as that how soone as the kingdome of Antichrist shall be so obscured, with such a grosse and a palpable ignorance, as learning shall be almost lost out of the world, and that few of the very Priests themselves shall be able to reade Latine, much lesse to understand it; and so a plaine way made for the Destruction of Babylon: Then shall a new sect of Spirits arise for the defence of that falling Throne, called three in number, by reason of their three-folde direction; being raised and inspired by the Dragon Sathan, authorized and maintained by the Beast the Antichrist, and instructed by the false prophet the Apostatike Church, that hath the hornes like the Lambe, but speaketh like the Dragon. These Spirits indeed, thus sent forth by this three-fold authoritie for the defence of their Triple-crowned Monarch, are well likened to Frogs; for they are Amphibions, and can liue in either Element earth or water: for though they be Churchmen by profession, yet can they use the trade of politike Statesmen; going to the Kings of the earth, to gather them to the battell of that great

(n 3)

day

Verse 14.

day of GOD Almightye. What Massacres haue by their perswasion beene wrought through many parts of Christendome, and how euilly Kings haue sped that haue beene counselled by them; all the Unpartiall Histories of our time doe beare record. And whatsoeuer King or State will not receiue them, and follow their aduise, rooted out must that King or State be, even with Gunpowder ere it faile. And these Frogs had reason indeed to labour to become learned, thereby to dissipate that grosse mist of ignorance, wherewith the reigne of Antichrist was plagued before their comming forth. Then doeth this Chapter conclude with the last plague that is powred out of the seventh Viall vpon the Antichrist, which is the day of Iudgement: for then Babylon (saith he) came in remembrance before God.

Verse 17.

Verse 19.

The fourth
description.Chap. xvij.
Verse 3.

But in the xvij. Chapter is the former Vision interpreted and expounded; and there is the Antichrist represented by a Woman, sitting vpon that many-headed Beast; because as CHRIST his true Spouse and Church is represented by a Woman in the xij. Chap. so here is the Head of his adultrous spouse or false Church represented also by a woman, but hauing a cup full

ful of abominations in her hand: as her selfe is called a Whoore, for her spirituall adultery, having seduced the Kings of the earth to bee partakers of her Spirituall fornication: And yet wonderfull gorgeous and glorious was shee in outward shew; but drunken with the blood of the Saints, by a violent persecution of them. And that she may the better be knowne, he writeth her name upon her forehead agreeable to her qualities: A Mystery, that great Babylon, the Mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth. A Mysterie is a name that belongeth vnto her two maner of wayes: One, as shee taketh it to herselfe; another, as shee deserueth it indeede. To herselfe shee taketh it, in calling herselfe the visible Head of the mysticall body of CHRIST, in professing herselfe to be the dispenser of the mysteries of GOD, and by her onely must they be expounded: This great God in earth and Head of the faith, being a Mystes by his profession; that is, a Priest. And if the obseruation of one be true, that hee had of olde the word Mysterie written on his Myter; then is this Prophecie very plainly accomplished. Now that indeed shee deserues that name
the

Verse 4.

Verse 1.

Verse 2.

Verse 6.

Verse 5.

Verse 5.

the rest of her Title doeth beare witnesse, that sheweth her to be the Mother of all the whoredomes and abominations of the earth: and so is she vnder the pretext of holinesse, a Mystery indeed of all iniquity and abominations; vnder the maske of pretended feeding of Soules, deuouring Kingdomes, and making Christendome swimme in blood.

Verse 9.

Now after that this scarlet or bloody Beast and her Rider are described, by their shape, garments, name and qualities: the Angel doth next interpret this vision vnto Iohn, expounding vnto him what is signified both by the Beast and her Rider; telling him, the seuen heads of the Beast are seuen Hills, meaning by the situation of that Citie or seat of Empire; and that they are also seuen Kings or formes of gouernement in the said Citie, whereof I haue told my conceit already. As for the tenne Hornes, which he

Verse 12.

sheweth to be tenne Kings, that shall at one houre receiue their power and kingdome with the Beast, I take that number of ten to be Numerus certus pro incerto; euen as the number of seuen heads and ten hornes vpon the Dragon the Dewill, cannot but bee an vncertaine number.

number. And that he also imitates in those ten hornes, the ten hornes of the seven headed Beast in the seventh of Daniel : and therefore I take these ten Kings to signifie, all the Christian Kings, and free Princes and States in generall, euen you whome to I consecrate these my Labors, and that of vs all he prophecieth, that although our first becomming absolute and free Princes should bee in one houre with the Beast for great Christian kingdomes and Monarches did but rise, and receiue their libertie by the ruines of the Ethnicke Romane Empire, and at the destruction thereof) and at the very time of the beginning of the planting of the Antichrist there; and that wee should for a long time continue to worship the Beast, hauing one Catholike or common consenting minde in obeying her, yelding our power and authoritie vnto her, and kissing her feet, drinking with her in her cup of Idolatrie, and fighting with the Lambe, in the persecution of his Saints, at her command that gouerneth so many Nations and people: yet notwithstanding of all this, wee shall in the time appointed by GOD, hauing thus fought with the Lambe, but being ouercome by him,

(o)

that

Verse 13.

Verse 14.

Verse 16.

a Henry 3.
K of France.
b Henry 4.

order of Iesuities; shall both redeeme his owne Soule, and all his Parents to the hundreth generation, from broyling in the fire of Purgatory. And (I hope) it is no small merchandise of Soules, when men are so highly deluded by the hopes and promise of Saluation, as to make a Frier mur-ther his ^a Soueraigne; a young knaue attempt the murther of his next ^b Successour; many one to conspire and attempt the like against the late Queene; and in my time, to attempt the destru-ction of a whole Kingdome and State by a blast of Powder: and heereby to play bankrupt with both the soules mentioned in the Scriptures, Animus & Anima.

Verse 4.

But notwithstanding of this their great La-mentation, they are commanded by a voice from heauen to doe two things: One, to flee from Ba-bylon, least they bee partakers of her sinnes, and consequently of her punishment. Which warning I pray God that yee all, my Beloued Brethren and Cosins, would take heede vnto in time, humbly beseeching him to open your eyes for this purpose. The other commaund is, to reward her as shee hath rewarded you; yea, euen to the double. For as she did flie but
with

Verse 6.

with your feathers, borrowing as well her Titles of greatnes and formes of honoring her from you; as also enioying all her temporall liuing by your liberalities; so if euery man doe but take his owne againe, she will stand vp ^{*}naked; and the reason is giuen, because of her pride. For she glorifieth her selte liuing in pleasure, and in her heart sayth, shee sitteth as a Queene (outward prosperity being one of their notes of a true Church) and is no Widow; for her Spouse CHRIST is bound to her by an inuiolable knot (for hee hath sworn neuer to forsake her) and shee shal see no mourning: for she cannot erre, nor the gates of Hell shall not preuaile against her.

But though the earth and worldly men lament thus for the fall of Babylon in this eighteenth Chapter, yet in the nineteenth Heauen and all the Angels and Saints therein doe sing a triumphall Cantique for ioy of her fall; praising God for the fall of that great Whoore: Great indeed, for our ^{*}Cardinall confesseth, that it is hard to describe what the Pope is, such is his greatnesse. And in the ende of that Chapter is the obstinacie of that Whoore described, who euen fought to the uttermost against him

(03) . that

^{*}Corin. c. 13.
Aesopica.
Verse 7.

Cap. xix.
Verse 1.

Verse 2.
^{*}Bellar. in Ref.
ad Gerson. conf.
sid. 11.

Verse 19.

Verse 20.

Cap. 18. 21.

Ibidem.
Vers. 22, 23.

Cap. xx.

Verse 2.

Verse 8.

that fate on the white Horse, and his armie;
*till the Beast or Antichrist was taken, and the
 false Prophet, or false Church with him, who
 by Myracles, and lying Wonders deceiued
 them that receiued the marke of the Beast;
 and both were casten quicke into the bur-
 ning lake of fire and brimstone; Vnde nulla
 redemptio. Like as in the ende of the former
 Chapter, to describe the fulnesse of the Anti-
 christes fall (not like to that reparable wound
 that Ethnicke Rome gate) it is first compared to
 a Millstone cast in the sea, that can neuer rise
 and fleete againe: And next it is expressed by a
 number of ioyfull things that shall neuer be heard
 there againe, where nothing shall inhabite but
 desolation. But that the patience and constancy
 of Saints on earth, and God his Elected may the
 better be strengthened and confirmed; their per-
 secution in the latter dayes, is shortly prophesied
 and repeated againe, after that Satan hath
 beene bound, or his furie restrained, by the
 worlds inioying of peace for a thousand yeeres,
 or a great indefinite time; their persecutors be-
 ing named Gog and Magog, the secret and re-
 uealed enemies of CHRIST. Whether this be
 meant*

meant of the Pope and the Turke, or not ; (Who both began to rise to their greatnesse about one time) I leaue to be guessed ; alwayes their utter confusion is there assuredly promised : and it is said ; that the Dragon, the Beast, and the false Prophet, shall all three bee cast in that lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented for euer. And thereafter is the latter day described againe (which must be hastened for the elects sake) and then for the further comfort of the Elect, and that they may the more constantly and patiently indure these temporall and finite troubles, limited but to a short space ; in the last two Chapters are the ioyes of the eternall Ierusalem largely described.

Thus hath the Cardinals shamelesse wresting of those two places of Scripture, *Palce oues meas*, and *Tibi dabo claues*, for proouing of the Popes supreme temporall Authoritie ouer Princes ; animated me to prooue the Pope to be THE ANTICHRIST, out of this foresaid booke of Scripture ; so to pay him in his owne money againe. And this opinion no Pope can euer make me to recant ; except they first renounce any further meddling with Princes, in any thing belonging

Verse 9.

Verse 10.

Verse. 11,
12, 13.
Maith. 24. 22.

Chap. xxj. xxij.

ging to their temporall Iurisdiction. And my only wish shalbe, that if anyman shall haue a fancie to refute this my coniecture of the Antichrist; that he answere mee orderly to euery point of my discourse: not contenting him to disproue my opinion, except hee set downe some other methode after his forme for interpretation of that booke of the Apocalyps, which may not contradict no part of the Text, nor containe no absurdities. Otherwise, it is an easie thing for Momus to picke quarrels in another mans tale, and tell it worse himselfe; it being a more easie practise to finde faults, then to amend them.

Having now made this digression anent the Antichrist, which I am sure I can better fasten vpon the Pope, then Bellarmine can doe his pretended temporall Superioritie ouer Kings: I will returne againe to speake of this Answerer; who (as I haue already told you) so fitteth his matter with his maner of answering, that as his Style is nothing but a Satyre, and heape full of iniurious and reprochfull speeches, as well against my Person, as my Booke; so is his matter as full of lyes and falsities indeed, as he vniustly layeth to my charge. For three lyes hee maketh
against

against the Oath of Allegiance, contained and maintained in my Booke : besides that ordinary repeated lye against my Booke; of his omitting to answer my lyes, trattles, iniurious speeches and blasphemies. One grosse lye hee maketh euen of the Popes first Breue. One lye of the Puritanes, whom he would gladly haue to be of his partie. And one also of the Powder-Traitors, anent the occasion that moued them to undertake that treasonable practise. Three lies he makes of that Acte of Parliament wherein this Oath of Allegiance is contained. He also maketh one notable lye against his owne Catholike Writers. And two, of the causes for which two Iesuites haue beene put to death in England. And he either falsifies, denies or wrests fise sundry Histories and a printed Pamphlet : besides that impudent lye that he maketh of my Person ; that I was a Puritane in Scotland, which I haue alreadie refuted. And for the better filling up of his booke with such good stuffe ; he hath also fise so strange and new principles of Diuinitie therein, as they are either new , or at least allowed by very few of his owne Religion. All which lyes, with diuers others, and fise strange , and (as I

(p) thinke)

thinke) erroneous points of Doctrine, with sundry falsifications of Hystories ; are set downe in a Table by themselves in the end of this my Epistle, hauing their Refutation annexed to euery one of them.

But as for the particular answering of his booke; it is both vnneecessarie and vncomely for me to make a Reply. Vnnecessarie, because (as I haue already told you) my Booke is neuer yet answered. so farre as belongeth to the maine question anent the Oath of Allegiance : the picking of aduantages vpon the wrong placing of the figures in the citations, or such errors in the Print by casuall addition , or omission of words that make nothing to the Argument ; being the greatest weapons wherewith he assaults my Booke. And vncomely it must needs be (in my opinion) for a King to fall in altercation with a Cardinall, at least with one no more nobly descended then he is : That Ecclesiasticall dignitie, though by the sloath of Princes (as I said before) it bee now come to that height of vsurped honour, yet being in the true originall and foundation thereof nothing else, but the title of the Priestes and Deacons of the parish Churches in the towne of Rome;

Rome; at the first, the style of Cardinals being generally giuen to all Priests and Deacons of any Cathedrall Church, though the multitude of such Cardinall Priests and Deacons resorting to Rome, was the cause that after bred the restraining of that title of Cardinall Priests and Deacons, onely to the Parish-priests and Deacons of Rome. And since that it is S. Gregorie, who in his Epistles fixe hundreth yeeres after CHRIST, maketh the first mention of Cardiaals (and so these now Electours of the Apostolike Sea, beeing long and many hundreth yeeres vnknownen or unbeard of, after the Apostolike age; and yet doeth he speake of them but in this sense, as I haue now described) I hope the Cardinall, who calleth him the Apostle of England, cannot blame me that am King thereof, to acknowledge the Cardinall in no other degree of honour, then our said Apostle did. But how they should now become to be so strangely exalted aboue their first originall institution, that from Parish priests and Deacons (Priests inferiours) they should now come to bee Princes and Peeres to Kings; and from a degree vnder Bishops (as both ^a Bellarmine and ^b Onuphrius

(p 2)

con-

^a Lib. de Clericis, cap. 16.
^b Lib. de Episcopati' us, Titulus
 & Diaconijs
 Cardinalium.

confesse) to be now the Popes sole Electors, supplying with him the place of a Generall Counsel; whereby the conuening of generall Councils is now utterly antiquated and abolished; nay, out of their number onely, the Pope to bee elected; who claimeth the absolute Superiority ouer all Kings: how this their strange vsurped exaltation (I say) should thus creepe in and bee suffered, it belongeth all them in our place and calling to look vnto it; who being GOD his Lieutenants in earth, haue good reason to bee iealous of such vpstart Princes, meane in their originall, come to that height by their owne creation, and now accounting themselues Kings fellows. But the speciall harme they do vs, is by their defrauding vs of our common and Christian interest in generall Councils; they hauing (as I sayd) utterly abolished the same, by rowling it vp and making as it were a Monopoly thereof, in their Conclauie with the Pope. Whereas, if euer there were a possibilitie to bee expected of reducing all Christians to an Uniformity of Religion, it must come by the meanes of a generall Councell: the place of their meeting being chosen so indifferēt, as all Christian Princes, either in their owne

Persons,

Persons, or their Deputie Commissioners, and all Church-men of Christian profession that beleeue and professe all the ancient grounds of the true, ancient, Catholike and Apostolike Faith, might haue tutum accessum thereunto; All the incendiaries and Nouelist fire-brands on either side being debarred from the same, as well Iesuites as Puritanes.

And therefore hauing resolved not to paine my selfe with making a Reply for these reasons beere specified, grounded as well vpon the consideration of the matter, as of the person of the Answerer; I haue thought good to content my selfe with the reprinting of my Apologie: hauing in a maner corrected nothing but the Copiers or Printers faults therein, and prefixed this my Epistle of Dedication and Warning thereunto; that I may yet see, if any thing will bee iustly sayd against it: Not doubting but enow of my Subiects will reply vpon these Libellers, and answer them sufficiently; wishing You deeply to consider, and weigh your common interest in this Cause. For neither in all my Apologie, nor in his pretended Refutation thereof, is there any question made anent the Popes power ouer mee

in particular, for the excommunicating or deposing of me. For in my particular; the Cardinall doeth mee that grace, that hee saith, The Pope thought it not expedient at this time to excommunicate mee by name; our question being onely generall, Whether the Pope may lawfully pretend any temporall power over Kings, or no?

That no Church men can by his rule bee subject to any temporall Prince, I haue already shewed you; And what Obedience any of you may looke for of any of them de facto, he plainly forewarneth you of, by the example of Gregory the Great his obedience to the Emperour Mauritius: not being ashamed to slander that great Personages Christian humilitie and obedience to the Emperour, with the title of a constrained and forced obedience, because hee might, or durst doe no otherwise. Whereby he not onely wrongs the said Gregorie in particular, but euen doeth by that meanes lay on an heauie slander and reproach upon the Christian humilitie and patience of the whole Primitiue Church, especially in the time of persecution: if the whole glorie of their Martyrdome and Christian patience shall bee thus blotted with that vile glosse of their

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coacted and constrained suffering, because they could or durst do no otherwise; like the patience and obedience of the Jewes or Turkish slaves in our time, cleane contrary to S. Paul and S. Peters doctrine of obedience for conscience sake; and as contrary to Tertullians Apologie for Christians, and all the protestations of the ancient Fathers in that case. But it was good lucke for the ancient Christians in the dayes of Ethnick Emperors, that this profane & new conceit was then unknowne among them: otherwise they would haue bin utterly destroyed and rooted out in that time, and no man to haue pitied them, as most dangerous members in a Common-wealth; who would no longer bee obedient, then till they were furnished with sufficient abilitie and power to resist and rebell.

Rom. 13. 5.
1. Pet. 2. 13.

Thus may ye see, how Upon the one part our Cardinall will haue all Kings and Monarchs to be the Popes Vassals; and yet will not on the other side, allow the meanest of the Pope his vassals, to be subiect to any Christian Prince. But he not thinking it enough to make the Pope our Superior, hath in a late Treatise of his (called the Recognition of his bookes of Controuersies)

lies) made the people and Subiects of euery one of vs, our Superiors. For hauing taken occasion to reuise againe his bookes of Controuersies, and to correct or explaine what he findeth amisse or mistaketh in them; in imitation of S. Augustine his retractiones (for so hee saith in his Preface) he doth in place of retracting any of his former errors, or any matter of substance; not retract, but recant indeed, I meane sing ouer againe, and obstinately confirme a number of the grossest of them. Among the which, the exempting of all Church-men from subiection to any Temporall Prince, and the setting vp not onely of the Pope, but euen of the People aboue their naturall King; are two of his maine points.

Actes 25. 10.

Actes 22. 28.

As for the exemption of the Clerickes; he is so greedy there to proue that point, as he denieth Cæsar to haue beene Pauls lawfull Iudge: contrary to the expresse Text, and Pauls plain Appellation, and acknowledging him his Iudge; besides his many times claiming to the Roman priuiledges, and auowing himselfe a Roman by freedome; and therefore of necessitie a Subiect to the Roman Emperour. But it is a wonder that these Roman Catholikes, who vaunt themselves

selues of the ancientie both of their doctrine and Church, and reproch vs so bitterly of our Nouelties, should not bee ashamed to make such a new inept glosse as this vpon S. Pauls Text; which as it is directly contrary to the Apostles wordes, so is it without any warrant, either of any ancient Councell, or of so much as any one particular Father that euer interprets that place in this sort: Neither was it euer doubted by any Christian in the Primitiue Church, that the Apostles, or any other degree of Christians, were subiect to the Emperour.

And as for the setting vp of the People aboue their owne naturall King, hee bringeth in that principle of Sedition, that he may thereby proue, that Kings haue not their power and authoritie immediatly from God, as the Pope hath his: For euery King (saith he) is made and chosen by his people; nay, they do but so transferre their power in the Kings person, as they doe notwithstanding retaine their habituall power in their owne hands, which vpon certaine occasions they may actually take to themselues againe. This, I am sure, is an excellent ground in Diuinitie for all Rebels and rebellious people, who are hereby al-

lowed to rebell against their Princes; and assume libertie vnto themselues, when in their discretions they shall thinke it conuenient.

And amongst his other Testimonies for probation, that all Kings are made and created by the People; hee alledgeth the Creation of three Kings in the Scripture, Saul, Dauid & Ieroboam; and though he be compelled by the expresse words of the Text, to confesse, that God by his Prophet Samuel annointed both^a Saul and^b Dauid; yet will he, by the post-consent of the people, proue that those Kings were not immediatly made by God, but mediately by the people; though he repeat thrise that word of Lott, by the casting whereof hee confesseth that Saul was chosen. And if the Election by Lott be not an immediate Election from God; then was not Matthias, who was so chosen and made an Apostle, immediatly chosen by GOD: and consequently, he that sitteth in the Apostolike Sea cannot for shame claim to bee immediatly chosen by God, if Matthias (that was one of the twelue Apostles, supplying Iudas his place) was not so chosen. But as it were a blasphemous impietie, to doubt that Matthias was immediatly chosen by GOD, and yet was
he

a 1.Sam.10.1

b 1.Sam.16.

12.13.

