

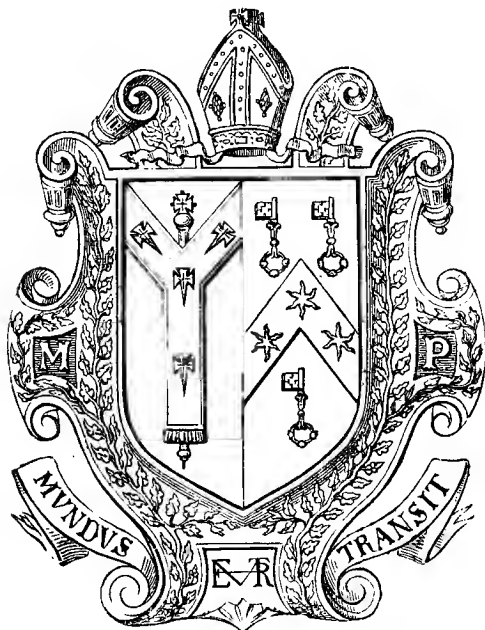
THE
ZURICH LETTERS.

(SECOND SERIES.)

A. D. 1558—1602.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers
and Early Writers of the Reformed
English Church.

THE
ZURICH LETTERS,

(SECOND SERIES)

COMPRISING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SEVERAL ENGLISH
BISHOPS AND OTHERS

WITH SOME OF

THE HELVETIAN REFORMERS,

DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

TRANSLATED FROM AUTHENTICATED COPIES OF THE AUTOGRAPHS,

AND EDITED FOR

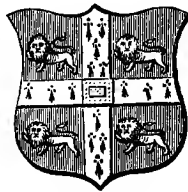
The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. HASTINGS ROBINSON, D.D. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF GREAT WARLEY, ESSEX;

AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



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INTRODUCTION.

SHORTLY after the publication of the volume entitled "Zurich Letters," the attention of the Council of the Parker Society was directed by the late Rev. John Hunter, by whom the copies of those letters were procured and presented to the Society in 1841, to the expediency of instituting a more extended examination into the library and archives at Zurich; as he found reason for believing, upon a subsequent journey thither in 1842, that the contents of those depositories had not been fully explored by him on his former visit. And as several communications had been received, indicating that there were other depositories in Switzerland which would repay examination, it was resolved that a complete investigation should be made, in the hope of procuring some additional documents connected with the history of the English Reformation. For accomplishing this object, the Council availed themselves of the assistance of the Rev. Steuart A. Pears, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who proceeded to Zurich in the summer of 1843, where he was occupied for a considerable time in a full investigation of the contents of the public library and archives in that city: he also made similar researches at Geneva, Strasburg, Basle, Zofingen, Berne, Schaffhausen, and St Gall, necessarily confining his attention to such of the contents of those libraries as referred to the immediate object of his mission. The account of Mr Pears's proceedings cannot be better given than in the substance of his own report to the Council of the Parker Society.

The first object of attention in the town library of Zurich is the Simler collection of the correspondence of the Swiss Reformers. This was made by the late John Jacob Simler,

(a descendant of the Josiah Simler so frequently mentioned in the Zurich Letters,) superintendent of schools in the Canton of Zurich, who died August the 5th, 1788. He appears to have examined with great accuracy all the collections of letters, manuscript and printed, public and private, within his reach. He copied fully 18,000 letters with his own hand, arranged them all chronologically, and at the head of each noted the collection, volume, and page in which the original is to be found. The whole work extends to nearly 200 folio volumes, of which 140 are occupied by the period A. D. 1530—1600. This collection, therefore, formed a most accurate guide to the collections of originals in the archives and library at Zurich, Strasburg, and Berne; the libraries at Basle, Zofingen, Geneva, St Gall, and Schaffhausen, besides several private and printed collections of the correspondence of the Reformers.

Mr Pears proceeded to look through these collections of original documents, and to collate the transcripts as they were supplied by the copyists, in the course of which investigation he examined the following repositories.

1. The archives at Zurich, from which the principal part of the letters already printed by the Parker Society had been supplied to the Rev. John Hunter, by M. Meyer von Knonau, the state archiviste.

2. The library at Zurich, in which the collection of original letters is almost as large as that in the archives, though the number of those that refer to England is not so considerable, since nearly all Bullinger's correspondence is preserved in the archives.

3. The library at Strasburgh, in which are four volumes of miscellaneous correspondence, and one volume relating entirely to Fagius and his family.

4. The archives de St Thomas at Strasburgh, to which access was obtained by the assistance of professor Baum. They contain an interesting collection of letters, well arranged.

5. The library at Basle. The collection is very large, but it contains scarcely any thing that bears on the English Reformation.

6. The library at Zofingen. In this is a small collection, with little that is interesting to the Parker Society; but the librarian sent the Council a list of the letters having any relation to the period of the Reformation.

7. The library and archives of Berne. In the latter is contained a large collection of the letters of Calvin and his correspondents.

8. The library of Geneva. Mr Pears found there nearly thirty letters relating to the affairs of the English Church, of which the greater portion refer to a period antecedent to that comprehended in the present volume.

9. Schaffhausen. The ecclesiastical archives in this place chiefly relate to the history of the church in that canton.

10. St Gall. In the city library is a good collection of letters, very few of which, however, have any reference to England.

The members of the Parker Society are indebted for the contents of the present volume to these valuable researches of the Rev. S. A. Pears, kindly assisted as they have been by the local authorities¹ in Switzerland. Many of the letters

¹ Among these may be mentioned the following gentlemen, all of whom manifested a very friendly readiness to assist the operations of the Parker Society; and from many of whom Mr Pears received great personal kindness and attention. At Zurich, M. Meyer von Knonau, the archiviste; and M. Horner, the librarian. At Strasburg, M. Baum, principal of the Protestant seminary; M. Yung, the librarian; M. Roehrich, pastor of St Guillaume. At Basle, M. Gerlach, the librarian; and M. Burckhardt, antistes of the church. At Berne, M. Trechsel, the librarian; and M. Hundeshagen, professor of theology. At Geneva, M. Diodati, the librarian; M. Sordet, state archiviste; and the Rev. W. Hare, the English chaplain. At St Gall, M. Bernet the librarian. At Schaffhausen, M. Maitsker, the librarian. At Heidelberg, M. Charles Baehr, the librarian.

will be found explanatory of the series already published; and will supply many chasms in the chronological arrangement of the correspondence, which could not be filled up till the present investigation had been made.

For the purpose of assisting the reader in the consecutive perusal of the entire series, a general table of contents has been compiled for both volumes, in which each letter is placed in its proper order, and a reference is given in the margin to the depository in which the original is to be found.

In addition to the letters now published, and which comprise the correspondence of the English Reformers during the reign of Elizabeth, preserved in the collections above mentioned, there have been obtained upwards of three hundred others, written during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and queen Mary, which will form another volume of the publications of the Parker Society, not less interesting than the preceding volumes, and from the same sources.

Nearly the whole of these letters, it will be observed, have been derived from the original documents at Zurich: a small portion is from the originals preserved in the other libraries to which reference has already been made. A very few letters have been taken from the copies in the Simler collection, in cases where access to the originals was found to be unattainable; while the light thrown by some of the letters of Zanchy and Peter Martyr upon the correspondence in the present volume, made it desirable that they should be transcribed, in the absence of the original documents, from the printed copies of their works.

Many of these letters, it will be seen, refer to the unhappy disputes respecting the vestments, by which the church of England was agitated during the earlier portion of the Elizabethan period. It would be improper to enter into the question here, and it is also unnecessary; as the reader who wishes to make himself further acquainted with that

controversy will find in Strype, Collier, Soames, and other writers, such information as he may require upon the subject. It may be well, however, to observe, that the original words rendered by the term *surplice* appear sometimes to have been used by the writers, where, according to the Injunctions, the cope, and perhaps some other habits, may have been included or intended; and indeed considerable uncertainty seems to have prevailed as to the occasions on which these vestments were respectively used, as well as to the precise meaning of some of the terms by which they were designated in the original letters. The various injunctions, with other papers illustrative of the subject, will be found in Cardwell's Documentary Annals, and in other collections of a similar character.

The editor refrains from any remarks upon the various topics treated in these letters; it being his desire, and the object of the Parker Society, that the respective writers should speak for themselves. The notes therefore are only added for the purpose of throwing additional light upon the facts and circumstances mentioned in the correspondence. He avails himself of this opportunity to express his acknowledgments to those friends and correspondents who have directed his attention to some of the annotations of the former volume; and he has noticed at the end of this preface such points as seemed to require correction. The fidelity of the translation may be tested, as in the preceding volume, by reference to the originals, also printed, while the index, it is hoped, will prove a sufficient guide to the persons and circumstances noticed in the body of the work.

H. R.

WARLEY, *June* 28, 1845.

CORRIGENDA ET NOTANDA.

-
- Page 31, note 2, *dele* "Namely at Coventry."
 33, line 22, *for* "the surplice," *read* "those white vestments."
 51, 2, *for* "Oct. 13," *read* "Oct. 5."
 112, note 1, l. 1. *dele* "sir."
 115, line 8, *for* "were," *read* "was."
 146, Date of Letter LVIII. *for* "Aug." *read* "Feb."
 324, note. It will be observed that the date given by Wood, and those of letters CXXXVII. and CXXXVIII. appear to involve the difference of a year.

-
- Page 3, line 34, *for* "contra," *read* "præter."
The following variations in letter XV. are from a second copy:
 20, 34, *for* "præstandum," *read* "testandum."
 ... 37 *for* "homines desertione afflictos," *read* "[pœnas] hominis desertioni inflictas."
 21, 13, *for* "vulgaris," *read* "vulgari."
 ... 14, *for* "secus," *read* "serum."
 ... 18, *after* "aliter," *insert* "quam dixi."
 ... 35, *for* "amantissime," *read* "ornatissime."
 91, line 5, *for* "certi," *read* "certe."
 207, 4, *for* "collegisticis," *read* "collegis tuis."

The following emendations are to be made in the First Series.

- Page ix. last line, *for* "Norfolk," *read* "Suffolk."
 37, Letter XV*. should be corrected by the copy now supplied on the opposite page.
 63, line 5, *for* "There is, &c." *read* "One other, a native of Wales, is also, &c."
 ... 17, *for* "the word," *read* "Christ;" and so, page 64, line 14.
 Page 63, instead of note 1, insert—¹ The consecration of these prelates took place in Dec. 1559; that of archbishop Parker on the 17th, and of the others on the 21st. Strype, Ann. i. i. 230—232.]
 Instead of note 2, insert—² Namely, Rowland Merick, consecrated bishop of Bangor, Dec. 21, 1559. Strype, as above.]
 Page 164, Art. 2, instead of "In addition to, &c." *read*, "To say nothing of the effeminate and over-refined strains of the music itself, the use of the organ in church is growing more common."

Some variations having been discovered on comparing the transcript of the letter of Foxe, XV* p. 37 in the First Series, with a facsimile of the original, it is necessary to state that they are not referable either to M. Meyer von Konau or to the editor. That letter, the only letter in the volume written originally in English, was not included in the series verified by M. Meyer, but was copied hastily by a transcriber who mistook some few words owing to the peculiarity of the writing; and the variations were not discovered till a facsimile of the original document had been procured by the Rev. John Hunter, on a subsequent visit to Zurich.

JOHN FOXE TO — FRENSHAM.

Dated at BASLE, *June 27.*

D. Frenshamo et animi et corporis salutem in Christo.

MASTER FRENHAM. As you in your letters have oft comforted me, so I would I could likewise comfort you: but where my comfort is small, the Lord Jesus, the comforter of all, work in you sure consolation which may comfort both your body and soul! In whom I desire you be strong and valiant, so much as the weakness of your disease can bear. Be nothing discouraged, nor be not out of hope in yourself. I have seen here amongst our countrymen in the like disease greater weakness recover full well.

I desire you, in your contemplation of Christ, let your spirit be so noble and high in him, that ye may tread under your feet all other things, seem they never so strong, mighty, terrible, or great in this world; for he that hath overcome the world, what hath not he overcome in the world? Life or death, sickness or health, things present or to come, height or low, are nothing in Christ. Only, my brother, master Frensham, a hearty faith in Jesus Christ is all together whereby alonely we miserable and corruptible wretches are saved, do stand, do triumph, yea, in death and over death, in sin and over sin, and finally have victory over all evils, sin, death, hell, Satan, and all. For so it hath pleased the Father to save us by this faith only in his Son, to the end that we seeing his justice could not otherwise be satisfied but by his Son, we might the more fear him for his great righteousness, and love him for his great mercy, being saved by this faith in his Son. To this all the scripture beareth witness. The Lord Jesus stir up the quickening and feeling of this faith in our dull senses! To will you this in my prayer as I do not cease, so I do not despair of your recovery altogether: the mighty Lord Jesus, if it be his pleasure, put to his helping hand in restoring your health again! His good will be done. The bottle ye sent is not yet come to me. Basileæ, *June 27.*

Tuus in Christo,

J. FOXE.

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THE LETTERS
OF THE
ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

The capitals affixed to the titles in the following list indicate the sources from which the transcripts of the original documents were procured.

- A denoting the Archives at Zurich.
 Lthe City Library at ditto.
 S.C.the Simler Collection.
 Str.the Library at Strasburgh.
 Schaff.the Library at Schaffhausen.
 St Gall }
 Berne } the respective libraries in those places.
 Geneva }
 Zofingen }
 Op.the published works of the writers, most of them being also in the Simler Collection.

First Series.	Second Series.		
...	1	Sir A. Cook to Henry Bullinger	Strasburgh, Dec. 8, 1558. A
1	...	Thomas Sampson to Peter Martyr	Strasburgh, Dec. 17, 1558. L
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6	...	The same to the same	London, Apr. 14, 1559. L
7	...	The same to the same	London, Apr. 28, 1559. L
8	..	John Foxe to H. Bullinger	Basle, May 6, 1559. A
9	...	John Jewel to Peter Martyr.....	London, no date. L
10	...	John Foxe to Henry Bullinger.....	Basle, May 13, 1559. A
11	...	Richard Cox to Wolfgang Weidner.....	London, May 20, 1559. A
12	...	John Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	London, May 21, 1559. A
13	...	John Parkhurst to Conrad Gesner	London, May 21, 1559. A
14	...	John Jewel to H. Bullinger	London, May 22, 1559. A
...	8	Edmund Grindal to Conrad Hubert	London, May 23, 1559. Str.
15	..	John Foxe to Henry Bullinger.....	Basle, June 17, 1559. A
15*	...	John Foxe to Henry Frensham	Basle, June 17, 1559. A
...	9	Laurence Humphrey to H. Bullinger ...	Basle, June 23, 1559. L
...	10	Edmund Grindal to Conrad Hubert ...	London, July 14, 1559. Str.

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...	11	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson ...	Zurich, July 15, 1559. Op.
16	...	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	London, Aug. 1, 1559. L
17	...	John Foxe to H. Bullinger	Basle, Aug. 2, 1559. A
...	12	Conrad Hubert to T. Blaurer	Strasburgh, Aug. 7, 1559. St Gall
...	13	Thomas Lever to H. Bullinger	London, Aug. 8, 1559. L
18	...	John Foxe to H. Bullinger	Basle, Sept. 26, 1559. A
19	...	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	London, Nov. 2, 1559. L
20	...	John Jewel to Rod. Gualter	London, Nov. 2, 1559. L
21	...	John Parkhurst to John Wolfius	Without date. L
22	...	John Jewel to Josiah Simler	London, Nov. 2, 1559. L
...	14	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson.....	Zurich, Nov. 4, 1559. Op.
23	...	John Jewel to Peter Martyr	London, Nov. 5, 1559. L
24	...	The same to the same	London, Nov. 16, 1559. L
25	...	The same to the same	London, Dec. 1, 1559. L
26	...	John Parkhurst to Josiah Simler ...	Bishop's Cleeve, Dec. 20, 1559. L
...	15	John Calvin to Sir W. Cecil	Geneva, after Jan. 29, 1559. Berne.
27	...	Thomas Sampson to Pet. Martyr	Jan. 6, 1560. L
28	...	Bp Cox to Peter Martyr	London, no date L
...	16	Earl of Bedford to Rod. Gualter	London, Jan. 21, 1560. L
...	17	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson.....	Zurich, Feb. 1, 1560. Op.
29	...	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	London, Feb. 4, 1560. L
...	18	Bp Cox to George Cassander	London, March 4, 1560. S.C.
30	...	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	London, March 5, 1560. L
...	19	George Cassander to Bp Cox	Worms, 1560. S.C.
...	20	Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson ...	Zurich, March 20, 1560. A
31	...	Bp Sandys to Peter Martyr	London, April 1, 1560. L
32	...	Thomas Sampson to Peter Martyr ...	London, May 13, 1560. L
33	...	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr.....	London, May 22, 1560. L
34	...	The same to the same	Salisbury, June 1, 1560. L
...	21	Nicolas Gallasius to John Calvin	London, June 30, 1560. Geneva
35	...	Thomas Lever to H. Bullinger	Coventry, July 10, 1560. A
36	...	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	Salisbury, July 17, 1560. L
37	...	John Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	London, Aug. 23, 1560. A
...	22	Bp Grindal to Conrad Hubert	London, Oct. 5, 1560. Str.
38	...	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	Salisbury, Nov. 6, 1560. L
39	...	Bp Parkhurst to John Wolfius, &c. ...	Norwich, March 9, 1561. L
...	23	Rod. Gualter to the Earl of Bedford ...	Zurich, March 16, 1561. A
40	...	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler	London, May 4, 1561. L
41	...	Bp Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	Thetford, May 23, 1561. A
...	24	Earl of Bedford to Rod. Gualter	London, June 16, 1561. L
...	25	Richard Masters to Rod. Gualter	Greenwich, June 16, 1561. L
...	26	Pet. Martyr to a nobleman in England.	Zurich, July 22, 1561. Op.
...	27	Rod. Gualter to the Earl of Bedford ...	Zurich, Aug. 26, 1561. A
42	...	Bp Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	Ludham, Sept. 1, 1561. A
43	...	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr	Salisbury, Feb. 7, 1562. L
44	...	Bp Jewel to H. Bullinger	Salisbury, Feb. 9, 1562. A
45	...	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler	Salisbury, Feb. 10, 1562. L
...	28	Richard Masters to Rod. Gualter	London, Feb. 22, 1562. L
...	29	Earl of Bedford to H. Bullinger, &c....	London, March 16, 1562. A

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...	30	Roger Ascham to John Sturmius London, Apr. 11, 1562.	Str.
46	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger..... Ludham, April 28, 1562.	L
47	...	Bp Parkhurst to Josiah Simler, &c.... Ludham, April 29, 1562.	L
48	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger..... Ludham, May 31, 1562.	A
...	31	Bp Grindal to Conrad Hubert..... London, June 6, 1562.	Str.
...	32	Earl of Bedford to Henry Bullinger ... London, June 10, 1562.	A
...	33	Earl of Bedford to Rodolph Gualter ... London, June 10, 1562.	L
...	34	Sir Antony Cook to Henry Bullinger... London, June 14, 1562.	A
...	35	—— to Peter Martyr..... London, June 26, 1562.	L
...	36	Archbp Parker to Matt. Flacius, &c. Croydon, July 18, s. a.	S.C.
...	37	Hierome Zanchius to Bishop Grindal... Strasburgh, no date.	Op.
...	38	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger..... London, July 31, 1562.	A
49	...	Bp Cox to Peter Martyr..... London, Aug. 5, 1562.	L
...	39	Herman Folkerzheimer to J. Simler ... Salisbury, Aug. 13, 1562.	L
50	...	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger..... Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.	L
51	...	Bp Jewel to Peter Martyr Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.	L
52	...	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler Salisbury, Aug. 18, 1562.	L
53	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger Ludham, Aug. 20, 1562.	A
Ap. I.	...	Peter Martyr to Bishop Jewel Zurich, Aug. 24, 1562.	Op.
...	40	Roger Ascham to John Sturmius London, Oct. 21, 1562.	Str.
54	...	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger..... London, March 5, 1563.	L
55	...	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler..... London, March 7, 1563.	L
...	41	Her. Folkerzheimer to Jos. Simler..... London, March 15, 1563.	L
56	...	Bp Jewel to Josiah Simler..... London, March 23, 1563.	S.C.
57	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger Ludham, April 26, 1563.	A
...	42	Bp Grindal to John Calvin..... London, June 19, 1563.	Geneva
58	...	Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger Oxford, July 26, 1563.	A
59	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger Ludham, Aug. 13, 1563.	A
60	...	Laur. Humphrey to Hen. Bullinger,... Oxford, Aug. 16, 1563.	A
...	43	H. Zanchius to Bishop Grindal, Strasburgh, before Aug. 23, 1563.	Op.
...	44	H. Folkerzheimer to Josiah Simler ... Embden, Aug. 21, 1563.	L
...	45	Bp Grindal to Conrad Hubert Fulham, Aug. 33, 1563.	Str.
...	45*	John Abel to Henry Bullinger London, Aug. 24, 1563.	A
61	...	Bp Horn to Henry Bullinger..... Winchester, Dec. 13, 1563.	A
...	Ap. II.	Bp Horn's account of the Eng. Liturgy, Without place or date.	A
...	Ap. III.	H. Bullinger's Remarks on the above, Without place or date.	A
62	...	Bp Parkhurst to Josiah Simler Ludham, Feb. 17, 1564.	L
...	46	Hierome Zanchius to Bishop Grindal, near Chiavenna, Aug. 1564.	Op.
...	47	Hierome Zanchius to Henry Knolles, near Chiavenna, Aug. 1564.	Op.
63	...	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger..... Salisbury, March 1, 1565.	A
...	48	Richard Masters to Rodolph Gualter... London, March 4, 1565.	L
64	...	Bp Horn to Rodolph Gualter..... Farnham Castle, July 17, 1565.	A
65	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger Ludham, Aug. 18, 1565.	A
...	49	Bp Parkhurst to John Wolfius Ludham, Aug. 19, 1565.	L
Ap. II.	...	Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn Zurich, Nov. 3, 1565.	A
66	...	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger Worcester, Jan. 3, 1566.	A
67	...	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger, &c..... Salisbury, Feb. 8, 1566.	A
68	...	Laurence Humphrey to H. Bullinger, Oxford, Feb. 9, 1566.	A
69	...	Thomas Sampson to Henry Bullinger, London, Feb. 16, 1566.	A

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70	...	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger.....	Salisbury, March 10, 1566. A
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Ap. IV.	...	Henry Bullinger to Bishop Horn, &c.	Zurich, May 3, 1566. S.C.
...	49*	John Abel to Henry Bullinger	London, June 6, 1566. A
...	50	Miles Coverdale, &c. to W. Farell, &c.,	London, July 1566. S.C.
...	51	William Turner to Henry Bullinger ...	July 23, 1566. L
71	...	L. Humphrey to Henry Bullinger.....	July, 1566. A
72	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger	Ludham, Aug. 21, 1566. A
...	52	Bp Parkhurst to John Wolfius	Ludham, Aug. 21, 1566. L
73	...	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Aug. 27, 1566. A
...	53	Theodore Beza to Henry Bullinger.....	Geneva, Sept. 3, 1566. A
...	Ap. V.	The church of Scotland to T. Beza ...	St Andrew's, Sept. 4, 1566. A
Ap. V.	...	H. Bullinger, &c. to Bp Grindal, &c.,	Zurich, Sept. 6, 1566. A
...	54	Henry Bullinger to Miles Coverdale ...	Zurich, Sept. 10, 1566. A
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...	55	H. Bullinger, &c. to the Earl of Bedford,	Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566. A
...	56	Rodolph Gualter to Bp Parkhurst.....	Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566. A
...	57	Rodolph Gualter to Theodore Beza ...	Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566. A
74	...	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger.....	Antwerp, Dec. 20, 1566. A
...	Ap. IV.	Perceval Wiburn's account of the Church	of England. s. a. A
75	...	Bp Grindal, &c. to H. Bullinger, &c....	London, Feb. 6, 1567. A
...	58	G. Withers, &c. to H. Bullinger, &c.	1567. A
76	...	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Feb. 8, 1567. A
77	...	Bp Jewel to Henry Bullinger.....	Salisbury, Feb. 24, 1567. A
78	...	Perceval Wiburn to Henry Bullinger..	London, Feb. 25, 1567. A
...	59	Henry Bullinger to Theodore Beza.....	Zurich, March 15, 1567. A
79	...	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, June 21, 1567. A
...	60	Theodore Beza to Henry Bullinger	Geneva, July 29, 1567. A
80	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger.....	Ludham, July 31, 1567. A
...	61	H. Bullinger, &c. to Theodore Beza...	Zurich, Aug. 3, 1567. A
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...	63	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Aug. 23, 1567. A
...	64	H. Bullinger, &c. to Bp Grindal, &c.	Zurich, Aug. 26, 1567. A
81	...	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, Aug. 29, 1567. A
...	65	Christopher Mont to Henry Bullinger,	Strasburgh, Oct. 2, 1567. L
...	66	Bp Grindal to Theodore Beza, &c.....	London, April 17, 1568. S.C.
82	...	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, June 11, 1568. A
83	...	Bp Parkhurst to Rod. Gualter, &c.....	Ludham, Aug. 4, 1568. A
84	...	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	1568. A
...	67	Christopher Mont to Henry Bullinger,	Strasburgh, Dec. 27, 1568. A
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85	...	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	Fulham, Aug. 13, 1569. A
...	69	John Sturmius to Queen Elizabeth.....	Strasburgh, Sept. 6, 1569. Str.
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86	...	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger ...	London, Feb. 6, 1570. A
87	...	Bp Grindal to Henry Bullinger	London, Feb. 18, 1570. A
88	...	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, July 10, 1570. A
89	...	Bp Pilkington to Henry Bullinger	July 17, 1570. A
90	...	Abp Grindal to Henry Bullinger.....	London, July 31, 1570. A

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93	...	Bp Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	Norwich, Jan. 16, 1571. A
...	71	Bp Parkhurst to John Wolfius	Norwich, Jan. 16, 1571. L
94	...	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, Feb. 12, 1571. A
...	72	H. Bullinger to Abp. Grindal, &c.....	Zurich, Feb. 1571. S.C.
95	...	Bp Jewel to H. Bullinger	Salisbury, March 2, 1571. A
...	73	R. Hilles to H. Bullinger	London, March 8, 1571. A
96	...	The same to the same	London, July 27, 1571. A
97	...	Bp Cox to H. Bullinger.....	after July 27, 1571. A
...	74	John Day to H. Bullinger	London, Aug. 8, 1571. A
98	...	Bp Horn to H. Bullinger	London, Aug. 8, 1571. A
99	...	Bp Parkhurst to H. Bullinger	Ludham, Aug. 10, 1571. A
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...	78	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, Feb. 12, 1572. L
101	...	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger	London, Feb. 17, 1572. A
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...	80	Bp Parkhurst to John Wolfius	Ludham, March 10, 1572. L
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...	82	R. Gualter the younger to R. Gualter,	London, June 5, 1572. A
103	...	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger...London,	Ely House, June 6, 1572. L
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...	83	Christopher Mont to Henry Bullinger,	Strasburgh, July 8, 1572. A
104	...	Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger.....	London, July 10, 1572. A
...	84	R. Gualter the younger to Jos. Simler,	Cambridge, July 29, 1572. L
...	85	Lord Burghley to John Sturmius.....	Woodstock, Sept. 15, 1572. Str.
105	...	Bp Horn to Henry Bullinger.....	Farnham Castle, Jan. 10, 1573. A
106	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger.....	Ludham, Jan. 20, 1573. A
107	...	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, Feb. 4, 1573. A
...	86	R. Gualter the younger to Jos. Simler,	Cambridge, Feb. 4, 1573. L
108	...	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger.....	Without place or date. A
109	...	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter.....	Ely, June 12, 1573. A
...	87	L. Clayson to R. Gualter the younger,	Cambridge, June 23, 1573. L
...	88	Rod. Gualter to the Earl of Bedford...	Zurich, July 17, 1573. A
...	89	Lord Burghley to John Sturmius.....	London, July 18, 1573. Str.
110	...	Bp Pilkington to Rodolph Gualter ...	July 20, 1573. L
...	90	Rod. Gualter the younger to Josiah Simler,	Oxford, July 20, 1573. L
...	91	Sir John Wolley to John Sturmius ...	Orpington, July 24, 1573. Str.
...	92	William Cole to Rodolph Gualter.....	Oxford, July 26, 1573. L
111	...	Laurence Humphrey to Rod. Gualter,	Oxford, July 28, 1573. L
112	...	Archbp Grindal to Henry Bullinger...York,	July 31, 1573. A
113	...	Archbp Grindal to Rodolph Gualter...York,	July 31, 1573. L
...	93	William Barlow to Josiah Simler.....	London, Aug. 2, 1573. L
114	...	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger	London, Aug. 15, 1573. A

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117	...	Bp Parkhurst to Josiah Simler	Ludham, Feb. 7, 1574. L
...	98	Henry Bullinger to Bishop Sandys ...	Zurich, March 10, 1574. A
...	99	Henry Bullinger to Archbp Grindal...	Zurich, March 10, 1574. A
...	100	Rodolph Gualter to Bishop Cox	Zurich, March 16, 1574. A
118	...	Bp Parkhurst to Henry Bullinger.....	Ludham, June 29, 1574. A
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...	101	Antony Corranus to Henry Bullinger,	London, July 7, 1574. A
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121	...	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, July 20, 1574. A
...	102	William Cole to Rodolph Gualter	Oxford, July 31, 1574. L
122	...	Laurence Humphrey to Rod. Gualter,	Oxford, Aug. 2, 1574. L
123	...	Bp Sandys to Henry Bullinger	Fulham, Aug. 9, 1574. A
124	...	Bp Sandys to Rodolph Gualter	Fulham, Aug. 9, 1574. L
...	103	Queen Elizabeth to John Sturmius ...	Bath, Aug. 23, 1574. Zofing.
...	104	Rodolph Gualter to Bishop Cox	Zurich, Aug. 26, 1574. A
125	...	Bp Cox to Henry Bullinger	Ely, Jan. 25, 1575. A
...	105	William Barlow to Josiah Simler	Eton, Jan. 25, 1575. L
126	...	Bp Cox to Rodolph Gualter	Ely, 1575. A
127	...	The same to the same.....	Ely, July 31, 1575. A
...	106	Nicolas Bernius to Bishop Horn	Guernsey, Dec. 13, 1575. L
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129	...	Bp Horn to Rodolph Gualter	Waltham, Aug. 10, 1576. L
...	109	William Barlow to Josiah Simler	Waltham, Aug. 11, 1576. L
...	110	Rodolph Gualter to Archbp Grindal...	Zurich, Aug. 24, 1576. A
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...	111	Lewin to John Sturmius.....	London, Aug. 25, 1576. Str.
...	113	Lewin to John Sturmius.....	London, Sept. 8, 1576. Str.
...	114	Sir F. Walsingham to J. Sturmius,	Hampton Court, Oct. 27, 1576. Str.
...	115	The same to the same.....	London, April 23, 1577. Str.
...	116	The same to the same.....	London, July 22, 1577. Str.
...	117	Sir Philip Sidney to Hubert Languet,	At Court, Oct. 1, 1577. L
...	118	Rod. Gualter to George Buchanan.....	Zurich, Dec. 22, 1577. A
...	119	Sir Philip Sidney to Hubert Languet,	At Court, March 1, 1578. L
...	120	L. Humphrey to Abraham Musculus,	Oxford, March 3, 1578. Zofing.
...	121	Sir Philip Sidney to Hubert Languet,	At Court, March 10, 1578. L
...	122	L. Humphrey to Abraham Musculus,	London, June 5, 1578. Zofing.
131	...	L. Humphrey to Rodolph Gualter.....	Oxford, Aug. 11, 1578. L
...	123	George Buchanan to Rodolph Gualter,	Without place or date. Op.
...	124	Sir F. Walsingham to John Sturmius,	Antwerp, Sept. 5, 1578. Str.

[¹ These letters are inadvertently misplaced in the printing.]

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...	128	Hubert Languet to Peter Hubner	Baden, June 4, 1579. Zofing.
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134	...	Archbp Sandys to Rodolph Gualter ...	London, Dec. 9, 1579. L
...	130	Rodolph Gualter to George Buchanan,	Zurich, March 8, 1580. A
...	131	Hierome Zanchius to Sir F. Walsingham,	Neustadt, Sept. 24, 1581. Op.
...	132	Queen Elizabeth to the Swiss Cantons,	Oatlands, Sept. 1, 1583. S.C.
...	133	Queen Elizabeth to the four cities, &c.	Oatlands, Sept. 1, 1583. Schaff.
135	...	Queen Elizabeth to the Swiss Cantons,	Greenwich, July 18, 1590. A
...	134	Dutch church in London to the lord	Treasurer, Lond., Apr. 16, 1591. S.C.
...	135	Queen Elizabeth to the king of Poland,	Greenwich, April 16, 1591. S.C.
...	136	Lord Stafford to Wolfgang Meier	Greenwich, Aug. 6, 1593. Str.
...	137	State of Zurich to Queen Elizabeth ...	Zurich, Aug. 12, 1600. A
...	138	Caspar Thoman to Caspar Waser	Oxford, Feb. 1601. S.C.
...	139	John Johnston to Caspar Waser	St Andrew's, Aug. 1, 1601. S.C.
...	140	The same to the same	St Andrew's, Feb. 8, 1602. S.C.
...	141	Thomas Savile, &c. to Henry Wolfius,	Without place or date. L

LETTER I.

SIR ANTONY COOK TO¹ [HENRY BULLINGER].

Dated at STRASBURGH, *December 8, 1558.*

MOST excellent and justly honoured prelate, my friend and beloved brother in Christ, Dr Sandys, has brought me your very gratifying letter, in which you not only congratulate us Englishmen, and rejoice on our behalf, that the most merciful God has visited our affliction, and wrought out the redemption of his people, (which feeling of yours is truly most worthy of a good and pious minister;) but also, like a nurse who cherishes her children, you are anxious that no evil beast should hurt us, nor any misfortune interrupt this happiness that is now begun. Your advice indeed is most prudent and affectionate, and you point out to us those very things from which we have most to fear. I wish that those who will now be of the queen's councils may anticipate these evils, and diligently guard against them. There is however great hope, especially if the reports from Antwerp are to be depended upon, that the spirits of the papists are entirely cast down, and that they will not offer to attack us, unless our own discord should afford them an opportunity. The thing now to be deprecated is, lest any dispute and party-feeling should arise about [the queen's] marriage; for if that should take place under favourable auspices, every thing else will go on far more happily and with greater security. As to Philip's paying his addresses to her², I am not surprised at it, especially as the precedent is a new one: but if he consults his own interests, he will prefer the friendship of the queen to a marriage with her; and as to herself, she would not now, I think, marry a foreigner if she could; nor do I see how, if she were so inclined, she could do it

[¹ This letter has no address, but is stated in the Index to the volumes in the Archives to have been written to Bullinger.]

[² See first series, Letter II. p. 5, note 5.]

without the greatest danger. But in this matter I look very little to human counsels; for it is most true, as you write, that the disposal of kingdoms is in the hand of God. If the queen, mindful of the great mercy she has received, will but place her confidence in God;—if she will daily say unto the Lord, Thou art my fortress, my rock, and my refuge, there will neither be wanting to herself the spirit of a Judith or a Deborah, nor wisdom to her counsellors, nor strength to her army. On the other hand, the counsels of her enemies will be defeated, their swords blunted, and the horse with his rider fall to the ground. God grant that this may be the case, through Christ Jesus our Lord! Amen.

We are expecting another letter¹ from England in two or three days, and will take care that, should there be any news, good or bad, you shall be informed of it, whom we shall evermore reverence and acknowledge as masters and brethren who have so well deserved at our hands. Farewell. Strasburgh, Dec. 8, 1558.

Your excellency's most devoted,

ANTONY COOK.

LETTER II.

JOHN HALLER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at BERNE, *January 11, 1559.*

I HAVE extricated myself by the Lord's blessing from the legation to Lausanne, lately committed to me; for nothing more troublesome could have befallen me. Other persons are sent, who will manage every thing far better than I could have done. Meanwhile, I know not what will happen. We are expecting the result. Our English [exiles] at Arau have

[¹ One letter arrived at Strasburgh Dec. 19, and Sandys wrote to Bullinger on the following day. See first series, Letter II. p. 3.]

this day petitioned our senate, through Lever the bearer of this letter, for licence to depart, having returned thanks for the shelter that has been afforded them. They were therefore dismissed with free permission, and with great congratulation from all godly persons. We are afraid, however, that they have returned too soon; but as we consider their presence will be necessary, we cannot blame their resolution. Meanwhile there are given to them letters testimonial of their conduct; and as they employed me as their interpreter with the senate, I proposed also, upon the recommendation of master Consul Negelin, what you lately suggested to me with respect to writing a letter to the queen. This proposition was so agreeable to the senate, that they are sending a letter to be delivered to her majesty by the parties themselves. There is therefore no occasion for your people to write to ours again upon this subject; but let them rather address the queen independently of us, which you will easily manage with your friends. I have not at this time anything else to write. These good people are in haste, wherefore I have been obliged to hasten likewise. All our friends salute you, especially Musculus². Farewell. Berne, Jan. 11, 1559.

Yours,

J. HALLER.

LETTER III.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Dated at ZURICH, [*January 16*], 1559.

GRACE and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ. All godly persons, most serene queen, congratulate your royal majesty, for that God, who alone is wont to

[² Wolfgang Musculus was invited by the magistrates of Berne in 1549, to the professorship of divinity there. He died in 1563.]

confer and transfer kingdoms, has raised you to the throne of your ancestors. But for my own part, I am of opinion that we should rather congratulate the church of Christ herself; upon which, in this last time, wherein antichrist is putting forth all his powers in his last struggle, the Lord has caused a new star to arise, in that, according to the prediction of the prophet, he has given you to her as a nursing mother, who have hitherto been her faithful daughter. We acknowledge in this the wonderful goodness of God, who, when one would least expect it, looks upon his church, and relieves it from the pains of persecution. But for your majesty we implore a spirit of fortitude and wisdom, under the guidance of which you may continue to accomplish what you have already begun. For all godly persons are well acquainted with that pre-eminent faith, whereby, in the reigns of your father Henry, and your brother Edward, princes of pious and holy memory, you embraced the light of gospel truth, and resolved stedfastly to maintain it amidst dangers of every kind. And now many good men are every where proclaiming, that your majesty is seriously thinking of purifying the church and restoring religion; and I can easily believe that it is so, as I have been assured by credible witnesses, that (as Paul writes concerning his son Timothy) you have from your childhood known the holy scriptures. Wherefore, relying upon the clemency and piety of your majesty, I have not hesitated to send this my letter, both to congratulate your realm, and deliver the sentiments of my mind respecting the restoration of religion, with greater freedom perhaps than becomes an unknown individual. For this I think is allowable in the ministers of the church, especially in regard to those to whom God was pleased to entrust his church, when he foretold that kings should be her nursing fathers, and queens her nursing mothers.

But here, most serene queen, two things appear to me especially worthy of regard: first, that every reformation of the church and of religion be conducted agreeably to the word of God; and next, that no opportunity be afforded to any among your counsellors, whose endeavours are tending to that object, either entirely to hinder this most holy and of all things most necessary work, or at least to persuade you that it should still be deferred. For, with respect to the first, we

know that there are not a few persons, who, though they perceive that popery can neither honestly be defended, nor conveniently retained, are endeavouring by and bye to obtrude upon the churches a form of religion which is an unhappy compound of popery and the gospel, and from which there may at length be an easy passage to the ancient superstition. But since the apostle testifies that the church is born by the word of God, and that we must be born again in Christ, and made new creatures; whatever is in any measure repugnant to the doctrine of Christ, must be put off and laid aside together with the old Adam: nor can any reformation of the church be really acceptable to God, unless it agree in every respect with his word: and for this reason the scripture commends the faith of David, of Hezekiah, and Josiah, because they reformed the church according to divinely prescribed laws; while it reprehends in no obscure terms the slothfulness of others, who, though they wished to be regarded as the reformers and defenders of religion, yet retained the high places in which the people had been accustomed to offer sacrifice, contrary¹ to the commands of God. And your majesty is aware of that saying of Christ, who declares that the *new piece* of evangelical doctrine will not suit the *old garments* of superstitions. And he also solemnly warns us not to put the fermenting and wholesome *new wine* of his gospel into *old leathern bottles*, unless we would have not only these to perish, but that to be spilled at the same time. From the experience of not a few instances in our Germany, we assuredly know it to be impossible ever to consult the peace of the churches, or the purity of religion, as long as any relics of superstition are retained. For as those who are weak ascribe to them much more than is right, so the ignorant are made to stumble by them; and at the same time, by their means, the enemies of truth entertain the hope of some time bringing back and restoring superstition.

Nor in a case of this kind is it expedient to listen to any reasonings of the flesh, which, though it has put its hand to the plough, is for the most part accustomed to look back, and seek out on every side occasions of delay. For, as the apostle bears witness, it is the very end and aim of the preaching of the gospel, that by the obedience of faith we should be subject

[¹ The Latin has *propter* Dei preceptum, probably for *præter*.]

to the word of God, who alone both suggests the most wholesome counsels of action, and at the same time assists them by his Spirit to attain a favourable result. We have David for an example, who, notwithstanding he experienced many troubles in the beginning of his reign, and had to deal with many enemies, some of whom by open violence, and others by treacherous artifices, aimed at his destruction; yet, being enabled by the blessing of God to overcome them all, he restored both the civil government and religion with great glory and incredible success. I might bring forward many examples of this kind; but there is by no means any occasion to do so before your majesty, who has not long since seen something similar in king Edward, your brother, of most pious memory, who, when scarcely out of his boyhood, was an object of admiration to all kingdoms by reason of his remarkable zeal for godliness and the restoration of religion, and bravely overthrew the tyranny of antichrist throughout his realm. By which example God would shew, that antichrist has very little, or rather no strength to defend his kingdom, as soon as the light of the divine word has dispersed the darkness in which he is wont to hide himself. But because our ingratitude deserved it, a just God took to himself in peace our most godly king (as he did Josiah of old), that he might not see the dreadful dispersion of religion, which would doubtless have appeared more painful to him than death itself. But the same God, again manifesting his compassion for the kingdom of England and the church at large, has raised you up, that by the activity and zeal of your majesty might be happily completed what the most godly king your brother had piously and successfully begun. Pursue therefore, most serene queen, with unshaken resolution, what no godly person doubts that you have long since conceived in your mind; and with your favour gladden the church, which is eagerly expecting from your majesty the true maintenance of doctrine and religion, and regard all delay as unlawful which is connected with danger to the soul of any individual whatever. This is the desire of all godly persons, and for which they are suppliantly praying to God, who can both bend to your subjection the minds of your people, and protect you from every danger, while labouring for his glory. I touch upon these things very

briefly, because I am well aware that your majesty is not wanting in either a correct judgment, or faithful and prudent counsellors.

I may be considered, I confess, as wanting in discretion, for having offered this advice unsolicited. But I willingly incur the charge of indiscretion, provided only I may perform that duty, which both my public ministry in the church requires, and which I acknowledge myself to owe, by reason of personal benefits, to your England; in which I was formerly received¹, when almost a boy, with the greatest kindness, and from which time I have had among the English not a few friends, whom I regard as by no means the last in my esteem. Among these John Parkhurst easily holds the first place; a man pre-eminent for his erudition, and the stedfastness of his faith, and who has firmly retained, even to this day, that pure faith in Christ, which two and twenty years ago he began to profess, when I was residing in Oxford; and has so confirmed the same, amidst the sore troubles of a lengthened exile, that he has often been a wonder to me, and I have rejoiced in having such a man for my guest, in whom I might have constantly before me a lively pattern of christian faith and doctrine. Should your majesty think fit to honour him by any especial favour, you will do a service of which you will have Christ Jesus as the most faithful recompenser; and I dare engage that Parkhurst himself will be a labourer in the vineyard of the Lord not to be repented of.

I send your majesty my homilies² upon the general epistle of the apostle John, dedicated to king Edward of pious memory, but never read by him, because it seemed otherwise good to God the Father, who would not permit to an ungrateful world the longer enjoyment of so great and rare an intellect. I therefore request your majesty, that, if only for the most delightful remembrance of your brother, you will deign to receive and honour them with your patronage, until

[¹ Gualter first came to England about the year 1537, in company with Nicolas Partridge. His diary of that journey is still preserved at Zurich, and may probably appear in a subsequent series of these letters.]

[² The volume is entitled: *In Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Epistolam Canonicam Homiliæ xxxvii. In ejusdem apostoli duas posteriores epistolas, Homiliarum sylvæ. Authore Rodolpho Gualthero Tigurino. Tiguri, apud Froschoverum, anno M.D.LIII.*]

an opportunity be afforded me of more clearly testifying my respectful regard towards your majesty. May God the Father of mercy direct your majesty by his Spirit, protect you with his favour, and preserve you for many years in health and safety to his church and the kingdom of England! Amen. Dated at Zurich, the chief city of Switzerland, in the year of man's salvation 1559.

Your majesty's most devoted,

RODOLPH GUALTER,

Minister of the church of St Peter's, at Zurich.

LETTER IV

RODOLPH GUALTER TO THE LORD FRANCIS RUSSEL¹.

Dated at ZURICH, *Jan.* 16, 1559.

GRACE and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ! Though, most illustrious prince, I am well aware of my low estate, yet for many reasons I feel myself moved and impelled to make known to your clemency by letter the affectionate regard that I entertain towards your country. For when all godly persons are congratulating England with all their hearts, upon its having obtained a queen whose piety had been already proclaimed through the whole world, and by whose zeal it is universally hoped that true religion will be restored, which had for some years past been wretchedly on the decline; I should deservedly be deemed ungrateful, if in this general rejoicing I alone were to be silent, who for many reasons acknowledge myself deeply indebted to England. For, to say nothing of the incredible kindness which I formerly² experienced in your country, and the personal favours that I there received, the public cause of

[¹ This was Francis, second earl of Bedford, to which title he succeeded in 1555. He had gone out of England in queen Mary's time, and staid some time at Zurich. Burnet, III. 411.]

[² See above, p. 7, note 1.]

the church of Christ most justly demands it of me, that although I can neither aid you by any counsel or authority in the restoration of religion, I may at least by some token or other manifest the affection of my mind. And this has been my chief reason both for sending a letter to the queen's majesty, and it also principally induces me to write to your clemency. I am encouraged also at the same time by your noble qualities, which many of our friends have frequently declared to us, and of which we were allowed to behold no obscure evidences, when in your journey into Italy last year by way of Zurich you made such diligent inquiry into all things which make for the cause of the church and of religion, that it was easy to be perceived that this cause was far more dear to you than all other things whatever. And indeed I was even then rejoicing over you in silence, inasmuch as I perceived that the grace of God in you was not vain or inactive: but I now rejoice the more, both for yourself and England, as I understand that you are advanced by the queen's majesty to the highest dignity³, in which you are enabled both to give public evidence of your godliness, and to deserve well of your beloved country, and render that service and worship to God, which is more acceptable to him than any other. For since he regards his church (as he testifies by the prophet) as more dear to him than the apple of his eye, and vouchsafed to redeem the same by the death of his only-begotten Son; he certainly will have it held in the highest esteem by all, and especially by kings, and the counsellors of kings, who he foretold by Isaiah should be its nursing fathers and guardians, which office appears to me to constitute the chief dignity of all sovereigns. For to rule over a wide extent of country, to extend their empire by land and sea, and restrain their subjects by the force of law, is in the power of impious persons, and those who are ignorant of God, such as we know to have existed formerly in almost all kingdoms. But to kiss the Son of God (as the divine and royal psalmist speaks), and to cherish and defend his spouse, this truly is that glorious and

[³ The earl of Bedford was created a privy councillor on Elizabeth's accession, and when the care of correcting the liturgy was committed to Parker and others, he was one of the few to whom the matter was imparted. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 16.]

incomparable honour of princes, which is only conferred upon those whom God, of his special grace, has chosen to be vessels of his glory; and who, enlightened by his Spirit, have consecrated themselves entirely to him. And indeed, most illustrious prince, many good men testify that you are of this character, and many too have experienced it up to the present time. And I entreat of God in my continual prayers, that he may evermore preserve you such, and direct both your counsels and those of others, to whose fidelity is now entrusted the management of affairs, to the glory of his name, and the advancement of the church, and the welfare of the country; which object you will doubtless be permitted to accomplish, if only in the true fear of the Lord, which the most wise Solomon has declared to be the beginning of wisdom, you will bear in mind that those things which relate to the church and to religion are no where to be sought for but from the fountains of holy scripture. Nor does it become us here to be affrighted by any dangers, since the Lord, who ordains the counsels of action, directs also with his hand the events of such counsels; so that though they may sometimes seem to make little progress, yet they will at length terminate in a most happy issue. And though all things may deceive us, when, by reason of the world's ingratitude, God deprives even the most godly counsels of their effect, it is nevertheless no little satisfaction to know that we have done our duty, so that the blood of those whom their own perverseness has destroyed, cannot be required at our hands.

You must attribute, most illustrious prince, the freedom of my advice, not to temerity, but to my affection for England, and to your own clemency, the consideration of which has emboldened me to write as I have done. I should very fully commend to your clemency master John Parkhurst, were I not aware that he is much loved and valued by you, as I easily discovered when you so friendly and affectionately came to visit him at my house. And he is indeed worthy to be loved, as well for the singular godliness which he gave proof of by his exile, as for his sound learning, so opposed to any fondness for contention. Nor do I doubt but that he will prove of great use, if your clemency should think proper by your influence to promote him. May the

Lord Jesus direct and defend your clemency to the advancement of his church and of pure religion! Amen. Zurich, Jan. 16, 1559.

[RODOLPH GUALTER.]

LETTER V

RODOLPH GUALTER TO RICHARD MASTERS¹.

Dated at ZURICH, *Jan. 16, 1559.*

GREETING. I congratulated myself not a little in the years gone by, when, in the reign of Edward the sixth of pious memory, you first began to renew the duty of correspondence which had been interrupted for many years. But now, most learned sir, and esteemed brother in Christ, I have far more reason to congratulate both you and myself, as I understand that such times by the mercy of God are restored to your England, when, under the protection of a most godly queen, the liberty of worshipping God in truth will again be granted to godly men, and the letters of our friends can be conveyed to and fro without danger. We acknowledge in these things the wonderful wisdom and goodness of God, who is wont to temper with joyful changes the afflictions of his church, lest we should be entirely overwhelmed in the waves of temptation. May he also grant that the hopes of the faithful, which they have universally begun to entertain respecting the kingdom of England, may be fully realized! And this I the rather expect will be the case, if so many of you as are there placed in any degree of authority, will bear in mind that the charge of the church and of religion especially belongs to you, and you do not follow their counsels, who, perceiving that popery can neither honestly be defended nor entirely retained, adopt those artifices by which they invent a form of religion of a mixed, uncertain, and doubtful character, and obtrude the same upon

[¹ Richard Masters was physician to queen Elizabeth.]

the churches under the pretext of evangelical reformation from which the return to papistical superstition and idol-madness is afterwards most easy. I do not write this, as knowing that there are any such persons among you, but as fearing lest there may be such. For we have now experienced in Germany for some years, to the great detriment of the churches, the extent of influence possessed by men of this character; forasmuch as their counsels appear to the carnal judgment to be full of moderation, and especially adapted to the promotion of concord: and it is likely that the common enemy of our salvation will also find suitable instruments among yourselves, by the aid of which he will endeavour to retain the seeds of popery; which must be firmly resisted with the weapons of holy scripture and of the divine word, lest, while we endeavour to avoid giving some small offence at the first beginning, many things be allowed, as if to endure only for a time, which it will afterwards be scarcely possible by any effort, and not without the most grievous struggles, altogether to remove. The churches of Germany have seen many examples of this evil, by the consideration of which we are taught to regard with suspicion whatever is in any respect at variance with the sincere doctrine of the word. And you must not think that I am induced to give you this warning from any other motive, than because I am so wonderfully attached to your England by reason of my former intercourse, of which the mere recollection is even at this day most delightful to me.

Our friend Parkhurst, my brother and most beloved guest, whom I wish most earnestly to commend to you, will give you every information respecting our affairs. He has now endured for five whole years the painful anxieties of exile, during which however he has united incredible patience with admirable stedfastness of faith. He is at this time returning to his country full of joyful hope, that he may aid, according to his ability, the cause of the reviving church. And I doubt not but that he will do her good service, as he has a remarkable knowledge of the scriptures, and is most devoted to the truth, and has a thorough abhorrence of controversy, the lovers of which are scarcely ever of any use in the church. You will therefore do well to aid him by your

influence, and bring him forward to the utmost of your power. And no circumstance will ever be more gratifying to myself, than to learn by a letter from you that the recollection of our friendship is still fresh on your part, which certainly can never be effaced from my own mind. Farewell, most excellent sir. Zurich, Jan. 16, 1559.

[RODOLPH GUALTER.]

LETTER VI.

SIR ANTONY COOK TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON, *February 12, 1559.*

YOUR letter, most excellent sir, together with that of master Bullinger, I have myself placed in the queen's hands. How exceedingly she was affected by the perusal of them, Cecil bears witness, who saw her tears arise as she was reading them. She¹ inquired whether you were willing to return to England; for she had heard, it seems, something of the kind. I replied, that I had no doubt of your willingness, by reason of your exceeding love and regard towards the late king Edward, herself, and the whole commonwealth of England; but that at that time I had heard nothing certain from you by letter; yet I wished that she would take measures for having one of the universities adorned by your excellence. She will write, I hope, on this subject very shortly both to yourself and the Senate of Zurich.

We are now busy in parliament about expelling the tyranny of the pope, and restoring² the royal authority, and re-establishing true religion. But we are moving far too slowly; nor are there wanting³ at this time Sanballats and Tobias

[¹ See first series, Letter VII. p. 20.]

[² The Bill for the restitution and annexation of the firstfruits, &c. to the imperial crown of this realm passed the House of Lords on Saturday, Feb. 4th. That for restoring the supremacy passed the upper house on Wednesday, Apr. 26. See D'Ewes, Journals, p. 29.]

[³ Namely, the Romish bishops. See first series, Letter IV. p. 10, note 1.]

to hinder and obstruct the building of our walls. Wherefore we ought the more to think upon that exhortation, "Pray without ceasing." The zeal of the queen is very great, the activity of the nobility and people is also great; but still the work is hitherto too much at a stand. The advice, *Trust in God, and lean not to your own understanding*, is not sufficiently impressed on the minds of some parties; neither that saying, *He taketh the wise in their own craftiness*. But the result of this meeting of parliament will, as far as I can judge, confirm my hope. Salute much, I pray you, in my name master Bullinger, and the rest of your brethren. Take every care of your health, and that you may be able to bear the journey. Farewell. London, Feb. 12, 1559.

Altogether yours,

ANTONY COOK.

LETTER VII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *February 23, 1559.*

MUCH health. I received, my honoured sir, with a willing mind your letter to me dated on the 22nd December last. There was something, however, in it which I did not read so willingly, namely, that some persons had written to you more than once, that I disdained to receive your letters. For I never disdain to read the letters of any one, and especially yours; as in my judgment it would be the greatest arrogance to slight the letters of so learned and venerable a man. But as long as our cruel and superstitious queen Mary reigned in this country, I was so afraid for my property, and of getting into danger, yea, even for my life itself, that I scarcely dared to write to persons of your character, or to receive letters from them. Man, you say, is prone to fall, and in many things we all of us offend. It is not therefore

to be wondered at, if I also should have stumbled, and begun to stand in awe of and fear men, more than I ought to have done; as well also as to entertain opinions which many years since I held in the greatest abhorrence. To that I was drawn over by reading the volumes of some of the holy fathers, in which, if I am not mistaken, there are some doctrines, handed down too by the consent of almost all of them, but which are in no wise agreeable to the doctrine held by yourself and those like you. I do not choose however to write more upon this subject, because if you think fit to reply to my letter, I have neither time nor inclination to write an answer in return: it is so irksome to me to write Latin, and I am now almost entirely out of practice, as I am no longer in habits of intercourse with those learned men who express their thoughts in the Latin language. I certainly feel much obliged to you for having thought proper to recal to my remembrance, how I once knew that grace and compassion is most abundant with the Lord, who does not cast out, but receives with kindness, those who return to him. I confess therefore my past offence unto the Lord, I give glory to the Lord, and from the Lord I implore mercy, as you recommend me to do, nor have I any doubt but that I shall obtain it. And I will take care to be faithful for the future, and will promote, as you advise me, to the utmost of my power the true religion, of which the chief part is contained in the confession of faith¹ exhibited to the invincible emperor Charles V at the assembly at Augsburg in 1530. Commend me, I pray you, to master Peter Martyr, and to Julius his attendant, and to your most honourable wife. My wife heartily salutes you and all of them, and wishes you all much health. Farewell. London, Feb. 28, 1559.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES, *Anglus.*

[1 The Confession of Augsburg was first presented to the emperor Charles V on June 25, 1530. It was signed and subscribed by John, elector of Saxony; George, marquis of Brandenburg; Ernest, duke of Lunenburg; Philip, landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt; and the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. The matter was supplied by Luther, and reduced into form by the eloquent pen of Melancthon. See Mosheim, Cent. XVI. chap. iii. 1, 2.]

With respect to religion, silence has been imposed upon the catholic preachers (as they are called) by a royal proclamation¹, and sufficient liberty is allowed to the gospellers, to preach three times a week during this Lent² before the

[¹ The proclamation is thus given in Strype, Annals, i. ii. 390.

By the quene. The quene's majesty, understanding that there be certain persons, having in times past the office of ministry in the church, which do now purpose to use their former office in preaching and ministry, and partly have attempted the same; assembling, specially in the city of London, in sondry places, great number of people; whereupon riseth amonges the common sort not only unfruteful dispute in matters of religion, but also contention, and occasion to break common quiet; hath therefore, according to thauthoritie committed to her highness, for the quiet governaunce of all maner her subjects, thought it necessary to charge and commaund, like as hereby her highness doth charge and commaund all maner of her subjects, as well those that be called to ministry in the church, as all others, that they do forbear to preach or teach, or to gyve audience to any maner of doctrine or preachyng, other than to the gospels and epistels, commonly called the gospel and epistel of the day, and to the ten commaundments in the vulgar tongue, without exposition or addition of any maner, sense, or meaning to be applyed or added; or to use any other maner of publick prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church, but that which is already used, and by law receaved; or the common letany used at this present in her majesty's own chappel, and the Lord's prayer, and the crede in English; until consultation may be had by parliament, by her majesty, and her three estates of this realme, for the better conciliation and accord of such causes as at this present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion.

The true advaancement whereof, to the due honour of almighty God, the increase of vertue and godlyness, with universal charitie and concord amonges her people, her majestie moost desyreth and meaneth effectually, by all maner of means possible, to procure and to restore to this her realme. Whereunto, as her majestie instantly requireth all her good, faithful, and loving subjects to be assenting and ayding with due obedience; so, if any shall disobediently use themselves to the breach hereof, her majesty both must and will see the same duely punished, both for the qualite of thoffence, and for example to all others neglecting her majesties so reasonable commaundement. Yeven at her highness palais of Westminster, the xxviith day of December, the first year of her majesties reigne. See first series, Lett. III. p. 7.]

[² In the queen's first Lent, on the 23rd of February, Mr Grindal preached before her majesty. In which Lent there preached also divers other learned protestant divines, and the first of note in king Edward's time: viz. Dr Cox, Dr Parker, Dr Bill, Dr Sandys, Mr Whitehead: all of whom, excepting the second and third, had but lately come from exile. Strype, Grindal, p. 35.]

queen herself, and to prove their doctrines from the holy scriptures. The public assembly too, or common council of this realm, or Parliament³, as our people call it, has now been sitting nearly six weeks. Nothing however has yet been publicly determined with respect to the abolishing popish superstition, and the re-establishment of the christian religion. There is however a general expectation, that all rites and ceremonies will shortly be reformed by our faithful citizens, and other godly men, in the afore-mentioned parliament⁴, either after the pattern which was lately in use in the time of king Edward the sixth, or which is set forth by the protestant princes of Germany, in the above-named Confession⁵ of Augsburg.

LETTER VIII.

EDMUND GRINDAL TO CONRAD HUBERT⁶.

Dated at LONDON, *May 23, 1559.*

HEALTH in Christ. I believe that William Salkyns, the servant of Richard Hilles, who lived with us a long time at

[³ That sitting of the Parliament began on Wednesday, Jan. 25, and was dissolved on May 8.]

[⁴ The Act of Uniformity passed the House of Commons on April 20. The English service-book began to be used Sunday, May 12, in the queen's chapel; and in St Paul's on the Wednesday following. Strype, Grindal, p. 35.]

[⁵ There were thoughts now of receiving the Augustan Confession, the better to join in league with the German protestants. On this subject Bullinger thus wrote to Utenhovius: "I see," said he, "no small disturbances like to arise in England also, if the Augustan Confession be received, which some would have; a thing very unworthy in many regards. This gives vexation to all the purer churches, and would infect them all with its leaven. I pray God restrain men otherwise pious, but sufficiently troublesome to godly men and the purer religion. And you know what was done in Poland. Beware, and lay to your helping hand, that it be not received. King Edward's reformation satisfieth the godly." Strype, Annals, i. i. 259.]

[⁶ Conrad Hubert was preacher at St Thomas's, Strasburgh, and the editor of Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, which he dedicated to archbishop Grindal in 1577, both because he had been one of Bucer's chief

Strasburgh, is well known to you. I lately handed over to him some writings of Bucer, to be delivered to you. One was, his public disputation when he took his doctor's degree; another was concerning the entire controversy¹ between himself and Yong, whom you used to call *fungus*. Whether this latter contains any thing else, I know not; for it is written in such a way as to require a conjuror rather than a reader; except that to you perhaps, who are conversant with the writings of this individual, it will not be a matter of so much difficulty to find out and unravel the meaning. Dr Parker, who sent me these manuscripts, wrote word that he had also some other fragments; but when he had brought them forth from the hiding-places, in which they had been concealed during the whole of these incendiary times, he found them gnawed by the rats and entirely spoiled: so that if you should derive any pleasure from these you have, you will immediately lose it again, because you are deprived of all hopes of receiving any more in future. You told me that you had a copy of the answer to the *Antididagma*², turned into Latin by Martin

friends at Cambridge, and also had procured most of the pieces then published. See Strype, Grindal, 298. This letter is preserved in the archives of St Thomas's at Strasburgh.]

[¹ The controversy between Bucer and Yong was thus. One of Bucer's questions (in a public disputation at Cambridge) was, that *the good works which any seem to do before justification have the nature of sin*. Hereat Yong took great offence, and complained to the senate of the university against him, saying that Bucer was in a grievous error. The issue was, that Yong entered the lists of disputation with the reverend man against his tenet. Both of them penned their disputations, and Bucer sent a copy of his to Cheke to communicate to bishop Ridley, and in August 1550 wrote to Mr Grindal, president of Pembroke Hall, and chaplain to the bishop, desiring him to acquaint the bishop diligently with the truth of the case. (The letter is given in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, and also in Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 467.) Bucer said that he confessed and believed what the king's homilies taught of good works. Yong and his party could not but acknowledge that they were pressed hard with the king's homilies; and so, in effect, they confessed they made for Bucer against them. And yet these very homilies they had subscribed to. Abridged from Strype, Memor. II. i. 327.]

[² The *Antididagma* was a work ascribed to John Gropper, one of the canons of Cologne, and published by the clergy there, in opposition to the book of Reformation drawn up by Bucer, Pistorius, and Melanc-

Bremius. We have nothing more of Bucer's here that I know of. I doubt not but that Salkyns will faithfully deliver every thing at your Strasburgh Fair.

Receive this brief account of our affairs in England. We found our church miserably torn in pieces, and all but overthrown. We were indeed urgent from the very first, that a general reformation should take place. But the parliament long delayed the matter, and made no change whatever, until a peace had been concluded³ between the sovereigns, Philip, the French king, and ourselves. But now at last, by the blessing of God, during the prorogation of parliament, there has been published a proclamation to banish the pope and his jurisdiction altogether, and to restore religion to that form which we had in the time of Edward the sixth. If any bishops or other beneficed persons shall decline to take the oath of abjuration of the authority of the bishop of Rome, they are to be deprived of every ecclesiastical function, and deposed. No one, after the feast of St John the Baptist next ensuing, may celebrate mass without subjecting himself to a most heavy penalty. It is therefore commonly supposed that almost all the bishops, and also many other beneficed persons, will renounce their bishoprics and their functions, as being ashamed, after so much tyranny and cruelty exercised under the banners of the pope, and the obedience so lately sworn to him, to be again brought to a recantation, and convicted of manifest perjury. We are labouring under a great dearth of godly ministers: for many, who have fallen off in this persecution, are now become papists in heart; and those who had been heretofore, so to speak, *moderate* papists, are now the most obstinate. But it is our part to do what we can, and commit the whole to God. In conclusion, I pray you to commend us and our church to God in your prayers; and diligently salute masters Marpach and Sebald in my name. Farewell in the Lord, most courteous sir, and very dear brother in Christ. London, May 23, 1559.

Your most attached in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, *Anglus.*

thon in 1543, at the request of Herman, archbishop of that diocese. See Sleidan, *Hist. Ref. Lib.* xv. Vol. II. p. 199.]

[³ Namely at Câteau Cambresis, in April 1559.]

I am in doubt (for I have a very bad memory) whether I or Lakin¹ undertook to send you the whole² account of the exhumation of Bucer and Fagius. But lest you should altogether be disappointed of your wish, I have positively determined to write on the subject to Dr Parker, who will, I hope, take care that a true description of the whole affair shall be prepared for me. Should he do this, I will take care that it shall be forwarded to you. If Lakin, who is now absent from London, will do the same, you may collect from each what is most important. Again farewell. I doubt not, but that with your wonted kindness you will see that the inclosed letters are forwarded by the earliest opportunity.

LETTER IX.

LAURENCE HUMPHREY TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated [at BASLE,] *June 23*, [1559.]

AN opportunity is now afforded me of doing what my duty has long required from me; which however the sudden arrival and departure of the messenger, and want of time, will not allow me to perform as I ought, and as I could wish. You must therefore, at this time, with your fatherly kindness, take in good part both the shortness of my letter, and my negligence in writing.

There came to me from master³ Abel a packet of letters

[1 Thomas Lakin was one of the exiles with Grindal at Strasburgh.]

[2 Jan. 26, 1556. Commissioners from cardinal Pole, viz. Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln, Scot, bishop of Chester, and Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester, came to Cambridge; and after a formal process, caused the body of Martin Bucer, late the king's professor of divinity, buried in St Mary's, to be taken up and burnt; and so also was served the body of Paul Fagius, late the king's professor of Hebrew, buried in St Michael's church; which was looked upon as barbarous. Strype, Memor. Eccl. III. i. 510.]

[3 See first series, Letter XV p. 35.]

inclosed in mine, and which I send to your reverence by the bearer, a native of Zurich, a trustworthy man, and one not unknown to you. The other packet that you inquired after, I have not yet been able to meet with, though I have made diligent search after it, and do not yet cease my inquiries, as well for my own sake, as for that of yourself and others. They tell me that the waggoner gave it to some one at the sign of the Wild Man of the Cave⁴. What became of it afterwards, I know not. Should the letters fall into my hands, of which indeed I have no hope after so long an interval, I will do my best endeavour, that, God willing, they may reach you. And this, excellent sir, is the first motive which now induces me to write. Another is, either the illness or death of my friend Frensham⁵: if he is alive, that by the consolation, exhortation, and aid, which you so well know how to afford, you may comfort him on his bed of sickness. He has always exceedingly valued your advice, and, if I mistake not, will listen to it even at his latest moments. If he is no longer living, you will cherish his remains with such care as is befitting one who is at rest in the bosom of Abraham, or rather of Christ. Both master Foxe⁵ and myself are anxious to know what is his state, that is, whether he has departed, or is yet alive; that if living, we may either personally visit him, should there be occasion for it, or attend him with our absent prayers; and if he be not alive, that we may at least honour the funeral of our very dear friend with a pious tear.

The third reason for my now wishing to write, namely, that I might thank you for all your kindness towards myself and others, when I was living with my friends at Zurich, I will defer till another opportunity. Meanwhile I commend your piety and holy labours to the Lord, whom I pray to guide by his holy Spirit, and to advance unto all honour,

[⁴ See first series, Letter XV p. 35.]

[⁵ See first series, Letter XV* p. 37. Frensham was now dead. His will is still preserved at Zurich, by which it appears that he left a large portion of his property to charitable purposes, among others, to the poor of Halden, Northam, Woodchurch, Cranbrook, Fritenden and Biddenden. The first words of this document are, "In Dei nomine, Amen. Testamentum meum et voluntatem ad suam gloriam dirigit Deus."]

piety, and holiness, both our own church now reviving, and yours which has been long established. Amen. June 23.

Your most devoted,

LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

LETTER X¹.

EDMUND GRINDAL TO CONRAD HUBERT.

Dated at LONDON, *July 14, 1559.*

GREETING. As I have been formerly accustomed, very dear brother in Christ, to make the most friendly use of your kindness, when I was present with you, so I shall not hesitate, when absent, to entreat your assistance in a matter which I hope will be of no great difficulty to you. For I am in want of some amanuensis to be always at hand in those important² occupations and employments to which I am daily called. As we labour under the greatest want of good ministers, we are obliged to employ our own young men, who might be qualified for this office, in the ministry of the churches. I therefore request your piety, that, if you can meet with any one of your young men who is willing to undertake this employment, and to serve me in this matter upon suitable terms, (of which I leave the arrangement to yourself,) you will take care that he be sent over to me, and make use of the services either of John Abel or William Salkyns in this matter. I should require in the individual to be sent, that he should be ready at writing Latin, and

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved in the archives of St Thomas's, Strasburgh.]

[² Grindal was employed with others to draw up a form of prayer and public worship to be laid before parliament; and was also one of the eight protestant divines at the Conference at Westminster, in March. He was employed too in the summer of this year as a commissioner for the royal visitation in the north. Strype, Grindal, p. 35.]

that his hand-writing should be tolerably good. He should, moreover, be somewhat acquainted with Greek, and especially with Hebrew, and should take delight in the study of the holy Scriptures. All these qualifications are generally to be met with in your young men. And I offer these terms on my part. First, I will bear the expenses of his journey hither, and have written to John Abel respecting the advancement of the money; and I could wish, if it were possible, that he should come over in his company. In the next place, I will not employ him in any laborious or servile work, but in reading, writing, and similar occupations; excepting only that he will sometimes be required to wait at table, &c. I will give him, moreover, besides his board and two suits of clothes after the English fashion, a fixed salary of twenty Rhenish dollars, or which is the same thing, twenty English crowns, besides what may be added from my liberality, as occasion shall arise. Lastly, if either on account of ill health, or any other reasonable cause,—for example, if England should not agree with him, or if he should be called away by his parents or friends,—I will also defray the expenses of his return home. And should he wish to learn our language, which does not very much differ from the German, it will not, I hope, be difficult for me to provide for him in a respectable way. If I do not appear to you to propose terms sufficiently liberal, I am quite ready to allow your prudence to assign more liberal ones, and, the Lord willing, I will perform them, if only you will provide me with a respectable and godly youth, whom I will endeavour so to treat, that he shall not repent of having visited England. I request you to salute master doctor Marpach in my name, without whose aid and assistance I am well aware that this business cannot be accomplished; but I hope that with his wonted kindness he will lend a favourable ear to my request. For the person, whoever he may be, will not be the less useful to your churches, if he shall return to you with the collected experience of some years' travel.

The state of our church (to come to that subject) is pretty much the same as when I last wrote to you, except only that what had heretofore been settled by proclamations and laws with respect to the reformation of the churches, is now daily being carried into effect. The popish bishops

are almost all of them deprived; and if any yet remain, they will be deprived in a few days for refusing to renounce their obedience to the pope. They are however treated with sufficient lenity, not to say too much so; for they are allowed to retire into private life, and devour, as master Bucer used to say, the spoils of the church. Many persons think that they begin to repent of their firmness, now they see the French King¹, Henry II., in whom their chief hope was placed, taken off not without the manifest declaration of divine vengeance. Many of our friends, who were in exile in Germany, are now marked out for bishops. This is all that I had to write respecting our affairs. I shall be able, I trust, to send you in a few days the account of the burning of Bucer's [bones.]² I pray you to send me all the German works of Luther, bound by your bookseller Christopher [Froschover.] Abel or Salkyns will pay the money. This is one reason why I wish for a German amanuensis, because I am unwilling entirely to forget your language. Should you not meet with a suitable person among your friends at home, write, I pray you, to those at Basle, that you may procure me some one even from thence. Write back, I pray you, in three words, what you have been able to do for me. I leave other matters to be more fully explained by John Abel or William Salkyns. I wish you all health in the Lord. London, July 14, 1559.

Yours wholly in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL, *Anglus.*

[1 Henry II. of France was killed in a tournament, July 10, 1559.]

[2 See *Historia vera de vita, obitu, sepultura, &c. D. Martini Buceri et Pauli Fagii.* Argent. 1562.]

LETTER XI³.

PETER MARTYR TO [THOMAS SAMPSON.]

Dated at [ZURICH,] *July 15, 1559.*

I SEE you, my friend, altogether in your letter. You are afraid on both sides: for if you reject the ministry, you seem to let go an opportunity of directing things in a proper manner; while, if you undertake the offered function, you have just and good cause to fear lest you should appear to assent to those ordinances, which not only impair and weaken the pure worship of God, but also corrupt and marvellously bring it to decay; although they may seem to have but little weight and importance in the eyes of men who are but faintly disposed towards the gospel; for they count all such things as matters of indifference. But will any one who is somewhat better instructed in religion, when he sees you, a messenger of Christ and zealous trumpeter of the gospel, arrayed in these vestments, praying at an altar before the image of the crucifix, repeating holy words, and distributing the sacraments,—will any one, I say, not think that these rites are not only tolerated, but also approved by you? Whereby no credit will be given you hereafter, when you teach otherwise. For he whose teaching is at variance with his actions, builds up the things that he destroys, and in like manner destroys the things that he builds up. Neither can the example of the apostle be alleged in excuse for such conduct, who for a time retained the Jewish ceremonies with a safe conscience; since the Mosaic institutions were brought in of old by the authority and law of God, and neither devised by man's understanding, nor condemned in regard to worship. But the things of which we now speak were both instituted by men without any divine sanction, and have splendidly

[³ This letter is addressed, in the printed volume of Martyr's letters, to a certain friend of his in England; whom Strype considers to have been bishop Grindal. From the internal evidence, however, of this and subsequent letters addressed to the same person, they appear with greater probability to have been written to Thomas Sampson. See below, p. 32.]

subverted that worship which all godly persons do now abominate. I would that those who have thought fit that these things should be preserved, had perceived that, as long as they remain, the gospel is not sufficiently established. Truly, if we hated superstitions from the heart, we should endeavour by all means that their very vestiges should be rooted out. I would that we had been somewhat better instructed by the obstinate zeal of our adversaries. They diligently avoid every thing that in any measure savours of our religion, and of set purpose, as far as they are able, depart from the simple worship of Christ and the most ancient custom of the apostles. Why do not we take care in like manner to depart as far as possible from their pernicious institutions, and aim at apostolic simplicity, not only in doctrine, but also in the administration of the sacraments?

I do not see how the things retained by you can properly be regarded as matters of indifference. Certainly since they present to the beholders an express resemblance of the pernicious mass, wherein ungodly men will exceedingly delight themselves; (for they will say that the mass was so holy a thing that the splendid representation thereof could not displease even us; for though we do not retain it, we nevertheless imitate it in many remarkable ways;) who thereupon shall prevent such of the bystanders, in whose hearts popery still remains, from adoring the image of the crucifix? Undoubtedly they will do it, nor can the intention of their mind be prevented. And will the contrivers of these counsels say that this is not done through any fault of theirs, but through the fault of those who are badly taught, and too much addicted to their own superstitions? They cannot however deny that they give the occasion; and woe unto those by whom the offence cometh! Neither can they bring any one proof for their opinion either out of the holy scriptures, or the ordinances of the primitive church. But if the desire only of making a new covenant drives them to these things, we must remember that the covenant made of old between us and God is far more excellent than any covenants of man; and we must diligently take heed, lest, while we follow after civil things, we suffer the loss of heavenly things.

Wherefore, my very dear brother in Christ, since things are in this state, I give you two pieces of advice; first,

that you still retain the function of preaching, and cease not, both in public and private, to defend the truth of doctrine, and to declaim against rites which are full of offence and occasions of falling. The other is, that you abstain from the administration of the sacraments, until these intolerable blemishes be removed. By these means the opportunity of doing good will not be lost, neither will you confirm others in their superstition by your example. And this is not only my advice, but the same is also the opinion of the reverend and most excellent master Bullinger. As to your former question, I remember that I sent you an answer, but my letter has probably been lost or intercepted. And I would have now replied a second time, but that I know not where your letter is, and when I looked for it, was not able to find it. If therefore you wish another answer, you will not think much of writing your questions over again. Salute all our friends. Here master Bullinger, my wife, and Julius with his wife and the rest of our family, salute you. And I especially salute your wife, and Jane. July 15, 1559.

[PETER MARTYR.]

LETTER XII¹.

CONRAD HUBERT TO THOMAS BLAURER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Aug. 7, 1559.*

HEALTH in Christ our Saviour. Three days since, most worthy and much honoured sir, I received a letter² from my intimate friend, master Edmund Grindal, who, after having been some time in exile in this country, with some other Englishmen, on account of their profession of the gospel, has, under the changed state of religion, by reason of his well known piety and learning, been recalled by the queen, and lately³ appointed to the bishoprick of London. Your son

[1 The original of this letter is preserved in the library at St Gall.]

[2 See above, Letter X. p. 22.]

[3 Grindal was not consecrated till Dec. 21, 1559.]

Diethelm will make known to you what, among other things, he requested of me in that letter, and acquaint you at the same time with the advice of myself and some of our friends. With your wonted piety and good sense you will, if you approve the plan, add your consent, and will scarcely feel disposed to neglect what seems, in my opinion, no common opportunity of advancing your son, who is very dear to me; and especially as you are blessed with so large a family. Indeed, to confess the truth, your intention of removing Diethelm as it were from his studies to the office of schoolmaster, never met my approbation; and I know not whether it has not hitherto been frustrated by Providence, as he himself will be able to explain to you more fully. In few words, my worthy Blaurer, I wish you to be convinced of this respecting me, that your friend Hubert loves you and yours most exceedingly, and is extremely anxious to promote your welfare.

I am compelled to be brief, partly by reason of the haste of him who is setting out on his journey, and partly by reason of matters connected with the press, with which I am all but overwhelmed. Wherefore, if there be any thing else which it may interest you to know, you have here a living epistle, and that a far more agreeable one. Farewell happily in Christ, with all who belong to you. Strasburgh, Aug. 7, 1559.

Yours,

CONRAD HUBERT.

LETTER XIII.

THOMAS LEVER TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Aug. 8, 1559.*

Much health in Christ. As I know that you will receive fuller and better information respecting many of the most important affairs of the state and church of England by the letters of others, I will now write to you, according to my slender ability, about a few things of less consequence. On returning from you towards England, in the course of my

journey I saw at Strasburgh a proclamation¹, that is, an edict published by the authority of queen Elizabeth, strictly prohibiting all preaching and exposition of holy scripture, or any change of religion throughout all England, until the great council, which we call the Parliament, hereafter to be called together, shall have come to a decision respecting religion. When then I returned to England, I saw, according to the proclamation above mentioned, or rather, I shrunk from seeing, masses and all the follies and abominations of popery, everywhere sanctioned by the authority of the laws, and the gospel no where to be met with, except among some persons at London, who were either admitted to preach before the queen at court on a few stated days, only in the time of Lent, or else in a congregation that remained in concealment during the whole time of persecution, and then not venturing forth beyond such private houses as were open to them, on the cessation of the persecution, they were permitted by queen Elizabeth in open private houses, but in no public churches. For there had been a congregation² of faithful persons concealed in London during the time of Mary, among whom the gospel was always preached, with the pure administration of the sacraments; but during the rigour of the persecution under that queen they carefully concealed themselves, and on the cessation of it under Elizabeth they openly continued in the same congregation. But as their godly mode of worship was condemned by the laws of the realm, the magistrates, though they connived at their frequent assembling in private houses, would not allow them, notwithstanding, to occupy the parish churches. In consequence of which, large numbers flocked to them not in the churches, but in private houses. And when the Lord's supper was administered among them, no strangers were admitted, except such as were kept pure from popery and even from the imputation of any evil conduct; or who, ingenuously acknowledging their backsliding and public offence, humbly sought pardon and reconciliation in presence of the whole assembly. I have frequently been present on such occasions, and have seen many returning with tears, and many too in

[¹ See above, p. 16, note 1.]

[² See first series, Letter III. p. 7, note 7. See also Foxe's Acts and Mon. for some interesting details relative to this congregation.]

like manner with tears receiving such persons into communion; so that nothing could be more delightful than the mutual tears of all parties, on the one side lamenting their sins, and on the other congratulating them on their reconciliation and renewed communion in Christ Jesus.

Some of us preachers, who had returned to England from Germany, being much affected with these things, and considering that the silence imposed for a long and uncertain period was not agreeable to the command and earnest injunction of Paul, to preach the word of God in season and out of season, having been requested to do so, forthwith preached the gospel in certain parish churches, to which a numerous audience eagerly flocked together. And when we solemnly treated of conversion to Christ by true repentance, many tears from many persons bore witness that the preaching of the gospel is more effectual to true repentance and wholesome reformation, than any thing that the whole world can either imagine or approve. For while these things were taking place among private individuals, without the sanction of any public authority, behold, at the very same time masses were being celebrated with all the idolatrous superstition of popery among persons distinguished for their influence, their wealth, and their public offices, and this with the whole authority of law, proclamation, and practice. And now popery is at length abolished by authority of parliament, and the true religion of Christ restored: this unclean world, both in the one and the other, seeks after nothing but base lucre and filthy pleasure. Very many persons are so drawn over from that to this, that they are neither willing to purify the dross of the one, nor embrace the purity of the other, but are disposed to frame themselves after the fashion of this world. For there are many who love, possess, and ostentatiously glory in the monuments of superstition, the emoluments of lucre, the liberty, yea, even the pleasures of the flesh, to the great scandal and disgrace of the religion they profess. But God will at length give the victory to the little ones of the weak flock of Christ, against the powerful tyrants of the world. For all the sanguinary bishops here are deposed; learned, pious, and discreet persons are sent forth to visit all parts of England¹ Zealous preachers of the gospel, who used to preach at first

[¹ For an account of this visitation, see Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 245, &c.]

contrary to the queen's proclamation, have now, by means of letters sealed with the queen's seal, free licence to preach throughout all England. And I, who have long been preaching the gospel among the most ignorant persons in the remoter districts², have determined, God willing, to return to-morrow from London to them and others like them, who have seldom or never heard any exposition of the gospel of Christ. For such persons seem to me most of all in want of, and most ready to receive, the edification and consolation afforded to them in Christ's gospel.

But I must not write any more of myself, except only that I wish now to promise you by letter, what I will at all times faithfully perform according to the opportunity and ability which God shall give me; namely, that I will use every endeavour that you and your countrymen, who so kindly provided for us English, when in exile for the sake of religion, may be assured that we are not unmindful of so great kindness, and that we shall ever continue grateful for it.

Commend us to the prayers of all the godly. Salute for me your wife, my excellent hostess, with your children, and all your household, to whom I wish abundant blessings from God in Christ. Salute the ministers of your church, and especially its chief pillars, masters Bernardine, Martyr, and Gualter. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you to the edification of his universal Church in Christ! Amen. London, Aug. 8, 1559.

Yours ever faithfully attached in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER.

[² Namely, at Coventry. See first series, Letter XXXV. p. 86.]

LETTER XIV

PETER MARTYR TO¹ [THOMAS SAMPSON.]

Dated at ZÜRICH, *November 4, 1559.*

THE letter that you sent me on the 27th of August, I received towards the end of October: wherefore if I am somewhat late in my reply, it is no fault of mine; especially since trustworthy couriers to Strasburgh are not often to be met with. But with respect to the subject of your present inquiry, I know that I have written at length in another letter; so that either my letter must have miscarried, or you had not received it when you last wrote. But that you may not be disappointed of my advice and assistance, I will repeat what I have before written. There seems no reason why you should trouble yourself about impropriations; for you have nothing to do with the question, whence or how the queen may choose to afford a maintenance or stipend either to the bishop or the parochial clergy. But should they seem to be destitute of suitable provision, you may petition and intercede on their behalf; or if you have more than enough yourselves, impart to them somewhat of your own comfortable means of subsistence. With respect also to wearing the round cap or habit at other times besides that of divine service, I think you ought not to contend more than is necessary; for superstition does not properly seem to have any thing to do therein. But in regard to the use of garments as *holy* in the ministry itself, seeing they have a resemblance to the mass, and are mere relics of popery, master Bullinger is of opinion that you should not use them, lest a thing that occasions offence may be sanctioned by your example. But though I have always been opposed to the use of ornaments of this kind, yet as I perceived the present danger of your being deprived of the office of preaching, and that there will perhaps be some hope that, like as altars and images have been removed, so

[¹ There is no address to this letter, but it is acknowledged by Sampson in Letter XXVII. of the first series, p. 62.]

this resemblance of the mass may also be taken away, provided you and others who may obtain bishopricks, will direct all your endeavours to that object, (which would make less progress, should another succeed in your place, who not only might be indifferent about putting away those relics, but would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them;) therefore was I the slower in advising you rather to refuse a bishoprick, than to consent to the use of those garments. However, as I saw that offences of that kind must be altogether avoided, I easily fell into his opinion. But where altars and images are retained, I myself of my own accord maintain, as I have also written to you in another letter, that you must by no means officiate.

This is all that I can write upon the present subject. And you must take care on your part not to do any thing against your conscience. But I am afraid lest my letter should arrive too late, which fault however is none of mine, for I have not omitted any opportunity of writing. Lastly, I wish you to understand that questions of this kind are also full of difficulty to us here, and therefore advice cannot be so easily given. As to myself, when I was at Oxford, I would never wear the surplice in the choir, although I was a canon, and I had my own reasons for doing so. Wherefore I recommend you also to take advice upon the spot. I know that my example ought not to be considered sufficient to determine you; but that which then influenced me, influences me still, and perhaps also may influence you, namely, to do nothing which might give any sanction to what my conscience disapproves. You bade me write briefly, and I have briefly written. Take it in good part, pray for me, salute our friends. Master Bullinger salutes you, as doth also my wife, and Julius with his wife. Fare you well, my most loving brother and esteemed master in Christ. Zurich, Nov. 4, 1559.

[PETER MARTYR.]

LETTER XV

JOHN CALVIN TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

Dated at GENEVA, [after *January 29, 1559*¹.]

THE messenger to whom I gave in charge my commentaries upon Isaiah to be presented to the most serene queen, brought me word that my homage was not kindly received by her majesty, because she had been offended with me by reason of some writings² published in this place. He also repeated to me, most illustrious sir, the substance of a conversation held by you, in which you seem to me more severe than was consistent with your courtesy, especially when you had been already assured by my letter, how much I promised myself from your regard towards me. But though sufficient reasons prevent me from vindicating myself by a serious discussion, yet lest I should seem by my silence to confess in some measure the consciousness of having done wrong, I have thought it right to state, in few words, how the matter stands. Two years ago John Knox³ asked of me, in a private conversation, what I thought about the government of women. I candidly replied, that as it was a deviation from the original

[¹ This letter seems to have been written after the one dated Jan. 29, 1559, in Calvin's letters, Ep. 275. The original is preserved in the archives of the church at Berne.]

[² One of these was composed by John Knox, and printed at Geneva, in the reign of queen Mary, about the year 1556 or 1557, and entitled *The first blast against the monstrous regiment and empire of women*. The other was printed by Christopher Goodman in 1558, and bare this title; *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein also is declared the cause of all this present misery in England*, [namely, in queen Mary's time,] *and the only way to remedy the same*. See Strype, *Annals*, i. i. 177, &c. These books were answered by Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London, in a tract entitled "An Harborowe for faithful and trewe subjectes, against the late blowne blaste concerning the government of women," printed at Strasburgh, April 1559.]

[³ Cecil, writing to Sadler and Croft, says, "Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodmans, is most odious here; and therefore I wish no mention of hym hither." Sadler, i. 532.]

and proper order of nature, it was to be ranked, no less than slavery, among the punishments consequent upon the fall of man; but that there were occasionally women so endowed, that the singular good qualities which shone forth in them, made it evident that they were raised up by divine authority; either that God designed by such examples to condemn the inactivity of men, or for the better setting forth his own glory. I brought forward Huldah and Deborah; and added, that God did not vainly promise by the mouth of Isaiah, that queens should be the nursing mothers of the church; by which prerogative it is very evident that they are distinguished from females in private life. I came at length to this conclusion, that since both by custom and public consent and long practice it has been established, that realms and principalities may descend to females by hereditary right, it did not appear to me necessary to move the question, not only because the thing would be invidious, but because in my opinion it would not be lawful to unsettle governments which are ordained by the peculiar providence of God. I had no suspicion of the book, and for a whole year was ignorant of its publication. When I was informed of it by certain parties, I sufficiently shewed my displeasure that such paradoxes should be published; but as the remedy was too late, I thought that the evil which could not now be corrected, should rather be buried in oblivion than made a matter of agitation. Inquire also of your father-in-law⁴, what my reply was when he informed me of the circumstance through Beza. And Mary was still living, so that I could not be suspected of flattery. What the books contain, I cannot tell; but Knox himself will allow that my conversation with him was no other than what I have now stated. But although I was moved by the complaints of some godly men, yet, as I had not been informed in time, I did not dare to make any decided opposition, lest greater confusion should ensue. If my easiness has occasioned any offence, I think there would have been just reason to fear, lest if the subject had been brought under consideration, by reason of the thoughtless arrogance of one individual, the wretched crowd of exiles would have been driven away not only from this city, but even from almost

[⁴ Sir Antony Cook, whose daughter Mildred was married to Sir William Cecil in 1546.]

the whole world; especially since the mischief could not now be remedied, otherwise than by applying a mitigation. I am indeed exceedingly and undeservedly grieved, in proportion to my surprise, that the ravings of others, as if on a studied pretext, should be charged upon me, to prevent my book from being accepted. If the offered present were not acceptable to the queen, she might have rejected it by a single word, and it would have been more candid to have done so. This certainly would have been more agreeable to myself, than to be burdened with false accusations, in addition to the ignominy of a repulse. However, I shall always reverence both the most serene queen, and shall not cease, most illustrious sir, to love and respect yourself also, for your most excellent disposition and your other virtues, although I have found you less friendly to me than I had hoped, and though you say nothing about mutual good-will for the time to come. From this however, I am unwilling to draw any unfavourable conclusion. Farewell, most accomplished and esteemed sir. May the Lord evermore be present with you, guide, protect, and enrich you with his gifts. Geneva. As I am in doubt whether my former letter has reached you, I have thought right to send you a copy.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

LETTER XVI.

FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *Jan. 21, 1560.*

HEALTH in Christ. I received your¹ letter written to me last January, and choose rather to answer it in this present January than not at all; lest I should not only seem tardy in writing, but altogether unmindful of you, or forgetful of my duty in this respect. That it has not been performed sooner, you will interpret for the best, when you consider that we are separated by a very great distance,

[¹ See above, Letter IV p. 8.]

and cannot often light upon trustworthy persons to convey our letters to you. At length, however, to begin my reply, I would have you know, that the piety of your letter, the importance of your advice, your singular regard and sincere anxiety for our church, and the clear indication of your good-will towards myself, have been very gratifying to me; and I thank you for your commendation and counsel. I wish I could deserve the praises you bestow upon me as my applauder: I wish I were able to follow the counsel of my adviser as much as I desire to do; to act upon it, as well as keep it in my remembrance. I wish it were my happiness to behold our affairs in such a state as I desire, and as you recommend; we should then be in a far more prosperous as well as a more exalted condition. But your prudence is such, that you cannot be ignorant that the first beginning of nascent affairs is attended with the most difficulty, and that the wisest counsels are not immediately followed by a happy result, but that it is accomplished by degrees; and that religion, like every thing else, has crude and weak beginnings, as well as its increase, and progress, and maturity. And in reliance on a good hope, and reposing on the compassion of our most merciful God, I think that I can truly promise that this our religion, wounded and laid low as it were with a whirlwind by the tyranny of the time, and now, by God's blessing, again beginning in some measure to revive, will strike its roots yet deeper and deeper; and that which is now creeping on and advancing by little and little, will grow up with greater fruitfulness and verdure. As far as I can, I am exerting myself in this matter to the utmost of my poor abilities: others too are labouring for the same object, to which especially is directed the godly diligence of certain preachers, and particularly Jewel, now elected a bishop, and your friend Parkhurst; to both of whom, excited by your commendation of them, as well as by the report of their virtues, I am most favourably disposed, as I ought to be, and consider them deserving of the greatest honour and advancement. We have need of these and other artificers and architects to build up the church of God. We have need also of your assistance. We commend ourselves and our England to you, and to your godly prayers. Pray that God may build up this house, already begun, into

a holy temple, to the glory of his name and the consolation of his people; and may he bless your pious labours. Farewell, most learned and courteous sir. Salute for me all my brethren in the Lord, to whom I wish every happiness. May Christ prosper your endeavours, that you may daily more and more exert yourselves to subvert and destroy the kingdom of Satan, the pomp of the world, and the power of antichrist, so that the church of Christ may be preserved among you and in all other places safe and unshaken. London, Jan. 21, 1560.

Yours heartily,

F. BEDFORD.

LETTER XVII.

PETER MARTYR TO [THOMAS SAMPSON¹.]

Dated at ZURICH, *Feb.* 1, 1560.

GREETING. I have received, my very dear brother in Christ, and most honoured master, two letters from you at the same time, namely on the 24th of January; the one, dated in the month of October, the other in December. Wherefore you perceive how long they are in coming. I have already replied twice to your inquiries; but if my letters are intercepted, or are so long in reaching you, you must not charge me with neglect, but should rather lament the ill fortune of our letters than find fault with me as though I had discontinued my duty of writing. However, setting aside complaint, I come to the subjects upon which you require information. In the first place, I exhort you, by reason of the great want of ministers in your country, not to withdraw yourself from the function offered you: for if you, who are as it were pillars, shall decline taking upon yourselves the performance of ecclesiastical offices, not only will the churches be destitute of pastors, but you will give place to wolves and antichrists. By remaining without any office you will be so far from amending those

[¹ See above, Letter XI. p. 25.]

things which you dislike, that you will hardly retain what is now conceded. But if you sit at the helm of the church, there is a hope that many things may be corrected, though not all. You say that they have taken away the church² lands; but consider that *you* have not alienated them. These things have been done without your concurrence, so that there is no blame in this respect to be laid upon you. Meanwhile, what income is left for the parochial clergy? They must be maintained by the bishops. In this matter we must put our trust in God, who will open some way, and point out some means for their support. He feedeth the fowls of the air, he clothes the lilies of the field; nor doth he ever forsake any one who is rightly walking in his vocation. But you must take heed lest you be thought by those who seek occasions against you, as though you had an eye to wealth and personal interest.

As to the square cap and external episcopal habit, I do not think there is need of much dispute, seeing it is unattended by superstition, and in that kingdom especially there may be a political reason for its use. Touching the garments which they call holy, I confess the case is somewhat more difficult, and one that troubles me not a little, so that I wonder they are so pertinaciously retained. For I should wish every thing to be done with the greatest possible simplicity. I think however that if peace could obtain between the churches of Saxony and our own with respect to doctrine, this sort of garments would never make a separation; for though we should by no means approve of them, we would nevertheless bear with them, congratulating ourselves upon our having got rid of them. You may therefore use those habits either in preaching, or in the administration of the Lord's supper, provided however you persist in speaking and teaching against the use of them. But I can never recommend any one, either when about to preach or to administer the Lord's supper, to have the image of the crucifix upon the table.

[² The queen now (chiefly to gratify some of her courtiers) made exchanges with her bishops by the authority of a late act of parliament; taking to herself their ancient good manors and lordships, and making over to them in exchange tithes and impropriations. Strype, Grindal, 42.]

As touching the correction of the papists for things past, you must remember that punishments have been more than once discontinued for the sake of peace; and that an amnesty hath sometimes been granted in the church, and that heretics have been received with their former honours and dignities, provided only they would subscribe unto sound religion. Care however must be taken by you, that in future they do nothing in opposition to the religion now received. But as to those who are presented to you by their patrons to be promoted by reason of advowsons, such persons ought not to be instituted by you without subscribing to the religion which is now established; which if they will not do, I think you are at liberty to reject them.

With regard to the unleavened bread which is used at the holy Supper, none of our churches, as you are well aware, have any contention about it, nay, indeed, they all every where make use of it. And whereas you write that very many persons are offended with the episcopal habits and the holy garments, as they call them, I can easily believe it. But you will avoid all blame in this matter, if you will shew in your sermons that they are also offensive to yourselves, and if you will endeavour by every means in your power that they may sometime be laid aside. But concerning those processions in Rogation-week, which seem to have been derived from the Ambarvalia¹ of the heathen, I scarcely know what I can rightly advise you. This I say, that superstition is altogether to be avoided. But if in these processions only prayer is made to God, that he will graciously supply us with new fruits, and grant us a good use of them, and thanks be given at the same time for the sustenance of the year preceding, superstitions perhaps will seem to have been sufficiently avoided: although both magistrates and people should be instructed against such ceremonies, and every effort must be made to get rid of them as relics of the Amorites.

These were the things, my brother, that I had to write at present. May God either commend these to your judgment, or suggest better! Upon the whole matter I have conferred with Master Bullinger, who both gives his assent,

[¹ The Ambarvalia were solemn processions in honour of Ceres. See Virg. Georg. i. 338, &c.]

and sends you his hearty salutations. My wife too, with Julius and Anna, desire their commendations to you and all yours. Zurich, February, 1560.

Yours wholly,

PETER MARTYR.

LETTER XVIII.

BISHOP COX TO GEORGE CASSANDER.

Dated at Ely House, LONDON, *March 4, 1560.*

WERE I to attempt, my very dear friend in Christ, to enumerate all your friendly offices towards me, I should indeed labour to no purpose. Meanwhile, you must know that they are treasured up in the inmost recesses of my heart, as obligations which it will be impossible for me ever to forget. After it seemed good to our Lord, on whose providence we evermore depend, to recall me to my country, I left Worms among the foremost [of the exiles] and went to Cologne, in the hope of meeting both Cassander and Cornelius, and of bidding them farewell; but I could find neither of them. From thence I proceeded straight to England, where, thank God, since the death of Mary, every thing is quiet. Elizabeth, the lover and patron of godliness, is on the throne, and by her the popish superstition is driven away, the gospel of Christ re-established, the popish clergy banished, the shepherds of Christ restored. The Lord grant that we may shew forth our profession of the gospel of Christ by a life worthy of the gospel, lest hereafter a worse thing happen to us! There is no open quarrel, but yet there does not exist an entire agreement among us with respect to setting up the crucifix² in churches, as had heretofore been the practice. Some think it allowable, provided only that no worship or veneration be paid to the image itself: others are of opinion,

[² See first series, Letter XXVIII. p. 66, and Letter XXIX. p. 67.]

that all images are so universally forbidden; that it is altogether sinful for any to remain in churches, by reason of the danger so inseparably annexed to them. But we are in that state, that no crucifix is now-a-days to be seen in any of our churches. As I have always deferred very much to your judgment, I earnestly request you to be so kind as briefly to let me know your opinion upon this subject. I have nothing at this time worth writing to you about, except that our neighbours, the Scots, are under some apprehension from France, those especially who embrace the gospel, and who form a tolerably large proportion of the population. We must pray the Lord to vouchsafe to be on their side. I should be rejoiced to hear, on account of the respect I bear him, that your Duke is promoting the true religion of Christ in spite of all the papists. Farewell in Christ, my very dear Cassander, and salute your most faithful Achates, and my beloved masters Gerard the merchant, John and Gualter Gymnicus and Ambrosius, of Duisburg. From the city of London in England, at my house in Holborn. March 4, 1560.

Your much attached,

RICHARD COX,

Bishop of Ely.

LETTER XIX.

GEORGE CASSANDER TO BISHOP COX.

Dated at [WORMS, 1560.]

I HAVE received from you, reverend sir, a letter¹ written at London on the 4th of March; the reason of my tardy and brief reply to which has been a severe illness, which attacked me shortly after the receipt of it, and from which I have hardly yet begun to recover. I was glad to hear of your

[¹ See the preceding letter.]

advancement to the dignity, or rather the work and office, of a bishop; and I pray God to grant you his Spirit, by whose aid you may fulfil that office to your own salvation and the edification of the flock committed to your charge. And I thank you too, that notwithstanding your elevation to so great a dignity, you have not been unmindful of my inferiority and lowliness; and I willingly accepted your little present of two crowns, which were inclosed in the letter, as a token of our former intimacy.

I understand that you are not altogether agreed among yourselves with respect to the setting up the image of the cross or the crucifix in the church; but I do not sufficiently understand whether the question refers to the mere figure of a cross, or also to the image of Christ hanging upon it. I have seen here a certain print, which contained a cross only in the middle, with some texts of holy scripture in the English language written on each side; whence I suspect that your question only refers to the figure of the cross. But I acknowledge your modesty in requesting my opinion upon this matter: for when you abound in so many copious fountains yourselves, why should you drink water from so insignificant and turbid a streamlet? As however you desire it, I will briefly declare my sentiments. Your excellence is aware, in what frequent use and in what great esteem the figure of the cross was held among the early Christians; insomuch that it was every where placed and represented in their buildings, sacred and profane, public and private; and this too before the practice of setting up other images in the churches, whether of Christ himself, or of the saints, had come into use; that on the destruction of all monuments of idolatry, by which every thing was defiled, the figure of the cross, which was as it were a sacred symbol of Christianity, succeeded under better auspices into their place. And like as the word *cross* in the writings of the evangelists and apostles mystically signifies the passion, death, and triumph of Christ, and the afflictions of the saints; so also by the figure of the cross every where set up, and meeting the eye, they intended all these things to be set forth, as it were by a mystic symbol, and infixed in men's minds: wherefore they made a great distinction between the figure or representation of the cross, and all other images. Upon which subject you

may see Charlemagne¹, Lib. II. c. xxviii. against the synod of the Greeks: "for in the latter there is a simple and bare signification, while in the former there is a secret and mystical representation." Whence it was not regarded as a bare sign, but as a kind of mystery; so that it was not only represented substantially and by painting, both in churches and other buildings, and upon the walls of houses, but was also frequently signed by the hand upon the forehead and breast: to which fact the most ancient ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin, unanimously bear witness. This observance therefore, as it is of the greatest antiquity throughout all churches, I am unwilling should be regarded as superstitious, though I would have the superstition of the people, which is commonly discovered even in the most excellent regulations and institutions, to be repressed and guarded against; and this seems to have been your object in that representation which I saw here.

But take it, I pray you, in good part, if I freely state what I consider wanting in it. First of all, in representing this figure of the cross, I could wish that regard were had to the appearance and form of its archetype, that is, of the true cross on which our Saviour was offered; which also, were it attended to in other images of illustrious and holy men, would occasion less inconvenience: namely, that they might be preserved and looked upon only as memorials, in the same manner as we see at this day the effigies of the Roman emperors and other illustrious personages preserved in medals. Moreover, it is evident what was the form of the cross, both from some ancient images and statues, some of which I have seen, and very clearly from that most ancient writer Irenæus², and a more recent one, Gregory of Tours;

[¹ The title of this chapter is, "Quanta ratione mysterium dominicæ crucis ab imaginibus distet, quas quidem illi eidem æquiparare contendunt." One sentence from this chapter may be quoted: Non ergo per materiales ab opificibus conditas imagines, sed per crucis mysterium, quæ a Judæis putatur scandalum, a gentibus stultitia, superba sæculi et inflata sapientia corrui. Nec per picturam quandam, sed per crucem patuit, quod stultum Dei est, quanto sit hominibus sapientius, et quod infirmum Dei est, quanto sit fortius hominibus. Caroli M. de impio imaginum cultu. Lib. iv. Hanoveræ, 1731.]

[² Irenæus was born A. D. 140, and suffered martyrdom A. D. 202. Gregory of Tours was born A. D. 543, and died A. D. 595.]

and which is also supported by the reason of the thing itself. For how, I ask, could it be possible for a human body, weighed down at the approach of death, and hanging down in a stretched out position, not to tear asunder by its bulk and weight the palms of the hands that were nailed to the cross? And the possibility of this occurrence was so provided for, that about the middle of the standing and upright post there was let in a little board, upon which rested the feet of the person doomed to this punishment; and the nails were fastened in such a way that the appearance was not so much that of a man hanging as one standing. The words of Irenæus are plain. "The form of the cross," he says, "has five ends and extremities, two in the length, two in the breadth, and one in the middle, upon which the person who is fastened with the nails rests his weight." To this entirely agrees Gregory of Tours. "The reason therefore," says he, "that there were four nails in our Lord's cross is this: two were fastened to his hands, and two to the soles of his feet; and the question is, why the feet were nailed, which in the holy cross rather seemed to hang down than to stand. But it is evident that an opening was made in the upright post, and that the end of a small board was let in to this opening, and upon this board were nailed the sacred feet, as it were those of one in a standing posture³." I have seen representations of a cross of this kind of a considerable size, not only some portrayed many years ago in this country, but also a very remarkable one painted in the remotest part of Armenia, and which an Armenian priest used to carry about with him in his prayer-book, described in the language and characters of his nation; in all which figures a little board of this kind was evidently jutting out, according to the description of Irenæus

[³ Irenæus, cont. Hæres. Lib. ii. c. 24. Ipse habitus crucis fines et summitates habet quinque, duos in longitudine, et duos in latitudine, et unum in medio, ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur. Greg. Turon. de Glor. Mart. Lib. i. cap. 6. Clavorum ergo Dominicorum gratia, quod quatuor fuerint hæc est ratio: duo sunt affixi in palmis, et duo in plantis, et quæritur cur plantæ affixæ sint, quæ in cruce sancta dependere visa sunt potius quam stare. Sed in stipite erecto foramen factum manifestum est. Pes quoque parvulæ tabulæ in hoc foramen insertus est. Super hanc vero tabulam tanquam stantis hominis sacræ affixæ sunt plantæ.]

and Gregory of Tours: which things, although some persons may deem them too trifling, I do not think will be displeasing to others who have a regard for what is decent.

Another point that I propose to lay before you, is, whether it would not be more suitable, if, instead of those texts of scripture with which you have surrounded and fenced on all sides that figure of the cross, there were written such texts as explain the mystery and hidden signification of it; which are both sufficiently numerous in the writings of the new testament, and exceedingly well adapted to the instruction of the people, and contain the whole mystery both of our redemption by Christ and of our regeneration in Christ. Of which kind are those in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians [vv. 13—15.] *And you, being dead in sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross; and having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in himself.* Also in chap. i. [vv. 18—20.] *And he, that is, the Son of God, is the head of the body, the church; who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence: for it pleased [the Father] that in him should all fulness dwell, and making peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven.* And in Gal. vi. [14.] *But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.* And 1 Cor. i. [17] *Lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect.* Gal. ii. [19.] *For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ.* And Matt. x. [38.] *He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.* And chap. xvi. [24.] *If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.* These and similar texts would instruct the people in the true use of the mystery of the cross: but this you will with your wisdom determine better than I can. I should be very indiscreet in thus pretending

to teach you, did I not think it improper for me not to declare in some way or other my respect for you. You will, I doubt not, receive this my rude and unpolished writing with the same modesty and courtesy with which you have written to me. Farewell.

[GEORGE CASSANDER.]

LETTER XX.

PETER MARTYR TO [THOMAS SAMPSON¹.]

Dated [at ZÜRICH,] *March 20, 1560.*

GREETING. I have not replied before to the letter that you wrote to me on the sixth of January, because I did not receive it until the first of March, and at Zurich couriers are not easily to be met with. Now you must be persuaded of this, that those things which grieve you and others like you, do also very much grieve both myself and my brethren. But I do not think it worth while to reply to your questions a second time, because I suppose all my letters have reached you, in which I gave such answer as I was able, though perhaps not such as the subject required, or so much as you yourself wished for: nevertheless I said what then seemed to be to the purpose. The things which you fear, we can avert from you no otherwise than by our prayers, which, believe me, we diligently offer and will continue to do. Finally, to come to your last question; to have the image of the crucifix upon the holy table at the administration of the Lord's supper, I do not count among things indifferent, nor would I recommend any man to distribute the sacraments with that rite. But you, who are in the very midst of the contest, must not expect counsel from hence, as we are at so great a distance from you: you must take counsel on the field of contest itself. A calling is not rashly to be thrown

[¹ Strype (Life of Grindal, 47) refers to this letter as addressed to Bishop Grindal; but it rather seems to have been written in reply to that of Sampson, printed in the first series, Letter XXVII. p. 62.]

away, nor yet to be undertaken with injury to the truth. The sum of the matter is, that the worshipping of images must in no wise be tolerated. Neither master Bullinger nor myself count such things as matters of indifference, but we reject them as forbidden. Unless however you are driven to this strait, do not refuse the ministry that is offered you.

As to writing a letter to the queen upon this matter, you must understand that I am now so overwhelmed with business, that were I ever so willing, I should not have it in my power. For I have been the sole lecturer in the school for nearly two months, the reason of which there is no occasion to commit to writing. Besides this, I do not think that any letter of mine will have much weight. I have already written twice, publicly and privately, and have been unable to discover whether my letters were received. Moreover, if, as it is reported, it be the determination of your countrymen to embrace the Confession of Augsburgh, and court an alliance with the [German¹] protestants, you may judge for yourself in what esteem my letters, and the letters of those like me, will be held. The only thing I can do, I will not fail to do; namely, to pray that your state and church, together with your most serene queen, may flourish in all happiness.

I have communicated your letter, as you wished me, to master Bernardine. He is in a weak state of health, both through old age and the diseases incident to that time of life: yet he did not decline the office of writing [to the queen²,] but promises to do so as soon as he is able. As to Bullinger, I have no doubt but that he will write, for he is exceedingly zealous in this matter; but though he has read your letter, he has not yet pointed out any suggestions that I can inform you of. But you are indeed wonderful people. You pay no attention to the *public* letter of the Swiss, nay, you do not even answer it: how much notice, I pray you, will *private* letters obtain from you? But keep these things to yourself, and do not send any answer to them, for fear the letter should be lost or intercepted. Farewell. Master Bullinger, all our fellow-ministers, my wife, Julius and his wife, salute you.

[¹ The German protestants retained the crucifix in their churches. Strype, Grindal, 48. See above, p. 17, note 5.]

[² See first series, Letter XXVII.]

A son was born to me on the second of March, and died on the tenth. Salute all your friends in my name, and cease not to love your Martyr. March 20, 1560.

Yours wholly,

PETER MARTYR.

LETTER XXI. [Extract.]

NICOLAS GALLASIUS³ TO JOHN CALVIN.

Dated at LONDON, *June 30, 1560.*

I WAITED upon the bishop, by whom I was received very courteously. I presented to him, my father, your letter, which he read in my presence with an open and cheerful countenance, and forthwith briefly related to me its contents; expressing his thanks to you for having written to him in so friendly a manner, and also for reminding him of his duty. He then accosted the elders who had accompanied me to his residence, to some of whom my arrival was by no means agreeable, and exhorted them not to be ungrateful to God and you, since they had obtained more than they had dared to hope for; that they should follow my recommendations, and henceforth act in all circumstances by my advice, and

[³ Nicolas des Gallars was recommended by Calvin to be minister to the French congregation in London, at the desire of Grindal, bishop of London, that he would send over some honest able person for that place. Strype, Cranmer, 594. The following extract, taken verbatim from the original document in the archives of Geneva, refers to this subject: "Après le deces de la Royne Mariè d'Angleterre, et a l'advenement de Elizabeth sa sœur, les persecutions y cesserent et y eut quelque liberté pour les Chrestiens. L'Eglise de Londres requist a Geneve ung ministre pour redresser l'estat nagueres ruyne, et obtint Nicolas des Gallars. Alors s'en departirent les Angloys de Geneve, ayans pris humble congé de la Seigneurie, le 30 de May 1560, et presenté ung livre de leurs noms et de leurs enfans, pour estre a tousjours retenus au devoir qu'ils avoient a la ville. Car les ungs avoient acquis le droict de bourgeoisie, et tous ensemble se estoient honnestement portez. Les Ecossois aussi s'en allerent en leur pays, ou l'Evangile commençoit aussi à florir." Chroniques de Roset, Liv. vi. Chap. 58.]

shew themselves friendly towards me, and admonish the whole church of their duty towards me. Then turning to me apart, he offered me his good offices, and that I might have familiar access to him as often as I wished. I requested that all matters in our church might be determined by his authority, by which means our people would be more effectually kept to their duty; and that he would be pleased to be present, or rather to preside, at the reading of your letter to them. He replied, that in this matter he resigned all his authority to myself, but that he would willingly attend if he could be of any use. He afterwards added something about appointing as my colleague Peter Alexander¹, who was acceptable to the people, and had begun to gather a church before my arrival; and who was the more acceptable, because he neither required any salary, nor was likely to become a burden to what is now a poor and necessitous church; for he has a valuable prebend at Canterbury, the revenue of which he could easily receive during his absence under the plea of this appointment. I replied that I would farther deliberate and confer with him upon this matter, but that I would take no steps without consulting him².

[¹ Peter Alexander of Arles was entertained in the family of archbishop Cranmer from the year 1547, and so forward for some years, till he became a prebendary of Canterbury, and had also the living of Allhallows, Lombard Street, conferred upon him by the said archbishop. He was afterwards divorced from his wife by queen Mary's commissioners, and fled over to Strasburgh, and became minister of the French church there. See Strype, Mem. ii. i. 321.]

[² The above extract contains all that relates to England. There are at Zurich several very long letters written by Gallasius, relating, however, principally to the dissensions caused by Alexander in the French church in London, and referring repeatedly to the interposition of the bishop on his behalf.]

LETTER XXII³

BISHOP GRINDAL TO CONRAD HUBERT.

Dated at LONDON, Oct. 13, 1560.

GREETING. I send you at last, most courteous Hubert, the promised account of the exhumation⁴ of Bucer and Fagius, which I have caused to be carefully drawn up by a certain learned man, who was a spectator of the whole tragedy. Many reasons have occasioned me to be thus late in performing my promise. They have arisen, partly, from my official engagements, which, in this restoration of evangelical doctrine that, by the goodness of God, we have lately accomplished through the instrumentality of our most illustrious queen, have been numerous and important; and partly, from the opportunity embraced by the university of Cambridge⁵ of restoring the reputation, as they call it, of masters Bucer and Fagius by a public and solemn decree. For I was loth that there should go forth any testimony of my country's ingratitude and cruelty towards the remains of Bucer, (although it was oppressed at that time by the tyranny of the Romanists,) before the memorial of its gratitude and affection. You

[³ The original of this letter is preserved in the archives of St Thomas at Strasburgh.]

[⁴ See above, p. 24.]

[⁵ Archbishop Parker, Bishop Grindal, and Dr Haddon, by virtue of power committed to them by the queen, wrote letters to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Andrew Pern, and the rest of the University of Cambridge, to restore Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, deceased in that university, to their due honour. The said letters being read in the senate, it was asked, *Placetne vobis ut gradus et honoris titulus, quae olim Martino Bucero et P. Fagio publicis hujus academice suffragiis adempta erant, eisdem in integrum restituantur, et omnes actus contra eos aut eorum doctrinam rescindantur?* which they all agreed to. This was done July 22; and on the 30th Dr Acworth, the public orator, made an oration publicly in St Mary's in honour of these learned men; which done, Dr James Pilkington preached from the 112th Psalm. See Pilkington's Works, Parker Society's Edition, p. 651, Strype, Parker, i. 170, and Historia de obitu Buceri, &c. appended to Buceri Scripta Anglicana, Basil. 1577, p. 935, &c.]

have therefore not only the account of the exhumation of Bucer, but also that of his restoration and in some measure his revival. I send you likewise, by way of appendix, some writings of Bucer himself, which had hitherto lain unnoticed among the papers of the most reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, and which he has given me for this purpose.

Salute, I pray you, in my name your whole college, both of ministers and professors; especially masters Marpach, John Sturmius, Zanchius, Andernach, and Sebald. Commend to God in your prayers our churches, now again becoming united in Christ their head. Both I myself, and all the rest of us, who were received there with so much kindness and hospitality during the time of our exile, pray for every blessing and happiness to the state of Strasburgh, and are prepared to shew every manifestation of gratitude in our turn, if we can any way be of use to it. Salute likewise my very courteous host, master James Heldelin, the minister at Waselheim, together with his most excellent wife. May the Lord preserve you all, and guide you by his Spirit! Amen. Dated at London, Oct. 13, 1560.

Your much attached in Christ,

EDMUND GRINDAL,

Bishop of London.

I have sent, for the most part, the originals themselves. Should there be any errors either in the arrangement or orthography, you will use your own judgment in correcting them.

LETTER XXIII.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO FRANCIS LORD RUSSEL.

Dated at ZURICH, *March* 16, 1561.

GRACE and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ. The letter, most illustrious prince, which your clemency wrote to me on the twenty-first of January¹ last

[¹ See above, Letter XVI. p. 36.]

year, has been delivered into my hands. It was on many accounts exceedingly gratifying to me, both as affording a clear evidence of your truly pious and christian mind, and also as presenting such an account of the general state of religion among you, as could not but be most delightful to all who wish well to England in particular, and generally to the church at large. But although I have always felt desirous of replying to your letter, I have deferred doing so even to this day, because I considered it unbecoming in me to interrupt your clemency, occupied as you are in far more important engagements, with a letter of so little consequence. But now the bearer of this², John Henry Fabricius, gives me an opportunity of writing. He is of honourable extraction, and a youth of good disposition and of great promise. His father is a man of the highest authority in our republic, and the chief standard-bearer, as they call it. After having first provided for the care and instruction of his son at my house for three whole years, he sent him into France to carry on his literary pursuits in that country. After a short time he was placed at court by the king of Navarre, where, among other noble youths, he was at first in the service of the queen, and afterwards in that of the king himself; and at length, after the completion of the time that young men of that rank are usually employed, he was honourably dismissed. His father however, thinking that on account of his son's age, it will be to his disadvantage to keep him at home, and knowing that the courts of the German princes are full of drunken and debauched characters, by intercourse with whom youths even of the best disposition are more likely to be corrupted than benefited, has determined, upon my advice, and especially upon that of master Bullinger, to send him to England, if he may by any possibility obtain a situation either with your clemency, or the queen's most serene majesty, or with any other godly nobleman. He has a fair knowledge of Latin, and has made greater progress both in speaking and writing French, than a native of Germany can easily expect. He has learned all the duties of a life at court, and possesses such talent and activity, that we hope his services will neither be unpleasing nor unprofitable to any one who may think fit to receive him. We desire however most

[² See first series, Letter XLVI. p. 108.]

especially to commend him to your clemency, because we have great expectations from you, and are aware that you possess extensive influence with the queen's majesty and the other nobility of the realm. And if your exceeding kindness will allow us to do so, we entreat you again and again to consider this excellent youth as commended to your good offices. For thus you will not only do a kindness to that most worthy man, his father, but will also bind to you, by no common obligation, the whole state of Zurich, in which, if he live, he will one day hold an important post. May God the Father of mercy guide your clemency by his Spirit, and evermore preserve and confirm you in the knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ! Amen. Dated at Zurich, March 16, in the year of the incarnation of Christ, 1561.

[RODOLPH GUALTER.]

LETTER XXIV

FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

'Dated at LONDON, *June* 16, 1561.

MUCH health. So great was the kindness of you all towards me when I was in your country, and especially that of yourself and master Bullinger, that I shall not consider myself to have conferred, but to have received a favour, whenever it may be in my power to oblige you in any matter. The young man¹ whom you recommended to me I have placed in the service of her serene majesty's vice-chamberlain², a pious and influential personage. I hope therefore that he is honourably provided for. Meanwhile, should any thing occur to him, wherein he may be profited by my assistance, I shall not be wanting; and I desire you to be assured that the same assistance will always be at the service both of yourself and your church at large.

[1 John Henry Fabricius. See the preceding letter.]

[2 This was Sir Francis Knowles, who had been an exile at Frankfurt in queen Mary's time, and was afterwards vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guard, and one of the privy council to queen Elizabeth.]

You will learn from Julius³ a full and detailed account of the state of our affairs, so that I will not dwell upon them at this present time. Meanwhile, may you, with all pious persons, be well and happy, and make use of me as your friend as often as occasion shall arise. London, June 16, 1561.

Your piety's and learning's most devoted,

F. BEDFORD.

LETTER XXV.

RICHARD MASTERS TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at the Palace, GREENWICH near London, *June* 16, [1561.]

IMMEDIATELY after the coronation⁴ of our most illustrious queen I received your letter⁵, most beloved Gualter, by the hands of our friend Parkhurst on his return to us from Zurich. I wrote in reply not long after, but my letter was sent to Antwerp; and, as I am given to understand after a year's interval, it was lost in the sea, and the bearer of it was drowned likewise. I was not in truth so much grieved at the loss, as apprehensive that from my not having answered your letter after so long a silence between us, you would accuse me of having slighted your friendship; as indeed you might have done with reason, had not this just ground of excuse acquitted me of the charge. Burcher increased my apprehension, and Julius confirmed it, each of them coming over to us from Zurich without bringing me a letter. But do not, I pray you, my Gualter, entertain so unfavourable an opinion of me. For it has always been my nature so much to dread the charge of neglected friendship, that I would rather choose to run into the contrary extreme. Nor do I

[³ Julius Santerentianus, the friend and attendant of Peter Martyr, was now on a visit to England, and about to return to Zurich. See first series, Letters XL. and XLI.]

[⁴ Queen Elizabeth was crowned Jan. 15, 1559.]

[⁵ See above, Letter V p. 11.]

think there is any one who has just reason to complain of me in this particular. For why should I slight that which is acquired in an honourable way? And I would rather embrace, and reverence, and all but superstitiously cultivate such a friendship as literary pursuits and moral integrity (which are the two closest bonds of friendship) produce, increase, and uninterruptedly preserve with persons like yourself, that is, with learned and worthy men. I pray you to consider that I am yours, and that you and every thing belonging to you are most delightful to me, and cherished as they ought to be. And this, should I be able to oblige you in any way, you shall find in fact to be the case. For I am not different from what I used to be, when during my residence at Oxford I enjoyed your most delightful intimacy and agreeable conversation, what time true religion was at its lowest ebb.

With respect to your letter, I most solemnly assure you, that it was shewn to our queen that, taught by the misfortunes of others, she might perceive again and again what advice she might derive from it for the establishment of the true religion, and the avoiding of a mixed one; and I took care that it should be shewn to those of our nobility whom I knew to be ready to promote what you piously recommended. But as I have a living epistle in Julius, there is no occasion to tell you the result. I doubt not but that our gracious God will bring to a happy maturity what has been successfully begun; and this let us entreat in our common prayers. Farewell, and be assured that there is no one who wishes you more abundant and greater blessings, and who, in short, loves and esteems you more heartily than Masters. Once more, and a thousand times, farewell. From the court at Greenwich near London, June 16, [1561.]

Yours heartily as though I were

Your brother,

RICHARD MASTERS.

LETTER XXVI.

PETER MARTYR TO A VERY HONOURABLE NOBLEMAN¹
IN ENGLAND.Dated at ZURICH, *July 22, 1561.*

FOR very many and great causes, most noble prince, I am exceedingly bound unto your highness. For you bear such regard towards me, a humble and obscure individual, whom you scarcely once saw in England, as that you have now entertained with singular courtesy and benevolence my attendant Julius, and have shewn him no ordinary, but very great kindness in the management of his business; for which cause I am exceedingly thankful to your highness. And besides this, you have written me a letter: a letter, shall I say? yea, rather praises and commendations both of my learning and virtues, which although I do not acknowledge that I possess, yet I could not but rejoice in your good opinion, because I understood it as a most certain testimony of your love and good-will towards me; nor can I consider myself as being loved by you for any other reason, than for the sake of godliness and religion. I forbear to mention the singular desire that you manifest for my return to England, and which you affirm to be shared by pious and learned men in common with yourself. But how great a favour is it, that you have suggested to the queen's majesty the expediency of my recall, and have interested her in my favour! In fine, you have promised to afford me every kindness and comfort in your power, and have expressed the reasons, and those very honourable to you, of this your regard, namely, the love

[¹ This nobleman is supposed by Strype to have been Thomas, duke of Norfolk, at the instigation of his tutor, John Foxe. This endeavour, he adds, of getting Martyr into England proceeded, no question, from an order made by the archbishop and bishops at Lambeth, where they sat by commission: which was, to raise a contribution out of their own revenues for learned strangers to be placed readers in the universities, both for their stipends, and for the defraying of their expenses in their journey. Ann. i. i. 381.]

of your country, and exceeding anxiety for the advancement of God's word. Who can help loving such a prince? Indeed I should be devoid of godliness, not to say of common courtesy, should I ever forget so much good-will and so many benefits. I will therefore endeavour, and this by every means in my power, that they may never escape my memory.

But now as touching my return to England, although I am unable to answer as I could earnestly desire, do you, most noble prince, with your usual kindness, take in good part what I write in reply. First of all, I would not have you think that I have any thing more at heart, than the solid and firm well-being of England in the Lord. Wherefore I could desire even now, no less than I did in times past, to promote the interests and edification thereof, and to do what would be both acceptable and profitable to your kingdom and church. But at this present time, such is the situation in which I am placed, that I am engaged to the state and church at Zurich, and am not therefore my own master. I have therefore inquired the opinion and inclination as well of the magistrates, as of my fellow-ministers upon this matter. And indeed I found in them a singular zeal and most ready mind to satisfy your desire. For you must not think any thing more acceptable to, or desired by them, than that the truth of the gospel may be spread abroad as far as possible. But on the other hand, they no less prudently than lovingly take into consideration my constitution, state, and age; and are somewhat apprehensive lest, burdened as I am and in some measure broken with age, I should be unable to bear the fatigue of the journey, which is rather long, variable, and not every where without difficulty. They see moreover that no small danger is to be apprehended in different places on the route; and they consider too, that I am called forth to much more severe labours than I undergo in this place. Wherefore they think it very likely that I shall be unable to serve either them or you; and are therefore of opinion that it is much better for me to remain here, where by teaching, writing, and publishing my commentaries, I may be of use both to them and you, and others, according to my ability.

But in this double kind of answer, the first part seems to me to have the nearest approach to the truth; for I am

myself also afraid of being unable to endure the journey and labours. But in the other part I think that they are themselves mistaken, who judge that I can be of so much use by remaining quiet in this country; for they make much more account of my lucubrations than they deserve. Aware as I am of the little pretensions I have to learning, I agree with them to remain here solely on account of the first reason assigned. For I am easily led to believe that I shall be so liable to be weakened and broken up by the labours of the journey, as to be rendered altogether unprofitable. Wherefore I entreat your highness first of all, and next those godly and learned men, to accept of my good-will in a case where, by reason of my infirmity, they cannot obtain the object itself that they desire to be accomplished. For necessity is a hard weapon, the striving against which seems to be nothing less than tempting God. But I would have you, right honourable prince, remember in the mean time, that in whatever part of the world I may be placed, I shall ever be most beholden to your highness. And I entreat you in my turn, not only to retain your love to your country and zeal for the advancement of religion, but to endeavour daily more and more to increase the same in your christian heart; whereby the wings of the gospel of the Son of God, which were formerly cut short, may grow again, and so grow, that it may swiftly and with abundant fruit pervade all your provinces, cities, and towns. Assuredly, if you shall continue to be inflamed with this double care, according as you have begun, both almighty God will approve you, and all discreet and godly men will honour you as a worthy citizen and a profitable prince. May God long preserve you in health and happiness through Christ! Given at Zurich, July 22, 1561.

[PETER MARTYR.]

LETTER XXVII.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD.

Dated at ZURICH, *Aug. 26, 1561.*

I REJOICE greatly that my letter of recommendation of John Henry Fabricius was acceptable to your clemency. He certainly extols, in the highest terms, the kindness of your clemency towards himself, and your favourable inclination towards us all; for which reason he seems worthy of the continuance of your clemency's regard and patronage. I have informed his father, a person of the highest authority among us, of the great regard and favour with which you honour him; and he has requested me in his name to present his best acknowledgements to your clemency. We will all of us take care, should an opportunity arise, that you may not seem to have conferred a benefit upon those who are ungrateful. We have learned from our townsman Julius, that your England is happy and flourishing, both as to religion and in all other respects; and we pray God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may continue to carry on with his favour what is well begun, to the desired end and the glory of his name. The Roman anti-christ¹ is urging the continuance of the council of Trent, and has on his side both sovereigns and princes of no small influence. But Christ the Lord, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, is stronger than they all. He beholds the attempts of those who take counsel against him, and laughs them to scorn from on high, as David witnesseth in the Psalms. I forbear to write more, for fear of longer detaining your clemency, who is occupied in numerous and more important engagements. May God the Father of mercy direct you with his Spirit, and continually preserve and confirm you in the knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ! Amen.

Dated at Zurich, Aug. 26, 1561.

[RODOLPH GUALTER.]

[¹ Namely, Pius IV., who re-assembled the council of Trent in 1561.]

LETTER XXVIII.

RICHARD MASTERS TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *Feb. 22, 1562.*

HEALTH in the Lord always. Before I received your letter, most learned Gualter, written in favour of that excellent young man Henry Fabricius, what services I offered him on his first arrival in this country, both for your sake, and that of your friends, I will not now relate, but he will tell you in person on his return: nevertheless, to confess the truth, I did not then understand that you felt any greater interest on his behalf, than you would for any other inhabitant of Zurich. But as soon as I perceived by your letter how dear he was to you, I again called upon him with all diligence, and made every inquiry which I thought might be of use to him; and encouraged him as earnestly as I could to let me know if there were any thing of which he stood in need, and in which I could oblige him: and I promised not to be wanting to him in any respect, so that he might have at his service even my own house, or whatever else I had it in my power to offer. But he declined all my services, being a youth of extreme modesty, and declared that he was not in want of any thing. I then began to inquire into the reason of his not residing with the earl of Bedford. He tells me that his lordship had placed him with master Knowles, the vice-chamberlain, a truly pious man and one of her majesty's privy council, with a view to his becoming better acquainted with the English court, and especially with that part of the country which our queen at that time determined to visit, in a progress² of some length, attended by a great retinue

[² The queen set out on the 14th of July on a progress into Essex and Suffolk, by way of Wanstead, Havering, Pyrgo, New Hall, Colchester, St Osyth's, Harwich, Ipswich, and so back by Smalbridge, Gosfield, Standon, Hertford, and Enfield. She arrived at St James's on the 22nd September. It was in this excursion that the queen took offence at the slovenly manner in which the church service was performed, and shewed a feeling of dislike to the marriage of the clergy,

of the nobility; the earl himself, meanwhile, residing at his country house, that he might take care of his health, and not suffer it to be endangered, by reason of his corpulence, in the heat of summer by so long a journey.

Immediately after this progress was completed, I happily received your letter, from which I took occasion to wait upon the earl respecting the condition of our friend Fabricius. He gave me the same statement as Fabricius had done before; and told me moreover, that he had given him a horse which cost twenty crowns, and also twenty shillings of our money to defray the expenses of that journey. He added too, that he had good reasons for placing Fabricius with master Knowles, as he knew that he had come hither after leaving France, for the especial object of making himself acquainted with the court and the manners of our people, and our cities; and that on the approach of winter he would receive him into his own household till the beginning of spring, at which time, he said, I have determined to send him back to his friends, as there is no hope of placing him in any honourable situation in the queen's service. Abel however, as far as I can gather from Fabricius, has written to his friends at Zurich absolutely and without any limitations, that the earl would receive him into his constant service; whereas the earl, in his conversation with me, had fixed a time for his return to Zurich, at the beginning of spring, and had no intention whatever of retaining him in his family longer than until the end of the winter. Abel has made Fabricius very uneasy, lest his father should imagine from that letter, that some fault was to be found with Fabricius, because the earl would not retain him longer than till the beginning of spring. But believe me, there is no blame whatever to be attached to the young man, but rather to Abel's credulity, who interpreted to you by letter the words of the earl differently to what he really said. Fabricius, like a good and pious son, fearing nothing upon earth more than the anger of his father, who is in other respects most affectionate towards him, has entreated me to explain to you the bare and simple truth, which I solemnly declare I do.

which gave rise to an order against all resort of women to the lodgings of cathedrals and colleges. See Nares' *Burghley*, II. 240, 241; Wright's *Q. Elizabeth*, I. 67; *Strype, Ann. I. i.* 405, and *Parker*, I. 212.]

Thus much for Fabricius. As to myself, my excellent Gualter, it will be far more easy for you to conceive than for me to express my obligations to you, both for those very learned discourses you sent me, as also for your very friendly letter. I thank you exceedingly for both, as I ought to do. Abel will give you from me in return, as some token of my love to you, a yard and half of our English cloth, well adapted for hose, and which I entreat you again and again to take in good part. Fabricius I know will give you, better than I can, all the news respecting the Scots and French. God grant that all of us, who bear the name of Christ, may embrace salvation in him by constant faith, and live a life consistent with such profession. Again salute from me master Bullinger, who first begat me again unto Christ, and by his assistance made me to relinquish popery. Farewell. London, Feb. 22, 1562.

Your most devoted,

RICHARD MASTERS.

LETTER XXIX.

EARL OF BEDFORD TO HENRY BULLINGER AND
RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *March* 16, 1562.

GREETING. I received John Henry, whom you so warmly recommended to me in your letter, with great pleasure, both for your sake and his own. He remained about seven months with the vice-chamberlain¹ of her most serene majesty, with whom I placed him for a time, that he might become better acquainted with our court and manners. I could have wished indeed his farther advancement, and endeavoured to accomplish it: but I am sorry that such is the state of our affairs, especially in these times, that this is more to be desired than expected; and as he dis-

[¹ Sir Francis Knowles. See above, p. 61.]

covered, by the experience of many persons, that this was too much the case, he left the court, and has remained in London up to this time at his own expense. He has honourably conducted himself here, and with the greatest probity and sobriety. That no better provision has been made for him in this country, is rather to be ascribed to the difficulty of the times, than to the inclination of his friends.

With respect to religion, and the state of the realm, every thing is here, by the blessing of God, quiet and peaceful as heretofore, and we are in constant hopes of improvement. I pray God that the same may ever be the case with yourselves and your churches. Farewell, with the universal church of God. London, March 16, 1562.

Your piety's most devoted,

F. BEDFORD.

LETTER XXX¹

ROGER ASCHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at LONDON, *April* 11, 1562.

GREETING. What does this mean, my Sturmius? That Michael Toxites our common friend, and so much wished for messenger, should come hither from your parts without a letter from you to me? Is Cook, or Hales, or any other Englishman whatever, either more attached to you, or more greedy of your letters than I am? But I hear you exclaim on the other hand, Alas! my Ascham, can *you* expostulate with me for my not writing, who have not sent me a single syllable these three years? And indeed, my very dear friend, you speak the truth; and all this expostulation of mine is not to find fault with, or to rebuke you, but altogether an artifice, and got up by me on purpose. For I was afraid of your being beforehand with me, as you justly might have been, in complaining of our mutual

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved at Strasburgh.]

silence. But let this pass. I will now, my Sturmius, write to you truly and openly. This long interruption of our correspondence has not arisen from inclination on my part, or forgetfulness of you, or neglect of my duty. I have not remained so long without writing to you either from want of matter to write about, or of opportunity of sending a letter; but when you hear from me the true cause of my silence, I shall not excite your anger and displeasure against me, but your grief and sorrow for me, whom I know you love. For these last four years I have been so attacked by continual fevers, that one scarcely ever left me without another immediately following in its place. And thus my whole state of health is so broken up and destroyed by these fevers linked and connected with each other, that a hectic has now seized my entire frame. The physicians promise me relief some time or other, but give me no hopes of an entire recovery. And now those who are my true friends, and among them my very assured friend John Hales, are frequently chirping to me that mournful announcement of Thetis to her son in Homer²: "Your life will indeed be short, and of no long continuance." And though we read that the most eminent men have died the soonest, what is that to me, who am a man not of a lofty but a humble spirit? I entirely repudiate that kind of consolation, whether from the poet or the historian. But when I betake myself to our teacher of true and complete salvation, who declares, that so much as is taken from the outward man is added to the inward man³, I do not give myself up to lamentation, but anticipate the new joys of a new life. But more of this at another opportunity; for I desire at this time to begin a long discourse with you, though indeed I have at present very little leisure to accomplish it, as our most serene queen is at this time so much employing me and all my time in writing so many letters.

Your last letter to me was dated Jan. 15, 1560. The two heads of which, one concerning the Scots' business, the other concerning the queen's marriage, induced me to give it to the queen herself to read; in both of which she discreetly noticed and graciously acknowledged and commended your singular respect towards herself. She exceedingly ap-

[² See Hom. II. I. 416.]

[³ See 2 Cor. iv. 16.]

proved your judgment respecting the then existing state of affairs in Scotland, and even now she greatly values you for your solicitude about us and our affairs. The passage concerning her marriage, I well remember, she read over three times, with an occasional sweet smile, and a very modest and bashful silence. Respecting her marriage, my very dear John Sturmius, I have neither any thing certain to write myself, nor does any one else among us, I am sure, know what to think about it. It was not for nothing, my Sturmius, but after due consideration, that in that first long letter of mine to you I stated, that in her whole manner of life she more resembled Hippolyte than Phædra. Which observation I then referred, not to the graces of her person, but wholly to the chastity of her mind: for of her own nature, without the advice of any one, she is so entirely averse and abstinent from marriage. When I know any thing for certain, I will write you word by the first opportunity: meanwhile I can give you no hopes as far as the king¹ of Sweden is concerned.

I wish you would sometimes write to master Cecil: for he is both most sound in religion, and most discreet in the government of the state; and indeed, next to God and the queen, the most firm support of both. He is also very fond of learning and learned men, and is himself well skilled in both Latin and Greek. You wish, I know, to hear from me respecting our affairs. But I have nothing that I consider better worth writing about than the queen herself. I will therefore briefly describe what great and important matters, since she has taken the helm of government, she has planned with wisdom, and accomplished with success. First of all, she dedicated her earliest endeavours to God, by nobly purifying the religion which she found miserably polluted; in the accomplishment of which object she exercised such moderation, that the papists themselves have no complaint to make of having been severely dealt with. This peace established with God was followed by a peace with all the neighbouring sovereigns: and yet, on her accession to the throne she found this kingdom involved in a double war, with the Scots and the French. Next, she so firmly and prudently withstood the Guises in Scotland, who

[¹ See first series, Letter XIX. p. 46.]

were plotting wonderful things against us, that there now exists between both kingdoms, and both sovereigns, as secure a peace and firm an alliance, as can possibly take place between two most quiet neighbourhoods or most united sisters. After religion, in the first place, and the state next, had been restored to so desirable a tranquillity, she applied her mind to the proper settlement of other internal improvements of the realm.

All the coin that had been debased, and entirely alloyed with copper, she has restored to the pure silver standard²; an arduous and royal task, which neither Edward nor even Henry himself ever ventured to undertake. She has furnished her armoury with such exquisite materials, that no sovereign in Europe, I am sure, can shew its equal. Her navy too she has so embellished and provided with every necessary, both as regards the abundance of stores and the ability of the sailors, that the resources of a wealthy kingdom might seem to have been expended upon this sole object.