Actes 1.

he chosen by the casting of Lots, as Saul was :
 so is it well enough knowen to some of you (my
 louing Brethren) by what holy Spirit or casting
 of Lots the Popes vse to be elected ; the Col-
 ledge of Cardinals, his electors, hauing been di-
 uided in two mightie factions euer since long be-
 fore my time ; and in place of casting of Lotts,
 great fat pensions beeing cast into some of their
 greedy mouthes for the election of the Pope,
 according to the partiall humours of Princes.
 But I doe most of all wonder at the weakenesse
 of his memorie : for in this place he maketh the
 post-consent of the people to be the thing that
 made both these Kings, notwithstanding of their
 preceding inauguration and anoyntment by the
 Prophet at G O D s commandement ; forgetting
 that in the beginning of this same little booke of
 his, answering one that alledgeth a sentence of
 S. Cyprian, to prooue that the Bishops were
 iudged by the people in Cyprians time, he there
 confesseth, that by these words, the consent of
 the people to the Bishops Election must be one-
 ly vnderstood. Nor will he there any wayes bee
 moued to graunt, that the peoples power, in con-
 senting to or refusing the Election of a Bishop,

(q 2)

should

*Cyprian. lib.
1. Epist. 4.*

should be so understood, as that thereby they haue power to elect Bishops: And yet do these words of Cyprian seeme to bee farre stronger, for granting the peoples power to elect Churchmen, then any words that he alledgeth out of the Scripture are for the peoples power in electing a King. For the very words of Cyprian by himselfe there cited are, That the very people haue principally the power, either to chuse such Priests as are worthy, or to refuse such as are vnworthie: And, I hope, he can neuer proue by the Scripture, that it had beene lawful to the people of Israel, or that it was left in their choise, to haue admitted or refused Saul or Dauid at their pleasure, after that the Prophet had anoynted them, and presented them vnto them.

Thus ye see how little he careth (euen in so little a volume) to contradict himselfe, so it may make for his purpose; making the consent of the people to signifie their power of Election in the making of Kings: though in the making of Bishops, by the peoples consent, their approbation of a deed done by others must onely bee understood. And as for his example, of Ieroboams election to bee King; he knoweth well enough, that

1. King. 12. 20.

that Ieroboam was made King in a popular mutinous tumult and rebellion; onely permitted by God, and that in his wrath, both against these two Kings and their people. But if he will needs helpe himselfe, against all rules of Diuinitie, with such an extraordinary example for prooffe of a generall Rule; why is it not as lawfull for vs Kings to oppose hereunto the example of Iehu his Inauguration to the Kingdome; who vpon the Prophets priuat anointment of him, and that in most secret manner, tooke presently the Kings office vpon him, without euer crauing any sort of approbation from the people?

..King.9.2,3.

And thus may ye now clearly see, how deepe the claime of the Babylonian Monarch toucheth vs in all our common interest: for (as I haue already told) the Pope, nor any of his Vassals, I meane Church-men, must be subiect to no Kings nor Princes: and yet all Kings and their Vassals must not onely be subiect to the Pope, but euen to their own people. And now, what a large libertie is by this doctrin left to Church-men, to hatch or foster any treasonable attempts against Princes; I leaue it to your considerations, since do what they will, they are accountable to none of vs:

(q 3)

nay,

Isai 5. 20.

Verse 23.

nay, all their treasonable practises must bee accounted workes of pietie, and they (being iustly punished for the same) must be presently inrolled in the list of Martyrs and Saints; like as our new printed Martyrologie hath put Garnet and Ouldcorne in the Register of English Martyrs abroad, that were hanged at home for Treason against the Crown and whole State of England: so as I may iustly with Isaiah, pronounce a Woe to them that speake good of euill, and euill of good; which put light for darkenesse, and darkenesse for light; which iustifie the wicked for a reward, & take away the righteousness of the righteous from him. For euen as in the time of the greatest blindnesse in Popery, though a man should find his wife or his daughter lying a bed in her Confessors armes; yet was it not lawfull for him so much as to suspect that the Frier had any errand there, but to Confesse and instruct her: Euen so, though Iesuites practising in Treason bee sufficiently verified, and that themselues cannot but confesse it; yet must they bee accounted to suffer Martyrdome for the Faith, and their blood work miracles, and frame a stramineum argumentum vpon strawes; when

when their heads are standing aloft, withered by the Sunne and the winde, a publike spectacle for the eternall commemoration of their treacherie. Yea, one of the reasons, that is giuen in the Printers Epistle of the Colonian edition of the Cardinal or his Chaplains pamphlet, why he doth the more willingly print it, is; because that the innocencie of that most holy and constant man Henry Garnet, is declared and set forth in that booke; against whom, some (he knew not who) had scattered a false rumour of his guiltinesse of the English treason.

But, Lord, what an impudencie or wilfull ignorance is this, that he, who was so publicly and solemnly conuicted and executed, vpon his owne so cleare, vnforced and often repeated confession, of his knowledge and concealing of that horrible Treason, should now be said to haue a certaine rumor spread vpon him of his guiltinesse, by I know not who? with so many attributes of godlinesse, constancie and innocencie bestowed vpon him, as if publike Sentences and Executions of Iustice, were rumors of I know not who. Indeed, I must confesse, the booke it selfe sheweth a great affection to performe, what is thus promised

mised in the Preface thereof: for in two or three places therein, is there most honorable lying mention made of that straw-Saint; wherein, though he confesse that Garnet was vpon the foreknowledge of the Powder-Treason, yet in regard it was (as he saith) only vnder the Seale of Confession, he sticketh not to praise him for his concealing thereof, and would gladly giue him the crowne of glory for the same: not being asbamed to proclaime it as a principall head of Catholique doctrine; That the secret of Sacramental confession ought not to be reuealed, not for the eschewing of whatsoeuer euil. But how damnable this doctrine is, and how dangerously preiudiciall to all Princes & States; I leaue it to you to iudge, whom all it most highly concerneth. For although it bee true, that when the Schoolemen came to be Doctores in the Church, and to marre the old grounds in Diuinitie by sowing in amongst them their Philosophicall distinctions; though they (I say) do maintain, That whatsoeuer thing is told a Confessor vnder the waile of confession, how dangerous soeuer the matter be, yet he is bound to conceale the parties name: yet doe none of them, I meane of the old Schoolemen,

men, deny that if a matter bee reuealed vnto them, the concealing whereof may breed a great or publike danger; but that in that case the Confessor may disclose the matter, though not the person, and by some indirect means make it come to light, that the danger thereof may bee preuented. But that no treason nor deuilish plot, though it should tend to the ruine or exterminion of a whole Kingdome, must be reuealed, if it be told vnder Confession, no not the matter so far indirectly disclosed, as may giue occasion for preuenting the danger thereof: though it agree with the conceit of some three or foure new Iesuited Doctors, it is such a new and dangerous head of doctrine, as no King nor State can liue in securitie where that Position is maintained.

And now, that I may as well prooue him a lyar in facto, in his narration of this particular History; as I haue shewed him to be in iure, by this his damnable and false ground in Diuinity: I will truly informe you of Garnets case, which is far otherwise then this Answerer alleadgeth. For first, it can neuer bee accounted a thing vnder Confession, which he that reueals it doth not discouer with a remorse, accounting it a sin where-

of he repenteth him ; but by the contrary , discovers it as a good motion, and is therein not dissuaded by his Confessor, nor any penance enjoined him for the same : and in this forme was this Treason reuealed to Garnet, as himselfe confessed. And next, though he stood long upon it, that it was reuealed unto him under the vaile of Confession, in respect it was done in that time, while as the partie was making his Confession unto him ; Yet at the last he did freely confesse, that the party reuealed it unto him as they were walking, and not in the time of Confession : But (he said) he deliuered it unto him under the greatest Seale that might be, and so he tooke that he meant by the Seale of Confession ; And it had (as he thought) a relation to Confession, in regard that he was that parties Confessor, & had taken his Confession sometimes before, and was to take it againe within few dayes thereafter. He also said, that he pretended to the partie, that he would not conceale it from his Superior. And further it is to be noted, that he confessed, that two diuers persons conferred with him anent this Treason; and that when the one of them, which was Catesby, conferred with him thereupon,

upon, it was in the other parties presence and hearing: and what a Confession can this be in the hearing of a third person? And how far his last words (whereof our Answerer so much vaunts him) did disproue it to haue bene Under Confession, the Earle of Northhamptons booke doth beare witnesse.

Now as to the other parties name, that reuealed the Powder-Treason vnto him, it was Greenewell the Iesuite; and so a Iesuite reuealed to a Iesuite this treasonable plot, the Iesuite reuealer not shewing any remorse, and the Iesuit whom to it was reuealed not so much as enioyning him any penance for the same. And that ye may know that more Iesuites were also vpon the partie, Owldcorne the other Powder-Martyr, after the misgiuing and discoverie of that Treason, preached consolatory doctrine to his Catholike auditory; exhorting them not to faint for the misgiuing of this enterprize, nor to thinke the worse thereof that it succeeded not; alleadging diuers Presidents of such godly enterprises that misgaue in like maner: especially, one of Saint Lewis King of France, who in his second iourney to the Holy-land died by the way, the

greatest part of his army being destroyed by the plague; his first iourney hauing likewise misgiuen him by the Soldans taking of him: exhorting them thereupon not to giue ouer, but still to hope that God would blesse their enterprise at some other time, though this did faile.

Thus see ye now, with what boldnes and impudencie he hath belied the publikely known Veritie in this errand; both in auowing generally that no Iesuite was any waies guilty of that Treason, for so he affirmeth in his booke; and also that Garnet knew nothing thereof, but vnder the Seale of Confession. But if this were the first lie of the affaires of this State, which my fugitiue Priestes and Iesuites haue coined and spread abroad, I could charme them of it, as the prouerbe is. But as well the walles of diuers Monasteries and Iesuites Colledges abroad, are filled with the painting of such lying Histories, as also the bookes of our said fugitiues are farced with such sort of shamelesse stuffe; such are the innumerable sorts of torments and cruell deathes, that they record their Martyrs to haue suffered here; some torne at foure Horses; some sowed in Beares skinnes, and then killed with Dogges;

nay,

may, women haue not beene spared (they say) and a thousand other strange fictions; the Vanities of all which I will in two wordes discover vnto you.

First, as for the cause of their punishment, I do constantly maintaine that which I haue saide in my Apologie: That no man, either in my time or in the late Queenes, euer died here for his conscience. For let him be neuer so deuout a Papist, nay, though hee professe the same neuer so constantly, his life is in no danger by the Law, if hee breake not out into some outward acte expressly against the words of the Law; or plot not some vnlawfull or dangerous practise or attempt; Priests and Popish Church men only excepted, that receiue Orders beyond the seas; who for the manifold treasonable practises that they haue kindled and plotted in this countrey, are discharged to come home againe vnder paine of Treason, after their receiuing of the said Orders abroad; and yet, without some other guilt in them then their bare home-comming, haue none of them bin euer put to death. And next, for the cruell torments and strange sorts of death that they say so many of them haue bin put vnto; if there were

no more but the Law and continually obserued custome of England, these many hundreth yeeres, in all criminall matters, it will sufficiently serue to refute all these monstrous lies: for no tortures are euer vsed here, but the Manacles or the Racke, and these neuer but in cases of high Treason; and all sorts of Traitours die but one manner of death here, whether they be Papist or Protestant Traitors; Queene Maries time onely excepted. For then indeede no sorts of cruell deathes were spared vnexecuted vpon men, women and children professing our Religion: yea, euen against the Lawes of God and Nature, women with childe were put to cruell death for their profession; and a liuing childe falling out of the mothers belly, was thrown in the same fire againe that consumed the mother. But these tyrannous persecutions were done by the Bishops of that time, vnder the warrant of the Popes authoritie; and therefore were not subiect to that constant order and formes of execution, which as they are beere established by our Lawes and Customes, so are they accordingly obserued in the punishment of all criminals. For all Priestes and Popish Traitours here receiue their
Iudge.

Iudgements in the temporall Courts, and so doe neuer exceed those formes of execution which are prescribed by the Law, or approued by continuall custome. One thing is also to be marked in this case; that strangers are neuer called in question here for their religion, which is farre otherwise (I hope) in any place where the Inquisition domines.

But hauing now too much wearied you with this long discourse, whereby I haue made you plainly see, that the wrong done vnto me in particular first by the Popes Breues, and then by these Libellers, doth as deeply interest you all in generall, that are Kings, free Princes, or States, as it doth me in particular: I will now conclude, with my humble prayers to God, that he will waken vs vp all out of that Lethargike slumber of Securitie, wherein our Predecessors and we haue lien so long; and that we may first grauely consider, what we are bound in conscience to doe for the planting and spreading of the true worship of God, according to his reuealed will, in all our Dominions; therein hearing the voice of our onely Pastor (for his Sheepe will know his voyce, as himselfe saith), and not following

John 10.27.

To all Christian Monarches,

following the vaine, corrupt & changeable traditions of men. And next, that wee may proudly looke to the securitie of our owne States, and not suffer this incroching Babylonian Monarch to winne still ground vpon vs. And if GOD hath so mercifully dealt with vs, that are his Lieutenants vpon earth, as that he hath ioyned his cause with our interest, the spirituall libertie of the Gospell with our temporall freedom: With what zeale and courage may wee then imbrace this worke: for our labours herein being assured, to receiue at the last the eternall and inestimable reward of felicitie in the kingdom of Heauen; and in the meane time to procure vnto our selues a temporall securitie, in our temporall Kingdomes in this world.

As for so many of you as are already perswaded of that Truth which I professe, though differing among your selues in some particular points; I thinke little perswasion should moue you to this holy and wise Resolution: Our Greatnes, nor our number, praised be GOD, being not so contemptible, but that we may shew good example to our neighbors; since almost the halfe of all Christian people and of all sorts and degrees, are
of

of our profession; I meane, all gone out of Babylon, euen from Kings and free Princes, to the meaneſt ſort of people. But aboue all (my louing Brethren and Coſins) keepe faſt the vnitie of Faith amongſt your ſelues; Reiect^a queſtions of Genealogies and^b Aniles fabulas, as Paul ſaith; Let not the fooliſh heate of your Preachers for idle Controuerſies or indifferent things, teare aſunder that Myſticall Body, whereof yee are a part, ſince the very coat of him whoſe members wee are was without a ſeame: And let not our diuiſion breed a ſlander of our faith, and be a word of reproch in the mouthes of our aduerſaries, who make Vnitie to be one of the ſpeciall notes of the true Church.

a 1.Tim. 1.4

b Ibid.c.4.7.

And as for you (my louing Brethren and Coſins) whome it hath not yet pleaſed GOD to illuminate with the light of his truth; I can but humbly pray with Elizeus, that it would pleaſe GOD to open your eyes, that yee might ſee what innumerable and inuincible armies of Angels are euer prepared and ready to defend the truth of GOD: and with S. Paul I wiſh, that ye were as I am in this caſe; eſpecially that yee would ſearch the Scriptures, and ground your Faith vpon your

Actes.26.29.

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owne

Abac. 2. 4.


owne certaine knowledge, and not vpon the report of others; since euery Man must be safe by his owne faith. But, leauing this to G O D his mercifull prouidence in his due time, I haue good reason to remember you, to maintaine the ancient liberties of your Crownes and Commonwealthes, not suffering any vnder G O D to set himselfe vp aboue you; and therein to imitate your owne noble predecessors, who (euen in the dayes of greatest blindnes) did diuers times courageously oppose themselues to the incroaching ambition of Popes. Yea, some of your Kingdomes haue in all ages maintained, and without any interruption enioyed your libertie, against the most ambitious Popes. And some haue of very late had an euident prooffe of the Popes ambitious aspiring ouer your temporall power; wherein ye haue constantly maintained and defended your lawfull freedome, to your immortall honour. And therefore I heartily wish you all, to doe in this case the office of godly and iust Kings and earthly Iudges: which consisteth not onely in not wronging or inuading the liberties of any other person (for to that will I neuer presse to perswade you) but also in defending and maintaining

taining these lawfull liberties wherewith GOD
bath indued you. For ye, whom GOD hath or-
dained to protect your people from iniuries,
should bee ashamed to suffer your selues to bee
wronged by any. And thus, assuring my selfe, that
ye will with a setled iudgement free of preiudice,
weigh the reasons of this my Discourse, and ac-
cept my plainnesse in good part, gracing this my
Apologie with your fauours, and yet no longer
then till it shall be iustly and worthily refuted; I
end, with my earnest prayers to the Almightye
for your prosperities, and that after your
happy temporall Raignes in earth, yee
may liue and raigne in Heauen
with him for euer.



A CATALOGVE OF
the Lyes of *Tortus*, together
with a brieſe Confutation of them.

Tortus. Edit. Politan. pag. 9.

I  N the oath of Allegiance the Popes power to excommunicate euen Hereticall Kings, is expreſſy denied.

Confutation.

The point touching the Popes power in excommunicating Kings, is neither treated of, nor defined in the Oath of Allegiance, but was purpoſely declined. See the wordes of the Oath, and the Praemontion. pag. 9.

Tortus. pag. 10.

2 For all Catholike writers doe collect from the words of Chriſt *What ſoever thou ſhalt looſe upon earth, ſhall be looſed in heauen*, that there appertaineth to the Popes authoritie, not onely a power to abſolve from finnes, but alſo from penalties, cenſures, lawes, vowes, and oathes.

Confutation.

That all Roman-catholike writers do not concurre with this Libeller, in thus collecting from Chriſts words, Mat. 16. To omit other reaſons, it may appeare by this that many of them doe write, that what Chriſt promiſed there, that hee did actually exhibite to his Diſciples Ioh. 20. when he ſaid, whoſe finnes ye remit, they ſhalbe remitted, thereby reſtraining this power of looſing formerly promiſed, unto looſing from finnes, not mentioning any abſolution from Lawes, Vowes and Oathes in this place. So doe Theophylaſt, Anſelme, Hugo Cardin. & Ferus in Mat. 16. So doe the principall Schoolemen. Alexand. Hales in Summa. part. 4. q. 79. memb. 5. & 6. art. 3. Thom. in 4. diſt. 24. q. 3. art. 2. Scotus in 4. diſt. 19. art. 1.

Pope

Tortus Lyes confuted.

Pope Hadrian. 6. in 4. dist. q. 2. de clauib. pag. 302. edit. Parisien. an, 1530. who also alleadgeth for this interpretation, Augustine and the interlinear Glosse.

Tortus. p. 18.

3 I abhorre all Parricide, I detest all conspiracies: yet it cannot bee denied but occasions of despaire were giuen [to the Powder-plotters.]

Confutation.

That it was not any iust occasion of despaire giuen to the Powder-Traitours, as this Libeller would beare vs in hand, but the instructions which they had from the Iesuits, that caused them to attempt this bloody designe: See the Premonition, pag. 7. & 127. and the booke intituled, The proceedings against the late Traitours.

Tortus. p. 26.

4 For notonely the Catholiques, but also the Caluinist-puritanes detest the taking of this Oath.

Confutation.

The Puritanes doe not decline the Oath of Supremacy, but daily doe take it, neither euer refused it. And the same Supremacy is defended by Caluin himselfe, Instit. lib. 4. cap. 20.

Tortus. p. 28.

5 First of all the Pope writeth not, that hee was grieued at the calamities which the Catholicks did suffer for the keeping of the Orthodox faith in the time of the late Queene, or in the beginning of King James his reigne in England, but for the calamities which they suffer at this present time.

Confutation.

The onely recitall of the wordes of the Breue will sufficiently confute this lye. For thus writeth the Pope, The tribulations and calamities which ye haue continually susteined for the keeping of the Catholique faith, haue alway afflicted vs with great griefe of minde. But forasmuch as wee vnderstand, that at this time all things are more grievous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increased.

Tortus Lyes confuted.

Tortus. p. 28.

6 In the first article [of the Statute] the Lawes of Queene Elizabeth are confirmed.

Confutation.

There is no mention at all made of confirming the Lawes of Q. Elizabeth, in the first article of that Statute.

Tortus. p. 29.

7 In the 10. article [of the said Statute] it is added, that if the [Catholicks] refuse the third time to take the Oath being tendered vnto them, they shall incurre the danger of loosing their liues.

Confutation.

There is no mention in this whole Statute either of offering the Oath the third time, or any endangering of their liues.

Tortus. p. 30.

8 In the 12. article, it is enacted, that whosocuer goeth out of the land to serue in the warres vnder forreine Princes, they shall first of all take this Oath, or els bee accounted for Traitors.

Confutation.

It is no where said in that Statute, that they which shall thus serue in the warres vnder forraine Princes, before they haue taken this Oath, shall be accounted for Traitors, but onely for Felons.

Tortus. p. 35.

9 We haue already declared, that the [Popes] Apostolique power in binding and loosing is denied in that Oath [of Allegiance]

Confutation.

There is no assertory sentence in that Oath, nor any word but onely conditionall, touching the power of the Pope in binding and loosing.

Tortus. p. 37.