These things are of a public nature, and relate to the whole realm. Let us now inspect her personal character and pursuits. She is readily forgetful of private injury, but is a severe assertor of public justice. She does not excuse crime in any one; she leaves no one the hope of impunity; she cuts off from every one the liberty of offending. She, least of all princes, covets the property and wealth of her subjects, and requires her own revenues to be expended sparingly and economically upon every private pleasure, but royally and liberally either for any object of public convenience, or for the splendour of domestic magnificence. But the glory she derives from herself, and the adornments of talent and learning that she possesses, I have described to you in another letter. I will now only state in addition, that neither at court, nor in the universities, nor among our heads in church or state, are there four of our countrymen who understand Greek better than the queen herself. When she is reading Demosthenes or Æschines, I am very often astonished at seeing her so ably understand, I do not mean, the force of the words, the structure of the sentences, the propriety of the language, the ornaments of oratory, and the harmonious and elegant bearing of the

[² See first series, Letter XXXVIII. p. 93, note 3.]

whole discourse; but also, what is of more importance, the feeling and spirit of the speaker, the struggle of the whole debate, the decrees and inclinations of the people, the manners and institutions of every state, and all other matters of this kind. All her own subjects, and very many foreigners, are witnesses to her proficiency in other languages. I was one day present, when she replied at the same time to three ambassadors, the Imperial, French, and Swedish, in three languages; Italian to the one, French to the other, Latin to the third; easily, without hesitation, clearly, and without being confused, to the various subjects thrown out, as is usual, in their discourse. That you may yourself see how elegantly she writes, I send you inclosed in this letter a slip of paper, in which you have the word "quemadmodum" written in the queen's own hand. The upper one is mine, the lower the queen's. Let me know in your next letter whether the sight is pleasant to you and the present an acceptable one.

And thus much respecting our most noble queen, who is, besides all this, my most munificent mistress, and also very partial to John Sturmius. And should you ever happen to come to England, you will, I think, hear from her own mouth that Roger Ascham has not been a forgetful friend to John Sturmius in the presence of so great a sovereign. This account of our most excellent queen you will, I believe, read, and I assuredly write it, with the greatest satisfaction to us both. If she would only marry, she would leave no room for higher commendation; and I wish, my Sturmius, that you would call forth all that power which you have derived from the best sources both of wisdom and eloquence, whether of reasoning from Demosthenes, or of diction from Cicero, to persuade her to this step. No cause more honourable can be undertaken by you than this, nor can any greater power of persuasion be desired by me, than that which you possess. We desire her to make choice of whomsoever she pleases; we do not wish other persons to point out any individual for her acceptance, and we are all of us in favour of one of our own countrymen in preference to a stranger. I would have you know these things, in case you should ever feel disposed to consider the subject: for should she but add this single benefit to

the number of those she has already conferred upon this country, and which I have just now mentioned, no nation can be more happy than ours. And thus much upon this subject. I will write to you about our other affairs at another time; I now come, my Sturmius, to yourself.

I was glad to learn from your letter, written a year ago to John Hales, that your [commentary on] Aristotle's *Rhetoric*¹ was finished; and I was wonderfully pleased at your adding, "All of you are mentioned in the book, as also [Sir Richard] Morison and [Sir John] Cheke." I was very sorry to hear, from the conversation of our friend Toxites, that the brothers Werter had carried away all those books with them into Thuringia. Those brothers should beware lest they become more notorious by this exploit, than they are already by birth and learning. They do an injury to you, to the study of learning itself, and to the anxious expectation of many worthy persons, and were I not writing of myself, I should say, especially to me; who, though I was not the original promoter, yet advised you to undertake those renowned works worthy of light and immortality, and most unworthy of darkness and some dirty little chest. But if these excellent fruits of your learning should decay and be lost through the meanness and avarice of these young men, I will assuredly try myself—but I must restrain myself, lest I should speak too severely of them before I have ascertained your opinion about this act of theirs. If therefore you love me, my Sturmius, while I am yet alive, (for, as I have told you, this hectic of mine threatens to shorten my days,) do not allow me to be disappointed of the most delightful enjoyment of these books. I have

[¹ The following extract from an English letter of Ascham's to two of the Fellows of St John's in Nov. 1551, will throw light upon this passage. "Sturmius goeth forward in *Rhetor. Aristot.* The first book is sent to Mr Cheke, which was purposed to me, but I had rather it should be sent to him. Mr John Hales, my singular friend, sent me a piece of this *Rhetoric* this week. I never saw any thing more to be compared with antiquity, and so I think Mr Haddon will judge. Vahan is writing it out apace: if he finish it before the post go, ye do receive it; if not now, ye shall have it shortly. Sturmius is in hand with *Analysis Ciceron.* such a book as I believe was never set out in our time. *Nobilissimi Worteri fratres* do give him, to find him writers, 400 crowns a year for four years." Ascham's English Works, Lond. 1815, p. 375.]

had both the first and second book; but the first, which I lent to Walter Haddon, the master of the Court of Requests, I have lost through the carelessness of his servants. I have often delighted myself with the perusal of these books, and was expecting all the rest at this last fair. Take care, I pray you, that this expectation of mine, connected as it is with so much honour to yourself, and so much advantage to all students, be not long disappointed.

I am very glad that, as you write word to Hales, you have written in behalf of Philip against the sycophant Staphylus¹. I gather from his writings that he is not only a mountebank Gnatho², but also a sort of honorary Thraso². For the folly and insolence of his ostentation is evident from the subscription of his letter to the bishop of Auerstadt, where he says: "To your lordship, &c. Frederic Staphylus, councillor of his imperial majesty;" a thing which the people care to know, no doubt: nor do I think that this is the fault of the printer, but the premeditated impudence of Staphylus himself; for he writes the same thing of himself in his Apologetical treatise against Philip. The book to the bishop of Auerstadt was written by him in German last year; turned into Latin, I think, by a Carmelite friar, and printed at Cologne, all venomous and slanderous throughout. I entreat of you, not by the Sicilian muses, but by sacred learning itself, to allow your book against Staphylus to see the light as soon as possible.

I was wonderfully rejoiced at reading in your printed letter to our friend Cook, that you had written a work on the controversy respecting the [Lord's] supper, by no means, you say, violent, but you hope, full of argument. I can easily believe you, my Sturmius. For I know your disposition is entirely disposed to quietness and peace, not to quarrelsomeness and contention. I know also your learning, by which you are wont both easily to prove what you undertake, and to overcome when you contend, and where

[1 Frederic Staphylus had once been the pupil and disciple of Melancthon. He apostatized from Lutheranism to the church of Rome in 1553, and was made a canon of Saltzburg and councillor to the emperor Ferdinand I. He died in 1564. His works were collected, and printed at Ingoldstat in 1613.]

[2 Two characters in the *Eunuch* of Terence.]

you think your powers can be exercised with propriety. I have met with no greater pleasure these many years, than when my friend Toxites told me that your studies were so entirely devoted to sacred literature. The cause of religion has lost a great deal by the death of Philip [Melancthon] and Martin Bucer³; but it will indeed gain yet more by the accession of John Sturmius to its defence. I pray God the Father, and our Lord and God Jesus Christ, that you may wholly give up yourself to the guidance of that Spirit at whose call you are summoned from the retreats of Parnassus and Helicon to the joyful pastures of mount Sion, the mountain of fatness. And though I would readily concede you both a lodging at Rome and an inn at Athens, so that you may occasionally betake yourself to which city you please, for the sake of diversion, and of reviving ancient intimacies and friendships; yet I could wish that your constant habitation, and the abode not only of your life, but of all your studies, should be ever fixed in Jerusalem itself, the city of the great God. And I believe that many both brighter flashes and grander thunders of speech can be shewn by you in our David, Isaiah, John and Paul, than have ever shone forth in all their Pindars, Platos, Demosteneses, or Ciceros. I pray God, if it is right to make such a request, to grant me such enjoyment of this life, as that I may some time see the stings of your pen, either put forth of your own accord, or roused into action by the provocation of others, against the popish drones, who occupy the more secret cells and almost all the choicest nests in the very temple of God. I fear, my Sturmius, lest I should offend you more by my present prolixity, than by all that long continued silence of mine, and neglect of writing: though, if you choose to divide this loquacious letter into sundry parts, it cannot be said but that I have now written you many letters. But you will, I hope, pardon my prolixity, which if it prove offensive to you, I pray you to punish by a letter yet more prolix.

I wish, my Sturmius, to know your opinion about Dionysius of Halicarnassus. I believe him to have been the same Dionysius who taught in the house of Cicero, and of whom

[³ Melancthon died April 19, 1560, and Bucer in February 1551.]

frequent mention is made in the letters of Cicero¹ Cicero exceedingly commends his erudition, but not his moral character. When you leave that one city, and that single age of Philip and Alexander, I do not see what Greek author, Plutarch himself not excepted, you can compare with this Dionysius of Halicarnassus. I wish to know from you whether you consider this opinion of mine to have any foundation, or to be altogether erroneous. His treatise addressed to Tubero concerning his judgment of the history of Thucydides pleases me wonderfully. My wife, knowing how you are beloved by me, loves also your wife, and sends her, as a token of her good-will, a gold ring, made in the shape of an arrow, with this inscription, *The gift of a faithful friend*. Toxites has the ring. Excuse this letter; for our friend Toxites is in such a hurry, that I have no time to copy it. Farewell in Christ Jesus. From my house in London, April 11, 1562.

Your most attached,

R. ASCHAM.

LETTER XXXI.

BISHOP GRINDAL TO CONRAD HUBERT.

Dated at LONDON, *June 6*, 1562.

HEALTH in Christ. I greatly commend your regard, my very dear master Conrad, to the memory of our common instructor², Bucer. But I cannot help blaming the ingratitude of others, who are endeavouring to traduce the apostle and father of your city, who was its father³ in Christ, as the

[¹ See his *Epistolæ ad Diversos*, XIII. 77. and other passages: but the Dionysius meant is not the Halicarnassian.]

[² Sandys, Grindal, and Bradford were intimately acquainted with Bucer, when he was King's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Strype, Parker, 1. 55.]

[³ Bucer was admitted in 1523, into the number of the reformed preachers at Strasburg, and subscribed a book with them, which they published in 1524, setting forth the reasons that induced them to renounce popery. He assisted in 1529, as deputy of the church of Strasburg, in the conferences of Marpurg, where they endeavoured to pacify the dissensions between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.]

author of unsound doctrines, or a heretic. For what else are they doing, when they prevent his writings from being published? I am surprised that your magistrates allow so much licence to these new orators, and that the memory of the departed Bucer is not of more avail with them than the clamours of these men. But I am unwilling to pry into the affairs of another state. Your Atlases are too late in their support of the Saxon heaven, which is now every where falling to the ground. I lately saw a letter from Bremen, giving an account of the state of that city. After the banishment of Doctor Albert⁴ they enacted most severe laws against the Zuinglians, or rather the Albertines, threatening them with prisons, exiles, and proscriptions. They prevented a very eminent man, master Daniel a Buren, from entering upon the office of chief magistrate, which had come to him by rotation in January last, because he was favourable to our sentiments; and they substituted another person in his place. But he recovered the mayoralty with the entire consent of the citizens, and afterwards banished those troublesome preachers, or rather croakers. It is astonishing that they are raising such commotions about predestination. They should at least consult their own Luther on "the bondage of the will." For what else do Bucer, Calvin, and Martyr teach, that Luther has not maintained in that treatise? Unless perhaps they wish to take refuge in some recantation of Luther, whom they all but regard as a god. Luther has indeed deserved exceeding well of the church, and is worthy of being celebrated by all posterity. But he would have been more eminent in my eyes, if these Canaans were not always discovering the nakedness of their father, which all godly persons desire to be concealed. But do you, most learned Conrad, persevere in defending the fame of Bucer, and in maintaining the truth. The Lord will not suffer this cause, which is his own, to be always kept under. I doubt not but that your modesty and firmness will have much influence with all godly persons. I congratulate you too upon having as your colleague and assistant in so holy an undertaking

[⁴ Albert Hardenberg, the intimate friend of Melancthon, was the first person who attempted to introduce at Bremen the doctrine of Calvin concerning the eucharist. He was in consequence expelled from that city in 1556.]

master John Sturmius, whom I pray you earnestly to salute in my name.

I thank you for the copies, but have not yet been able to receive them. They are perhaps loitering some where on the way. You will receive from Abel or Salkyns¹ (if he bring you this letter) two golden coins of our country, stamped after a new fashion, and in a manner resembling print. Give one of these from me to Sturmius, and keep the other for yourself. I pray you also to salute from me master Doctor Sebald, to whom I have sent another coin of the same kind, which I beg you to deliver to him yourself. My [secretary] Dithelm², by his father's command, is shortly to go into France. I wish you every blessing in the Lord. From my house in London, June 6, 1562.

Yours in Christ,

EDMUND GRINDAL,

Bishop of London.

These three pieces of gold, more remarkable for their workmanship than their value, I have inclosed in this letter, and with them an engraving of the second funeral of Bucer, recently published by one of our printers.

LETTER XXXII.

FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June* 10, 1562.

GREETING. John Henry³, whom you commended to me by your letter, is now returning to you. He has conducted himself with the greatest propriety during his residence among us. I could have wished indeed to have done more for him, both for his own sake and yours; but success does not always correspond to our wishes. As far as

[¹ Salkyns was the servant of Richard Hilles.]

[² See above, Letter XII. p. 28.]

[³ See above, Letter XXIII. p. 53.]

I am concerned, no one shall ever come over from your country recommended to me by you, without being most welcome. Wherefore you must never entertain any doubt as to my mind and inclination towards you. I desire and wish all prosperity and happiness to you and your churches. No more at this present. Farewell, with all the company of the godly. London, June 10, 1562.

Your piety's most devoted,

F. BEDFORD.

LETTER XXXIII.

FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 10, 1562.*

MUCH health. John Henry Fabricius, who is now returning to you, has so honourably conducted himself in all his actions towards every one, as to leave behind him a singular and admirable testimony to his integrity. I for my part have not been wanting to him, whenever I could do any thing to promote his interests; and I would willingly have done more, were promotion as easily obtained here as it is elsewhere. I pray you therefore to take in good part my favourable disposition, which always has been, and will ever continue to be, most ready to exert itself in behalf both of yourself and of your church. I have not any thing more to write at present. May you and your whole church be happy and prosperous! London, June 10, 1562.

Your very loving friend,

F. BEDFORD.

LETTER XXXIV

SIR ANTONY COOK TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 14, 1562.*

YOUR request, most worthy master Bullinger, made to master Wroth and myself by letter some time since, that this youth¹ should obtain some honourable situation in the court of our queen, has been carefully attended to by us; if not exactly according to his wishes, yet so at least as circumstances and our times admitted of. As a longing after his country now recalls him home, I have thought fit to write you these few lines, that you may understand and feel assured that neither length of time nor distance of place can ever diminish, much less expunge or efface, my regard, duty, and respect to you. Salute, I pray you, in my name, masters Peter Martyr, Bernardine, and Gualter, all of whom I mention with distinguishing regard. May our Lord Jesus Christ very long preserve you in life and safety to his flock! London, June 14, 1562.

Your piety's most devoted,

ANTONY COOK.

LETTER XXXV

—————² TO PETER MARTYR.

Dated at LONDON, *June 26, 1562.*

MOST reverend and very dear father in Christ, I have no other occasion for addressing your reverence, than that which the inclosed letter supplies; which a certain friend of yours charged me faithfully to deliver to you, together with thirty golden French crowns, which I have given in trust to the bearer that he may bring you them together with the in-

[¹ John H. Fabricius.]

[² This letter is without any subscription, and the first sentence is imperfect in the original MS.]

closed letter. As soon therefore as you receive this letter, and the crowns, or the just value of them, your reverence is requested to inform each of the parties as well as myself by letter, and to inclose the letter to your friend in mine. Let these few words suffice for the present occasion, that your godly studies may not be interrupted by a longer letter. All our godly countrymen earnestly entreat your fatherhood constantly to remember our churches in your prayers; begging God not to suffer the irreligious lukewarmness of the English in regard to religion to fall back again into popery, or something worse. And may the Lord preserve your fatherhood for the good of his church, and evermore give you his blessing! Amen. London, June 26, 1562.

An ardent desirer of your prosperity in Christ,

LETTER XXXVI.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER TO MATT. FLACIUS ILLYRICUS³ AND OTHERS.

Dated at CROYDON, *July* 18, [sine anno.]

THIS godly courtesy of yours, reverend sirs, is very gratifying to me, that you have lately caused your commentaries to be delivered to me by a confidential messenger⁴; whereby you have rendered it more easy for me to defend you in your own name, in case any persons should hereafter

[³ Matthias Flacius, or Francowitz, was a native of Albona in Illyria. He was the chief author of that ecclesiastical history, known under the name of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, the fourth of which was dedicated to queen Elizabeth, in 1560, and was probably the book sent to archbishop Parker. His principal coadjutors were John Wigand, Matt. Judex, Basil Faber, with whom may be reckoned about fifteen others of less note. Matthias Flacius died in 1575. See Melchior Adam.]

[⁴ This was probably either Bernard Niger, afterwards mentioned, or Mark Wagner, who visited the libraries of England, Denmark and Scotland, in search of materials for the *Magdeburgh centuriators*. See *Sagittarius Introd. ad Hist. Eccl.* p. 254.]

falsely calumniate the doctrine that you profess. Which doctrine indeed and belief of yours, however it may in part fail of pleasing every one, yet I openly admit that you have acted ingenuously and sincerely, in having so fully, so entirely, and so clearly and unambiguously declared your mind and sentiments. Yet, upon due consideration of these your opinions, I cannot but lament that there should be some disagreement among us upon the chief controversies of religion, especially as each party is taught by the same rule of scripture, and animated by the same zeal both for the restoration of the truth and the utter extermination of all error and falsehood from the territories of the church of Christ. Oh, how great an occasion of falling is here presented to good men! how greatly on this ground is the very restoration of the gospel loaded with reproaches and revilings by our enemies! I wish indeed, that each party would listen to the other without prejudice, and with greater patience and attention; and that neither should be so wedded to his opinion, as to render this public cause of religion an occasion of glorying, ambition, and dissent.

With regard to the principal object, for which your private messenger came over, namely, that he might bring back to you some ancient commentaries of such kind as you hoped to obtain from us¹; you must know, that the more diligent I have been fully to satisfy your wishes in this respect, or rather, to assist in that labour which you have undertaken to the great benefit of the universal christian church, the more unfortunate, to my thinking, has hitherto been the result; and where I had rested my chief hopes of attaining what I desired, I am now left without any hope whatever. And yet, after having sent numberless messengers to many persons and places to no effect, I was at length stirred up to recover the books of master Bale², which, it was said, there would be some

[1 The archbishop had acquainted Flacius with a promise of the queen's, to send him certain *vetera monumenta*, to assist him as well in the work of his *Catalogue of the witnesses of the Truth*, as in his other works of ecclesiastical history. See Strype, Parker, i. 219, iii. 52.]

[2 John Bale, bishop of Ossory. "His rare collection of MSS.," says Strype, "after his decease, came into our archbishop's hands by

prospect of obtaining, if I chose to make the attempt. I ascertained therefore, upon inquiry, into whose hands they fell after his flight³ from Ireland; and when a great heap of them was brought to me, I discovered clearly that none of them were, in my opinion, either valuable for their antiquity, or written on any subject useful and adapted to your purpose. When however your friend Niger⁴ saw them, together with mine and some others, he said that many of them would be of much use. He has them therefore, upon the condition of returning them within a year. But if you are in possession of so rich a collection and apparatus of the writers of our nation, as is mentioned in your catalogue, I think you must have a far greater number than is left in all England, of which I have any certain knowledge and information: whether it be that some parties are unwilling to oblige you in this useful endeavour, and by reason of some private dislike refuse to consider the public benefit of the church; or whether some are unwilling to have it known that such things are in their possession: and thus, like the dog in the manger, they neither enjoy them themselves, nor allow the enjoyment of them to others. Moreover the queen's majesty's library does not possess the means of affording the assistance which you require, as I have been informed by the person who is appointed its purchase. For he laid out for them immediately upon his death, fearing they might be gotten by somebody else. And perhaps divers of those books, that do now make proud the university library, and that of Bene't, and some other colleges in Cambridge, were Bale's before they were the archbishop's." Strype, Parker, II. 520. If this statement be correct, since Bale died in Nov. 1563, this letter was probably written in the July following.]

[³ Bale became greatly exposed, at the accession of queen Mary, to the outrages of the papists in Ireland. Once, in particular, we are told, that five of his domestics were murdered, while they were making hay near his house; and, having received intimation that the priests were plotting his death, he retired from his see to Dublin. He afterwards made his escape in a small vessel from that port, but was taken by the captain of a Dutch man of war, who stripped him of all his money and effects, and, when he arrived in Holland, obliged him to pay thirty pounds before he could recover his liberty. See the "Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, his Persecucions in the same, and finall Delyverance, A. D. 1563." It is reprinted in the Harl. Misc. Vol. VI.]

[⁴ Bernard Niger was one of the Magdeburgh centuriators.]

curator and keeper. This then is the state of the case, that I am unable to satisfy your request, as I could wish; although, before I had been taught by experience, I confidently believed that I could assist you to a greater extent. Certainly the colleges and all the religious houses were plundered, before it was considered what great inconvenience would arise to the church of Christ by this clandestine dispersion and loss of books. The papists however will not produce any thing; for it is said that when they were in possession of monuments of this kind, which undermined the greatest part of their doctrine, they committed some good authors to the flames, as if they envied the world the perusal of them: and this I know to have been the case with the books of Vigilius¹, which they have abused in this way.

I should have written more upon these things, and upon this laborious yet profitable task which you are undertaking in composing this history, only that I am so prevented, partly by ill health, and partly from other causes, that I cannot give such free consideration to these thoughts as I could wish. There are some persons who desire that in your history should be set forth the very words of those authors of whom you only make a bare mention. And though this may be very troublesome in a history of such extent, and is of no use to men of much reading; yet it will afford some light to beginners, and will also be of great weight against calumniators. But I leave the consideration of this to your future discretion.

I send you twenty angels, as a testimony of my obligation to you, which I request you to take in good part. Meanwhile I pray that the Holy Spirit of God may be with you, as the continual helper of your endeavours. Farewell in Christ. July 18. Croydon.

Your loving friend,

MATTHEW PARKER².

[¹ Vigilius was bishop of Thapsus, A.D. 484: but the allusion here is most probably to *Virgilius* (Polydore Vergil), who is reported to have burned the books which he had used in compiling his works. See Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Book VIII. Vol. II. p. 378, edit. 1684.]

[² This letter was published from the original by Jo. Christ. Wolf, at Hamburg in 1736, who states that the signature alone, with the preceding words, is in the hand-writing of the archbishop.]

LETTER XXXVII.

HIEROME ZANCHIUS TO BISHOP GRINDAL.

Dated at [STRASBURGH, 1563.]

IN congratulating me, honoured master, upon that firmness, such as it was, which the Lord bestowed upon me in the defence of a worthy cause³, I acknowledge your pious feeling; while in your having presented me with a gift, I perceive that your regard and good-will towards me is of no ordinary character. For the latter, I feel and return you my grateful acknowledgements: for the former, I request you to aid me with your prayers unto the Lord. For the reputation and fluent loquacity of the ministers⁴, both of which things have very great influence in cities, and especially among the unlearned, are at this time making against me in this cause. For both in private and in public they easily make the ignorant multitude believe any calumnies against me that they please; and the rather, because I am both a stranger, and unable to speak their language, and have no authority whatever with this kind of men. The

[³ “Hierome Zanchy, an Italian by birth, was now public reader of divinity at Strasburgh: with him Grindal was acquainted ever since himself lived there, and since his departure kept a correspondence with him. This year [1563] letters happened between them upon this occasion. The Augustan Confession about this time began to be pressed vigorously, and particularly in the said town of Strasburgh, upon all the reformed there, or no abiding for them. This was the cause of great contests and debates between the learned Lutherans in the school there, and Zanchy, who in the matter of the sacrament, and predestination, and some other things, could not accord with their confession.” Strype, Grindal, p. 111 (8vo.) In Letter XLIII below will be found a full account of the dispute.]

[⁴ John Marbach seems especially to be alluded to. He was one of Zanchy’s fiercest opponents, and so excessively loquacious as to make Luther say of him, *Ori hujus Suevi nunquam araneæ poterunt telas texere*; “No spider will ever weave a cobweb over the mouth of this Suabian.”]

consideration that truth is always wont to conquer, gives me especial comfort; as does also the conviction that the senate is just, and will not act in a hasty or tyrannical manner. In the third place, my friend Sturmius and the visitors, and almost all the rest of the professors and members of our chapter are maintaining the cause, as knowing it to be a just one, to the best of their power, and have united with me in defending it. None of your people can imagine how greatly Satan has vexed, disturbed, and weakened this church and school for the last two years: almost all the older members are dead, and even those two who survive cannot be tolerated by these ignorant young men. If it were permitted me, I could make such statements as, though most true and notorious to all here, neither you nor any other of your countrymen could in any wise believe. I am myself astonished at my own patience, but much more at the patience of the senate. May the Lord be present with his church! It is necessary that Satan, who sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light, should at length be discovered and exposed. I congratulate you, however, upon your peace and agreement in pure doctrine; and I pray the Lord to maintain, protect, and enlarge the kingdom of Christ in your country, and to defend and preserve the queen and nobles of the realm. And may God give success to the affairs in France, according to the desire and judgment of the godly! The result, I see, will be the renovation of the whole world. Farewell.

H. ZANCHIUS.

LETTER XXXVIII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *July 31, 1562.*

THIS letter will inform you, my venerable and loving friend, that I have received yours written at Zurich on the 22nd of June last. And I thank you exceedingly, not only because you were disposed to write to me, but because you

condescend to inform me, both what news is now stirring amongst you, and also what, as far as you hear, will be the result. But as to the council of Trent¹, I cannot but think of it rather as a sign of some plot or conspiracy formed against the protestants, than of a synod of faithful catholics simply assembling together in the truth, for the purpose of eradicating, according to their power, such abuses as have crept into the church of Christ. And I am grieved not a little, when I hear that you who profess the gospel in Switzerland, are not able, either by your sound doctrine or your examples of godly life, to draw over your confederate fellow-soldiers to the religion of the gospel; and that they are still so opposed to your endeavours for the reformation of religion, as to cause apprehension that the matter will shortly proceed to a quarrel or open hostilities. With respect, however, to the state of things in France, and especially as to what is going on at Paris and Rouen², it is certain, as you say, that we can get as early information as those who live at Zurich; but we cannot positively ascertain, till after a long interval, the truth of what is doing in the upper provinces of France, as at Orleans and Lyons. We English, however, (God be thanked!) are still living in much peace and quietness. Nevertheless the queen appears to be considering the evils that may possibly be hanging over us, and is apprehensive lest any misfortune should arise to the realm by reason of negligence and inactivity; that is, lest any foreign prince (in the event of the disorders, which still exist in France, being settled,) should be stirred up by the Roman pontiff or any other foreign papists who adhere to him, to find some occasion of quarrel against her; when the real ground of offence would be, that the authority of her majesty, in the council of parliament, and by the consent of the whole realm, has done away with his usurped power, and the continuance of the superstitions, abuses, and idolatry which heretofore crept into the catholic church. The queen however has a great number both of soldiers and ships already prepared

[¹ The council of Trent was resumed Jan. 18, 1562, under Pius IV, who had succeeded Paul IV in 1559.]

[² Preparations were now making for the investment of Rouen, which city was garrisoned by the Huguenots, and taken by assault under the duke of Guise, on Oct. 26.]

for the defence of her kingdom, should it be necessary. My wife and children, thank God, are well. She thanks you for your remembrance of her in your letter, and heartily salutes you and your wife, whom I beg you also to salute in my name, as also master Lewis Lavater. Farewell, and take care of your health. London, July 31, 1562.

Yours,

RICHARD HILLES.

LETTER XXXIX.

HERMAN FOLKERZHEIMER¹ TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at SALISBURY, *Aug.* 13, 1562.

TELL me, my Josiah, what has come into your mind, that in your last letter you thought you had nothing worth writing about to one who is so exceedingly inquisitive about all your affairs as I am? What then? Must I remain ignorant what effect my poor letters produce, how my friends are going on, how my garden is flourishing, which, though then in idea and thought only, had however begun to be formed in rows? But yet I will nevertheless admit that you deserve some thanks, in spite of your short and inauspicious letter, because you did not, happily, omit to mention my father's health. As the bishop of Salisbury had given me a most friendly invitation to visit him, and I perceived that France was so disturbed by civil discord² that literary pursuits were altogether at a stand; having left Poitiers I proceeded to Rochelle, a port of France of some celebrity, and visited at my leisure, not without danger, the salt-works of Brouage³,

[¹ Moreri mentions one of this name who was of a noble family in East Friesland.]

[² Namely, by the wars which had broken out some months before between the Roman catholics and protestants.]

[³ Brouage is near a bay of the sea, 17 miles south of Rochelle.]

and other places in the neighbourhood. But having obtained tolerably fine weather, (for although the wind was by no means favourable, I did not shrink from a second trial,) I left Rochelle on the 29th of June⁴. Nothing was more irksome than the want of a companion to converse with; so that there came into my mind all at once rocks, tempests, shallows, pirates, a rascal of a captain, and in short every thing that might have befallen Arion of old. But I was in no fear that the God of hosts, who rules the sea, the winds and the tempests, and who had ever been my most faithful guide through the whole of my past life, would forsake me then, because he especially promises to protect those who go down to the sea. When therefore we were carried into the bay of Biscay, we kept such a continued course night and day, that although the storms were raging as usual, we only once cast anchor. When we had been tossed about in this manner for the space of eight days, the much wished for land began at last to appear in sight, and having left the isle of Wight on our right, we landed at Southampton. Here I heartily thanked God, and recruited myself, having become a good deal fatigued by my tossing about on the sea. Three days after, having fortunately procured a good horse, I arrived at Salisbury. When the bishop saw me, to the great surprise of his attendants, he hastened towards me as I was entering, and closely embracing me, Oh! my Herman, said he, you are welcome; you are come as a guest than whom I have received no one with greater pleasure of a long time. He then particularly inquired how Martyr, Julius, Bullinger, Josiah, Lavater, Zuinglius, and our other common friends were going on? whether all was well with them? I replied that I hoped so, but that I did not know for certain, as from having been resident in France in such uncertain and turbulent times, I had received no intelligence of your affairs either by letter or report. The remainder of our discourse was employed in conversation upon French mat-

[⁴ The Lat. has *tertio Cal. Sextil.* But this is evidently a mistake, as it appears by bishop Jewel's letter to Simler, in the first series, p. 120, that Folkerzheimer reached Salisbury on the 8th of July. And on the 20th, as appears from a subsequent part of this letter, he visited Stonehenge.]

ters. He assigned me two very accomplished young men, acquainted with the French language, for my companions, and they were to conduct me wherever I chose. We viewed the city, the churches, the little rivulets, one of which flows most delightfully through every street.

But although the whole of the city belongs to the bishop, his domestic arrangements delighted me more than any thing else. His palace, in the first place, is so spacious and magnificent, that even sovereigns may, and are wont to be suitably entertained there, whenever they come into these parts. Next, there is a most extensive garden, kept up with especial care, so that in the levelling, laying out, and variety, nothing seems to have been overlooked. A most limpid stream runs through the midst of it, which, though agreeable in itself, is rendered much more pleasant and delightful by the swans swimming upon it, and the abundance of fish, which (the bishop) is now causing to be inclosed in an iron lattice-work. After having most courteously saluted me on the following day, he turned to his attendants, and, "Let the horses," he said, "be saddled and bridled, and take this guest of mine a hunting." Accordingly having taken our dogs with us, when we arrived at the place where the game was wont to hide, we pursued two deer which we had discovered; both of which, before they were worn out with running, the dogs with incredible swiftness quickly came up with, and easily caught and brought them to the ground. There was, however, but little occasion for the halloo with which Xenophon sets on his dogs in hunting, *Well, well, well done dogs, well done*; for our dogs did their duty even without being set on. Do you ask whether we often go a hunting? The bishop indeed, I perceive, does not take much delight in this kind of amusement. What pleasure, says he, I pray you, can possibly be derived from pursuing with fierce dogs a timid animal, that attacks no one, and that is put to flight even by a noise? I should, however, tell an untruth, were I to say that I am not delighted with it. But yet, were I frequently to repeat the same thing, I think it would not afford me so much amusement. But although the bishop never goes out a hunting, and I very seldom, the dogs are by no means idle. The young men are required to provide a

supply of venison, that the table may always give proof of the activity of the dogs and the labours of the huntsmen.

But as I like to deal with you after our custom, the custom, I mean, of the most intimate companions, I shall allow myself this liberty of prating, and will not abstain even from the most minute details; though indeed you deserve from me nothing of the kind, who are so cautious as not to weary me either with joking or sober sense. See, my excellent Josiah, how my circumstances have changed in so short a time. When I left France in silence and in concealment, and in the greatest loneliness, I had nothing to relieve my weariness but one little book; every thing was so dirty and loathsome and disagreeable, that the ship would make one sick, even were it laid up on shore. The table was laid out, as Cicero¹ says, not with shell or other fish, but with a quantity of stinking meat. The same person was cook and steward. Piso had no baker at home, nor I from home: he got his bread and wine at a huckster's, and from a public house; but I, poor wretch, as soon as I had emptied my flask, could find no huckster from whom I could procure one, nor any public house, where they would draw one even the smallest quantity at the greatest cost; so that as soon as our wine had failed about the fifth day, we mixed vinegar and water, which to most of us, thirsty as we then were, did not seem very different from it. I reached a fortunate island when I arrived at Salisbury. Immortal powers! what a sudden change I experienced, what power of breathing freely after my long imprisonment! I am transplanted into the magnificent abode of a prosperous individual, with whom, as you know, I have long been on the most intimate and friendly terms. He, remembering our ancient intimacy, received me in such a manner, that he could not have received even his own brother more lovingly. He directed his attendants, most elegant young men of rank, and very different from our dirty crew of sailors, to order some wine to be brought. The butler forthwith makes his appearance, bearing a large golden goblet. And also, when dinner or supper time arrived, how can I describe to you the abundance or magnificence of the silver plate? Yet great as they are, they do not seem to afford much pleasure to their possessor,

[¹ See Cic. in Pisonem, 27.]

and appear to have been provided rather for his guests' sake than his own. But, without entering upon any further details, you will easily guess the nature of them, and judge of the difference between a ship and a palace. For my part, I am quite ready to allow those who choose to philosophize on the subject, to be of Xenophon's opinion, that domestic economy is nowhere better understood than on board a ship, and to require all heads of families to imitate their carefulness; provided only that I am at liberty to keep my own opinion.

On the 20th of July¹ we rode into the country with a large retinue, as the bishop said he would shew me some things that would astonish me. When I saw the cavalcade in the middle of the plain, Why, said I, is not Josiah a witness of this? or Bullinger, or indeed any Zuricher? for as to Peter Martyr, he is well acquainted with all your circumstances. I wish, he replied, those worthy men were here. But what do you think they are now doing? Perhaps, he said, they have finished their dinner, and I fancy that I see Martyr seated in his elbow chair. When we had gone on a little farther, he very kindly pointed out to me the whole character and bearing of the neighbourhood. There, says he, stretching out his arm, was formerly old Sarum; there are the mounds which you can distinguish even now, and there the ramparts. And then, in another place, Here was a camp of the ancient Romans², of which these are the vestiges that we see. At length we arrived at the place which Jewel had particularly wished me to visit, and respecting which I should hesitate to write what I have seen, unless I could confirm it by most approved witnesses; because it has generally been my custom, when I had ascertained anything to be true, which might at first sight appear incredible, rather to prefer not to mention it, than to describe it, lest I should be regarded as unworthy of credit. I beheld, in a very extensive plain, at a great distance from the sea, in a soil which appeared to have nothing in common with the nature of stones or rocks, I beheld, I say, stones of immense size, almost every one of which, if you should weigh them, would be heavier than

[¹ See above p. 85, note 4.]

[² The present remains are generally supposed to be Saxon.]

even your whole house. The stones are not heaped one upon another, nor even laid together, but are placed upright, in such a way that two of them support a third. Put forth now the powers of your understanding, and guess, if you are able, by what strength, or rather (for what could strength do in such a case?) by what mechanical power these stones have been brought together, set up, and raised on high? And then, for what object has this immense mass been erected? The bishop says, that he cannot see by what means even the united efforts of all the inhabitants could move a single stone out of its place. He is of opinion, however, that the Romans formerly erected them here as trophies, and that the very disposition of the stones bears some resemblance to a yoke.

But you will wish to know, with what studies I am so killing myself, as to make me seek after so many kinds of relaxation, and recreate myself so often. Believe me, hardly any of a serious nature. Since the time I left Paris, I have given a long holiday to my friends Euclid, Archimedes, and also Ptolemy, and have not once disturbed those grave philosophers. I have bestowed all my labour and industry, if I had any, upon jurisprudence. Meanwhile, however, when I now and then interposed a little history, I carefully noted such things as appertain to the geographical description of Arabia Felix; as, for instance, the localities of cities and rivers, promontories, bays, and fountains. But a description of the sea-coast might be looked for in Arrian, who took a survey of the Red sea and Persian gulph, because Arabia is included within these. At this present time, therefore, I am principally paying attention to histories, of which Jewel's excellent library affords me great abundance.

The affairs of France disturb me greatly. I implore the mercy of our good and gracious God, that putting away the remembrance of the grievous sins that we have committed, and pardoning them through his dear and only Son, he may regard his own glory and name. May he deign to be our guide and leader, and encompass our army not with wall, boundary, or ditch, but, as he has promised, with legions of angels! May the golden sceptre, which he has committed to the all-powerful hand of his Son, be at length brought forth, and break in pieces those vessels of pottery and

earthen-ware, and disperse them, as they deserve, like the dust, that they may not be able to find a resting place; but yet so that they may not obscure the praise and glory of his Christ, nor spread darkness over the splendor of his light!

Salute very much in my name your wife, my very dear and excellent father Peter Martyr, Julius, the Bullingers, Haller, Lavater, Zuinglius, Pellican, Gualter, Wolfius, Funckius, Gesner, to whom I wish you would say, that I have written to my brother about the seal-skin; and should he pay no attention to it, as he is newly married, you may promise that I will carefully attend to it myself. Farewell, my dearest Josiah. Farewell. August 13, 1562. Salisbury.

[HERMAN FOLKERZHEIMER.]

LETTER XL¹.

ROGER ASCHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at LONDON, *Oct.* 21, 1562.

MUCH health in Christ Jesus. As we are united together in the same zeal, opinion, disposition, and feeling, with respect to learning, religion, the commonwealth, and a mutual friendship, I often wish and desire that those who belong to us should in like manner be connected by some link and motive to cherish a like affection on their part. And therefore, as my wife has made me a father for the third time, about a week since, I have bestowed upon my little son, in perpetual remembrance of my friendship, the name of Sturmius² Ascham. I pray God, and shall daily continue to do so, that as he bears some resemblance of you in name, so he may likewise in your learning and virtue. I deliver him therefore to your fidelity as your own, and, as far as possible, commend him to

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved at Strasburgh.]

[² A letter of Sturmius in reply to this is printed in his epistles, wherein he says: Ego Sturmii Aschami propater esse volo, et ille mihi profilius non futurus est, sed est. Mittam ei imaginem meam; ut si moriar, antequam me videat, post me aliquid mei videat. Sturm. Ep. xvi.]

your protection, although he is not connected with you by relationship or nation, but by his very name and the wishes of his parents; so that, in case of my death, you may regard him with the same tenderness, benevolence, and affection, with which you have heretofore been always accustomed to regard his father. For respecting the probable shortness of my life I wrote very copiously with tears, and in far too mournful a strain, in that long letter³ of mine sent you last April by our friend Toxites. I am very anxious to know whether that letter has reached you. I wrote to you also by Henry Knolles⁴, who is at this time envoy of our most serene queen to the German princes. From him (for he is very much attached to you) you will very readily understand the whole state of our affairs in England. Her most serene majesty is fully determined and in every respect entirely prepared to destroy the power and tyranny of the Guises, to take arms for the safety of the youthful king⁵, and in defence of an inoffensive people⁶, without any way intending any wrong to that king or to that kingdom. On this very

[³ See above, Letter XXX.]

[⁴ "The last moneth (Sep. 1562) Mr Henry Knolles was sent into Almain with commission to join with Christopher Mount, and to solicit the prince's protestants both to aid the prince of Condé, and to consider how the common cause of religion might be defended against any common confederacy of the enemy." Sir W. Cecil to—. MS. Cotton. Vesp. c. vii. 224.]

[⁵ Namely, Charles IX. who was at this time about 12 years old. He ascended the throne Dec. 15, 1560, on the death of his brother Francis II. In the queen's declaration of the causes that induced her to take arms, it is expressly stated that her majesty meaneth not "in any her actions to prejudice the crown of France, nor to do any other thing but that which shall stand with the honour of God, the preservation of the French king both in his person and his rights, the safeguard of the prince [of Condé] and his company, with all other the king's true subjects, against the manifest cruelty of the Duke of Guise and his complices." Forbes, II. 73.]

[⁶ "Nothing is meant here on our part to make any invasion, but to enter quietly into these pieces (Newhaven and Dieppe) which by law of arms we may, considering we take none of them by force; and as long as the French shall give no other cause, it is meant to use no war towards them, but to allow of mutual traffic betwixt both the nations." Cecil, as above. The letter was probably addressed to Sir N. Throgmorton.]

day, I believe, our troops have entered Normandy¹, which you will sooner know by the report itself, than by this letter.

I wish, my Sturmius, that you would write a separate history of this Guisian conspiracy. Not but that I am well aware, as that friend of ours says upon a like occasion, by what a weight of important undertakings you are oppressed from day to day. But I am not less desirous of your reputation than of my own advantage. The subject is a noble one, and worthy of your learning, abilities, zeal for pure religion, love to that nation, affection for the cause itself, and indignation also against those who are the authors of such impious tyranny and atrocious cruelty. I have often read, and shall always remember, that remarkable passage in a letter of yours to Erasmus², your bishop of Strasburgh, in which you treat upon the proper method of writing history. When I consider the ability which that passage proves you to possess, I cannot tell you how greatly I despise all other writers, and earnestly pray Almighty God that you may sometime or other undertake such an employment. This desire of mine has been greatly modified by a report brought over here from Germany, that the German princes had assigned you the province of continuing with your pen what had been passed over by your friend John Sleidan. I have positively stated to our queen that this is the case; let me know, I pray you, whether it is so. I long to know about your Aristotle's Rhetoric, and your treatises, both that against

[¹ Part of the English army, under Sir Adrian Poynings, arrived at Newhaven in September: the earl of Warwick, who was commander in chief, did not arrive there till towards the end of October. In a letter to Cecil, dated from Dover Oct. 25th, he writes: "Once again upon very small occasion I went to sea on Friday at night, the wind coming then suddenly, after a little shower, to the north. Notwithstanding it continued not two hours before it came to the south again, yet we laboured all that night, and the next day so long, as we were past hope either to get Newhaven or Portsmouth, and therefore forced to return hither again, where I landed late yesternight, and so must tarry until it please Him to give leave, to whom the greatest princes in this case must obey; wherein, I trust, there shall be found no slackness on my behalf." Forbes, II. 142.]

[² Erasmus, bishop of Strasburgh, had been a pupil of Sturmius, whom he placed at the head of the college in that city. He was one of the bishops assembled at the council of Trent, and died in 1568. Moreri.]

Staphylus, and that upon the Lord's supper, as well as about your other studies and pursuits. Our friend Hales is in the country. I have written to him to-day. Cook is also in the country. Cecil nobly sustains the description given at the beginning of Horace's second epistle³, by his zeal, ability, prudence, and firmness, with great credit to himself, and advantage to our own countrymen, and, as I hope, for the welfare of other nations.

As to myself, I was never, thank God, in greater favour with our most serene queen, than I am at present. She reads something either in Greek or Latin with me every day. My wife salutes you and yours. Farewell in Christ. London, Oct. 21, 1562.

Your most attached,

R. ASCHAM.

LETTER XLI.

HERMAN FOLKERZHEIMER TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at LONDON, *March* 15, 1563.

THOUGH your account, my very dear Josiah, of the great productiveness of the grafts that I inserted, is very gratifying of itself, and I rejoice that I am able at least to be of some use in this humble science and art; yet your friendly exhortation that I should marry on this account, is far more agreeable. Influenced indeed by the bland invitation of nature herself, and by the opinion of both my parents, I do not feel a very great aversion to your advice. But men's constant and daily complaints about their wives, in which they accuse them of being the causes of every thing that is disagreeable, troublesome, and wearisome in life, may well be a warning even to the most favourably disposed, and divert him from

[³ Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes &c.

Hor. Ep. II. 1. 1.]

his purpose. Like M. Titurio therefore, who, when he had nothing to do, threw himself on the grass by way of recreation, and said, *I wish this were working*; so it comes into my mind, whenever I sail, or drive, or ride, to wish that this were managing one's household, and performing the duty of a good head of a family. Importuned as I have been by so many letters from my parents and friends, I should have returned home long since, had not the singular regard of the bishop of Salisbury towards me compelled me to ask for a longer leave of absence. And I am deriving this advantage from my being from home, that, seeing our house is frequented by men of the first rank, I am daily hearing their grave conversation, not, forsooth, about regulations respecting light¹, or laws about the eaves of houses, but about fortifications, tolls, safe conduct, the importation or exportation of merchandise, and other things of the like kind. But why, my Josiah, need I tell you any more of these things? Two most honourable and excellent men, the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, are contending with each other in their regard and love for me. The bishop of Worcester has lately presented me with a beautiful and valuable horse, and most lovingly invites me to visit him as soon as I can.

I have resolved not to write any thing about master Peter Martyr, for this reason, that I am so affected by the loss of that man, that it seems very difficult to me to make mention of him either in conversation or even by letter without tears. Oh! that 5th of February, when, with our horses tired out as well as ourselves, we hastened up to London to the meeting of parliament! Oh! how sad, how mournful did that day prove to us, which announced the death, or rather the removal and departure, but yet too long, of so great a man²! But there are many things which may afford us comfort, and diminish our grief and lamentation. And among the rest, if the death of those persons is glorious, and by no means to be deplored, who, as one³ says, have either performed actions

[¹ *Servitutes luminum*. This means, in the Roman law, the duty of a man to allow his neighbour to make openings in his premises, as in a common wall, for instance, to get light. See Cic. de Orat. i. 38.]

[² Peter Martyr died Nov. 12, 1562.]

[³ Pliny. Quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda.]

worthy of being written, or written things worthy of being performed; we certainly do not regard with sufficient gratitude the exertions and studies of master Martyr, by which he attained unto both of these excellencies, if we continue to bewail his death with so much grief and anxiety, as though he had departed before his time. These and the like topics may be better imagined than described by us both, although more fully by yourself.

I am wonderfully taken, as you have before learned from my letter, with the pursuit of history and antiquity, but yet so as by no means to forsake those studies which you know I have followed for some years. During the last months, for the sake of improvement, I have translated into Latin, in as fitting and appropriate language as I could, Flavius Arrian's Periplus of the Red sea and the Euxine. And because it was somewhat obscure, I think I have thrown some light upon it by commentaries, that is, passages taken from the ancient annals and writings of geographers. I have moreover described the Red sea, the Persian gulph, that of Cambay, the bay of Bengal, with the inland parts of Arabia, Persia, and hither India as far as the Ganges. I followed in this, first of all, the measurement of Ptolemy, and then those which are so laid down by other geographers and by history, as to be capable of being reduced to a careful and accurate determination of longitude and latitude. Farewell, my dear friend, and commend with me to our God the affairs of France. Salute, I pray you, your wife, also the Bullingers, father and sons, Lavater, Gesner, Julius, Pellican, Zuinglius, Haller, Funckius, Gualter, Guldebeckius, the Collins's, and all who know me. Farewell. London, March 15, 1563. Pardon this haste, my Josiah, I pray you, and, if you think proper, salute M. M.

LETTER XLII¹.

BISHOP GRINDAL TO JOHN CALVIN.

Dated at LONDON, *June 19, 1563.*

WE are much indebted, most illustrious master Calvin, to your piety, and also to your whole church, for having so long afforded us the services of the most learned master Gallasius²; who has not only left to his successor, master Cousins, in a state of quietness and good order, the church which he found at his coming in a most disturbed condition, but has also by his advice and prudence been of great use both to myself and our churches. I should not indeed have willingly let him go, had he not had a better reason for leaving us than we could wish. Our climate, it seems, does not agree with his constitution, and has greatly injured his health, besides depriving him of a beloved wife, (to say nothing of his children;) so that him whom we now send back as an invalid, there would be reason to fear, if he remained among us another winter, that we should not send back at all. It was therefore of the first importance for him to return to his native air for the recovery of his health: and we desire nothing more earnestly than that you may, each of you, be enabled freely to preach the gospel in your common country. Although, in the present state of things, partly through the delay or rather tardiness of some parties, and partly through the over hasty conduct of others, (to use no severer term,) there seems but little hope of this; yet I doubt not but that God himself, by means unknown to us, that we may not glory in men, will bring the whole matter to a happy issue. I grieve from my heart that at your age, and with so slender a frame, you have been attacked, as Gallasius informs me, with a fit of the gout. I have no doubt but that you have contracted

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved at Geneva.]

[² See above, Letter XXI. p. 49. Gallasius became, in 1564, minister of the church at Orleans; and published, in 1570, at Geneva, an edition of Irenæus.]

this disorder by excessive study and exertion. Henceforth therefore, you must relax somewhat of your former labours and unseasonable lucubrations, lest, by not sparing yourself, you greatly increase your disease, and become of less benefit to the church. Think of Nazianzene, who, because he did not, when advanced in years, relax at all from that austerity which he practised in early life, was almost constantly obliged to keep his bed, and on that account was rendered less useful to the church. As you and Bullinger are almost the only chief pillars remaining, we desire to enjoy you both (if it please God) as long as possible. I purposely omit mention of Brentius³, who, having undertaken the advocacy of the very worst of causes, seems no longer to acknowledge us as brethren.

Master Gallasius, who brings you this letter, can give you the best information of the state of our kingdom and church; so that I have at this time no occasion to write upon these subjects. Salute, I pray you, in my name, master Beza and your other colleagues; as also master Antony⁴ the professor of Hebrew. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve your piety in safety to us and to his church! London, June 19, 1563.

Your most devoted in the Lord,

EDMUND GRINDAL,

Bishop of London.

[³ See first series, p. 108, note 1.]

[⁴ Antony Rodolph Chevalier was a learned French protestant, and teacher of that language to the princess Elizabeth. On the death of Edward VI. he retired into Germany, and was made Hebrew professor at Strasburgh. He succeeded Tremellius (whose daughter-in-law he married) as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge in 1569, upon the recommendation of archbishop Parker; and was also appointed to a prebend at Canterbury. He died in Guernsey in 1572.]

LETTER XLIII.

HIEROME ZANCHIUS¹ TO BISHOP GRINDAL.

Dated at [STRASBURGH, before *Aug.* 23, 1563.]

EXCUSE my delay, honoured sir; for I have but lately returned from the borders of Italy, and have found an almost infinite number of letters, to which I must necessarily reply. You desire to know how our dispute is settled. I will tell you in few words. Our senators, as I hear and see, had determined from the very first so to conduct themselves in this controversy of ours, that the honour of each party should remain as far as possible inviolate; and this for the sake of the office, both of the preachers in the church, and mine in the school. Although therefore during those two years in which the cause was being pleaded before the senate, they were well aware, both from the reading of the charges, the writings of each party, and the opinions of many churches and universities respecting my theses², that the action brought against me by my adversaries was most unjust, and that my doctrine, which had been charged with and condemned for both novelty and heresy, was neither novel nor heretical; they nevertheless refused to decide upon the case, or at least, to permit it to be decided by a disputation; but having sent for four divines³ and some canonists, partly from Tubingen, partly from Deux-Ponts, partly from Basle, they resolved that the dispute should be settled by these parties. They, in the presence of four senators, read over the pleadings and

[1 See above, Letter XXXVII. note 1. Grindal's reply to this letter is printed in his Remains, published by the Parker Society, p. 276.]

[2 These theses contained the declaration of Zanchy's faith concerning predestination, final perseverance, and the Lord's supper.]

[3 These divines were, James Andreas from Tubingen; Cuman Flinsbach from Deux-Ponts; Simon Sultzer and Ulric Coccius from Basle. See *Henr. Altng, Hist. Eccles. Palatinæ*, p. 298. Ed. 1644.]

writings upon each side; they clearly perceived that great injustice had been done both to myself and to the truth; they reported to the senate their opinion both of the writings and pleadings. Here master Peter Sturmius, the head schoolmaster, said before them all, "What now then becomes of the numerous and grievous heresies which were objected to Zanchius?"

They then made proposals separately to each party to come to an agreement. When the referees came to me, they first of all stated in express terms that the opposite party held the same opinion with myself concerning the predestination of the saints; for that they approved the doctrine of Augustine, Luther and Bucer; and by these three, next to the scriptures, I had most copiously confirmed the whole of what I teach in my lectures and expositions. There only now remained some difference of opinion respecting the Lord's supper. Although therefore they had read my confession respecting the supper, yet they were nevertheless anxious to hear more clearly from myself what I thought about the real presence of Christ therein: for in my confession I had offered no opinion upon the subject, but had only discussed three principal heads; first, that not only the symbols were received, but also the thing itself, the real body of Christ, and his real blood, that is, Christ himself; secondly, that each was eaten and drunk, not with the mouth of the body but of the spirit, namely, by faith; thirdly, and this only by the faithful. To this I answered, that I was unwilling to dispute upon this question, because I could not find a single positive declaration in the scriptures respecting the presence of Christ in the supper; but nevertheless, that they might not think that I shrunk from the subject, and dared not explain my opinion upon this question, I would tell them my sentiments. First, that I can in no wise admit that the body of Christ in the supper is present with our bodies: for that a thing is said to be present with any one, when in some way or other it communicates itself to that with which it is said to be present, and is perceived by it; but that a thing is said to be absent, which in no wise communicates itself to, or is perceived by, that from which it is said to be absent; whether that object, in regard to local distance or

nearness, be at a less or greater interval. Sultzer¹ was walking up and down the room, while James Andreas² was sitting down and conversing with me upon the supper. I brought forward therefore an illustration taken from themselves, in these words: "You, master arbitrators, are said to be, and really are, present with me, that is, with my body, because you communicate yourselves to me and to my senses, and are perceived by me, while I see you with my eyes, and hear you with my ears; and master Sultzer, who is walking up and down, is as much present with me as the rest of you who are sitting; although as respects local distance or nearness he is farther from me than you are, and you are nearer than he. But those who are out of doors, beyond this chamber (for there were some of the servants of these gentlemen outside) are said to be absent, because I neither hear nor see them, nor perceive them by any bodily sense. But it is manifest, that the true and substantial body of Christ is not communicated to my body in the supper; for I do not perceive it by any of my bodily senses, as I neither see it with my eyes, nor hear it with my ears, nor smell it with my nostrils, nor touch it with my hands, nor taste it with my palate. I cannot therefore by any means admit that the body of Christ is present with our bodies in the supper. But that the same true and substantial body of Christ is present with my mind in the supper, where it is most efficacious, I cannot deny; since it is beyond dispute, that it is really communicated to the minds of the faithful, and is really perceived by them: for it is seen by the eye of the believing mind, or the inner man, and is taken by the hand, and eaten by the mouth of the same; and is in such wise eaten that we feel its virtue and salutary effects in ourselves. I cannot therefore deny in the abstract the real

[1 Simon Sultzer was a native of Interlaken. He studied under Bucer, Capito, and Grynaeus, and became professor of Greek at Berne in 1533.]

[2 James Andreas was professor of divinity at Tubingen, and one of the chief of those divines employed in 1569 by the special command of the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick, in composing a form of doctrine in which might be decided all the controversies that divided the church.]

and substantial presence, that is, the presence of the real and substantial body of Christ in the supper, but in that sense in which I have explained it."

Here James Andreas exclaims with astonishment, "Truly then you hold the same opinion as we do." "You have heard, Sirs," I said, "my opinion. If it is also yours, I rejoice for myself, and congratulate you and the church." "Now," says he, "I see why you have brought so many arguments (namely in my confession) against our statement that 'the body of Christ is also eaten with the bodily mouth,' because you suppose that we hold the body of Christ to be eaten with the mouth of our body, as if the body of Christ were in contact with our mouth and body." "Just so," I replied: "I supposed from your writings that such was your opinion." "By no means," said he, "by no means do we entertain this view, but only express ourselves in this way by reason of the sacramental union." I then said, "If these are your sentiments, I do not find fault with that expression; for I also admit, that on account of the sacramental union there is attributed to the body of Christ what is the property of bread, and on the other hand, to bread, what belongs to the body of Christ." "But what," says he, "do you think of the eating of the unworthy?" "If by this term," I answered, "you mean men who are clearly ungodly, and destitute of true faith, I cannot admit that the body of Christ is eaten by such persons. But if you mean such persons as are endued with faith, albeit a weak one, and of a more relaxed life than is becoming to a Christian, I do not deny it; for such were those Corinthians who, because they had eaten the body of the Lord unworthily, St Paul says, were judged, that is, were 'chastened³ of the Lord, that they should not be condemned with the world.'" We could not therefore agree about this article. "But I have no doubt," he said, "that if you will more diligently examine this article, you will come over to our sentiments." "I have already," I replied, "examined it with sufficient attention, and am unable to think otherwise than as I do." "Well," says he, "we have said enough upon the supper. We thank God that in this article respecting the supper there is no great difference among you, since you admit on

[³ See 1 Cor. xi. 32.]

both sides a real and substantial presence." And thus we ended.

They then produced some articles about predestination, and gave them to both parties for their inspection. But they gave them me to read over in such haste, that they would not allow them to remain with me even a single night. At last, when they perceived that I would not subscribe to them, unless they were carefully examined by me at home, they let me have them; but upon condition of my neither copying them nor allowing them to be copied. They added to them, that they might at least determine something respecting the Lord's supper in general, the Confession of Augsburg, and the articles of concord¹ between Luther and Bucer. In the articles upon predestination I discovered nothing openly impious, and which could not be admitted with a good conscience; as master Calvin afterwards wrote both to me and to our pastor. I perceived only that they were so artfully framed, as to make it evident that the arbitrators were more desirous that the controverted articles should be buried in a certain darkness spread over them, than that the truth should be unfolded in open day. This was one reason among others why I for a long time, that is, almost to the last, refused to subscribe. At length when I perceived that it rested with myself alone, whether on the termination of this serious dispute (which was not confined to one or two, but extended to all the ministers on one side, and all the professors on the other) peace and harmony should be restored; and when I saw that I could subscribe with a safe conscience, especially with a protest being premised, I consented. When therefore I came to the place where our senators and the commissioners were, together with all the professors and some others, after returning my thanks to the parties to whom they were due, I said that I would subscribe, but with this protest premised: first, that I would not that any prejudice should arise through this subscription of mine to other churches, colleges, and the truth; next, that I would not allow any thing derogatory to that doctrine which I have taught here at Strasburgh these eight years, and which is contained in my lectures, disputations, and confessions; lastly, that I might be allowed

[¹ This was called the concord of Wittenberg, and took place in the year 1536.]

to explain the Confession of Augsburg, the apology², and articles of concord, as well as these present articles, according to the rule of God's word, the doctrine of Augustine, Luther, and Bucer. I then conditionally subscribed in these words: *This form of doctrine I both acknowledge as godly, and receive it as such.* H. Zanchius. The next day, all wrongs having been forgiven, were joined the right hands of fellowship and brotherly love. Thus was our disagreement settled, without any derogation from the truth of doctrine.

Meanwhile, however, there are not wanting those who blame the act: but such persons do not consider what that passage means, "Christ pleased not himself;" nor do they reflect upon the serious evils occasioned by dissensions. Why, for the sake of peace among so many, both ministers and professors of the same city, should I not subscribe to the Confession of Augsburg, and its apology, especially in the way I did, both my interpretation and also protest being allowed by the commissioners? They are offended at those words in the apology, "that the body of Christ is really and substantially present in the Lord's supper." But I explained upon what understanding they might be admitted, and how that may be said to be really and substantially present, which is really and substantially partaken of. When the sun is above our hemisphere, and communicates its real and substantial body to be seen by us, and by means of that body its heat and light to be partaken of, may we not say with propriety that the sun is really and substantially present? So likewise on the other hand, when having removed to the other hemisphere, because he no longer communicates himself to be seen and partaken of by us, we say he is absent: when yet, in regard to local distance or propinquity, he is as far from us when above ours, as when he is above the other hemisphere. What therefore is to prevent our saying, that Christ's body is really and substantially present to those to whom he really and substantially communicates himself?

But, say they, other persons do not so understand and

[² John Faber, Eckius, and Cochläus, drew up a confutation of the Augsburg Confession; upon which Melancthon published, in 1531, the apology for it here mentioned, and which constitutes a part of the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. See Mosheim, Ed. Soames. iii. 148.]

interpret as you do. But I did not subscribe to the interpretations of others, but only to the words of the Augsburg Confession, and that according to the sense which I acknowledge to be a godly one; and my interpretation was allowed. Calvin certainly thinks differently, and I respect his opinion far more than that of many others; for he truly has the Spirit of God, and looks more to the edification of the churches, than to a certain vainglorious pertinacity in our phrases, expressions, and syllables. He writes to our pastor, that he does not approve of persons simply refusing to subscribe; and recommends their subscribing, provided only exceptions be given in and allowed: and he advises me by letter to make an attestation before the magistrate, that I have been induced to subscribe from an earnest desire of peace, but with those exceptions, and that I now profess and confirm the same. If there had been any hope of obtaining a discussion in which the truth would have openly triumphed, or of a definitive decision, as they call it, being pronounced respecting the whole controversy, or of settling the dispute in any other better way, I never would have subscribed. But as I can hope for none of these things, what, I ask, could I have done? I believe that with your piety and prudence you would have acted just as I did. If I am mistaken, pardon this my opinion of your piety, and pardon likewise, I entreat you, I no longer call it my brevity, but my too great prolixity; and farewell, and retain me in the number of your friends. I salute my four noble gossips¹, masters Wroth, Cook, Knolles, and Heton; and I wish you would communicate to them and to other learned men this my compromise, and candidly write me word what both you and they think of it. May the Lord Jesus evermore guide and protect you by his Spirit!

[H. ZANCHIUS.]

[¹ *Compatres*, godfathers to his children. The word *gossip* is from the Anglo-Saxon, *God* and *sib* (*affinity*), and is thus defined by Becon (Acts of Christ and Antichrist), Vol. III. p. 532. "Christian gossips, that is to say, those men and women that have been godfathers and godmothers together of one child at baptism."]

LETTER XLIV

HERMAN FOLKERZHEIMER TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at EMBDEN, *Aug. 21, 1563.*

It has happened, Josiah, contrary to all my expectation, and, I fear, to your duty likewise, that I have received no letter from you at the last Frankfort fair. And, in truth, I was exceedingly grieved at the loss of the delightful, and indeed the only enjoyment of our great intimacy, which in the privation of personal intercourse was to be derived from our correspondence. Although those noble and excellent persons² earnestly desired to retain me longer with them in England, yet induced by the letters of my friends, and the desire of seeing them, I preferred returning to my country. As soon, therefore, as I had received the horse which the bishop of Worcester had presented me with, and had obtained from Robert³, the master of the horse, a licence for its exportation, I began to think about my voyage. When the vessel was left on shore at the turn of the tide, we hoisted up the horse, fastened with three ropes round his belly, in such a way that he could be lowered and got aboard. We had intended to sail direct for Belgium; but when we had proceeded about five miles, we were thrown, against our will, by a west wind upon the coast of France. After having somewhat recruited my horse, half dead with hunger, as his rider was with seasickness, I immediately betook myself with much satisfaction to the Belgian frontier. The principal towns on our journey were Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Bruges, Ghent; and then in Brabant, Brussels, Louvaine, Mechlin, and Antwerp; lastly, in Guelderland, leaving Holland on the left, Hoogstraet, Nimeguen, Arnheim and Deventer. At Groningen I met my brother Ulric with his wife and little boy, to our great

[² Namely, Bishops Jewel and Sandys. See above, Letter XLI. p. 94.]

[³ Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester.]

delight on both sides. Having staid with him a week, I set off for Embden. Many things have happened in the course of my life which have afforded me very great pleasure; but, immortal powers! what can be compared to that greeting and those embraces of my parents, sisters, and brothers? I do not now feel so much surprised at the great longing of Ulysses, whose home, and wife, and children were so dear to him, that if he could but see the smoke¹ of his country, he would despise immortality. I can never be sufficiently and duly thankful to our good and gracious God, for having so abundantly granted those things which I am often wont to pray for.

The kings of Denmark and Sweden² are making preparation for a most destructive war. Duke Eric³ of Brunswick has gone over to the king of Denmark with a large body of troops. The Dane is said to excel in infantry and cavalry, and the Swede in his navy. There has been more than once a most severe engagement by sea. The king of Denmark, it is thought, will not be able to do any thing in Sweden, even with superior forces, by reason of the number of rivers and lakes, by which, as the bridges are everywhere broken down and cut off, all access is shut out; so that they must necessarily wait for the winter to freeze over the rivers and open a passage.

You have a person with you, by the name of Egbert Brassius, the son of a worthy and excellent preacher. If you will aid him with your advice and assistance in the prosecution of his studies, and notice the young man, who is a great lover of piety and learning, you will do nothing inconsistent with that reputation for kindness that Josiah already possesses. You had intended to come to us, together with Froschover, and pass over from hence to England; and my brother and other friends, as well as myself, earnestly beg and pray you to do so. And this, I hope, will take place during my stay at home; for I am thinking of going into Italy. Farewell, my Josiah, and salute warmly and

[¹ See Hom. Od. i. 57, &c.]

[² Namely Frederick II., and Eric XIV. The occasion of this war was the voluntary submission of Esthonia to Sweden in 1561.]

[³ Eric, son of Eric, duke of Hanover, and grandson of William, duke of Brunswick.]

respectfully in my name your wife, together with the lady your neighbour⁴, the Bullingers, Gualter, Zuinglius, Lavater, John Frisius, Haller, Julius, Pellican, Guldebeckius, the Collins's, Funckius, Wolfius, Bibliander, and all our other common friends. Embden, Aug. 21, 1563. Salute too my young countryman Defholdius together with his tutor.

[H. FOLKERZHEIMER.]

LETTER XLV⁵.

BISHOP GRINDAL TO CONRAD HUBERT.

Dated at FULHAM, *Aug.* 23, 1563.

GREETING. Dithelm⁶ Blaurer, who at your advice and persuasion came over to me in England, is now returning home at the summons of his father. I could not therefore allow one who had been recommended to me by a letter from you, to return to you without a letter from me. And it is also just that I should give such testimony as he deserves, of his pious and sober conduct during his residence in my family. His assistance has been of use to me in many respects, and would have been much more so, had not the infinite engagements connected with my office distracted me in various ways. But that you may know upon what terms I have dismissed him, I have paid him, upon leaving me, the whole quarter's salary, which would have been due next Michaelmas, viz. four French crowns, together with four pounds of our money for the expenses of his journey, making thirteen French crowns and a little over. I have given him too some little presents in addition. My only motive in writing this is that you may know the plain truth of the case. I have also paid Abel, for the expenses of Dithelm

[⁴ This may perhaps serve to explain the last sentence in Letter XLI.]

[⁵ The original of this letter is preserved in the archives of St Thomas, at Strasburgh.]

[⁶ See above, Letter XII. p. 28.]

when he first came over from Germany, more than fourteen crowns, because, as it was winter, they were forced by contrary winds to wait somewhat longer on the coast of Flanders.

I hear your disputes are now settled. God grant that the peace may be solid, and sincere, and without disguise! I have no doubt of it on your part. I fear lest the other party may some time or other raise a fresh disturbance. But I heartily congratulate you, my very dear master Conrad, on your pious respect for our common instructor, master Bucer of happy memory, whose reputation you have hitherto defended with so much firmness. I wish you every blessing in the Lord. From my country house at Fulham on the banks of the Thames, Aug. 23, 1563.

Yours in Christ,

EDM. GRINDAL,

Bishop of London.

LETTER¹ XLV*.

JOHN ABEL TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, Aug. 24, 1563.

PRAISE to God. My friendly greeting and willing service to you, dear master and friend. I sent my last letter to Strasburgh fair, in which I wrote you word that I had received your letter, together with some books, and that I had forwarded the same to master Horn, bishop of Winchester, who has sent me word in return that he intends to send you a letter together with some money, which I have not yet received; but as soon as he sends it, I will forward it to you immediately. He has written me word likewise, that he means to send two crowns for the housekeeper at Zurich who waited at the English house² there, and was

[¹ This letter was originally written in *German*, and is thus numbered to preserve the continuity of the series translated from the Latin originals.]

[² This house belonged to Froschover. See first series, Letter LXI. p. 136.]

called the English servant. Master Pilkington too, who is now bishop of Durham, has given me a crown for the said housekeeper, which I send you herewith, and pray you to give it her. I have done my best for her, and spoken with other bishops on her behalf; for John Burcher has both spoken and written to me respecting some relief for her, and says that she is a pious poor woman, and faithfully waited upon the English at Zurich. John Burcher is now become a clergyman in the country not far from London, where he preaches the word of God faithfully, and is much beloved, and does much good. His wife has been delivered of a little girl, and is also well and hearty.

I have not much news to send you. Our Lord God is very angry with us for our ingratitude; for his holy word is daily preached here among us, and we have not loved nor followed the same, nor commended it by our lives: wherefore he has this last year sent a great dearth among us, and now he has sent such a plague³ and pestilence among us, that in the city which our English took last year in Normandy, some thousands have died so wonderfully by reason of the plague, that our people have quitted the said town, and are returned from thence with all their goods and artillery and arms, &c., by which means the plague is so rife in London, that there are dying by the pestilence five or six hundred a week: and there is reason to fear that if our Lord should not have compassion upon us, it will become yet more prevalent, for it has only just begun. God give us his grace and holy Spirit that we may amend our lives, that his holy name may be praised and magnified thereby; and then will he take away this plague. His holy will be done from henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

I have nothing else to write to you about at this time; but I pray you to salute from me your dear wife, together with both your sons and their wives, as also master Gualter and his dear wife, with John Henry Smith⁴, and all my other acquaintance. The grace of God be with you all, and preserve you from all evil. Amen.

JOHN ABEL. England.

[³ See first series, Letter LIX. p. 132.]

[⁴ Namely, John Henry Fabricius mentioned above, p. 53, &c.]

LETTER XLVI.

HIEROME ZANCHIUS TO BISHOP GRINDAL.

Dated from the mountains near CHIAVENNA, *August 1564.*

I SEND you, reverend prelate, my judgment respecting the controversy of the churches about the supper of the Lord, which for certain reasons I have dedicated to my friend master Knolles. I did not indeed write it with a view to its being published, as you may yourself conjecture, both from its brevity and style; but since my friends, and Sturmius among the rest, so highly approved it, as to compel me to publish it, I chose rather by my compliance to appear to my friends wanting in talent, than ungrateful to the churches by my refusal. You will therefore receive this copy as a testimony of my respect. I hope to send you better and more copious tidings very soon. As the Lord had heretofore visited you with the pestilence¹, so he has

[¹ Zanchius left Strasburgh in November 1563, and entered on his pastoral charge at Chiavenna in the January following; shortly after which the town was visited by a pestilence, which in seven months carried off twelve hundred of the inhabitants. "When the plague," he says, "actually began to make havock, I enforced repentance and faith, while I had a place to preach in, or any congregation to hear. Many being dead, and others having fled the town (like shipwrecked mariners, who, to avoid instant destruction make towards what coast they can), but very few remained; and of these remaining few, some were almost terrified to death, others were solely employed in taking care of the sick, and others in guarding the walls. They concurred in advising me to consult my own safety by withdrawing for a time, till the indignation should be overpast. I betook myself therefore, with all my family, to a high mountain, not a great way from the town, yet remote from human converse, and peculiarly formed for contemplation and unmolested retirement. Here we led a solitary life for three months and a half. I devoted my time chiefly to meditation and writing, to prayer, and reading the scriptures. I never was happier in my own soul, nor enjoyed a better share of health." Zanch. Op.]

this year visited us, that is, my church at Chiavenna. I call it *my* church, that you may know that I am no longer professor at Strasburgh, but am minister at Chiavenna on the borders of Italy, and which is so called, as being the key² of the passage from Italy to Germany, and vice versa. You will learn from a book which I will shortly send you, the reason³ of my at length leaving Strasburgh.

You know why that worthy Martyr⁴ of pious memory could no longer remain at Strasburgh; and therefore he removed to Zurich. Besides that being under bondage to man I had also other important reasons. And the French church that was at Strasburgh was dispersed by the same cause that occasioned my departure. Those good people are no longer satisfied that their professors or ministers should subscribe to the Confession⁵ of Augsburg; but they require also that in every particular, both as to the understanding of that confession, and the interpretation of scripture, they should be of the same mind with their preachers without any disagreement whatever. You know the author of this: may the Lord have pity upon that city! I did everything to retain my professorship, and for this sole reason, that I might at least preserve in the schools the ancient doctrine of that church, and which I know is the christian one. But what can you do, when the Lord sees fit to punish any people by reason of their iniquities?

[² Zanchius considers the Latin name *Clavenna* to be derived from *clavis*.]

[³ The immediate occasion of Zanchy's leaving Strasburgh was the controversy with Heshusius, the publication of whose book, concerning the eucharist and in defence of consubstantiation, Zanchy had endeavoured to prevent.]

[⁴ The enemies of Peter Martyr affirmed, that in the doctrine of the Lord's supper he was gone from the opinion of the Confession of Augsburg, and that therefore it was to be feared he would make some troubles in the church. And though the senate was satisfied with his vindication of himself, yet because he saw that this controversy of the sacrament was daily stirred up with more bitterness of mind, he rejoiced that there was an occasion offered (by his being invited by the senate of Zurich to succeed Conrad Pellican) whereby he might rid himself from these troubles. See his life by Simler, at the end of his *Common-Places*.]

[⁵ See above, p. 15, note 1.]

I commend to you that affair of my relative Laurence Limacius. Farewell, my excellent father, and singular good friend. In the month of August, 1564. From the mountains near Chiavenna.

H. ZANCHIUS.

LETTER XLVII.

HIEROME ZANCHIUS TO HENRY KNOLLES.

Dated from [the mountains near CHIAVENNA. *August 1564.*]

MY judgment respecting the controversy of the churches upon the Lord's supper, which, most honoured gossip¹, I have dedicated to yourself, to the end that it may be a public and at the same time a perpetual testimony of my gratitude towards you, I had given to that most excellent and most careful, and I may add too, most learned printer John Oporinus², to be printed in fair type. But since, as I perceive, he was unable to procure from the censors a licence to print this book, the reason of which I leave you to guess, he transferred it to a printer at Mulhausen. This person,

[¹ *Lat. Compater.* Sir H. Knolles was sponsor to Zanchy's daughter. The dedication here alluded to is a long one, and chiefly refers to the subject of the treatise. The last sentence is as follows: *Te igitur, humanissime ac generose Knolle, sicut cum hic esses apud vos initio hujus anni, post tuam ad conventum electorum nuper Francofurti pro electore regis Romanorum habitum nomine vestræ reginæ susceptam legationem, delegi mihi in filiæ meæ Læliæ Constantiæ compatrem; tuque ita lubenti animo eam e sancto fonte in tuam profiliam suscepisti, ut ei etiam honorificum δέπας ἀργυροῦν tuæ fidei testimonium donaris, ita in protectorem hujus mei quasi novi filioli eligere decrevi, persuasus te illius protectionem nullo modo recusaturum.]*

[² John Oporinus, or Hcrbst, was a celebrated printer at Basle. Foxe the martyrologist was employed by him as a corrector of the press. Strype, Cranmer, 514. An account of his life is given in Moreri, and by Andrew Lociscus, *Orat. de vita et obitu Oporini.*]

either through carelessness or want of skill, sent it forth full of errors, which displeased me exceedingly; so that I have been obliged to correct with the pen whatever copies I had in my possession. I send you therefore a corrected copy, and entreat you to take in good part these few pages: I should have sent some more copies to my other friends, if I could have met with any one to be the bearer of them.

As to other matters, we are all, by the blessing of God, in good health, and your little god-daughter, who is now weaned, prattles, runs about, and plays the monkey. You have, I suppose, heard ere this from others about my having left Strasburgh; but you are not, perhaps, at all aware of the reason. It was the same, to tell you in one word, on account of which also the excellent Peter Martyr³ of pious memory long since departed to Zurich; namely, a bondage to men quite unworthy of a Christian, and much more of a divine. When therefore I perceived that it was no longer permitted me to teach with freedom, nor to defend that doctrine which, drawn as it was from the fountain of holy scripture, those most learned men, Bucer, Capito, Martyr, and Calvin, had held forth to their audience in that very school many years before me, yea, and which I also had for nine years taught there in my lectures, and defended in public disputations; I resigned my former situation, and accepted another, namely, the ministry of the church at Chiavenna. But the Lord has wonderfully afflicted my church, yea, the whole town, with a pestilence, which has destroyed two thirds of it, one third only being left, as we read also in Zechariah⁴. But this pestilence is not only raging here, but also in many

[³ Peter Martyr left Strasburgh in 1556, in consequence of the attacks made upon him by his adversaries for supposed heterodoxy concerning the nature of the Lord's supper. "For both by letters, and by their readings and sermons they so gall him, as there wanted nothing to the accusing of Martyr but the naming of him; yea, and one of the students made an oration openly in the school touching the eucharist, made to this end, that he might of set purpose condemn Martyr and his doctrine. Wherefore since he perceived that his adversaries did daily make more open war against him, and that they did by name reprove him in their books, as also Sleidan in his history maketh mention, he began to deliberate with himself of his departure." See his life by Simler, at the end of his *Common Places*.]

[⁴ See Zech. xiii. 8.]

other places, both in Germany, as at Basle, and in France, as at Lyons. May the Lord have mercy upon us all! Italy is free from this evil, but is labouring under a dearth of provision. Your gossip¹ sends her best respects. I beg you to salute my friends, and especially [Sir Thomas] Wroth, [Sir Antony] Cook, and also Heton, my gossips. Farewell.

[H. ZANCHIUS.]

LETTER XLVIII.

RICHARD MASTERS TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *March 4, 1565.*

SINCE I last wrote to you, very reverend sir, I have received from you three letters abounding in the expressions of your regard towards me; for my not having sooner replied to which I will neither plead in excuse the business in which I was then engaged, nor forgetfulness of you, nor any thing else, except the plague, which was so long raging among us, that the court² has been a long time, and at a great distance, absent from London; whither having, by the blessing of God, returned in safety, I have determined to send you this letter. I have received your discourses on the minor prophets by the hands of my friend and fellow-citizen, John Abel; and I understand that they are so esteemed by all learned and godly persons, that there is scarce a single individual at this time in all Europe, who in their opinion can equal or excel you in the interpretation of the sacred writings: and they are anxiously expecting the remaining discourses which you have promised on St John. I have also stated to those who are in chief authority among us, with how great

[1 Lat. *Commater*. See before, p. 104.]

[2 See first series, Letter LIX. p. 132. On October 2, 1563, parliament was prorogued in consequence of the plague, unto October 5, 1564. D'Ewes, Journals, p. 91.]

affection you regard us and our government, when you write that you have, for our sake and that of true religion, so anxiously exerted yourself with those parties who were so exceedingly active in bringing about a treaty between you and the French³.

The Guisian party in France is getting weaker and weaker every day, so much so, that the cardinal of Lorraine⁴, together with his nephew the duke of Guise, were very near being killed the other day from an attack at Paris in the public street by Montmorenci the governor of the city, (the marshal, as they call him) and eldest son of Ann, duke of Montmorenci, the grand master of the cavalry of France, or constable, as he is called; in which tumult there fell five of the armed escort of the cardinal of Lorraine, who, with his nephew, escaped with difficulty to the house of a certain tradesman, where they found a temporary refuge. The commissioners⁵ of our queen and of the king of Spain are to meet

[³ See first series, Letter LXIV p. 141.]

[⁴ The cardinal was on his return from the council of Trent, in January 1565, and invited all his friends to join him, and swell his escort, that he might make a sort of triumphal entry into Paris, where marshal Montmorenci was at that time governor, and was desirous of mortifying the cardinal's vanity. To put a good appearance on his conduct, he went to the parliament, and said that he had information that somebody proposed coming to Paris with armed followers, which, if it occurred, he would resist with open force. The cardinal was informed of the marshal's design, but paid no attention to it, and entered boldly into the city. Montmorenci soon arrived, and ordered him and his followers to put away their pistols. He had sent a messenger to make the same communication before the cardinal had entered; but that person was not well received, and the marshal immediately set out at the head of a body of horsemen. A skirmish ensued, the cardinal jumped from his horse, and ran into a shop, from whence he gained his own hotel in the night. See Browning, Hist. of the Huguenots, chap. 18, and the authorities there quoted.]

[⁵ There is among the Flanders correspondence, in the state-paper office, a MS. entitled "A memorial of the matters to be entreated at the colloquie to be holden at Bruges betwixt the commissioners of her majestie; that is, the viscount Montague, Mr doctor Wotton, one of her majesties privy council, and Mr Haddon, of Requests, on the one part, and the commissioners of the king of Spaine on the other. Made at Westminster, the xith of March, 1564 [5.] in the viith year of her majesties reign." The English commissioners arrived at Bruges on the 24th of March, and remained there till the conferenc was sus-

in Flanders at the beginning of this spring, for the purpose of re-establishing the commerce at Antwerp between our merchants and theirs upon its former footing. This for two or three years past has been interrupted by disagreements between the merchants of both countries, to the great detriment of each: in other respects however, as far as government is concerned, every thing is settled and quiet among us. In Scotland the monasteries are razed to the ground, and monkery and idolatry are abolished; the queen alone, of the Guise family, (for she is the sister's daughter of the duke¹ that was slain,) still retaining her mass. Our friend the earl of Bedford is absent from court, and has been so for the last half year, as he is appointed governor of Berwick on the borders of Scotland, and which divides us from them. I have however taken care to inform him in his absence, that you had not forgotten him, and I commended you to him in my letter. Farewell. May the Lord God preserve and direct you to the glory of his name, and that you may long live and labour in his vineyard! London, March 4, 1565.

Yours wholly from my heart,

RICHARD MASTERS.

pended by mutual consent in May. It was renewed in the following year, and again suspended, it being agreed upon in the mean time by all parties that all things should remain in their actual position; that the treaty for free intercourse between both countries should be considered as still in force; and that the merchant strangers settled in either country should be considerately and kindly treated by the governments under which they respectively lived. See Burgon's *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, II. pp. 66, 88, seqq.]

[¹ Francis, duke of Guise, was assassinated in 1563 by John Poltrot de Meré at the siege of Orleans.]

LETTER XLIX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO JOHN WOLFIUS.

Dated at LUDHAM, *Aug.* 19, 1565.

YOU have no need to thank me, my Wolfius, for so trifling an obligation. Accept, I pray you, with kindness this slight present, as a memorial, such as it is, of my regard for you. I received a letter from you two years since, and by reason of my being at that time overwhelmed with numberless engagements, I did not reply to you separately, but was obliged to satisfy both yourself, and Lavater, and Simler, with one short letter. I have written about our own affairs and those of the Scots to other correspondents. You will learn the news from them; for I am unable to repeat the same intelligence to each. On the 19th of May a barn of mine, two hundred and fifteen feet in length, fell to the ground, without injury either to man or beast. I have almost rebuilt it at a very great expense. Farewell. Salute your wife in my name and that of my wife, together with all our other friends. In haste. Ludham, *Aug.* 19, 1565.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST,

[Bishop of] Norwich.

LETTER XLIX*.

JOHN ABEL TO HENRY BULLINGER².

[Dated at LONDON, *June* 6, 1566.]

PRAISE to God! My friendly greeting and willing service to you, my kind and dear sir. Your last letter of

[² This letter is translated from the German original.]

March 20th has come duly to hand; from which I understand that you have received my former letters. I have also received two copies of your Swiss Confession of Faith; one of which, written in Latin, I have, according to your request, given to master Richard Hilles, who expresses his best thanks. This book pleases me and many believing hearts exceedingly. But I am still more delighted with your house-book¹, containing fifty of your sermons, and bearing the Latin title *Decades Bullingeri*. In this book all the articles of our christian faith are fully declared and set forth, and it is comforting, and agreeable, and instructive to me to read it.

Your letters to master Horn, bishop of Winchester, and masters Jewel and Parkhurst, I have duly forwarded; and master Horn has written me word that he has received your said letter², in which you have declared your judgment respecting the cap and surplice. And he has promised me a copy of that letter, which has been of great service to many godly preachers and others, who faithfully and diligently perform their ecclesiastical functions. Some persons, however, are not satisfied with it, those namely, who have thought fit rather to give up the office of a preacher and minister than wear a surplice in the administration of the holy sacraments, or put on a clerical cap. So rigid are they in their opinion, that they have altogether given up their ecclesiastical vocation, and are therefore deposed from their ministry: which is greatly to be regretted, especially as they need not put on a surplice when preaching, as indeed nobody is commanded to do, except in the administration of infant baptism and of the Lord's supper. Master Thomas Sampson has written you a letter³ upon this subject, and desires to receive your answer; because he is foremost in opposition to this practice, and has given up his preferment⁴: and several other preachers

[1 Germ. *Hussbuch*.]

[2 See first series, Appendix, Letter II. p. 341.]

[3 See first series, Letter LXIX. p. 153.]

[4 Sampson was, by a special order from the queen, deprived by the archbishop and commissioners of the deanery of Christ-church. See Strype, Parker, i. 368. The archbishop subsequently wrote in his behalf to the queen and to the chapter. Sampson afterwards obtained the mastership of the hospital of William de Wigstoa, at Leicester, and a prebend in St Paul's, and by leave and favour of the

have joined him, who are resolved rather to resign their functions than wear the cap and surplice. Five preachers have lately been deprived, and sent as prisoners, two of them to master Horn, bishop of Winchester, two to doctor Cox, bishop of Ely, and one to master Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich. These five preachers had been interdicted from preaching, but notwithstanding the prohibition, they again preached in their respective churches, in consequence of which our queen and privy council are much displeased. They were summoned before the queen's council, and when they made their appearance, much was said to them for having preached contrary to the queen's orders, and for having afforded a bad example to the common people, so as to render them disobedient. Whereupon the five preachers fell upon their knees, and asked for mercy: in reply to which the lords in council answered, that if the queen were not merciful and gracious, they would all have had to undergo severe punishment; but, seeing that they were preachers of God's holy word, they should have eight days allowed them wherein to visit their friends and connections, after which they were to proceed, two to the bishop of Winchester, and two to the bishop of Ely, and one to the bishop of Norwich, as prisoners, as above mentioned, so long as the queen and her council shall think fit⁵. One of these preachers has also caused to be printed a book⁶ against the queen's command respecting the cap and surplice: but as soon as the authorities heard of it, the book was prohibited,

queen was appointed theological lecturer at Whittington College in London. See Wood, *Athenæ*, Vol. i. p. 234.]

[⁵ Archbishop Parker, in a letter to Haddon, says: "With the assistance of the queen's majesties council we have dispersed a few of the heads of them, some to the bishop of Winchester, some to Ely, and some to Norwich, to school them, or at least to have them out of London till we see cause to restore them their liberty." Strype considers that "Gentleness, as appears hence, was used towards these ministers that stood out and so were deprived." After noticing their being thus sent to three of the bishops, he adds: "But it was not long that they remained so, but were restored to their liberties; and had leave, or at least connivance to preach." *Life of Parker*, i. 445.]

[⁶ This work was entitled, *A brief discourse against the outward apparel and ministering garments of the popish church*: but the running title was, *The unfolding of the popish attire*. A full account of the contents is given by Strype, *Ann. i. ii. p. 163.*]

the printers cast into prison, and the copies destroyed. Another book¹ was afterwards published by order of the commissioners, wherein is declared the judgment of master doctor Peter Martyr and master Bucer, viz. that every preacher and minister ecclesiastical may wear a surplice, cap, and the other habits, without committing any sin, as you and master Gualter have also written. The opposite party are much dissatisfied with this, and, as far as they dare, write secretly against it; so that, unless our gracious God afford us his aid and support, it is to be feared that it will occasion much hinderance to the spread of the gospel. But our Lord God, I trust, is gracious and full of compassion, and will help us to establish unity and peace, so that the cruel fiend may not occasion a schism.

All things are going on pretty well in Scotland, and all the exiled nobles and lords have returned to their country, and are in possession of their lands and property. The gospel (praised be God!) is still preached, and I hope all will be quiet; for the exiled lords are magistrates in that country. The queen of Scotland, I hear, is in the family way, and expects to be confined within a week². I have nothing else to write to you at present. Salute, I pray you, all my good masters and friends. The grace of God be with us all! Amen.

Yours ever,

JOHN ABEL, England.

[¹ For an account of this book, supposed to have been published by the archbishop of Canterbury, see Strype, Ann. i. ii. 174.]

[² The queen of Scots was delivered of a son, afterwards king James I., on June 19, 1566.]

LETTER L³.

MILES COVERDALE, LAURENCE HUMPHREY, AND THOMAS SAMPSON TO WILLIAM FARELL, PETER VIRET, THEODORE BEZA AND OTHERS.

Dated at [LONDON,] *July* 1566.

WE must not only, honoured masters and brethren, appear troublesome to your reverences by so frequently addressing you by our friends and our letters, but must seem also very regardless of our duty to the church, by disturbing you, who are occupied in matters of far greater importance, with the relation of our trifles. But yet the unhappy condition of our times, and fresh troubles, compel us to have recourse to you, not only that you may be informed more fully of the state of our affairs, and our own opinion respecting them, but that we also may more fully understand your sentiments. Our affairs are not altered for the better, but, alas! are sadly deteriorated. For it is now settled and determined, that an unleavened cake must be used in place of common bread;—that the communion must be received by the people on their bended knees;—that out of doors must be worn the square cap, bands, a long gown and tippet; while the white surplice and cope are to be retained in divine service. And those who refuse to comply with these requirements, are deprived of their estates, dignities, and every ecclesiastical office; namely, brethren by brethren and bishops, whose houses are at this time the prisons of some preachers; who are now raging against their own bowels; who are now imposing these burdens not only on their own persons, but also on the shoulders of others; and this too at a time when in the judgment of all learned men they ought to have been removed and abolished altogether. Thus you have the image and representation, such as it is, of our church.

[³ The original of this letter is in the collection of the late professor Miech of Heidelberg, now in the possession of M. Baehr of Carlsruhe.]

Now then, hear our opinion upon this state of things. We think that it must be assumed in this question, that the Jewish, Turkish, Christian, and Popish religions have each their own peculiar sacraments and signs; and that external profession ought to be the test and badge of any one's doctrine; and that we are to seek our pattern not out of the cisterns and puddles of our enemies, but from the fountain of the scriptures and of the churches of God; so as not to be connected by any similarity of rites with those from whose religion we are altogether abhorrent: which rule, we read, was diligently observed by our forefathers in respect to the sabbath and passover of the Jews, the fastings of the Manichees, and the trine immersion of heretics. Nor indeed can we regard these things as altogether indifferent, when compulsion is made use of, and when too they are branded with the mark of superstition: nor ought any thing to be obtruded [on the church] by the authority of the sovereign, without its having been lawfully discussed in a christian synod: nor ought agreement in ceremonies everywhere to be required of necessity, especially when it is in common with the enemies of the faith: nor is there any occasion in the church of Christ either for the Aaronic priesthood, or Pharisaical ambition, that sacred garments should be worn now-a-days in the christian temple, or that a dress not common, but distinct and peculiar, should be prescribed for ordinary use. But we think with Celestine, that the clergy should be distinguished from the people by their doctrine, not their garments; their conversation, not their dress; their purity of mind, not their adornment of person; lest we begin to hanker after novelties, tread under foot the order received from our forefathers, impose upon the minds and eyes of the simple, and make room for vain and unprofitable superstitions.

Besides, as many of us as have cast out these things from the churches committed to our trust, cannot restore them without grievous offence and abominable impiety: and since a door would also be opened to other mysteries of iniquity, and the love of the godly be offended, and the pride and boldness of the wicked be encouraged, without even any pretence of edification; and since it is not lawful, according to St Paul's rule respecting things indifferent, for every one to

rest in his own persuasion, but that that should be regarded as lawful, which is not displeasing to certain men; we considered it more for the good of the church to stand fast in our liberty with an accession of godly men on our side, than to depart from the opinion we have taken up and the custom we have received, to the scandal of many and the downfall of purer doctrine. This is our opinion, and also that of a most excellent personage. We now, most illustrious and very dear masters and brethren, request you by our most intimate communion in Christ, to point out the cynosure to us who are tossed about on the waves; and either to shew us a better way if we are in error, or confirm us, when doubting, in our holy purpose.

The question, we confess, is nice and difficult, whether it is better to yield to circumstances, or to depart; to admit the relics of the Amorites, or to desert our post. Either alternative is harsh, grievous, and productive of mischief both to ourselves and the church. Which is the better, do you with your wonted wisdom declare, because we are lingering in suspense as in the last extremity¹. We also request of you and your brother ministers to put forth at the earliest opportunity some treatise on the nature of things indifferent, on ceremonies, on the sacerdotal habit; by which both our church and those of Saxony may be instructed, and the zeal of our sovereigns inspirited to the demolition of all the distinctive marks of antichrist. We make it, lastly, our request, that you would admonish our bishops by letter not to persecute Joseph on account of a garment; nor to rend the church with such a schism for so slight a cause; but that even in the dissimilarity of rites they may preserve the sweetest harmony of spirit and brotherly love. For far be it from us to think of them otherwise than as becomes friends and brethren.

The sum is this. We request these three things; your reply to the questions here proposed by us, and some treatise to all the churches generally; a letter to the bishops privately, and, if you please, to such of her majesty's councillors as you may be acquainted with; so that this whole controversy may issue in a christian reconciliation, and not in a cruel separation. Communicate this letter to all your

[¹ Inter sacrum et saxum. *Plaut. Capt.* III. 4. 84.]

brethren, that we may hear what the Lord may speak out of the mouth of two or three witnesses. May the Lord Jesus preserve his church pure and inviolate even to the day of his just judgment! July, 1566.

Your most devoted,

MILES COVERDALE, formerly bishop of Exeter.
LAURENCE HUMPHREY,
THOMAS SAMPSON.

LETTER LI.

WILLIAM TURNER¹ TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated *July 23*, 1566.

GREETING. As there was a great variety of opinion among the Jews respecting Christ the Son of God, when he came to sojourn with us here on earth; so from the occasion of your reply² to our brethren, which our rulers, as we suppose, have published without your sanction, both in Latin and English, many opinions have lately risen up respecting you, his sworn and faithful disciple and minister, among those who in this country profess a purer religion; and different persons entertain different sentiments respecting you. God grant that as you have not given our countrymen any just occasion of suspecting evil of you, so all may understand your answer in the sense in which you wrote it! Whatever others may think concerning you, I am fully persuaded of this, that if, as is natural to man, you have unwittingly fallen into any error, provided only you are told of it in a friendly and courteous manner, you will be ready to acknowledge it without reluctance, and willingly confess the occasion of it. But, in reliance on your accustomed and well-known candour, I will proceed briefly to relate the opinions of our people respecting you, to the end that you

[¹ For an account of Dr William Turner see first series, Letter LXXXIII. p. 206.]

[² For this reply see first series, Appendix, p. 345. See also Bullinger's letter to Bishops Grindal and Horn, p. 357.]

may be able more fully and successfully to defend yourself from the imputations that are brought against you.

There are not wanting those who think that our Samaritans, limping on both feet, (for we have many more of this stamp than sincere professors of the gospel,) have suggested to you many things quite opposite to the truth, and have therefore influenced, or at least persuaded you, to hurl all your darts against our poor wretched preachers, conniving at the faults of our principal ministers and others, who, for the sake of an ass's appearance³, have thrown into prison so many learned and godly pastors, stripped of all their dignities, and have exposed the flock of Christ unarmed to wolves, papists, Lutherans, Sadducees and Herodians. Some persons also boldly affirm, that there are many things in your answer, which are not only in manifest contradiction to your own books heretofore published, but also to the writings of all evangelical pastors. There are found too some among us, who think much the same respecting you, the most learned man and best expositor of christian doctrine in all Europe, as the Saxon preachers thought of their master Philip Melancthon; who, when Charles V was attempting to obtrude the Interimistic⁴ and Adiaphoristic impieties upon all the reformed churches in Germany, to the great jeopardy of christian liberty and no small injury to the truth, as they themselves testify in their published writings, passed over to the Inter-

[³ *Ob asini prospectum*. This seems to be a contemptuous allusion to the ministers' habits, to which Dr Turner was so averse, that in the year 1565, as dean of Wells, he enjoined a common adulterer to do his open penance in a priest's square cap.]

[⁴ Charles V. caused a paper to be drawn up by Julius Pflug, bishop of Naumburgh, Michael Sidonius, and John Agricola, which should serve as a rule of faith and worship to both papists and protestants till the re-assembling of the council of Trent. This paper, because it had not the force of a *permanent* law, was called the *Interim*. Melancthon, partly from fear of the emperor, and partly from condescension to Maurice, elector of Saxony, decided that the whole of the *Interim* could by no means be admitted, but that it might be received so far as it concerned things *indifferent*, (*in rebus adiaphoris*.) This decision gave rise to the *Adiaphoristic* controversy among the Lutherans, which is here referred to. For among things indifferent Melancthon reckoned many which Luther deemed of great importance. See Mosheim. ed. Soames, III. 160, 350, and Schmidii *Historia Interimistica*, p. 70, &c.]

imists and Adiaphorists; and afterwards, laying aside all fear, returned to a better mind¹

Those persons who think most favourably of you, defend you in this manner. They say that nothing was farther from your intention than that your answer should be publicly set forth in Latin and English; and that it was sent to our brethren, as men of learning, not with any view of defining or dogmatising, but simply as a literary exercise. But since it is beyond all doubt that many worthy persons are grievously offended by reason of its publication, I would recommend that, —both for the removal of offence, as well as for the assertion, and vindication from any suspicion of falsehood, of that truth which in so many of your printed works you have maintained with so much courage, piety and assiduity,—you should candidly and openly and fearlessly bear witness, in some published tract, whether you are of opinion that princes or ecclesiastical prelates, whom you call principal ministers, have authority to obtrude upon the pastors of churches against their will, under pain of deprivation and imprisonment, certain prescribed habits, and corresponding ceremonies, whether borrowed from the heathen, or transferred from the Levitical law, or invented or approved by the pope, and destined and employed for the furtherance of idolatry, without offence to christian liberty and manifest injury to the church.

I have written these things to you with the greater boldness, that you may the better ascertain my feelings towards you, while I am anxious for the honour and integrity of your character, and for the freedom of your doctrine from any suspicion of error. July 23, 1566. Farewell.

Yours,

WILLIAM TURNER,

A physician, delighting in the
study of sacred literature.

[¹ Calvin complained to Melancthon of his want of firmness; but it afterwards appeared, from the testimony of Beza, that his letter was written under misinformation. Beza's words are: *Philippo etiam officii admonito, quem nonnulli ut in eo molliorem accusabant; immerito id quidem, ut accuratius postea Calvinus cognovit.* See Scott's Contin. of Milner, III. 392.]

LETTER LII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO JOHN WOLFIUS.

Dated at LUDHAM, *Aug. 21, 1566.*

FOR the very learned commentaries of yourself and Martyr upon the two books of Kings, I thank you, and will shortly return the obligation. You will do well to publish your discourses upon Deuteronomy, Judges, Ruth, &c.; for I remember having read some of them in your study, and that they pleased me exceedingly. They will please others too, should it please you to publish them. I have written these few lines with some difficulty, as I have hardly yet recovered from illness². Take my brevity in good part. Gualter will tell you all the news. May the Lord preserve all at Zurich! In haste. Ludham. Aug. 21, 1566.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST.

LETTER LIII.

THEODORE BEZA TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GENEVA, *Sept. 3, (1566.)*

THERE have been sent hither, my father, copies of the letters of each of the Landgraves, which give us hopes that the conferences at Erdfurt will not go forward: I wish this may be the case. What, however, they write in addition, and which I was sufficiently aware of, namely, that provision was made at Augsburg against condemning the foreign churches, does not give me much satisfaction, as I perceive it was craftily done by those parties who thought that our interference would be prevented by these means; for they well knew how to effect this by their counsels. For I pray

[² See first series, Letter LXXII. p. 167.]

you, if the doctrine of our churches is condemned, and that under the names of Zuinglianism and Calvinism, and so the truth is wounded, whether through our side or that of the most illustrious prince, does it not amount to the same thing? But come, let us wait for what the Lord may bestow, who will, I hope, so order matters, that we may perceive him to be watching over us in this matter also.

With regard to our affairs, I have no news whatever to write about. In France the peace of the churches seems to depend upon the result of affairs in Flanders, which is certainly a wretched state of things. For I can nowise approve that way of proceeding; and though the beginning may appear prosperous, yet I seem to myself to look forward to a most sad and fatal issue, unless the Lord should also give his blessing to their imprudence. The statement made to you about the murder of some of the magistrates and the taking of the city, is entirely false, if that be a true account which I received two days since in a letter written on the 12th of this month, namely, that no harm whatever has yet been done to any priest, nor any image overthrown by our party; but only that an innumerable multitude was present at the sermons which are preached in the open air without the city, and that there is an incredible thirst for hearing the word. Let us therefore commend these things also to the Lord's providence.

I now come to the English affair, which, as it was most painful to me to hear, so I could gladly wish it had been possible that you might have no concern in a matter of so much trouble: but what can you do? Our distressed brethren seek the consolation, advice, and prayers of those churches, by whose love they were formerly refreshed, and hope also to be refreshed at the present time. Some of them, I admit, are rather hard to please, but in so much affliction it is difficult to keep within bounds; and as their object is most excellent, I think this their importunity may be excused. From the statement that you will receive in detail from this our brother¹, of which also he has left a copy here with me, you will learn that the papacy was never abolished in that country, but rather transferred to the sovereign; and

[¹ This was most probably Percival Wiburn. See first series, Letter LXXVIII. p. 188.]

that nothing else is now aimed at, than the gradual restoration of what had been in any measure altered. I once thought that the matter was only about caps and I know not what other externals, but I afterwards understood that the controversy was of a far different character; and I now plainly perceive it to be so, not without the utmost distress of mind, which I wish were peculiar and confined to myself alone. First, since an outward call (after due examination as to doctrine and moral character,) not by any single individual, but at least by a congregation of the brethren, is as it were the basis and foundation of an ecclesiastical ministry, what can be more abominable, what more extravagant, than that assumed power of the bishops, by which they admit at their pleasure parties not so called, but who enter the ministry of their own accord; and immediately, without assigning them any cure, approve them as qualified either to serve, as they call it, or to teach; and at length, on the vacancy of any preferment, after the delivery of a written form for a certain sum of money, and the administration of an oath respecting two things, (the one that they will acknowledge the royal majesty as, next to Christ, the supreme head of the church of England; and the other, that they will so comply with the laws of the realm, and especially that famous book of reformation and all the ceremonies, as not in any way to impugn any,) they appoint this or that individual to whatever churches they please? If we inquire into church discipline, what can it be in a country, where, just the same as under the papacy, they have in the place of a lawfully appointed presbytery their deans, chancellors, and archdeacons, who at their pleasure, and as is the practice in the civil court, but according to canon law, pronounce excommunication even on account of suits relative to money and the like; which sentence afterwards the lord bishop or his official sends to the minister, like a judge to his apparitor, to be read in church, namely, to be in force so long only as until the matter is made up with the judge? For there is for the most part the same mode of absolution as of excommunication. And how little are they removed from the law of celibacy, who are forbidden to marry wives without the express permission of the queen, and the assent of the lord bishop and some two justices of the peace; and when married, are forbidden to keep their wives

either in colleges, or within the precincts of the cathedrals¹, to wit, as counting them impure, or for the avoidance of scandal? What must we say, when not only the papists are left in possession of the revenues of their benefices, but even of their ecclesiastical offices, upon merely taking an oath to maintain the reformation; so that godly brethren are for the most part placed under the authority, and compelled to submit to the jurisdiction, of those who are in general both unlearned and in their hearts the most bitter enemies of true religion? What must we say when there are openly sold in the court of the metropolitan dispensations for non-residence, for plurality of benefices, choice of meats, celebration of marriage out of the appointed seasons, and even for obtaining a benefice during childhood, and other things of this kind, than which Rome herself has nothing more disgraceful or abominable? What must we say when in a case of necessity, as they call it, women are allowed to baptize? And as if these things, with some others not a whit better, were not sufficient, behold! of those very few teachers of the pure gospel, some are turned out of their offices, and others even thrust into prison, unless they will swear that they will so inviolably approve all these things, as not to impugn them by word or writing; and will resemble also the priests of Baal in their square caps, bands, surplices, hoods, and other things of the like kind. Nor is this the end of their miseries; but it is also expressly provided, that whatever it may please the queen's majesty, with the sole concurrence of the archbishop of Canterbury, to establish, alter, or take away, with respect to the rites of the church, it shall forthwith be considered as having the force of law.

Such, then, is the state of the Anglican churches, which, as it appears to me, is very wretched, and altogether beyond endurance. But those few persons, [of whom I spake] ask my advice upon two points: one of which is, by what means the queen and bishops may be admonished of their duty? the other, how they themselves must with a good conscience act in the mean time? As to the first question, this evil seems now to be remediable by God alone: but yet I think that some effort should be made, rather than that so

[¹ Queen Elizabeth's injunction to this effect is given in Strype, Parker, I. 217.]

noble an edifice should be suffered to fall to the ground in silence. And here two methods occur to me, one of which indeed will be more troublesome to us, but in my judgment much more advantageous to them; the other is attended with less difficulty, but not so direct. Yours, my father, is the only church by whose authority both the queen and the bishops seem likely to be influenced; she, to consider with herself how far and in what sense queens may be called the nursing mothers of the church; and they, to restore at length the church oppressed by their predecessors, as Augustus² of old entertained thoughts of restoring the commonwealth. For as to our own church, I would have you know that it is so hateful to that queen, that on this account she has never said a single word in acknowledgement of the gift of my Annotations [on the New Testament.] The reason of her dislike is two-fold: one, because we are accounted too severe and precise, which is very displeasing to those who fear reproof; the other is, because formerly, though without our knowledge, during the life-time of queen Mary³ two books were published here in the English language, one by master Knox against the government of women, the other by master Goodman on the rights of the magistrate. As soon as we learned the contents of each, we were much displeased, and their sale was forbidden in consequence: but she notwithstanding cherishes the opinion she has taken into her head. If therefore you think the present cause worthy of being undertaken by us, it would seem the most suitable plan, and most useful to the brethren, that some one should be chosen from your congregation, if not by the express authority, at least with the permission or connivance of your magistrates, to proceed to England on this especial business, and openly solicit from the queen and bishops a remedy for all these evils. This would indeed be an heroic action, worthy of your city, and, as I think, very acceptable to God, even though it should not altogether succeed according to our wish. The road through France is direct and short; for one may with the greatest ease pass over in eleven days from hence to Dieppe, a sea-port in Normandy, whence with a favourable wind they cross over to England in ten hours. Many of the French

[² See Sueton. Octav. sect. 28.]

[³ See above, Letter XV., p. 34.]

churches might be visited and confirmed on the way. The admiral¹ and his brother Andelot² might be visited, as they each of them lie in the very route. Nor would it be difficult to obtain one or two of the brethren from among the most learned and zealous, to accompany you, if necessary, on your deputation, and afford their assistance to your representative. And if you think that we can be of any use in this matter, (I mean, by a letter from our church,) there will be no demur on our part. You are aware that this was the practice in the ancient church, that even parties uninvited nevertheless offered their services in extinguishing the flames; and that by this means many rising disturbances were allayed in many provinces. Nor have I any doubt that this godly and charitable legation will be very agreeable to the queen and the godly bishops, whom I understand to be anxiously looking out for a suitable opportunity, together with the keeper³ of the great seal, a sincere and religious man. Many also of the nobility are in our favour: many of the other classes desire our success. It is probable that all of them, when they perceive that their welfare is an object of so much anxiety even to foreign churches, will take courage, and urge the queen's majesty with greater firmness, until they prevail with her. The time is also very favourable, as the parliament⁴ in that country is about to assemble, when it is certain that all these things will be brought forward for consideration. With your permission, my father, I will also add, that if this counsel shall prove agreeable to you, master Gualter alone appears so well qualified in every way to undertake the charge and management and completion of this business, that, should you make choice of him, he would seem to have been sent as it were by the voice of God himself for the refreshment of those distressed brethren, and even for the preservation of that realm.

This is the one most ready way, as far as I can judge,

[1 Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France. He was murdered in the massacre of St Bartholomew, in 1572.]

[2 François de Coligny, Sieur d'Andelot. He died of a fever in 1569.]

[3 Sir Nicolas Bacon.]

[4 This parliament met on Monday, Sept. 30, and was dissolved on Tuesday, Jan. 2, 1567. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 93.]

and not attended with much trouble or expense. But if you do not approve of it, I think that at least a grave and copious statement should be made by letter, both to her majesty and the bishops, to remind them of their office and responsibility; and especially as you perceive they have abused your letter, contrary to your wishes, to the increase of this mischief. I have myself written to the bishop of London⁵ on this subject, and this our brother will supply you, if needful, with a copy of my letter. For I had even at that time heard something of these affairs, and therefore preferred rather to address the bishops by whom this mischief is fostered, than to give any advice to the brethren, especially as I doubted not but that this would be done by yourselves. And I am so far from entertaining any doubt but that you will write what is just and proper, that, if you think fit, I will either countersign your letter, or second it with another upon the same subject.

I now come to the other topic of consideration, namely, whether the brethren can with a good conscience remain in the ministry under these conditions? I am not prevented either by all these corruptions, or the regulations about caps and habits, from recommending them to continue in it; since on the contrary it behoves them for this very reason to be diligent in plucking out from the minds of men all things of this kind, and cutting them off by the sword of the divine word. Many considerations, however, incline me to an opposite opinion, although it is most distressing, in so great a desolation as there now exists in that country, to leave the wretched flock to the wolves who will immediately enter into the fold. For it is one thing to endure what you cannot alter, and another thing to resume, to the certain offence of many persons, what has been already laid down. And you know that Peter⁶ was openly rebuked by Paul for no other reason than that he so considered those alone that were weak, as in the mean time to subvert [the faith of] others: nor does the case that we are now treating of seem to me very different. Nay, I rather think that these legislators have much less reason to allege by way of excuse, than Peter had; not only because it

[⁵ A full account of this letter is given in Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 166. See Beza, *Epist.* 8.]

[⁶ See *Gal.* ii. 11, &c.]

is unjust to compare human traditions with institutions divinely appointed, but much more because there was no one who would be offended by the received rites, such for instance as, that common bread should be made use of in the Lord's supper, that the bread should be broken, and not a wafer placed in the mouth; that there should be no genuflexion, or signing with the sign of the cross; that there should be no standing up at the name of Jesus, and lastly that the ministers should wear a decent cap and habit, though one in ordinary use. The offence therefore, for which a remedy is sought, is only a pretended one; while on the other hand the consciences of numberless individuals are offended by this change, to whom however so little regard is paid, that they are even deprived of their excellent pastors on this very account. What then should the pastors do in this case? Again, since of those things which are so strenuously insisted upon, to the neglect of others of more importance, there are many which are rather to be abhorred by reason of some feeling of devotion connected with them, and which yet lingers in the minds of many, than to be counted as among things indifferent, and which will therefore indubitably bring the people back to their old superstitions, can the ministers themselves with a good conscience restore their use?

But there is another point of far greater importance than all the rest. Seeing that the ministers are bound both to excommunicate and give absolution to whomsoever the bishop or his official may choose; seeing that they are obliged to administer all things in their churches at the beck of others; and, which is the most grievous thing of all, that persons are admitted to the office of teaching solely upon condition of their taking an oath that they will neither by writing nor word of mouth oppose any part of that reformation, that is, those intolerable corruptions, and therefore that they will firmly maintain as law whatever it may please the queen and the archbishop of Canterbury to change, take away, or add; who can submit to this condition with a good conscience? What then? They certainly do not desert their churches, who are either ejected, or who, when commanded to ruin themselves and their flocks, refuse to comply.

I could however much wish, my father, that these and all the other points should be first considered by you, and

your opinion made known to us, before we write any thing to them upon this subject, since there are dangerous abysses on either side. If however any middle course can be discovered in this case, it is probably of this kind, that the parties already ejected should demand a hearing at the next parliament; on obtaining which, they should shew very respectfully that they are not factious, but that for conscience' sake they have preferred rather to go out for a time than to excite any disturbance; after which they may reverently and calmly shew the mischief that will hence ensue. Should this plan succeed, they will praise the Lord; if not, let them shake off the dust of their feet. For, as I have already stated, we do not see how they can bind themselves by that oath with a safe conscience. As to those who still remain in the ministry, I would recommend them, after a respectful protest before the bishop, and diligent admonition of the people not to pervert these things to superstition, to continue in the ministry until the matter is decided in parliament. Should the decision be such as they can comply with, let them remain in their office as long as they may be permitted to do so: but if the bishops persist in doing mischief or giving their sanction to those who do, I would in that case advise them manfully to reprove those who deserve reproof, and rather prepare themselves for the cross, than either act contrary to their duty, or desert the ministry.

Thus much have I written upon this most distressing subject. I wish indeed I could so discharge my private duty, as that any other person should take charge of these matters. For I am well aware of the suspicion I have long laboured under from parties who are but little acquainted with me. But I will defend myself with the testimony of my own conscience, and will continue, by God's help, to aid my brethren, if not by my counsel, which I wish that none of them may ever require, at least by my prayers. I am anxiously awaiting your reply. Farewell, my father. May the Lord Jesus preserve you, who, if at any time, are now especially necessary to many churches, and may he bless you more and more! I wish you would salute all our brethren and fellow-ministers both in my name and in that of our whole congregation. Again farewell. Geneva, Sept. 3, 1566.

Yours,
BEZA.

I have this moment received a letter from Leyden, which states that by letters received by carriers from Antwerp, dated on the 23rd and 27th of August, it appears that a tumult raised by some children against a mass-priest had grown to such an excess, that all the images there were overthrown, and the mass demolished; but that no one was slain except that single priest¹. The city therefore is now occupied by our friends, if indeed they are ours. If I am not a false prophet, these are the beginnings of greater evils than we have yet witnessed. May the Lord have mercy upon his people!

LETTER LIV.

HENRY BULLINGER TO MILES COVERDALE.

Dated at ZÜRICH, *Sept.* 10, 1566.

GREETING. You may be assured, my reverend master and very dear brother in Christ, that that letter of mine was not written by me with a view to its being published, nor to increase by its means the flame which has been kindled among you respecting the affair of the habits; but, if it were possible, to extinguish it. And this I think is evident to every one from the letter itself, provided it be read with candour and without prejudice. I treated solely of the vestiarian controversy, and did not enter upon any discussion with regard to other matters, which, I understand, are now subjects of inquiry and dispute among you. And my chief object was this, to convince those who think it better to desert the churches of Christ than to adopt those habits, that it would be more adviseable for them to adopt the habits, and at the same time remain with the churches committed to their charge. But I had no wish to obtrude even this advice upon the brethren inconsiderately, but only to state to them what appeared to me most adviseable in this matter, leaving it in the mean time free to themselves to follow what might

[¹ See in Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. i. B. vii. a full account of this tumult at Antwerp, which began by destroying an image of the virgin. He does not mention that any priest was slain. The tumults became general: images, &c., were destroyed in many places.]

seem best. But as I now understand that my letter has been so perverted by some parties, as though [I had discussed] all the subjects controverted among you, (though when I wrote that letter, I did not even know what they were,) I am going to write² to some godly and prudent persons, whose authority will, I hope, prevail in this matter, to request they will take especial care that no one make an improper use of my published letter, nor that the impurities (as you call them) be established in convocation under the pretext of that letter; but rather that they will faithfully exert themselves that the liberty of the churches remain unimpaired, and that faithful ministers be not persecuted, and that the church of England be again purified from those things which are foreign to the purity of true religion. I will pray the Lord in the mean time to take these things into his own hand, and happily allay these disturbances; and by the removal of these contentions, to restore tranquillity to the churches. May the grace of the Lord Jesus be with you! Master Gualter salutes you. Entreat the Lord for us. Dated at Zurich, Sept. 10, 1566.

HENRY BULLINGER, Senior,
Yours wholly from my heart.

LETTER LV.

HENRY BULLINGER AND RODOLPH GUALTER TO THE
EARL OF BEDFORD.

Dated at ZURICH, *Sept. 11, 1566.*

WHEN we heard, illustrious prince, in the course of last year, that a contention had arisen among you respecting the habits of the clergy, we were greatly afraid that it might extend yet farther, and occasion some greater mischief to the church. At the request therefore of certain pious and zealous individuals we gave such counsel as then appeared to us safe and godly. For we advised the ministers of the churches not to desert them for matters of so little importance, and leave them to be harassed by wolves and superstitious deceivers. But the fear of greater danger, which we then anticipated, was too well grounded. For we hear that you are at this

[² See the next letter.]

time not only contending about the habits, but that many other things besides are obruded upon godly ministers, which savour of mere popery; yea rather, which were first fabricated in the school of antichrist, and cannot therefore be admitted or connived at with a due regard to godliness. It has also occasioned us no small grief, that the letter which we wrote privately to a few friends upon that subject, is reported to have been printed¹; and that many persons extend our judgment respecting the matter of the habits to other things which we did not at that time know to be controverted, and which can never be approved by us. And indeed it is a cause of most just grief, that godly brethren, to whom we desired rather to afford counsel and consolation than to occasion any trouble, are weighed down by the authority of our names: but we are still more distressed at the consideration of the scandal which we doubt not has arisen from this source. Our distress is yet farther increased by the unhappy condition of the church of England, which as we have always loved, we cannot but be grieved with all our hearts, to find that, though scarcely delivered from the sanguinary enemies of a purer faith, and having begun in some measure to revive, she is now weakened by these intestine broils. And whereas, most illustrious prince, we are sufficiently persuaded of your virtue, and there exist not a few evidences of your piety, we have thought good to send a letter to your excellency, of whom so many godly persons have conceived no common expectation. And we pray you to persevere in defending the church, according to your wont, both before her most serene majesty, and in parliament (which we hear will shortly meet) before the nobility of the realm; and not to refuse your patronage to those godly brethren, who, notwithstanding they may have erred in some respects, are yet deserving of pardon, as it is plain that they have been actuated by a fervent zeal

[¹ "He [archbishop Grindal] set forth now [1566] in print an excellent and right christian letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief minister in Helvetia, sent to him and two other of the bishops, viz. Horn, bishop of Winton, and Parkhurst of Norwich, concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits; but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey, &c." Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 155. It was printed by Seres, 1566, entitled "The iudgement of the godly and learned father, M. Henry Bullinger, &c., declaring it to be lawful for the ministers of the church of Englande to weare the apparel prescribed by the lawes and orders of the same realme."]

for godliness, and that their sole object is to have the church purified from all the dregs of popery. And not only do they seem to us deserving of the protection of godly princes; but this whole cause is of such a nature, that those who employ their labour and industry in promoting it, give evidence by the act itself, that they are most deserving of the name of princes. The Lord has vouchsafed to illustrious persons the honour of being called the nursing fathers of his church, which dignity indeed far exceeds all the glory and honour of this world. And they will be faithful to such a character, when they not only rescue the church out of the hands of her enemies, restore the preaching of the word, and re-establish the legitimate use of the sacraments; but also take care that she, who ought to be brought an undefiled spouse to Christ, be not stained with any false colouring of superstition, nor render her fidelity suspected by any rites inconsistent with christian simplicity. And the text in Hosea² is well known, who warned the Jewish church to put away their adulteries not only from between their breasts, but from before their face. Wherefore we entreat your excellency again and again, that you will now especially continue to exert yourself as you have hitherto done, and endeavour to effect, by your influence with the most serene queen and the nobility of the realm, that the reformation of the church of England, begun with the great admiration of the whole world, be not disfigured by new filth and the restored relics of wretched popery. For should that be the case, not only will the mark of inconsistency be branded upon many in your most flourishing kingdom, but the weak will also be offended; and to the neighbouring churches of Scotland, France, and Flanders, who are yet suffering under the cross, will a scandal be afforded, the punishment of which will doubtless redound to the authors of it. And what is more, the neighbouring enemies of evangelical truth will take an example from you, by which they may also in their respective localities circumscribe the more free worship of the true God by new enactments of tyrannical superstition.

We have spoken thus freely, illustrious prince, not because we have any doubt of your piety; but we do so, partly in reliance upon your very great kindness, and partly moved by the necessity of the case. We desire to afford to

[² Hosea ii. 2.]

your excellency, and to many others, more ample materials and opportunity for consideration of this subject. And we pray Almighty God, in pity to his church, to restore true peace to her, and to guide your excellency and those like you by his Spirit, protect you with his favour, and uphold you by his powerful arm, to the glory of his name and the preservation of his church. Amen. Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.

Your excellency's most devoted,

HENRY BULLINGER, Senior,
and RODOLPH GUALTER.

LETTER LVI¹

RODOLPH GUALTER TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

Dated at ZURICH, *Sept.* 11, 1566.

WHEN we first heard, reverend father in Christ, that a controversy had arisen among you respecting the apparel of ministers, that circumstance alarmed us exceedingly, as we were afraid that if it proceeded farther, it would occasion greater mischief: and on this account we endeavoured, as far as lay in our power, to pacify certain parties, lest they should raise any disturbance about a matter of no very great importance. And certainly we are not deceived in our anticipation, if indeed it is true that we hear, namely, that many other things are obtruded on the churches besides those habits; and that ministers are cast out of the churches for refusing to subscribe to the decrees of certain persons, who either abuse the queen's name, or by their acquiescence make her more determined in matters of this kind, so that she orders everything at her pleasure. It also increases our uneasiness, to perceive that that letter of ours, in which we endeavoured to soothe several persons, has been printed, and that godly brethren are distressed by the authority of our names, and that we are suspected by many of having

[¹ Of this letter several copies were taken, Parkhurst making it more common than the writer intended he should, so that falling into the hands of the Puritans, they printed it with one of Beza's in the book called the Admonition to the Parliament, in justification of themselves. Strype, Parker, ii. 111. For Bishop Cox's reply to this letter see first series, Letter XCIV., p. 234.]

given our sanction to the abominations of popery. We advised, it is true, the ministers not to forsake their churches on account of the cap and surplice, but to feed the Lord's flock, as far as they could without a compromise of their religious principles. At the same time we never approved the superstition or folly of those parties who obtrude such things upon godly ministers, and sweep together from the pope's school, or rather kitchen, such filthiness as both occasions trouble to good pastors, and is a stumbling-block to the weak. But it appears to us particularly hard, that the bishops should allow themselves to be the instruments of this persecution, and that those who refuse compliance should be ejected by them. I wish they would consider what the Lord meant, when he was speaking of the faithless steward, who, when he ought to have been feeding his household, riots and sports with the drunken, and smites his fellow-servants. For I do not see much difference between his conduct and theirs, who so readily give their sanction to the crotchets of superstitious courtiers, and treat godly ministers with so much cruelty. Nor could I ever have imagined that any one could have been found among the bishops, who would allow himself either to participate in this wickedness by his instrumentality, or at least to encourage it by his cowardly connivance. For we thought that all this had proceeded from some individuals, who abuse the authority of the most serene queen; but we hoped that the bishops would defend the cause of the ministers, and devise some means by which a remedy might be applied to the mischief. Some of those brethren are, I grant, somewhat hard to please, but yet their cause is not a bad one, much less a wicked one; nay, it were rather to be desired that their views might prevail. But as this now seemed to us to be impossible, we recommended them to accommodate themselves to existing circumstances, and put their trust in the Lord, who would some time or other afford them an opportunity of restoring everything to a better state.

But since, my father, I hear your piety especially commended among others, as also that of my friend master Pilkington, for having hitherto refused to eject any one; I have thought myself justified by the privilege of our ancient friendship, in exhorting you to persevere with firmness in your godly conduct, and to bear in mind that we have every one

of us too much sin in ourselves, to make it needful for us to partake in the sins of others. Christ is the bridegroom and most determined avenger of his church, and will not allow any injury done to his most faithful servants to go unpunished. And it is to him that we must some time render an account of our stewardship, not to the queen, or pope, or those who assume to themselves the pope's tyranny in the church. Do you, with your accustomed amiability, take in good part what I have written, without consideration indeed, but not without the anxiety of a brother's love. I have written more respecting our own affairs in the letter you will receive after the fair. Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.

N. B. I have written this letter from the statement of the Englishman, Perceval Wiburn¹.

[ROD. GUALTER².]

LETTER LVII.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO THEODORE BEZA.

Dated at ZURICH, *Sept.* 11, 1566.

WE have long feared, honoured brother in Christ, that the disputes which have arisen in England about the affair of the habits, would proceed to a farther extent. For we perceived that some parties were more obstinate in a matter of so little consequence than the then existing state of things in that country could bear: and therefore, at the request of some excellent and godly men, who were apprehensive of the desolation of the churches, we gave such advice as then appeared necessary and useful, and not inconsistent with godliness, and what we knew them already to have received from master Peter Martyr of pious memory. For as the dispute solely related to the habit of ministers, whom the queen would have to be distinguished from the laity; and as it was expressly provided for weak consciences in the royal

[¹ See first series, Letter LXXVIII. p. 187.]

[² Gualter's name is not affixed to this letter, but the postscript is in his handwriting.]

edict, that no one was to suppose that the worthiness either of the ministry or of the sacraments consisted in the habit; and there was at the same time no obscure expectation, that those things would be changed and corrected with the change of time; we could not assent to their opinion, who thought it their duty to desert their churches for the sake of a cap and gown. For we well knew that either avowed papists, or Lutherans, would succeed into their places, and introduce greater follies, and corruption of doctrine at the same time. We therefore recommended them to accommodate themselves with holy and godly moderation to existing circumstances, but diligently in their preaching to admonish the people not thereby to entertain any suspicion either of superstitious worship or abandonment of the truth; and lastly, that they should discreetly seek occasions of offering suitable remonstrance to the queen and nobles of the realm, respecting their duty on this behalf. And we have no doubt but that by such means those disorders might have been checked on their first outbreak, when the council was inclined to act with much greater lenity, than now, when the minds of many persons are so exasperated by this lengthened dispute, that, no longer satisfied with those few and unimportant requirements, they are endeavouring to impose such things as cannot be allowed with safety to religion. But you see, my brother, to what a pass matters have come; and we too see it not without sorrow. Nevertheless, as we know that our brethren have been actuated by godly zeal in what they have done, we do not blame them, but think them worthy of commiseration, and wish it were in our power to succour them by our counsel and assistance.

As to what seems to you the most effectual remedy in the present juncture, namely, that either I or some one of our friends should go over into England, and openly plead their cause, I should, for my own part, by no means think it troublesome or unpleasant: it would indeed rather be pleasant and agreeable to visit at the same time the French churches, whom I love and cherish in the Lord, and to see old friends in England, and lend a helping hand to the very afflicted state of the church. Nor should I ever repent encountering any labour or danger in a cause so good, so holy, and so necessary. But I am well assured that we can never obtain

permission from our own authorities to go thither uninvited. Nor do I see what advantage can be expected from such a journey, or rather embassy. For the queen, who has in many respects too much abused her power up to the present time by her arbitrary conduct, and has refused to be warned by the advice and remonstrances of her councillors, will be much less inclined to receive counsel from a foreigner: and there is danger, lest our godly brethren should be burdened with the suspicion of having invited me, without having consulted her; so that either new disturbances might be raised by my means, or existing ones be increased. We see, moreover, that the minds of some parties are so excited, that unless I agreed with them in every respect, I must necessarily quarrel with those for whose sake especially I should encounter so much trouble and peril. There are many additional reasons which persuade us that we ought to attempt nothing of the kind. And we hope to receive a letter by the next Frankfort fair, which will give us fuller information respecting this whole business, and which may perhaps also afford materials for better advice.

In the mean time, that we might not be wanting to the occasion, we have thought it as well to write to both parties, that is, to those of each party with whom we are acquainted, and who have hitherto made use of our counsel. We recommend the bishops not to do any thing, for the sake of any man, that is inconsistent with the truth, and may be productive of offence; and especially, not to act harshly towards their colleagues and fellow-ministers of the word of God; and to turn their attention rather to the removal than the restoration of the defilements of popery. We protest also that we are grieved not a little, nay, that no slight injustice is done us, if they abuse our letter to the defence of those things which we neither have approved at any time, nor ever shall approve, unless God take from us our sound mind; and we hope better things from his goodness than that. And there are yet good hopes of some of them. For it appears, that neither my friend Parkhurst, who holds the see of Norwich, nor Pilkington, who is bishop of Durham, have as yet ejected any minister, nor indeed ever intend to do so. The matter therefore will come under a fuller consideration, and I hope that some of them will return into the right way, as they have probably found out by this time the extent of mischief

occasioned by their compliance. Next, as the famous earl of Bedford, who is now in command at Berwick, has very great influence in that country, we have written also to him, to undertake this cause, and resolutely to support it in parliament, which we have no doubt that he will do. For he has afforded many proofs of distinguished piety, and is well acquainted with, and a great admirer of our churches. And this we think will suffice for the present, because we have no acquaintance with any others of the nobility; and it would be useless to write to the queen herself, without knowing how she stands affected towards us. Nor indeed can we promise ourselves much from her, as she has never answered any of our letters. We should also be loth to have those suspected by her, of whose favourable disposition we have good hopes, and whom we know to be much attached to us.

With respect to the other subject of your letter, we agree entirely with you, that we ought not so to regard the weak, as to overthrow the faith of many others. Nor do we approve of those who place divine and human laws upon the same level, or who rashly confound them together. We consider, also, those constitutions worthy of our detestation, which have evidently been framed in the school of antichrist; and we feel that we would rather die a hundred times, than sanction them either by our subscription, or by an idle and shameful connivance. But if the question referred solely to the habit of ministers, and all took their stand upon the words of the royal edict published on this behalf, in which it is expressly denied either that these laws possess equal authority with the word of God, or that they ought to be binding on the conscience of any individual; we do not see why the churches should be forsaken, and left to be torn by wolves, solely on account of the habits. But it is not easy for us to decide upon a case not fully understood, and which is carried on by parties who are evidently contending with each other under the greatest possible excitement. We particularly approve, however, of what you write lastly respecting those ministers who still retain their cures, that they should perform their duty under a godly and modest protest, and await the determination of parliament: and should any thing be enacted contrary to the truth and purity of religion,

they should suffer any thing rather than subscribe or assent to the ungodly decrees of others.

Thus, my honoured brother, have I replied to your letter, not so much in my own name as in that of my esteemed father, master Bullinger. And though the danger be indeed evident, yet we trust in the Lord, who will preserve his remnant even in that realm, out of which he will some time or other restore a purer and godlier church.

What you write respecting Antwerp¹ makes us also very anxious. God grant that all things may turn out to the glory of his name and the edifying of his church! All our colleagues desire respectfully to salute you, and especially master Bullinger, who is occupied in writing letters to England, and has imposed upon me the duty of replying to yours. Salute in our name the brethren who minister in your church, and may God bless their labours! Farewell. Zurich, Sept. 11, 1566.

[R. GUALTER.]

LETTER LVIII².

GEORGE WITHERS AND JOHN BARTHELOT TO HENRY
BULLINGER AND RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated *Aug.* 1567.

REVEREND fathers in Christ, as you thought proper to read before us the letter of the bishops of London and Winchester, in which they so endeavour to clear themselves with you, as that they seem to obscure the truth, and to try to make the cause for which we are contending appear most frivolous and insignificant; we have thought it necessary to reply to the several heads of that letter in this present writing, that to you who have most kindly promised us all your assistance, the truth may become more clear and evident. And if in

[¹ See above p. 136.]

[² For the letter to which this is in answer, see first series, Letter LXXV. p. 177.]

enumerating these heads we should make any omission or mistake, you will pardon us; both because we have not mentioned the subject any where else, and also because we are hardly capable of remembering every particular.

THE LETTER. They say that very few only have been deprived, and that of these, though pious, yet none, save only Sampson, were men of learning.

THE ANSWER. We reply, that many of them were so learned as to be considered by the bishop of London worthy to preach at Paul's cross, before the most famous and learned congregations in all England; as for instance, Lever³, Penny⁴, Gressop⁵, Crowley⁶, Gough⁷, Philpot⁸, Wiburn⁹. The rest of them, having been either distinguished by degrees in the universities, or after due probation in the time of persecution appointed to the ministry, have presided over their churches

[³ Thomas Lever had been master of St John's, Cambridge; from which he was ejected on queen Mary's accession, and went abroad to Frankfort, Zurich, and other places. He was afterwards preferred to a prebend at Durham, of which he was deprived for non-conformity, though he was allowed to retain the mastership of Sherborn hospital, which he held to his death in 1577.]

[⁴ Dr Penny was a prebendary of St Paul's, of which he was afterwards deprived upon becoming a physician. Strype, Whitgift, 445. See below, Letter LXXXII.]

[⁵ Mr Gressop was of All-Souls, and reader of divinity at Oxford. He preached March 10, 1560, in the shrouds of St Paul's. Strype, Ann. i. i. 369.]

[⁶ Robert Crowley had been ordained by bishop Ridley, and in queen Mary's days was an exile at Frankfort. He was preacher at Paul's cross Oct. 19, 1559, and March 31, 1561. He subscribed to the Articles of religion in 1562 as archdeacon of Hereford; besides which he was parson of St Peter the poor, and afterwards of St Giles', Cripplegate, from which preferment he was suspended in 1566. He died in 1588. Strype, Parker, i. 433, &c.]

[⁷ Strype mentions one of this name among the leading puritans who were cited before archbishop Parker in June, 1571. Parker, ii. 66. He had a controversy with Frecknam, who attacked him for a sermon he preached in the Tower.]

[⁸ This was probably John Philpot of London, ordained together with Percival Wiburn and others by bishop Grindal, Jan. 25, 1559. Strype, Grindal, 54.]

[⁹ Percival Wiburn had been of St John's, Cambridge, and an exile in queen Mary's time. He was deprived for non-conformity in 1564. Strype, Grindal, 54, 145.]

with the greatest credit. And although some of them were not well skilled in Latin, yet by the help and assistance of some books of Calvin, Musculus¹, and others², which have been translated into English, they were fully capable of expounding scripture.

THE LETTER. They assert that there is only one subject of controversy, that namely which they quote, concerning the habits.

THE ANSWER. On the 26th of March 1566 all the London ministers³ were summoned before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the dean of Westminster, and some canonists; and were there asked whether they were willing to acquiesce in the royal proceedings in matters of religion, ordained and to be ordained; nor was the question confined only to the habits. Those who refused compliance were deprived. The archbishop too, when he grants any one a license to preach, binds him in these words, "provided always that in your sermons you shall not persuade the people to procure any alteration or innovation in religion, beyond or contrary to that which the queen's majesty has already effected, or will effect." If the subject of the habits has ever been proposed to any persons by itself, or any disputation has been held, as appears in that treatise published by the bishops in defence of the habits, they have so defended them as if by their means both the

[¹ "Musculus's Common Places came out this year (1563) in folio translated out of Latin into English, for the use of English divines and others, in order to instruct them in a body of sound divinity purged from the errors of popery. The author was a learned professor of divinity at Berne in Switzerland, and reckoned among the most profound doctors that had writ in the church of God. The translator was Mr Man, head of Merton college in Oxford, who undertook the work by the encouragement and suggestion of archbishop Parker, and dedicated the book to him." Strype, Parker, I. 298, 460.]

[² Among the other books here referred to, Marlorat upon St John's gospel, Peter Martyr on the book of Judges, Gualter upon the smaller prophets, are specified in Strype, Ann. II. ii. 146.]

[³ For an account of these proceedings against the London clergy see Strype, Grindal, 154, and Soames, Eliz. Hist. p. 62. The result was, that sixty-one of them promised conformity; nine or ten were absent, thirty-seven denied. Strype, Parker, I. 429.]

sacraments and ministers might recover that ancient dignity and reputation which they have now almost lost; as appears from the examination, division the first, section the first.

THE LETTER. They deny that women ever baptize; they deny too that they approve of the confession of faith being required from infants, and the signing with the sign of the cross.

THE ANSWER. How true is this denial of theirs, appears from the form of baptism which we gave you, and is also evident from the *Advertisements*⁴ of the bishops, article 16, where they themselves require that no infant be baptized otherwise than in the manner prescribed. Besides, the commissaries of the bishops have suffered many brethren to be punished with imprisonment, and most severely and unchristianly treated, for having refused to choose godfathers and godmothers for their infants.

THE LETTER. They deny that the court of faculties belongs to the archbishop.

THE ANSWER. Every thing goes forth from thence in the name of the archbishop under the supreme authority of the queen. And though in one passage of their letter the bishops call this court of faculties a fiscal court, it can in no wise be so designated, unless perhaps you admit that to be a fiscal court, from which also individual bishops grant license to solemnize marriage in any place soever, and at prohibited seasons; which seasons too continue just the same with us, as they were in the time of popery. Besides, if this was not a fiscal court when held by the legate *de latere* of the Roman pontiff (who, when the papacy was flourishing among us, was fond of loitering here in England); it certainly cannot now in any wise be called fiscal. The reason is this, because when the supremacy was transferred to king Henry of pious memory, and all things which by the canon law belonged to the Roman pontiff as head of the church were made over to him, he then, being both king and pope,

[⁴ These Advertisements are printed in bishop Sparrow's collection, 121. WILKINS, Concil. iv. 247. An account of them is given in Strype, Parker, i. 313. See also III. 84. The following is the article referred to in the text: "That the fonte be not removed, nor that the curate do baptise in parishe churches in anye basons, nor in any other forme then is already prescribed."]

appointed another person, namely the archbishop of Canterbury, as his legate, but upon condition of his making him a yearly payment, as the legate *de latere* was wont to do to the pope of Rome. And this archbishop of Canterbury holds that court upon the same terms, and in the like manner.

THE LETTER. They say that they disapprove the chanting of choristers, and the use of organs.

THE ANSWER. Nevertheless they all adopt them in their churches, and the archbishop of Canterbury especially has caused an organ to be erected in his metropolitan church at his own expense.

THE LETTER. They say a great deal about the convocation, where the clergy, as they tell you, are three times more in number than themselves, and have free liberty to discuss and determine upon any matters whatsoever.

THE ANSWER. They may discuss and determine, but in such a way as that nothing is held to be binding and ratified without the consent of the queen and the archbishop. Whence it arose, that many things of the greatest advantage to the church, which had been adopted by the last convocation but one, were suppressed, and never saw the light. Our case was also proposed to the convocation at the last meeting by a certain most learned man connected with the bishop of Norwich; but one of the bishops interrupted him, saying, "What are these things to you? We begun this matter, and we will make an end of it." He made answer, "We thought the queen was the author of this business, but we now perceive that you yourselves are:" and so they would not suffer the matter to be brought forward. Moreover, there is power given by act of parliament to the queen and the archbishop to introduce whatever ceremonies they please into every church in the kingdom.

These things, most reverend and right worshipful masters in Christ, have we written, relying on your accustomed goodness and piety towards the church of England, of which we are witnesses; both because we are loth that you should be ignorant of the true state of the case, and that you may gain a knowledge of the facts from written documents rather than from a verbal statement. For we have written nothing but what we know to be perfectly true, and clearer

than noon-day, and are willing to leave them the right of reply. For all that we have above treated of is manifest from the advertisements of the bishops, from certain royal injunctions, from the formularies of baptism, both of adults and infants, all of which we have before sent you in a Latin translation. You may see the first commencement of a church among us, its progress, and various changes, the origin of our controversy, and the church without a true ministry, accurately described in a letter intended for the most illustrious prince of Heidelberg. And now, our fathers, we make this request, and entreat you in Christ again and again, that (as you have most kindly promised of your own accord) you will soften down the exasperated minds of the bishops of London, Winchester, and the archbishop of Canterhury; and that if you are not able to do any thing more, you will at least obtain thus much, that they may be more gentle towards our brethren who still remain in England; and that if they will not assist them in removing the dregs from their churches, they will at least tolerate them and connive at their proceedings; and that you will, in your promised letters to the bishops of Norwich, Worcester, and Durham, give them due thanks for their kind forbearance, and encourage them, together with their brother ministers who are intent upon the purification of the churches, to persevere in their undertaking. Should we obtain this favour, as your great kindness leads us to expect, we shall not only cease from wearying other churches with renewed petitions, but both we ourselves, and all who are really godly, shall owe every thing to you by reason of the peace and concord restored to the church by your exertions: and may Almighty God bestow upon you an everlasting crown through our Lord Jesus Christ!

Your dignity's most devoted,

GEORGE WITHERS,

JOHN BARTHELOT,

Englishmen.

LETTER LIX¹

HENRY BULLINGER TO THEODORE BEZA.

Dated at [ZURICH,] *March* 15, 1567. [Extract.]