10 The Popes themselves, euen will they, nill they, were constrained to subiect themselves to Nero and Diocletian.

Confutation.

Tortus Lyes confuted.

Confutation.

That Christians without exception, not upon constraint but willingly & for conscience sake, did subiect themselves to the Ethnick Emperors, it may appeare by our Apologie, p. 23, 24. and the Apologetickes of the ancient Fathers.

Tortus. p. 47.

11 In which words [of the *Brenes* of *Clement* the 8.] not onely *Iames* King of Scotland, was not excluded, but included rather.

Confutation.

If the Brenes [of Clement] did not exclude me from the Kingdome, but rather did include me, why did Garnet burne them? why would he not referue them that I might haue seene them, that so hee might haue obtained more fauour at mine hands, for him and his Catholikes?

Tortus. p. 60.

12 Of those 14. articles [contained in the Oath of Allegiance] eleuen of them concerne the Primacie of the Pope in matters spirituall.

Confutation.

No one article of that Oath doeth meddle with the Primacie of the Pope in matters spirituall: for to what ende should that haue bene, since wee haue an expresse Oath else-where against the Popes Primacie in matters spirituall?

Tortus. p. 64.

13 Amongst other calumnies this is mentioned, that *Bellarmino* was priuie to sundry conspiracies against *Q Elizabeth*, if not the author.

Confutation.

It is no where said [in the Apologie] that Bellarmine was either the Author, or priuie to any conspiracies against Queene Elizabeth; but that he was their principall instructor and teacher, who corrupted their iudgement with such dangerous positions and principles, that it was an easie matter to reduce the generals into particulars,

Tortus Lyes confuted.

culars, and to apply the dictates which he gave out of his chaire, as opportunity served, to their severall designs.

Tortus. p.64.

14 For he [Bellarmine] knoweth, that Campian onely conspired against Hereticall impietie.

Confutation.

That the true and proper cause of Campians execution, was not for his conspiring against hereticall impiety, but for conspiring against Queene Elizabeth and the State of this Kingdome, it was most evident by the iudiciall proceedings against him.

Tortus. p.65.

15 Why was H. Garnet, a man incomparable for learning in all kindes, and holinesse of life, put to death, but because hee would not reueale that which he could not doe with a safe conscience?

Confutation.

That Garnet came to the knowledge of this horrible Plot not onely in confession, as this Libeller would haue it, but by other meanes, neither by the relation of one alone, but by diners, so as he might with safe conscience haue disclosed it; See the Premonition, p.125, 126, &c. and the Earle of Northamptons booke.

Tortus. p.71.

16 Pope Sixtus 5. neither commanded the French King to be murdered, neither approued that fact, as it was done by a priuate person.

Confutation.

The falsehood of this doeth easily appeare by the Oration of Sixtus. 5.

Tortus. p.91.

17 That which is added concerning Stanley his Treason, is neither faithfully nor truly related: for the Apologer (as his maner is) doeth miserably deprave it, by adding many lyes.

Confutation.

That which the Apologic relateth concerning Stanley his Treason, is word for word recited out of Cardinall Allens Apologie

Tortus Lyes confuted.

gie for Stanley's treason: as it is to be seene there.

Tortus. p. 93.

18 It is very certaine that H. Garnet at his arraignment, did alwaies constantly auouch, that neither hee nor any Iesuite either were authors, or comparters, or aduisers, or consenting any way [to the powder-Treason.] And a little after. The same thing he protested at his death in a large speech, in the presence of innumerable people.

Confutation.

The booke of the proceedings against the late Traytors, and our Premonition, pag. 125, 126, &c doe cleerely proue the contrary of this to be true.

Tortus: p. 97.

19 King James since he is no Catholike, neither is hee a Christian.

Confutation.

Contrary: I am a true Catholicke, a professor of the truly ancient, ashelicke, and Apostolike faith: and therefore am a true Christian. See the confession of my faith in the Premonition. page. 35. 36. &c.

Tortus. p. 98.

20 And if the reports of them, which knew him most inwardly be trew, when he was in Scotland, he was a Puritane, and an enemie to Protestants: Now in England he professeth himselfe a Protestant, and an Enemie to the Puritans.

Confutation.

Contrary; and what a Puritane I was in Scotland: See my ΒΑΣΙΔΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ and this my Premonition. p. 44. 45.

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¶ His

Tortus Lyes confuted.

*His falsifications in his alledging of Histories,
together with a briefe declaration of
their fallhood.*

The wordes of Tortus. p.70.

- 1 **I**T was certaine that he [*Henry 4. the Emperour*] died a naturall death.

Confutation.

It was not certaine: since sundry Historians write otherwise, that he dyed upon his imprisonment by his sonne Henry 5. either with the noysomnesse and loathsomnesse of the prison, or being pined to death by hunger. Read Fasciculus temporum at the yeere 1094. Laziardus epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c. 198. Paulus Langius in Chronico Citizenſi at the yeere 1105. and Iacobus Wimpelingus epitome Rerum Germanic. c. 28.

Tortus. p.83.

- 2 *Henrie 4. the Emperour* feared indeed, but not any corporall death, but the censure of Excommunication, from the which that he might procure absolution, of his owne accord, he did thus demissely humble himselfe [*before Gregorie 7.*]

Confutation.

That Henry 4. thus delected himselfe before the Pope, it was neither of his owne accord, neither upon any feare of the Popes Excommunication, which [in this particular] he esteemed of no force, but upon feare of the losse of his kingdome and life, as the records of antiquitie doe evidently testifie. See Lambertus Schafnaburg. at the yeere, 1077. Abbas Vrspergen. at the yeere 1075. The Author of the life of Henry 4. Bruno in his History of the Saxon warre. Laziard. in epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c. 193. Cuspinian. in Henric. 4. Siginus de Regno Italiae lib. 9.

Tortus. pag.83.

- 3 The trueth of the History [*of Alexander 3. treading vp-on the necke of Fredericke Barbarossa with his foote*] may bee iustly doubted of.

Confu-

Tortus Lyes confuted.

Confutation.

But no Historian doubteth of it; and many do avouch it, as Hieronym. Bard. in victor. Naval, ex Bellarion. Chronico apud Baron. ad an. 1177. num. 5. Gerson de potestate Ecclesiæ confid. 11. Iacob Bergom. in supplem. Chronic. ad an. 1160. Nauclerus Gener. 40. Petrus Iustinian. lib. 2 Rerum Venetar. Papius Masson. lib. 5. de Episcop. vrbis, who alledgeth for this Gennadius Patriarch of Constantinople. Besides Alphonsus Ciacconius de vit. Pontif. in Alexand. 3. and Azorius the Jesuite, Instit. Moral. part. .lib 5. c. 43.

Tortus. p. 83.

4 What other thing feared Frederick Barbarossa but excommunication?

Confutation.

That Frederick feared onely Pope Alexander his Excommunication, no ancient Historian doth testifie. But many do write, that this submission of his was principally for feare of loosing his Empire and Dominions. See for this, Martin. Polon. ad an. 1166. Platina in vita Alexan. 3. Laziard. in epitom. Historiæ vniuersal. c. 212. Naucler. Generat. 40. Iacobus Wimphelingus in epitom. Rerum Germanic. c. 32.

Tortus. p. 88.

5 Adde heereunto, that Cuspinian. [in relating the history of the Turkes brother who was poyloned by Alexander 6.] hath not the consent of other writers to witnes the trueth of this History.

Confutation.

The same History, which is reported by Cuspinian, is recorded also by sundry other famous Historians. See Francis Guicciardin lib. 2. Histor. Ital. Paulus Iouius lib. 2. Hist. sui temporis. Sabellic. Ennead. 10. lib. 9. Continuator. Palmerij, at the yeere 1494.

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The

Tortus Lyes confuted.

The nouell Doctrines, with a briefe declaration of their Noueltie.

Nouell Doctrine. p. 9.

1 **I**T is agreed vpon amongst all, that the Pope may lawfully depole Hereticall Princes, and free their Subiects from yeelding obedience vnto them;

Confutation.

Nay, all are so farre from consenting in this point, that it may much more truly be auouched, that none entertained that conceit before Hildebrand: since he was the first brocher of this new doctrine neuer before heard of, as many learned men of that age, and the age next following (to omit others of succeeding ages) haue expressly testified. See for this point, the Epistle of the whole Clergie of Liege to Pope Paschal the 2. See the iudgement of many Bishops of those times, recorded by Auentine in his history, lib. 5. fol. 579. Also the speech uttered by Conrade Bishop of Vtrecht, in the saide 5. booke of Auentine, fol. 582. And another by Eberhardus, Arch-Bishop of Saltzburge, Ibid. lib. 7. p. 684. Also the iudgement of the Arch-Bishop of Triers, in constitut. Imperialib. à M. Haimensfeldio editis. pag. 47. The Epistle of Walthram Bishop of Megburgh which is extant in Dodechine his Appendix to the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus at the yeere 1090. Benno in the life of Hildebrand. The author of the booke De vnitae Ecclesie, or the Apology for Henry the 4. Sigebert in his Chronicle, at the yeere 1088. Godfrey of Viterbio in his History entituled Pantheon, part. 17. Ottho Frisingensis, lib. 6. c. 35. & præfat. in lib. 7. Frederick Barbarossa. lib. 6. Gunther. Ligurin. de gestis Frederici. and lib. 1. c. 10. of Kaduicus de gestis eiusdem Frederici. Vincentius in speculo historiali lib. 15. c. 84. with sundry others.

Nouell doctrine. p. 51.

2 In our supernaturall birth in Baptisme wee are to conceiue of a secret and implied oath, which wee take at our new birth,

Tortus Lyes confuted.

birth, to yeelde obedience to the spirituall Prince, which is Christs Vicar.

Confutation.

It is to be wondered at, whence this fellow had this strange new Diuinitie, which surely was first framed in his owne fantastick brain. Else let him make vs a Catalogue of his Authors, that hold and teach, that all Christians, whether infants or of age, are by vertue of an oath taken in their Baptisme, bound to yeeld absolute obedience to Christs Vicar the Pope, or baptised in any but in Christ.

Nouell Doctrine. p.94.

3 But since that Catholike doctrine doth not permit, for the auoidance of any mischiefe whatsoeuer, to discouer the secret of Sacramental confessiō, he [Garnet] rather chose to suffer most bitter death, then to violate the seal of so great a Sacramēt.

Confutation.

That the secret of Sacramentall confession is by no means to be disclosed, no not indirectly, or in generall, to the person confessing be concealed, for auoidance and preuention of no mischiefe, how great soeuer; besides that it is a positiō most dangerous to all Princes and Commonwealths, as I shew in my Premonition, pag. 122. 123: it is also a Nouell assertion, not heard of til of late dayes in the Christian world: Since the common opinion euen of the Schoolemen and Canonists both olde and new, is vnto the contrary; Witnesse these Authors following: Alexand. Hales part. 4. qu. 78. mem. 2. art. 2. Thom. 4. dist. 21. q. 3. art. 1. ad. 1. Scotus in 4. dist. 21. q. 2. Hadrian. 6. in 4. dist. vbi de Sacram. Confess. edit. Paris. 1530. pag. 289. Dominic. Sot. in 4. dist. 18. q. 4. art. 5. Francis. de victor. sum. de Sacram. n. 189. Nauar. in Enchirid. c. 8. Ioseph. Angles in Florib. part 1. pag. 247. edit. Antuerp. Petrus Soto lect. 11. de confess. The Iesuites also accorde heerunto, Suarez. Tom. 4. disp. in 3. part. Thom. disp. 33. s. 3. Gregor. de Valentia. Tom. 4. disp. 7. q. 13. punct. 3. who saith the common opinion of the Schoolemen is so.

Nouell Doctrine. p.102.

4 Idareboldly auow, that the Catholikes haue better rea-

Tortus Lyes confuted.

son to refuse the Oath [of Allegiance] then *Eleazar* had to refuse the eating of Swines flesh.

Confutation.

This assertion implieth a strange doctrine indeede, that the Popes Breues are to bee preferred before Moses Law: Anathat Papists are more bound to obey the Popes decree, the helew es were to obey the Law of God pronounced by Moses.

Nowell doctrine. p. 135.

5 Churchmen are exempted from the Iurisdiction of secular Princes, and therefore are no subiects to Kings: yet ought they to obserue their Lawes concerning matters temporall, not by vertue of any Law, but by enforcement of reason, that is to say, not for that they are their Subiects, but becaute reason will giue it, that such Lawes are to bee kept for the publike good, and the quiet of the Common-wealth.

Confutation,

*How true friends the Cardinall and his Chaplen are to Kings that would haue so many Subiects exempted from their power: See my Præmonition, p. 20, 21. Also, p. 114. 115. &c. But as for this and the like new Aphorismes, I would haue these cunning Merchants to cease to vent such stufte for ancient and Catholike wares in the Christian world, till they haue disprooued their owne Venetians, who charge them with No-
ueltie and forgerie in
this point,*



Triplici



Triplicinodo, triplex cuneus.

OR

AN APOLOGIE
FOR THE OATH
of Allegiance.

Against the two Breues of Pope
PAVLVS QVINTVS, and the late
Letter of Cardinall BELLAR-
MINE TO G. BLACKVEL
the Arch-priest.

*Tunc omnes populi clamauerunt & dixerunt,
Magna est Veritas, & praeualet. ESDR. 3.*

¶ *Authoritate Regiâ.*

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Barker, Printer to the Kings most
Excellent Maiestie.

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62 2



AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH of Allegiance.



W^Hat a monſtrous,
rare, nay neuer heard-
of Treacherous At-
tempt, was plotted
within theſe few yeres
heere in England, for
the deſtruction of Me,
my Bed-fellow, and our Poſterity, the whole
houſe of Parliament, and a great number of
good Subiects of all ſorts and degrees: is ſo
famous already through the whole world by
the infamy thereof, as it is needleſſe to be re-
peated or publiſhed any more; the hor-
rour of the ſinne it ſelfe doth ſo lowdly proclaime
it. For if thoſe ^a crying Sinnes (whereof
mention is made in the Scripture) haue that

A

epithet

^a Gen. 4. 10.

epithet giuen them for their publike infamie, and for procuring as it were with a loud crie from heauen a iust vengeance and recompense, and yet those finnes are both old and too common, neither the world nor any one Countrey being euer at any time cleane voyd of them: If those finnes (I say) are said in the Scripture to cry so loud; What then must this sinne doe, plotted without cause, infinite in crueltie, and singular from all examples? What proceeded hereupon is likewise notorious to the whole world; our Iustice onely taking hold vpon the Offenders, and that in as honourable and publike a forme of Triall, as euer was vsed in this Kingdome.

2. For although the onely reason they gaue for plotting so heinous an Attempt, was the zeale they caried to the Romish Religion; yet were neuer any other of that profession the worse vsed for that cause, as by our gracious Proclamation immediatly after the discouery of the said fact doeth plainly appeare: onely at the next Sitting downe againe of the Parliament, there were Lawes made,

made, setting downe some such orders as were thought fit for preuenting the like mischiefe in time to come. Amongst which a forme of OATH was framed to be taken by my Subiects, whereby they should make a cleare profession of their resolution, faithfully to persist in their obedience vnto me, according to their naturall allegiance; To the end that I might hereby make a separation, not onely betweene all my good Subiects in generall, and vnfaithfull Traitors, that intended to withdraw themselues from my obedience; But specially to make a separation betweene so many of my Subiects, who although they were otherwise popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall duetie to their Soueraigne; and those who being caried away with the like fanaticall zeale that the Powder-Traitors were, could not containe themselues within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance, but thought diuersitie of religion a safe pretext for all kinde of treasons, and rebellions against their Soueraigne. Which godly and wise intent God did blesse with suc-

celle accordingly : For very many of my Subiects that were popishly affected, as well priests, as layicks, did freely take the same Oath: whereby they both gaue me occasion to thinke the better of their fidelitie, and likewise freed themselues of that heauie slander, that although they were fellow professors of one Religion with the powder Traitors, yet were they not ioyned with them in treasonable courses against their Soueraigne; whereby all quietly minded Papists were put out of despaire, and I gaue a good proote that I intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but onely desired to bee secured of them for ciuill obedience, which for conscience cause they were bound to performe.

3. But the deuil could not haue deuised a more malicious tricke for interrupting this so calme and clement a course, then fell out by the sending hither, and publishing a *Breue* of the Popes, countermaunding all them of his profession to take this Oath; Thereby sowing newes seedes of ielousie betweene me and my Popish Subiectes, by stirring

ring them vp to disobey that lawfull commandement of their Soueraigne, which was ordeined to be taken of them as a pledge of their fidelitie; And so by their refusall of so iust a charge, to giue me so great and iust a ground for punishment of them, without touching any matter of conscience; throwing themselues needlessly into one of these desperate straites; either with the losse of their liues and goods to renounce their Allegiance to their naturall Soueraigne; or else to procure the condemnation of their Soules by renouncing the Catholike faith, as he alleadgeth.

4. And on the other part, although disparity of Religion (the Pope being head of the contrary part) can permit no intelligence nor intercourse of messengers betweene mee and the Pope: yet there being no denounced warre betweene vs, hee hath by this action broken the rules of common ciuility and iustice betweene Christian Princes, in thus condemning me vnheard, both by accounting me a persecutor, which cannot be but implied by exhorting the Papists

to endure Martyrdome; as likewise by so straitly commanding all those of his Profession in England, to refuse the taking of this Oath; thereby refusing to professe their naturall obedience to me their Soueraigne. For if he thinke himselfe my lawfull Iudge, wherefore hath he condemned me vnheard? And, if he haue nothing to doe with me and my gouernement (as indeede he hath not) why doeth hee *mittere falcem in alienam messem*, to meddle betweene mee and my Subiects, especially in matters that meerely and onely concerne ciuill obedience? And yet could *Pius Quintus* in his greatest furie and auowed quarrell against the late Queene, do no more iniury vnto her; then he hath in this case offered vnto me, without so much as a pretended or an alleadged cause. For what difference there is, betweene the commanding Subiects to rebell, and loosing them from their Oath of Allegiance as *Pius Quintus* did; & the commanding of Subiects not to obey in making profession of their Oath of their dutiful Allegiance, as this Pope hath now done: no man can easily discern.

5. But to draw neere vnto his *Breue*, wherein certainly he hath taken more paines then he needed, by setting downe in the said *Breue* the whole body of the Oath at lēgth; whereas the only naming of the Title thereof might as wel haue serued, for any answere he hath made thereunto (making *Vna litura*, that is, the flat and generall condemnation of the whole Oath to serue for all his refutation) Therein hauing as well in this respect as in the former, dealt both vndiscreetly with me, and iniuriously with his owne Catholicks. With me; in not refuting particularly what speciall wordes hee quarrelled in that Oath; which if he had done, it might haue bene that for the fatherly care I haue not to put any of my Subiects to a needlesse extremitie, I might haue bene contented in some sort to haue reformed or interpreted those wordes. With his owne Catholicks: for either if I had so done, they had beene thereby fully eased in that businesse; or at least if I would not haue condescended to haue altered any thing in the said Oath, yet would thereby some appearance or shadow of excuse

cuse haue beene left vnto them for refusing the same: not as seeming thereby to swarue from their Obedience and Allegiance vnto me, but onely being stayed from taking the same vpon the scrupulous tenderesse of their consciences, in regard of those particular wordes which the Pope had noted and condemned therein.

And now let vs heare the wordes of his thunder.

POPE

POPE PAVLVS

the fift, to the English

Catholikes.

VElbeloued Sonnes, Salutation
and Apostolicall Benediction. The
tribulations and calamities, which
ye haue continually sustained for
the keeping of the Catholike Faith, haue alwayes
afflicted vs with great grieve of mind. But for
as much as wee vnderstand that at this time all
things are more grievous, our affliction hereby is
wonderfully increased. For wee haue heard how
you are compelled, by most grievous punishments
set before you, to goe to the Churches of Here-
tiques, to frequent their assemblies, to be present
at their Sermons. Truly we doe vndoubtedly
beleue, that they which with so great constancie
and fortitude, haue hitherto indured most cruell
persecutions and almost infinite miseries, that
they may walke without spot in the Law of the
Lord; will neuer suffer themselves to bee defiled
with the communion of those that haue forsaken

The Pope his
first Breue.

B

the

the diuine Law. Yet notwithstanding, being compelled by the zeale of our Pastora'll Office, and by our Fatherly care which we doe continually take for the saluation of our soules, we are inforced to admonish and desire you; that by no meanes you come vnto the Churches of the Heretikes, or heare their Sermons, or communicate with them in their Rites, lest you incurre the wrath of God. For these things may yee not doe without indamaging the worship of God, and your owne saluation. As likewise you cannot without most euident and grievous wronging of Gods Honour, binde your selues by the Oath, which in like manner we haue heard with very great grieve of our heart is administred vnto you, of the tenor vnder written. *viz.*

The Oath.