THIS however I freely confess to you, that I have always looked with suspicion upon the statements made by master Sampson. He is not amiss in other respects, but of an exceedingly restless disposition. While he resided amongst us at Zurich, and after he returned to England, he never ceased to be troublesome to master Peter Martyr of blessed memory. He often used to complain to me, that Sampson never wrote a letter without filling it with grievances²: the man is never satisfied; he has always some doubt³ or other to busy himself with. As often as he began, when he was here, to lay his plans before me, I used to get rid of him in a friendly way, as well knowing him to be a man of a capacious and unquiet disposition. England has many characters of this sort, who cannot be at rest, who can never be satisfied, and who have always something or other to complain about. I have certainly a natural dislike to men of this stamp.

[H. BULLINGER.]

[¹ The original of this letter, of which this extract only relates to English affairs, is preserved at Geneva.]

[² In another letter of Bullinger, he sends Beza the letters of certain bishops in England, in order that he may hear something "præter Sampsonis clamores."]

[³ The MS is here imperfect.]

LETTER LX.

THEODORE BEZA TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at GENEVA, *July 29, 1567.* [Extract.]

BUT what good can be expected in England, while things remain as they are? I thought the difficulty was only about the matter of the habits; that some blemishes were left behind, which the bishops were perhaps too tardy in removing, or, as is every where wont to be the case in practice, they were unable to obtain what they most desire. But if the case is as I hear it to be, (and indeed these things can scarcely be invented,) where did such a Babylon ever exist? But although God alone can provide a remedy for these otherwise incurable evils, yet when these brethren⁴ had determined of themselves to go to you, I was unwilling to deter them from this their purpose. For though they will not bring you any agreeable tidings, yet I hope you will not regret the having been made better acquainted with those matters than you had ever been before; and they also, bringing back from you both advice and consolation, will be relieved in some measure at least from the burden of their misery and grief. I therefore request you, my father, and not you only, but also the rest of the ministers and my much honoured masters, that you will freely listen to them, notwithstanding their statement is most distressing; and that you will compassionate them as standing in need of counsel and consolation, which indeed I doubt not but that you will do with your singular brotherly love. As to myself indeed, I have adopted this plan, that, suspending my judgment even in matters, as it seems to me, most evident, respecting absent brethren, (over whom too I am not appointed a judge,) I would exhort them to meekness, and rather to alleviate these evils by patience than by any querulous accusations; in which respect I think

[⁴ These were Percival Wiburn, and probably George Withers. See above p. 142, and Strype, Parker, II. 110.]

that I have found them endued with a spirit of gentleness. And when your authority, which they value most highly as they ought to do, shall be exerted in addition, they will return with a mind yet more tranquillised, and the Lord will doubtless at length provide a remedy. Geneva, July 29, 1567.

Yours,

BEZA.

LETTER LXI.

HENRY BULLINGER AND RODOLPH GUALTER TO
THEODORE BEZA.

Dated at ZURICH, *Aug. 3, 1567.*

WE entertained, very dear brother, the Englishmen you commended to us, with the greatest courtesy in our power. They laid before us some writings, which indeed we had seen before, requesting our advice and assistance, as that of persons possessing much influence with the English bishops. We replied that we had long since done every thing in our power, and were unable to do more; besides, that the bishops had made such answer for themselves, as to make it appear that they were not the aggrieved party. We therefore read them our letter¹ to the bishops upon this business, with the bishops' letter to us in reply. But they alleged that it was not fairly stated by the bishops, for that the case was widely different. As we could not withdraw our entire confidence in the bishops, who have acted in all other respects as men of piety and integrity, we were unwilling to fight and contend with these men, so much after the manner of masters of defence, and therefore declined any farther discussion. What need of more words? The fault seems to have arisen at first from too much rigour on their part, and that in course of time the contest increased, and grew warm, as is always the case when people quarrel; and that the feelings have

[¹ See first series, Appendix, Letter V p. 357 and Letter LXXV p. 175.]

been so exasperated on both sides, that each party is now to blame, and hardly any remedy can be discovered for this mischief. It certainly appears from the conversation of these men that their minds are entirely set against the bishops; for they scarcely say any thing respecting them but what is painted in the blackest colours, and savours of the most perfect hatred². We must therefore entreat the Lord, the ruler of all hearts, to remedy this miserable state of things. What you write, among other things, that you think this evil is to be mitigated rather by patience than by any querulous accusations, would be exceedingly approved of by us, if they also would approve of it. And for ourselves indeed, as we have no power to dictate to the bishops, so we positively refused to take part against them when they were pleading their own cause, and making a probable defence both of themselves and their conduct; nor would we appear to take part with these their accusers, and so be mixed up in this controversy. Meanwhile we promised these our brethren with godly commiseration, that we would write to the bishops, and intercede with them on their behalf; which promise, God willing, we will faithfully perform at the next Frankfort fair. And we can do nothing else at present. They shewed us moreover a petition prepared to be presented to the most illustrious prince, the elector Palatine³. We did not deter them from their purpose; for possibly the Lord may be pleased even by these means to quiet those unhappy disputes. This is the sum of our transactions with them, although we had determined among ourselves to have nothing more to do with any one in this controversy, whether in conversation or by letter; and this is now our decided resolution. And if any other parties think of coming hither, let them know that they will come to no purpose.

You will do us a great favour, if you will give us an accurate account of the French affairs, about which, and the queen especially, there are spread wonderful reports. We are in suspense about them, and therefore pray the Lord to overturn the crafty and cruel counsels of the ungodly, and not so much to preserve the churches from evil, as to reconcile

[² *Odium Vatiniatum*, so called from Vatinius, noted for his scurrility and abusiveness. See Cic. in Vatin. and Catull. 14. 3.]

[³ See the following letter.]

them to himself by true faith and amendment of life. For otherwise we fear, and not without reason, that grievous calamities are hanging over us. I will take care that your letter directed to Zanchius shall be faithfully delivered in a few days. That Baldwin¹ of whom you write has found fault with me in a public lecture at Paris, as a student writes me word from that city, upon the subject of human traditions, and quotes a passage from the second chapter of my Apocalypse. He has added also to his censure a bare-faced falsehood, that he had conferred with me upon this matter, and that I had scarcely any thing to urge in reply; whereas he never accosted me but once, and that in a cursory way, and never conversed with me upon any subject at all. But these men shall proceed no farther, as the Apostle says; for their condemnation shall be manifest unto all. Farewell. Master Gualter salutes you. All the rest of the brethren salute you. Do you also salute our brethren who are with you. Zurich, Aug. 3, 1567.

H. BULLINGER the elder, in
GUALTER'S name and his own.

LETTER LXII.

GEORGE WITHERS TO THE PRINCE ELECTOR PALATINE².

[Without place or date.]

It is not through our fault, most noble prince, that we send you this petition; but violence compels us to do

[¹ See the first series, p. 118, note 1.]

[² "Among the German princes, Frederic III. elector Palatine, in the year 1560, substituted the followers of Calvin's doctrines in place of the Lutheran teachers, whom he displaced, and ordered his subjects to receive the rites and opinions of the Genevans. His successor Lewis, in the year 1576, rescinded the acts of his father, and restored the Lutheran doctrine to its former dignity and authority. But this again fell, on the accession of John Casimir to the government of the Palatine countries in 1583: for he, with his deceased father, Frederic III. had gone over to the side of the reformed, and it was necessary

so, religion urges us, our country demands it of us, in fine, the church of England now lying prostrate, and (unless some assistance be afforded to her) on the very brink of destruction, drives us as it were headlong to adopt this measure. Yet if that affection towards the church and especial regard to all godly persons, which so greatly distinguish you above all other princes, were not sufficiently made known to us, we should never have presumed to seek shelter under your protection. But now since these things are no secret, (for how can that be a secret which is manifest to every one?) it is no wonder that we are easily persuaded that you will afford to the distressed that protection which you have already led them to hope for at your hands. Wherefore, most excellent prince, if, humble as we are in station and unknown to you, overwhelmed as we are by various calamities, we entreat your succour on behalf of our afflicted church, this is not an act of presumption on our part; and though indeed we may seem a little too bold, you will yet allow us so much liberty of complaining, as you may consider to be warranted by our godly sorrow. For Satan, though he has not been able to do us mischief in open warfare, is making secret attacks upon the church of England; and as he is unable to restore popery altogether, he is endeavouring, but imperceptibly and by degrees, to bring us back to Lutheranism. In which as there are many things to be regretted, so there is nothing more grievous than that it is not now by means of his papists, not by means of men glutted with the blood of the saints, not by most abandoned individuals, but by means of our own selves, by means of those who were heretofore accounted the best of men, he is now endeavouring to bring the best of men into danger; and those whom he could not destroy by violence,

again to give Calvinism the pre-eminence. From that time onward, the Palatine church held the second rank among the reformed churches: and it possessed such influence over the others, that the religious instructions, composed for its use by Zechariah Ursinus, and denominated the Heidelberg Catechism, were received nearly throughout the whole body." Mosheim. ed. Soames, Vol. III. p. 384, where the following authorities are quoted: Henry Alting's *Historia Eccles. Palatinæ*, in Lud. Christ. Mieg's *Monumenta Palatina*, Tom. I. p. 223, &c. Loscher's *Historia Motuum*, Part II. Lib. IV. cap. IV. p. 125. Salig's *Historie der Augsburg Confession*, Vol. III. Book IX. ch. V. p. 433, &c.]

or sword, or fire, he now hopes to overwhelm by the authority of our own people, and by the opinions and superstition of those who profess the gospel.

But that you may more plainly and fully perceive and understand the nature of the case, it is necessary to point out to you the first rise and origin of the church upon its first beginning and appearance among us, and then its progress and various vicissitudes; that you may thereby learn both how far removed we have always been from perfection, and yet how far we have gone back from that liberty to which, by the blessing of Christ, we had at one time attained. Under the auspices of Henry, the eighth of that name, England drove away the Roman Antichrist¹ from all her borders, but yet in such a manner as that his authority seemed not so much suppressed, as transferred to the king. The mass and other relics of popish filthiness retained their former place and estimation. After the pope was cast out, the monasteries were every where destroyed. Monks, friars, nuns were obliged to lay aside and change their designation and habit; pilgrimages were afterwards forbidden, and the images, by means of which such abominable idolatry was committed, were taken down and broken in pieces; and then, towards the very close of his reign, the bible² printed in the vulgar tongue was allowed to all, and the priests in every church were ordered to recite in English the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, and the epistle and gospel of the day³. And these were the foundations laid in the reign of Henry, upon whose decease prince Edward⁴ of pious memory succeeded to the throne; who having called together the most noble and learned men throughout the realm, began to reform the church after

[¹ For an account of the various legislative provisions by which, in 1534, the power of the papacy in England was wholly destroyed, see Soames, *Hist. Ref.* i. 429, &c., and Burnet, *Ref.* i. 236.]

[² A royal proclamation issued in May 1540, rendered every parish which should not be provided with a bible before the next festival of All-hallows, liable to a penalty of forty shillings per month as long as this omission should continue. See Soames, ii. 453, Burnet, i. 486.]

[³ See Soames, *Hist. Ref.* ii. 158.]

[⁴ Edward VI. began to reign Jan. 28, 1547.]

their advice. He ordered all the statues and images⁵ every where to be thrown down and broken in pieces. Next, he every where abolished the mass and prayers in a foreign language. He permitted the laity to receive the cup as well as the bread in the communion of the Lord's supper. He set forth a form of public prayer written in English; which however scarcely differed in any respect from the Latin, except that all the most glaring errors were abolished. The administration of the sacraments altogether savours of Lutheranism. The clergy⁶ were allowed to marry, and their children legitimated by an express act of parliament. Altars⁷, organs, the theatrical dresses of the papists, and other things of the like kind were retained under the name of ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof. Afterwards this godly king, perceiving how far he still was from the mark, took in hand the matter afresh, set forth a new form of prayers, removed and prohibited all the monuments of superstition which he had before left, excepting the surplice and kneeling at the Lord's supper, baptizing by women, and demanding of infants a profession of faith. What he retained however was left so free, that no one who objected to them was compelled to observe them. But the king, who truly feared God, not being yet satisfied with these improvements, was about to put the last finish to this work, and appointed a day for the assembling of both houses of parliament. All

[⁵ On Feb. 11, 1548, Cranmer received an order of council for transmission through his province, enjoining the indiscriminate removal of images from churches. This order was signed by the protector, the earl of Arundel, the lord Russell, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Antony Wingfield, and Sir William Paget. See Soames, III. 227, Burnet, II. 95, and IV. 270, where he has given a copy of the original document.]

[⁶ For an account of the acts of parliament authorising the marriage of the clergy, see Burnet, II. 141, 306.]

[⁷ On the 24th of November, 1550, a circular letter was addressed from the council to bishop Ridley and other prelates, enjoining them to remove all altars within their respective dioceses, and to set up a table instead thereof. For disobedience to this injunction, Day, bishop of Chichester, was committed to the Fleet. Soames, III. 573, &c. See also bishop Ridley's injunctions at his visitation in the same year, as given in his works, Parker Society's Edition, pp. 319, 321. Also bishop Hooper's Sermons on Jonas, Parker Soc. Ed. p. 488.]

were full of hope and expectation; but in the mean time our most excellent king was taken away by an untimely death¹. His sister Mary succeeded as heir to the kingdom: would that she had inherited his piety also! Every thing was then suddenly changed, and the papacy entirely re-established.

But why should I make mention of circumstances so notorious? I will now come to those with which you are probably unacquainted. Although the church seemed at first to be entirely overthrown, and the godly were dispersed in every quarter, yet a congregation² of some importance collected itself at London, chose its ministers by common consent, appointed deacons, and, in the midst of enemies more sharp-sighted than Argus and more cruel than Nero, the church of God was again restored entire, and, in a word, complete in all its parts. And though it was often dispersed by the attacks of its enemies, and a very great number of its members³ perished at the stake, it nevertheless grew and increased every day. In the mean time Mary died. Her sister Elizabeth began her reign⁴ to the exceeding joy of all. Then those⁵ who had been detained in confinement and in chains for the sake of religion, were set at liberty by the queen's command; those who had been driven into exile⁶, returned home again. But the church which had survived in the midst of the flames was abolished by some sort of edict⁷. This indeed was a matter of no difficulty, because

[¹ Edward VI. died July 6, 1553.]

[² For an account of this congregation see Foxe, also Strype, Mem. III. ii. 147. Among their ministers were Edmund Scamler, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, and Thomas Bentham, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.]

[³ Among these were John Rough, and Cuthbert Simpson, ministers of the abovenamed congregation, and Margaret Mearing, Hugh Foxe, and John Devenish. An account of their martyrdoms is given in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Vol. VIII. 443, &c. Edit. 1839.]

[⁴ Queen Elizabeth began her reign, Nov. 17, 1558.]

[⁵ A list of some of these is given in Strype, Ann. I. i. 55. The various orders for their enlargement were dated in Dec. 1558.]

[⁶ Of these there were above eight hundred. A list of the chief of them is given in Strype, Cranmer, 449, and Mem. III. i. 231.]

[⁷ We find that an order was sent to the lord mayor of London to commit one Thomas Parrys to prison, till further order should be taken by the council, for suffering, contrary to the queen's proclama-

there was a general expectation that one not less pure would be re-established by the authority of the queen and the laws of the kingdom. The high parliament of the whole realm was assembled, popery again cast out, and the second form of prayers, which Edward left behind him at his death, was restored to the church. But the ceremonies, which, as was above stated, were retained in the church at the first reformation of Edward, are restored under the same name. Power, moreover, was given to the queen and the archbishop, to introduce whatever additional ceremonies they might think proper; and they immediately afterwards both discontinued the ordinary bread heretofore used in the administration of the Lord's supper, and, for the sake of a newer reformation, adopted the round wafer⁸, after the pattern of that used by the papists. And at the pronouncing of the name of Jesus they have ordered all persons to take off their hats and bow their knees. Then on the expulsion of the popish bishops new ones were to be appointed in their room; and most of these were of the number of those who had been exiles. These at first began to oppose the ceremonies; but afterwards, when there was no hope otherwise of obtaining a bishoprick, they yielded, and, as one of them openly acknowledged, undertook the office against their conscience. In the mean while they comforted their brethren, whom they perceived to be still struggling against these things, by promising them free liberty in the government of their churches; and for some years they kept this promise. On the obtaining of which liberty, they diligently purified their churches from all the blemishes and defilements of popery. Others, who had at first yielded, incited by their example, began to reform their churches in the like manner. But when the bishops perceived that the number and influence of these parties was increasing among the people, they thought their dignity would come to nought, unless they compelled the inferior clergy to adopt the same usages as they did themselves. They took up the matter therefore at the queen's command⁹.

tion, which prohibited all preaching, assemblies of people to meet at Worcester house, whereof he had the keeping. See Strype, Ann. 1. i. 59.]

[⁸ See Soames, Eliz. Rel. Hist. 243, and Strype, Parker, II. 343.]

[⁹ The letter of the queen to the archbishop, for redressing disorders in the church, is given in Strype, Parker, III. 65.]

They deprived Sampson¹, a most learned man, and possessing very great influence in the church, in the hope that the rest would easily be deterred by the fear of like consequences to themselves. But when, contrary to their expectation, they found them all more prepared for resistance, they made a second attempt; and having summoned together all the ministers² of the church in London, they required them to promise obedience to all the commands of the queen, either then or hereafter to be issued respecting religion. And when they stated that they could not do this, under existing circumstances, with a safe conscience, more than thirty of them were deprived in one and the selfsame day. But when they found that this plan did not succeed, but that they had excited the hatred of all, and especially of the godly, against them, they devised another mode of attack, by prohibiting any one to expound the scriptures in his parish without an especial license under the bishop's own seal³. Besides this, they have recalled all licenses⁴ which had been granted before a certain day, and will renew them only to such persons as shall have professed their assent to all their proceedings. If any one should presume to expound the scriptures without their permission, he is brought to trial as being guilty of contempt; and should he not then conform, they punish him by imprisonment or exile.

You perceive therefore, most excellent prince, the wretched aspect of the church of England; you perceive into what an unsightly state it has fallen. For there being three chief parts of the church, wholesome doctrine, the pure administration of the sacraments, and a rightly constituted ministry, which part also includes a vigorous discipline; I will not touch upon the doctrine of our church, which, though sound in most respects, is however lame in others. In what way the sacraments are disfigured by human inventions, will easily

[¹ See above, p. 118, and Soames, *Eliz. Rel. Hist.* 54.]

[² The London ministers were cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners at Lambeth, towards the end of March, 1564. Strype, *Ann.* i. ii. 129. See Soames, *Eliz. Rel. Hist.* 46.]

[³ The form of license for preaching is given by Strype, *Parker*, iii. 122.]

[⁴ All licenses granted before March 1, 1564, were to be void and of none effect. Sparrow's *Collections*, 121.]

appear from the public form of prayer, the royal injunctions, and the admonitions, or (as they call them) the advertisements⁵, of the bishops. But the ministry is in fact nothing at all, nor is there any discipline. For those persons cannot be said to be ministers of Christ, but servants of men, who can do nothing according to the prescript of the word, but are obliged to act in every respect at the nod of the queen and the bishops. What must we say, when most of them are popish priests, consecrated to perform mass; and the far greater part of the remainder are most ignorant persons, appointed at the will of the people, not to the ministry of the word, but to repeat the office of the day or festival, which almost any child might do without difficulty? What must we say, when those who preside over the churches are allowed to be absent from them for the sake of study or attendance on other things? What, when there is an innumerable multitude of persons who have neither any church nor fixed appointment? What, when preaching is a privilege confined to the bishops, who are however but seldom at leisure for this office? What, lastly, when the sword of excommunication is taken out of the hands of the clergy and handed over to lawyers? What kind of a church, most illustrious prince, must you think that to be, in which you can neither hear of the pure administration of the sacraments, nor indeed of any ministry whatever, save of this description?

Wherefore if you possess any interest or influence with our most serene queen, we beg and entreat you to make use of it in so godly a cause, to heal these so great maladies of the church, and to condemn for evermore the entire remembrance of popery; but in such a way that, if you cannot, as we desire, obtain a more complete reformation of the whole church, you will nevertheless earnestly entreat and obtain, (and this we hope you will be able to accomplish,) for those who abominate the relics of antichrist, the liberty of not being obliged either to adopt them against their conscience, or to relinquish the ministry.

And if, most excellent prince, you wish well to us and to our church, which we certainly persuade ourselves to be the

[⁵ For an account of the book of Advertisements, see Soames, *Eliz. Rel. Hist.* 42, *Strype, Ann.* i. ii. 130, and *Parker*, i. 313. It is printed in *Bishop Sparrow's Collections*, 121.]

case, you must take especial care to transfer all the blame from the queen unto the bishops, who do not act the part of her advisers with the freedom that becomes them, and which it is right they should exercise. For as to their asserting both at home and to foreigners that they do not themselves approve these measures, but that they execute them at the instigation of the queen, they both themselves command them in books publicly set forth for that very object, and state that it is done by the queen after good and pious counsel, and for the benefit of the whole church. So that it is not to be wondered at, if, deceived by their blandishments and flatteries, she adopts some severe measures against us as though we were rebellious and contumacious. But as we know that you are of your own inclination sufficiently disposed to help us, and as it is not right that you should any longer be detained by us from the most important business of your commonwealth, we will not enlarge our statement any farther, but will now bring it to a close.

[GEORGE WITHERS.]

LETTER LXIII.

[RICHARD HILLES] TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Aug. 23, 1567.*

I PRAY for you, honoured sir, and very dear friend, much health. I received, four months since, from John Abel (who also desires his best respects) a large volume, namely your *Isaiah*, as expounded in your homilies, together with your very gratifying letter, dated on the 25th of last February. You have presented me with that volume, that I may have this gift from you as a memorial of our uninterrupted friendship, which, God willing, it shall be. I have also purchased from my very dear brother, the aforesaid John Abel, the book of *Daniel* with the epitome, expounded in your sixty-six homilies. Both books delight me exceedingly, and I hope that the homilies in each volume will be productive of no little benefit to faithful and diligent readers.

As to your desire of certain information respecting the affairs of Brabant, and your request that I should be mindful of you in this matter to the utmost of my power, whether occupied or disengaged; I have now to inform you, my very dear sir, that I have already committed to writing¹ all that I myself know for certain about these matters, or have been able to ascertain from my friends; and that from such information I have written as it were a little history. And if I can get it translated into Latin (which a schoolmaster of my acquaintance has promised to undertake for me), I will send it you, or at least to Frankfort for you, at the next Lent fair, should it please God that I live till that time. I am very glad that your two youngest grown up daughters so prudently and judiciously manage your household concerns, as that you can remain a widower² without discomfort.

It is stated here as a fact, that the duke of Alva³, who has lately come to Louvaine or Ghent with the forces of the king of Spain, which he has stationed there in lower Germany and at Antwerp in the name of that sovereign, intends to take away the liberties and privileges of all the cities of that country which admitted, or freely permitted, the preaching of the protestants during the past year, and to reduce the lower Germany under a regular monarchy. May the will of the Lord be done, without whose permission he can do nothing! Let us heartily pray him to deign to give us peace in our days. This indeed still remains undisturbed, by the blessing of God, in this realm of England; except that some of our preachers (though not among the most learned), kept back by too great scrupulosity, or overcome by vain-glory or some measure of popular applause, are still occasionally disturbing it by impugning or opposing the ordinance of the queen and the whole realm, touching the use or wearing of

[¹ See first series, p. 212.]

[² Bullinger lost his wife in 1564. She died of the plague, as also did three of his daughters, who were married to Hulric Zuinglius, Lewis Lavater, and Josiah Simler, all ministers of Zurich.]

[³ "The king of Spain's army, led by the duke of Alva, hath already passed through Franche Comté and Lorraine, between Metz, Thou, and Verdun; so as it is thought by this they are come to Luxembourg." Sir Henry Norris to queen Elizabeth. July 23, 1567 MS. Sloane 4126.]

the surplice in the church during the singing of the psalms, the reading of the lessons, and the administration of the sacraments. But I am of opinion with holy Jerome (in his first book against the Pelagians), that it is no offence against God, for a bishop, presbyter, and deacon, and all other ecclesiastics to walk in a white garment in the administration of the sacraments¹. Moreover, religion requires one kind of habit for the ministry, and another for common use and daily life: and the Egyptian priests (who, as you well know, were Christians in the time of Jerome) wore linen garments not only in divine service, but in common use. (Commentary on Ezek. Lib. XIII. c. 44.)² And truly the disciples of Christ, as much as lieth in them, must follow peace with all men, and not be a stumbling-block to unbelievers or to the churches of God. We must pray the Lord to make us all of one mind to dwell in the house of God, which is the church, and to remove all unnecessary contentions and causes of offence. May the Lord preserve you. London, Aug. 23, 1567.

Yours from my heart, &c.

[RICHARD HILLES.]

LETTER LXIV.

HENRY BULLINGER AND RODOLPH GUALTER TO
BISHOPS GRINDAL, SANDYS AND PARKHURST.

Dated at ZURICH, Aug. 26, 1567.

REVEREND sirs, right worshipful masters, and very dear brethren in the Lord. May the Lord Jesus bless you, and preserve you from all evil!

In proportion to our exceeding regard for you, reverend

[¹ Unde adjungis, gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo esse contrariam. Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiae contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorem; si episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum cum candida veste processerint? Adv. Pelag. Lib. I. cap. 9. Tom. II. p. 277. Antv. 1579.]

[² Vestibus lineis utuntur Ægyptii sacerdotes, non solum intrinsecus, sed et extrinsecus. Porro religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communi. Tom. IV. p. 476.]

masters and very dear brethren, is our grief at the sad dissensions between you and some of your brethren, learned men, who have been deprived of their ministerial offices in England. You must impute it therefore to our sincere affection, that we have repeatedly wearied your ears with the same complaint. We have seen and received your apology for your conduct in this matter: but some English exiles have come to us in the mean time, who affirm that the doctors of the church in London, and also of other churches in England, men who had been tried in the Marian persecution, and by whose fidelity and diligence the Anglican churches were preserved during those most cruel times, are now turned out; and not merely turned out, but oppressed with grievous persecution, and even cast into loathsome prisons. They add, that there are many ministers of the churches in Ireland, who in their opinions and conduct are nowise different from those very persons who are suffering persecution in England; but that by the favour of their bishop, and his intercession with the queen's majesty, they are living in the greatest tranquillity. Whence they conclude that, if the bishops who are in England would also intercede with the queen's majesty, they themselves would be allowed quietly to retain their charge of the churches committed to them. And they state, what is very important in this question, that the bishops do not deny that those who are persecuted and degraded have the better cause: for they acknowledge that the church would be established on a better footing, and governed when so established, without those ceremonies and rites and institutions than with them; so that if the option were allowed them, they would rather make choice of a church without them, than that one thus burdened should be committed to their charge. And this is also most evident from this fact, that the bishops have more than once requested of her majesty in parliament that they might be removed, and the church thereby become more purified and beautified, or at least less burdened.

Wherefore, reverend sirs and very dear brethren, your piety will doubtless stir you up to consult by what means convenient and speedy succour may be afforded to these afflicted brethren, and that they may not be oppressed with so cruel a persecution; but rather that by the clemency

of the queen's majesty they may be tolerated in the kingdom; and that the gifts which are in them, so useful to the church, may not be quenched by their abdication. But we need not by many arguments or examples incite you, who are most experienced in all that is godly and just: we only entreat you by the Lord, that if it be in your power either to alleviate or altogether remove the distress of these oppressed persons by your influence with the queen's majesty, you will, for the sake of christian love, afford them your assistance with all faithfulness; and take in good part this our brotherly admonition, and continue to regard us, who have the greatest love for you, with your wonted affection. Farewell, honoured masters. Zurich, Aug. 26, 1567.

BULLINGER and GUALTER.

LETTER LXV.

CHRISTOPHER MONT TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Oct. 2, 1567.

MASTER Funckius left this place on the morning of the 27th of September, and on the evening of the same day a letter was brought to me from England, from the reverend bishop of London, to be delivered to your excellency, and which I was unwilling to send to your excellency without one from myself. The bishop of London, I suppose, has given you an account¹ of the parricide perpetrated by the queen of Scots, and her justly deserved punishment; namely, that she has been taken prisoner, and compelled to abdicate the kingdom, after having confessed that her husband had been taken off by her counsel and co-operation; and that her most profligate paramour had taken refuge in some maritime fortress built upon a rock. Praiseworthy is the example and activity of this unpolished nation in the punishment of crime, for which refined Italy would have pleaded in excuse the force and rage of lust. You cannot but be aware of the

[¹ See first series, Letter LXXIX. p. 192.]

extraordinary butchery in Flanders²: I much doubt whether those to whom the power of the sword has been committed by the Lord, can be excused for being idle spectators and dissemblers in such vast profusion of innocent blood. If it has been allowed and sanctioned in all ages, and by all popes, cardinals, monks, clergymen, and scholastic writers, to wage war against the Turks, because they wage war against the true religion, and if in such war glory and immortal honour awaits the slain; is that man to be accounted as factious and rebellious, who takes up necessary and just arms in defence of his altars and his home, for the resistance of unjust aggression, the maintenance of true religion, and the transmission of it to posterity? What if a lawful sovereign should degenerate into a tyrant, can he be said to be the minister of God? Peace must be cultivated, and obedience rendered; but at the same time the natural rights, laws, and customs of kingdoms, dominions, and powers, are to be maintained, and especially the things which are God's are to be given to God. Noble was the decree of the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian; and worthy that voice of the majesty of a sovereign, when he professed that he, though a prince, was bound by the laws: so much does our authority depend on the authority of the law. Nor are princes so unrestrained by law, as that they may do every thing according to their own will; but, as Aristotle says, they ought so far to excel others by pre-eminence in virtue, as that the virtue of all other persons may not admit of being compared with theirs; and they should be as much superior to others in justice and equity, as the sun is to the shapeless and rude elements. There is no legislating at all against such a person; inasmuch as he is himself a living and animated law. The Swiss therefore are to be commended, who have vindicated their freedom from a weak and tyrannical despotism. I would not wish to sound an alarm against lawful and just sovereigns, but against those tyrants, who, wherever they turn themselves, corrupt, disturb, confound, contaminate every thing by their lust, avarice, cruelty, and pride, overturning and agitating every thing by their sole will. Such persons are most deserving of being brought to order by Swiss and

[² See Brandt's Hist. of Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. B. VIII. IX. &c.]

Scottish censors. Salute, I pray you, from me your son-in-law Rodolph Gualter. I offer you all the services in my power. Strasburgh, Oct. 2, 1567.

[Yours,]

you know who,

[CHRISTOPHER MONT.]

LETTER LXVI.

BISHOP GRINDAL TO THEODORE BEZA AND OTHERS.

Dated at LONDON, *April 17, 1568.*

HEALTH in Christ. Master John Cousins, the most faithful minister of the French church in this country, and my very dear brother in the Lord, has this day shewn me a letter that he has written to you upon the state of the Dutch church in London, and which he sends together with this. In that letter the origin and substance of all the controversies in the said church are set forth with the greatest simplicity and truth. I pray you therefore, very dear brethren, to give full credit to that letter, and aid with your counsel not only the Dutch church in London, but also the other churches of that language; and earnestly exhort them to be zealous in the promotion of peace and unity. I doubt not but that your exhortations and admonitions will have great influence with them. I would have written somewhat more fully upon this subject, and also upon the state of our own churches, had not a disorder in my eyes¹, which succeeded a tertian ague, prevented me from doing so. But the Lord, I hope, will afford me a better opportunity at some future time. May the Lord preserve you, my very dear brethren, and bless your ministry! London, April 17, 1568.

Yours in Christ,

EDMUND GRINDAL,

Bishop of London.

[¹ See first series, Letter LXXXII. p. 201.]

LETTER LXVII.

CHRISTOPHER MONT TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Dec. 27, 1568.*

I HAVE lately received two letters from you, the one written on the 13th of December, the other on the 16th, brought to me by master Antony Francis, whom both on account of his learning and piety I would willingly have obliged, if I had had it in my power. As I could not forward more speedily your treasurer's letter to his son, I have given it in charge to master Antony, who is going to-morrow from hence to Heidelberg.

I can write your excellency no certain news from France; for all the tidings brought from that country are so vague, that we dare give very little credit to what is told us. We have this one token, that the affairs of the Huguenots are not yet despaired of, namely, that the king's party, who have at other times put forth vain and inflated exaggerations of any new occurrence in their own favour, are now silent, and have become more moderate. I believe that the Italians², having met, as they deserved, with a warm reception, will not rashly make an incursion into France. The cruelty and impious domination of the Spaniards will be retaliated by the avenging arms of the Turks.

The bishop of London wrote to me on the 10th of October, which letter I received at length on the 20th of December. For as we are now deprived of the convenience afforded by Flanders in the transmission of letters, and the German Ocean is now closed against us, we are deprived of the facility both of sending letters and receiving them in return. The bishop in his letter desired me to salute your excellency in his name. I have thought it right to communicate to you, as a friend and well wisher to the affairs of England, the tidings that I

[² A subsidy of 10,000 ducats was paid by Pius V to the duke of Savoy, to furnish him with necessary equipments, that he might take the field in France against the Huguenots. Smedley's *Hist. of Ref. in France*, I. 299.]

have received from thence. The duke of Norfolk, who had till now conducted himself loyally and peaceably in England, as a nobleman should do, puffed up by extravagant and ambitious expectations, entertained the idea of contracting a most unhappy marriage with the parricide and blood-sucking Medea¹; and inflamed with this project withdrew from court to his ancestral domains. On his presumption being discovered, he was summoned to court by a special messenger; to which summons however he paid no attention, but remained on his paternal estate. The queen, perceiving with her wonted discretion the necessity of putting a stop to such proceedings, sent an officer² of the royal guards with a troop of soldiers to apprehend him; on hearing of which he voluntarily commenced his journey to court, but he was stopped by the queen's order, and not allowed to come near the court. After a delay of three days he was committed to the tower of London, where he is still detained. Two other earls³ were ordered to confine themselves to their own houses, as being charged with the suspicion of being privy to his design. Now that the duke is arrested, and the others reduced to order, the whole kingdom is quiet and tranquil. Unless that serpent is removed out of the way, she will occasion much mischief by the arts and wiles peculiar to her race, like her who dreamed that she was delivered of a burning torch. Our most serene queen has hitherto peaceably carried on the government without any bloodshed: may God grant her a continuance of this happiness!

An ambassador was lately sent over from the king of Spain to the most serene queen of England, requesting liberty of passage in his name for three legions or regiments of Flemish infantry, who were on their way to Spain to be em-

[1 Mary, queen of Scots. See first series, Let. LXXXVII. p. 216.]

[2 Edward Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare's brother, lieutenant of the band of gentlemen pensioners, met and received the duke of Norfolk at Saint Alban's on his return to court, and conveyed him to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the queen then lay. Camden, Elizabeth, p. 131.]

[3 The earl of Pembroke was commanded to keep his house, and brought to a private examination. Camden, Eliz. p. 132. The other nobleman was probably the earl of Arundel, who "had earnestly moved [the duke] to marry the Scottish queen," as the earl of Sussex writes to Cecil, Sept. 11, 1569. MS. Cotton. Calig. c. i. 324.]

ployed against the rebel Moors. The queen is reported to have replied on the instant, that it might possibly be attended with danger for such a number of soldiers to sail along the coasts of England; for as the winds are changeable and uncertain, and many things may happen to persons travelling by sea, different from what they expected, if these soldiers, upon some urgent necessity, should be obliged to bring to in the English ports, the landing of such numbers could not take place without mischief, and it would therefore be necessary for the queen to arm and defend her coasts and harbours with garrison troops: but if the king chose to bear that expense, and give security that he would not make any other use of the German soldiery than against the Moors, she would be ready to oblige him. But it must be considered that faith is not to be kept with heretics, and that, if an oath is to be violated, it may well be violated for the sake of a kingdom⁴. Pope Julius used to say that oaths were binding on merchants, but not on princes.

We hear no news from Saxony. The prince of Orange is still lingering with the Saxon. The elector himself, it is said, will be present at the marriage of his daughter⁵, who is to be brought to Heidelberg, where the marriage will take place on the 5th of February. Nothing is yet determined about our sending troops into France. A small force will not be able to penetrate; a large one will cost too much money, and, to go to any expense and incur danger for the sake of religion, is the work of a Sampson. I offer my services to your reverence. Strasburgh, Dec. 27, 1568. Let us pray that through the divine mercy we may meet with better success in the year now approaching. I wish you would omit my English⁶ titles in the address of your letters.

The prudent man, of such possessed,
Enjoys them in his silent breast.

C. M.

[⁴ See Cicero, de Off. iii. 21.]

[⁵ Elizabeth, daughter of Augustus, elector of Saxony, was married in 1569 to John Casimir, count Palatine.]

[⁶ Christopher Mont was Q. Elizabeth's political agent at Strasburgh.]

LETTER LXVIII¹.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at WESTMINSTER, *May 1, 1569.*

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. to John Sturmius, our right well-beloved friend, greeting.

We have received your letter written to us on the 19th of March, from those parties to whom you gave them to be delivered to us. And to the individuals themselves we have both given the credit that your letter requested, and have accurately considered every thing that they were ordered to acquaint us with. By which recognizing your former good will towards us, and that care and solicitude respecting our state, which you have long since manifested to us by abundant evidence; though we were not greatly surprised at it by reason of your ancient attachment to us, yet we rejoiced greatly, and now also return you much thanks.

But with respect to the things mentioned by them to us, we have thus determined, that, as we have lately sent over thither with dispatches our faithful servant, Henry Killigrew², in whom, together with doctor Mont, our faithful servant, who is well known to you, we wish full confidence to be placed in respect to all our affairs, you may freely make known to them all the circumstances, and communicate them without reserve to either one or both. And when we have been made acquainted by them with such your conference, we will come to such a determination, by God's blessing, upon the whole matter, as may be worthy of the cause and of ourselves. Farewell. From our palace at Westminster, May 1, in the year of our Lord, 1569, and in the eleventh year of our reign.

ELIZABETH R.

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved at Strasburgh.]

[² For an account of this embassy see Strype, Ann. i. ii. 268.]

LETTER LXIX.

JOHN STURMIUS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Sept.* 6, 1569.

THE individual³, most serene queen, who has translated the holy Bible into Spanish, is one of those, who, oppressed by the calumnies of wicked men, are unable to retain the position in which they seem in a manner to have been placed by God. That serpent, the enemy of all good men, envies England this man and his work, yea, envies the church of Christ; and this excellent man has been compelled by the evil artifices of his enemies to depart from England. But he has neither laid aside his zeal for religion, nor his good will towards the kingdom of England, nor his veneration for your majesty; and he has overcome the power of the devil, and completed a work which he would willingly have published under the protection of your majesty, if he thought the Spaniards would suffer it without resentment, and if he had considered it worthy of your majesty's patronage: not that he is himself undeserving of the support of the most excellent and powerful, by reason of his virtue and learning, but that he thinks too humbly of himself. He is however desirous that this work and his services should meet with the approval of your majesty, and has requested my recommendation of both; that, if he may not come into England himself, his bible may at least obtain a place, in which, after having been so long and greatly tossed about with its author, it may at length repose in peace. I commend therefore to

[³ Cassiodorus de Reyna is the person here mentioned. He was one of the preachers of the Spanish church in England, which he was obliged to leave upon suspicion of some grievous crime. His translation of the Bible was printed at Basle in 1569, and entitled "La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del viejo y nuevo Testamento, trasladada en espanyol, 1569." A revised edition of it was published by Cyprian de Valera, at Amsterdam, in 1702. Horne's Introduction, Vol. II. p. 268. He also published "A defence of the divinity of Christ against the Jews."]

your majesty both this man and his labours against the calumnies of the malevolent. They indeed have received their just punishment, and the end of their life sufficiently proved what their course of life had been. But I so intercede for the author, as also to ask pardon for myself, for being so troublesome amidst this vast pressure of business, especially in these disturbances of the world; believing however, and hoping, that as the prayers and supplications of the humble are not unacceptable to God, so they will not be so to great men and the rulers of empires and kingdoms. I pray God to preserve your majesty in health and safety, happiness and prosperity. Strasburgh, Sept. 6, 1569.

Your most serene majesty's

faithful servant and subject,

JOHN STURMIUS.

LETTER LXX.

JOHN STURMIUS TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Sept.* 8, 1569.

I HAVE written to the most serene queen about the Spanish bible¹, and have commended it to her majesty's protection. But I have need also in this matter of the support of your authority, that if this my vindication should be at all questioned, you may afford us your assistance; that the calumny of the Spanish papists may not prove of more avail than the desires of the professors of the gospel in those parts. The bible, I hear, is faithfully translated, and I entertain such an opinion of the party who has translated it, that I would not hesitate even to swear to his fidelity and innocence. He is certainly endued with an acute and erudite judgment. We only petition her majesty to allow the work to be exposed for sale in your booksellers' shops, should any copies happen to be brought over. You have

[¹ See the preceding letter.]

already dared, and still dare to do greater things than this; and it is surely the duty of religion to provide a habitation for the Holy Spirit.

We hear nothing in these parts about the French affairs, as all the roads are so entirely blocked up. We have, however, great expectations from you, and also from the conference of our princes at Neuberg. The emperor's commissioners have now been fruitlessly expecting for many weeks the arrival in our city of the envoys of the electors of Saxony and Brandeburgh, and know not how to account for their delay. Farewell, illustrious sir. Strasburgh, Sept. 8, 1569.

Your honour's most devoted,

JOHN STURMIUS.

LETTER LXXI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO JOHN WOLFIIUS.

Dated at NORWICH, *Jan.* 16, 1571.

MAY you be safe in Christ, my kind Wolfius. On the first of July I received your letter, together with your very learned commentaries on Nehemiah, for which I return my best thanks, and will return the obligation as soon as I can meet with another Abel². Every one most highly esteems your Nehemiah, and is eagerly buying it up. You will do well to elucidate Esther likewise with your lucubrations. I remember that I once saw in your study your homilies on Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges, which pleased me so much, that I procured some of them to be copied for me. Do not suffer them, my Wolfius, I beseech you, any longer to contend with the moths and bookworms; but let them be published as soon as possible for the glory of God, the good of many, and the no little increase of reputation to yourself. Whatever news I had to communicate you can learn from my letters to Bullinger² and Gualter.

[² See first series, Letter XCIII. p. 232.]

Salute in my name your excellent wife, and your very dear brother, Gaspar Wolfius¹, a physician, as I hear, of great eminence, and a new framer of calendars. I remember him sitting at table when you so kindly invited Gualter and myself to dinner, and I fancy that I see his countenance yet before me.

Salute moreover those excellent men, Simler, Wonlichius, Haller, Lavater, Wickius, Zuinglius, Froschover, Julius, and all the rest whom I love in the Lord. May the Lord preserve Zurich and all its inhabitants! Amen. Farewell. In haste. Norwich, Jan. 16, 1571.

Yours heartily,

JO. PARKHURST.

LETTER LXXII².

HENRY BULLINGER TO ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL, BISHOPS
COX AND JEWEL.

Dated at ZURICH, *Feb.* 1571.

RIGHT reverend fathers in Christ, honoured masters, and very dear brethren. I confess myself much indebted to your kindness, that, notwithstanding we are mutually separated by so great a distance, (you indeed dwelling in England beyond the sea, and I living in Switzerland not far from the Alps,) your reverences so diligently cherish, preserve, and daily increase more and more by frequent letters, the friendship and brotherhood long since contracted between us. Wherefore I ought with good reason to manifest my

[¹ Gaspar Wolfius was created doctor of medicine at Montpellier in 1558. He edited many of the works of Conrad Gesner, to which he made many additions.]

[² This letter is the preface to Bullinger's refutation of the pope's bull, entitled "Bullæ Papisticæ ante biennium contra sereniss. Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hybernæ reginam Elisabetham, et contra inclytum Angliæ regnum promulgatæ Refutatio, orthodoxæque Reginæ et universi Regni Angliæ defensio Henrychii Bullingeri." Londini ap. Joh. Dayum typographum, 4^o. 1571. See Strype, *Ann.* i. ii. 355, and Day's letter concerning it, *infra* Letter LXXIV.]

gratitude and respect to your reverences in every possible way. And forasmuch as, by submitting to my perusal not long since the bull³ of Pius V., bishop of Rome, which I had not previously seen, nor indeed heard any thing about it, you have afforded me an opportunity of doing, or at least attempting, something for the glory of Christ our only Redeemer, and for the preservation of his church, which is with you in England, against the Roman antichrist; behold, I dedicate to your reverences this my refutation in opposition to that bull, and submit it to your most exact judgments, that it may altogether stand or fall according as your reverences may please to determine. But I pray you to receive with kindness this my endeavour, and exceeding devotedness to the good cause and to your reverences. I am free to confess that my own abilities are very small, and that your learning is most profound; wherefore, had it so pleased you, you would have been able to manage this cause far more successfully than myself. But when I understood that I should gratify your reverences by my labours, such as they are, upon this subject, I was unwilling in any measure to disappoint your expectations. May the Lord Christ grant that my discourse may be to the great profit of many! Be pleased, I pray you, to salute my reverend masters and very dear brethren, masters Robert Horn, bishop of Winchester, Edwin Sandys, bishop of London, John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, James Pilkington, bishop of Durham; also John Aylmer, Sampson, Humphreys, Lever, Foxe, and the other companions of your past exile in Switzerland and Germany; to the prayers of all of whom I commend myself. All the ministers and brethren here pray for all of you every happiness in Christ Jesus our Lord. May the Lord Jesus bless your ministry, and preserve you from all evil! Zurich. In the month of February, in the year of our salvation, 1571.

[H. BULLINGER.]

[³ This bull was dated April 25, 1570. See a full account of it in Soames' Eliz. Hist. p. 121, &c. and the authorities there quoted.]

LETTER LXXIII.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *March 8*, 1571.

MUCH health in the Lord. As my son Barnabas Hilles, my much honoured friend and master, has informed our beloved brother in Christ, Julius Sancterentianus, by letter dated on the 26th of last November; I have received your letter, written on the 27th of August last, here in London from the learned and pious youth Henry Butler, whom, a fortnight after I had received the letter aforesaid, I sent on horseback with trusty attendants to a certain Dunstan Felton, son of master John Butler deceased, to an English village named Chilton¹, in the county of Suffolk: from which place I have received a letter from the aforesaid Henry Butler, written from the house of his aunt, a widow, and a very godly matron. I will also most diligently and heartily undertake the management of all that business which in your aforesaid letter you desired me to execute. But I forwarded to the aforesaid Henry Butler on the 26th of November, by a trusty messenger, some letters which master Christopher Froschover delivered to my aforesaid son Barnabas at Frankfort. My son Barnabas Hilles has also received from the aforesaid master Froschover, together with the aforesaid letters, four books in the German language, which he took care should be faithfully delivered to the parties to whom they were addressed; and I and my wife are exceedingly obliged to you for having sent us two of those books as a present.

I am very sorry that, when you wrote me the aforesaid letter, you had not yet fully recovered from your illness. I hope however that before this time you are much better: God grant it may be so! I have not lately received any letters to be forwarded to you from any of our bishops or

[¹ There are two places of this name in Suffolk; the one, a hamlet in the parish of Clare, the other a small village near Sudbury.]

others residing here in England. Should I however receive any letters for that purpose at any future time, I will take care that they shall be sent over to you with all diligence. Master Edmund Grindal, who now, as you may have heard, is archbishop of York, is constantly resident, as I am told, near York, or in the city itself. But I think that he will shortly come hither to London, as will almost all the other bishops; for by the queen's majesty's command the famous council of all England, which among us is commonly called a parliament, is summoned to assemble. With you, if I remember rightly, such assemblies are called *comitia imperialia* in Latin, and in German, *Reichstag*. Master Edwin Sandys, who was lately bishop of Worcester, is now our bishop of London; but he is not much known to me, except by sight: and indeed almost all the other bishops, with the exception of that most learned and amiable, yea rather divine bishop, master Jewel of Salisbury, are for the most part unknown to me. For I am afraid, (although I have never experienced it myself,) that some of them (as the most learned Jerome wrote concerning some bishops of his time), placed as it were upon some high beacon, scarce deign to look upon mankind, or hold any intercourse with their fellow-servants. Your friend master Cox, bishop of Ely, who married a year ago the young widow of master Doctor Turner², a physician, is still living, and, by God's blessing, in good health. But his predecessor master Thirlby³, who was bishop of Ely in Mary's reign, and who resided with the most reverend Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, (but under restraint there by reason of his profession of popish doctrine,) lately died, six or seven months since, at Lambeth, in the palace of the said archbishop of Canterbury. Some of the other bishops or prelates, who were placed under restraint by reason of their obstinacy, are still living; but they scarcely

[² See Strype, Cranmer, i. 394. Parker, i. 93, 301. See also Letters LI. p. 124, and LXXXII. p. 203, of the present volume.]

[³ Thirlby at first had his liberty, till he began to preach against the reformation; but being pardoned, afterwards was in custody of the archbishop, with whom he lived in much ease and credit for ten years. He died Aug. 26, 1570, and was buried by the archbishop in the chancel of Lambeth church. See Strype, Ann. i. i. 213. Parker, i. 278.]

suffer any inconvenience, unless perhaps some regret for their want of liberty, and that they are prevented from the power of speaking or doing mischief. Of all these Nicolas Hethe¹, who under queen Mary was archbishop of York, was the least troublesome, on which account perhaps he found more favour with our most serene queen Elizabeth; for he had no other prison but his own house in the country, sufficiently comfortable, and in a healthy situation.

Here, among us, by the favour of God all things are settled both in church and state. May the Lord long grant us this blessing! I hear too, that the king of France is wisely maintaining that peace which you informed me had been concluded; and I am very glad, and heartily thank God, that in the ratification of that peace sufficient regard was had to the security of the faithful, as you wrote me word, and as we now see to be the case. But I grieve very much, that the pestiferous sect of Arians is budding forth again in many other places besides Switzerland. But when the Lord Jesus shall come to judgment, will he find faith on the earth?

I pray you to salute in my name and that of my wife the aforesaid Julius Sancterentianus. Matters are not yet quite settled between our most serene queen and the duke of Alva², touching the release of the persons and goods, or merchandise, of both nations which have been arrested or detained these two years. But though there is no agreement at present, there is some hope of it. But there is no prospect or even hope, as far as I can see or conjecture, of any commerce in future, such as has for many years

[¹ Hethe, late archbishop of York, having been Lord Chancellor of England, and having in parliament declared the death of queen Mary, and the just title of the lady Elizabeth, her sister, to succeed; for this duty towards his prince, he lived, after a little trouble, quietly and nobly in his own lordship of Chobham in Surrey, four miles from Windsor. He was always honourably esteemed by the queen, and sometimes had the honour to be visited by her majesty. See Strype, Ann. i. i. 212, and Parker, i. 281.]

[² For an account of this transaction see first series, Letter LXXXV p. 209. Queen Elizabeth satisfied to the full the damages which the English merchants had sustained out of the Netherlanders' goods that were here stayed; the rest she restored to the duke of Alva. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 191.]

past been continued between the kings of England and the archdukes of Austria and Burgundy.

There died, on the third of this month, another papist, or, as he seemed to himself, a good catholic, of the name of Boxall³, who was chief secretary to queen Mary abovementioned. He was a man of much moderation (as he used to boast) and of gentle disposition, and lived also some years under restraint in the palace of the most reverend archbishop of Canterbury. May the Lord Jesus evermore preserve you and yours! London, March 8, in the year of our salvation 1570, according to the computation of the church of England.

Yours from my heart,

RICHARD HILLES.

LETTER LXXIV.

JOHN DAY⁴ TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, [*Aug. 8, 1571.*]

REVEREND father in Christ, I heartily wish you health. Now that I have finished printing your book⁵, which I confidently believe has been completed with accuracy and fidelity

[³ See first series, Letter XCIX. p. 255.]

[⁴ John Day was printer to Edward VI, and in queen Mary's time a prisoner in Newgate for religion, and afterwards an exile. After the accession of Elizabeth he resumed his printing, and to him posterity is largely indebted for editions of the writings of the reformers, and many works relative to the reformation. He was patronised and much encouraged by archbishops Parker and Grindal, and was the printer of the Acts and Monuments of Foxe. See Strype, Mem. III. i. 320; Ann. 1. i. 267.]

[⁵ This book was Bullinger's confutation of the Bull of Pius V against queen Elizabeth. In the month of September 1571, the archbishop (Parker) caused it to be fairly bound and sent to her, and further procured the printing of it in Latin, not without the advice of the Lord Treasurer; and had it translated, and printed in English too. Strype, Parker, II. 78.]

according to the copy sent me by the reverend father in Christ, doctor Cox, and which he had previously corrected with the utmost diligence; it was his wish, most faithful pastor, that I should take care that half a dozen or more of these books should be sent over to you, if it could be done without inconvenience; and I have found a suitable opportunity of effecting this. Moreover, the reverend fathers themselves will return you in their next letters their most deserved thanks for the pains you have bestowed in the composition of that book, and which is the greatest evidence of your good-will to England, which is divided from you by so great a distance. Meanwhile may the Lord of glory so comfort you and his universal church by his most holy Spirit, that his truth may be advanced, and the kingdom of antichrist confounded and overthrown altogether. And may Christ the Lord grant that more persons from every part of the world may exert themselves for this object with their whole heart, and bestow their utmost pains upon it. Take, I pray you, in good part my labour, such as it is, in this work. Farewell, most vigilant pastor. London, in the month of [August 1571¹.]

Your most devoted,

JOHN DAY.

[¹ The date is wanting in the MS. Simler dates it as above.]

LETTER LXXV.

HIEROME ZANCHIUS TO BISHOP JEWEL.

Dated at HEIDELBERG, *Sept. 2, 1571.*

IT is true, most learned bishop Jewel, that, though I have always esteemed you by reason of your singular piety and virtue ever since we were together at Strasburgh, I have never written to you, nor congratulated you as I ought to have done, upon the dignity to which your virtue has advanced you. All this I acknowledge to be the case. But if any one should infer from hence that I therefore have held and do hold you in small estimation, I should deny the consequence, and say that such a person is guilty of false reasoning, by putting *non causa pro causa*. For there exist other reasons why this duty has been, I will not say neglected by me, but omitted; though, were I to detail and explain them, my excuse would extend to a greater length than your patience could endure. One of them, however, I cannot pass over in silence: and that is, that after your return to your most beloved country, I was wonderfully tossed about both by land and sea, to the great injury of my affairs; being persecuted beyond belief, partly by the enemies of the truth at Strasburgh, partly by the foes to discipline, with whom the followers of Servetus united their forces at Chiavenna². What person, I ask, could bear in mind all and each of his friends, amidst such great storms as these? And when the first opportunities of congratulating or writing upon any subject are once gone by, it seems quite superfluous and unseasonable to write about such things at any later period. But no occasion for my writing, worthy

[² Zanchius was appointed professor at Strasburgh in 1553, and remained there almost eleven years. He wrote two treatises against the Servetian or Socinian hypothesis, at the solicitation of Frederic III. elector Palatine, by whom he was appointed divinity professor at Heidelberg in 1568. One of these was entitled *De Dei natura*; the other, *De tribus Elohim uno eodemque Jehova*.]

of your virtue and dignity, has been since afforded me, except at the present time. There has not indeed been wanting a very pressing subject, only it was a personal one, which did not so much recommend, as compel me, as it were, to address you as well as others; but, to speak candidly, I dared not take the same liberty with you as I did with some others, with whom, though they were persons of great consequence, I lived upon a more intimate footing when I was at Strasburgh, than with yourself. For you had gone away to Zurich with Peter Martyr, while we remained at Strasburgh. Whence it arose, that my familiar and friendly intercourse with the other noble and learned individuals increased more and more, which could not so easily be the case as regarding you and myself. This then is one reason why you have heretofore received no letters from me. But I could not at this time on any account omit writing to you; for a matter of importance and one most worthy of you now presents itself, which compels me to address you.

When master Mont¹ returned from England in June last, he informed me, together with some others, that the controversy has again been stirred up in your churches, about certain habits, which her most serene majesty requires the bishops and ministers to wear in the administration of the word or sacraments; and that there are not a few men of your order, who are minded rather to resign their office, and even retire from the ministry, than adopt the use of such habits. From hence, he adds, is to be feared the entire downfall of those churches. He has therefore requested me to write, both to her most serene majesty, to admonish her of her duty; and also to those bishops who are known to me, and with whom I am upon a footing of friendship. He mentioned you among the first, for that, by reason of your virtue and the influence arising from it, you possessed much authority. I excused myself, and alleged my want of ability; but no excuse would avail. At last therefore, after the persuasion of many of my friends, I was ordered even by my most illustrious sovereign to take the matter in hand. Being thus compelled, I wrote first of all a letter² to her

[¹ See first series, p. 173, note.]

[² A translation of this letter is in the appendix to the present volume. Archbishop Grindal, to whom it was sent to be delivered to

most serene majesty, and, as I trust, not an improper one, in which I exhort and beseech her not to give ear to such counsels as are certainly inconsistent with the duty of a good sovereign. I desire nothing more earnestly than that her most serene majesty would listen, not so much to my advice as to that of all my colleagues and godly friends, and of our most illustrious prince himself. And that she may do this, we do not so much request from herself, as from God. But since we are ignorant as to what she will do, and it may possibly happen that she will persist in her present opinion; and in the mean time; if the bishops themselves are unwilling in any way to alter their determination, the church will be in danger; our brethren have therefore judged it expedient that some of the more eminent and discreet bishops should be written to, and requested to advise the rest, that, should not the queen by any means be induced to revoke her orders, they ought not themselves on this account to choose rather to desert their posts than to obey the royal command; for that there seems no reason why it should be lawful for a pastor to forsake his flock, so long as he is freely permitted to teach, and to administer the sacraments according to the word of God, although he may be forced to do some things of which he cannot altogether approve; provided only that they are not such as are intrinsically and of their own nature sinful: for if such things be commanded, we must say with the apostles, that we ought to obey God rather than men: and in the mean time each person should abide in his own calling, and take care of his own flock. But if things in their own nature indifferent be prescribed by law and the queen's command, since it is the only alternative, either to resign one's post or to yield obedience to such a command, we ought rather to obey, but with a due protest against it; and the people should be instructed why and for what reason obedience has been paid to such a command, rather than that they should be waiting for the time when their pastor should be deprived, and compelled to resign his flock to another. And this opinion is so plain and evident, both from the sacred writings, and the fathers and ecclesiastical histories, that to the queen, thought it best, upon the advice of some of the council, not to present it. See Strype, Grindal, 157, and Grindal's letter to Zanchy, in the Parker Society's Edition of his works, p. 333.]

adduce any proof of it to those who are even moderately versed in the scriptures would be altogether superfluous. For a lawful and necessary calling is never to be deserted for the sake of things which are in their own nature indifferent.

We doubt not, most learned Jewel, but that these things are well known to you. We therefore request you to interpose your authority, and with your wonted ability and discretion so consult with your other most reverend and right worshipful episcopal brethren, that they may each of them abide in their respective calling and station. For Satan is surely aiming at nothing else, than that by the separation of the true bishops, whether by right or wrong, from their flocks, the whole church may be thrown into confusion. He must therefore be resisted, lest he should succeed in his most impious and ungodly purpose. May the Lord preserve both yourself and all the other pious and holy bishops to his church, guide you by his Spirit, and by your assistance advance his kingdom! And we pray you most earnestly on your part to entreat the Lord for us, and especially for our most illustrious prince. And I especially commend myself to you, most pious and learned prelate, as also Rodolph Gualter, and Rodolph Zuingle, grandson of the great Zuingle: they are both of them studious and godly youths. You will be informed by them respecting the state of our affairs.

Heidelberg, Sept. 2, 1571.

H. ZANCHIUS,

in his own name, and in that of his colleagues.

LETTER LXXVI.

RODOLPH ZUINGLIUS¹ TO BISHOP SANDYS.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *Jan. 26, 1572.*

As master Shepherd², the most worthy master of our college, has expressed his intention of paying you a visit, I did not think, reverend father in Christ, that I could do otherwise than send a letter to your eminence, to thank your eminence for your especial kindness and extreme liberality towards me and mine ; and at the same time to make known to your eminence, and that very briefly, the state of my affairs. For it is not fit that you, who are occupied with cares and engagements of far greater importance, should waste much of your labour and time in reading what I have to say. Nor indeed does my situation in life, or rather my lowness of condition, justify my detaining your eminence by a lengthened statement. To dispatch the matter therefore in few words, I return you, reverend bishop, my warmest thanks for your singular good-will and favour towards me ; and especially for the godly care and exertions you have bestowed upon the advancement of my studies, and by which you have not only provided me a place in the most flourishing university of Cambridge, but have also procured my admission into a most famous college, and among sober students : for which singular care of yours on my behalf I thank your eminence to the utmost of my power, and promise on my part, as it is my duty to do, that I will never be ungrateful or unmindful of such great benefits, and that I will evermore proclaim both to my countrymen, and especially to my parents, your exceeding liberality to me ; and ever so con-

[1 This Rodolph Zuinglius was Bullinger's grandson. See first series, p. 264, note. He died in the June following the date of this letter.]

[2 Nicolas Shepherd, chosen master of St John's College in 1569, whom, alluding to his name, the fellows, in their letters to Cecil their patron, styled their *ποιμένα*. He was strongly recommended to Cecil by bishop Grindal, (whose letter is printed in Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 225,) but was deprived of the mastership in 1576.]

duct myself towards your eminence as a godly young man, and one who is descended from godly parents, should do.

In the mean time, however, I would have your eminence know, with respect to my affairs, that I have obtained, in the college where I was placed by your eminence, a situation sufficiently suitable and convenient for the furtherance of my studies; for the master has provided me, by his especial kindness, not only with comfortable rooms and sufficient commons, but with a most excellent tutor, of whose advice and assistance I most freely avail myself, both in prosecuting my studies, and procuring other things that are necessary; so that I think very little will be wanting towards the prosecution of my studies. And I rejoyce, not so much on my own account, as for the sake of my studies, that I have the means and opportunity afforded me of hearing that most famous and learned man, master Antony Chevalier¹, to whom our Germany can scarce produce an equal in the knowledge of Hebrew, or one who can bear a comparison with him, except Immanuel Tremellius², whom I heard lecturing most ably at Heidelberg in the Palatinate, and from whose lectures, I think, I derived no small advantage; nor do I think, the Lord giving his grace, that I shall profit less by those of this professor. But whatever benefit I may derive from these or any other lectures, I ascribe all to your eminence, by whose singular liberality it has been brought to pass and provided, that I have not only the means of subsistence in the most celebrated university of Cambridge, but also the convenience and liberty afforded me of hearing the most learned professors, by whose assistance I hope to make no small progress in my studies. But in the mean time, not to proceed to an unbecoming prolixity, I commend myself to your eminence, and would entreat the continuance of your protection and patronage; and that you

[¹ Antony Rodolph Chevalier was a French protestant, recommended by archbishop Parker and bishop Sandys to be Hebrew professor at Cambridge, where he had formerly assisted Tremellius in 1552. Their letter to the heads of the University is given by Strype, Ann. 1. ii. 552. He was also a prebendary of Canterbury.]

[² John Immanuel Tremellius was a converted Jew, and succeeded Fagius as Hebrew professor at Cambridge in 1550. He was afterwards professor at Heidelberg, and published in 1575, in concert with Francis Junius, a Latin version of the Old Testament.]

will take these few lines in good part, as a slight testimony of my respect to your eminence. May our good and gracious God long keep your eminence in health and safety, and deign to preserve you to his church!

Your eminence's most devoted,

RODOLPH ZUINGLIUS, of Zurich.

Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1572.

LETTER LXXVII.

HENRY BUTLER TO BISHOP SANDYS.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *Jan. 27*, [1572.]

As soon as I was restored to the muses, right reverend sir, by your liberality and benevolence, it was my first object to inquire by whom I could send a letter to you to express my gratitude. And after long inquiry, the right worshipful master Shepherd, master of St John's college, offered his services as the bearer of my letter. I determined therefore on no account to let him depart, after so seasonable an offer, without the expression of my grateful remembrance of the benefits you have conferred upon me; and though I had intended most fully to express my thankfulness for your most abundant and praiseworthy exertions on my behalf, yet by reason of their greatness they not only exceed and surpass the power of expression, but also all possible thanks. For if your kindness be compared with that of others, both of my friends and kinsfolk, they will, like the morning star with its brightness, overpower and obscure them all; especially as they have only provided support for the body, and that not without the greatest entreaties; whereas by you not only is my body, oppressed by servitude, restored to its former liberty, but a most wholesome remedy is applied to a mind half dead with grief. For by what medicine can a mind, worn out by anxiety, be sooner restored to health, than by the friendly

attentions of master Allen, a man of surpassing integrity of conduct and godly zeal, in the offices of a tutor? Wherefore, my most worthily honoured master and patron, since I can nowise thank you as I ought for these your most abundant favours towards me, much less return the obligation; I beg of you again and again, to deign to be satisfied with the gratitude of my mind, which I have determined to retain inviolate and perfect; promising moreover, that I will never desert the post which I have obtained by your assistance, together with the favour of divine providence, but that I will adorn it with every flower of diligence and virtue. And with this I commit your kindness to the divine goodness, heartily wishing the age of Nestor to you, and to all belonging to you. Written in Christ's college, Jan. 27, [1572].

Your dignity's most devoted

HENRY BUTLER,

a native of Zurich, but of English origin.

LETTER LXXVIII.

BISHOP COX TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at ELY, *Febr.* 12, 1572.

Your letter, my beloved brother in Christ, written on the 20th of August, 1571, was brought me in the month of January last past, by the three young men of whom you made mention in that letter¹. A letter was sent you by me last summer with some copies of a book printed in your name against the pope's bull. Your book indeed, dictated with so much ability and truth, and most correctly written, could not but be most acceptable to me and to all godly persons; and I am bound to confess that we are very much obliged to you for the gift. Moreover, the queen² herself

[¹ These were Rodolph Zuinglius, Rodolph Gualter the younger, and Henry Butler. See first series, Letter CI. p. 264.]

[² See first series, Letter XCVI. p. 244.]

has also read your book, and is much gratified. I hope you have long since received³ both a letter from me, and the books, together with some trifling presents; so that you will fully understand what we have done as to the publishing of your book.

And now to come to your letter. With respect to your young men, you may feel quite satisfied; for the parties to whom you have given them a recommendation will carefully provide for them, with every feeling of friendship and kindly interest. And indeed the zeal, and diligence, and infinite labours of masters Zuinglius and Bullinger and Rodolph Gualter, in the propagation of true religion and the overthrow of the subtle machinations of false religion, abundantly deserve this. As to your son, since you have especially commended him to the archbishop of York, the bishop of Salisbury, and myself, we will so undertake the charge of him, as that you need not feel any anxiety about him; although the bishop of Salisbury⁴ (which I cannot relate without tears, as he was the treasure of the church of England) departed this life while on the visitation of his diocese, and hath gone from hence to heaven, to his gain indeed, but to our exceeding and intolerable loss. In the mean time we will not be unmindful either of Gualter's son, or of Butler, whom you so repeatedly commend to me. But, in compliance with your wishes, your two young men are placed at the university of Cambridge, though in different colleges, and in a numerous and learned society.

Our affairs, by the great blessing of God, not to say by a miracle, are in a prosperous condition. The duke of Norfolk⁵ lately entered into a secret conspiracy with the papists, and indeed with the pope himself, for the destruction of our most serene queen and her kingdom, nay, for the subversion of the holy gospel of God. But our gracious Lord is always present with his people. The duke was for a long time imprisoned upon suspicion of guilt, and his abandoned wickedness was at length detected. He was brought to trial, and, having been

[³ There is written in the margin of the original letter, in Bullinger's hand, *Nihil allatum est, nihil accepi, nec quicquam hujus vidi.*]

[⁴ Bishop Jewel.]

[⁵ See first series, pp. 261, 267, and below, p. 198.]

duly convicted, is under sentence of death. The filthy sink of the popish conspirators has at length burst forth. Blessed be the Lord God, who has opportunely brought such wickedness to light! Now, we hope, all things are settled, except that Satan does not cease to go about and roar, seeking whom he may devour. We must aid each other by our mutual prayers.

Master Gualter wrote last year (I think) a letter to my brother Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; which, as it occasioned some excitement among the men of his way of thinking, who are always planning some innovation or other, and refuse to be subject to the ordinances established in our church, I have thought it right to admonish¹ our brother Gualter to be more cautious, lest either in ignorance or without intending it he may seem by his writings to encourage contentions. Should my expostulation appear too severe, let him consider the feeling from which it has proceeded, certainly from one of good-will and affectionate regard to him. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety to his church! From the isle of Ely, in England, Feb. 12, 1572.

I had almost omitted mention of the treatise you sent me respecting the authority of scripture and of the church. It is a truly precious book, and worthy of being well handled by all godly persons. The papists however do not cease to yelp against it: there are many propositions, they say, which rest upon the authority of the fathers and of the church, but not upon that of the scripture; of which kind are the following.

Many things necessary to be believed, which are not in the scriptures:

The perpetual virginity of Mary.

The Father is uncreate.

The Son is consubstantial.

The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

Infants are to be baptized.

One who is baptized by a heretic according to the form of the church is truly baptized.

[¹ See first series, Letter XCIV p. 234, the date of which should have been Feb. 12, 1572. Bishop Cox generally adopted the English computation, according to which the year began on the 25th of March.]

God is three Persons.
 The apostles were baptized.
 We use things strangled, and blood.
 Christ descended into hell.
 Water is to be mixed with wine in the cup.
 Martyrdom supplies the place of baptism.
 Prayers, oblations, and alms, benefit the dead.
 No one may be admitted to the Lord's supper before he
 is baptized.

Your brother in Christ,

RICHARD COX,

Bishop of Ely.

LETTER LXXIX.

RICHARD HILLES TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *Feb.* 18, 1572.

MUCH health. Your letter, my much respected friend,
 written to me on the 23rd of last August, I received two
 months since by your grandson Rodolph Zuinglius, who, as
 I understand, is now studying [at Cambridge]. Rodolph
 Gualter is also pursuing his studies there: they were both of
 them here in London on the 15th of last December, not long
 after they had landed in England at Norwich² from Embden
 in East Friesland. The letters you mention they had taken
 care to deliver in person to some of our very reverend bishops;
 that is to say, they first gave master John Parkhurst's letter to
 himself at Norwich, then the one to the bishop of London, and
 they afterwards took care that all the rest should be delivered
 to the bishops to whom you addressed them. But whether
 your Rodolph has visited the bishop of Ely, and presented
 your letter to him, I do not know. Moreover on the sixteenth
 day of December aforesaid your Rodolph and Rodolph Gual-
 ter borrowed from me to the amount of eleven florins and
 eleven batzen, German money, reckoning a florin at fifteen
 batzen, for their current expenses here in London, to be re-

[² See first series, Letter CI. p. 264, note.]

paid by your friend master Christopher Froschover at the next Frankfort fair. My son too, Gerson Hilles, who travelled with them from Frankfort as far as Embden, lent them thirty florins and ¹— batzen of German money, which sum they promised should be repaid at the aforesaid Lent fair to my son Barnabas Hilles, or my servant Robert Mascall, by the same master Froschover; of which payment (as also of that of the before-mentioned eleven florins and eleven batzen) I entertain no doubt. But yet, as you might understand from the last letter you received from me in October, (as I learn from the letter of master Rodolph Gualter, written to me from Zurich on the sixteenth of the same month,) I wrote to your piety, that it would be more for your interest, (I mean yours and master Gualter's,) if you would cause to be paid beforehand at Frankfort the money which you wish to be credited to the two young men here in England, that I may afterwards pay them the amount in this country.

I have received that most delightful treatise you sent me on the authority of scripture and of the church, and I thank your kindness for it. Salute, I pray you, in my name master Rodolph Gualter the elder, and tell him that I am obliged to him for having written to me about the appearance in the sun, which was seen by you [at Zurich] on the 29th of September: it may be, as he himself supposes, that no ordinary example of divine vengeance will at length pursue a guilty and unrepenting world. I am sorry to hear that master Rodolph Gualter was attacked last summer by an acute and burning fever, which brought him so low, that he began to doubt of his recovery. But I rejoice that God has so had compassion on him, as to restore him to health and to the church at the same time; so that he can truly say with the holy prophet David after his sickness, *I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* Nor do I at all doubt but that whatever money I have now advanced to his aforesaid son Rodolph, to the aforesaid amount, namely, of eleven florins and as many batzen, he will faithfully cause to be repaid to me at the next Frankfort fair². And I entreat

[¹ The word is omitted in the MS.]

[² Gualter's son acknowledged a subsequent loan from R. Hilles in the following terms: *Chirographa acceptæ pecuniæ. Ego Rodolphus Gualterus Tigurinus hoc meo chirographo testor me a D. Ricardo*

you, master Bullinger, by the Lord, not to be offended at my thus writing to yourself and master Gualter a joint letter, and not separately to each of you. For it is now-a-days (and I am certainly much ashamed of it) very troublesome to me to write letters in Latin, as I write them so very slowly; so that I can scarcely now write as many letters in two hours as I could finish, when I was a young man, in half an hour. But blessed be the Lord my God in all things and at all times; at all times and evermore, whether in prosperity or adversity! Amen.

It would certainly be just that some part at least of their father's property should go to the lawful heirs of John Butler. But as he himself sold all his patrimony in this country, and, according to law and common right of the realm of England, granted and confirmed the same to a native purchaser and his heirs; or (as our jurisconsults or lawyers are wont barbarously to speak) he assured, and gave seisin, that is, lawful possession; no hope remains that the heirs of the said John Butler (and especially those born out of England, and of a mother not an Englishwoman) can recover, as our lawyers say, or repossess by the English law the inheritance that is sold, or any part of it, at least so far as I can learn or understand. Henry Butler must therefore have patience, and in this matter not hope against hope.

Since I last wrote to you in the month of August, I have not received any letters either for yourself or master Rodolph Gualter from the reverend the bishops, nor, as I remember, from any other learned men. But if they now wish to write to you by my above-named servant Robert, who is about to sail, God willing, in this present month of February, from hence to Hamburgh, I hope that my son Barnabas will be able safely to convey such letters from Hamburgh for you to the aforesaid master Froschover at Frankfort.

I suppose you have heard that our countryman, the duke

Hilles mercatore Londinensi mutuo accepisse summam tredecim florenorum et quinque batzionum Germanicorum, quam quidem summam polliceor me prædicti Ricardi Hilles filio Barnabæ Hilles aut famulo Simoni redditurum, aut reddi curaturum, in nundinis autumnalibus Francofordianis proxime futuris, per D. Christophorum Froschoverum typographum Tigurinum; in ejus rei gratiam hæc propria manu scripsi et subscripsi. Londini 28 Apr. 1573.]

of Norfolk, has lately been accused of treason; and on the 16th of January he was publicly condemned to death by the peers of the realm of England, according to the custom of the same realm in taking cognizance of offences of this kind. Among other crimes which I hear he was guilty of, this was one of many, that he sent a large sum of money to one of the two earls¹ who, two years since, was a rebel, and took arms against our most serene queen in the north of England. He will shortly, it is said, be beheaded² here in London, as he deserves. May God give him grace heartily to repent of his ingratitude and great iniquity that he has committed both against Almighty God and against the queen's majesty! Two men³ were lately executed here for their impious crimes, who, among other atrocities, plotted together for the destruction of the Lord William Cecil, baron of Burghley, her majesty's chief secretary; as one of them confessed at the gallows. God by his providence brought the whole matter to light, before that abominable wickedness was carried into effect. Farewell, and may Almighty God very long preserve you to the advancement of his glory and the edifying of his church! London, Feb. 18, 1572.

Yours, you know who,

HILLES, merchant.

[1 The truth of this accusation was proved by the countess of Northumberland's letters, wherein she thanked the duke for the money wherewith he had supplied her husband and her. Camden's Elizabeth, p. 171, 175.]

[2 The duke was beheaded on Tower Hill, on June 2nd. He was attended on the scaffold by Dr Nowell, dean of St Paul's, and Foxe the martyrologist. See first series, Letter C. p. 261.]

[3 The names of these men were Mather and Berners, who were hired by Borgest, the Spanish ambassador's secretary, to murder Cecil, and the queen also. They were apprehended at the instance of one Herle, their associate, who saved his life by becoming informer, and were executed in February. See Strype, Ann. ii. i. p. 123. Camden, p. 176. For an account of the conspiracies against Cecil at this period, see Nares's Memoirs of Lord Burghley, Vol. ii. ch. 10, 12.]

LETTER LXXX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO JOHN WOLFIUS.

Dated at LUDHAM, *March 10, 1572.*

HAIL, my Wolfius! I rejoice that you are going on with your lectures⁴ upon Ezra. If you will publish your discourses and commentaries on the book of Esther, it will be an act worthy of your attainments, and of great advantage to godly students. I much approve your intention of dedicating the work to our most serene queen; but I would not have you be too prolix in your dedicatory epistle. I cannot help blaming the obstinate silence of Horn and Jewel⁵. For either they must be ungrateful if they have not answered your letter, or the couriers faithless, if they have not taken care to forward you their reply. I will write another time concerning your son. I am now so much distracted with engagements, that I have no time to write more. Salute in my name your wife, your brother Caspar, and all friends. In haste. Ludham. My wife salutes you all. March 10, 1572.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST, Bishop of Norwich.

LETTER LXXXI.

MALLIET TO HENRY BULLINGER THE YOUNGER.

Dated at Gray's Inn, LONDON, *May 26, 1572.*

FOUR days since, when your relative, master Rodolph, the son of master Gualter, brought me a letter from my cousin master Peter Chevalier of Geneva, the Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and likewise the son of master Zuinglius, who has now for some days been confined by illness at his

[⁴ See above, Letter LXXI. p. 177.]

[⁵ As Bishop Jewel died in Sept. 1571, (see first series, p. 260) there seems to be an error in the date of this letter. It should probably be 1571, new style.]

lodging in London; I made inquiry of him about a messenger who would faithfully deliver this letter to you: and when he had assured me that my letter would reach you in safety, I would not neglect the offered opportunity, lest I should appear ungrateful to him from whom I have received so many and such great favours; and the rather, as since I passed from Germany into France, and from thence into England, no opportunity of writing to you has presented itself. For since you are so dear to me, and your country so delightful, I cannot but very frequently pass whole days and nights in the recollection of you, and am most exceedingly desirous of visiting you again, if only the Lord will grant my wish, in case I should either return home, or undertake a journey into Italy. Master Charles Liffort was created doctor of law at Bourges, about three months since; for it was for that object that he came to Paris, where we lived together for seven months: he proceeded from thence to Orleans and Bourges, while as to myself, after his departure, I went to England, where I undertook the office of tutor and governor to the earl of Lennox¹, the brother of the king of Scots who was murdered, and uncle of the present one, not without a great deal of trouble and hinderance to my studies. But induced by the entreaties and promises of the principal personages of this kingdom, I could not decline to undertake that burden for a limited time, since I am at full liberty to leave this place whenever I choose. The youth is just entering upon his sixteenth year, and gives great promise of hope for the future. For in case the present king, his nephew, should die without lawful issue, he is the sole successor by hereditary right to the crown of Scotland, and is entitled to be placed at the head of the kingdom and empire. So also no one is more nearly allied to the royal blood of England, after the death of the present queen, than his mother², to whom her only son is the heir; although there is now being held an assembly of all the states of the realm (which in common language is

[¹ Charles, fifth earl of Lennox, brother of Henry lord Darnley, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, by whom he had lady Arabella Stuart. He died in 1576.]

[² This was lady Margaret Douglas, who was the daughter of Margaret, sister of Henry the Eighth, and consequently first cousin to queen Elizabeth. She died at Hackney in 1577.]

called a parliament³), to the end that an undisputed heir to the throne may be appointed by the general consent of all parties, lest in case hereafter of the queen's death any disturbance should ensue. What will be the issue, I know not. I shall be able, by God's blessing, to give you some certain intelligence when the parliament is over. I hear, however, that among other matters the capital punishment of the queen of Scots has been debated. The duke of Norfolk⁴ is condemned, and still lies in the Tower. The queen's ambassadors⁵ are to go into France three days hence, to ratify the peace between the two kingdoms. The king⁶ of France is about to send over the duke de Montmorenci for the same purpose, and he is daily expected here with a numerous retinue. I have nothing more to write at present, but only to beg of you that with your wonted kindness you will not fail to write to me respecting the good health of yourself and your friends, and to acquaint me with all that is going on in your parts. For I hear that the people of Geneva⁷ are admitted into the number of the confederate Swiss, which they commonly call Cantons; but I do not yet know whether it be true. I would have replied to master Urban Lowenberger, and also to master Schneeberger, if I knew where they reside; and I beg you will excuse me to them, and salute them very much in my name. Farewell. Dated May 26, 1572. London, from the hostel of the Grays, commonly called Gray's Inn.

Salute my lady your wife in my name, together with all your family. I would not forget your father, whom I mention with honour, and whom I know to be inferior to no one in integrity of mind, probity of character, learning, and eru-

[³ The succession to the crown was moved in the parliament that began to sit April 2, 1571. For an account of the proceedings, see Strype, Ann. ii. i. 90, and ii. ii. 425. The parliament, however, referred to in the text was summoned for May 8, 1572. See Strype, Ann. ii. i. 196, and D'Ewes' Journal, p. 207.]

[⁴ See above, p. 198; and first series, Letter C. p. 260.]

[⁵ Namely, the earl of Lincoln, lord high admiral, with the lords Dacre, Rieh, Talbot, Sands, and others. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 185, 186.]

[⁶ See first series, Letter CIV p. 272.]

[⁷ This treaty, by which Geneva became allied to the Swiss Cantons, was concluded with Zurich and Berne in 1584.]

dition. Give my respects likewise to masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, those dear sisters, Truth and Dorothy¹, Simler's wife, and all others, whom you know to entertain a regard for me. Farewell again and again.

Ever yours,

MALLIET.

LETTER LXXXII.

RODOLPH GUALTER THE YOUNGER TO HIS FATHER RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *June 5, 1572.*

GREETING. Should I omit any thing, honoured father, in this present letter, you must attribute it, not to myself, but to my sorrowful and distressed state of mind. For a most painful event has befallen us, which though it is very distressing to me to relate to you, it is nevertheless necessary for me to do so, as it especially concerns you to be informed of it. But I think that both yourself and master Bullinger, by reason of your great firmness of mind, will bear with composure this occurrence, by which my most amiable cousin Rodolph Zuinglius has been summoned by Almighty God from this mortal state and the miseries of this world to a heavenly life. But as this requires a more lengthened detail than I can now enter upon in so short a time, as Hilles's son is setting off in haste for Hamburg, and the whole charge of arranging Zuinglius's funeral has devolved upon myself, I will only state a few particulars respecting him, reserving a further account for master Bullinger at the ensuing fair.

When we were at Cambridge on the 12th of May, Henry Butler was desirous of going to London upon business; and our Zuinglius wished to accompany him, to see if he could procure some money there from the bishops, or from any other quarter, by means of Hilles, as he was in great want of money at that time. I had it in my mind to stay at

[¹ These were two of Bullinger's daughters.]

Cambridge, partly because I had not any business of consequence, and partly because I could transact by letter all that I had to do. At last, however, they brought me over to their purpose, so that I readily undertook a journey which was neither inconvenient, nor yet very convenient to me. Our chief inducement was, that we might see the general assembly of the nobles and bishops of her most serene majesty in parliament. We set off therefore on the 12th of May, during an exceedingly high wind, so that we could not go on, but were obliged so to struggle against it, that in the whole of that day we scarcely completed twelve English miles, which are equivalent to two of ours. It was then a fast-day (according to the English custom), so that we could procure nothing in the inns except salt fish and other provisions of the like kind. On the following day, which was the 13th, we completed thirty-two English miles, and arrived in London, which is only forty-four miles distant from Cambridge. The heat was intolerable. Rodolph never complained during the journey, until we were about eight miles from London; and still he went on briskly, so that we reached our wished-for lodging about eight o'clock. On that and the three following days he ate scarcely any thing. When therefore we dined at the bishop of Ely's on the 17th, he was taken ill immediately after dinner, and continued so for nearly eight days, complaining of internal heat, which however could neither be discovered from his water nor from the pulse. Doctors Turner² and Penny³ attended him, the latter of whom is considered by the English as the most skilful physician in all England; but they could not discover any symptoms by which to detect the nature of the disease. They had some suspicion that melancholic humours had flowed into the vessels of the diaphragm, and excited thirst and occasioned an increase of fever. At last there came a disorder and pain of the left side, which they relieved by blisters &c.; so that within the ninth or tenth day he began to recover. But on

[² Doctor Turner was son of the celebrated physician of that name, of whom see above, Letter LI. p. 124.]

[³ This seems to be the Dr Penny "who was once a preacher, but then was turned a physician, and still enjoyed a good prebend in Paul's." Strype, Parker, II. 241.]

the day immediately following he relapsed into his old complaint, namely, an inextinguishable heat, which could not be abated either by three successive bleedings or by any cooling draughts. Noises too, evidently not made by any living creature, were heard above his chamber; they seemed rather to resemble the falling down of trees, or of men of large stature; and these things, when I reflected on others of the like nature, took away from me all expectation of his recovery. At last, when there was no hope of his getting better, the bishop of Ely and his wife¹, Turner's mother, desired to remove him from the public hostel into his own house. But as he was unable either to walk or ride on horseback, and we could not contrive any means of getting him there by reason of his weakness, we kept him in the inn till the 4th of June, on which day, by the advice of Turner and Penny, and at the particular desire of the bishop of Ely, he was carried to his house in a litter. But I had long before this fancied that I saw the image of death in his countenance; and therefore with earnest prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, when he arrived at the bishop's residence, we advised him to try to go to sleep, not dissembling in the mean time (as I should wish also to be done in my own case) his danger, and that the physicians had almost given him over, and exhorting him to place his confidence in God. As Butler had been sitting up with me on the preceding nights, he began to fall asleep in the first watch of the night, which was assigned to myself: but when I perceived our patient breathing hard, I was afraid lest he should be choked for want of assistance, and called up the bishop's servant, who exhorting and praying with him bade him trust in God. About the middle of the night, when I was alone with him, he began twice to draw so long a breath, and turn his eyes inwards, as that he seemed on the very point of departure: I therefore loudly shouted in his ears that he must commit his soul to God; and this more than once, though my sobbings impeded my utterance. I sprinkled rose-water and vinegar on his face and lips, for the purpose of making him come to himself, which he did; and taking up a book of prayers, I began with a loud voice to call upon God with him; and the servant being again called in, together with

[¹ See above, Letter LXXIII. p. 181.]

Butler, we were expecting his last breath every moment. Meanwhile he called upon God so heartily, and with so much earnestness, as to excite our admiration. Five times did he appear to be giving up his spirit, and five times we revived him when just expiring. About three o'clock in the morning he began no longer to recognise us, and in some measure to be delirious: but at length, from four to five, he became more composed, and offered up most ardent prayers to God; and about half-past five he neither heard nor saw us, nor was aware of our being present, and it was only by his breathing that we knew him to be alive. This, however, began to be more confined, and by six o'clock to cease altogether; when at last stretching out his hands to heaven in token of his great stedfastness, while we were calling to him in the words of Christ, *God, receive my spirit*, and reciting in his ear the Lord's Prayer, he expired, and exchanged this mortal life for the immortal and unspeakable happiness of a heavenly one.

Respecting other particulars I will write to Bullinger at the ensuing fair; namely, how he inveighed against the ubiquitarians, &c.: for I have no time now, partly because I am wearied out from having been almost without sleep for four or five nights together, and partly too because the funeral preparations must be attended to within these two hours. He will be buried in the church of St Andrew's, in London, opposite the bishop of Ely's house, in the street called Holborn. Every thing is conducted in a handsome manner. I received during his illness from the bishop of Durham (who is prevented by sickness from attending parliament) twelve angels to be equally divided between us: the bishop of Winchester too had given us an angel apiece, and Parkhurst one, for all of which I will account next fair. Not much less than five angels are owing to the apothecaries, if indeed that will be sufficient for injections, decoctions, medicines, blisters, and numberless other expenses of the like kind. I will take charge of all his furniture as soon as I return to Cambridge, and will transmit you an inventory; for I think it will be most convenient for it to be sent from England together with my own luggage, if God, as I hope, shall allow me to return to you. But his will be done. If the money [of Zuinglius] should not be sufficient for his funeral, I will add some of my own, and will give you an account of every thing very

shortly: I will too, at the same time, reply to your letter, which I have received here, together with four books, which I have forwarded and delivered. Jewel is dead, as you are doubtless aware. Were I to write more, I should both neglect the funeral and also this letter: you will therefore be content with this, and give an account of every thing to master Bullinger. Farewell, my father, and regard me, who am residing here almost against my will, with paternal love, that I may have some consolation. Again farewell. Dated at London, June 5th, on the day that Zuinglius died, 1572. We shall return to Cambridge in three days.

Your most dutiful son,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

LETTER LXXXIII.

CHRISTOPHER MONT TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *July 8, 1572.*

YOUR letter, illustrious sir, written on the 22d of June, was brought me by the means of Lavater's son, a youth of good hope and promise. Various rumours are noised about here, upon light and doubtful authority, respecting the events of the war; and are far more favourable than I dare give credit to. The Gueux¹ have taken the Portuguese fleet laden with rich merchandise, three ships only having escaped during the battle: many cities of Flanders, oppressed by the pride, insolence, filthy lust, and insatiable desire of

[¹ Gueux, a term signifying *beggars*, was applied to the party headed by the prince of Orange, from the time of their presenting a petition to the regent, Margaret, duchess of Parma, in 1566. Many of them had now betaken themselves to the sea, and they numbered in the port of Flushing 150 armed vessels making common cause with the prince. See Strada, v. p. 109. Brandt, p. 167. The Spanish fleet was commanded by the duke of Medina Celi. See first series, Letter CIV p. 275.]

the Spaniards for plunder and destruction, refuse to receive them within their walls; wherefore Alva has declared them rebels to the king. In Flushing alone, a very small town, there have been hung some Spanish persons of rank, who were taken prisoners at sea. Unless the king of France, the queen of England, and the princes of Germany will complete the web they have begun, a horrible butchery and destruction awaits this wretched people. Alva is ruling at Brussels in his usual way, and issuing his orders, and is mustering four regiments of infantry in Luxemburg and Treves. Two stations for recruits have been attacked by the forces of the prince of Orange. The duke himself is quite obstinate, and is preparing for war with great perseverance; while the captains and generals, the counts Bulwiler, Fronsberg, Schomberg, Eberstein and others, are preparing their impious arms. Otto, count Eberstein, was intending, eight days since, to go down the Rhine into Lower Germany in a vessel laden with arms; but was obliged to land a little below Worms, where he was intercepted by the musketeers of the elector palatine, and carried into Altsheim².

A conference of the protestant princes will shortly be held at Naumberg in Saxony. The prince of Orange is reported to have set out from the castle of Dillenberg³ on the 23rd of June into Lower Germany, attended by six hundred cavalry and a thousand musketeers, to the stations designed for the musters and reviews of the troops. In England every thing is now quiet, and the assembly of all the estates of the realm is now sitting, by the decree and authority of which the duke of Norfolk was beheaded on the 2nd of June. I have not yet heard of the fate of the other conspirators.

I forward you these four letters brought to me from England to Hamburgh at this present fair, addressed to master T., and your excellent son-in-law, master Rodolph Gualter, together with my dutiful respects.

Strasburgh, July 8, 1572.

CHRISTOPHER MONT.

[² A small town between Worms and Oppenheim.]

[³ This fortress gives title to, and is the usual residence of a branch of the house of Nassau.]

LETTER LXXXIV.

RODOLPH GUALTER THE YOUNGER TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *July 29, 1572.*

HEALTH. That I have seldom written to you, my honoured relative, has not arisen from neglect, or displeasure, or forgetfulness; but because I was out of humour with myself, and could scarcely write to any of my friends in the public inn, either at Frankfort or Embden. Besides, when I wrote that letter I was quite unconcerned as to whether it was lost or delivered; for I gave it to a courier whom I did not know. But that I did not send any remembrance to you in that letter, you must ascribe to my thoughtlessness; for, though I very seldom forget you or any belonging to you, you certainly at that time escaped my memory. But as it was not done with an evil intention, you will grant your forgiveness. For can you suppose that I desire to please any one more than yourself? And although this is my abiding feeling, yet in young men, especially those who are not very considerate, the mind is not always where it ought to be. But I forbear to plead my excuse with you, who have already forgiven me, as your letter testifies, or else none would have been written to me. But I wish I could at this time send you something more agreeable than such tidings as must be equally distressing to us both. For on the 5th of June last my cousin R. Zuinglius, whom I grieve to have been taken from us at a time when almost all things are in a state of decline, departed piously and in the faith. He was honourably buried in the presence of the bishops of Ely and London, the latter of whom preached his funeral sermon. But I am unwilling to write to you more upon this subject: wherefore, if you desire any farther information, you can obtain it from the letter to the illustrious master Bullinger, to whom I have sent a full and particular account. It would therefore be superfluous to burden you with a useless description, and at the same time to renew my grief at almost every moment.

But though I know that I am in the Lord's hand, and that no one can die without his will, this event has nevertheless somewhat alarmed me, especially as I see and feel that this climate is injurious to our health. The death of Zuinglius is a proof of this; Butler, who was likewise nearly taken off by the same disorder, is a proof of it; I myself, lastly, am a proof of it; for though (praised be God!) I am still in good health, yet I am not so stout as I was, and indeed am diminishing in size almost every day, and evidently becoming quite thin. Master Turner, who was the physician of Zuinglius, advised me to remove into another place; but since my father blames me so much when any thing untoward happens, I had rather end my life in this place than leave it at any time, even with his permission. I shall not ask anything from him in future; if he can in any way advance my studies, he must look to it himself: as long as I do not cease everywhere studiously to attend to my books, and do my duty, I think that I stand excused before God. He lately told me to go to the dogs, and seek out some one else to wait upon; and if the slightest thing is omitted or overlooked in my letters, as for instance, the forwarding any letter that he may have sent, (for I testify by my silence that every thing has been done that he wished,) he immediately exclaims, and thunders out, "Do I think him such a fool and simpleton, as that I need not to inform him of necessary affairs?" But I will desist from wearying you also with my complaints: meanwhile do you love me, and though my father is still alive, shew yourself also as a father to me, and aid and comfort me with your counsel. I will take care that you shall have no reason to complain either of want of respect or of neglect of duty.

There is nothing new here, or it is already made known to you by the letters of others. I gave your letter to the bishop of London myself, as also to Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich. Jewel had already departed this life, to the great loss both of his country and myself. I will not write more, but you must be satisfied with these few lines, and excuse me who am overbusied in writing other letters. Salute all my friends, especially my sister your wife, whom you must excite by your authority to an increase of mutual

love for me. Farewell in Christ, my honoured relative.
Dated at Cambridge, July 29, 1572.

Your most attached relative,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

I was lately at Oxford, for the sake of an excursion, when I called upon Humphrey, who desired me to salute you whenever I purposed writing. I have resolved, by God's blessing, to leave this university shortly, and migrate to that.

LETTER LXXXV¹.

LORD BURGHLEY TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at Woodstock², *Sept.* 15, 1572.

YOUR letters have been delivered to me, most accomplished Sturmius, both that which you wrote privately to myself, and that written to the queen's majesty; in which you inform us of the death of master Mont, a man who by reason of his extreme diligence and fidelity in watching over the interests of this kingdom, as attested by the experience of many years, was most highly esteemed by her majesty and by every one of us. We are not however more affected by his loss, than we are comforted by the expression of your good-will and duty, which is, as it were, a just counter-balance. And this indeed falls out very opportunely, by reason of our opinion of your religion, wisdom, and integrity; especially in these times, when there is need of great prudence and fidelity in exposing the designs and doings of men, on account of the recent calamities in France³, and the dis-

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved at Strasburgh.]

[² Lord Burghley was then attending queen Elizabeth on a progress, in which she visited Havering Bower, Theobalds, Gorhambury, Dunstable, Woburn, Warwick, Kenilworth, Compton, Berkeley Castle, and Woodstock, at which latter place she is said to have received the intelligence of the massacre of Paris.]

[³ Namely, the massacre of St Bartholomew three weeks before. See first series, p. 276, note, and the authorities there quoted.]

turbed state of almost all Europe. Her majesty therefore accepts, as is fitting, the homage of your duty so diligently and readily offered, and will willingly appoint you in the place of Mont, and with the same salary; which, though it be little in proportion to your accomplishments and abilities, we think you will be disposed to estimate rather by the dignity and good-will of her majesty herself, than by its intrinsic value; and that, whatever deficiency there may be in this respect, you will entirely rely upon her favour and beneficence. I would have sent you this stipend, according to the queen's wish, with a letter from her majesty, if I either thought this messenger sufficiently suitable, or felt disposed to entrust him on this journey (which on account of these new perils both of places and times and circumstances seems likely to be a very difficult one) with any thing besides this letter expressive of her majesty's favourable inclination, and also of my personal good-will towards you. Wherefore you will not in the mean time expect any thing more from us, who are exceedingly busied in keeping from our borders the flame of the fires that are burning so near us. When their fury shall have been extinguished or allayed by the divine goodness, you will then find a more convenient way both of transmitting your letters to us, and of receiving this stipend for yourself. Farewell. Dated at Woodstock, Sept. 15, 1572.

Your exceeding well-wisher,

WILLIAM CECIL,

Baron of Burghley.

LETTER LXXXVI.

RODOLPH GUALTER THE YOUNGER TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at CAMBRIDGE, *Feb. 4, 1573.*

GREETING. From my father's letter of the 28th of August, I understood that you were suffering from illness, which, I suppose, is the reason you have not written to me.

It has much distressed me, my honoured kinsman, as it always will do, to hear that you are never free from that gout¹ of yours, and especially since on this account I hear from you less frequently. For myself however, though I should never receive even a word from you, I consider it as a part of my duty and respect to make you acquainted with my affairs. As to what relates to the state of my studies, they are going on just as usual. I am still resident at Cambridge, but shall shortly remove to Oxford²; for I am daily expecting a letter of recommendation from Parkhurst to master Humphrey, and as soon as I receive it, I shall leave this place. I have long since been tired of remaining here, where I perceive all things resounding with controversy. Worthy and pious ministers of the word of God are thrust into prison for preaching against idle gluttons. Some are annoyed in one way, some in another, partly by words, partly by deeds, as opportunity is afforded to these tyrants: and thus we hear, "one with mild words rebuked, another with severe." For my own part however, I consider myself as having nothing to do with these things, however they may distress me, as it is more painful to witness hardships than to hear of them. When I return home, I will tell you more at large about the state of affairs in this place. I request of you meanwhile to regard me with favour, and endeavour, as far as lieth in you, that my studies may turn out well. I will endeavour in my turn, and to the utmost of my ability, that the professors may not seem to have been wanting to me, so much as I to them. Salute, I pray you, all friends. Farewell, my honoured relative, in Christ, whom I pray long to preserve you in safety. Dated at Cambridge, Feb. 4, 1573.

Your most devoted,

RODOLPH GUALTER, the younger.

[1 See first series, Letter LV p. 125, and CXVII. p. 302.]

[2 See first series, Letter CXI. p. 289.]

LETTER LXXXVII.

LUCAS CLAYSON TO RODOLPH GUALTER THE YOUNGER.

Dated [CAMBRIDGE,] *June 23, 1573.*

THOUGH I have returned to my rooms very late from a sail to Chesterton, yet I cannot, my Gualter, in justice to the friendship and intimacy existing between us, do otherwise than write to you ; and as I know you wish to be informed of the result of the dispute between us and our swineherd³, I will relate this also in few words. Having experienced the bad faith of my companions, I was reduced to the necessity of referring the cause of the college to the decision of arbiters, before any witnesses were produced. It was therefore decreed, that I, and another fellow who had been expelled, should be reinstated, and that the statutes of the college, which had been tampered with, should be corrected and restored. And if this is done with the good faith that I expect, I shall not repent either of my expense or my exertions. If not, it is all over with me, and I must seek a better means of livelihood, in which I shall possibly have occasion for your assistance. Time will not allow me to write more, for

Down rushes from the skies the dewy night,
And falling stars to quiet sleep invite.

Farewell, and let me know all about your affairs ; I, in my turn, will neglect no opportunity of writing. In haste. James salutes you a thousand times, or, as the French say, *millefois*. *June 23, 1573.*

Your much attached,

LUCAS CLAYSON.

[³ This seems to have been a contemptuous appellation of the master of St John's, Nicolas *Shepherd*, whom the fellows in a letter to Cecil their patron, in 1569, styled their *ποιμένα*. Not long after, says Strype, viz. in 1573, they are weary of him ; make great complaints against him, and by the sentence of the college eject him from being their master. Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 87, 140.]

LETTER LXXXVIII.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

Dated at ZURICH, *July 17, 1573.*

HEALTH. Had I not already experienced, most illustrious prince, your kindness and pious zeal in favour of good men, I should be afraid that my letters, wherein I now commend one, and now another individual, would be troublesome to your clemency.

And yet such, occasionally, are the circumstances of my most intimate friends, that I cannot refuse them this service, which is an act of kindness in itself, and may be productive of some benefit to them. And I would have this especially understood in reference to the bearer of this letter. He is the son of a noble and excellent man, the baron of Alt-Sax¹, a youth² of good disposition and the greatest hope, who after having resided some time at Heidelberg, proceeded from thence to the most illustrious duke of Magdeburg. But he is now, by his father's desire, coming to England, to obtain an appointment at the court of her most serene majesty, suitable to his birth. I hear that he is recommended to the queen by the most illustrious prince, the elector palatine, whose recommendation will, I doubt not, have so much weight, as that this of mine will seem altogether superfluous. But as the father of the young man wished him also to be introduced to my friends, I could not refuse his request. For he is a most godly man, a distinguished worshipper of God, and no less persevering than diligent in advancing the kingdom of Christ. For, a few

[¹ Alt-Sax, and Forsteck mentioned below, are in the valley of the Rhine, near Appenzell.]

[² There are many letters from this youth at Zurich and Zofingen, some of which are from England, but none concerning English affairs. All shew that he was, as Gualter states him to have been, a young man of excellent disposition. He was a friend and fellow-student of Gualter's son at Oxford.]

years since, he banished all unlawful worship from his territory, which is surrounded by papists on all sides; restored the purer teaching of the word, and established the right administration of the sacraments, together with a moral discipline worthy of christian men. He has by this procedure excited against him the hatred of many, and has for some time had powerful enemies, who have left no means untried for his destruction. But Almighty God has preserved him, so that now Christ is preached in his territory, the whole of which had been before occupied by popish superstition. He has many sons, whom he wishes to be brought up and educated in the courts of christian princes, that they may maintain the dignity of his family, (which is of great antiquity and rank among us,) and at the same time acquire such knowledge as may be an honour to themselves, and bring some advantage to their common country. It is fitting too, that christian princes should forward the wishes of this excellent and most godly nobleman; which I think your clemency will do the more readily, as having heretofore experienced in your own person³, what labours and what dangers must be encountered by those, who, having embraced Christ Jesus with true faith, endeavour to promote his glory. You will therefore do, most illustrious prince, as you have often done already, and aid this excellent young nobleman in obtaining a situation worthy of his family and parentage, either with her most serene majesty, or with some other illustrious prince. Which if your clemency will accomplish, you will do an act most acceptable to God, and will perpetually bind to you a most godly nobleman, and will especially commend yourself to my countrymen by this new instance of your beneficence. May Almighty God graciously preserve your clemency, and direct you by his Spirit to the glory of his name! Amen. Zurich, July 17, 1573.

[R. GUALTER.]

[³ The earl of Bedford, when lord Russel, had been committed to the Fleet at the accession of queen Mary. The martyr, Bradford, addressed two letters to him, "being then in trouble for the verity of God's gospel." He afterwards went abroad, and stayed some time at Zurich. See his character described by Whetstone, in the Mirror, &c. of Francis Earl of Bedford, printed in Parke's Heliconia. London, 1815.]

TESTIMONIAL OF THE BARON OF ALT-SAX.

To all the faithful in Christ, to whom these present letters testimonial shall come, Laurence Humfrey, vice-chancellor, or commissary of the most noble the earl of Leicester in the fair university of Oxford, wishes health in the Author of salvation.

Whereas a few months since the noble and illustrious lord John Philip of Alt-Sax, free baron of Saxony and Forsteck, &c. in Switzerland, &c. arrived in this university; and, having had familiar intercourse with the most learned men in this university for four months, has exhibited many proofs of his rare and singular attainments; so that he may be regarded as truly noble, not only on account of his illustrious family, but by reason of his erudition and excellent endowments of understanding; it hath seemed good to our university, in testimony not only of its love towards him but of its judgment respecting him, on this 18th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1574, to distinguish and adorn the same with the title of master in arts, to the end that he may not hereafter forget our goodwill towards him, and that we may perpetually enjoy the remembrance of our knowledge of him. And whereas he is at length desirous of visiting his native country, we, out of our affection towards him, have not thought fit that he should depart without our testimony. All and each of these things therefore we duly signify to you by these presents, confirmed under the seal of office of the chancellorship of Oxford, in testimony of all and singular the premises. Dated July 30th, in the year of our Lord 1574.

LETTER LXXXIX¹.

LORD BURGHELY TO JOHN STURMIUS.

[Dated at LONDON, *July 18, 1573.*]

I RECEIVED the letters, Sturmius, which you gave in charge for the queen's majesty and myself to this servant of Philip Sidney, who will deliver this from me in return. There is no need of my now replying to your letter at

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved at Strasburgh.]

greater length. I greatly approve your having followed my advice in writing to her majesty; for I knew it would be gratifying to her, as indeed it was. But there is one thing that I wish to recommend to you in future, that when you again write to her majesty you will take care to be a little more exact both in writing and reading over your letter. For there was such carelessness in both these respects, that it could neither be read by her without difficulty, nor by reason of verbal inaccuracy be sufficiently understood. I attributed this to your haste, and perhaps also to the occupations which so pressed upon you, that you were unable to read over your letter. But I am surprised that it was so brief upon the affairs of Germany. I thank you very much for your kind réception of Philip Sidney, and I know that his most honoured parents will thank you a great deal more. Farewell, Sturmius, and should any thing arise that may concern us, take care to let us know as speedily as possible. London, July 18, 1573.

Your honour's very loving,

WILLIAM BURGHEY.

LETTER XC.

RODOLPH GUALTER THE YOUNGER TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at Magdalene College, OXFORD, *July 20, 1573.*

HEALTH. Your letter, my honoured relative, was delivered to me by master William Barlow, with whom I had been long since very intimate at Heidelberg. I understood from it that you had been disturbed, and not without reason, by the calumnies of some sciolists here, who, most illiterate as they are themselves, will give liking unto nothing that is not ornamented, and polished, and perfect in every respect. But since it is impossible to satisfy them all, we ought to consider ourselves as having sufficiently performed our duty by commending our endeavours and anxiety for the advancement of learning to the approbation of those who are most worthy. Among the Oxford men, to whom I joined

myself in the month of June, there are fewer of this class ; partly because they are more simple, and partly because the university abounds with papists, and but few persons devote themselves to the purer faith ; so that they will not even look into the writings of our countrymen, for which reason every ground and handle for this particular way of calumniating is cut off from them.

But I have dwelt too much upon this, and especially with you, my most learned relative, whom I know, both in this place and every where else, to be very dear to all good men. A few days afterwards your other letter was brought me, in which you accuse me of negligence, for neither having bought the cloth, nor sent you any letter. As to the last charge, I know that I am very easily accused of neglect, especially when I am innocent. But I suppose you have by this time received my letter by Chevalier, who was prevented by bad weather from coming over to you sooner. As to the first charge, when I first arrived in England, I could do but little with Hilles, who, as he has always this maxim in his mouth, *that money is to the merchant what the plough is to the farmer*, will do nothing without ready money. And as in your later letters to me you made no mention of the subject, I thought you had changed your mind, and that the cloth was no longer wanted. However, when master William Barlow passed through this place on his way back, he took the whole charge upon himself, and promised that he would manage the matter with some merchants in London of his acquaintance. Had I had an opportunity of going to London myself, I would willingly have executed this commission for you. But as Barlow has undertaken it, I do not consider there is any occasion for my assistance.

With respect to my situation at Magdalene college, of which Humphrey is president, I am living at Oxford very comfortably. For there is both an abundance of learned men, and I acknowledge myself very much indebted to them for their singular regard to me. But the especial kindness of masters Humphrey¹ and Cole, to whom I was recommended by master Parkhurst, outshines all the rest. And because this university is more agreeable to me than Cambridge, with

[¹ See first series, Letter CXI. p. 289, note.]

the view of living here more comfortably, and with greater honour, I have solicited the degree of master of arts, which was conferred upon me on the 6th of July, with the unanimous consent of the senate of the university; and for the completion of this degree, I am next week to hold public lectures, both in moral and natural philosophy. May God prosper my undertaking and direct all my endeavours to the glory of his name! But I am now desirous of staying here longer than I had intended, partly on account of my degree, and partly by reason of its great convenience. For master Parkhurst has so recommended me to Humphrey, that he has taken upon himself the charge of all my expenses, which he is to receive from him again; so that I shall be able from henceforth to reside here without any cost to my father, which I have hitherto been unable to do by reason of the uncertainty of my expenses. But I request you, my honoured relative, (for it will be of great use to me in my studies,) always to persuade and advise (my father) against my being recalled home sooner than is expedient. For should I be recalled sooner than I expect, my father might probably complain of my want of obedience in that respect. But I well know that both my father and yourself, and all of you will so manage these things, that I have no need to give myself any trouble about them. I will not, therefore, write more, especially at present; and I beg you will be satisfied with this, and love me, as you do. May Almighty God long preserve you in safety with your wife and children! Dated at Oxford, from Magdalene college, July 20, 1573.

Your most attached relative,

RODOLPH GUALTER, the younger.

TESTIMONIAL OF RODOLPH GUALTER THE YOUNGER.

To all the faithful in Christ, to whom these presents shall come. Laurence Humphrey, vice-chancellor, or commissary of the most illustrious earl of Leicester in the fair university of Oxford, perpetual health in the Lord.

As nothing is more agreeable to justice and equity than to bear testimony to the truth, for the lack of which the in-

nocence of individuals is for the most part attacked and weakened by false accusations through the injuries of calumniators; hence it is that, moved by the request of our beloved brother in Christ, Rodolph Gualter of Zurich, we bring to the knowledge of your university, and desire to make known to you by these presents, that the aforesaid Rodolph Gualter has been a scholar of our university for two entire years last past, and has devoted himself to learning in Magdalene college with no less success than diligence, laudably conducting himself in the mean while. Whence, in acknowledgement of his merits, this young man, amiable for his candour, and respectable in station, as bearing and representing not only the name, but the virtuous example of his most accomplished and exemplary father, master Rodolph Gualter, professor at Zurich, was created master of arts at our famous commemoration, on the 12th of October, 1573. And forasmuch as he is now desirous of visiting his father and his country, we, in manifestation of our regard for him, would not allow him to leave us without our testimonial. All and singular which we signify to you faithfully by these presents, under the official seal of the chancellorship of Oxford, in testimony of all and each of the premises. Dated July 30, A. D. 1574.

LETTER XCI.

SIR JOHN WOLLEY¹ TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at ORPINGTON, *July 24, 1573.*

I HAVE been induced, accomplished Sturmius, to write to you at this present time at the desire of my singular good

[¹ Sir John Wolley was secretary in the French and Latin tongues to queen Elizabeth, in the latter of which he succeeded Roger Ascham. The queen was now on a progress through Kent. She set out from Greenwich, July 14th: thence to Croydon, to the archbishop's house, where she stayed seven days: thence to Orpington, the house of Sir Perceval Hart, from whence this letter was written, the original of which is preserved at Strasburgh. See Strype, Ann. ii. i. 465.]

patron, the earl of Leicester; who, as he himself was writing to you about other matters, wished me also to open the way to your friendship and correspondence by a letter of my own. And this I do with the greatest readiness.

For as I have succeeded your friend Ascham in his office about the queen's majesty, so am I exceedingly anxious to be the inheritor also of his friendships and intimacies, and especially with yourself. Receive me therefore in Ascham's place; for though I am far inferior to him in ability and learning, yet I will endeavour to excel him in his love and respect for you. The noble earl has wished me to write to you at this time (although we are now booted and just setting out on a journey) about a matter of no great importance, but which, however, is exciting great disturbances among us.

A great question has for a long time, as I think you are aware, been moved among us, whether ministers and preachers of the word ought to be bound by public authority to use a certain kind of habit, especially such an one as the mass priests used in the papacy: which dispute is so agitated among us, that many parties have chosen to relinquish the preaching of the gospel, and are relinquishing it every day, rather than be obliged to adopt that kind of habit. This affair has certainly occasioned great disorders among us, and the contest has hitherto increased by debate.

The most noble earl therefore is anxiously desirous that you should propose some method of allaying this dispute, which is now so rife, by procuring the opinions of the most learned divines of Germany, especially Beza, Gualter, and others of great note, upon this matter, to be written to our universities. On this subject I will write more at another time: now the departure of the queen from this place is so full of hurry, as scarcely to have allowed me to write even thus much. You will excuse the haste of this letter, which I have written at the command of the earl, and reckon me among your most loving friends. And this I earnestly and repeatedly request of you. Farewell, most accomplished sir. Dated at Orpington, a village in the county of Kent. July 24, 1573.

Your most devoted,

JOHN WOLLEY.

LETTER XCII.

WILLIAM COLE TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated [at OXFORD,] *July 26, 1573.*

THE kindness, most honoured sir, which I experienced from you beyond all others at Zurich, can never escape from my memory; wherefore I wish you to believe, that, although I am very far removed from you in person, in mind and inclination I shall always be a Zuricher. And if all persons ought to be had in the highest esteem by me from the very circumstance of their belonging to Zurich, much more is your son to be regarded with the greatest affection. For besides his being a Zuricher, the piety and friendship of his father makes him more acceptable to me, as the learning of his father does to all godly persons. For as often as your works are placed before the eyes of the godly for perusal, so often is the son of such a father held up to commendation. In the year now passed, when your son was present at our commemoration, I could not refrain from doing you some little kindness. For as soon as I saw him, there came into my mind, I know not how, the various favours you bestowed on us Englishmen now many years ago. Wherefore I now plainly perceive it impossible that such great obligations can ever be forgotten by me; so fresh and grateful was the recollection of them. The bishop of Norwich, a man on all accounts to be honoured by me, has written to me; and I learn from his letter how much your son is beloved by him; so that I dare affirm, that, though you are absent in Switzerland, the bishop of Norwich will no less give his assistance to your son in every respect, than if you were at hand to provide for him yourself. You must understand therefore, in few words, that your Gualter will always be beloved by me, and that I shall never be wanting to his interests.

There is scarcely any news stirring among us. I hear that a city in Holland, called Haerlem¹, has at length, after a

[¹ The siege of Haerlem lasted ten months; the townsmen, before they capitulated, being reduced to eat the vilest animals, and even leather and grass.]

long blockade, in spite of the opposition of the Spaniards, introduced some reinforcements from England and Scotland, and that by this means ample provision is made for the inhabitants in respect of the necessaries of life. And this took place some days since, not without some slaughter on both sides. Some of our nobility² are making preparations for a great expedition into Ireland, and are all now on their journey thither. There is a great union of opinion between us and the Scots; and the protestants of that country, with our assistance, have this summer reduced the well-fortified castle of Edinburgh³. Their queen is in this country with a certain nobleman⁴, to whose faithful custody she is committed, so as not to be able to go abroad without his permission, and without a sufficient guard. I have nothing to write respecting the French affairs. Everything at Rochelle⁵ is as yet in a state

[² Namely, the earl of Essex, the lords Darcy and Rich, and others. They went on an expedition into Ireland against Brian Mac Phelim, who had raised a rebellion in Ulster. They arrived at Knockfergus towards the end of August. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 201.]

[³ Edinburgh castle was taken on the 28th of May, after having held out against the English upwards of a month, by Sir W. Drury with fifteen hundred men, and the Scottish auxiliary forces. See Camden's Elizabeth, p. 197.]

[⁴ The queen of Scots was at this time at Sheffield castle, under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, who in a letter to lord Burghley, dated Sept. 24, 1572, says, "This queen remains still within these four walls in sure keeping. She is much offended at my restraint from her walking without this castle; but for all her anger, I will not suffer her to pass one of these gates until I have contrary commandment expressly from the queen's majesty. And though I was fully persuaded that my number of soldiers was sufficient for her safe keeping, yet have I thought good this time to increase the same with thirty soldiers more. See Lodge, i. 550, and first series of the Zurich Letters, p. 260.]

[⁵ The town of Rochelle was the principal rendezvous of the French Protestants, who established themselves there after the massacres of the preceding year. The duke of Anjou besieged it early in the spring, and after some months investment by the best troops and chief nobility of France, the loss of forty thousand by disease and casualty, and a ruinous expenditure both of stores and money, he was forced to compromise, the announcement of his election to the throne of Poland permitting a negotiation, without the shame of acknowledging a defeat: a treaty was therefore concluded towards

of uncertainty. I pray you, sir, to salute very much in my name the venerable father, master Bullinger, and the rest of your fellow-ministers. May Christ preserve you! July 26, 1573.

Your most devoted,

WILLIAM COLE.

LETTER XCIII.

WILLIAM BARLOW TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at LONDON, *Aug. 2, 1573.*

MUCH health. I send you, most excellent Simler, the cloth, as you requested; but I request this from you in return, that you will let me know in your next letter how you like both the cloth and its price. I availed myself in this business of the assistance of those who ought at least to have some skill in such matters, and whose promises are magnificent enough; but as all truth has perished from the earth, I must entreat you again and again, that you will employ some one who is a judge of such things, and write me word what you think about it before you send a farthing of money: this you will do without any inconvenience or trouble to me whatever. The merchant, who, with God's blessing, will hand over the cloth to Master Froschover at the fair this autumn, will not receive his money before next spring fair, when I mean to employ either him, or some one else, to purchase some articles with it at Frankfort: in the mean time, if you please, you can let me know what you think about the cloth.

We have no news here, except that colonies are being sent over from England into Ireland, to occupy that part of the island which is nearest to Scotland. The Earl of Essex is their leader, and the preparations are very extensive.

the end of June, which secured to all protestants liberty of conscience, but freedom of worship was confined to Rochelle, Nismes, and Montauban. For an account of the siege see Smedley's *Hist. of the Reformation in France*, Vol. II. ch. xii. and the authorities there referred to; also Browning's *Hist. of the Huguenots*, p. 102.]

Our civil state, by the blessing of God, is quiet, but in regard to our churches every thing is full of strife and confusion. As soon as I have any leisure (which indeed I have scarcely enjoyed since my arrival in England at the beginning of June), I will at least find out some intelligence or other to send to my host, Master Wiccus, to whom you will present my respects in the mean time. Salute, I pray you, dutifully in my name the reverend fathers in Christ, masters Bullinger the elder and Gualter; likewise masters Lavater, Stuccius, Bullinger the younger, Lemann, and James Frisius. I met your kinsman¹, Gualter's son (who gave me your letter dated April 27th,) at Oxford. I offered him my services, if they could be of use to him in any way, as in duty I ought to do. He has at length obtained a place in Magdalene college convenient for his studies. London, Aug. 2, 1573.

Yours,

WILLIAM BARLOW

Salute also, I pray you, my friend Julius in my name, and tell him that I have lately spoken to the bishop of London on his behalf, and that I have faithfully taken care of all his letters.

I send you inclosed in this letter a pattern of your cloth, which you can fit to the piece, and thus ascertain that it has not been changed on the road. The price of the cloth is seven pounds four shillings English money; and each pound English is equivalent to eighty batzen.

LETTER XCIV.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO BISHOP COX.

Dated at ZURICH, Aug. 26, 1573.

HEALTH. It is with great pleasure, reverend father in Christ, that I have learned both from your letter² and those

[¹ See above, p. 217.]

[² See first series, Letter CIX. p. 284.]

of others, that the mark of respect by which I gave public attestation of my regard for yourselves and the Anglican churches in the dedication of my homilies¹ on the first epistle to the Corinthians, was acceptable to you and to your colleagues. I have learned it too, by a letter from my son, who is most earnest in his praises of your liberality towards himself; for which, as also for the remembrance² which you write word you have sent me, I return my thanks to your reverence, not such as you deserve, or as I wish, but such as I can; and at the same time I pray Almighty God to afford me some opportunity of shewing that I am not unmindful of the favours which you have conferred upon me and upon my son. He will remain among you till the spring, and it is necessary that he should do so, since the letter in which I inform him of my wishes, will scarcely reach him before November, after the [autumn] fair [at Frankfort]; at which season a sea voyage is far from agreeable, and not altogether safe. But at the beginning of spring, should nothing happen to prevent it, he will cross over into Denmark, where I have recommended him to my particular friend, master Erasmus Lætus, a divine of the university of Copenhagen, who lately passed through this place from Venice, and promised me his services in entertaining him and sending him on to Rostock; from whence, after having also visited the Saxon universities, namely, Wittemberg and Leipsic, he will, if it so please God, return home to me. Meanwhile, I request you will proceed as you have hitherto done, and keep an eye to him and his studies, that he may not idly lose his time, nor be corrupted by evil habits.

But to return to your letter, in which also you mention that of mine³, in which I gave you the reason of my having written to master Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, on the subject of your controversies; it distresses me exceedingly to be thus brought as it were upon the stage through your quarrels, by the publication of my letters to both parties. It was certainly very wrong and uncourteous in your opponents, to print that letter, which I had written to an old friend in all

[1 See first series, Letter CVII. p. 279, note.]

[2 Namely, twenty-five gulden, or about three pounds of our money. See first series, p. 286.]

[3 See first series, Appendix, Letter VII. p. 362.]

the freedom of friendship and familiar correspondence. It ought to have been enough for them, after abusing my credulity, to have extorted from me that somewhat sharp admonition. I could more easily bear that master Whitgift⁴ should insert, in his reply to your opponents, the other letter that I wrote to you on the same subject, since the necessity of the case required it; but it is painful to me to hear them seeking from it a new occasion of complaint, or even of calumniating, as though I had now recanted in your favour what I had before stated to their satisfaction. I am comforted, however, by conscious integrity, and I hope that all considerate persons will perceive that I am very far from incurring the imputation of inconsistency. For they will see that I did not complain to my most intimate friend, without reason, of those parties who, if they acted as I am told they did, deserved a yet more severe rebuke. But when I hear that I have been imposed upon, why should I not stand up in my own defence? I am certainly unwilling to be alienated from excellent and friendly men by the fickleness and peevishness of others: but as far as I can guess from your letter, they have now begun a new web⁵, so that I am less surprised at being dragged on the stage by them. You ask me to reply to those nine articles, by the insisting upon which they give you so much trouble. But if these are the only matters in dispute between you, they are scarcely deserving, in my opinion, that any divine should be occupied in the refutation of them; as they savour of nothing but a longing after innovation, and I wish they were not sprinkled with the bitterness of envy or blind emulation.

I. They require the names of archbishops, bishops, and other officials, to be entirely abolished. But I wish they would act with greater modesty, and that in altering the

[⁴ Dr Whitgift made an end of his confutation of the Admonition to Parliament in Sept. 1572. In this he inserted the letter here mentioned, stating, that forasmuch as the authors of the admonition, for their better credit, had set down in print the epistles of Master Beza and Master Gualter, so he thought good to set down an epistle of Master Gualter, revoking the same upon better information; also another of Master Bullinger, chief minister of Zurich, concerning the same cause. Strype, Whitgift, i. 86.]

[⁵ Gualter refers to Saunders's book, "The Monarchy of the Church." See first series, p. 281.]

constitution of state or church they would not assume to themselves greater piety than they possess. I by no means deny that in all governments there are many things which might be more conveniently established according to the rule of antiquity and apostolic simplicity. But since it is the misfortune of our age, that not even those princes, who have opened their doors to the gospel of Christ, will allow all things to be altered and corrected; and as many hindrances also arise from other quarters, it appears to me better to bear with patience the imperfections of the kingdoms of this world, so long as purity of doctrine and liberty of conscience remain inviolate, than by disputing about the external government of the church to bring the whole into danger. And I wonder that they entertain such an aversion to the name of bishops, which they cannot but know was in use in the time of the apostles, and always too retained in the churches in after times: we know too, that archbishops existed of old, whom they called by another name *patriarchs*¹. And if in later times they have occasioned so much offence, by reason of their tyranny and ambition, that these titles are, not without reason, become odious to the godly; I do not yet see what is to hinder, that, on the removal of the abuse, those persons may be bishops, and called such, who, placed over a certain number of churches, have the management of such things as appertain to the purity of religion and doctrine. I cannot however dissemble upon this subject, that there are found every where out of England pious and excellent men, yea, even some of the nobility, who blame many things in the manners and pomp of your bishops. And those who have lately come over from England (as I understand by the letters of my friends) have complained, that many harsh proceedings have been adopted there against godly and learned ministers of the word, who heretofore preached Christ not without some excellent fruit, but who now, with the connivance, yea, even with the concurrence of

[¹ The name patriarch was first given to a bishop by any public authority at the council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), which mentions the most holy patriarchs of every diocese, *ὁσιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἐκάστης*. The power itself, it is agreed on all hands, existed much earlier, and was probably confirmed at the council of Nice, A. D. 325. See Bingham's Antiquities, B. II. ch. xvii. § 6, 7.]

the bishops, are thrust into prison upon the most trifling grounds, and almost without an indictment, or at least such an one as is recognized by law. Whether there be any truth in this report concerning you, I do not know; we certainly promise ourselves better things of you all. But if any thing of this kind should take place, I would again entreat you to consider how cautious you should be, lest, in opposition to the precept of St Peter², you exercise dominion over the clergy, or be of the number of those who cruelly beat their fellow-servants. You will forgive me, reverend father, this freedom of speech, for which I have no other motive but that I love you, yea, revere and respect you, and am most anxious at the same time for the honour of your reputation and for the English churches. I hope also that you will not decline any of those measures which shall seem to make for an improved state of the church. And if I well know the greater part of you, I think that you would rather, if it were possible, lay down that burden which you sustain with so great labour, and so much envy of many parties, than stand in the way of a more perfect reformation. But if the most serene queen and the nobles of the realm will not have the existing form of the church altered, I should wish that those other brethren of ours would bear it with patience, and not occasion you any trouble; and that you should in your turn unite modesty and humility to your episcopal dignity, and not contemptuously look down upon those who are labouring in the same vineyard of Christ with yourselves.

II. They contend that the election of the ministers of the word ought to be restored to the people, and not to be in the hands of the bishops. But in this case also I think there is great need of prudence and moderation, lest, while we are urging an extreme right, many persons may have occasion of complaining that we have done them injustice. I confess, indeed, that in the time of the apostles teachers were elected by the public consent of the whole church, and not without fasting and prayer; as is evident in the election of Matthias, as also in the ordination of Paul and Barnabas to the gentiles. And that this method was still in use in the time of St Augustine, is testified by that letter³ of his, in which he

[² 1 Pet. v. 3.]

[³ The following is the passage referred to, as given by Bingham,

describes the election of his successor Evodius. But then also it appears, that the more powerful party was that of those who were superior to the rest, either in the dignity of the apostolic name, or by reason of their office and the prerogative of their honours. And what was done by Paul is well known, who for this cause left Titus in Crete¹, that he might ordain elders and teachers in every city. The same apostle, too, commands that all things be done decently and in order; and I do not see how this can be the case without a certain distinction of ecclesiastical offices. But the whole order of the church has in these latter times been disturbed by the tyranny of antichrist, which the superstition of kings and princes has confirmed. For when these, not properly instructed in the faith of Christ, imagined that their sins could be expiated by external ceremonies and the purchased prayers of others, they presently began to found convents of mass-priests, monks, and nuns, and to enrich them with the revenues arising from yearly produce and from tithes. By which means it came to pass, that, together with the tithes and other revenues of the parishes (as they call them) the right of election (which they called patronage) devolved upon the priors of convents, bishops, and abbots, and lastly, even upon abbesses; not now to speak of others who obtained it by other means. Among us at least (to bring forward this by way of example), who by the singular mercy of God have now for fifty whole years enjoyed the free preaching of the gospel, the election of ministers in many of the parishes rests with the bishop of Constance, and the popish abbots, who from the donation of former sovereigns possess the tithes and largest revenues in the canton of Zurich. And should we seek to deprive them of their right and possession, which has now been established by long prescription, what disturbances should we occasion! what danger should we bring upon our churches! It seems to us also more advisable, that they

Antiquities, B. iv. ch. ii. § 6. *A notariis ecclesie, sicut cernitis, excipiuntur quæ dicimus, excipiuntur quæ dicitis, et meus sermo et vestre acclamationes in terram non cadunt. . Hoc ad ultimum rogo, ut gestis istis dignemini subscribere qui potestis.* He first ordered the notaries of the church to take the acclamations of the people in writing, and then required all that could write to subscribe the instrument themselves. August. Ep. 110. (213.)

[¹ See Tit. i. 5.]

should enjoy their right [of presentation] together with the tithes, and allow us peace and freedom of religion, and suffer themselves to be so far controlled by our most noble senate, as not to appoint any incumbent to the churches, who has not been brought up in our church, and approved by a lawful examination. I may add too, that there is no church in the city and canton of Zurich, which has retained the right of electing their ministers, except only that of St Peter's, of which it has pleased God that I should be the minister, and by which I was chosen thirty-one years since by the unanimous consent of the whole people, when I had not yet completed the twenty-third year of my age. And it is almost miraculous, that under the cruel tyranny of the papacy, when partly the bishop of Constance and the canons of the high church, and partly the abbes of the lower college and the other abbots, had dominion over all the churches, and drew the tithes to themselves from every quarter, yet to this church its liberty has remained entire; in which circumstance I recognize the special care of God, by which I have more than once felt myself exceedingly strengthened. In the mean time there is no one who by this example turbulently arrogates the like liberty to himself; nor do I, for my part, disparage the ministers of other churches, as being unlawfully appointed, because a different mode of election has been adopted in their case, which does not come so near to the practice of apostolic times. For why should they be blamed for the iniquity of former times, and which has brought things to such a pass that they cannot be restored without tumult and public danger? We think it better to bear with such things as may be borne consistently with godliness, and without the loss of eternal salvation, but which cannot be altered without peril and disturbance. And if your people will carefully observe this rule, they will afford less room for contention, and you will shortly, as I hope, enjoy the peace you wish for.

III. When they say that no one ought to be tied down to set forms of prayer, I know not in what sense they make the assertion. If they mean this, that we are not superstitiously to attach any virtue to preconceived words of prayer, or to certain forms of praying, I am also of the same opinion; for this rather belongs to exorcists and conjurors. But if they condemn certain forms of public prayer in the church, I should

say that they are mad with their wits about them, and that, blinded with an excessive desire of innovation, they look upon every thing with envious eyes, for the purpose of finding out some occasion of calumniating. For that such prayers have been in use in all ages, no one can deny; and it is more than necessary that they should be retained, forasmuch as most persons are either so unfitted, or even perplexed in their minds, in dangers and temptations, that they can scarce conceive their prayers in their thoughts, much less in words. And this is the reason that the Holy Ghost has caused many prayers of the servants of God to be written out and embodied in the sacred volume. And Christ himself has delivered to us a distinct form of prayer, as John the Baptist had also done before him. But yet this does not prevent individuals from offering their prayers in private for themselves, and according to the nature of their afflictions, nor from using such words as the Spirit may suggest: and ministers also may subjoin, at the close of their sermons, prayers suitable to the subject they have been treating of; which, however, I should wish to be done in such a way, as not to neglect and pass over such prayers as are, as it were, peculiar to, and established by long use, in particular churches.

IV. No man in his senses will say that the sacraments may be administered without the word of God; since, unless the word and element go together, there will be no sacrament, as Augustine¹ has taught us long since. And I do not think that the Lord's supper, which is a public act of the whole church, appointed as a memorial and setting forth of the death of Christ, can be rightly administered without being preceded by a godly discourse, in which the congregation are admonished both of the benefit derived from Christ, and also of their corresponding obligations. The case of baptism, however, is different, since by means of it even infants are received into the communion of the church, and as such, it is evident, are not yet capable of instruction, although they are comprehended in God's covenant, and are inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. The reading of scripture then and prayers may suffice at that time, by which the sponsors

[¹ Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum. August. Tract. 80. in Joh. Tom. ix. col. 445. Basil. 1541.]

may be reminded of their duty, and the grace of God obtained. Meanwhile, I by no means find fault with the practice of those churches, in which a certain day in every week is appointed for baptism, and a sermon preached, after which as many infants as have been born during that week are baptized in due order. And in our canton infants are baptized for the most part on those days on which stated sermons are preached. But as this is not suitable or convenient in all places, I would not rashly create any difficulty, whereby each church should be prevented the enjoyment of its own liberty without offence.

V They desire, moreover, that the father alone should answer for his child in baptism, and that no other sponsors be allowed; in which they again betray a useless and over-busy fondness for innovation. For what religion prevents other persons at the invitation of the parents from undertaking this office for their infants, which in former times, when persecutions were yet raging every where, was no less necessary than useful; and which serves at the present day to conciliate friendship, and, lastly, is often of great advantage to them when they are grown up, seeing they are admonished and re-proved with greater freedom by those who have pledged their faith for them to the church?

VI. There is no need of reviewing what they add concerning the equality of ministers, as I have above spoken upon that subject. We also ourselves condemn that primacy which is connected with ambition and a desire of domination; but the apostle has also taught us that there is a certain order among the ministers of the church, when he says that *some are appointed apostles; some, prophets; some, pastors and teachers*; and as he makes a distinction of gifts and abilities, so does he also of administrations. And I wonder that these men do not look to the construction of their own body, and the arrangement of their own members, which might instruct them how to think upon this subject, and which similitude the apostle makes use of in this argument. Meanwhile, however, let those bear in mind, to whom a higher station is allotted, that they will only properly have pre-eminence over others, when (as Christ has taught us) they are the servants of all.

VII. With respect to Confirmation, I do not suppose you approve of that theatrical display which the papists have admitted among their sacraments. But if those who are rightly

instructed in the catechism, are admitted to the Lord's supper with public testimony and imposition of hands (which we know that Christ also practised to young children), I do not see what occasion there is for any one to quarrel about it.

VIII. Funeral sermons are not usual among us; and since men are naturally inclined to superstitions, and those especially, which are thought to aid the salvation of the deceased, it is better either to abstain from them altogether, or so to conduct them, as that all may understand, that whatever takes place upon such occasions is done for the sake of the living who are present as hearers, and not for the sake of the departed; of the salvation of whom, if indeed they died in the faith, and calling upon the name of God through Christ, we ought to be so certainly persuaded, that no occasion should be afforded to any one to doubt about it. From sermons of this kind, which we know to have been religiously instituted by godly fathers of old time, has arisen in later times, in the papacy, that most lucrative traffic in the fire of purgatory, masses, and the pomp of funerals; and it is well known what is wont to take place in some reformed churches, where these practices are still retained. For there are not wanting those, who, to gratify noble families, or even to obtain gifts and presents of greater value, take up almost the whole of their sermons with the commendations of the departed, which are for the most part false, or at least very doubtful, and therefore occasions of offence. But yet, if any person can preach funeral sermons, without danger of superstition, or any view to his private emolument, to the edification of the hearers, I should be loth to deprive them of such a liberty. But to speak plainly, this matter seems to me to be fraught with danger, partly on account of the propensity of the vulgar to superstition, and partly by reason of the desire of gain inherent in most people, and which I think should be called forth on the fewest possible occasions; lest, when the ministers become greedy of gain, they render all their teaching, together with religion itself, liable to suspicion. And I am influenced too by this consideration, that as God did not of old ordain any ceremonies for the dead, so he kept away the priests from funerals, lest by being occupied about them they should be defiled.

IX. What reading of the scriptures is in use among you, I know not. But I hear that the lessons were ap-

pointed through lack of ministers at the beginning of the reformation revived by her most serene majesty ; and we know too, that in former times all the books of holy scripture were read in order to the christian people. Nor do I see what inconvenience can ensue, if any persons take pleasure in readings of this kind ; provided only that the office of preaching be not neglected, which it is fitting that all bishops and ministers of churches should frequently perform, that the word of God be not only read by the bye, but rightly divided, as Paul admonishes, and adapted to the instruction, consolation, and edification of all.

I have thought fit to make these brief remarks upon the articles of your adversaries ; not that I imagine you have any need of my animadversions, but because, reverend father in Christ, you require my opinion upon these points. And if through ignorance any thing should have fallen from me incorrectly stated, I desire to be told of it. But I wish that all who profess the christian name would make for peace, and exercise themselves with united efforts for the advancement of the kingdom of God, and bear with patience one another's burdens. They would then see that they would never have so much leisure, as that, intermeddling with things that do not belong to them, they could raise disputes about things either unnecessary, or even injurious, to the great offence of the people. For I am greatly afraid that those very persons who now treat with harshness the ministers of Christ, and cannot bear those bishops who are the patrons of purer doctrine, will find out, some time or other, that there are wolves on both sides, who will harass them with new contests, and horribly oppress the church. For thus does God avenge the dissensions of ministers, and the distractions of his church.

I have not seen the book of Nicolas Saunders about monarchy¹ : should I see it, and think it deserving of an answer, I will do as the Lord shall enable me ; whom I pray, reverend father in Christ, to preserve, and bless in your most godly pursuits, yourself and your colleagues, and all among you who are diligently doing the work of Christ. Amen.
Zurich, Aug. 26, 1573.

Your dignity's most devoted,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

[¹ See above, p. 227.]

LETTER XCV.

ROBERT COOCH¹ TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at the Queen's Palace, *Aug. 13, 1573.*

I AM compelled by the force of conscience to declare my sentiments, and that upon a most important matter and singular mystery. My remarks relate to the last supper of Christ; in the administration of which a mistake is made now-a-days, and ever has been made, almost from the time of St Paul; since he placed before the Corinthians a supper to be eaten, we only a morsel of bread in mockery of a supper. They used a variety and abundance of meat and drink, so as to depart satisfied; we return home hungry. And as Paul blames too dainty a table, so also does he a too sparing and scanty one. Moderation is best. Neither did our forefathers, who lived before the birth of Christ, practise that abstinence, which is rather a fast than a dinner or a supper; inasmuch as they partook of the [paschal] lamb. It is not to be believed, that Christ would take such pains to have a supper prepared in the guest-chamber at Jerusalem, and invite so many guests, and yet place nothing before them but a most minute morsel of bread and three drops of wine. It is your part, who have brought forth into the light and view of mankind so many excellent works, to wipe away, or altogether remove these blemishes of error and superstition. And this you have admirably effected in your explanation of those epistles in which Paul addressed the Corinthians; in which you have chastised the arrogance of the popes, and the thunders of the papists, and the extraordinary excommunication and separation of the Calvinists.

[¹ Robert Cooch, or Cooke, had been keeper of the wine-cellar to Edward VI. He denied the propriety of infant-baptism, in defence of which Peter Martyr wrote a long letter to him. Martyr, Ep. 34. Dr Turner also wrote a book against him, in which he confuted his opinion respecting original sin. He was among the exiles under queen Mary, when he became acquainted with Rodolph Gualter. He was now, 1573, one of the gentlemen of the queen's chapel. See Strype, Mem. ii. 1. 111.]

As I will stand or fall by your opinion as to the manner and method of the supper and the table, so I very much dissent from Beza and others as to the day when Christ took supper with his disciples. For they assign the supper to the fourteenth day, I to the thirteenth, in which, according to the law, the old passover was not to be sacrificed². Christ therefore instituted a new passover in remembrance of his death, and did not eat any other that night with his disciples. I have written some pages upon these subjects, which I intend to print; but I anxiously desire the interposition of your opinion beforehand. And, indeed, nothing can be printed here in England without the licence of the bishops. Wherefore I request you, if possible, to write in return, and let me know what you think it would be best for me to do. Farewell From the queen's palace. Aug. 13, 1573.

Your very loving

ROBERT COOCH.

LETTER XCVI.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO BISHOP SANDYS.

Dated at [ZURICH,] Oct. 8, 1573.