I A. B. doe truely and sincerely acknowledge, proteste, testifie and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, is lawfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maiesties Dominions and Countreyes: And that the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or Sea of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other,

ther, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Maiesties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forraigne Prince to inuade or annoy him or his Countreys, or to discharge any of his Subiects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue Licence or leaue to any of them to beare Armes, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maiesties Royal Person, State or Gouvernement, or to any of his Maiesties Subiectes within his Maiesties Dominions. Also I doe sweare from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of Excommunication, or depriuation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the *Pope* or his Successors, or by any Authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him or his Sea, against the said King, his Heires or Successors, or any Absolution of the said subiects from their Obedience; I will beare faith and true Allegiance to his Maiestie, his Heires and Successors, and him and them will defend to the vttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoeuer,

which shalbe made against his or their Persons, their Crowne and dignitie, by reason or colour of any such Sentence, or declaration, or otherwise, and will doe my best endeavour to disclose and make knowne vnto his Maiestie, his Heires and Successors, all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies, which I shall know or heare of, to be against him or any of them. And I doe further sweare, That I doe from my heart abhorre, detest and abiure as impious and Hereticall, this damnable doctrine and Position, That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the *Pope*, may be deposed or murdered by their Subiects or any other whatsoeuer. And I doe beleue, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the *Pope* nor any person whatsoeuer, hath power to absolue mee of this Oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full Authoritie to be lawfully ministred vnto mee, and doe renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to these expresse words by mee spoken,

ken, and according to the plaine and common sense and vnderstanding of the same words, without any Equiuocation, or mentall euasion, or secret reseruatiō whatsoeuer. And I doe make this Recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly and truly, vpon the true faith of a Christian. So helpe me G O D.

Which things since they are thus; it must evidently appeare vnto you by the words themselues, That such an Oath cannot be taken without hurting of the Catholike Faith, and the saluation of your Soules; seeing it conteines many things which are flat contrary to Fayth and Saluation. Wherefore wee doe admonish you, that you doe utterly abstaine from taking this and the like Oathes: which thing we doe the more earnestly require of you, because we haue experience of the Constancy of your Faith, which is tried like Gold in the fire of perpetuall Tribulation. We doe well know, that you will cheerefully under-goe all kind of cruel Torments whatsoeuer, yea and constantly endure death it selfe, rather then you will in any thing offend the Maiestie of G O D. And this our Confidence is confirmed by those things,

which are daily reported vnto vs, of the singular Vertue, Valour, and fortitude which in these last times doeth no lesse shine in your Martyrs, then it did in the first beginning of the Church. Stand therefore, your Loynes being girt about with Veritie, and hauing on the Brest-plate of righteousnessse, taking the Shield of Faith, bee yee strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; And let nothing hinder you. Hee which will crowne you, and doeth in Heauen behold your Conflicts, will finish the good worke which he hath begun in you. You know how hee hath promised his Disciples, that hee will neuer leaue them Orphanes: for hee is faithfull which hath promised. Hold fast therefore his correction, that is, being rooted and grounded in Charitie, whatsoeuer yee doe, whatsoeuer ye indeuour, doe it with one accord, in simplicitie of Heart, in meekenesse of Spirit, without murmuring or doubting. For by this doe all men know that wee are the Disciples of Christ, if we haue Loue one to another. Which Charitie, as it is very greatly to bee desired of all faithfull Christians; So certainly is it altogether necessary for you, most blessed Sonnes. For by this your Charitie,

the

the power of the Deuill is weakened, who doeth so much assaile you, since that Power of his is especially up-held by the Contentions and Disagreement of our Sonnes. We exhort you therefore by the bowels of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose Loue wee are taken out of the Lawes of eternall Death; That aboue all things, you would haue mutuall Charitie among you. Surely Pope Clement the eight of happy memory, hath giuen you most profitable Precepts of practising brotherly Charitie one to another, in his Letters in forme of a Breue, to our welbeloued Sonne M. George Arch-priest of the Kingdome of England, dated the 5. day of the moneth of October, 1602. Put them therefore diligently in practise, and bee not hindered by any difficultie or doubtfulnesse. We command you that ye doe exactly obserue the words of those letters, and that yee take and vnderstand them simply as they sound, and as they lie; all power to interpret them otherwise, being taken away. In the meane while, wee will neuer cease to pray to the Father of Mercies, that hee would with pitie beholde your afflictions and your paines; And that hee would keepe and defend you with his continuall.

Pro-

Protection: whom we doe gently greet with our Apostolicall Benediction. Dated at Rome at S. Marke, under the Signet of the Fisherman, the tenth of the Calends of October, 1606. the second yeere of our Popedome.



THE ANSWERE to the first *Breue*.

First, the *Pope* expresseth heerein his sorrow, for that Persecution which the Catholiques sustaine for the faiths sake. Wherein, besides the maine vntrueth whereby I am so iniuriously vsed, I must euer auow and maintaine, as the trueth is according to mine owne knowledge, that the late *Queene* of famous memory, neuer punished any Papist for religion, but that their owne punishment was euer extorted out of her hands against her will, by their owne misbehauour, which both the time and circumstances of her actions

actions will manifestly make proof of. For before *Pius Quintus* his excommunication giuing her ouer for a preye, and setting her Subiects at liberty to rebel, it is well known she neuer medled with the blood or hard punishment of any Catholique, nor made any rigorous lawes against them. And since that time, who list to compare with an indifferent eye, the manifold intended Inuasions against her whole Kingdome, the foraine practises, the internall publike rebellions, the priuate plots and machinations, poysonings, murthers, and all sorts of deuises, *et quid non?* daily set abroach; and all these wares continually fostered & fomented from *Rome*; together with the continuall corrupting of her Subiects, as well by temporall bribes, as by faire and specious promises of eternall felicitie; and nothing but booke vpon booke publicly set forth by her fugitiues, for approbation of so holy designs: who list, I say, with an indifferent eye, to looke on the one part, vpon those infinite & intollerable temptations, and on the other part vpon the iust, yet moderate

C

punish-

punishment of a part of these hainous offenders; shall easily see that that blessed de-funct Lady was as free from persecution, as they shall free these hellish Instruments from the honour of martyrdom.

5. But now hauing sacrificed (if I may so say) to the *Manes* of my late predecessor, I may next with *S. Paul* iustly vindicate my own fame, from those innumerable calumnies spred against me, in testifying the truth of my behauiour toward the Papists: wherein I may truly affirme, that whatsoeuer was her iust and mercifull *Gouernement* ouer the Papists in her time, my *Gouernement* ouer them since hath so farre exceeded hers, in mercy and clemency, as not onely the Papists themselues grewe to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildenesse, as they did directly expect, & assuredly promise to theselues liberty of conscience & equality with other of my Subiects in all things; but euen a number of the best and faithfulest of my said subiects, were cast in great feare & amazement of my course & proceedings, euer prognosticating & iustly
suspecting

suspecting that sowre fruit to come of it, which shewed it selfe clearely in the powder-Treason. How many did I honour with knighthood, of known & open Recusants? How indifferently did I giue audience, and accesse to both sides, bestowing equally all fauours and honors on both professions? How free & cōtinuall accesse, had all ranks & degrees of Papists in my Court & company? And aboue all, how frankly and freely did I free Recusants of their ordinary payments? Besides, it is euident what strait order was giuen out of my own mouth to the Iudges, to spare the execution of all Priests, (notwithstāding their cōuiction,) ioyning therunto a gracious Proclamatiō, wherby al Priests, that were at liberty, and not taken, might goe out of the country by such a day: my generall Pardon hauing bin extended to all conuicted Priests in prison: whereupon they were set at liberty as good Subiects: and all Priests that were taken after, sent ouer and set at liberty there. But time & paper will faile me to make enumeration of all the benefits and fauours that I

*a Magno cum
animi dolore,
&c.*

bestowed in generall and particular vpon
Papists: in recounting wherof, euery scrape
of my pen would serue but for a blot of the
Popes ingratitude and Iniustice, in meating
me with so hard a measure for the same So
as I thinke I haue sufficiently, or at least
with good reas^o wiped the ^ateares from the
Popes eyes, for complaining vpon such per-
secution, who if he had been but politikely
wise, although he had had no respect to
Iustice and Verity, would haue in this com-
plaint of his, made a difference betweene
my present time, and the time of the late
Queen, And so by his commending of my
moderation, in regard of former times,
might haue had hope to haue moued me to
haue continued in the same clement course.
For it is a true saying, that alledged kindnes
vpon noble minds, doth euer worke much.
And for the maine vnt^ruth of any persecuti-
on in my time, it can neuer be proued, that
any were, or are put to death since I came to
the Crowne for cause of Conscience: except
that now this discharge giuen by the Pope
to all Catheliques to take their oath of Al-
legiance

legiance to me, be the cause of the due punishment of many: which if it fall out to be, let the blood light vpon the Popes head, who is the onely cause thereof.

As for the next point contained in his *Breue* cōcerning his discharge of al Papists to come to our Church, or frequent our rites and ceremonies I am not to meddle at this time with that matter, because my errād now only is to publish to the world the Iniury and Iniustice done vnto me in discharging my subiects to make profession of their obedience vnto me. Now as to the point where the oath is quarrelled, it is set down in few, but very weighty words; to wit, *That it ought to be cleare vnto all Catholiques, that this oath cannot be taken with safety of the Catholike Faith, & of their soules health, since it containeth many things that are plainly and directly contrary to their faith & saluation.* To this, the old saying fathered vpon the Philosopher may very fitly be applied, *Multa dicit, sed pauca probat*: nay indeed, *Nihil omnino probat*. For how the professiō of the natural Allegiāce of Subiects to their Prince

The intendment of this discourse.

can be directly opposite to the faith & saluation of souls, is so far beyond my simple reading in Diuinitie, as I must thinke it a strange and new Assertion, to proceed out of the mouth of that pretended general Pastor of all Christian soules. I reade indeede, and not in one, or two, or three places of Scripture, that Subjects are bound to obey their Princes for conscience sake, whether they were good or wicked Princes. So said the people to ^a Ioshua, *As we obeyed Moses in all things, so will we obey thee.* So the ^b Prophet commanded the people to obey the King of Babel, saying, *Put your neckes vnder the yoke of the King of Babel, and serue him and his people, that yee may liue.* So were the children of Israel, vnto ^c Pharaoh, desiring him to let them goe: so to ^d Cyrus, obtaining leaue of him to returne to build the Temple: and in a word, the Apostle willed all men to be *subject to the higher powers for conscience sake.* Agreeable to the Scriptures did the Fathers teach. ^e Augustine speaking of Iulian, saith, *Iulian was an vnbeleeuing Emperour: was he not an Apostata, an Oppressour, and an Idolater?*

Christian

^a Iosh. 1. 17.

^b Iere. 27. 12.

^c Exod. 5. 1.

^d Ezra. 1. 3.

^e Rom. 13. 5.

^f August. in
cy. 2. al. 124.

Christian Souldiers serued that vnbeleeuing
Emperour : when they came to the cause of
CHRIST, they would acknowledge no Lord,
but him that is in beauen : When he would haue
them to worship Idoles and to sacrifice, they pre-
ferred G O D before him : But when hee said,
goe forth to fight, inuade such a nation, they pre-
sently obeyed. They distinguished their eternall
Lord from their temporall, and yet were they
subiect euen vnto their temporall lord, for his
sake that was their eternall Lord and Master.

§ Tertullian saith, A Christian is enimie to no
man, much lesse to the Prince, whom hee know-
eth to bee appointed of God : and so of necessitie
must loue, reuerence and honour him, and wish
him safe with the whole Romane Empire, so long
as the world shall last : for so long shall it endure.
We honour therefore the Emperour in such sort,
as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him, as a
man, the next vnto God, and obtaining from God
whatsoever hee hath, and onely inferiour vnto
God. This the Emperour himselfe would : for so
is he greater then all, while he is inferiour onely
to the true God. ^h Iustine Martyr ; We onely a-
dore Lod, and in all other things cheerefully per-
forme

g Tertul. ad
Scap.

h Iust. Mart. p
Apol. 2. ad. vs-
Imperat.

i. Amb. in orat
cont. Auxentiu
de basilica tra-
den. habetur lib
5, Epist. Amb.

k Optat. contra
Parmen. lib. 3.
l Greg. Mag.
Epist. lib. 2.
indist. 11.
Epist. 61.

forme seruice to you, professing that you are Em-
perours and Princes of men. ⁱ Ambrose; I may
lament, weepe, and sigh: My teares are my wea-
pons against their armes, souldiers, and the
Gothes also: such are the weapons of a Priest:
Otherwise neither ought I, neither can I resist,
^k Optatus; Ouer the Emperour, there is none but
only God, that made the Emperour. And ^l Gre-
gory writing to Mauritius about a certaine
Law, that a Souldier should not be receiued
into a Monastery, *nondū expleta militia*, The
Almightie God, saith he, holdes him guilty, that
is not vpright to the most excellent Emperour
in all things that he doth or speaketh. And then
calling himself the vnworthy seruant of his
Godlinesse goeth on in the whole epistle to
shew the iniustice of that Law, as he preten-
deth: and in the end concludes his epistle
with these words; *I being subiect to your com-
maund, haue caused the same Law to bee sent
through diuers parts of your Dominions: and be-
cause the Law it selfe doeth not agree to the Law
of the Almighty God, I haue signified the same
by my letters to your most excellent Lordship:
so that on both parts I haue payed what I ought:*
because

because I haue yeelded obedience to the Emperour, and haue not holden my peace, in what I thought for God. Now how great a contrarietie there is, betwixt this ancient Popes action in obeying an Emperour by the publication of his Decree, which in his owne conscience he thought vnlawfull, and this present Popes prohibition to a Kings Subiects from obedience vnto him in things most lawfull and meere temporall; I remit it to the Readers indifferencie. And answerably to the Fathers spake the Councils in their Decrees. As the Councell of^m Arles, submitting the whole Councell to the Emperour in these words; These things we haue decreed to be presented to our lord the Emperour, beseeching his Clemencie, that if we haue done lesse then wee ought, it may be supplied by his wisdom: if any thing otherwise then reason requireth, it may be corrected by his iudgement: if any thing be found fault with by vs with reason, it may be perfected by his aid with GODS fauourable assistance.

But why should I speake of Charles the great, to whome not one Councell, but fixe severall Councils, Frankesford, Arles, Tours,

D

Chalons,

m Council. Arlesense sub Carolo Magno. Can. 26.

a Vide Epistolam generalem Concilii Ephes. ad August.

b Iohn 18.36.

c Matt. 22.21.

Chalons, Ments & Rhemes did wholly submit themselves? and not rather speake of all the generall Councils, that of *Nice, Constanti-nople, Ephesus, Chalcedon*, and the foure other commonly so reputed, which did submit themselves to the Emperours wisdom and piety in all things? Insomuch as that of *Ephesus* repeated it foure severall times, *That they were summoned by the Emperours Oracle, becke, charge and commaund, and betooke themselves to his Godlinesse: a beseeching him, that the Decrees made against Nestorius and his followers, might by his power haue their full force and validitie*, as appeareth manifestly in the Epistle of the generall Councell of *Ephesus* written *ad Augustos*. I also reade that Christ said, *His^b kingdome was not of this world*, bidding, *Giue to^c Cæsar what was Cæsars, and to God what was Gods*. And I euer held it for an infallible Maxime in Diuinitie, That temporall obedience to a temporal Magistrate, did nothing repugne to matters of faith or saluation of soules. But that euer temporall obedience was against faith and saluation of soules, as in this *Breue* is alledged, was neuer before

before heard nor read of in the Christian Church. And therefore I would haue wished the *Pope*, before he had set downe this commandement to all Papists here, That, since in him is the power by the infallibilitie of his spirit, to make new Articles of Faith when euer it shall please him; he had first set it downe for an Article of Faith, before hee had commanded all Catholikes to beleue and obey it. I will then conclude the answer to this point in a *Dilemma*.

Either it is lawful to obey the Soueraigne in temporall things, or not. Question.

It it be lawfull (as I neuer heard nor read it doubted of) then why is the *Pope* so vniust, and so cruell towards his owne Catholikes, as to command them to disobey their Soueraignes lawfull commandement ? 1.

It it be vnlawful, why hath he neither expressed any one cause or reason thereof, nor yet will giue them leaue (nay rather hee should commaund and perswade them in plaine termes) not to liue vnder a King whom vnto they ought no obedience ? 2.

And as for the vehement exhortation vn-

Answer to
the Popes ex-
hortation.

to them to perseuere in constancie, and to suffer Martyrdome and all tribulation for this cause; it requireth no other answere then onely this, That if the ground be good whereupon hee hath commanded them to stand, then exhortation to constancie is necessarie: but if the ground bee vniust and naught (as indeed it is, and I haue in part already proued) then this exhortation of his can worke no other effect, then to make him guilty of the blood of so many of his sheepe, whom he doeth thus wilfully cast away, not onely to the needlesse losse of their liues, and ruine of their families, but euen to the laying on of a perpetuall slander vpon all Papists; as if no zealous Papist could be a true Subiect to his Prince; and that the profession of that Religion, and the Temporall obedience to the Ciuill Magistrate, were two things repugnant and incompatible in themselves. But euill information, and vntrue reports (which being caried so farre as betweene this and *Rome*, cannot but increase by the way) might haue abused the *Pope*, and made him dispatch this *Breue* so rashly. For that

*Fama virescit
quiritis eundo.*

that great Citie, Queene of the World, and as themſelves confeſſe, ^a myſtically *Babylon*, cannot but be ſo full of all ſorts of Intelligencies. Beſides, all complainers (as the Catholiques here are) be naturally giuen to exaggerate their owne griefes, and multiply thereupon. So that it is no wonder, that euen a iuſt Iudge ſitting there, ſhould vpon wrong information giue an vnrighteous ſentence: as ſome of their owne partie doe not ſticke to confeſſe, That *Pius Quintus* was too raſhly caried vpon wrong information, to pronounce his thunder of Excommunication vpon the late Queene. And it may be, the like excuſe ſhal hereafter be made for the two *Breues*, which ^b *Clemens Octauus* ſent to *England* immediatly before her death, for debarring me of the Crowne, or any other that either would profeſſe, or any wayes tolerate the profeſſours of our Religion; contrary to his manifold vowes and proteſtations, *ſimul & eodem tempore*, & as it were, deliuered *uno & eodem ſpiritu*, to diuers of my miniſters abroad, proteſſing ſuch kindneſſe, and ſhewing ſuch forwardneſſe to aduance

^a *Eusebius, Oecumenius* and *Leo* hold, that by *Babylon* in *1. Pet 5. 13.* Rome is meant, as the *Rhemists* themſelves confeſſe.

^b See the Relation of the whole proceedings againſt the *Traitours, Garnet* and his confederates.

The Catho-
likes opinion
of the *Breue*.

me to this Crowne. Nay, the most part of
Catholikes here, finding this *Breue* when it
came to their handes, to be so farre against
diuinitie, policie or natural sense, were firme-
ly perswaded that it was but a counterfeit
Libel, deuised in hatred of the *Pope*; or at the
farthest, a thing hastily done vpon wrong
information, as was before said. Of which
opinion were not onely the simpler sort of
Papists, but euen some amongst them of best
account, both for learning and experience;
whereof the Archpriest himselfe was one.
But for soluing of this obiection, the *Pope*
himselfe hath taken new paines by sending
foorth a second *Breue*, onely for giving
faith and confirmation to the former: That
whereas before, his sinne might haue bene
thought to haue proceeded from rashnesse
and mis-information, he will now wilfully
and willingly double the same: whereof
the Copie followeth.

TO

TO OVR BELO-
ued Sonnes the English Ca-
tholiques, *Paulus P.P. V^{us}.*

Beloued Sonnes, Salutation and
Apostolicall Benediction. It is
reported vnto vs, that there are
found certaine amongst you, who
when as wee haue sufficiently declared by our
Letters, datted the last yeere on the tenth of the
Calends of October in the forme of a Breue,
that yee cannot with safe Conscience take the
Oath, which was then required of you; and
when as wee haue further straitly commaunded
you, that by no meanes ye should take it: yet there
are some, I say, among you, which dare now af-
firme, that such Letters concerning the forbid-
ding of the Oath, were not written of our owne
accord, or of our owne proper will, but rather for
the respect and at the instigation of other men.
And for that cause, the same men do goe about to
perswade you, that our commands in the said let-
ters are not to be regarded. Surely this newes did
trouble

The second
Breue.

trouble vs; and that so much the more, because hauing had experience of your obedience (most dearly beloued Sonnes) who to the end ye might obey this holy Sea, haue godlily and valiantly condemned your riches, wealth, honour, libertie, yea and life it selfe; we should neuer haue suspected that the trueth of our Apostolique Letters could once be called into question among you, that by this pretence, yee might exempt your selues from our Commandements. But we doe herein perceiue the subtiltie and craft of the enemy of mans saluation, and wee doe attribute this your backwardnesse rather to him, then to your owne will. And for this cause, wee haue thought good to write the second time vnto you, and to signifie vnto you againe, That our Apostolike Letters, dated the last yere on the tenth of the Calends of October, concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written, not onely vpon our proper motion, and of our certaine knowledge, but also after long and weightie deliberation used concerning all those things, which are contained in them; and that for that cause yee are bound fully to obserue them, reiecting all interpretation perswading to the contrary. And this is our meere, pure, and
perfect

perfect will, being alwayes carefull of your saluation, and alwayes minding those things, which are most profitable vnto you. And we doe pray without ceasing, that he that hath appointed our lowlinesse to the keeping of the flocke of Christ, would inlighten our thoughts and our counsels: whom we do also continually desire, that he would increase in you (our beloued Sonnes) faith, constancy, and mutuall charity and peace one to another. All whom, we doe most louingly blesse with all charitable affection.

Dated at Rome at Saint Markes vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the x. of the Calends of September, 1607. the third yeere of our Popedome.

E T H E



THE ANSWER to the second *Breue*.

NOW for this *Breue*, I may iustly reflect his owne phrase vpon him, in tearming it to bee *The craft of the Deuil*. For if the Deuil had studied a thousand yeres, for to find out a mischiefe for our Catholikes here, hee hath found it in this: that now when many Catholiks haue taken their Oath, and some Priests also; yea, the Arch-priest himselfe, without compunction or sticking, they shall not now onely bee bound to refuse the profession of their naturall Allegiance to their Soueraigne, which might yet haue beene some way coloured vpo diuers scruples conceiued vpon the wordes of the Oath; but they must now renounce & forswear their profession of obedience already sworne, and so must as it were at the third instance forswear

A double
Oath of euery
Subiect.

swear their former two Oaths, first closely sworn, by their birth in their naturall Allegiance; and next, clearly confirmed by this Oath, which doeth nothing but expresse the same: so as no man can now hold the faith, or procure the saluation of his soule in *England*, that must not abiure and renounce his borne and sworn Allegiance to his naturall Soueraigne.

And yet it is not sufficient to ratifie the last yeeres *Breue*, by a new one come forth this yeere; but (that not onely euery yeere, but euery moneth may produce a new monster) the great and famous Writer of the Controuerfies, the late vn-Iesuited Cardinall *Bellarmino*, must adde his talent to this good worke, by blowing the bellows of sedition, and sharpening the spur to rebellion, by sending such a Letter of his to the Arch-priest here, as it is a wonder how passion and an ambitious desire of maintaining that Monarchie, should charme the wits of so famously learned a man.

The Copie whereof here followeth.



TO THE VERY RE-
uerend M^r George Blackwell,
Arch-priest of the English: Robert Bel-
larmino Cardinall of the holy Church of
Rome, greeting.



Euerend Sir, and Brother in
CHRIST; It is almost fourtie
yeeres since wee did see one the
other: but yet I haue neuer bene
vnmindfull of our ancient ac-
quaintance, neither haue I ceased, seeing I could
doe you no other good, to commend your labou-
ring most painefully in the Lords vineyard, in my
prayers to God. And I doubt not, but that
I haue liued all this while in your memory, and
haue had some place in your prayers at the Lords
Altar. So therefore euen vnto this time wee
haue abidden, as S. Iohn speaketh, in the mutuall
loue one of the other, not by word or letter, but
in deede and trueth. But a late message which
was brought vnto vs within these few dayes, of
your bonds and imprisonment, hath inforced mee

to

to breake off this silence ; which message , although it seemed heauie in regard of the losse which that Church hath receiued , by their being thus deprived of the comfort of your pastorall function amongst them, yet withall it seemed ioyous , because you drew neere vnto the glory of Martyrdome , then the which gift of God there is none more happy ; That you , who haue fedde your flocke so many yeeres with the worde and doctrine , should now feede it more gloriously by the example of your patience. But another heauie tidings did not a litle disquiet and almost take away this ioy , which immediatly followed, of the aduersaries assault , and peraduenture of the slip and fall of your Constancie in refusing an vnlawfull Oath. Neither truely (most deare Brother) could that Oath therefore be lawfull, because it was offered in sort tempered and modified: for you know that those kinde of modifications are nothing els , but sleights and subtilties of Satan that the Catholique faith touching the Primacie of the Sea Apostolike , might either secretly or openly be shot at , for the which faith so many worthy Martyrs euen in that very England it selfe , haue resisted vnto blood. For most certaine

it is, that in whatsoeuer words the Oath is conceiued by the aduersaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end, that the Authoritie of the head of the Church in England, may be transferred from the successour of S. Peter, to the Successour of K. Henry the eight. For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the high Priest should haue the same power in England, which hee hath in all other Christian Kingdomes, it is altogether idle, as all that haue any understanding, may easily perceiue. For it was neuer heard of from the Churches in fancie untill this day, that euer any Pope did command, that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike, though a Persecutor, should be murdered; or did approue of the fact, when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doeth onely the King of England feare that, which none of all other the Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or euer did feare?

But, as I sayd, these Vaine pretexts are but the trappes and stratagemes of Satan: Of which kinde I could produce not a few out of Ancient Stories, if I went about to write a booke and not an Epistle. One only for example sake, I will
call

call to your memory. S. Gregorius Nazianzenus in his first Oration against Iulian the Emperour, reporteth, That he, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romanes did use to bow downe unto with a ciuill kind of reuerence: so that no man could doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, but withall he must adore the Images of the false gods; whereupon it came to passe that many were deceiued. And if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grievously punished, as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the Oath that is offered to you, which is so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Ciuill subiection, but he must be constrained perfidiously to denie the Primacie of the Apostolike Sea. But the seruants of Christ, and especially the chiefe Priests of the Lord ought to be so farre from taking an unlawfull Oath, where they may indamage the Faith, that they ought to beware that they giue not the least suspicion of dissimulation

lation that they haue taken it, least they might seeme to haue left any example of preuarication to faithfull people. Which thing that worthy Eleazar did most notably performe, who would neither eate swines flesh, nor so much as faine to haue eaten it, although he saw the great torments that did hang ouer his head; least, as himselfe speaketh in the second booke of the Machabees, many young men might be brought through that simulation, to preuaricate with the Law. Neither did Basil the great by his example, which is more fit for our purpose, carry himselfe lesse worthily toward Valens the Emperour. For as Theodoret writeth in his History, when the Deputy of that heretical Emperour did perswade Saint Basill, that he would not resist the Emperour for a little subiltie of a few points of doctrine; that most holy and prudent man made answer, That it was not to bee indured, that the least syllable of Gods word should bee corrupted, but rather all kind of torment was to be embraced, for the maintenance of the Trueth thereof. Now I suppose, that there wants not amongst you, who say that they are but subilties of Opinions that are conteined in the Oath

Oath that is offred to the Catholikes, and that you are not to striue against the Kings Authoritie for such a litle matter. But there are not wanting also amongst you holy men like vnto Basil the Great, which will openly auow, that the very least syllable of Gods diuine trueth is not to be corrupted, though many torments were to be endured, and death it selfe set before you. Amongst whom it is meete, that you should bee one, or rather the Standerd-bearer, and General to the rest. And whatsoeuer hath beene the cause, that your Constancie hath quailed, whether it bee the sudainnesse of your apprehension, or the bitternesse of your persecution, or the imbecillity of your old age: yet we trust in the goodnesse of God, and in your owne long continued vertue, that it will come to passe, that as you seeme in some part to haue imitated the fall of Peter and Marcellinus, so you shall happily imitate their valour in recovering your strength, and maintaining the truth. For if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, truly you shall see, it is no small matter that is called in question by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our faith and foundations of Catholique

Religion. For heare what your Apostle S. Gregory the Great hath written, in his 24. Epistle of his 11. booke. Let not the reuerence due to the Apostolique Sea, bee troubled by any mans presumption: for then the state of the members doeth remaine entire, when the head of the faith is not bruised by any iniury. Therefore by S. Gregories testimonie, when they are busie about disturbing or diminishing, or taking away of the Primacie of the Apostolique Sea: then are they busie about cutting off the verie head of the faith, and dissoluing of the state of the whole body, and of all the members. Which selfe same thing S. Leo doth confirme in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Popedome, when he saith, Our Lord had a special care of Peter, & prayed properly for Peters faith, as though the state of others were more stable, whē their Princes mind was not to be ouercome. Whereupon himselfe in his Epistle to the Bishops of the prouince of Vienna, doeth not doubt to affirme, that he is not partaker of the diuine Mystery, that dare depart frō the solidity of Peter: who also saith, That who thinketh the Primacy to be denied to that Sea, he

he can in no sort lessen the authority of it : but by beeing puffed vp with the spirit of his own pride, doth cast himself headlong into hel. These & many other of this kind, I am very sure are most familiar to you : who besides many other bookes, haue diligently read ouer the visible Monarchie of your owne Saunders, a most diligent writer, and one who hath worthily deserved of the Church of England. Neither can you be ignorant, that these most holy & learned men Iohn bishop of Rochester, and Tho. Moore, within our memorie, for this one most weightie bead of doctrine, led the way to Martyrdom to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English nation. But I would put you in remembrance that you should take hart, & considering the weightines of the cause, not to trust too much to your owne iudgement, neither be wise aboue that is meete to be wise : and if peradventure your fall haue proceeded not vpon want of consideration, but through humane infirmity, & for feare of punishment and imprisonment, yet doe not preferre a temporall liberty to the libertie of the glory of the Sonnes of God : neither for escaping a light and momentanie tribulation, lose an

eternall weight of glory, which tribulation it self doth worke in you. You haue fought a good fight a long time, you haue well-neere finished your course; so many yeres haue you kept the faith: doe not therefore lose the reward of such labours; do not deprive your selfe of that Crowne of righteousness which so long agoe is prepared for you; Doe not make the fates of so many yours both brethen and children ashamed. Vpon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, to men; Do not so carry your selfe in this your last acte, that you leaue nothing but laments to your friends, and ioy to your enemies. But rather on the contrary, which we assuredly hope, & for which we continually poure forth prayers to God, display gloriously the banner of faith, and make to reioyce the Church, which you haue made heauie; so shall you not onely merite pardon at Gods hands, but a Crowne. Farewell. Quite you like a man, and let your heart be strengthened. From Rome the 28. day of September, 1607.


Your very Reuerendships brother
and seruant in Christ, Robert
Bellarmine Cardinall.

THE



THE ANSWERE

to the Cardinals Letter.

ND now that I am to enter in-
to the fielde against him by re-
futing his Letter, I must first vse
this protestation; That no de-
fire of vaine glory by matching with so
learned a man, maketh mee to vndertake
this taske; but onely the care & conscience
I haue, that such smooth *Circes* charmes
and gilded pilles, as full of exterior elo-
quence, as of inward vntruthes, may not
haue that publike passage through the
world without an answer: wherebymy
reputation might vniustly be darkened, by
such cloudy and foggy mists of vntruthes
and false imputations, the hearts of vnstay-
ed and simple men be mis-led, & the truth
it selfe smothered.

But before I come to the particular an-
swere of this Letter, I must here desire the

A great miltaking of the
state of the
Question and
case in hand.

world to wonder with me, at the committing of so grosse an error: by so learned a man: as that hee should haue pained himselfe to haue set downe so elaborate a letter, for the refutation of a quite mistaken question. For it appeareth, that our English Fugitiues, of whose inward Societie with him he so greatly vaunteth, haue so fast hammered in his head the Oath of Supremacie, which hath euer bin so great a scarre vnto them, as he thinking by his letter to haue refuted the last Oath, hath in place thereof onely paid the Oath of Supremacie, which was most in his head: as a man that being earnestly caried in his thoughts vpon another matter, then he is presently in doing, will often name the matter or person hee is thinking of, in place of the other thing he hath at that time in hand.

The difference
betweene the
Oath of Supremacie, and
this of Allegiance.

For, as the Oath of Supremacie was deuised for putting a difference betweene Papists, and them of our profession: so was this Oath, which he would seeme to impugn, ordained for making a difference between the ciuilly obedient Papists, & the
peruerse

peruicise disciples of the powder-Treason. Yet doth all his letter runne vpon an Inuention against the Compulsion of Catholiques to deny the authority of Saint *Peters* Successors, and in place thereof to acknowledge the Successors of King *Henry* the eight. For, in King *Henry* the eight's time was the Oath of Supremacy first made: by him were *Thomas Moore* and *Roffensis* put to death, partly for refusing of it. Fro his time til now haue al the Princes of this land professing this Religion, successiuelly in effect maintained the same: and in that oath only is contained the Kings absolute power, to be iudge ouer all persons, aswel Ciuil as Ecclesiasticall; excluding all forraigne powers & Potentates to be iudges within his Dominions: whereas this last made Oath containeth no such matter, onely meddling with the ciuill obedience of subiects to their Soueraigne, in meere temporall causes.

And that it may the better appeare, that whereas by name he seemeth to condemne the last Oath; yet indeed his whole Letter runneth vpon nothing, but vpon the condemna

demnation of the Oath of Supremacie: I haue heere thought good to set downe the saide Oath, leauing it then to the discretion of euery indifferent reader to iudge, whether hee doeth not in substance onely answer to the Oath of Supremacie, but that he giueth the child a wrong name.

I A B. doe vtterly testifie and declare in my Conscience, that the Kings Highnesse is the onely Supream Governour of this Realme, and all other his Highnesse Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall: And that no forraine Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any Iurisdiction, Power, Superioritie, Preeminence or Authority Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realme. And therefore, I do vtterly renounce and forsake all forreine Iurisdctions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and do promise that from hencefoorth I shall beare faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and lawfull Successors: and to my power shall assist and defend all Iurisdctions, Priuiledges, Preeminences and Authorities graunted or belonging to
the

the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and Successors, or United and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of the Realme: So helpe mee God: and by the Contents of this booke.

And that the iniustice, as well as the error of his grosse mistaking in this point, may yet be more clearely discovered; I haue also thought good to insert here immediatly after the Oath of Supremacie, the contrary Conclusions to all the points and Articles, whereof this other late Oath doeth consist: whereby it may appeare, what vnreasonable and rebellious points hee would driue my Subiects vnto, by refusing the whole body of that Oath, as it is conceiued. For he that shall refuse to take this Oath, must of necessitie hold all, or some of these propositions following.

That I, King I A M E S, am not the lawfull King of this Kingdome, and of all other my Dominions.

1.

That the *Pope* by his owne authoritie may depose me. If not by his owne authoritie, yet by some other authoritie of the Church, or of the Sea of *Rome*.

2.

G

some

some other authority of the Church & Sea of *Rome*, yet by other meanes with others helpe, he may depose me.

3. That the *Pope* may dispose of my Kingdomes and Dominions.

4. That the *Pope* may giue authoritie to some forren Prince to inuade my Dominions.

5. That the *Pope* may discharge my Subiects of their Allegiance and Obedience to me.

6. That the *Pope* may giue licence to one, or more of my Subiects to beare armes against me.

7. That the *Pope* may giue leaue to my Subiects to offer violence to my Person, or to my Gouvernement, or to some of my Subiects.

8. That if the *Pope* shal by Sentence excommunicate or depose me, my Subiects are not to beare Faith and Allegiance to me.

9. If the *Pope* shall by Sentence excommunicate or depose me, my Subiects are not bound to defend with all their power my Person and Crowne.

10. If the *Pope* shall giue out any Sentence
of

of Excommunication or Deprivation against me, my Subjects by reason of that sentence, are not bound to reueale all Conspiracies and Treasons against me, which shall come to their hearing and knowledge.

That is not hereticall and detestable to hold, that Princes being excommunicated by the *Pope*, may be either deposed or killed by their Subjects, or any other.

That the *Pope* hath power to absolue my Subjects from this Oath, or from some part thereof.

That this Oath is not administred to my Subjects, by a full and lawfull authoritie.

That this Oath is to be taken with Equiuation, mental euasion, or secret reseruati-
on: and not with the heart and good will,
sincerely in the true faith of a Christian man.

These are the true and naturall branches of the body of this Oath. The affirmatiue of all which negatiues, doe neither concerne in any case the *Popes* Supremacie in spiritual causes: nor yet were euer concluded, and defined by any complete generall Councell to belong to the *Popes* authoritie; and their

11.

12.

13.

14.

Touching the
pretented
Council of
Lateran. See
Plat. In vita
Innocen. III.

The Oath of
Allegiance
confirmed by
the authoritie
of ancient
Councils.

The ancient
Councils
provided for
Equiuocation

owne schoole Doctors are at irreconcilable oddes and iarres about them.

And that the world may yet farther see ours and the whole States setting downe of this Oath, did not proceed from any new inuention of our owne, but as it is warranted by the word of G O D : so doeth it take the example from an Oath of Allegiance decreed a thousand yeeres agoe, which a famous Council then, together with diuers other Councils, were so farre from condemning (as the *Pope* now hath done this Oath) as I haue thought good to set downe their owne words here in that purpose : whereby it may appeare that I craue nothing now of my Subiects in this Oath, which was not expressly and carefully commanded then, by the Councils to be obeyed without exception of persons. Nay, not in the very particular point of *equiuocation*, which I in this Oath was so carefull to haue eschewed : but you shall here see the said Councils in their Decrees, as careful to provide for the eschewing of the same; so as almost euery point of that Action, and this of ours shall be found to haue

haue relation and agreeance one with the other,saue onely in this,that those old Councils were carefull and strait in commanding the taking of the same: whereas by the contrary, he that now vanteth himselfe to be head of all Councils,is as carefull and strait in the prohibition of all men from the taking of this Oath of Allegiance.

The wordes of the Councell bee these.

Heare our Sentence.

*Whosoever of vs,or of all the people thorow-
out all Spaine,shal goe about by any meanes of
conspiracie or practise,to violate the Oath of his
fidelitie,which he hath taken for the preseruatiō
of his Countrey, or of the Kings life; or who
shall attempt to put violent handes vpon the
King; or to depriue him of his kingly power; or
that by tyrannicall presumption would vsurpe
the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome: let him bee
accursed in the sight of God the Father, and of
his Angels; and let him be made and declared a
stranger from the Catholike Church, which hee
bath profaned by his periurie,and an aliant from
the company of all Christian people; together
with all the complices of his impietie: because it*

G 3

behooueth

The difference betweene the ancient Councils, and the Pope counselling of the Catholikes.

*Council Toletan.
4. can. 47.
Ann. 683.*

behooueth all those that be guiltie of the like offence, to under- lie the like punishment. Which sentence is three seuerall times together, and almost in the same wordes., repeated in the same Canon. After this, the Synode desired, That this Sentence of theirs now this third time rehearsed; might be confirmed by the voyce and consent of all that were present. Then the whole Clergie and people answered, Whosoever shal carry himselfe presumptuously against this your definitiue sentence, let them be. Anathema maranatha, that is, let them be utterly destroyed at the Lords comming, and let them and their complices haue their portion with Iudas Iscarioth. Amen.

a Concil. Tole-
can. 5. Can. 7.
anno 636.

And in the fifth^a Councell, there it is decreed, That this Acte touching the Oath of Allegiance, shall bee repeated in euery Councell of the Bishops of Spaine. The Decree is in these wordes. : In consideration that the mindes of men are easily inclined to euill and forgetfulnesse, therefore this most holy Synode hath ordeined; and doeth enact, That in euery Councell of the Bishops of Spaine; the Decree of the generall^b Councell which was made for the safetie of our Princes, shall be with

b Synod. Tole-
can. 4. vniuer-
salis, & magna
Synodus dicta,
Syn. Tol. 5. ca. 2.

an

an audible voice proclaimed & pronounced, after the conclusion of all other things in the Synode: that so it being often sounded into their eares; at least by continuall remembrance, the mindes of wicked men being terrified might be reformed, which by obliuion & facilitie [to euil] are brought to preuaricate.

And in the sixth^a Councell, We doe protest before God, and all the orders of Angels, in the presence of the Prophets and Apostles, and all the company of Martyrs, and before all the Catholike Church, and assemblies of the Christians; That no man shall goe about to seeke the destruction of the King: No man shall touch the life of the Prince; No man shall depriue him of the Kingdome; No man by any tyrannicall presumption shall vsurpe to himselfe the soueraigntie of the Kingdome; No man by any Machination shall in his aduersitie associate to himselfe any packe of conspirators against him; And that if any of vs shalbe presumptuous by rashnesse in any of these cases, let him be stricke with the anatheme of God, and reputed as condemned in eternall iudgement without any hope of recovery.