YOUR letter, reverend father in Christ, has been delivered to me, and was on many accounts most gratifying to me; both as coming from yourself, and as informing me that my lucubrations on Paul's epistles to the Corinthians were approved of by you, to whose opinion I have always paid

[² Gualter in his reply says, of the question concerning the day of Easter, *hanc difficultatem curiosam potius quam utilem esse*; "this difficulty is more curious than useful." He disagrees with him also on the other point, and says, *Nimis argutum est, quod ad Hebraismum confugis, et sub panis vocabulo omne genus ciborum intelligi debere dicis*: "Your having recourse to an Hebraism, and saying that under the term *bread* all kinds of food ought to be comprehended, savours of too great nicety." The letter is very long, and entirely occupied in arguing these points. MS. note by Rev. Stuart A. Pears.]

much regard, as to that also of the others your colleagues ; and as they testify that they are of the same judgment with yourself, I very little care about the opinions of others, who will, I know, be satisfied with nothing less than my approval of all their ordinances and customs ; which indeed I wish I could approve, and would do so most willingly, if I knew them to agree in all respects with scripture. Many parties now-a-days are insisting upon, I know not what plan of church government, under the plausible name of ecclesiastical discipline ; and they tell us that no churches can exist without it. But I am greatly afraid, lest they should give birth to an aristocracy, which will shortly degenerate into an oligarchy, and be the beginning of a new papacy. For they are every where exerting themselves for the establishment of a simple presbytery ; into which some good and pious men are elected from the congregation at large, but in such a way, as that the power of making any law rests almost entirely with the ministers, by whose decision it becomes valid and must be ratified, although they may be beaten by a majority of votes. It was lately enacted at Heidelberg, that no one should be admitted to the [Lord's] supper without having first presented himself to his pastor ; for St Paul's rule, that every man should examine himself, is not sufficient for them. The elders of the church did not agree to this enactment ; which, however, notwithstanding is obtruded upon all in the name of the entire presbytery, nay, of the whole church. What, in fine, is to hinder the chief authority from devolving upon some individual, who is superior to the others in wealth or influence, and upon whose favour the rest may be dependent? And indeed an example of this new tyranny was exhibited there not long since, which ought, with good reason, to alarm all who wish well to the liberty of the church. There is a certain Swiss there, the principal of the college of St Denys, than whom, as all do testify, no one ever conducted himself there (let not this declaration be thought invidious) in a more innocent and godly manner. Nevertheless Olevianus¹, who is the pastor there, denounced him in the name of all the elders, that he should not come to the Lord's

[¹ Gasper Olevianus was the son of a baker at Treves. He studied theology at Geneva, and afterwards became minister at Heidelberg, where he died in 1587.]

supper. He added as a reason, that he could not admit him without doing violence to his feelings. The man bore the insult with indignation, as it was natural he should do; and desired to know what crime he had committed deserving of so great a punishment. But they make no reply, farther than that they persist in their resolution. So he presents a petition to the most illustrious prince elector, that he may compel them to speak openly, and state his crime, if he has been guilty of any. But he has not been able to extort any thing from them up to this day. This now is their goodly order in those parts, this their discipline; so that I perceive you must be on your guard in good earnest, lest new heads should break forth from the wounds of the Roman hydra yet scarcely subdued. But more upon this subject at another time.

[The remainder is wanting.]

LETTER XCVII.

JOHN STURMIUS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Dated at STRASBURGH, *Nov.* 16, 1573.

MOST serene queen, and most benign mistress: Christopher Lantschadius is the most illustrious individual in the whole empire of Germany, and on terms of favour and intimacy with almost all the princes, having been diligently and actively employed for more than forty years in the councils of the counts Palatine. He is moreover a man of discretion and piety, and most favourable to and zealous for pure religion.

Without any suggestion on my part, but of his own voluntary motion and affection towards your majesty, he is anxious to be one of the paid agents of your majesty. The duchess of Suffolk² is acquainted with his virtues and inte-

[² This lady was Catharine, baroness Willoughby d'Eresby, fourth wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and brother-in-law to king Henry VIII. She married, secondly, Richard Bertie, Esq. with whom she went into exile for religion in the time of queen Mary. See the narrative of their escape in Foxe's Acts and Monuments. She died in 1580.]

grity, and especially with his hospitality and temperance and moderation. As I know him to be exceedingly well qualified for the business and service of your majesty, I do not hesitate both to recommend and praise him. By his aid and influence we may easily ascertain what is going on in the empire, both of a public and private character; and, moreover, gain access to all the princes.

If he did not of himself solicit an appointment from your majesty, I should nevertheless think it right to conciliate and gain him over: but he does solicit it, as your majesty will understand by the letter which he has written to me upon this subject. Whatever your majesty may determine respecting this honourable and upright man, I pray God it may be happy and profitable to your majesty and to the kingdom of England. Dated at Strasburgh. Nov. 16, 1573.

Your most serene Majesty's

constant and faithful

servant and subject,

JOHN STURMIUS.

LETTER XCVIII.

HENRY BULLINGER TO BISHOP SANDYS.

Dated at ZURICH, *March* 10, 1574.

HEALTH. I return you, my honoured master and very dear brother, the warmest thanks in my power for that letter¹ of yours, written at London on the 15th of August last year, and abounding in all kindness, and love, and especial regard to me. Nor have you any reason to doubt of equal love and affection towards you on my part. Let us continue so to love each other in the Lord, as it is certain that brotherly love, and the especial union of brethren, is particularly pleasing to God; and that nothing is more useful,

[¹ See first Series, Letter CXIV p. 294.]

or necessary to his church. For we perceive at this present day that nothing occasions greater disturbance in the churches of God than the discord of those who teach. For at this very time the separation of some morose, haughty, and obstinate Lutherans, by which, having torn themselves from us, they are maintaining and endeavouring to obtrude upon every one else some of their own superficial opinions, makes many of the churches in Germany not to know what they are following after; and in the mean time the course of the gospel is impeded in many quarters, and dissensions are fomented and increased, while our common enemies in the mean time are laughing in their sleeves. I wish we may not be compelled to see some time or other these odious contests draw along with them many parties to destruction! Wherefore it grieves me in no common degree to learn from your letter that contentions of this kind are also prevalent in England. These things are doubtless owing to the wiles of Satan, who, when he perceives that he is unable to destroy the churches by threatenings, violence, and persecutions, from without, has recourse to other artifices, and meditates the overthrow of the church by domestic broils and the mutual attacks of brethren upon each other. May the Lord beat down Satan under the feet of the saints, and compose these destructive contests with holy harmony and peace!

The young orators, however, whom you describe to me, as busying themselves in changing the whole face of your church, and putting on it a new shape, with the confiscation too of all ecclesiastical property, seem to me to imitate those seditious Roman tribunes, who gave away the public possessions by the Agrarian² laws, that they might obtain wealth and honour to themselves as individuals; that is, that when we are turned out, they may come into our place, &c. But these parties are endeavouring to erect a church, which they will never raise to the height they wish; nor if they should erect it, will they be able to maintain it. I have seen the heads of their fabric as delineated by you, with respect to which I have long since declared my sentiments. The first proposition, that the civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters; and also the second, that the church admits of no other government than that of presbyters, or

[² See Cicero's three orations against Rullus.]

the presbytery ; these two, I say, they hold in common with the papists, who also displace the magistrate from the government of the church, and substitute themselves alone in his place. Whose opinion I have confuted in my refutation of the pope's bull, and in my defence of the queen of England and her noble realm, &c., which I sent you two years since. I wish that there were no lust of dominion in the originators of this presbytery ! Nay, I think the greatest caution is necessary that the supreme power be not placed in this presbytery, much more that it be not an exclusive government. Perhaps this presbytery may be admitted in one or two churches, but not in all ; upon which much might be said. But time will bring to light many things that now are hidden.

Of the names and authority of bishops, and also of the election of ministers, our friend Gualter¹ has fully written to the reverend lord bishop of Ely, master Cox. You may, if you choose, ask him for the letter.

The abuse of ecclesiastical property I think should be removed, lest it should be made subservient to idolatry and superstition. But the use of it may be good, if it be applied to schools, the ministry, the edifices of the church, and the support of the poor. Upon this subject I have treated in my Decades, near the end of the work². The church cannot possibly exist without means ; and if they are not at hand, they must certainly be collected from the faithful. What madness is it then, to throw away what is already provided, or to yield it up to others who have no claim upon it, and collect entirely new revenues to the great inconvenience of the faithful ! I cannot see what these men are driving at. I fear they have some other object than the ostensible one, &c. And if no one is allowed to preach in any congregation but the minister alone, what is to be done if he should be taken ill, or by reason of other engagements should be unable to preach ? Must the church in the mean time be without its assemblies ? I know that Chrysostom sharply reproved Epiphanius for usurping to himself authority in another man's church ; but that was a different matter altogether. With us the gospel would not have been so widely

[¹ See above, Letter XCIV p. 225.]

[² "Fifty Godly and Licensed Sermons." Lond. 1577. Dec. v. Serm 10. foll. 1118, &c.]

propagated, if ministers had confined themselves to preaching only in their own churches.

I also am unwilling that the infants of papists should be baptized against the wishes of their parents. But those who reject them when presented to the church, seem to resemble the apostles, who forbade little children to be brought to the Lord Christ; for which he severely rebuked them.

Concerning the judicial laws of Moses I have treated in my third Decade, the seventh and eighth discourse. These men indeed seem to be inordinately desirous of novelty. I wish they would look beyond their own partialities. May the Lord grant them the spirit of peace and quietness!

No cloth has been brought hither. Our friend Frochover indeed mentioned that he had heard something about some cloth, but that none had been given to him; nor has any been sent hither by any body. Nevertheless I most exceedingly thank your kindness for this your generous beneficence. It has possibly loitered somewhere on the road. But I must request you not to put yourself to any expense on my account in future. I have seen a letter written by these innovators, in which it is said that the bishops send presents to learned men, to draw them over to their side. Presently too they would say that we are Balaams. I know indeed that good men may accept from their friends honorary and friendly presents; but you know what moved Paul not to receive the wages that were due to him. "All things," he said, "are lawful, but all things are not expedient." I had rather that men who are so ready to speak evil and calumniate, should not have the least occasion of detracting from me and my ministry. Take, I pray you, these my sentiments, such as they are, in good part, and continue to love me in return who have such affection for yourself. May the Lord bless you, and preserve you from all evil! Zurich, March 10, 1574.

Be pleased to salute, I pray you, in my name the reverend master Horn, bishop of Winchester, and wish on my behalf every happiness to him and his wife, and make my excuse for not having written at this time a separate letter to himself. I will write at another time when I have more leisure.

Your reverence's most devoted,

H. BULLINGER.

LETTER XCIX.

HENRY BULLINGER TO ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL.

Dated at ZURICH, *March 10, 1574.*

GREETING. Reverend and right worshipful master, I received in the month of October your letter¹, dated on the last day of July in the past year. But in proportion as it gratified me, from having been so long and so anxiously expected, the more grievously it distressed me, as I understood by it that the contests among you had been revived by certain disorderly young men, who are endeavouring to do away with the whole ecclesiastical system, arranged with so much labour by most excellent men, and to introduce a new one formed after their own pleasure. Idlers of this stamp are to be met with all over the world, who, notwithstanding they are unable to carry their plans into effect, yet in the mean time by these their endeavours disturb and harass many good men, are a stumbling-block to the more simple, excite the hopes of the papists, and grievously impede the progress of the gospel. The reverend bishop² of Ely complained to our friend Gualter upon this very subject last year, as did also the reverend bishop³ of London to myself. He thereupon made answer to some inquiries of his, as I also have now⁴ made some few remarks in reply to those of the bishop of London. We are plagued also throughout all Germany by characters of this kind. Nor can I suggest any more wholesome advice in this matter, than that we should turn to the Lord, and earnestly pray him graciously to confound these disorderly tempers, so ready for innovations, and to preserve the churches in peace. I would advise, in the next place, that they be brought back into the right way by friendly conferences or colloquies; and that those who from arrogance and obstinacy will not endure to retrace their

[¹ See the first series, Letter CXII. p. 291.]

[² See the first series, Letter CVII. p. 279.]

[³ See the first series, Letter CXIV p. 294.]

[⁴ See the preceding Letter.]

steps, may be so depicted in their true colours, as that they may acquire less influence with right-minded persons, and so be rendered less mischievous. But there is no need for me to instruct you upon this subject, as you have long since learned by constant experience, and the hitherto prosperous government of the churches, what ought to be done in this case, or left undone.

There are persons in Germany who pride themselves upon being Lutherans, but who are in reality most shameless brawlers, railers, and calumniators. They never cease to attack our churches, ourselves, and our doctrine respecting the Lord's supper⁵, which they invidiously disparage among themselves by the name of Zuinglianism. And they have lately sent forth afresh against us and our friends at Heidelberg books, which if we should omit to notice, we should appear betrayers both of sound doctrine and our holy churches. My beloved son-in-law, therefore, master Josiah Simler, professor of theology in our college, divided with myself the labour or trouble of writing an answer; so that he was to reply in Latin and somewhat more at length to the arguments of our opponents, while I wrote in German briefly, and in a popular style, suited to the apprehension of the ordinary reader. I send you copies of each book, and request you to receive them with kindness from your most loving friend, and to read them at your leisure. You are aware that Brentius⁶ (with whom, while he lived, I had a long and tedious dispute, as our published books bear witness), from his zeal and anxiety for strife and conquest, intermixed with the controversy respecting the [Lord's] supper many articles of faith, about which his scholars still continue to dispute, and obscure them, and to raise doubts concerning

[⁵ For a statement of the respective opinions of Luther and Zuinglius upon this subject, see Coverdale's translation of Calvin's treatise on the Sacrament, Parker Soc. Ed. p. 463.]

[⁶ In 1561, Bullinger published a book, wherein he shewed that Jesus Christ, as to his human nature, is no where but in heaven, at the right hand of God. This was answered by Brentius, the advocate of the Ubiquitarian doctrine; and this contest lasted two years. In 1571, Bullinger wrote against the testament of Brentius, which he published at Wittemberg to forewarn all states not to allow the Zuinglians a toleration. See Zurich Letters, first series, pp. 108, 243.]

the greater portion of them; as for instance, the doctrine respecting one person and two natures in Christ, the omnipotence and omnipresence (as they say) of the humanity of Christ, his ascension to the heavens, and [his presence] in heaven, &c. We were obliged therefore to reply to those heads: but it will be the part of yourself and other godly men to form a judgment upon these our answers. I pray God that we may have treated upon these points to the great benefit of the church. We replied principally to things, not persons, abstaining from reproachful language, lest we should be made like unto them. In all other respects, by the blessing of God, every thing is quiet in our churches. Our adversaries perceive that the better part of the people are every where joining themselves to our doctrine (which is Christ's), and to the church; they are therefore raging, &c. May the Lord restrain them! Besides, we are continually harassed, at the instigation of the pope, by our allies and neighbours who adhere to him; for he is greatly annoyed that the doctrine of Christ is preached in the neighbourhood of Italy, and is making greater progress than he wishes. He is therefore trying to set us at war with each other. May the Lord preserve us from evil!

Persons who have come from Italy say, that the Venetians are uncertain as to the peace made with the emperor of Turkey, and that they have therefore sent a naval force to Crete, and ships are being refitted, and troops levied. Meanwhile they have an ambassador with the Turk, whose last tidings were that he did not altogether despair; but that it would be useful for the Venetian republic, if they regard their own interest, to take care that they may not be attacked unprepared, in case the expectation of peace should come to nothing. It is moreover certain that no sovereign of Turkey was ever better prepared both by land and sea than this Selim¹; and it is certain that at this season of spring he will bring forth all his forces against Spain and her allies. The Maltese therefore are crowding in haste to Melita or Malta from all parts of Germany. They are arming too in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, &c. What will be the event, the Lord knows, whom I heartily pray to have compassion upon us. There is also being levied an army both of cavalry and in-

[¹ Selim II.]

fantry in Germany, below Mayence and above Cologne, which it is said will be marched into Lorraine, though some think into Flanders, and others say into France, under the command of Christopher Count Palatine and Lewis of Nassau. But this is at present uncertain.

The duke of Anjou² has passed through Germany into Poland. The murder of the lord admiral and of the Huguenots was cast in his teeth throughout the whole journey. He was magnificently received by the Poles. We have no farther intelligence on this subject. And a rumour is now prevalent, that the king of France is about to ask for two regiments from his Swiss allies. But I can say nothing certain on this matter. I entreat your excellency to communicate these things, if you please, to master Pilkington, bishop of Durham, and make my excuse for not having written a separate letter to himself. I desire that he may be safe and well in the Lord. Certainly, were I not aware of the great intimacy that exists between you, I should have sent him a letter, notwithstanding my numerous and overwhelming engagements. He will have also, in addition to this, a copy of Josiah Simler's reply "on the presence," &c. For I have ordered my friend Froschover to send you two copies, that you might present one to the bishop of Durham. The German copy I have sent only to yourself, and not to him, because I know that he is not able to read German.

At the end³ of your letter you make mention of sending me a remembrance. But I must request you not to put

[² The duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III., quitted France in November, 1573, on his election to the throne of Poland. During the journey he stopped at Heidelberg, where the elector Palatine omitted nothing which could remind him of the massacre of St Bartholomew. In his picture gallery he shewed him a portrait of Coligny, and pointing to it said, "You know this man; you have killed in him the greatest captain in all Christendom. And you ought not to have done so, for he has done the king and yourself great services." Henry attempted an excuse upon the ground of the conspiracy, to which the elector answered, "We know the whole history of that," and quitted the room. This was not the only mortification of the kind which Henry experienced on his journey. See Smedley's *Hist. of Ref. in France*, II. 91; Browning, *Hist. of Huguenots*, 104, and the authorities there quoted.]

[³ See first series, Letter CXII. p. 294.]

yourself to any expense on my account. Any kindness that I have heretofore conferred, or do confer upon you, is entirely voluntary on my part, and not for the sake of any return. Meanwhile any remembrances of our brethren and friends are not without their gratification, as testimonies of mutual friendship, just as I have hitherto laid before you my own labours, in testimony that I am yours, and that I desire to serve and oblige you by every means in my power, and that I love you sincerely. Your friendship in return is quite sufficient for me, if you will also sometimes write to me when you have leisure, as you are wont to do. I know too that friends are fond of contending with each other in sending presents, and that gifts of this kind may be received by good men without impropriety: but I have seen a letter of your innovators, in which they state that the English bishops send presents to learned men, to draw them back to their party. These men forsooth (such is their virulence) would be able to throw disgrace both upon us and our ministry. So that I say with the apostle, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient." He might himself have accepted a return for his labours, but would not accept it by reason of his adversaries. Nevertheless I return you the warmest thanks in my power for that your beneficence; and I thank your kindness also for the verses you sent me upon the deliverance of Scotland from civil war by the means of the most serene queen of England. I was much pleased with them. I pray the Lord to strengthen and preserve the queen. May he likewise bless you and all yours, and preserve you from evil! Zurich, March 10, 1574. I commend to you our friend Julius.

Your reverence's most devoted,

HENRY BULLINGER.

LETTER C.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO BISHOP COX.

Dated at ZURICH, *March 16, 1574.*

THE letter¹ you wrote to me on the 12th of June, reverend father in Christ, I received only at the beginning of October by our townsmen, on their return from the Frankfort fair. And I perceive that you were then anxious about the former letter², which you had sent at the beginning of spring, together with some articles maintained by your opponents. But I hope you are now relieved from all that anxiety by a letter³ of mine written in the month of August, and wherein I declared my judgment respecting those articles, according to the grace given me by the Lord. I should wonder at the unreasonableness of those men, did I not know that it is the condition of the church, either to have open enemies, who endeavour by violence and open warfare to overthrow the doctrine of truth; or to be assailed by the treachery of false brethren; or to be harassed with superfluous or unprofitable questions by those who, though they may entertain right notions as to the chief points of doctrine, stir up unnecessary disturbances about external rites and ceremonies. You have long ago endured the violence of most cruel enemies, who have endeavoured to satiate their rage among you with the innocent blood of numerous martyrs⁴; and the arts also of false brethren were detected at the same time: and since, by the blessing of God, you have overcome all these things with admirable courage and constancy of mind, I hope that in this also God will have pity upon your England; so that you may be able at length to enjoy the wished for peace, and to apply your endeavours

[¹ See the first series, Letter CIX. p. 284.]

[² See the first series, Letter CVII. p. 279.]

[³ See above, Letter XCIV p. 225.]

[⁴ It is calculated that two hundred and eighty-eight persons were burned for religion in queen Mary's reign, besides those that died of famine and sickness in sundry prisons. See Strype, Mem. iii. ii. 554.]

with unanimous consent to the edifying of the church; which it appears to me absolutely necessary that we should all diligently aim at, whom the Lord has chosen to be ministers of his church. For it is sufficiently evident that the Roman antichrist is employing all his power and exertions towards this object, namely, that the carrying into effect the council of Trent may at length produce its intended result. Your neighbours make no secret of this; and though they are restrained by ancient treaties with our nation, and the terms of a general peace, in which provision is made that no one shall give any trouble to another on account of diversity of religion, yet they are making many attempts, by which it plainly appears that they are seeking an occasion of disturbance.

From the kings of Spain and France nothing of a pacific character can be expected; since the latter is neither moved by the ruin of his country, nor by so many horrible slaughters of the most excellent persons, to establish a firm peace among his subjects; while the former would rather see that most flourishing and heretofore most productive province of Belgium utterly destroyed by intestine war, than give admission there to Christ and his gospel. The bishops of Germany too, strengthened by I know not what promises, are not a little furious; and those among the popish princes, who have hitherto been acting with some degree of moderation, are now themselves beginning to foam with hostility, and to punish with severity the worshippers of Christ who are dispersed throughout their territories. And it has happened most agreeably to the wishes of them all, that the brother¹ of the king of France, who has been from his childhood accustomed to the blood of the saints, has been raised to the throne of Poland. Nor do I think that the Roman pontiff would have supported his cause so actively, had he not wished to make use of his assistance in oppressing the churches of the neighbouring nation of Germany, to the end that they may more easily be overpowered in other places also. And when such dangers are talked about so

[¹ Henry, duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France, defeated the Huguenots in the battles of Jarnac and Montcontour, in 1569; and commanded at the siege of Rochelle, when the news arrived of his election to the crown of Poland in 1573. See above, p. 247.]

generally, it is fitting that we should be roused by them, and with united energies take up the cause of Christ; and not give encouragement to those promoters of disorder, whom either ambitious emulation or even ignorance has so beguiled, that they are unable to see what makes for the preservation of our common church. They wish to revive, as you tell me, that ancient presbytery which existed in the primitive church: but I wish they would think about reviving that simplicity of faith and purity, of morals, which formerly flourished, and not attack the commonwealth, the ancient rights and constitution of which Christ does not change! The church of old had need of a government of its own, when it was subject to heathen sovereigns, who not only made light of, but even persecuted the christian religion, and the moral discipline connected with it. But what is that to those, to whom God (as he promised by Isaiah) has given kings for nursing fathers, and queens for nursing mothers; who, in fine, have magistrates well affected towards religion, who are enabled to establish and maintain moral discipline with far greater authority, and consequently more abundant benefit, than if they appointed ten presbyteries in every church? But sovereigns, say they, do not always do their duty. I admit it; but is it lawful for them on this account to appoint a new magistracy? Saul did not do his duty; but Samuel did not therefore appoint a new senate, nay, nor even David, who, notwithstanding he knew that he was anointed king by God, yet would not make any alteration in the commonwealth, but waited for the time when it pleased God to remove the tyrant, and change the form of the government. The same thing may be said of all the prophets, whom we do not read ever to have attempted any thing of this kind under wicked, or at least most negligent, sovereigns.

I greatly fear there is lying concealed under the presbytery an affectation of oligarchy, which may at length degenerate into monarchy, or even open tyranny. Nor do I fear this without reason. For I know (to give one instance out of many) a city² of some importance, in which, after this form of discipline had been introduced, within the space of three years were exhibited such instances of tyranny, as would put the Romanists to shame. For last year they

[² Heidelberg. See above, Letter XCVI. p. 238.]

warned a most excellent man, and one of approved piety, by the public minister of their presbytery, not to present himself at the Lord's supper, because they could not admit him without grievous offence. Surprised at this unexpected edict, he came before these Areopagites, and asked them what he had been guilty of? Then they began to shrink back, and cause delays, and to weave one excuse after another. But he, conscious of his innocence, presented a petition to the chief magistrate of the place, praying him to compel them by his authority to bring the matter to a trial. But not even the prince could obtain this from these great maintainers of ecclesiastical discipline. And when at length they were pressed on all sides, they had recourse to falsehood, and persuaded the prince that the party had abstained of his own accord from coming to the Lord's supper, and that he now wanted to extort from them the reasons of his voluntary staying away. Many other things of this kind have taken place, which it would be tedious to relate. But if they afford such samples, when they have not yet come into full possession of this new kingdom, what must we expect them to do, if they acquire an absolute dominion? Zuinglius, the apostle of our nation, perceived these things long ago; and when *Æcolampadius* with a good and holy zeal was desirous of bringing back into the church the power of excommunication, he warmly opposed it. But when *Æcolampadius* would not listen to his advice, and had obtained at Basle what he wished, he was compelled, not long after, to relinquish the scheme he had scarcely begun; and learned by the result that he had been attempting a work of more trouble than profit. I cannot therefore blame those, who oppose themselves to the designs of those parties who are now-a-days agitating this subject with so much asperity. But that they may not have any plausible ground of calumniating, it will be necessary to establish by the authority of the chief magistrate a truly christian moral discipline, by which may be restrained both the ministers of churches, should they live disorderly, and the too great licentiousness of the nobility and the corrupt morals of the people. For should this be effected, they will have no cause of complaint, unless they mean avowedly to aspire to the sovereign authority.

As to myself, it was indeed very annoying to me to be

dragged upon the stage before those whom I had always loved and revered as my intimate friends and honoured masters. But as I hear that this liberty of publishing any thing at their pleasure has been restrained by her most serene majesty's proclamation¹, the temerity of these men does not much trouble me. Yet I perceive that more grievous contests will arise for me in other quarters, unless God shall remove this stumbling-block. For there are parties, both in Germany and in a certain other place, who maintain that, unless that form of discipline which they have framed themselves be every where received, the kingdom of Christ cannot possibly hold together. I refrain myself hitherto, lest I should be said to have begun the contest. But if they sound an attack, I cannot but stand forth for the truth of doctrine and the liberty of the churches; and I hope that there will not be wanting those who will defend this cause together with myself.

Thus, reverend father in Christ, have I thought fit to reply to your eminence, and request you will take all in good part. I desired my son² by letter in October, either to visit you more frequently, or address you by letter. But I know not whether he is still in England, or whether he has crossed over into Denmark this spring, as I ordered him to do at the autumn fair. If he is still loitering in England, I know that he will be received with kindness both by yourself and my other friends and ever honoured masters. I wish him, however, to return home to me before next winter, unless some situation fall in his way to detain him; upon which subject I have written to my old friend master Parkhurst, the bishop of Norwich. But I had forgotten to state that the Ubiquitarian divines are grown more furious than ever, and are even surpassing themselves in unbridled abuse and lust of slander. For, not contented with what Luther long since wrote rather intemperately against our teachers, they now exclaim that we are all Arians, and worse than Mahomet. I know what spirit actuates them, but I will not

[¹ The queen issued out a proclamation against the Admonition to Parliament, and all other books made for the defence of it or agreeable therewith, on June 11, 1573. Strype, Parker, II. 257.]

[² Bishop Cox had complained to Gualter of the infrequency of his son's visits. See first series, Letter CIX. p. 285.]

now say what is their final object. God grant that I may be mistaken in my opinion! I pray him heartily, reverend father, to preserve you, and bless both your labours and those of your colleagues. Amen. Zurich, March 16, in the year of Christ's birth, 1574.

Your eminence's most devoted,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

LETTER CI.

ANTONY CORRANUS¹ TO HENRY BULLINGER.

Dated at LONDON, *July 7, 1574.*

I AM one of those, most learned sir, who by the aid of your writings have acquired a purer knowledge of christian doctrine. For there befel me some twenty years ago, by the providence of God, a suitable opportunity of studying your books, supplied too by the Spanish inquisitors themselves; whence as I perceive myself to have derived abundant fruit, I am compelled by the duty of gratitude to thank you, since I cannot return the obligation. The son of Rodolph Gualter, who is the bearer of this letter, will explain to you in person what countryman I am, and where I reside. I have also given him a little treatise² which I was desirous at this time to publish; but so many errors have crept in through the carelessness of the printer, who is unacquainted with Latin,

[¹ Antony Corranus was a native of Seville, who had fled from his own country for the profession of true religion, and became preacher to a French congregation at Antwerp, which he left in 1568, on being appointed preacher to the Spanish congregation in London. At this time, in 1574, he was divinity reader at the Temple. He afterwards read divinity at Oxford, was *censor theologicus* in Christ Church, and obtained a prebend in St Paul's. He died in 1591. Strype, Parker, i. 539. ii. 402. Grindal, 185. Remains of Abp. Grindal, Parker Soc. Ed. pp. 309—313.]

[² Corranus had written certain tables concerning the works of God, wherein he endeavoured to comprehend, as it were in propositions, the holy doctrine of both the Testaments. This work was charged with Pelagianism, for which therefore he met with much trouble, and was fain afterwards to write articles of his faith, printed by Tho. Purfoot in 1574.]

(as are almost all the printers in this country,) that I am quite ashamed to obtrude upon men of learning this lucubration, too barren in itself, so carelessly printed. But as it is not my intention in this writing to boast of the learning that is in me, (for it is little or nothing,) but to shew to the evangelical churches my sentiments respecting the christian religion, to repel the calumnies of certain parties³; I could wish on this account that some other printer would put this dialogue⁴ to press, and that three hundred copies at most, which have been most shamefully struck off here, should be suppressed.

The articles of religion, which I have placed at the end of the book, are taken from your confession, to confute the malignity of those parties who, from the personal hatred which they bear towards me, have most impudently condemned these same articles, written out by me, and brought forward in proof of my innocence, as thinking they were my own production. You will see an instance of this malignity in a certain page printed here both in Latin and English, with the criticisms of some Aristarchus or other; so that, as they say, you may know the lion by his claws. The younger Gualter will himself give you the page, and relate many other instances of the preposterous way in which certain parties have acted towards me. Meanwhile, I pray you, most vigilant pastor, to reckon me in the number of those whom by your labours and watchings you have brought to the knowledge of Christ; and should there be any thing in this little book which you disapprove of, correct it at your pleasure and with your well known prudence, and when corrected, order it to be printed. If you will do this, you will yet more exceedingly bind me and my services to you for evermore. Farewell. London, July 7, 1574.

Your most loving and respectful,

ANTONY CORRANUS.

[³ The trouble experienced by Corranus both from the ministers and elders of the strangers' church in London, and also from Mr Alvey, Hooker's predecessor in the mastership of the Temple, arose from his varying from Calvin and Beza in the doctrine of *predestination* and *free-will*. Strype, Parker, II. 402.]

[⁴ In 1573, Corranus read upon the epistle to the Romans, and in 1574, contracted his lectures into a theological dialogue, and then printed them. Strype, ut supra.]

LETTER CII.

WILLIAM COLE TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, *July 31, 1574.*

YOUR son, I perceive, most learned sir, has made arrangements for his return, having been most fully assured, by Simler's letter, of your pleasure respecting him. Though he was on many accounts very dear to me, as commended to me more than once not only by your letters, but by those of the bishop of Norwich; yet I must candidly confess that he has so conducted himself during the short time he has resided amongst us, that of his own right, even if neither of you had been known to me, or had written a word in his behalf, he is entitled on his departure from us to return to his friends with some token of my love. And I much regret that he is so suddenly summoned away from hence, as that by reason of the shortness of time I am not able to honour him as I could wish. For as I was in hopes that he would make a longer stay with us, I confess that I have not treated him according to his merit. And yet as often as he came to see me, he could not but be a most welcome guest: for whenever he was with me, there immediately came into my mind the numberless benefits with which you loaded us English when we were exiles at Zurich.

If you would know what I myself think of your son, I dare make this affirmation respecting him, that he is a youth excellent in morals, pious in religion, and one who has made no moderate progress in learning. And though I myself were silent, our whole university would bear witness to the truth of what I am writing. For, though he is a Swiss by nation, he will nevertheless, even at Zurich, when separated from us by so long a distance, be an Oxford master of arts, having been raised to this degree of honour among us by unanimous consent.

Master Humphrey has given me Simler's book, which he published against the Brentians. I must therefore return

everlasting thanks to you, for having sent me the book ; to him, as the protector and champion of the church ; and to both of you, because you will not allow the enemy to attack the sheepfold at his pleasure. May the Lord preserve you, and grant you a very long life for the common benefit of all godly persons !

Salute, I pray you, the reverend old man, master Bullinger, besides two, who are for many reasons to be especially honoured by me, Lavater and Simler ; likewise the printer Froschover, and his corrector, my friend Julius, who was intimately known to me when with Peter Martyr at Strasburgh. If you think that I can in any way be useful here in England, either to yourself or any of your friends, you will find me most entirely at your service. Oxford, from the college of Corpus Christi, July 30, 1574.

Yours, as long as I live,

WILLIAM COLE.

LETTER CIII¹

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at BATH, *Aug.* 23, 1574.

ELIZABETH R.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen &c., to John Sturmius, greeting.

Your letter dated at Northeim, on the 3rd of August, we received on the 18th of the same month ; from which we understand your anxiety about our affairs, and how exceedingly you desire that peace and tranquillity may be established between christian sovereigns and their dominions. And indeed we cannot but greatly approve their exertions, who, by embassies, or any other suitable means, [endeavour to] unite them, that discords may be composed between neighbouring nations, and especially between those which

[¹ The original of this letter is preserved at Zofingen. The queen's name at the head is autograph.]

profess [the gospel of] Christ. For this is the noble office of a neighbouring and christian prince.

As we have received so few letters from you, we think that they have not all reached us. As to other matters, we have commanded our secretary, Thomas Smith, to write you our opinion in detail. Farewell. From our city of Bath¹, Aug. 23, 1574, and in the 16th year of our reign.

T. SMITH.

LETTER CIV.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO BISHOP COX.

Dated at [ZURICH,] Aug. 26, 1574.

HEALTH. I hope, reverend father in Christ, that my last letter, written in the month of March², has safely reached you. I have received yours, written in the month of February³, by the hands of our friends on their return from the spring Fair. But I do not think there is any occasion for a tedious and laborious examination of it, since I declared in that letter of mine what I thought of those turbulent innovators, and so anticipated your letter in which you complain of them, and not without reason. And indeed the examples which the like innovators are every day affording us in Germany, powerfully induce me to persist in my opinion. For I perceive that nothing can be imagined more ambitious, more insolent, and more absurd, than these men. For though they are daily acting in many respects most iniquitously, they are nevertheless not ashamed to pretend a zeal for God, in those things which, contrary to the word of God, they impiously and maliciously devise against the servants of Christ. And, as far as I can conjecture, many persons, by whose counsel and assistance the fabric of this discipline was chiefly erected heretofore, are now ashamed of them. And by what spirit

[1 The queen made a progress to Bristol this year, and returned by Salisbury.]

[2 See above, Letter C.]

[3 See first series, Letter CXV p. 297.]

they are actuated, may be gathered from this, that they are so anxious for the attainment of their object, as to deprive parties who deserve well of the church, of the possession and management of ecclesiastical property, without perceiving in the mean time what will be the consequence, should they effect this; namely, that it will come into the hands of others, from whom what is necessary for the support of religion will by no possibility be extorted in future. They would rather, indeed, have it alienated from the churches altogether, than see it in the power of those whom they have once begun to hate. But this is the nature of mankind, not to be able to bear happiness in possession, and to seek for themselves of their own accord evil and anxiety. Nevertheless, it should be your endeavour to oppose these troublesome parties with meekness and prudence, lest some more grievous danger may at length arise out of these contentions; or lest those, who are still opposed to purer religion, may find an opportunity of effecting what they have long desired⁴, &c.

LETTER CV

WILLIAM BARLOW TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at ETON, *Jan. 25, 1575.*

MUCH health. Your letter of the 10th of March 1574, which was the first that came to hand after the receipt of the cloth⁵, and informed me of it, was brought me only on the 28th of August last: mention is made therein of another letter written in December, which (notwithstanding another December has now elapsed) I have not yet seen. You may imagine the rest, how trustworthy and regular are our couriers. But, to speak candidly what I think, I was in some doubt, until that 28th of August, whether you had received the cloth with the letter, or not. One great cause of their longer delay, besides the length of the journey, (for they go round by Hamburgh,) was my not having been so

[⁴ The remainder of this Letter is wanting. The original fragment is in Gualter's hand.]

[⁵ See above, Letter XCIII. p. 224.]

frequently either in London or at Oxford, but in the west of England, where your letter at last reached me. Three weeks after the receipt of it, I went to Oxford for the sake of meeting our friend Rodolph Gualter, that I might confer with him about this whole business; but contrary to my expectation, and to my great vexation, he had already embarked with a most excellent and noble youth, the lord Philip¹, baron of Hohensaxe, to whom, if it had pleased God, I would, as a matter of courtesy, most willingly have paid my respects in England. You see therefore, my Simler, that it is not owing to any neglect of mine that I have not hitherto answered your letter; neither have I given a commission to any one to demand the money from Froschover in my name. For I am sure, unless I am greatly mistaken, that I expressly wrote to you, not by any means to send the money, before you had let me know what you thought of the cloth, whether you liked it or not; and that I would then take care to have some one at Frankfort to receive the money, and to make some purchases for me there: which was quite enough to relieve you from all that trouble and anxiety, by which I see from your last letter, of the 28th of August, you were so disturbed. And I have therefore given you this explanation in detail, with the view of driving away that anxiety about money matters altogether from your thoughts. For I am under some apprehension lest your next letter also should bring some complaints upon this subject: but as soon as this shall come to hand, (which I hope will very soon be the case,) I feel quite assured you will be abundantly satisfied.

The misfortune which you describe of the Wittenbergers has greatly affected me; it makes me uncertain what to hope, or what to fear: I allow it is most distressing, and threatens, as it were, the ruin and destruction of that most flourishing university. This indeed I think is to be lamented by me in common with the whole race of students: yet on the other hand, since Wittenberg is a city which formerly possessed the most decided supporters of the truth, and who feared God rather than man; that she is in this respect still going on in the old way, is, I say, a ground on which, together with all godly persons, I ought to congratulate her, and to pray

[¹ See above, Letter LXXXVIII. p. 214.]

Almighty God to make those men, who are most renowned in every kind of learning, constant unto the end; to increase and crown in them the gifts which he has bestowed.

I will diligently inform you, God willing, of the state of our church, as soon as I know it myself; which in truth is not yet the case; for there are some mysteries about it which I cannot yet fathom. Two famous divines are now lecturing in London; the one a Frenchman, the other a Spaniard. The Frenchman's name is Villers², a man of great learning and piety: the Spaniard's is Corranus³, learned and eloquent, but some worthy men entertain great doubts whether in respect of piety he is to be compared with Villers. He is wont to disparage the authority of some individuals, who have deserved exceedingly well of the church: he is a great admirer of Castalio⁴, of whose version of the Bible he declares this opinion, that he is a very bad interpreter, for he has given any thing rather than a literal translation; but if you speak about a paraphrase, then, says he, Castalio excels all other translators by many leagues. I know also, that he made earnest inquiry of a person of my acquaintance, whether or not he had some dialogues⁵ on the Trinity by an anonymous individual, printed at Basle, but Castalio, he said, is thought to have been the author of them; and he added that he was very anxious to procure them. I was present at an excellent lecture of his, in which he inveighed against the men of our age, some of whom wish to be called Lutherans,

[² This seems to be the same Villers that Camden mentions, Hist. p. 209, as having been a preacher in France, who came to England (I suppose to avoid persecution) in a threadbare cloak, and grew rich here by a common collection for him, for reading a divinity lecture. He was afterwards chaplain to the prince of Orange. Strype, Whitgift, i. 477.]

[³ See above p. 254.]

[⁴ The Latin version of Sebastian Chatillon, or Castalio, was begun at Geneva in 1542, and finished at Basle in 1550, where it was printed in the following year, with a dedication to Edward VI. The best edition of his version is that at Leipsic, 1738, in 4 vols. 12mo, but the folio edition of 1573 is in most request. Horne's *Introduct.* ii. 225.]

[⁵ The title of this book is "Bernardini Ochini Senensis Dialogi xxx, in duos libros divisi, quorum primus est de Messia, continetque dialogos xviii. Secundus est cum de rebus variis, tum potissimum de Trinitate. Basil, 1563." Castalio, it appears, was the translator into Latin of this and some other works of Ochinus.]

others Calvinists, &c. though neither Calvin nor Luther died for us; but we are saved, he said, by the blood of the Lamb slain "for the sins of the world," whereas in the text it is, "from the beginning of the world." But that I may not seem to strain out a gnat¹, and perhaps swallow a camel, I will here conclude, though indeed I am afraid of being a gnat to a camel. I wish he had staid at Compostella!

I pray you, tell my friend Julius that I am much concerned not to be able to satisfy his wishes, but that I cannot yet discover who were master Jewel's executors, or in what way he left his property². Tell him too, that it is not an easy matter for an individual so little known as myself, to gain access to the earl of Bedford, to plead his cause before him; though I have given the letter that Julius put into my hands for that purpose, to his secretary, who promised me that he would recommend it to his master as favourably as he could.

I earnestly pray you to salute dutifully in my name the very reverend fathers Bullinger, Gualter, my most courteous host master Wickius, masters Lavater, Stuckius, Henry Bullinger the younger, Lemann, Haller, James Frisius, Gualter the younger, Julius, and all the rest.

I had intended to send to you, and to that excellent man master Lavater and others, some treatises printed in England, not however of any great consequence, by the hands of our friend Gualter; and should certainly have loaded him with commissions, had I known of his going away, which, by reason of my being employed in the west of England, it was impossible I could do. We have nothing new here, unless it be a new thing to hold a wolf by the ears, or cherish a snake in one's bosom; which things have ceased to be novelties in this country: for the queen³ of the north, the plague of Britain, the prince of darkness in the form of a she-wolf, is still kept in custody among us.

With respect to money matters, I have written to Fros-

[1 This is the rendering of most of the versions prior to the Authorised in 1611, which has *strain at*. Matth. xxiii. 24.]

[2 Bishop Jewel bequeathed his estate chiefly for the maintenance of students. Strype, Parker, ii. 49.]

[3 Viz. Mary queen of Scots, who was at this time, 1575, confined in Sheffield castle.]

chover. But I am longer than I wish to be, and I fear lest I should be troublesome to you: which however I will nowise believe, if you will send me a longer letter in return; for your letters are very gratifying and delightful to me. I reside for the most part with my very dear relative, master William Day⁴, provost of the king's college of Eton, near Windsor, twenty miles from London; where we very often talk together about you with great delight, as well of your churches, as of your public affairs: you must suppose however that we shall do this with greater accuracy, if you will persist in your intention, and not stand waiting for I know not what coadjutors, from this or that place, or for some one in your stead. Our friend Julius has sent me a prospectus of this expected work, which indeed I have not yet been able to read, by reason of some troublesome engagements that have arisen from the death of another relative of mine, the son of the archbishop of Canterbury; for he also had married one of my sisters, and has lately died. Salute, I pray you, all your friends in my name. Again and again farewell. January 25, 1575.

·Yours wholly,

WILLIAM BARLOW.

If at any time you can find leisure to send me a print of the battle of Sempach⁵, somewhat coloured, the military standards especially, you will do me a very great favour. Once more farewell.

[⁴ William Barlow was son of bishop Barlow, one of whose daughters married the William Day here mentioned, and who was afterwards bishop of Winchester. Another married, first, Matthew Parker, the son of the archbishop of Canterbury, and secondly, Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York. The three remaining daughters became the wives respectively of bishops Westphaling of Hereford, Overton of Lichfield and Coventry, and Wickham of Lincoln.]

[⁵ The battle of Sempach between the Swiss and Austrians was fought A.D. 1386, and terminated in the defeat and death of Leopold of Austria.]

LETTER CVI.

NICHOLAS BERNIUS¹ TO BISHOP HORN.

Dated at GUERNSEY, *Dec. 13, 1575.*

To the reverend father in Christ, the lord bishop of Winchester, Nicholas Bernius, minister of the word of God, in the name of the church of Guernsey wishes grace and health from the Lord.

As nothing has been at any time more desired by us, and more agreeable to us, reverend sir, than that an occasion should be offered of making you acquainted with the condition and prosperous beginnings of our churches, and especially of assuring you of our duty, or rather of our respectful attachment, towards you; so indeed nothing has been more grievous and distressing to us, than that a subject should now be forced upon us, whereby we are rather compelled to use the language of complaint to you our father, than to congratulate you upon our prosperous advancement in the work of Christ. We should not indeed do this, were it not that in this matter, which belongs also to your office, we have very great need of your assistance and authority: yet we are, nevertheless, to be pardoned, if we are forced to bring you disagreeable intelligence, respecting which we entreat you, in all christian love, to allow us to treat with you at some length, as with one, of whose sincere zeal towards the church of Christ we cannot entertain a doubt.

There has sprung up among the inhabitants of this place a certain Elias Bonamy, a disorderly character, and one not less notorious for impiety and obstinacy than he is powerful in wealth and friends. God seems to have visited in his generation by his just judgment the iniquity of his father²,

[¹ For the reply to this letter, and which is explained by it, see first series, Letter CXXX. p. 321.]

[² This person seems to have been the Peter Bonamy mentioned by Foxe, as one of the jurats who condemned three women to be burned in Guernsey, in July 1556. He probably died before 1562, as his name does not appear among those who received the queen's pardon upon their submission and confession of their erroneous judgments. See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, VIII. 228, ed. 1839.]

who formerly everywhere persecuted with extreme hatred the church of Christ with fire and sword, even to the last moment of his existence. This man, having been admitted five years since into the congregation of the church, solemnly promised his minister, according to our practice, that he would faithfully obey the word of God and his church, as it becomes a true member of Christ; and for the first three years he pretended that his mind was not opposed to religion: but for the last two years, to our great grief and sorrow, his hypocrisy has been discovered, and he has so neglected the preaching of God's word, as never to present himself for the hearing of it unless compelled to do so, and then as seldom as possible; and what is far more grievous, he has for these three whole years abstained from the holy supper of the Lord, to the great offence of the weak, and has drawn away by his example many from the sacraments, who would at length have fallen away from the church, had not God in pity to them, according to his mercy, brought them back into the way of salvation through the watchfulness of their pastor. The minister meanwhile, in the faithful discharge of his office, privately and frequently admonishes this man in a friendly manner, and endeavours by every possible means to recal the wanderer into the path; but to no purpose, such is the obstinacy of the man. He does not, however, give up the attempt, but again reminds him of his duty in a temperate and christian manner, in the presence of one or two of the elders of the church; and earnestly entreats him to appear before the presbytery, that he may hear somewhat for the glory of God and the salvation of his soul. But the more leniently he is dealt with, the more obstinate he becomes, and pays no more regard to the authority of the ecclesiastical synod, than he did to the majesty of God and of the sacraments. I pass over his scoffing at the assembly of the church, and omit his gibes upon the ministers of Christ and the elders of the church. So when his obstinacy seemed incapable of being restrained by any laws either human or divine, [his minister] consulted his godly and learned brethren, the servants of Christ, respecting this case, as he considered the matter seemed to call for this proceeding; both that a seasonable remedy might be applied to so great an evil, and also that nothing might be determined

upon in the church, except what might tend to profit and edification. These persons think that a matter of such importance should be referred to a synod, in which it should be judged of by the word of God alone. All the ministers, therefore, of the word of God in this island, together with some of the elders of their churches and certain godly magistrates, are summoned to a conference, at which our Elias is ordered to be present, that he may hear the proceedings and accusations brought against him, and if he has any means of justifying, or defending, or excusing himself, have free liberty of replying. After artfully endeavouring to turn aside and ward off some of the charges, he pretends that he knows nothing of any church gathered together in this place, and that he acknowledges no presbytery here: at length, however, convicted both by his public actions and by unexceptionable witnesses, as though conscious of guilt, he acknowledges the offence, contumacy, and scandal that he has occasioned, and voluntarily submits himself to the judgment of the ecclesiastical court, not any one mistrusting him. Therefore, that we might not seem to have shut him out from all hope of his recovery, after we had taken proper cognizance of his delinquency and the scandal thereby occasioned, it was determined by the unanimous consent and opinion of all, that he should not only confess his error before the synod with prayer to God, but that, for the removing of the public scandal, he should make an open acknowledgement of his contumacy before the whole church, on Sunday the 27th of November: and he was to do this after a sermon by the minister of the other church, by whom he was to be reconciled both to his own minister and the church at large. Upon hearing the sentence of the church he began to shuffle, and positively refuses to make any public confession of his wickedness. But these are the artifices of Satan, with which you must be too well acquainted, that, the consciences of the weak being wounded by scandals of this kind, he may either hinder or destroy the Lord's building. At length, however, being influenced by our prayers, or admonitions out of the word of God, or rather alarmed, as it were by a thunderbolt, by the threatenings of his tremendous judgment, and the rod of excommunication, he yields to the censure of the church; and in the presence of our assembly suppliantly entreats for-

givenness of God, and acknowledges his delinquency and contumacy; and promises that he will do the same publicly in the church on the day appointed him.

Up to this time, reverend sir, every thing went on happily enough; but it is wonderful and lamentable, that a man so often overcome by the word of God, so often warned by his ministers and friends, and, what is more, by the church herself, should not have seriously repented: for on the appointed day, on which he had solemnly sworn that he would bear public testimony of his true repentance and contrite spirit, and make open confession of his fault to the glory of God, the edification of the church, and his own salvation; regardless both of the divine judgment and of ecclesiastical authority, and also of his solemn promise, he perfidiously made answer, (at whose instigation I know not, except at Satan's,) and not without a contemptuous defiance of both the royal authority and your own, that we should sooner drag the moon from the sky with our teeth, than extort from him a public confession of his crimes; nor (such is the hardness of his heart) can he be brought by any means to change this obstinate resolution of the carnal mind, or rather of the devil, and render due obedience to God and the church. The whole matter therefore was referred to the synod again assembled, to which this contumacious man was summoned, and where he made his appearance; and as his hardened heart could by no means be brought to repentance, it seemed good to the church, acting by the authority of Jesus Christ and of his word, that by reason of his perfidy, contumacy, and impenitence, he should be publicly excommunicated on the next sacrament day in all our churches, as a rotten member, from the communion of the church of God and of his saints, and given over to Satan until he should repent.

Confiding, honoured father, in your zeal for the advancement and protection of the church of Christ, we have not hesitated to give you a full account of the whole matter as it was conducted by us, with the greatest fidelity and truth; and this, both that you may not be deceived by the lying impostures of this excommunicated man, should he chance to come over to you; and also, that we ourselves may not be traduced by him as calumniators, both to yourself and to the holy fathers your colleagues. And we not only all of us

most earnestly entreat the interposition of your judgment and authority in this business; but we implore also your helping hand, that (should there be any occasion for it) you will undertake and actively defend our cause, or rather your own and that of the infant church, before the queen's majesty herself: which labour that you will not refuse to undertake for Christ, we earnestly entreat you again and again, and, what is more, implore you by the name of Christ himself, whom we will constantly pray to guide you with his mighty hand, and to direct by his Spirit your counsels in so great a charge committed to you; and that by the gift of true repentance he may bring back our wandering sheep (who deserves indeed the severest punishment in case of his non-repentance) into the way of salvation. Farewell, reverend sir, and love and protect both us and our brethren, and the whole church. Guernsey, Dec. 13, 1575.

Your most obedient in Christ,

N. BERNIUS,

has written this to you in the name of the whole church.

LETTER CVII.

WILLIAM BARLOW TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at ETON, *March* 13, 1576.

MUCH health. How great a loss, my Simler, your church has sustained by the death of the elder Bullinger¹, of most happy memory, yea, and our church also, towards which I have heard that he always entertained a truly paternal and affectionate regard, and indeed all the churches of Christ throughout Europe, we shall all of us know by experience sooner than we wish. We must pray Almighty God, the Lord of the harvest, that he may send faithful labourers into his harvest; and that, in pity to his flock, he may set over

[¹ Bullinger departed this life Sept. 17, 1575.]

them faithful pastors, and burning with a zeal of God which is according to knowledge; and that he may hasten the coming of the chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ.

I wrote you word at the late autumn Fair in 1575, that my lord bishop of Winchester had sent letters both to yourself and others; which however, through the carelessness of those persons to whom he had entrusted this matter, I discovered to have been overlooked and not delivered to the merchant. I have taken upon myself the charge of preventing a repetition of this carelessness at the present Fair; and therefore, on the 5th of February, before he went to London to parliament², I reminded the bishop, as he had often enjoined me to do, not to omit writing to his friends at Zurich. Well, he replied, I give you this commission, that you write to the merchant who is to take your letter, to call upon me in London for mine, which shall be sent at the same time with yours: for yours, said he, and those which are written to you, have far better luck than mine; for those which I last received from Zurich had been written two years before, and I very much doubt whether those which I myself wrote are even yet come to hand. This office, I said, I willingly take upon myself, but I will not write to any one to call upon you for your letter; for, God willing, I shall be in London before they set off for the fair, and will ask you for them myself, that you may not lay any of the blame of your neglect upon me: and when I call upon him, I will let him know that I have now told you this.

I send you, inclosed in this, a copy of two epistles³, in which you may easily perceive, (as the battle has been fought on a conspicuous theatre,) what kind and degree of influence that feeble discipline of some parties, and which they so greatly boast of, possesses in restraining any wicked profligate: and you may also perceive by them, that all our bishops are not so given to ease and indulgence, and destitute of all kindly feeling, as some calumniously represent them to be, but that there are some of them who diligently attend to the concerns of their brethren; and that their hateful power is not so

[² Parliament assembled this year on Wednesday the 8th of February.]

[³ See the preceding Letter, and also first series, Letter CXXX. p. 321.]

detested, but that people flee to it of their own accord for succour, as a lame man to a horse. Guernsey, where these things have taken place, is an island in the English channel, subject to the kings of England, and in the diocese of Winchester.

A certain Englishman, Laurence Bodley¹, my most intimate friend, has informed me, that he is about this time going to Zurich: should he come to you, receive him, I pray you, with kindness (that is, according to your wont): he is a man of small stature, but of distinguished erudition and probity, and exceedingly partial to your church.

Master Pilkington², bishop of Durham, a man inferior to none among us in learning and piety, died about two months since. We have, by the blessing of God, for archbishop of Canterbury, master Grindal, a man in many respects most excellent: God grant that we may long retain him! It is not yet known who will succeed him in the archbishoprick of York, but most persons think it will be the bishop of London; and some individuals of no mean condition are of opinion that my relative, master William Day³, will succeed either to the bishoprick of London, if he goes to York, or to that of Durham. I saluted him, as you bade me, in your name, which was very gratifying to him; and he requested me to salute in his name yourself, and all of you in return, and moreover to ask you to admit him into the number of your friends. Salute respectfully in my name the most reverend father in Christ, master Gualter, master Lavater, my host master Wickius, masters Stuccius, Lemann, Bullinger, James Frisius, Froschover, and especially the younger Gualter and our friend Julius. Farewell. From Eton College, March 3, 1576.

Yours,

WILLIAM BARLOW

Three days after I had written the above, my Simler, on the night preceding the day on which I was to go to

[1 Sir Thomas Bodley had a younger brother Laurence, who was probably the person here mentioned.]

[2 Bishop Pilkington died Jan. 23, 1576.]

[3 See p. 263, note 4.]

London, on that very night, I say, I was violently attacked by fever; but it has much decreased during the last three days, so that I hope the Lord has now removed it. Farewell. Eton College, March 13.

LETTER CVIII⁴.

HIEROME ZANCHIUS TO ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL.

Dated at HEIDELBERG, *July 22, 1576.*

THE respect, most reverend lord, with which I have always regarded you by reason of your singular piety, courtesy, and virtue, makes me unable to refrain from offering you my congratulations upon your recent and most honourable advancement⁵, respecting which our common friend Knolles has written to me. For what greater dignity could be expected by you in that kingdom? I congratulate you therefore most heartily, since these divine blessings are testimonies, both of your constant piety towards God, and of the unchangeable favour of God towards you. Nor do I less congratulate that whole kingdom for the same reason, that it has obtained of God such a primate, by whose care and diligence it may advance yet more and more in true religion and godliness. Nor do I doubt but that this accession of the highest dignity, next to that of the queen's majesty, will be a constant stimulus whereby you may be stirred up to the performance of your duty more diligently than ever. I also pray God to increase his gifts in you, and to bestow upon you strong and continued health, for the wholesome governing of his church. I am still living, and indeed, by the blessing of God am in good health for my age, as I am in my sixty-first year, with a wife and five children, besides one who, I hope, will shortly make its appearance. These are also great blessings of God,

[⁴ This letter is given in Strype, Grindal, 321, 557.]

[⁵ Archbishop Grindal was nominated to the see of Canterbury in November, 1575, nearly six months after the death of archbishop Parker.]

for which I heartily thank him. It remains that he both replenish them with the gifts of his Spirit, and supply them with what is needful for their passing honourably through this present life, which I earnestly entreat him to do for Jesus Christ's sake; and I commend them also, most noble archbishop, to yourself, and other friendly and excellent persons. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety for the welfare of his church! We are in daily expectation of our Casimir¹. Heidelberg, July 22, 1576.

Your eminence's, &c.

H. ZANCHIUS.

LETTER CIX.

WILLIAM BARLOW TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

Dated at WALTHAM, *Aug.* 11, 1576.

MUCH health. I could wish, my Simler, if the option were allowed me, that we were only separated by the space of the sea; for I should then more frequently and with greater pleasure visit Zurich than London. But although I may not behold Switzerland with my eyes, I can at least recal it to my recollection, and, assisted as I now am by your labours, can travel through the whole of it in my mind. I am reading through the life of Bullinger, greedily indeed, yet with difficulty, and with a pleasure mixed with bitterness, and I know not what presentiment (I wish we never may know!) of future events. Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, with his perpetual seal, and one extending all the world over (even among the Suabians and Saxons), "The Lord knoweth them that are his." What is going on among us, you will learn from this letter² of my master, the bishop of Winchester, to master Gualter, which I have sent together

[¹ Duke Casimir was the son of the Elector Palatine. See first series, p. 325.]

[² See first series, Letter CXXIX. p. 320.]

with yours. I send also in his name the sum of five angels to master Froschover, to deliver to yourself or master Gualter, as a slight present, for the use of your common hall. We have, by God's blessing, no news stirring among us, except that some ships of war are at this very time being sent to guard the sea, and, as they say, to repress the insolence of the people of Flushing³, as also the ferocity and violence of others. I request you will respectfully salute all our friends in my name. Farewell. Waltham, Aug. 11, 1576.

Yours,

WILLIAM BARLOW.

LETTER CX.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL.

Dated at ZURICH, *Aug. 24, 1576.*

I SUPPOSE, most reverend father in Christ, that the letter which I wrote to your eminence in the month of March, by Laurence Bodley, has long since been delivered to you. Although nothing worthy of mention has taken place in Germany since that time, yet the Lutherans are still carrying on, with great zeal and contention, their purpose, about which I then wrote; with the view, namely, of oppressing us and our churches. And they would doubtless have made some progress by this time, had not the affairs of Poland⁴ given some trouble to the emperor, of whose favour and concurrence they

[³ Some Dutch privateers had lately (1576) pillaged several English merchant ships, under the pretence that they were carrying provisions to Dunkirk, &c. See Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist. ii. 77.]

[⁴ The duke of Anjou, having quitted Poland to ascend the throne of France, on the death of Charles IX, was deprived of his royal dignity in the former country, and the throne declared vacant, on July 15, 1575. The emperor Maximilian in vain endeavoured to succeed; for the crown was bestowed on Stephen Batori, prince of Transylvania, on May 1, 1576.]

stand in need. He has appointed a conference at Ratisbon, and went thither in person about two months since; but he is sitting there almost alone, and waiting for the other princes. In the mean time some of them met together in Saxony, at the palace of the elector Augustus, to whom went also the elector of Bavaria to the astonishment of many; as he has hitherto been the most bitter enemy of evangelical doctrine. Those, however, of the more judicious sort suspect that they are forming some designs against the elector Palatine, which cannot be brought to pass without the concurrence of the Bavarian, since the princes of Bavaria and of the Palatinate are of the same descent and origin¹. The visit of the emperor to Lewis, the son of the elector Palatine², who is in command at Hamburgh, and who has hitherto openly disagreed with his father in the sacramentarian controversy, is also an object of suspicion with many parties. Some are afraid lest he too should come to an understanding with the enemy, with the view of succeeding his father in case of his being dethroned or banished. Certain it is, that Augustus³ is most hostile to us, and fresh examples of cruelty are every day exhibited by him against those whom he discovers to be of our sentiments. James Andreae⁴, an ambitious and abusive man, is supplying torches to this flame; and since he has nothing to reply to our Heidelberg brethren and ourselves, is endeavouring to overwhelm us by the authority and power of

[¹ Lewis II. duke of Bavaria married Mathilda, daughter of the emperor Rodolph I., by whom he had two sons, namely, Rodolph, from whom were descended the counts Palatine of the Rhine, and Lewis, the head of the house of Bavaria.]

[² Frederic III., in the year 1560, removed from their pastoral functions the Lutheran doctors, and filled their places with Calvinists, and at the same time obliged his subjects to embrace the tenets, rites, and institutions of the church of Geneva. This order was abrogated in 1576, by his son and successor Lewis, who restored Lutheranism to its former credit and authority. Mosheim, Cent. xvi. ii. Chap. 2.]

[³ Namely, the elector of Saxony. See first series, Letter CXXVI. p. 315. note 1.]

[⁴ James Andreae was a professor at Tubingen, and was employed in composing a form of doctrine in which all the controversies that divided the church should be terminated and decided. This was called the form of Concord, and was adopted as a new confession of the Lutheran faith first by the Saxons, in consequence of the strict order of the elector Augustus. See Soames's Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 362.]

princes. What therefore I lately recommended for the defence of our common cause, seems not more useful than it is necessary; namely, that her most serene majesty should interpose her authority. For the elector Palatine has long been an object of their hatred, and they are aware that he is not revered and honoured even by all his own subjects as he ought to be. The Swiss possess no influence whatever with the princes. As to Geneva, they not only hate but execrate it. But they cannot thus despise or disregard the most serene queen of England, who possesses weight both on the ground of her royal majesty and of her great resources; and who, in fine, is in a position to afford valuable assistance to the whole of Germany against their common enemies the papists. She will therefore truly perform the part of a pious nursing mother of the church, if she will consider this business; nor will there be wanting reasons for drawing the king of Scotland into co-operation with her, the accession of whom may be of great advantage to the cause in hand. But I understand that the Scottish⁵ churches are on the most friendly terms with us, and I think they would be wanting in no service which ought to be required from christian men. Certainly some persons⁶ of piety and reputation among them have advised me to dedicate my [commentary on the] Galatians (of which, most reverend father, I send you a copy) to the king of Scotland. I have thought right again to treat upon these matters, that you may perceive that an opportunity is still afforded you of doing a service to the church at large; and this opportunity is more plausible, because I scarcely think the emperor will rashly alienate the affections of any parties from him at this time, when he has need of numerous friends and allies, unless he is inclined to give up all hopes of the kingdom of Poland⁷, and expose his Hungary to danger likewise. And the peace with France will add no little importance to this cause; for

[⁵ See the letter of the Scotch church to Beza, in the Appendix, No. 5.]

[⁶ One of these persons was probably Buchanan. The next Letter in the series at Zurich is one from Gualter to him, begging him to present the book here mentioned to the king of Scotland. He alludes also to the harmony between the two churches, the Scots having subscribed to the Helvetic confession set forth in 1566. See below, Letter CXVIII.]

[⁷ See above, p. 273. note 4.]

although the opinions and hopes of all parties respecting it are not the same, it is certain, notwithstanding, that the counsels of the common enemy are much confounded by the promulgation of it. I pray your eminence, most reverend father, to read these things and bear them with patience. For the public duty which I owe to the church, and which I doubt not you have greatly at heart, induces me to write them. May the Lord Almighty preserve you, and bless your most godly endeavours! My friend Julius Santerentianus, who desires to be commended to your eminence, heartily unites in the same prayer. Farewell. Zurich, Aug. 24, 1576.

Your eminence's most devoted,
 RODOLPH GUALTER.

LETTER CXI.

LEWIN¹ TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at [LONDON], Aug. 25, [1576.]

WHEN the letters which you had written to the queen, the lord treasurer, and sir F. Walsingham, were first brought to me, as there was wanting a copy of your letter to the queen, and the matter on which you wrote was itself uncertain, I thought it better to suppress those letters, and to write to you upon the same subject, if it seemed good, more certainly and decidedly, shortly after. But when your other letter was brought to me on the day following, which you had written long before, and in which was inclosed the letter sent you by Lanscade; since I had also received instructions upon this subject, and had recommended you to forward any such letter that might be sent to you; I adopted a new plan, to carry all your letters to the lord treasurer, and make use of his advice, either to present your letters written to the queen and sir F. Walsingham, or to suppress them.

I can scarcely describe to you how much the lord treasurer was gratified with this mark of respect, from you in the first place, and then also from me: I shall only state, that

[¹ Strype mentions a Dr William Lewin, who was judge of the court of faculties.]

he both read your letter, and admitted me into his private cabinet with the greatest courtesy. He recommended that your letter, and that also of Lanscade, should be delivered to sir F. Walsingham. But he did not advise the letter to be sent to the queen, both because the copy was wanting, and because the subject was still in uncertainty. And he recommended me to state this to sir F. Walsingham. I have therefore stated these things to sir F. Walsingham, and have given him your letter, and also that of Lanscade; besides also the letter to the queen, which however I do not think that he has presented. But that I might ascertain the fact, the lord treasurer advised me to meet them both in London on the day following.

When I was on my way back, and had almost reached the city, lo! I, who was before somewhat weak both in my eye-sight and the rest of my body, was seized on the journey by a tertian fever, under which I laboured for twelve days, so that I could neither wait upon the lord treasurer, nor upon sir F. Walsingham. But I hope that both of them have written to you by their merchants, as they promised me they would do.

While I was still labouring under the attack of fever, I sent your letter to the archbishop for his perusal; and at the same time requested him to advance your pecuniary matter² with our nobility as far as he could: respecting which also I had much conversation with the lord treasurer, and a few words also with sir F. Walsingham, in the queen's palace; for the time would not allow me to say much. But I would have you know how much you are indebted to the lord archbishop; for he has so managed your cause during my illness, and still continues to manage it, that I hope that you will certainly recover your money before many months.

But you must feel anxious to know by what means this can be effected. You must know then that our people have decided upon sending a new ambassador into France, a most discreet, brave, and noble personage³. The lord archbishop has been diligently urging him personally to undertake your cause. He has also requested the lord treasurer and sir F. Walsingham to recommend it to him; that it may be

[² See below, Letter CXIII. note 1.]

[³ Sir Amias Paulet.]

treated, not as that of a stranger, but a citizen; not as that of a private individual, but of an English ambassador, and one too who is most learned, most godly, and who deserves well both of ourselves, and of the French who profess the [protestant] religion. If we can get the business carried on in the queen's name, we shall seem to have gained every thing. I doubt not but that he will so commend the case to [the duke] d'Alençon, as to tell him that it will gratify the queen if he will take care that you are paid as soon as possible. I am unable, nor is it permitted me, to give you every reason you have to hope that you will by these means be relieved from debt. I only tell you this, that the archbishop was exceedingly delighted at the thought of the happiness it would occasion you, when all the money should be paid to the last penny; which, my father and my master, most accomplished Sturmius, I pray Almighty God may very speedily be the case.

But you must know that no offices or exertions of mine shall be wanting, or indeed, have been wanting, to this object; on account of which, when I was in a weak state of health, I undertook a long journey, and fell into a fever in consequence. But I would have you know that I am now well again, and am diligently employed on this same business of yours.

I have not yet received your autumnal pension¹, as it is neither due nor payable by the treasury before Michaelmas. I have however made arrangements with Santrinus, and given him authority to pay it you at this Frankfort fair. You will therefore expect and demand from Bernus as much as he paid you before; for our friend Santrinus has promised to manage this. But I wish to know how many florins Bernus paid you, that I may ascertain whether I can transmit you the money in any way more conveniently through another merchant.

I have written this by starts and in a hurry, as you may guess from the writing itself. Do you take care that nothing which is written or recorded by the historians be wanting in your commentaries on Demosthenes and Cicero. Farewell, Aug. 25.

[¹ Namely, the salary which Sturmius received in his character of agent to queen Elizabeth at Strasburgh. See above, Letter LXXXV p. 211.]

See also that you thank the archbishop for having been so prompt and ready to relieve you from debt.

Yours, you know who,

from the subject of this letter,

[LEWIN.]

LETTER CXII.

JOHN RAINOLDS² TO RODOLPH GUALTER, JUNIOR.

Dated at Corpus Christi College, OXFORD, Aug. 13, [1576.]

IN proportion to the infrequency of our intercourse, most accomplished Gualter, when you were resident among us, (not that I was wanting in inclination, but in the opportunity either of enjoying your friendship, or testifying my good will,) do I candidly acknowledge myself the more obliged to you, and exceedingly rejoice, that although separated by so great a distance, and wholly occupied by matters both of a public and a domestic nature, you nevertheless both retain in your mind, and cherish by your kindness, so grateful a remembrance of me. For if experience taught Aristotle that continued absence caused oblivion to cast a shade over friendship itself; that the flower as it were of our acquaintance (not the maturity of friendship), instead of withering away, should have grown up by length of absence, it would be ungrateful in me not to feel more gratifying in proportion as it has been unexpected. Your singular kindness in this respect has taught me, how great is the difference between a christian and a heathen friendship: the latter of which, according to Aristotle, oblivion obscures, by reason of long continued separation of *persons*; while the former, according to Gualter, is enlightened by christian love, by reason of the lasting union of *souls*. But, for my part, though I will never allow you to excel me in the love wherewith you love one

[² John Rainolds became president of Corpus Christi College, and took a leading part in the Hampton Court conference in 1603. He was appointed one of the translators of the Bible, but died before the work was finished, in May 1607.]

who loves you in return ; yet I must necessarily allow you the priority in this respect, that you have preceded me in the manifestation of your regard. I admire your poem¹, either because it is yours, or because it is what it is, or rather, for these reasons united. For, as far as I can judge, it is sprinkled over with splendid evidences both of talent in the composition of the verse, and of judgment in the management of the subject, and of pious regard towards a well-deserving bishop, and of affection to the church of England, whose pious defender, Elizabeth, you commend, while you wound that cruel executioner, Bonner ;—scourge her bitter adversaries, the papists ;—comfort her afflicted members, the Christians ;—deplore her wretched condition as she is now in languishment ;—and, lastly, implore Christ Jesus to favour her with divine compassion. Your father prevented you from honouring our university with your praises, by having preceded you in commending noble Oxford to the learned English, as “ The home of Pallas, Phœbus and the Muses,” far more, I am afraid, than she deserves : but we acknowledge his affection, and thank him for it.