And in the tenth^b Councell (to omit di-
uers

*a Concil. To-
let. 6. Can. 18.
Anno 638.*

Act. 1. Canon 3

*b Concil. Toles.
10. Can. 2.
Æra. 694.*

uers others held also at Toledo) it is said; *That if any religious man, euen from the Bishop to the lowest Order of the Church-men or Monkes, shal be found to haue violated the generall Oathes made for the preseruacion of the Kings person, or of the nation and Countrey with a profane minde; forthwith let him be deprived of all dignitie, and excluded from all place and honour.*

The occasion of the Decrees made for this Oath, was, That the Christians were suspected for want of fidelitie to their Kings; and did either equiuocate in taking their Oath, or make no conscience to keepe it, when they had giuen it: as may appeare by sundry speeches in the ^a Councell, saying, *There is a generall report, that there is that perfidiousnes in the mindes of many people of diuers Nations, that they make no conscience to keepe the Oath and fidelitie that they haue sworne vnto their Kings: but doe dissemble a profession of fidelitie in their mouthes, whē they hold an impious perfidiousnes in their minds. And* ^b *againē, They sweare to their Kings, and yet doe they preuaricate in the fidelitie which they haue promised: Neither do they feare the volume of Gods iudgement,*

*a Concil. Tol.
can. 4. cap. 74.*

*b Concil. Tol.
let. 4. cap. 74.*

ment, by the which the curse of God is brought upon them, with great threatening of punishments, which doe sweare lyngly in the Names of God. To the like effect spake they in the Councel of^a Aquisgran: If any of the Bishops, or other Church-man of inferiour degree, hereafter thorow feare or couetousnes, or any other perswasion, shall make defection from our Lord the Orthodoxe Emperour Lodowicke, or shall violate the Oath of fidelitie made unto him, or shall with their peruerse intention adhere to his enemies; let him by this Canonica'l and Synodall sentence be deprivied of whatsoever place hee is possessed of.

*a Concil. A.
quisgran. sub
Ludou. Pio, &
Greg 4 Can.
12. anno 836.*

And now to come to a particular answere of his letter. First as concerning the sweete memory hee hath of his old acquaintance with the Arch-priest; it may indeed be pleasing for him to recount: but sure I am, his acquaintance with him and the rest of his societie, our Fugitiues (whereof he also vanteeth himselfe in his preface to the Reader in his booke of Controuerfies) hath prooued sowre to vs and our State. For some of such Priests and Iesuits, as were the greatest Trai-

H

tour

Campion and
Hart. See the
conference in
the Tower.

tours and fomenters of the greatest conspiracies against the late Queene, gaue vp father *Robert Bellarmine* for one of their greatest authorities and oracles. And therefore I doe not enuy the great honor he can win, by his vaunt of his inward familiaritie with an other Princes traitours and fugitiues: whom vnto if he teach no better maners then hitherto he hath done, I thinke his fellowship are little beholding vnto him.

And for desiring him to remember him in his prayers at the altar of the Lord: if the Arch-priests prayers prooue no more profitable to his soule, then *Bellarmines* counsell is like to proue profitable, both to the soule and body of *Blackwell* (if he would follow it) the authour of this letter might very wel be without his prayers.

Now the first messenger that I can finde, which brought ioyfull newes of the Arch-priest to *Bellarmine*, was he that brought the newes of the Arch-priests taking, and first appearance of Martyrdome. A great signe surely of the Cardinals mortification, that he was so reioyced to heare of the apprehen-

tion.

sion, imprisonment and appearance of putting to death of so old and deare a friend of his. But yet apparantly he should first haue bene sure, that he was onely to be punished for cause of Religion, before he had so triumphed vpon the expectation of his Martyrdome. For first, by what rule of charitie was it lawfull for him to iudge me a persecutor, before prooffe had beene made of it by the said Arch-priestes condemnation and death? What could hee know, that the said Arch-priest was not taken vpon suspicion of his guiltinesse in the Powder-Treason? What certaine information had he then receiued vpon the particulars, whereupon he was to be accused? And last of all, by what inspiration could he foretell whereupon he was to be accused? For at that time there was yet nothing layed to his charge. And if charitie should not be suspicious, what warrant had he absolutely to condemne mee of vsing persecution and tyrannie, which could not be but emplied vpon me, if *Blackwel* was to be a Martyr? but surely it may iustly be said of *Bellarmino* in this case, that our Saviour

The Cardinals charity.

a Mar. 5. 43.

CHRIST saith of all worldly and carnall men, who thinke it enough to loue their friends and hate their enemies; the limits of the Cardinals charitie extending no farther, then to them of his owne profession. For what euer he added in superfluous charitie to *Blackwel*, in reioycing in the speculation of his future Martyrdome; he detracted as much vniustly and vncharitably from me, in accounting of me thereby as of a bloody Persecutour. And whereas this ioy of his was interrupted by the next messenger, that brought the newes of the said Arch-priest his failing in his constancie, by taking of this Oath; he needed neuer to haue bene troubled, either with his former ioy or his second sorrow, both being alike falsly grounded. For as it was neuer my intention to lay any thing vnto the said Arch-priests charge, as I haue neuer done to any for cause of conscience; so was *Blackwels* constancie neuer brangled by taking of this Oath; It being a thing which he euer thought lawfull before his apprehension, and whereunto hee perswaded all Catholikes to giue obedience; like

like as after his apprehension, he neuer made doubt or stop in it; but at the first offering it vnto him, did freely take it, as a thing most lawfull; neither meanes of threatning or flatterie being euer vsed vnto him, as himselfe can yet beare witnesse.

And as for the temperature and modification of this Oath; except that a reasonable and lawfull matter is there set downe in reasonable & temperate words, agreeing thereunto: I know not what he can meane, by quarelling it for that fault. For no temperatenes nor modifications in words therein, can iustly be called the Devils craft; when the thing it selfe is so plaine, and so plainly interpreted to all them that take it; as the onely troublesome thing in it all, bee the words vsed in the end thereof, for eschewing *equivocation* and *mentall reseruation*. Which new Catholique doctrine, may farre iustlier be called the Devils craft, then any plaine and temperate wordes, in so plaine and cleare a matter. But what shal we say of these strange countrey clownes, whom of with the *Satyre* wee may iustly complaine, that they blow

a Matth. 11. 17

both hote and colde out of one mouth? For *Luther* and all our bolde and free speaking Writers are mightily railed vpon by them, as hote brained tellowes, and speakers by the Devils instinct: and now if we speake moderately and temperately of them, it must bee termed the Devils craft. And therefore we may iustly complaine with CHRIST, that when we ^a moune, they wil not lament: and when we pipe, they wil not dance. But neither *Iohn Baptist* his seuerity, nor CHRIST his meekenesse and lenitie can please them, who build but to their owne Monarchie vpon the ground of their own Traditions; and not to CHRIST vpon the ground of his Word and infallible trueth.

But what can bee meant by alleadging, that the craft of the Deuill herein, is onely vsed for subuersion of the Catholique sayth, and euerfion of *S. Peters* Primacie; had need bee commented anew by *Bellarmino* himselfe. For in all this Letter of his, neuer one word is vsed, to prooue that by any part of his Oath the primacy of *S. Peter* is any way medled with, except Master *Bellarmino* his
bare

bare alledging; which without prouing it by more cleare demonstration, can neuer satisfie the conscience of any reasonable man. For (for ought that I know) heauen and earth are no farther asunder, then the profession of a temporall obedience to a temporall King, is different from any thing belonging to the Catholique faith, or Supremacy of *S. Peter*. For as for the Catholique faith; can there bee one word found in all that Oath, tending or sounding to matter of Religion? Doeth he that taketh it, promise there to beleue, or not to beleue any article of Religion? Or doeth he so much as name a true or a false Church there? And as for *S. Peters* Primacie; I know no Apostles name that is therein named, except the name of *I A M E S*, it being my Christen name: though it please him not to deigne to name me in all the Letter, albeit, the contents thereof concerne me in the highest degree. Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either *disertis verbis*, or by any other indirect meanes, either of the Hierarchie of the Church, of *S. Peters* succession, of the Sea Apostolike, or of
any

No decision
of any point
of Religion
in the Oath of
Allegiance.

any such matter: but that the Author of our Letter doeth brauely make mention of *S. Peters* succession, bringing it in comparison with the succession of *Henry* the eight. Of which vnapt and vmannerly similitude, I wonder hee should not bee much ashamed. For as to King *Henries* successour (which he meaneth by mee) as I, I say, neuer did, nor will presume to create any article of fayth, or to bee Iudge thereof; but to submit my exemplary obedience vnto them, in as great humilitie as the meanest of the land: so if the Pope could bee as well able to proue his either Personall or Doctrinall Succession from *S. Peter*, as I am able to proue my lineall descent from the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; there had neuer been so long adoe, nor so much sturre kept about this question in Christendome; neither had ^a *M. Bellarmine* himselfe needed to haue bestowed so many sheetes of paper *De summo Pontifice*, in his great bookes of Controuersies: and when all is done, to conclude with a morall certitude, and a *piè credendum*: bringing in the ^b Popes, that are parties in this cause, to bee
his

^a Bellar. de
Rom. Pont. lib.
4. cap. 6.
Ibid. lib. 2. ca. 12

^b *Idem.* *ibidem*
lib. 2. cap. 14.

his witnessles : and yet their historicall narration must be no article of Faith. And I am without vanterie sure, that I doe farre more neerely imitate the worthy actions of my Predecessors, then the *Popes* in our age can be well proued to be *similes Petro*, especially in cursing of Kings, and setting free their Subiects from their Allegiance vnto them.

But now we come to his strongest argument; which is, That he would alledge vpon me a Panick terrour, as if I were possessed with a needlesse feare. For, saith the Cardinall, *from the beginning of the Churches first infancie, euen to this day, where was it euer heard, that euer a Pope either commanded to be killed, or allowed the slaughter of any Prince whatsoeuer, whether hee were an Heretike, an Ethnike or Persecutor?* But first, wherefore doeth he here wilfully, and of purpose omit the rest of the points mentioned in that Oath, for deposing, degrading, stirring vp of armes or rebelling against them, which are as well mentioned in that Oath, as the killing of them? as being all of one consequence against a King, no Subiect being so scrupulous,

The Cardinals weightiest Argument.

*a Bellar. de
Rom. Pont. lib.
5. cap. 8. & lib.
3. cap. 16.*

lous, as that hee will attempt the one, and leaue the other vnperformed if he can. And yet surely I cannot blame him for passing it ouer, since he could not otherwise haue eschewed the direct belying of himselfe in tearmes, which hee now doeth but in substance and effect. For ^a as for the *Popes* deposing and degrading of Kings, he maketh so braue vaunts and bragges of it in his former bookes, as he could neuer with ciuil honesty haue denied it here.

*b Gosfrid. Vi-
terb. Helmod.
Cuspinian.
c Paschal. a.*

But to returne to the *Popes* allowing of killing of Kings, I know not with what face hee can set so stout a deniall vpon it against his owne knowledge. How many Emperors did the *Pope* raise warre against in their owne bowels? Who as they were ouercome in battaile, were subiect to haue bene killed therein; which I hope the *Pope* could not but haue allowed, when hee was so farre enraged at ^b *Henry* the fifth for giuing buriall to his fathers dead corps, after the ^c *Pope* had stirred him vp to rebell against his father, and procured his ruine. But leauing these old Histories to *Bellarmines* owne bookes, that

that doe most authentically cite them, as I haue already said; let vs turne our eyes vpon our owne time, and therein remember what a Panegyrik^a oration was made by the *Pope*, in praise and approbation of the Frier and his fact, that murdered king *Henry* the third of *France*, who was so farre from either being Heretike, Ethnike or Persecutor in their account, that the said *Popes* owne wordes in that oration are, *That a true Frier hath killed a counterfeit Frier.* And besides that vehement oration and congratulation for that fact; how neere it scaped, that the said Frier was not canonized for that glorious acte, is better knowne to *Bellarmino* and his followers, then to vs here,

But sure I am, if some Cardinals had not beene more wise and circumspect in that errand, then the *Pope* himselfe was, the *Popes* owne Kalender of his Saints would haue sufficiently proued *Bellarmino* a liar in this case. And to draw yet neerer vnto our selues; how many practises and attempts were made against the late *Queenes* life, which were directly enioyned to those Traitors by their

a See the Oration of *Sixtus Quintus*, made in the Consistory vpon the death of *Henry* the 3.

Confessors, and plainly authorized by the *Popes* allowance? For verification whereof, there needes no more prooffe, then that neuer *Pope* either then or since, called any Church-man in question for meddling in those treasonable conspiracies; nay, the Cardinals owne *S. Sanderus* mentioned in his letter could well verifie this trueth, if he were aliue; and who will looke his bookes, will find them filled with no other doctrine then this. And what difference there is betweene the killing or allowing the slaughter of Kings, and the stirring vp and approbation of practises to kil them; I remit to *Bellarmines* owne iudgement. It may then very clearely appeare, how strangely this Authors passion hath made him forget himselfe, by implicating himselfe in so strong a contradiction against his owne knowledge and conscience, against the witnesse of his former bookes, and against the practise of our owne times. But who can wonder at this contradiction of himselfe in this point, when his owne great Volumes are so filled with contradictions? which when either he, or any other

ther shall euer be able to reconcile, I wil then belecue that he may easily reconcile this impudent strong deniall of his in his letter, of any Popes meddling against Kings, with his owne former bookes, as I haue already said.

And that I may not seeme to imitate him in affirming boldly that which I no wayes proue; I will therefore send the Reader to looke for witnesses of his contradictions, in such places heere mentioned in his owne booke. In his bookes of ^a Iustification, there he affirmeth, *That for the vncertaintie of our owne proper righteousness, and for auoiding of vaine glory, it is most sure and safe, to repose our whole confidence in the alone mercie and goodnes of God;* ^b Which proposition of his, is directly contrary to the discourse, and current of all his fiue bookes *de Iustificatione*, wherein the same is contained.

God doeth not encline a man to euill, either ^c *naturally or morally.*

Presently after, he affirmeth the contrary, *That God doeth not encline to euill naturally, but* ^d *morally.*

All the Fathers teach constantly, *That*

^a Bellar. de In-
fif. lib. 5. cap. 7.

^b Contrary
to all his 5.
bookes de Iu-
stificatione.

^c Bellar. de a-
mis. gra. &
stat. pecca. lib. 2
cap. 13.

^d Ibidem
paulo post.

e Bellar. de cle-
ricis, lib. 1. cap.
14.

f Bellar. de
Pont. lib. 4. cap.
25.

g Bellar. de
Pont. lib. 1. cap.
12.

h Bellar. de
Iustif. lib. 3. cap.
14.

i Bellar. de gra-
tis lib. arbit. lib.
5. cap. 5.

k Endem lib.
cap. 9.

l Bell de Pont.
lib. 4. cap. 3.

m Bell. de Iust.
lib. 3. cap. 14.

n Bell de Rom
Pontif. lib. 3.
cap. 14.

e Bishops doe succede the Apostles, and Priestes
the seuentie disciples.

Elsewhere he affirmeth the contrary, That
f Bishops doe not properly succeed the Apostles.
That & Iudas did not beleene.

Contrary, That^h Iudas was iust and cer-
tainly good.

The keeping of the^l Law according to the sub-
stance of the worke, doeth require that the Com-
mandement be so kept, that sinne bee not commit-
ted, and the man be not guilty for hauing not
kept the Commandement.

Contrary, ^k It is to be known, that it is not
all one, to doe a good morall worke, and to keepe
the Commandement according to the substance
of the worke. For the Commandement may be
kept according to the substance of the worke,
euen with sinne; as if one should restore to his
friend the thing committed to him of trust, to
the end that theeuers might afterward take it
from him.

^l Peter did not loose that faith, whereby the
heart beleeueth vnto iustification.

Contrary, ^m Peters sinne was deadly.

ⁿ Antichrist shall bee a Magician, and after
the

the manner of other Magicians shall secretly worship the Devil.

° Contrary, He shall not admit of idolatrie: he shall hate idoles, and reedifie the Temple.

By the words of P Consecration the true and solemn oblation is made.

Contrary, The sacrifice doeth not consist in the words: but in the ° oblation of the thing it selfe.

† That the ende of the world cannot be knowne.

‡ Contrary, After the death of Antichrist, there shall bee but five and fourtie dayes till the end of the world.

‡ That the tenne Kings shall burne the scarlet Whoore, that is, Rome.

ⁱ Contrary, Antichrist shall hate Rome, and fight against it, and burne it.

× The name of vniuersall Bishop may be vnderstood two wayes: one way, that he which is said to be vniuersal Bishop, may be thought to be the onely Bishop of all Christian cities; so that all others are not indeed Bishops, but onely Vicars to him, who is called vniuersal Bishop: in which sense, the Pope is not vniuersall Bishop.

Contrary,

o Ibid. ex sentent. Hy: ol. & Cyril. & cap. 12. eiusdem libri.

p Bellar. lib. 1. de missa. cap. 27.

q Bellar. de miss. lib. 2. cap. 12.

r Bellar. de anim. Christ. lib. 4. cap. 5.

s Bellarm. de Trinit. lib. 3. cap. 17.

t Bellarm. de Pont. lib. 3. cap. 13.

u Bellar. ibid.

x Bellar. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 31.

t Bellarm. de
Pont. lib. 2. cap.
24.

Contrary, *All ordinary* y^e *iurisdiction* of *Bi-shops* doeth descend immediatly from the Pope; and is in him, and from him is deriued to others. Which few places I haue onely selected amongst many the like, that the discreet and iudicious Reader may discern *ex vngue Leonem*. For when euer hee is pressed with a weighty obiection, he neuer careth, nor remembreth how his solution and answer to that, may make him gaine say his owne doctrine in some other places, so it serue him for a shift to put off the present storme withall.

But now to returne to our matter againe: Since Popes, saith hee, haue neuer at any time medled against Kings, wherefore, I pray you, should onely the King of England bee afraid of that, whereof neuer Christian King is, or was afraid? Was neuer Christian Emperour or King afraid of the Popes? How then were these miserable Emperours tost and turmoiled, and in the end vtterly ruined by the Popes: for prooffe whereof I haue already cited *Bellarmines* owne bookes? Was not the ^a Emperour afraid, who ^b waited bare-footed

a Henry 4.
b Abbas
Visspergen.
Lamb. Scaffn.
Anno 1077.
Plat. in vis.
Greg. 7.

footed in the frost and snow three dayes at the *Popes* gate, before hee could get entrie? Was not the ^c *Emperour* also afraid, ^d who was driuen to lie agroose on his belly, and suffer another *Pope* to tread vpon his necke? And was not another ^e *Emperour* afraide, ^f who was constrained in like manner to endure a third *Pope* to beate off from his head the Imperiall Crowne with his foote? Was not ^g *Philip* afraid, being made *Emperour* against *Pope Innocentius* the thirds good liking, when he brake out into these wordes, *Either the Pope shall take the Crowne from Philip, or Philip shal take the Miter from the Pope?* whereupon the *Pope* stirred vp *Otho* against him, who caused him to be slaine; and presently went to *Rome*, and was crowned *Emperour* by the *Pope*, though afterward the *Pope* deposed him too. Was not the *Emperour* ⁱ *Fredericke* afraid, when *Innocentius* the fourth excommunicated him, depriued him of his crowne, absolued Princes of their Oath of fidelitie to him, and in *Apulia* corrupted one to giue him poison? whereof the *Emperour* recouering, hee hired his bastard

K

Sonne

c *Frederick Babarossa.*
d *Naucler. gener. 40. Iacob. Bergom. in Supplem. chron. Alfonso. Claron. in vit. Alex. 3.*
e *Henry 6.*
f *R. Hoveden in Rich. 1. Ranulphus Polychronicon. lib 7.*
g *Abbas Vesper. ad Ann. 1191. Naucler. gener. 40. Cuspin. in Philippo.*

h *Abbas Vesper.*
i *Matth. Paris. in Henr. 3. Petrus de Vinea Epist. lib. 1. c. 2. Cuspin. in Freder. 2.*

k *Vita Frederici Germanice conscripta.*
l *Frederick Barbarossa.*

m *Paul. Iovius Histor. lib. 2. Cuspinian. in Baiazet. 11. Guiccia d. lib. 2.*

n *Houeder pag. 308. Matth. Paris. in Henric. 1. l. Walsinga. in Hypodig. Neustria. Iuan. Capgrau.*

a *Gomacius de rebus gest. Fran. Xim-nij Archiepif. Tolet. l. b. 5.*

Sonne *Manfredus* to poyson him; wherof he died. What did ^k *Alexander* the third write to the *Soldan*? That if he would liue quietly, he should by some slight murder the ^l Emperour; and to that end sent him the Emperours picture. And did not ^m *Alexander* the sixt take of the Turke *Baiazetes* two hundred thousand crownes to kill his brother *Gemen*; or as some call him, *Sisimus*, whom hee held captiue at *Rome*? Did hee not accept of the conditions to poyson the man, and had his pay? Was not our ⁿ *Henry* the second afraide after the slaughter of *Thomas Becket*; that besides his going barefooted in Pilgrimage, was whipped vp and downe the Chapter-house like a schoole-boy, and glad to escape so too? Had not this French King his great grandfather King *Iohn* reason to bee afraide, when the ^a *Pope* gaue away his kingdome of *Navarre* to the King of *Spaine*, whereof he yet possesseth the best halfe? Had not this King, his Successour reason to be afraid, when he was forced to begge so submissiue the relaxation of his Excommunication, as he was con-

tent

tent likewise to suffer his Ambassadour to be whipped at *Rome* for penance? And had not the late Queene reason to looke to herselfe, when she was excommunicated by *Pius Quintus*, her Subiects loosed from their fidelitie & Allegiance toward her, her Kingdome of *Ireland* giuen to the King of *Spaine*, and that famous fugitiue diuine, honoured with the like degree of a red hat as *Bellarmino* is, was not ashamed to publish in print an^a apologie for *Stanlies* treason, maintaining, that by reason of her excommunication and heresie, it was not onely lawfull for any of her Subiects, but euen they were bound in conscience to depriue her of any strength, which lay in their power to doe? And whether it were armies, townes, or fortresses of hers which they had in their hands, they were obliged to put them in the King of *Spaine* her enemies hands, she no more being the right owner of any thing? But albeit it be true, that wise men are moued by the exanples of others dangers to vse prouidence and caution, according to the olde prouerbe, *Tum tua res agitur paries cum proximi*

a Card. Al-
lens Answere
to Stan. let.
Anno. 1587.

mus ardet : yet was I much needlier summoned to vse this caution, by the practise of it in mine owne person.

Fi st, by the sending forth of these Bulles whereof I made mention already, for debarring me from entrie vnto this Crowne, and Kingdome. And next after my entrie, and full possession thereof, by the horrible Powder-treason, which should haue bereft both me and mine, both of crowne and life. And howsoeuer the Pope will seem to cleare himselfe of any allowance of the sayd Powder-treason ; yet can it not bee denied, that his principall ministers here, and his chiefe *Mancipia*, the Iesuites, were the plaine practisers thereof : for which the principall of them hath died confessing it, and other haue fled the Countrey for the crime ; yea, some of them gone into *Italy* : and yet neither these that fled out of this Countrey for it, nor yet *Baldwine*, who though he then remained in the Low-countreyes, was of counsell in it, were euer called to account for it by the Pope : much lesse punished for meddling in so scandalous and enormous businesse. And

now

now what needes so great wonder and exclamation, that *the onely King of England feareth*: And *what other Christian King doeth, or euer did feare but he*? As it by the force of his rhetoricke he could make me and my good Subiects to mistrust our senses, deny the sunne to shine at midday, and not with the serpent to stop our eares to his charming, but to the plaine and visible veritie it selfe. And yet for all this wonder, hee can neuer proue me to be troubled with such a Panicke terror. Haue I euer importuned the Pope with any request for my securitie? Or haue I either troubled other Christian Princes my friends & allies, to intreat for me at the Popes hand? Or yet haue I begged from them any aide or assistance for my farther securitie? No. All this wondred-at feare of mine, stretcheth no further, then wisely to make distinction betweene the sheepe and goates in my owne pasture. For since, what euer the Popes part hath bin in the Powder-treason; yet certaine it is, that all these carcase monsters did to their death maintaine, that onely zeale of Religion moued them to that

horrible attempt : yea, some of them at their death, would not craue pardon at God or King for their offence : exhorting other of their followers to the like constancie. Had not we then, and our Parliament great reason, by this Oath to set a marke of distinction betweene good Subiects, and bad? Yea, betweene Papists, though peradventure zealous in their religion, yet otherwise ciuilly honest and good subiects, and such terrible firebrands of hell, as would maintaine the like maximes, which these Powder-men did? Nay, could there be a more gracious part in a King, suppose I say it, towards Subiects of a contrary religion, then by making them to take this Oath, to publish their honest fidelitie in temporall things to mee their Soueraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great slander which was layd vpon the whole professors of that Religion, by the furious enterprise of these Powder-men?

And whereas for illustration of this strong argument of his, hee hath brought in for a similitude the history of ^a *Julian* the *Apostata* his dealing with the Christians, when as
he

*a Nazianzenus in Iulian.
in uelutina
prima.*

he straited them, either to commit idolatrie, or to come within the compasse of treason : I would wish the authour to remember, that although a similitude may bee permitted *claudicare Uno pede* ; yet this was a very ill chosen similitude, which is lame both of feet and handes, and euery member of the body. For I shall in few words prooue, that it agreeth in no one point, saue one ; with our purpose, which is, that *Iulian* was an Emperour, and I a King. First, *Iulian* was an *Apostata*, one that had renounced the whole Christian faith, which hee had once professed, and became an Ethnike againe, or rather an Atheist ; whereas I am a Christian, who neuer changed that Religion ; that I dranke in with my milke : nor euer, I thanke G O D, was ashamed of my profession. *Iulian* dealt against Christians onely for the profession of Christes cause : I deale in this cause with my Subiects, onely to make a distinction betweene true Subiects, and false-hearted traitours. *Iulians* end was the overthrow of the Christians : my onely end is, to maintaine Christianitie in a peaceable gouerne-

The disproportion of the Cardinals similitude.

uernement. *Iulians* drift was to make them commit Idolatrie: my purpose is, to cause my Subiects to make open profession of their naturall Allegiance, and ciuill obedience. *Iulians* meanes whereby he went about it, was by craft, and insnaring them before they were aware: my course in this is plaine, cleare, and voyd of all obscuritie: neuer refusing leaue to any that are required to take this Oath, to study it at leisure, and giuing them all the interpretation of it they can craue. But the greatest dissimilitude of all, is in this: that *Iulian* pressed them to commit idolatrie to idoles and images: but as well I, as all the Subiects of my profession are so farre from guilt in this point, as we are counted heretiques by you, because we will not commit idolatrie. So as in the maine point of all, is the greatest contrarietie. For, *Iulian* persecuted the Christians because they would not commit idolatrie; and ye count me a persecutour, because I will not admit idolatrie. So as to conclude this point, this old sentence may well bee applied to *Bellarmino*, in vsing so vnapt a similitude,

Perdere

Perdere quos Vult Iupiter, hos dementat.

And therefore his vcharitable conclusion doeth not rightly follow : *That it seemeth vnto him, that some such thing should bee subtilly or fraudulently included in this Oath*; as if no man can detest treason against the King, or professe ciuill subiection, except hee renounce the Primacie of the Apostolike Sea. But how hee hath suckt this apprehension out at his fingers ends, I cannot imagine: for sure I am, as I haue oft said, hee neuer goeth about to proue it: and to answere an improbable imagination, is to fight against a vanishing shadow. It cannot bee denied indeed, that many seruants of CHRIST, as wel Priests, as others, haue endured constantly all sorts of toments, and death, for the profession of CHRIST: and therefore to all such his examples, as he bringeth in for verifying the same, I need not to giue him any other answere, saue onely to remember him, that hee playeth the part of a sophister in all these his examples of the constancie of Martyrs: euer taking *Controuersum pro confesso*, as if this our case were of the same nature.

L

But

But yet that the Reader may the better discouer, not onely how vnaptly his similitudes are applied, but likewise how dishonestly hee vseth himselfe in all his citations: I haue thought good to set downe the very places themselues cited by him, together with a short deduction of the true state of those particular cases: whereby, how little these examples can touch our case; nay, by the contrary, how rightly their true sense may be vsed, as our owne weapons to be throwen backe vpon him that alleadgeth them, shall easily appeare. And first, for a *Eleazar*: If the Arch-priest his ground of refusing the Oath, were as good as *Eleazars* was, to forbear to eate the swines flesh, it might not vnfitly bee applied by the Cardinal to this purpose. For as *Eleazar* was a principall Scribe, so is he a principall Priest: As *Eleazars* example had a great force in it, to animate the yonger Scribes to keepe the Law, or in his colourable eating it, to haue taught them to dissemble: so hath the Arch-priests, either to make the inferiour Priests to take the Oath, or to refuse it: but the ground
failing,

a 2. *Maccha-*
bees cap. 6. verse
18.

An answer to
the Cardinals
example of
Eleazar.

failing, the building cannot stand. For what example is there in all the Scripture, in which disobedience to the Oath of the King, or want of Allegiance is allowed? If the Cardinal would remember, that when the Church maketh a law (suppose to forbid flesh on certaine dayes) hee that refuseth to obey it, incurrerth the iust censure of the Church: If a man then ought to die rather then to breake the least of Gods Ceremoniall Lawes, and to pine and starue his body, rather then to violate the Church his positieue Law: will he not giue leaue to a man to redeeme his soule from sinne, and to keepe his body from punishment, by keeping a Kings politique law, and by giuing good example in his Person, raise vp a good opinion in me of like Allegiance in the inferiour of his order? This application, as I take it, would haue better fitted this example.

But let me remember the Cardinal of another^a Oath inioyned by a King to his people, whereby hee indangered his owne life, and hazarded the safetie of the whole army, when hee made the people sweare in the

L 2

morning,

a 1. Sam. 14.
25.

morning not to taste of any meate vntill night: which Oath hee exacted so strictly, that his eldest sonne, and heire apparant *Jonathan* for breaking of it, by tasting a little hony of the top of his rod, though he heard not when the King gaue that oath, had well nigh died for it. And shall an Oath giuen vpon so vrgent an occasion as this was, for the apparant safety of me and my posteritie, forbidding my people to drinke so deeply in the bitter cup of Antichristian fornications, but that they may keepe so much hony in their hearts, as may argue them still espoused to me their Soueraigne in the maine knot of true Allegiance; shall this law, I say, by him be condemned to hel for a *stratageme of Sathan*? I say no more, but GODS lot in the Oath of *Sauls*, and *Bellarmines* verdict vpon this Oath of ours, seeme not to be cast out of one lap.

*a Theodoret.
lib. 4. cap. 19.
An answer
to the Card.
example of
S. Basil.*

Now to this example of *a Basil*, which is (as hee sayeth) so fit for his purpose. First, I must obserue, that if the Cardinall would leaue a common and ordinary trick of his in all his Citations, which is to take what makes

makes for him, and leaue out what makes against him; and cite the Authours sense, as well as his Sentence, wee should not bee so much troubled with answering the ancients which he alleadgeth. To instance it in this very place: if he had continued his allegation one line further, hee should haue found this place out of *Theodoret*, of more force to haue moued *Blackwel* to take the Oath, then to haue dissuaded him from it. For in the very next words it followeth, *Imperatoris quidam amicitiam magni se pendere, cum pietate; quâ remotâ, perniciosam esse dicere*. But that it may appeare, whether of vs haue greatest right to this place, I will in few wordes shew the Authours drift.

The Emperour *Valens* being an Arrian, at the perswasion of his wife, when hee had depriued all the Churches of their Pastours, came to *Cæsarea*, where ^a *S. Basill* was then Bishop, who, as the History reporteth, was accounted the *Light of the world*. Before he came, he sent his ^b deputy to worke it, that *S. Basill* should hold fellowship with *Eudoxius* (which ^c *Eudoxius* was Bishop of *Constantinople*,

^a *Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 19.*

^b *Modestus* as *Nazianzen* vpon the death of *Basill* calleth him in his oration.

^c *Looke cap. 12. eiusdem libri.*

tinople, and the principall of the Arrian faction) or if he would not, that he should put him to banishment. Now when the Emperours Deputie came to *Cesarea*, hee sent for *Basil*, intreated him honourably, spake pleasingly vnto him, desired he would giue way to the time, neither that hee would hazard the good of so many Churches *tenui exquisi-
tione dogmatis*: promised him the Emperours fauour, and himselfe to be mediatour for his good. But *S. Basil* answered, *These intising
speeches were fit to be used to children, that use
to gape after such things: but for them that were
thoroughly instructed in Gods word, they could
neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted.
Nay, if need required, they would for the main-
tenance thereof refuse no kinde of death. In
deed the loue of the Emperour ought to be great-
ly esteemed with pietie; but pietie taken away, it
was pernicious.*

This is the truth of the history. Now compare the case of *Basil* with the Arch-priests: *Basil* was solicited to become an Arrian: the Arch-priest not once touched for any article of fayth. *Basil* would haue obeyed the

the Emperour, but that the word of G O D forbade him : this man is willed to obey, because the word of G O D commandeth him. *Basil* highly esteemed the Emperours favour, if it might haue stood with pietie : the Arch-priest is exhorted to reiect it, though it stand with true godlinesse in deede, to embrace it. But that he may lay load vpon the Arch-priest, it is not sufficient to exhort him to courage and constancie by *Eleazars* and *Basils* examples ; but he must be vtterly cast downe with the comparing his fall to *S. Peters*, and *Marcellinus* : which two mens cases were the most feareful, considering their persons and places, that are to be found, or read of either in all the books of diuine Scripture, or the volumes of Ecclesiasticall histories ; the one denying the onely true God, the other our Lord & Sauour I E S V S C H R I S T. the one sacrificing to idols, with the profane heathen : the other forswearing his Lord and Master, with the hard-hearted Iewes. Vnlesse the Cardinall would driue the Arch-priest to some horror of conscience, and pit of despaire, I know not what hee can
meane

The Cardinall
similating of
the Archpr.
case to *S. Pe-
ters*, and *Mar-
cellinus*, confi-
dered.

meane by this comparifon. For fure I am, all that are not intoxicated with their cup, cannot but wonder to heare of an Oath of Allegiance to a naturall Soueraigne, to be likened to an *Apoftats* denying of God, and forfwearing of his Sauour.

But to let paffe the *Disdiapafon* of the cafes (as his ill-fauoured coupling *S. Peter* the head of their Church, with an apoftate Pope) I maruaile he would remember this example of a *Marcellinus*, fince his brother Cardinall *Baronius*, and the late edition of the Councils by *Binnius* feeme to call the credit of the whole hiftory into queftion, faying, *That it might plainly be refuted, and that it is probably to be fhewed, that the ftory is but obreptious*, but that hee would not fwarue from the common receiued opinion.

And if a man might haue leaue to coniefture; fo would his Cardinalfhip too, if it were not for one or two fentences in that Council of *Simueffa*, which ferued for his purpofe: namely that, *Prima fedes à nemine iudicatur*: And, *Iudica caufam tuam: noſtrâ ſententiâ non condemnaberis*. But to what

purpoſe

a Looke *Platina in viſa Marcellini.*
b *Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 222.*
Looke *Baronius Ann. 302. num 96.*

See *Tom. 1. Concil. in Act. Concil. Sinueſſani.*

purpose a great Councell(as he termes it) of three hundred Bishops and others , should meete together,who before they met,knew they could doe nothing; when they were there, did nothing,but like Cuckowes, sing ouer and ouer the same song : that, *Prima sedes à nemine indicatur* : and so after three dayes sitting(a long time indeed for a great and graue Councell) brake so bluntly vp : and yet, that there should bee seuentie two witnesses brought against him, and that they should subscribe his excommunication, and that at his owne mouth he tookethe *Anathema maranatha*: how these vntoward contradictions shal be made to agree,I must send the Cardinall to *Venice*, to *Padre Paulo*, who in his ^a Apologie against the Cardinals oppositions , hath handled them very learnedly.

But from one Pope,let vs passe to another: (for,what a principall article of faith and religion this Oath is , I haue alreadie sufficiently proued.) Why he called S. ^b *Gregory* our Apostle,I know not , vnlesse perhaps it be, for that he sent ^c *Augustine* the Monke

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and

^a *Apol.Pat. Paul aduersus opposit.Card. Bellar.*

An answer to the place alledged out of S.Gregory.

^b *Greg. lib.11. cap.42.*

^c *Beda Ecclesi. Hist.gen. Ang. lib.1. cap.25.*

*d Beda Ecclesi-
ast. Hist. gen.
Ang. lib. 1. cap 4*

and others with him into *England*, to cōuert vs to the faith of Christ, wherein I wish the *Popes* his successours would follow his patterne. For albeit he sent them by diuine reuelation (as he said) into *England* vnto King *Ethelbert*; yet when they came, they exercised no part of their function, but by the Kings leaue and permission. So did King *Lucius* send to *Eleutherius* his predecessor, and he sent him diuers Bishops, who were all placed by the Kings authoritie. These conuerted men to the faith, and taught them to obey the King. And if the *Popes* in these dayes would but insift in these steps of their forefathers; then would they not intertaine Princes fugitiues abroad, nor send them home, not onely without my leaue, but directly against the lawes, with plots of treason and doctrine of rebellion, to draw Subiects from their obedience to mee their naturall King: nor be so cruell to their owne *Mancipia*, as returning them with these wares, put either a State in ieaiousie of them; or them in hazard of their owne liues. Now to our Apostle (since the Cardinall will haue him

him so called) I perswade my selfe I should doe a good seruice to the Church in this my labour, if I could but reape this one fruit of it, to moue the Cardinal to deale faithfully with the Fathers, and neuer to alledge their opinions against their owne purpose. For, this letter of *Gregorius* was written to Iohn Bishop of *Palermo* in *Sicily*, to whom he granted vⁿsum^pally, to be worne in such times, & in such order as the Priests in the Ile of *Sicily*, and his predeceffours were wont to vse: and withall giueth him a caueat: *that the reuerence to the Apostolike Sea, be not disturbed by the presumption of any: for then the state of the members doth remaine sound, when the head of the Faith is not bruised by any iniury, and the authoritie of the Canons alwayes remaine safe and sound.*

*a Greg. lib. 11
cap. 42.*

Now let vs examine the words. The epistle was written to a Bishop, especially to grant him the vse of the Pall; a ceremony and matter indifferent. As it appeareth, the Bishop of *Rome* tooke it well at his hands, that hee would not presume to take it vpon him without leaue from the Apostolique Sea, giuing him that admonition which foloweth in the

words alledged out of him: which doctrine we are so far frō impugning, that we altogether approue & allow of the same, that whatsoever ceremonie for order is thought meet by the Christian Magistrat, and the Church, the same ought inuiolably to bee kept: and where the head & gouernour in matters of that nature are not obeyed, the members of that Church must needs run to hellish confusion. But that *Gregory* by that terme, *caput fidei*, held himselfe the head of our faith, and the head of all Religion, cannot stand with the course of his doctrine and writings. For first, whē an^a other would haue had this stile to bee called *Vniuersalis Episcopus*, hee sayd, *b I doe confidently auouch, that whosoever calleth himselfe, or desireth to bee called Vniuersall Bishop, in this aduancing of himselfe, is the forerunner of the Antichrist.* Which notwithstanding was a stile far inferiour to that of *Caput fidei*. And when it was offered to himselfe, the wordes of S. *Gregorie* bee these, refusing that title: *c None of my predecessors [Bishops of Rome,] euer consented to use this prophane name [of vniuersall Bishop.] None of*
my

a Iohn of
Constantinop^e.
See *Greg. lib. 4.*
Epist. 32.
b *Lib. 6. Epist.*
30.

c *Greg. lib. 4.*
Epist. 32. & 36.

my predecessors euer tooke upon him this name of singularity, neither consented to vse it, We the Bishops of Rome, do not seek, nor yet accept this glorious title, being offered vnto vs. And now, I pray you, would he that refused to be called vniuersal Bishop, be stiled *Caput fidei*, vnles it were in that sense, as I haue exprest? which sense if he will not admit, giue mee leaue to say that of *Gregorie*, which himselfe saith of ^a *Lyra*, *Minus cautè locutus est*: or which hee elsewhere saith of *Chrysostome*, ^b *Locutus est per excessum*. To redeeme therefore our Apostle out of his hands, & to let him remain ours, & not his in this case; it is very true that he saith in that sense he spake it. Whē ye go about to disturbe, diminish, or take away the authoritie or Supremacie of the Church, which resteth on the head of the King, within his dominions, ye cut off the head & chiefe gouernor therof, & disturb the state & members of the whole body. And for a conclusiō of this point, I pray him to think, that we are so well perswaded of the good mind of our Apostle *S. Gregory* to vs, that we desire no other thing to bee suggested to the Pope and his

^a Bellar. de
Rom. Pont. lib.
2. cap. 10.
^b Idem. lib. 2. de
Miss. cap. 10.

a Greg. lib. 7.
Epist. 1.

Cardinals, then our Apostle S. *Gregory* desired *a Sabinian* to suggest vnto the Emperour and the State in his time. His words be these: *One thing there is, of which I would haue you shortly to suggest to your most noble Lord and Master: That if I his seruant would haue had my hand in slaying of the Lombards, at this day the nation of the Lombards had neither had king, nor dukes, nor earles, and had bin diuided asunder in vtter confusion: but because I feare God, I dread to haue my hand in the blood of any man.*

An answer to
the authority
out of *Leo*.

b *Leo primus in
die assump.
sua ad Ponsif.
sermone 3. Leo
Epist. 89. ad
Ep. sc. Vien.
Idem ibid. ca. 2.*

c *Cicero in Hort.*

And thus hauing answered to S. *Gregory*, I come to another Pope, his Apostle, S. *Leo*. And that hee may see, I haue not in the former citations, quarelled him like a Sophister for contentiō sake, but for finding out of the trueth, I do grant, that the authorities out of *b* *Leo*, are rightly alleadged all three, the wordes truely set downe, together with his true intent and purpose: but withall, let mee tell him, and I appeale vnto his owne conscience whether I speake not truely, that what *Tullie* said to *c* *Hortensius*, when hee did immoderately praise eloquence, that he would haue lift her vp to Heauen, that himselfe might

might haue gone vp with her; So his S. *Leo* lift vp S. *Peter* with praises to the skie, that he being his ^a heire, might haue gone vp with him. For his S. *Leo* was a great Orator; who by the power of his eloquence redeemed *Rome* from fire, when both ^b *Attilas* and *Gen-
sericus* would haue burnt it.

Some fruits of this rhetorick he bestowed vpon S. *Peter*, saying, *The Lord^c did take Peter into the fellowship of the indiuisible Unitie*: which words being coupled to the sentence alleadged by the Cardinall (*that hee hath no part in the diuine Mysterie, that dare depart from the soliditie of Peter*) should haue giuen him, I thinke, such a scarre, as he should neuer haue dared to haue taken any aduantage by the words immediately preceding, for the benefit of the Church of *Rome*, and the head therof; since those which immediatly follow, are so much derogatory to the diuine Maiestie. And againe, *My^d writings be strengthened by the authoritie and merit of my Lord, most blessed S. Peter. We^e beseech you to keepe the things decreed by vs through the inspiration of God, and the Apostle most blessed S. Peter. If*

^a any

a For so he calleth himselfe in sermon.
I. in die assum.

b Ex breuiario Romano.

c Epist. 89.

d Epist. 52.

e Epist. 89.

a In ferm. 2.
in die annuer.
aßum. sue.

b Ser. 3. in die
anni. assump.
sue.

c Epist. 24.
d Epist. 4.

a Concil. Chal.
ced. Act. 16. &
can. 28.

a any thing be well done, or decreed by vs; If any thing be obtained of Gods mercy by daily praier, it is to be ascribed to S. Peters works and merits, whose power doth liue, & authority excell in his owne Sea. He ^b was so plentifully watered of the very fountaine of all graces, that whereas he receiued many things alone, yet nothing passeth ouer to any other, but he was partaker of it. And in a word, he was so desirous to extoll S. Peter, That a messenger from him was an ^c embassage from S. Peter: ^d any thing done in his presence, was in S. Peters presence. Neither did he vse all this Rhetoricke without purpose: for at that time the Patriarch of *Constantinople* cōtended with him for Primacie. And in the Councell of ^e *Chalcedon*, the Bishops fixe hundred and more, gaue equall authority to the Patriarch of that Sea, and would not admit any priuiledge to the Sea of *Rome* aboue him; but went against him. And yet he that gaue so much to *Peter*, tooke nothing from *Cesar*; but gaue him both his Titles and due, giuing the power of calling a Councell to the Emperour; as it may appeare by these one or two places following of many. If it may

may please your^a godlinesse to vouchsafe at our supplication to condescend, that you wil command a Councell of Bishops to be holden within Italy. And writing vnto the Bishop of Constantinople : Because the most clement^b Emperour, carefull of the peace of the Church, will haue a Councell to be holden; albeit it evidently appeare, the matter to be handled doeth in no case stand in need of a Councell. And againe, Albeit^c my occasions wil not permit me to be present vpon the day of the Councell of Bishops, which your godlinesse hath appointed. So as by this it may well appeare, that he that gaue so much to Peter, gaue also to Caesar his due and prerogatiue. But yet he playeth not faire play in this, that euen in all these his wrong applied arguments and examples, he produceth no other witnesses, but the parties themselves; bringing euer the Popes sentences for approbation of their owne authoritie.

Now indeed for one word of his in the midst of his examples, I cannot but greatly comend him; that is, that Martyrs ought to indure all sorts of tortures and death, before they suffer one syllable to be corrupted of the

a Epist. 9.
Theodosio.

b Epist. 16.
Flauiano.

c Epist. 17.
Theodosio.

*s. Bellar. de sa-
cra Eucharist.
lib. 4. cap. 14.*

Law of God. Which lesson, if he and all the rest of his owne profession would apply to themselves, then would not the Sacrament be administred *sub unâ specie*, directly contrary to Christes institution, the practise of the Apostles and of the whole Primitiue Church for many hundred yeeres: then would not the priuate Masses be in place of the Lordes Supper: then would not the words of the ^a Canon of the Masse be opposed to the words of S. Paul and S. Luke, as our Aduersary himselfe confesseth, and cannot reconcile them: nor then would not so many hundreths other traditions of men be fet vp in their Church, not only as equally, but euen preferred to the word of God. But sure in this point I feare I haue mistaken him: for I thinke he doth not meane by his *Diuina Dogmata*, the word of the God of heauen, but onely the Canons and Lawes of his *Dominus Deus Papa*: otherwise all his Primacie of the Apostolike Sea would not be so much sticken vpon, hauing so slender ground in the word of God.

And for the great feare he hath, that the suddennes

suddenness of the apprehension, the bitterness of the persecution, the weaknesse of his age, and other such infirmities might haue bene the cause of the Arch-priests fall; in this, I haue already sufficiently answered him; ha- uing declared, as the trueth is, and as the said *Blackwel* himselſe wil yet testifie, that he took this Oath freely of himselſe, without any in- ducement therunto, either *Precibus* or *Minis*.

But amongst all his citations, he must not forget holy *Sanderus* and his *uisibilis Monar- chia*, whose person and actions I did already a little touch. And surely who will with vn- partiall eyes reade his bookes, they may well thinke, that he hath deserued wel of his Eng- lish Roman-Church; but they can neuer thinke, but that hee deserued very ill of his English Soueraigne and State. Witnesse his owne books; whereout I haue made choice to set downe here these few sentences fol- lowing, as flowers pickt out of so worthy a garland. ^a *Elizabeth Queene of England, doeth exercise the Priestly acte of teaching and preaching the Gospel in England, with no lesse authority then Christ himself, or Moses euer did.*

Some of San- ders his wor- thy sayings remembered.

^a Sand. de vi- sib. monar. lib. 6. cap. 4.

a Sand. de clau.
David lib. 6.
cap. 1.

b Sand. de vi.
lib. Monar. lib.
2. cap. 4.

c Ibidem.

d Ibidem.

e Ibidem.

f Sand. de clau.
David. lib. 5.
cap. 2.

g Ibidem.

The supremacie of a^a woman in Church matters is from no other, then from the Deuil. And of all things in generall thus he speaketh, The^b King that will not inthrall himselfe to the Popes authority, he ought not to be tolerated; but his Subiects ought to giue all diligence, that another may be chosen in his place assoone as may bee. A King that is an^c Heretike, ought to be remoued from the Kingdome that he holdeth ouer Christians; and the Bishops ought to endeuour to set up another, assoone as possibly they can. Wee doe constantly^d affirme, that all Christian Kings are so far vnder Bishops and Priests in all matters appertaining to faith, that if they shall continue in a fault against Christian Religion after one or two admonitions, obstinately, for that cause they may and ought to be deposed by the Bishops from their temporal authority they bold ouer Christians. ^e Bishops are set ouer temporall kingdomes, if those kingdome do submit themselues to the faith of Christ. Wee doe iustly^f affirme, that all Secular power, whether Regall, or any other, is of Men. The^g anoynting which is powred vpon the head of the King by the Priest, doeth declare that he is inferiour to the Priest. It is altogether
against

against the will of ^a CHRIST, that Christian Kings should haue supremacie in the Church.

*a Sand. de clau.
David lib. 5 ca. 4*

And whereas for the crowne and conclusion of all his examples, he reckoneth his two English martyrs, *Moore* and *Roffensis*, who died for that one most weightie head of doctrine, as he alleadgeth, refusing the Oath of Supremacie; I must tel him, that he hath not bene well informed in some materiall points, which doe very neerly concerne his two said martyrs. For it is cleare and apparantly to be prooued by diuers Records, that they were both of them committed to the Tower about a yeere before either of them was called in question vpon their liues, for the *Popes* Supremacie; And that partly for their backwardnesse in the poynt of the establishment of the Kings succession, wherunto the whole Realme had subscribed, and partly for that one of them, to wit, *Fisber*, had had his hand in the matter of the holy ^b maid of *Kent*; he being for his concealement of that false Prophets abuse, found guilty of misprision of treason. And as these were the principall causes of their imprisonment (the King re-

The Cardinals paire of Martyrs weighed.

^b Called *Elizabeth Barron*.
See the Act of Parliament.

sting secure of his Supremacie, as the Realme
 stood then affected, but especially troubled
 for setting the crowne vpon the issue of his
 second mariage) so was it easily to be concei-
 ued, that being thereupon discontented,
 their humors were thereby made apt to draw
 them by degrees, to further opposition a-
 gainst the King and his authoritie, as indeed
 it fell out. For in the time of their being in
 prison, the Kings lawfull authoritie in cases
 Ecclesiasticall being published and promul-
 ged, as wel by a general decree of the Clergie
 in their Synode, as by an Acte of Parliament
 made thereupon; they behaued themselues
 so peeuisshly therein, as the old coales of the
 Kings anger being thereby raked vp of new,
 they were againe brought in question; as wel
 for this one most weighty head of doctrine
 of the *Pope* his supremacy, as for the matter
 of the Kings marriage and succession, as by
 the confession of one of themselues, euen
Thomas Moore, is euident. For being condem-
 ned, hee vsed these words at the barre before
 the Lords, *Non ignoro cur me morti adiudica-*
ueritis; videlicet ob id, quòd nunquam voluerim
assentiri

Histor. aliquos
Martyrum no-
stri seculi, Ann.
1550.

assentiri in negotio matrimonij Regis. That is, I am not ignorant why you haue adiudged mee to death: to wit, for that I would neuer consent in the busines of the new marriage of the King. By which his owne confession it is plaine, that this great martyr himselfe tooke the cause of his owne death, to be onely for his being refractary to the King in this saide matter of Mariage and Succession; which is but a very fleshly cause of Martyrdome, as I conceiue.

And as for *Roffensis* his fellow Martyr (who could haue beene content to haue taken the Oath of the Kings Supremacie, with a certaine modification, which *Moore* refused) as his imprisonment was neither onely, nor principally for the cause of Supremacy, so died hee but a haking and a singular Martyr or witnes for that most weighty head of doctrine; the whole Church of *England* going at that time, in one current and streame as it were against him in that argument, diuers of them being of farre greater reputation for learning and sound iudgement, then euer he was. So as in this point we may wel arme our selues with the Cardinals own reason, where
he

he giueth amongst other notes of the true Church, *Vniuersality* for one, we hauing the generall and Catholique conclusion of the whole Church of *England*, on our side in this case, as appeareth by their booke set out by the whole Conuocation of *England*, called, *The Institution of a Christian man*; the same matter being likewise very learnedly handled by diuers particular learned men of our Church, as by *Steuens Gardiner* in his booke *de vera obedientia*, with a Preface of Bishop *Boners* adioyning to it, *De summo & absoluto Regis Imperio*, published by *M. Bekinsaw*, *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ*, Bishop *Tonstals* Sermon, Bishop *Longlands* Sermon, the letter of *Tonstall* to Cardinall *Poole*, and diuers other both in English and Latine. And if the bitternesse of *Fishers* discontentment had not beene fed with his daily ambitious expectation of the Cardinals hat, which came so neere as *Calis* before hee lost his head to fill it with, I haue great reason to doubt, if he would haue constantly perseuered in induring his Martyrdome for that one most waighty head of doctrine.

And

And surely these two captaines and ring-leaders to martyrdome were but ill followed by the rest of their countrymen: for I can neuer reade of any after them, being of any great account, and that not many, that euer sealed that weighty head of doctrine with their blood in *England*. So as the true causes of their first falling in trouble (wherof I haue already made mention) being rightly considered vpon the one part; and vpon the other the scant number of witnesses, that with their blood sealed it; (a point so greatly accounted of by our Cardinall) there can but smal glory redound therby to our English nation, these onely two, *Enoch* and *Elias*, seruing for witnesses against our Antichristian doctrine.

And I am sure the Supremacie of Kings may, and will euer be better maintained by the word of God (which must euer bee the true rule to discerne al weighty heads of doctrine by) to be the true and proper office of Christian Kings in their owne dominions, then he will be euer able to maintaine his annihilating Kings, & their authorities, together with his base & vnreuerend speeches of

O them,

The Supremacy of Kings sufficiently warranted by the Scriptures

a 2.Chron.
19.4.

b 2.Sam. 5.6.

c 1.Chron.
13.12.

d 2.Sam 6.16

e 1.Chron.
28.6.

f 2.Chron.6.

g 2.King 22.
11.

h Nche.9.38.
David.
Salomon.

*2.Kings 18.4.

i 1.Kings 15.
12.

2.Kings 13.4.

k 2.Chron.
17.8.

l 1.Kings 2.
27.

m 2.Sam.7.14

n 1.Sam.8.2.6.

Sc Exod. 22.8.

o 1.Sam.24.11

them, wherewith both his former great Volumes, and his late Bookes against *Venice* are filled. In the old Testament, Kings were directly ^aGouernours ouer the Church within their Dominions; ^bpurged their corruptions; reformed their abuses, brought the ^cArke to her resting place, the King ^ddancing before it; ^ebuilt the Temple; ^fdedicated the same, assisting in their owne persons to the sanctification thereof; ^gmade the booke of the Law new-found, to be read to the people; ^hrenewed the couenant betweene God and his people; ^{*}brused the brasen Serpent in pieces, which was set vp by the expresse cōmandement of God, and was a figure of Christ; destroyed ⁱall Idols, and false gods; made ^ka publike reformation, by a Commission of Secular men and Priests mixed for that purpose; deposed ^lthe high Priest, and set vp another in his place: and generally, ordered euery thing belonging to the Church-gouernment, their Titles and Prerogatiues giuen them by God, agreeing to these their actions. They are called *the^m Sonnes of the most High, nay, Godsⁿ themselues; The^o Lords anoynted;*

anoynted; Sitting ^p in Gods throne; His ^q ser-
uants; The Angels ^r of God; According to his
^f hearts desire; The light ^t of Israel, The ^unursing
fathers of the Church, with innumerable such
titles of honor, wherwith the old Testament
is filled; wherof our aduersary can pretend no
ignorance. And as to the new Testament,
Every soule is commaunded to be subiect vnto
them, euen for ^x conscience sake. All men ^y must
bee prayed for; but especially Kings, and those
that are in Authority, that vnder them we may
lead a godly peaceable and an honest life.

The ^a Magistrate is the minister of God to doe
vengeance on him that doth euill, & reward him
that doeth well. Ye must obey all higher powers,
but especially Princes, and those that are supere-
minent. Giue every man his due, feare ^c to whom
feare belongeth, and honour to whome honour.
Giue ^d vnto Caesar what is Caesars, and to God
what is Gods. ^e Regnum meum non est huius
mundi. ^f Quis me constituit Iudicem super vos?
^g Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem
non sic. If these examples, sentences, titles,
and prerogatiues, and innumerable other in
the old and new Testament, do not warrant

p 2.Chro.9.8
q 2.Chron.6
15.
r 2.Sam.14.20
f 1.Sam.13.14
t 2.Sam.21.17
u Isa.49.23.

x Rom.13.5.
y 1.Tim.2.2.

a Rom.13.4.

b 1.Pet.2.13

c Rom.13.7

d Matth.22.

21.
e Iohn 18.36.

f Luke 12.14

g Luke 22.25

*a Euseb. lib. 3.
de vita Con-
stantini. —*

Christian Kings, within their owne dominions, to gouerne their Church, as well as the rest of their people, in being *Custodes vtriusq; Tabule*, not by making new articles of faith, (which is the Popes office, as I said before) but by cōmanding obedience to be giuen to the word of God, by reforming the religion according to his prescribed will, by asisting the spiritual power with the temporal sword, by reforming of corruptions, by procuring due obedience to the Church, by iudging, and cutting off all friuolous questions and schismes, as *a Constantine* did; and finally, by making *decorum* to be obserued in euery thing, & establisshing orders to be obserued in all indifferent things for that purpose, which is the only intent of our Oath of Supremacy: If this office of a King, I say, doe not agree with the power giuen him by Gods word, let any indifferent man voyd of passion, iudge. But how these honourable offices, styles, and prerogatiues giuen by God to Kings in the old and new Testament, as I haue now cited, can agree with the braue stiles and titles that *Bellarmino* giueth thē, I can hardly conceiue.

I. That

1. That *Kings* are rather *slaves* then *Lords*.
 2. That they are not onely *subiects* to *Popes*,
 to *Bishops*, to *Priests*, but euen to *Deacons*.

1. *De laicis.*
cap.7.

2. *De Pont.*
lib.1.cap.7.

3. That an *Emperour* must content himselfe
 to drinke, not onely after a *Bishop*, but after a
Bishops chaplen.

3. *Ibidem.*

4 That *Kings* haue not their *Authoritie*
 nor office immediatly from *God*, nor his *Law*,
 but onely from the *Law of Nations*.

4. *Ibidem, &*
de cler.cap.28.

5. That *Popes* haue degraded many *Empe-*
rours, but neuer *Emperour* degraded the *Pope*;
 nay, euen * *Bishops*, that are but the *Popes* *vas-*
sals, may depose *Kings*, & abrogate their *lawes*.

5. *De Pont.lib.*
3.cap.16.

* *De Rom.Pon-*
tif.lib.5.cap.8.

6 That *Church-men* are so farre aboue
Kings, as the *soule* is aboue the *body*.

6. *De laicis.*
cap.8.

7. That *Kings* may be deposed by their *peo-*
ple, for diuers respects.

7 *De Pont.lib.*
5.cap.18.

8. But *Popes* can by no meanes be deposed:
 for no *flesh* hath power to iudge of them.

8. *De Pont.lib.*
2.cap.26.

9. That obedience due to the *Pope*, is for *con-*
science sake.

9. *De Pont.lib.*
4.cap.15.

10. But the obedience due to *Kings*, is onely
 for certaine respects of order and policie.

10. *De Clericis.*
cap.28.

11. That these very *Church-men* that are
 borne, and inhabite in *Soueraigne Princes coun-*

11. *Ibidem.*

treys, are notwithstanding not their Subiects, and cannot be iudged by them, although they may iudge them.

12. *Ibidem.*

12. And, that the obedience that Church-men giue to Princes, euen in the meanest and meere Temporall things, is not by way of any necessarie subiection, but onely out of discretion, and for obseruation of good order, and custome.

These contrarieties betweene the Booke of God, and *Bellarmines* bookes, haue I heere set in opposition each to other, *Vt ex contrarijs iuxta se positis, Veritas magis elucescere possit.* And thus farre I dare boldly affirme, that whosoever will indifferently weigh these irreconciliable contradictions here set downe, wil easily confesse, that CHRIST is no more contrary to Belial, light to darkenesse, and heauen to hell, then *Bellarmines* estimation of Kings, is to Gods.

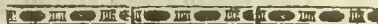
Now as to the conclusion of his letter, which is onely filled with strong and pithy exhortations, to perswade and confirme *Blackwell* to the patient and constant induring of martyrdom, I haue nothing to answer, saue by way of regrave; that so many good

good sentences drawn out of the Scripture, so well and so handsomely packed vp together, should be so ill and vntruely applied. But an euill cause is neuer the better for so good a cloake; and an ill matter neuer amended by good wordes: And therefore I may iustly turne ouer that craft of the deuill vpon himselfe, in vsing so holy-like an exhortation to so euill a purpose. Onely I could haue wished him, that he had a little better obserued his *decorum* herein, in not letting slip two or three prophane wordes amongst so many godly mortified Scripture sentences. For in all the Scripture, especially in the new Testament, I neuer read of *Pontifex Maximus*. And the Pope must be content in that stile to succeed according to the Lawe and institution of *Numa Pompilius*, and not to *S. Peter*, who neuer heard nor dreamed of such an office.

And for his *Caput fidei*, which I remembered before, the Apostles (I am sure) neuer gaue that stile to any, but to CHRIST. So as these stiles, wherof some were neuer found in Scripture, and some were neuer applied
but

but to CHRIST in that sense, as he applieth it, had bene better to haue bene left out of so holy and mortified a letter.

To conclude then this present discourse, I heartily wish all indifferent readers of the *Breues* and Letter, not to iudge by the speciousnes of the words, but by the weight of the matter; not looking to that which is strongly alledged, but iudiciously to consider what is iustly prooued; And for all my owne good and naturall Subiects, that their hearts may remaine established in the trueth; that these forraine inticements may not seduce them from their natall and naturall duetie; and that all, aswell strangers, as naturall subiects, to whose eyes this discourse shall come, may wisely and vnpartially iudge of the Veritie, as it is nakedly here set downe, for clearing these mists and cloudes of calumnies, which were iniustly heaped vpon mee; for which ende onely I heartily pray the courteous Reader to be perswaded, that I tooke occasion to publish this discourse.



THE
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LAST PART OF
THE FIRST BOOKE

of the English Arcadia.

Making a compleate end of the first
HISTORY:

Full of various deceptions, and much
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Amant alterna Camenæ.

By G. M.



LONDON.

Printed by *Nicholas Okes* for *Thomas Saunders*, and
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