I warmly congratulate you upon having the charge of a church committed to you, and also upon being united in marriage to a most excellent lady ; for such I feel assured she is, from her being approved both by your father and yourself. I will not sing your epithalamium in return for your epicedium : but I both hope and wish that she may prove such a wife to you as Gregory of Nazianzum the son tells us that his mother was to Nazianzene his father ; not only a help-mate, but as it were a guide, a mistress in godliness, both by her words and actions urging him on to the best pursuits. Master Caius, the very dear friend of us both, a young man of remarkable piety and learning, has left the university to feed a flock committed to his charge, about forty miles from this city. It happened, however, most opportunely, that on the evening of that very day in which the copy of your verses was sent me to be forwarded to him, he came to Oxford ; but as he was obliged to go away early the next morning, he asked and obtained of me that I would both thank and salute you in his name : both which I now do. Our fel-

[¹ This was a copy of verses, on the death of Parkhurst. They are still preserved at Zurich.]

lows too, whom you desired master president to salute, wish you every happiness in return. May the great and good God ever enlighten with his light, protect with his favour, and guide by his Spirit both yourself and your father, and all your friends, and the whole church of Zurich! Farewell. Dated from Corpus Christi College at Oxford, August 13th, 1576.

Yours in Christ Jesus,

JOHN RAINOLDS.

LETTER CXIII.

LEWIN TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at [LONDON,] *Sept. 8,* [1576.]

I WROTE you word a few days since, most accomplished Sturmius, with what design and by what motives I was especially induced, after that Lanscade's letter had been sent to me by you, to carry to court, together with that letter, those others written to the queen and the lord treasurer, and [sir Francis] Walsingham; also, how gratifying they both were to both those noblemen, and for what reasons I thought that the third letter addressed to the queen had not been delivered to her.

I wrote at the same time, and that at some length, respecting your pecuniary and French¹ affairs; especially

[¹ Sturmius, out of zeal for religion, and compassion to the state of the professors of it in France, about the year 1562, had not only lent considerable sums of money himself of his own, but took up more at interest of the merchants of that place [Strasbourg] for the supply of the prince of Condé and Coligny the admiral of France; at what time also the queen herself lent them men and money. Sturmius was now pressed with this debt: and sir Amias Paulet being now, in September, going in an ambassage towards France, the archbishop took this opportunity to intercede with the lord treasurer; shewing him "how he [the archbishop] was moved as well with the old years, as also with the singularity and excellency of the man, earnestly to desire his lordship to recommend his case unto sir Amias. That whereas some order had been proposed by the present prince of Condé for the satisfaction of the said Mr Sturmius, by assisting him in obtaining a certain quan-

about our primate, the archbishop of Canterbury, who is indeed most anxious for your welfare and interests; and also the method he devised both of relieving you from this debt, and restoring you to your former tranquillity and ease, whereby you may pass the remainder of your life with the gentle muses.

From that time you must know that the lord archbishop has used his utmost exertions in your behalf; that he has pleaded your cause with prudence, diligence, and friendly regard. For besides having again and again commended yourself and your affairs to sir Amias Paulet, a most noble-minded and valiant man, to whom a new embassy to France is entrusted, he also treated thenceforward separately, first with the lord treasurer, and afterwards with sir Francis Walsingham, that they might render this same Paulet for many reasons more interested in yourself and your fortunes. And the sum of this recommendation was, that those two noblemen, who possess the greatest influence and authority among us, should request and entreat Paulet to arrange your French business with the duke d'Alençon and the prince of Condé, either in the queen's name, or at least publickly in that of our nobles; which they both of them, moved in part by his authority, and partly too by the circumstances of your case, positively promised to do. And I have no doubt myself, nor, my Sturmius, would I have you to doubt, that they have already done as they were requested to do.

Paulet, having taken leave of the queen six days since, is preparing for his journey to France, and will very shortly set out. He is a man of great talents and of a powerful and lofty mind. I perceive that you inquire respecting the earl of Oxford, whether he also did not recommend your case to Paulet. But you must know that I diligently interested myself with the earl, who replied, that he would not only recommend his friend Sturmius to Paulet, but would also

tity of salt in Languedoc or Provence, in lieu of the said money, by sir Amias's good means unto the duke of Alençon and the said prince, that purpose might take effect, or some other order be devised for his relief. So as thereby he might take some comfort and pleasure of his life, now in his old years; and with more quietness finish many good works, which he [the archbishop] knew had been purposed and begun by him." Strype, Grindal, p. 322.]

request the earl of Leicester to recommend him in every possible way. He added also, that unless you are relieved from France, he will take care that assistance shall be obtained for you in England; lastly, that he had a most high opinion of you, and had made most honourable mention of you: which things afforded me the greatest pleasure when I heard them, and certainly ought to delight you on being informed of them. But do you, as an old man, both make much of our archbishop, who is also advanced in years, and who is so firm and stedfast in friendship; and do not disparage this young earl, who has so favourable an opinion of you: from both I dare hope every thing, while from the one I dare promise every thing.

But now, my Sturmius, you will perhaps expect me to state what I advise or recommend to yourself. First of all, you should write as soon as possible to sir Amias Paulet, knight, and who will be our ambassador in France before this letter reaches you. You may state what you have heard from me from England, especially respecting the good-will and interest on your behalf manifested by the lord archbishop; and you may, if you please, add that of the lord treasurer and sir Francis Walsingham. I hope also that the earls of Leicester and Oxford will commend you to Paulet, but this is not yet ascertained by me: I heard from the earl of Oxford that they would do so, but do not yet understand that they have done it.

Perhaps also it might be desirable, that if you have any faithful and trustworthy friend in France, you would send him to Paulet with your letter, that he may sometimes put him in mind of you, and write you word back from France, what is doing, and what is to be done on your part. But if you have not at this time such a friend in France, nor can procure one to go thither at his own expense, I dare not recommend you to send any one at yours. For it is not, perhaps, the part of a prudent man, who is already in debt, to involve himself yet more deeply. I hope that your letters, if you frequently send them to Paulet, as both giving an account of the affairs of Germany, and also full of your zeal and service, will prove sufficiently diligent remembrancers to him, who is naturally a worthy man, and is much beholden to the noblemen who have recommended you

to him, and will certainly endeavour to shew himself grateful to them, and kind and liberal to yourself. This one thing must not be omitted, namely, that you inform Paulet, as soon as possible, of the amount that is owing to you, both in respect to the money you borrowed, and in respect to the interest which you paid the merchants on that account. I drew up from your letters a short statement of the whole debt you have incurred, and stated all the circumstances which might interest our nobles in your behalf; but the lord archbishop, with the greatest discretion, erased whatever might offend the French in case they should see it. One copy of this was delivered to the lord treasurer, another to sir F. Walsingham, and I doubt not but that Paulet has seen both. The lord archbishop retains the third, for the purpose of making other noblemen acquainted with your case; and that you may perceive yourself how the matter has been stated by me, and make any addition that may be requisite, I send you a fourth copy of this statement, and that just as it was interlined and corrected by the archbishop. I will omit nothing that I may think conducive to your interests; and if anything occurs to you, take care to let me know. There is one thing that I am thinking of, and that is, to induce one of Paulet's domestics, who has some respectable situation in his household, to interest himself in your affairs, and remind his master of you, when occasion arises; and lastly, to write me word when there is anything further to be done here.

My father and master, I will neglect no duty of a dear brother, since indeed you regard me in that light. My ability is but little, but I devote myself to you as far as I am able. Bernus will pay your autumnal pension at this Frankfort fair. Santrinus, an English merchant, whom I have made use of before, also promised to do this a fortnight since, respecting which I also wrote to you in my last letter. Farewell, Sept. 8.

Yours,

LEWIN.

The archbishop requested me to salute you in this letter in his name. I am still suffering from weakness in my eyes, which makes me use the handwriting of another. Once more farewell.

LÉTTER CXIV.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at the palace of HAMPTON COURT, *Oct. 27, 1576.*

MOST learned Sturmius, I have earnestly requested her majesty's envoy¹, who is now in France with the king, to interest himself as much as possible in the arrangement of the money matters between you and the friends of the true religion; in which he solemnly promised his credit and exertions, with this limitation, as far as his influence and power extended. Of whose word I am so far from entertaining any doubt, that I know and am fully assured, that all my own affairs, among which I place yours, will not be less attended to by him than his own: and I doubt not but that, if they will second his efforts in a manner suitable to their piety and religion, the matter will shortly be accomplished according to your wish and desire. With respect to what that worthy man, master Lanscade², wished to be mentioned to her majesty, the lord treasurer has her commands to send you an answer by master Lewin.

As to the means by which you should procure your letters to be forwarded to us, I have declared my mind and pleasure to master Ashby, which I know he will explain to you; lest hereafter any of you who shall entertain a desire of writing to us, whenever any occasion may arise, may find any difficulty in this respect. I earnestly entreat you, again and again, to write more frequently, according as you have leisure. Farewell and happily. Dated at the palace of Hampton Court, Oct. 27, 1576.

Your sincere friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

[¹ Sir Amias Paulet.][² See Letter XCVII. p. 239.]

LETTER CXV.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at LONDON, *April 23, 1577.*

MOST learned Sturmius, I am obliged to reply to your many letters by a single one of mine: not but that I could wish, as it is right I should, to return you letter for letter; but I am prevented doing so by reason of my want of time, and the state of my health, which has now for some months past been very unfavourable. But I would have you assured that your letters were most gratifying, not only to myself and your other friends, who love you as they are wont to do, but also to her royal majesty, who ascribes as much to her friend Sturmius, as your virtue justly claims to itself by its own merits. This only thing is wanting in you, that you write more at length and more fully respecting the state of the times and the dispositions of men; and this the rather, in proportion as the times in which we live are abounding in dangers, and the dispositions of the men with whom we have to contend, are not without their infinite recesses and deep concealments: which nevertheless betray themselves I know not how, and are laid open for our good, in proportion as they are more diligently observed, and as we consider the new alliances which they are making every day. Your Germany has many sovereigns, whose friendship and alliance is courted by foreigners, who desire to gratify themselves rather than you: and to which party every one of them seems inclined, and what encouragement they afford either to the favourers of religion or the opposers of it, is neither without its use to know, nor will it be unwelcome for you to inform us. Send us word especially, what opinion you think we should entertain of the emperor, of the Palatine¹ of the Rhine, and Casimir: whether they will unitedly continue in that regard and good-will, which their pious and noble parent recommended to them on his death-bed, to the advancement

[¹ Louis VI. and John Casimir were sons of the Elector Palatine Frederic III., who died Oct. 8, 1576.]

of the gospel and of the general peace; or whether by their dissensions and domestic quarrels they will occasion destruction both to themselves and their people. There will not perhaps be wanting those who will leave no stone unturned to cast this torch into that illustrious house of the Palatines, and set it on fire; and for this reason we must guard against them with the greater diligence. If you will write upon these matters, and inform us whether any thing of the kind is to be suspected, and by what ways and means it may be guarded against, you will do a most welcome service both to ourselves and to the whole christian world. Farewell and happily. From my house at London, April 23, 1577.

Your most attached,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

LETTER CXVI.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at LONDON, *July 22, 1577.*

I HAVE received your letter, most learned Sturmius, and the book which you were pleased to dedicate to me; for both which I owe and return no common acknowledgements to your kindness. The contents however of your letter, which I thought would be for the interest of the queen's majesty to be made known to her, I have laid before her majesty, who received it graciously, as she does every thing else that proceeds from her friend Sturmius, who is neither unwelcome nor disagreeable to her. But your letters will be, as they are, the more acceptable, in proportion as they are more frequent, and as they inform us of those matters, which (as those who are well and in health are touched with no feeling of the sufferings which persons in ill health endure in wretchedness and pain) do not any way move and affect us. This is one evil attending prosperity, which, if not the only one, is certainly a very grievous one, that it makes us forget, or at least be very indifferent, not indeed of its own nature, but through our corruption, to those evils and calamities by

which others are oppressed. If in these circumstances you would arouse us who are in a deep sleep and heedlessly secure, and by your more frequent letters would warn us of impending danger, you would shew most honourable zeal, and do us a most useful service. For I point out to you this disease of ours as one who is affected with it, and you, as a skilful and good physician, must apply the remedy: should you heal the disease, you will have the reputation of being a most excellent physician; and should your endeavours fail of success, it is still well, for you will have done your duty.

You write word that the Genevese are under some apprehension from the Spaniards: but if it is true what is related to us, and that frequently, our neighbours the Flemish and ourselves have more reason to be afraid of them; for it is reported, and that by persons of no small credit, that the Austrian¹ is thinking of recalling his Spaniards into Flanders, (and indeed has already done so,) and of raising up fresh disturbances against the prince of Orange and the better portion of the Flemish; that he promises himself great things from some of the leading men of those classes, which by his corruptions and flattering promises he has drawn over into his own schemes, that is, to the desolation of their country, and their own immediate ruin and destruction. This statement, I say, is what those parties bring over to us: you shall learn more hereafter; for time, the daughter of truth, will place every thing in its proper light. Meanwhile, take care of your health, and whatever you observe, write us word, and this as frequently as you can. You will thus do us great and valuable services. Farewell and happily.

Dated at London, July 22, 1577.

Your very loving,

FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

[¹ Don John of Austria.]

LETTER CXVII.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY TO HUBERT LANGUET².

Dated at Court, Oct. 1, 1577.

My very dear Languet, of your three letters which, in that written on the 24th of August, you affirm that you have sent me, I have only received two. Those indeed were full of all kindness and real friendship; but this is nothing new. Do you fancy that you can by this means perform the promise that you so solemnly made about your paying me a visit? That would be indeed, master Hubert, a downright imposition. I am very glad that you are so near Spires, where you may be properly dealt with.

There was a nobleman here a short time since, of the name of de Tamars, with whom I formed an acquaintance, and this the more readily, because he very frequently in my presence made honourable mention of you. So likewise Aldegonde³ and the prince himself, when I was staying with his highness, often said a great deal by which I perceived that you were very dear to him. But why do I tell you these things? Plainly to persuade you to visit him, if you can do so with safety, and to come from thence to us. You will there have a most excellent field for putting into practice, in the formation of this new commonwealth, those principles which you have so diligently studied during the whole course of your

[² Hubert Languet had been minister of state to Augustus, elector of Saxony, from whose service he retired in consequence of the controversy between the Lutherans and Zuinglians about the eucharist, on his taking part with the latter. He afterwards accepted an invitation to Antwerp from the prince of Orange. He was the intimate friend of Melancthon, Thuanus, and Du Plessis, by the last of whom his character is thus described: "Is fuit quales multi videri volunt; is vixit qualiter optimi mori cupiunt." He died at Antwerp, Sept. 20, 1581.]

[³ Philip de Marnix, lord of Mont St Aldegonde, was the personal friend and adviser of William, prince of Orange, and in 1575 was one of the deputies sent by the States to desire the protection of queen Elizabeth. He was engaged in a Dutch version of the scriptures, when he died, in 1598. See Moreri, Bayle, Melchior Adam.]

life. And I hope indeed, that I shall come over thither, before many weeks have elapsed; for I have a great regard for that prince, and have perhaps in some way been of more service to him than he is aware of. The leaning of our minds is such at this present time, that (should the wars be continued in Flanders) I am in some hope that the prediction, which you formerly uttered respecting me at Vienna, will have a happy fulfilment. The marquis d'Havre¹ demands assistance, and I think, if occasion so require, he will obtain it². The peace with France in some measure disturbs our queen; for she thinks she has not been properly treated. You know the reason. For my own part I consider these things as of little importance; for they will always have both a reason and a disposition to make a rupture, provided only they see any certain ground on which to rest.

I wrote to you a year ago about a certain Frobisher³, who, in rivalry of Magellan, has explored that sea which he supposes to wash the north part of America. It is a marvellous history. After having made slow progress in the past year, so as only to pass in the autumn the Feroe isles and an island which he supposes to be Friesland⁴, discovered by the Venetian Zeni⁵, he touched at a certain island for the purpose of recruiting both himself and his crew. And there by chance a young man, one of the ship's company, picked up a piece of earth⁶ which he saw glittering on the ground, and

[¹ This was Charles Philip de Croy, a younger brother of the duke d'Arshot, who was at this time, 1577, commanding a part of the troops of the States at or near Antwerp.]

[² The marquis d'Havre and Adolph Metherk were sent over by the States to borrow of queen Elizabeth a hundred thousand pounds sterling for eight months. Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, ii. 70. See also Camden, *Elizabeth*, p. 221.]

[³ Sir Martin Frobisher left Blackwall on his first voyage in June 1576, under the patronage of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, and arrived at Harwich on his return, Oct. 2. See Hakluyt, iii. 29, 57.]

[⁴ "The 11th day (July) at a S.E. sun, we had sight of the land of Friesland bearing from us W.N.W sixteen leagues, and rising like pinnacles of steeples, and all covered with snow. I found myself in 61 degrees of latitude." Hakluyt, as above. This is however now generally supposed to be Cape Farewell, in the south of Greenland.]

[⁵ Nicolas and Antony Zeni professed to discover this country in the 14th century, being driven thither from Ireland by a tempest.]

[⁶ "One brought a piece of black stone much like to a sea-coal in

shewed it to Frobisher; who, being engaged in other matters, and not believing that the precious metals were produced in a region so far to the north, considered it of no value. But he returned home at the beginning of winter. The young man kept the earth by him, as a memorial of his labour, (for he had no thought of any thing else,) till his return to London. And there, when one of the friends of the young man perceived it shining in an extraordinary manner, he made an assay, and found that it was the purest gold, and without any intermixture of other metal. Wherefore Frobisher⁷ went back to the place this last spring, under orders to explore that island⁸, and, should it answer his expectation, to proceed no farther. This he has done, and has now returned, bringing his ships, of which he had only three⁹, and those of small size, full laden; and he is said (for they have not yet unloaded) to have brought two hundred tons of ore. He has given it as his decided opinion, that the island is so productive in metals, as to seem very far to surpass the country of Peru, at least as it now is. There are also six other islands¹⁰ near to this, which seem very little inferior. It is therefore at this time under debate, by what colour, which by the weight seemed to be some kind of metal or mineral. This was a thing of no account in the judgment of the captain at first sight, and yet for novelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came. After his arrival in London, being demanded of sundry of his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to present them withal, but a piece of this black stone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glittered with a bright marcasite of gold. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain gold-finers in London to make an assay thereof, who gave out that it held gold, and that very richly for the quantity." Hakluyt, as above.]

[⁷ Frobisher left Blackwall on his second voyage, on Whitsunday, May 26, 1577, and returned to England on the 28th of September.]

[⁸ This was an island bearing the name of Hall, whence the ore was taken up, which was brought into England this last year, 1576; the said Hall being present at the finding and taking up thereof, who was then master in the Gabriel with Capt. Frobisher. Hakluyt.]

[⁹ Namely, the Aide, of two hundred tons, the Gabriel, and the Michael, of about thirty tons each.]

[¹⁰ Viz. in the neighbourhood of Frobisher's straits.]

means these our hitherto successful labours can be still carried on in safety against the attacks of other nations, among whom the Spaniards and Danes seem especially to be considered; the former, as claiming all the western parts by right from the pope; the latter, as being more northerly and therefore nearer; and relying on their possession of Iceland, they are better provided with the means of undertaking this voyage. They are also said to be sufficiently skilled in the art of navigation. I wish, therefore, for the sake of our mutual friendship, that you would send me your opinion on this subject, and at the same time describe the most convenient method of working those ores. You promised that you would send me the laws of Guttenberg¹. I pray you to do this as soon as possible. Some light may possibly be obtained from them; for we understand this art little better than we do the cultivation of vines. Remember therefore so to write, as that you may answer to the great reputation you enjoy among us; for, unless you forbid it, I will shew your letter to the queen. The thing is truly of great importance, and one which may probably, some time or other, be of use to the professors of the true religion. I have written to you three times on that important affair² of mine; so that I think you are satisfied on that score.

I pray you to write to me with all diligence, and I shall perhaps shake off my slothfulness. Send your letter to my friend Freming. For de Taxis³ has too much worked his swift horses. I am truly sorry for that man's misfortune. My friend Beale⁴ is now, I believe, sweetly renewing in your society the advantages of ancient friendship. I love him,

[¹ Guttenberg was a town in Bohemia, in the neighbourhood of which there were certain silver mines; and the laws here mentioned seem to refer to the municipal code which regulated the working of them.]

[² This appears to be some affair unknown to the biographers of Sir Philip Sidney. Languet often refers to this *magnum negotium*, but without giving a hint of its nature.]

[³ Languet says in a letter to Sir Philip Sidney, in 1575, "Consulo ut scribas ad Joann. Baptistam de Taxis qui stationariorum equorum procuracionem habet in Belgio."]

[⁴ Robert Beale was clerk of the council, and often employed in private missions to the protestant princes of Germany, an account of which, written by himself to the lord treasurer, is given in Strype, Ann. iv. 117.]

and yet I envy him. Our friend Lubetius has been conferring with me about the money which the king of France owes to the free cities of Germany. Here truly I perceive the council are much inclined to oblige the German cities. But, as you know, you Frenchmen have for a long time owed us the whole of Aquitaine and Normandy, but you would sooner make yourselves bankrupts, than discharge the debt; and yet we esteem such debtors very little, and such bad farmers [of the revenue] far less. I beg you will write me word as to what is the state of your affairs. You very much wrong me, if you are not fully persuaded of my entire readiness to serve you by every means in my power. And you must not charge upon me the saying, "out of sight, out of mind:" for I have never felt any diminution of that ardent affection with which I have always regarded you; but it has rather increased from day to day, and it is when absent, that I have most of all felt the sweetness of your society. But observe what Aristotle says of old men in his Rhetoric; namely, that they are cold in love, and that we are deceiving our own spirits in cultivating friendship, as if they were nothing else but the smoke of youthful ardour. But who, I pray, will now dare to accuse me of laziness, seeing that I have written so long a letter? See that you write me one yet longer in return; for you will have a month at least to do it in. Farewell, and commend me to the worthy Bain⁵, our friend Lubetius, Clusius, the excellent Jordan, and my Andrew⁶. And so offer my services to Butrech⁷, the best doctor among reisters⁷, and the best reister among doctors, (as, if I mistake not, Cicero says of Scævola and Crassus⁸,) as the services of one who loves them all, and desires to gratify

[⁵ Bain. This seems a familiar abbreviation of Banosius, often named by Languet in his letters.]

[⁶ The name of this person was Andreas Paulus. He is often mentioned by Languet.]

[⁷ Languet, in one of his letters, calls the same person "doctor equestris." He appears, from a "letter of news," MS. Cotton. Galba, c. 254, to have been in the suite of prince Casimir. *Reister* is an old word for a trooper. Daniel Rogers writing from Enchusen, July 26, 1577, to the earl of Leicester, speaks of Don John "making a levy of reisters." Wright's Elizabeth, ii. 60.]

[⁸ An allusion to Cic. de Oratore, i. 39. *Juris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium juris peritissimus.* See also *ibid.* 50.]

and be of use to every one of them. Again, my Hubert, farewell. From the queen's palace, Oct. 1, 1577.

Your most loving,

PHILP SIDNEY.

I wonder that I have not of a long time heard any thing of Wacker. Henry, baron of Lichtenstein, was here shortly after my return from Germany, to whom I did not shew so much courtesy as I ought to have done, having been at that time so much involved in business; and by reason of the absence of my father and uncles, who were then at Bath, I was not prepared to receive him as I could have wished. I pray you therefore, when an opportunity occurs, to make my excuse. He is certainly an excellent young man, and one whom I love from my heart; and whenever any of his friends shall come hither, I will endeavour to atone for my fault. My cousin Greville¹ dutifully salutes you.

LETTER CXVIII.

RODOLPH GUALTER TO GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Dated at ZURICH, about Dec. 22, 1577.

WHEN my homilies upon the epistle of St Paul to the Galatians, dedicated to the most serene king of Scotland, were published last year, I wrote to you, most excellent and honoured sir, on the 31st of August, and sent two copies of that book, one of which I requested you to present to the king's majesty in my name, and to keep the other for yourself as a mark of my affection and respect. But from that time I have received no intelligence either from England or Scotland, as to what has been done with the books. The London merchant, to whom our printer [Froschover] had entrusted the parcel, told him that it had been duly and safely forwarded to you. But of this I am rather inclined to doubt, partly from your so long silence, and partly from his covetousness, which I have discovered in many other instances, and which renders the man careless

[¹ Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke.]

in the execution of such commissions as he perceives to be unattended with any advantage to himself. And the noble youth the lord George Keith, the son of the earl Marischal of Scotland, has increased my suspicion; for he also thinks that there has occurred something of the kind, knowing as he does your great facility and eagerness in cultivating the friendship of worthy men. When, therefore, he wrote to me in the month of August respecting the foul murder of his brother William², and requested my services in honouring his memory and his death, and moreover very kindly offered his assistance in taking charge of my letters; I thought that so desirable an opportunity was on no account to be neglected, and paid such a tribute to his brother's memory as I was able to do in the midst of the occupations and weighty affairs which call me away from the study of poetry, in which I formerly so much delighted; and at the same time I have sent this letter to be forwarded to him at Lausanne, that he may send it you from thence together with his own: and I entreat you, most learned Buchanan, to receive it in such sort as you are wont to receive the services of one by whom you are so greatly esteemed; and relieve me, I pray you, from my present anxiety, by letting me know whether my homilies have come to your hands, and how they have been received by the king's majesty. This I solemnly declare to you, that I have no other object in my lucubrations than to benefit the church: which object if I can in any measure attain unto, I shall not repent of any labour or inconvenience. Farewell, most excellent and much honoured sir. Zurich, on the day of the winter solstice, in the year of Christ's birth, 1577.

Your excellency's most attached,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

[² William Keith, son of lord William Keith and brother of George, earl Marischal, was unfortunately killed in an excursion into the country, while prosecuting his studies at Geneva. Beza, Gualter, and other learned men honoured his memory with eulogies. M'Crie's *Life of Melvill*, 1819. Vol. i. p. 428.]

LETTER CXIX.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY TO HUBERT LANGUET.

Dated at [COURT], *March 1, 1578.*

MY very dear Hubert! Robert Beale¹ and Rogers², and your friend Butrech, arrived here together, with your most wished for letters; so that I seemed to myself both to hear and see you at the same time to my exceeding delight. You sharply accuse me of slothfulness, and in the meantime fall into the same fault, nay, a far greater, inasmuch as I am always made better by your letters, while mine must of necessity grate upon your ears to no purpose. And the use of the pen, as you may perceive, has plainly fallen from me; and my mind itself, if it was ever active in any thing, is now beginning, by reason of my indolent ease, imperceptibly to lose its strength, and to relax without any reluctance. For to what purpose should our thoughts be directed to various kinds of knowledge, unless room be afforded for putting it into practice, so that public advantage may be the result, which in a corrupt age we cannot hope for? Who would learn music except for the sake of giving pleasure? or architecture except with a view to building? But the mind itself, you will say, that particle of the divine mind, is cultivated in this manner. This indeed, if we allow it to be the case, is a very great advantage: but let us see whether we are not giving a beautiful, but false appearance to our splendid errors. For while the mind is thus, as it were, drawn out of itself, it cannot turn its powers inward for thorough self-examination; to which employment no labour that men can undertake, is any way to be compared. Do you not see that I am cleverly playing the stoic? yea, and I shall be

[¹ See above, p. 293, n. 6.][² Namely, Daniel Rogers, the son of John Rogers, the proto-martyr in queen Mary's reign. He is said by the writer of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* to have been "the most accomplished gentleman of that time, and a very good man, and excellently learned." He was sent to the prince of Orange in the year 1575, when the queen had declined to assist him and the Netherlands against the violence of Spain. See Strype, *Ann.* iii. i. 392, 394.]

a cynic too, unless you reclaim me. Wherefore, if you please, prepare yourself to attack me: I have now pointed out the field of battle, and I openly declare war against you.

But I wonder, my very dear Hubert, what has come into your mind, that, when I have not as yet done any thing worthy of me, you would have me bound in the chains of matrimony; and yet without pointing out any individual lady, but rather seeming to extol the state itself, which however you have not as yet sanctioned by your own example. Respecting her³, of whom I readily acknowledge how unworthy I am, I have written you my reasons long since, briefly indeed, but yet as well as I was able. At this present time, indeed, I believe you have entertained some other notion; which I earnestly entreat you to acquaint me with, whatever it may be: for every thing that comes from you has great weight with me; and, to speak candidly, I am in some measure doubting whether some one, more suspicious than wise, has not whispered to you something unfavourable concerning me, which, though you did not give entire credit to it, you nevertheless prudently, and as a friend, thought right to suggest for my consideration. Should this have been the case, I entreat you to state the matter to me in plain terms, that I may be able to acquit myself before you, of whose good opinion I am most desirous: and should it only prove to have been a joke, or a piece of friendly advice, I pray you nevertheless to let me know; since every thing from you will always be no less acceptable to me, than the things that I hold most dear.

There is no news here, except that it is a novel and almost unheard of circumstance in government, that nothing novel has occurred. Frobisher's gold is now melted, and does not turn out so valuable as he at first boasted: however these islands at the sixty-second degree are not to be despised; but they keep this as a great secret, lest, as you know, the opportunity be forestalled. Nay more, they expect to be able to cross the sea at the same latitude; so incorrect is the description of the world as given by cosmographers: but if there should be open sea at such a temperature, you perceive it will be of great importance.

[³ Lady Penelope Devereux, of whom Sidney was an admirer, may probably be alluded to.]

I believe the queen will do what you wrote to me about for the sake of Prince Casimir; but I was loth at this present time to say much upon that subject, as I know that it is our disposition not to do any thing in a hurry. What else can I now write to you, when I am so very sleepy, except that I love you as my own heart, and that I desire nothing more earnestly than that I may sometime be able to prove it? My friend Greville salutes you. Humbly salute in my name the count and countess of Hanau, and write me word how they like the dogs I sent them. I have now written to Lubetius, Banosius, Andrew, Anselm, Merell. Am I then lazy? I pray you to salute Clusius, and tell master Salvart¹ that I am greatly indebted to him for the book he sent me translated into French. When it was put into my hands, I was exceedingly busy; but I will sometime shew myself deserving of his courtesy. Salute also master Glauburg; whom I will willingly oblige. Farewell, dearest Languet. March 1, 1578.

Yours,

PHILIP SIDNEY.

I will shew Beale every friendly office in my power, both for his own deservings, and especially for your recommendation of him.

LETTER CXX².

LAURENCE HUMPHREY TO [ABRAHAM MUSCULUS.]

Dated at OXFORD, *March 3, 1578.*

IMMANUEL. Your son has left us, and has staid some months in London; where however I have no doubt but that he has been attentive to his studies, and to the hearing of sermons. He was very dear to me both for the sake of your honoured and venerable father, and yours, and also for his own. For when I lived at Basle, I saw some translations of

[¹ Salvart was in the suite of Prince Casimir.]

[² The original of this Letter is preserved at Zofingen.]

master Musculus³ at the house of Frobenius⁴, and passed them through the press. If any thing remains yet unpublished, I pray you let it be brought to light; for he was a man of various reading, refined judgment, and unwearied industry. Nor can I forget with what courtesy he entertained me and some companions at Berne. I therefore cherish the remembrance of so great a man, and pray God to bless you and his posterity. But it somewhat distresses me that your son has left us so soon, and that I was not able to be of so much service to him as I wished. He had however a great desire to see the university of Cambridge, and other parts of England, with a view of returning with more learning, though not with more money. As to yourself, most learned sir, I pray and exhort you in the Lord to continue to follow your father's footsteps, and visit us Britons, although separated by so long a distance, with your letters; yea, and so profit us by the learned monuments of your literary works, that we may perceive that such a writer [as your father] has revived in his son. For we must take advantage of this singular blessing of peace, and all our exertions must be directed to the good of the church, as long as the present tranquillity of the times will permit. Go on as you have begun, and may the Lord Jesus long preserve you in health and happiness to the universal church and your country and ourselves!

Oxford, March 3, 1578.

Yours,

LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

[³ Wolfgang Musculus published translations of some of the works of Chrysostom, Basil, and other fathers; and also of the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius and other Church historians.]

[⁴ Jerome Frobenius was the son and successor of the eminent printer, John Frobenius, who died in 1527. He carried on the business with the same reputation that his father enjoyed, and printed, among other works, those of Basil, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Jerome.]

LETTER CXXI.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY TO HUBERT LANGUET.

Dated at COURT, *March 10, 1578.*

My very dear Hubert! I wrote you by our friend Butrech what then came into my mind. I have now written to you by master Rogers, rather that I may not omit any opportunity of saluting you, than because any thing here offers itself worthy even of a thought. We have so failed in satisfying Butrech, that I believe, unless his kindness prevent it, we shall have a bad character in Germany. And yet, to speak candidly and confidentially, they did not appear to manage your affairs with much firmness, while the prince of Orange seemed to aim at one thing, and the illustrious Casimir at another. And from this the queen has taken occasion to defend her tardiness in executing her designs, against Leicester, Walsingham, and others, who had persuaded her to a more active course; which I much regret. My friend du Plessis will, I believe, shortly quit us, without being able to obtain what would have been most advantageous to a Christian government. For my own part, unless God powerfully counteract it, I seem to myself to see our cause withering away, and am now meditating with myself some Indian project. The queen is your friend, as I hope you will learn in a short time: meanwhile, I would have you love me affectionately, as you are wont, and commend me to all our common friends. From court, March 10, 1578.

Yours,

PHILIP SIDNEY.

I have received Swendius's¹ treatise from the count of Hanau; I have not yet had any from yourself. I pray you to love my friend Rogers more and more for my sake.

[¹ Languet in one of his letters mentions a baron Swendius as a good soldier. He wrote a short treatise on the defence of Hungary against the Turks, which is probably the writing referred to in the text.]

LETTER CXXII.

LAURENCE HUMPHREY TO ABRAHAM MUSCULUS.

Dated at LONDON, *June 5, 1578.*

IMMANUEL. I have received your letter, most learned sir, and am glad if I have been of any service to your son Wolfgang, or in any way useful to you. Having been a stranger myself, I have learned to befriend strangers; and I have only to regret that my ability does not correspond with my inclination. Then too, there has at this time been suddenly imposed upon me the important office of being sent as a deputy into Germany, to a synod at Smalcald; where, as far as I understand, I have to confer with my brethren about Lutheranism, and that unhappy controversy respecting the Lord's supper, which has been carried on so long with so much heat and party spirit, that I do not see how it can be settled. I wish other deputies would come from Switzerland and Geneva, that we might assemble with calling upon God in prayer, and in a friendly and fraternal spirit. The queen's majesty is most anxious for this. God must be implored both by you and ourselves, to bring this important business to some happy issue. We are altogether impotent, and therefore pray that his strength may be made perfect in our weakness. I will see after your son on my return, and render him all the assistance in my power. We have as yet heard nothing certain respecting those two Englishmen. In haste, at London. May the Lord Jesus have compassion upon his church and yours, and preserve you with all your family! Farewell. June 5, 1578.

Yours wholly,

and one who was much attached to your father

Wolfgang Musculus,

LAURENCE HUMPHREY.

LETTER CXXIII.

GEORGE BUCHANAN TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

[Without place or date.]

HEALTH. Your letter, most excellent sir, written at Zurich on the 31st of August, was delivered to me eight months after, namely, on the first of May. Your present, as it was a noble and honourable one, so was it willingly and graciously accepted by the king: but the expectations of yourself and other good men yonder concerning him were exceedingly gratifying, not only to himself, but to us¹ also, who have the charge of his education; for if the disposition which is now so delightfully budding forth in him shall in due time be matured, and bring forth fruits worthy of our expectation, he will indeed prove such a character as both he himself and we also may attribute in great measure to you: he, in that you encourage by your commendations his yet infirm capacity, and by your exhortations, setting before him as it were the rewards of success, you render more easy the labours that are so irksome to boys of his age; and to us, unless we would be most ungrateful, it cannot but be most gratifying that such men as you should voluntarily take upon yourselves a part of the burden imposed upon us. For it is not the mere voice of the teacher that advances the studies of the learner; but whatever encourages the wearied mind, and diminishes the irksomeness of application, and places the form of true virtue before the eyes, is to be regarded also as performing the office of a master. Besides which, these things are more readily listened to than mere precepts; as they come not in the authoritative character of a command, but allure by the bland invitations of honour and renown. And these presents of yours, as coming from places very far off, possess the additional advantage of distance, and are free from any suspicion of flattery; while the services

[¹ James VI. of Scotland had four principal masters, George Buchanan, Peter Young, the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh. Melvill's Mem. p. 125.]

of immediate attendants are accepted, not with the feeling that they are brought forth from the garner of liberality, but as the mere discharge of a debt.

But enough of the king. I am very much gratified by your approbation of my poems: for if you are mistaken in your opinion, you are not deceived by the weakness of your judgment, but, actuated by kindness, are less clear-sighted as to their defects; while, if your approbation is well founded, I also have just ground for rejoicing, like Hector in Nævius, that I am praised by an individual who is himself so worthy of commendation. But there are many hindrances to prevent this rejoicing from being solid and without alloy. For such is the indolence of our age, that no one will willingly bestow much labour upon any pursuit from whence he can expect little or no reward for his pains. Those persons also neither are nor will be wanting, who do not, it may be, despise that most noble aphorism of a noble poet, in which he contends that virtue is its own reward; but who nevertheless reject all this kind of writing, as both useless, and designed only to please the ears.

[The remainder of this letter is imperfect.]

LETTER CXXIV

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

Dated at ANTWERP, *Sept. 5, 1578.*

GREETING. I do not now reply to your last letter, by reason of the more important engagements with which I am overwhelmed, and the sudden departure of the bearer of these presents. We were a few days since in some hopes of coming to an arrangement² respecting the Low Country affairs: but

[² Lord Cobham and sir Francis Walsingham were sent to the Netherlands at the beginning of this year, 1578, to treat of a peace, in concert with Monsieur Pompon de Bellievre, and the count of Schwartzenberg, the French and Imperial ministers there; but without success, since Don John, according to Camden, would by no means admit of the reformed religion, and the prince of Orange flatly refused to return into Holland. Sir Francis Walsingham in a letter to sir Christopher Hatton, dated Sept. 9, says: "My lord Cobham and I have cause to

that hope has fallen to the ground, through a letter which the duke of Austria (if we may believe him) has received from the catholic king, in which he states that the whole management and definitive arrangement of these Low Country affairs had been committed and entrusted to his imperial majesty, who took upon himself the settlement of that business; but at what time, and upon what terms, and with what success, we are still ignorant. There are other subjects upon which I would gladly write to you, but business and want of time do not allow me. I will defer them to another opportunity: do you continue to love me as you are wont. In haste. Antwerp, Sept. 5, 1578.

Yours heartily, as his own,

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

LETTER CXXV.

RICHARD HILLES TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated at LONDON, *Jan. 10, 1579.*

MUCH health. I understood, my very honoured and beloved friend in Christ our Lord and Saviour, by your letter dated at Zurich on the seventh of last November, that you were in good health; and I pray our gracious God very long to preserve you to his glory and the edifying of his church. It afforded me indeed great comfort to learn from your aforesaid letter, that you have borne with such firmness and resignation the loss of your very dear sons and intimate friends; because "blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours." For if you were to wear yourself out by constant grief, you could never expect any benefit or advantage therefrom: for it is most certain that they will never return into this world, and it is equally certain that you will go to them.

think ourselves most unfortunate, to be employed in a legation that is like to have so hard an issue." Wright's *Q. Elizabeth's Life and Times*, ii. 93.]

The letter which I received inclosed in yours, for master Laurence Humphrey, I sent to him at Oxford, on the last day of December, by a trustworthy messenger, who brings letters from the university every week: so that there is no doubt but that he has most certainly given your letter aforesaid to master doctor Humphrey before this time. But I pray you, that in case you should have any other letters directed to me, you would send them to Strasburgh, to master Theobald Behem, a merchant there, who can send them to me without any difficulty; and that you will not forget to send the money for the postage at the same time; for otherwise I fear that he will not send the letters so readily by the Spires post.

I have to thank you for having written me the news you had then heard about the duke d'Alençon, (who is, as I understand, the brother of the king of France); and I now send you word in return, that this same duke d'Alençon, at the end of last December, went away into France, together with all his troops, from a town of the Low Countries, called Bergen in German, and Mons in French. But the Flemish themselves say, that it is in this way he means to defend that town against king Philip, as his grandfather did the city of Metz¹ against the emperor Charles the fifth. I pray you, commend me to my old friend Julius Sancterentianus (who is employed in Froschover's printing office as a corrector of the press), and tell him that I received two months since his kind letter, dated at Zurich on the 24th of August, and also, a month after, the five books specified in the same letter. One of these I have kept for myself, as he desired; the others I have sent to Oxford by a trusty messenger, to master Herbert Westphaling, canon of Christ church. Tell him too that, according to his desire, I will, God willing, repeat the service I have hitherto done him, in procuring his Oxford pension. I sent my letter, dated in August last, to the late autumnal fair at Frankfort, to master Christopher Froschover, of Zurich, respecting which I expect shortly the answer of Julius Sancterentianus. And I hope that this was the letter which you

[¹ Metz was besieged by the emperor Charles V. in 1552, and defended by the duke of Guise, who was nominated to take the command in that city by Henry II. of France, *father* of the duke d'Alençon. See Ranken's Hist. of France. Book vi. ch. 1.]

understand to have been the last written by me to your friend Julius, as you mentioned at the beginning of your letter.

My wife, who is now-a-days a great invalid, (though she is now, thank God, tolerably well,) especially salutes you. I pray God of his goodness to preserve you in safety, together with your wife and all your family. Farewell. London, Jan. 10. In the year of Christ's birth, 1578. English style.

Yours, according to my ability,

RICHARD HILLES.

LETTER CXXVI.

FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD, TO [RODOLPH GUALTER.]

Dated at EXETER, *Feb. 28, 1579.*

YOUR letter, most excellent sir, wherein you recommended John Rodolph Ulmer¹, gratified me exceedingly: and he also is dear to me, not only by reason of my general good-will and affection for his country, and especially for yourself and his father; but I have also a wonderful regard for him by reason of his manifold good qualities. For he is a youth of honourable principles, such an one indeed as all good men will both love and praise as he deserves; and, as I understand from those who were acquainted with him at the university of Oxford, he is not only devoted to learning, but likewise entirely engaged in the pursuit of it, in which he has, by the divine blessing, made such progress, that I have no doubt but that his studies will ere long tend to the glory of God and the benefit of his church.

I greatly rejoice that your country is flourishing and prosperous both in religion and in all other respects; and am glad, most learned sir and reverend father in Christ, that you are not yet worn out in your holy zeal for godliness, and your endeavours to promote the glory of God. And I heartily pray God to strengthen you more and more,

[¹ See first series, Letter CXXXII. p. 326. Ulmer was the son of John ab Ulmis, who came to England in king Edward's time, under the patronage of the duke of Suffolk, and was made fellow of St John's College, Oxford. He died in 1580, and his descendants took the name of Ulmer.]

and enrich you with his gifts, and defend you with his protection. Most excellent sir, farewell. Exeter, Feb. 28, 1579.

Your most devoted in the Lord,

F. BEDFORD.

P.S. I thank you very much, most learned sir, for your singular kindness to me when I was with you in your country; and I earnestly entreat you to do the same in my name to the whole host of my Zurich Mæcenases.

LETTER CXXVII.

WILLIAM COLE TO [RODOLPH GUALTER.]

Dated at OXFORD, *Feb.* 28, 1579.

THERE has come to me, most learned sir, a young man of Zurich, Ulmer's son², who after some days, as he tells me, is about to return to you. I could not refuse giving him a letter to you, who deserved so well of me when I was an exile many years since; not that I have at this time any thing worth your reading, but lest you should suppose, from my not writing, that I am unmindful of the obligations I have received. I hear that your son³, lately a scholar of Oxford, and a youth of excellent promise, has been removed by an untimely death: which event indeed we all of us, to whom he was familiarly known during his sojourn in this place, most deeply deplore, not only on your account, as having lost a son of so much expectation, but much more, as it is right we should do, because at this time the church of Christ cannot spare so much talent without great injury.

With respect to our English friends who were in exile with me at Zurich, I have nothing to write, except that out of so many scarcely five are now remaining. Master Horn, the most excellent bishop of Winchester, is in a very infirm state of health. Master Mullins⁴ is archdeacon of London;

[² See the preceding Letter.]

[³ See above, Letter CXII. p. 279.]

[⁴ John Mullins was fellow of Magdalene college, Oxford, and one of the exiles at Zurich in 1555. He was made successively archdeacon of London, canon residentiary of St Paul's, and rector of Bocking. Strype, Whitgift, i. 245.]

master Reniger¹ archdeacon of Winchester: master Humphrey and myself preside over two colleges at Oxford, he at Magdalene and I at Corpus Christi. All the others have departed this life. From this you see to how small a number they are reduced, who sometime lived with you as exiles; and you see too in what a state are the affairs of us who as yet survive them. But if you wish to know what is the state of religion throughout all England, it is precisely the same as it has been from the beginning of the reign of our most gracious queen Elizabeth. There is no change whatever. The queen of Scotland is with us, but not as an independent sovereign, nor is she at liberty to wander about at her pleasure. In Scotland they are most actively guarding and protecting the true religion, and every thing there is in a state of quiet and tranquillity. I hear that the duke of Parma² is preparing an army against the Low Countries. Casimir³ has been honourably received by our queen, nor do I know whether any visitor has ever been more agreeable to her. The duke d'Alençon⁴ is daily expected. He is in hopes, as I hear, of forming a matrimonial alliance here in England. I have thought fit to tell you these things at this time, especially as I have met with so opportune a messenger. Salute all my friends, and especially masters Lavater, Bullinger, Froshover, my Julius, &c. Farewell, my very dear sir, and return my affection for you. Oxford, Feb. 28, 1579.

Your most attached,

WILLIAM COLE.

[¹ Michael Reniger was expelled Magdalene college, Oxford, by Bishop Gardiner, and became an exile. He was afterwards chaplain to queen Elizabeth, and prebendary of Winchester. Strype.]

[² The duke of Parma was appointed governor of the Netherlands on the death of Don John of Austria in the autumn of 1578. Strype, Ann. ii. ii. 159.]

[³ For an account of this reception see the first series, p. 330, and Strype, Ann. ii. i. 160.]

[⁴ The duke d'Alençon, or d'Anjou, to which title he succeeded on the accession of his brother to the throne of France, arrived privately in England with one or two only in his company, and came to the queen unexpectedly at her court at Greenwich. He made a second visit in 1581. See Strype, ii. ii. 317. Camden, Eliz. 233, 267.]

LETTER CXXVIII⁵.

HUBERT LANGUET TO PETER HUBNER.

Dated at BADEN, *June 4, 1579.*

MUCH health. I am surprised that you have not written to me respecting the studies of our young gentleman, master Sidney; for I very much expected from you some account of them. I suppose you remember what I told you, when conversing with you respecting his education; namely, that it is the especial desire of his illustrious father and brother, that he should acquire a correct knowledge of the German language: which I do not think will be difficult for him, if only the quickness of his understanding and strength of his memory are seconded by diligence and application; and if you frequently admonish him of his duty, and attentively perform your part, not only in explaining to him such passages in German as he may afterwards turn into Latin, but especially by conversing with him in German; for his being accustomed to converse in German is of far more importance to him than the study of German writers; for whatever German works contain any thing that may tend to the cultivation of his understanding, are almost all of them translated into languages with which he is acquainted. And he will never learn to speak German with fluency by the study of the German writers, even though he should devote a whole life to that object, unless he add thereunto the habit of conversation. The commencement of such a habit will indeed be disagreeable to him, but it will grow pleasant in time; for when he shall perceive that he has made any progress, he will derive pleasure from that circumstance, and be stimulated to greater alacrity in making farther advancement. But you must take care not to be wanting to him in this matter; for you are well aware that I particularly requested it of you, and that you gave me your promise: and if you find your admonitions not very agreeable to him, you must

[⁵ The original of this letter is preserved at Zofingen.]

not desist on that account, but persevere in your instruction. And if you do this, there is no reason to doubt but that he will at length feel thankful to you: for he will perceive that you are acting with a desire for his advantage; and as he is of a generous disposition, he will in no wise make an ill return for the benefit. Farewell. From Baden, June 4, 1579.

Your most attached,

HUBERT LANGUET.

LETTER CXXIX.

GEORGE BUCHANAN TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

Dated *July 24, 1579.*

I RECEIVED your former letter, together with the books, many months after you had sent them. The book I gave, as you desired me, to the king, who received it as he ought, that is, with a most favourable disposition towards you. He also sent in return such a message as occurred to him at the moment, and especially the following: "Whereas all my subjects are very greatly indebted to you, you have not only wished to make me also indebted to you, but absolutely bound to your service, inasmuch as you take your share of a most heavy burden, partly to lighten our labour, partly to cultivate our yet inexperienced mind, and prepare it to receive the seed of learning and to bring forth good fruit." And since the labours of each of us has respect to the cultivation of the understanding, our share in it may fitly be compared to the industry of the husbandman, and yours to that celestial influence which renders all labour productive, and by the due temperature of the seasons gives the corn its increase. But your last letter, dated at Zurich in December 1577, did not reach us until August 1579. I have now been absent from court more than six weeks, by reason of ill health; but as soon as I return thither, I will endeavour, that the king shall

steal a few moments from his occupations, to give you a testimony of his favourable regard towards you with his own hand: and should I not be able to accomplish this myself, I will take care that it shall be managed by my colleague, the pious and learned Peter Young¹, who will watch for a favourable opportunity of introducing the subject. Meanwhile I send you my commentary upon government², written indeed in troublous times, but now at last published after a moderate interval, the tumult being assuaged, and the minds of men having become more accustomed to discourses of this kind.

My labour may possibly seem superfluous, and especially as the lucubrations of so many most learned men have already been set forth upon the same subject. But when they had collected a few scattered, though very excellent, maxims upon this matter, I thought that I should not altogether lose my pains if I were to reduce them into method, and discuss the whole subject, not at random, but in an orderly and well-digested manner. And if good and learned men shall think that I have not failed in my endeavours, I shall not regard the approbation of the many.

July 24, in the year of Christ's birth 1579.

[¹ Mr Peter Young was one of king James's preceptors, and also his almoner. Sir James Melvil says of him, that he was gentle, and loath to offend the king at any time, carrying himself warily, as a man who had mind of his own weal, by keeping of his majesty's favour. Melvil's memoirs, p. 125.]

[² This work was published in 1579, and entitled *De jure regni apud Scotos*. It was answered by Adam Blackwood in a book entitled *Adversus Georg. Buchanani Dialogum de jure regnandi apud Scotos pro regibus apologia*. Pictavii, 1581; and by W. Barclay in his book, *De regno et regali potestate*, Parisiis, 1600. It was condemned, together with other books, by the university of Oxford in full convocation, July 21, 1683; which decree however was ordered by the House of Lords to be burnt "by the hangman," March 25, 1710, after the trial of Dr Sacheverel.]

LETTER CXXX

RODOLPH GUALTER TO GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Dated *March 8, 1580.*

I WAS indeed surprised, most excellent and much honoured sir, that I had for three whole years received no reply to my letters to the most serene king and yourself. But I have lately discovered that your letter met with the same fate as my own; for that which you wrote on the 24th of July last year, I received on the 6th of January. The longer however it was in coming, the greater pleasure it afforded me, as announcing that my book had been so graciously received, and that this service of mine had been approved by so learned as yourself, whose opinion I prefer to multitudes of others. I regret however, that I am in the meantime deprived of that pleasure which I should have derived from your first letter. But as I have not seen it even unto this day, it must either have been destroyed by the perfidiousness of the malevolent, or from some other cause. But it is enough, as I said, that my service was not unacceptable both to the most serene king and to yourself. And should there be added the testimony of the royal favour towards me written with his own hand, as you have so kindly promised, I shall then think myself happy in this respect.

There arrived together with your letter your book, *De jure regni apud Scotos*; which I have not only read myself, but have lent to my colleagues and fellow-ministers to read and examine; all of whom entertain the same opinion as myself, namely, that the book is written with as much learning and authority as piety. And I wish that all kings would be persuaded of what you so well and piously state in it; for then would their subjects be more happy, and they themselves would not only reign happily on earth, but would also enjoy a participation of the heavenly kingdom with the King of kings and Lord of lords, Jesus Christ. But because few of them entertain these feelings, and the greater

part of them are corrupted by the blandishments of flatterers and most abandoned characters ; while they fancy themselves kings, they become the slaves of the most vile affections and vices ; besides which they fleece the flock committed to their trust, of which they ought to be the shepherds, and at last ruin them together with themselves. I therefore esteem the most serene king of Scotland as fortunate and happy, in having obtained, in so corrupt an age, such an instructor, who is able to imbue his youthful mind with most wholesome precepts, and implant in him the seeds of truly royal virtues. And I hope that God, who has bestowed upon him this favour, will also grant that he may obey these salutary rules of conduct, and live happy and prosperous with his people, and rule them to the glory of his name.

Thus have I thought fit to reply to your letter, and at the same time to recommend that if no more direct mode of transmitting letters to us should occur, you should send them to the most reverend Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York, with whom I have kept up a friendship of many years continuance, and who will take care that they shall be forwarded to me by his agents in London. Farewell, most excellent sir. Zurich, March 8, in the year of the incarnation of the eternal Son of God, 1580.

Your most loving,

RODOLPH GUALTER.

LETTER CXXXI.

HIEROME ZANCHIUS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

Dated at NEUSTADT, *Sept.* 24, 1581.

GREETING. When that most excellent man, John Sturmius, left us yesterday, he desired me, most illustrious sir, to write to you respecting his visit to us, the reason of it, and also respecting his departure. I said that I had not any acquaintance, much less any familiar intercourse, with you : he replied, that he knew for certain that my letter would be

agreeable to you, and that he hoped this my writing would prove as it were the beginning of a friendship between us; for that you were so exceedingly well-disposed towards the professors of learning and godliness, that I should never have to repent of this service. I have no occasion therefore, most honourable sir, to explain the reasons of my having thus ventured to write to you, as I have now briefly stated them. I only request that with your wonted discretion and kindness you will take in good part my simple style of writing, as that of an old man who has long since taken leave of all the ornaments of composition.

The good old man has suffered greatly by reason of his bold and open defence of the truth¹, which he has so stoutly defended, (as he is still determined to do,) that, being obliged in some measure to give way to the times, (for some even threatened him with imprisonment,) he quitted Strasburgh on the first of August, and came to us the following day; where he was most hospitably entertained by every one, and especially by our most illustrious prince, who presented him with a golden medal of himself, as a mark of respect; and he, on his part, wonderfully refreshed us all, and edified the whole city by his reverend presence, his weighty and most learned discourse, and, what is more, his decided evidences of piety, in hearing sermons and partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

He wrote during this time (for he was never unemployed) three books against the apostle of ubiquity²; but they have not yet seen the light. His cause was long agitated in the senate, and he was at length recalled by a letter from the magistrates, the public faith being pledged for his safety. Yesterday therefore, which was the 23rd Sept. 1581, all the expenses of his entertainment having been defrayed by the treasury of the most illustrious prince, he departed early in the morning for Strasburgh, well and hearty, and accom-

[¹ Sturmius was at this time 74 years old. He died in 1589, in the eighty-third year of his age. He entertained Zuingle's opinions respecting the real presence; in consequence of which he was much persecuted by the Lutheran ministers of Strasburgh, and at last deprived of his rectorship of the university there, through the instrumentality of a divine named Pappus, with whom he had a long and tedious controversy. See Bayle, and Melchior Adam.]

[² Namely, Brentius. See first series, p. 108. note 1.]

panied by some brethren, recommending to me repeatedly and most earnestly to write to you as he had desired.

You have then, most honourable sir, the fulfilment of Sturmius's injunction to me, that I should salute you, and acquaint you by my letter of his visit and his departure : which office I have undertaken the more readily, as I hoped that what Sturmius without any hesitation ventured to promise, would come to pass, namely, that my letter would not be displeasing to you, and that you would admit me among the number of your friends ; which that you may do, I earnestly entreat you. May the Lord Jesus Christ preserve the queen's most serene majesty, all the nobility, the church and state, yourself and all good men ; for by him, saith the apostle, do all things consist.

Your excellency's

H. ZANCHIUS.

Neustadt. Sept. 24, 1581.

LETTER CXXXII³.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE CONFEDERATE SWISS CANTONS.

Dated at OATLANDS, *Sept.* 1, 1583.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen &c., to the mighty and magnificent lords, the confederate lords of all Switzerland, health and prosperity.

On consideration of the proceedings which have lately taken place, and still are taking place, by the command and, as it is pretended, in the name of the duke of Savoy⁵ my cousin ;

[³ The original of this letter is preserved at Schaffhausen.]

[⁴ In the year 1581, the duke of Savoy, by the pope and other popish setters on, and by his own ambition accompanying, laboured to obtain the city and dominion of Geneva, famous for its religion, and a great nurse of pious men, and harbourer of exiles for religion : and which had been taken, had it not been prevented by the seasonable aid of some of their neighbours the Helvetians. The council sent a letter to the bishops, and ordered a collection to be made in behalf of the Genevese. See Strype, *Whitgift*, 412, &c. See also *Lauffer's Helvetische Geschichte*, 10 Th. p. 286, 287.]

on consideration too of the causes of these disorders, and of the result that may be expected from them; not to mention that the most flourishing nations and fairest cities, which have sprung from far more abject beginnings, are now lying overwhelmed and prostrate; it then came into my mind that it would be a worthy service to inform you of the things necessary for you to be acquainted with, and in which you appear to me to be especially interested. And of these there are two things in particular: one of which relates to a good understanding among yourselves, and which should have very great weight with you; the other, which requires you to aid and assist in all their need those who are members of your body; and the more especially, since whatever benefit you confer upon them, will redound to yourselves. And I have no doubt but that you duly weigh in your minds how profitable and necessary these remedies, which I now state to you, will be for your own liberty against every attack of your enemies. The commendations of your wisdom are now celebrated in the discourses and languages of almost all nations; to say nothing of the distinguished praise of your valour, respecting which no age will ever be silent; and on account of which no one, however powerful he may be in every description of troops, has at any time dared to form any plot against your safety and commonwealth, except those who have artfully insinuated themselves into the favour and friendship of particular parties: if you give place, however, to men of that kind, there is danger lest they should endeavour to diffuse at length pestiferous poison through the whole body; and this, while it will be advantageous to them, will be to yourselves ruinous and destructive. They act rightly therefore, who reject artifices of this kind; for they will in this way watch over their own safety, and will subdue their enemies, even without any injury to themselves. For indeed evil counsel is most dangerous to him who proposes it, and deceitful artifices fall to pieces of their own accord; while as the bond of peace is in the mean time daily becoming more close, it can be weakened or dissolved by no stratagems whatever.

Consider, I pray you, the state of France; look upon Flanders; with what intestine wars France has for some time been raging, and is almost reduced to desolation; while

Flanders is lying before our eyes prostrate and overthrown. Each has suffered a loss which they would never have experienced, if they had in the smallest degree studied peace and concord. But now they have mutually enfeebled each other, and neither of them dares trust the other; since confidence is not easily restored to reconciled friends, and they are continually open to the charge of suspicion.

But with respect to Geneva, I admit that it is not very powerful; it is nevertheless a member of your body, and therefore the greater injury it sustains, the more deeply wounded is the whole of your Switzerland. And although some of you, who entertain a different opinion, do not consider this, yet let them beware lest they some time experience the truth of it to their own cost. The friendly intercourse that has for some years past existed between yourselves and the city of Geneva, to the great advantage of both parties, you should be induced to confirm by mutual offices of kindness, as becomes neighbours: for if that still remain constant and uninterrupted, what mischief could happen to either party, which would not affect the other?

Add to this that Geneva is the market and key to your territory, by which your enemies may easily be hindered from making war upon yourselves. But when Geneva is taken, you will then have to consider for yourselves what security remains for you. Indeed, that very thing which is now in dispute between you and those who abuse the tender age of a good prince, supplied a reason to your ancestors to bind themselves in alliance with the people of Geneva under all circumstances whatever. Wherefore if they were right in what they did, you yourselves will easily perceive how you ought to act in the defence of this Genevese cause, both for your own advantage and with the approval of almost all nations.

I entreat therefore, and with all kindness request your wisdom again and again, to vouchsafe, after the manner and courage of the Swiss, to bestow your strenuous exertions and active endeavours with respect to this affair, which is one of common interest both to yourselves and the people of Geneva; and that you will be unanimous in defending this neighbouring city from all stratagems and attacks, as far as lies in your power. I beg moreover, that you will not think it beneath

you to mitigate by your entreaties and intercession that ill-will, which this young prince has possibly conceived against your confederates, and to request his excellency to commit the matter to law, and prosecute it in a civil suit before competent judges; or rather let him know the whole state of the case, namely, how all things have been settled, and for what object; namely, that he will not have to deal with the Genevese only, but with the whole of confederate Switzerland; and that you are prepared to undergo any thing for them, who have hitherto offered and presented all their services and honours to his excellency; any thing, I say, that the pledged faith of your confederation shall seem to require. If you will do this, it will not only be to your perpetual honour and commendation among all nations, but you will also especially consult your own safety. Farewell.

From my palace at Oatlands, Sept. 1, 1583.

Your confederation's very loving,

ELIZABETH R.

LETTER CXXXIII.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE FOUR CITIES, &c.

Dated at OATLANDS, *Sept. 1, 1583.*

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France; and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To the mighty lords and most honourable consuls and senators of the four cities of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, our very dear friends.

Mighty lords, most honourable men, and very dear friends. To intercede with your piety on behalf of your allies, or to warn you of your danger now sufficiently foreseen and guarded against, would be an offence against our friendship, if we did it not out of entire affection for you: but as you will not be displeased that you are loved by us, and will plainly perceive that we are anxious for your common peace, we do not doubt but that our endeavours will be gratifying to you.

It is the affair and cause of the people of Geneva, that we commend to you; and which is neither alien from the communion of the same Christ and gospel that you profess, nor separate and estranged from the participation of your danger, inasmuch as they have the same enemies as yourselves; those namely, who, on account of the purity of the reformed religion which we profess, have conspired against the lives of all those who profess the gospel; and who indeed adopt various devices to overwhelm us separately, though they every where follow the same purpose and design. But since they are unable to attain their object by open violence, (for they would desire to cut us all off at one blow,) they lay their mines, and contrive secret artifices against us by severing us into parts, and mutually separating us from each other. And, in proportion as they are more active in this one object, namely, that they may divide us asunder, they render us more vigilant in cherishing and promoting concord among ourselves; and the sooner we perceive evil arising from the evil of our neighbours, the more active ought we to be in warding off from our neighbours an evil so near to ourselves, lest the contagion which by our fault has once begun to attack one member, may by an unavoidable fatality be extended over the whole body.

We have written thus briefly, that you may consider attentively, again and again, what ought immediately to be done under the present circumstances. And it is this; that you have a due concern for your allies; that you regard the danger which now seems to belong only to them, as your own in common: wherefore you must exert all your influence, all your assistance, all your endeavours for their relief; and agreeing among yourselves must at no time desist from their defence. This we have a right to request by reason of our friendship; and we shall never refuse you any thing, which you may think to appertain to the maintenance of your security. May your lordships live well and happily! Given from our palace at Oatlands, on the first of September, in the year of our Lord 1583, and of our reign the 25th.

Earnestly desiring your safety,

ELIZABETH R.

LETTER CXXXIV.

THE MINISTERS OF THE DUTCH CHURCH IN LONDON
TO THE LORD TREASURER.Dated at LONDON, [about *April* 16, 1591.]

THE ministers and elders of the Dutch church in London suppliantly set forth, that they have lately received letters from Dantzic¹ from their brethren who fled from Flanders, by which they understand that the church sojourning in those parts is unable to hold their meetings and godly exercises without difficulty and danger, by reason of some of the inhabitants who are hostile to religion, and who have not hesitated from time to time to disturb the meetings of the foreigners and accuse them of sedition. But since the afore-said foreigners, who require the free and open exercise of religion in their own language, are aware that a suitable place either within or without the city will not readily be granted them by the magistrates, unless the authority of some person of influence, and especially of the king of Poland who is the protector of that state, be exerted in their behalf; they humbly request that her most serene majesty, in addition to her other benefits conferred upon that kingdom, will, with her wonted benevolence towards all godly and oppressed strangers, graciously deign to procure from his majesty, the king of Poland, some favour in this respect also to the Flemish strangers. Whence they will not only be bound to offer their constant prayers to God for the long life and prosperous reign of her royal majesty, but also to shew their gratitude by rendering to this kingdom and the united provinces their faithful duty and service, in diligently giving such information as they may obtain respecting the attempts and designs of the Spaniards, or any other enemy.

Your most honoured lordship's devoted,

The ministers and elders of the Dutch church in London.

[¹ See Loscheri *Motus Relig.*]

LETTER CXXXV

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE KING OF POLAND.

Dated at GREENWICH, *April 16, 1591.*

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To the most serene prince and lord Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, our very dear brother and cousin.

We do not doubt but that your serene highness, and all other princes of Christendom, well understand in what manner we have been induced to succour the states of Lower Germany, now almost entirely overwhelmed by the tyranny of the Spaniards; since we were previously unable by our frequent embassies and intercessions both with Spain and the governors of the Low Countries to obtain for them any equitable conditions of peace. And there are three motives which have especially induced us to do this: first, the cause of the more pure religion which they professed in common with ourselves; next, the ancient rights of commerce and alliance with a neighbouring nation; and lastly, the numerous and manifest tokens which shewed that the same enemies would turn their arms against us and other princes professing the same religion, that they might extend the bounds of a monarchy which they unjustly claim. It has thus come to pass that many inhabitants of those regions have been compelled to migrate into different provinces, and, among the rest, into some of the cities in Prussia, subject to your serene highness; in which many of them are now afraid, lest by reason of some difference in certain articles of religion, they may not be allowed the enjoyment of such immunity and free exercise of their religion as shall be suitable to their language and the former rites in which they have heretofore been instructed. And since we are informed that these Flemish, who are dwelling either in the city of Dantzic or in other sea-ports of Prussia, are not of that class of men who seek to overturn the lawful government and introduce

anarchy, or who profess any heretical or impious error; we could not but, with our wonted affection towards the whole nation, commend them to your serene highness; entreating your serene highness, that, as it is plainly a royal act to deserve well of those who have been driven into exile from causes so honourable, your serene highness will exercise your authority in interceding with the magistrates of Dantzic, and others, if need be, that those parties who have migrated thither from Flanders may continue among them, without any difficulty or danger of this kind, the assemblies of the reformed religion, as they have been accustomed to do in their own country, and as they were for some time allowed in those cities; and that you will not suffer any injury to be done them, so long as they shall conduct themselves properly. For it cannot be either useful or honourable to your serene highness, nor to the cities themselves, to drive away strangers, and deny them the rights of hospitality, by reason of the evil disposition of certain individuals. Wherefore we earnestly request your serene highness to confer this benefit upon them for our sake, which we shall accept as a mark of the greatest kindness on the part of your serene highness, which we will repay in our turn to those who may be commended to us by your serene highness, whenever any opportunity shall present itself; and so we pray God for every happiness to your serene highness and your kingdom. From our court at Greenwich, April 16, 1591.

[ELIZABETH R.]

LETTER CXXXVI.

LORD STAFFORD TO WOLFGANG MEIER.

Dated at GREENWICH, *Aug.* 6, 1593.

MASTER Meier¹, I would willingly do what I can for you, and have done what I could; and the seniors of the

[¹ Wolfgang Meier, of Basle, was born in 1577, and after a diligent pursuit of his studies at home, came to England, where he was received with great kindness, and in consideration of the merits of his

college have with great alacrity most willingly allowed you fellow's commons. For your livery and books I have given an order in the queen's name to the most learned and illustrious master doctor Nevill, to give you ten pounds sterling a year, of which you will doubtless receive a portion every quarter. As to a chamber, they will, if possible, provide one for you, although it is a thing unheard of to allow to foreigners what is appropriated by the founders to our own countrymen. I therefore advise you, if they offer one, to receive it most gratefully: if they are unable to provide one, you need not much complain; for this also is true, that if you have a chamber, you must purchase a bed and other furniture, and I think that it will not either be useful or necessary for you to go to that expense for only one or two years; and it will cost you less to hire a small lodging near the college, than to spend your money upon those things which, when you wish to return to your country, you will not be able to sell for half their value. So farewell, and may God preserve you in safety! Greenwich, Aug. 6, 1593. Your very loving,

E. STAFFORD.

LETTER CXXXVII

THE STATE OF ZURICH TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Dated at ZURICH, *Aug. 12, 1600.*

To the most serene and mighty, the lady Elizabeth, of England, France, Ireland, and the surrounding Islands, queen, defender of the christian faith, our most benign mistress. Greeting. The laudable and pious zeal, with which, most

grandfather Bucer, was supported in the university of Cambridge, at the expense of queen Elizabeth. Having there distinguished himself in sound learning, he returned home through France, and eventually succeeded his father in his church at Basle. He became a public lecturer, and afterwards ordinary professor of theology, A.D. 1611; and was sent to the synod of Dort in 1618. He died in 1653. See Hoffman's *Lexicon Universale*.]

mighty queen, your most serene majesty has hitherto encouraged and favoured all foreigners studious of true godliness and of useful learning, and especially those who go over from our city to your majesty's famous universities, induces us, by reason of that most intimate connexion that exists between us in Christ, to present without hesitation this letter to your royal majesty, and afford you a fresh opportunity of manifesting the like regard. And we entreat your majesty to receive it with favour, as we confidently trust you will do.

Our beloved fellow-citizen Caspar Thoman¹, the bearer of this letter, has appeared before us, and, as he is inflamed with an ardent longing and desire of visiting your majesty's most flourishing universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and of pursuing his studies in some one of their colleges, if only he can obtain that favour from your kindness, he has humbly requested us to give him a recommendation to your most serene majesty, for the advancement of this laudable design, and which he himself doubts not will have very great weight with your majesty.

Having taken into consideration therefore his laudable petition, and having also ascertained that from the time when, first dedicated to the Muses, he began to attend our schools, he always reverently and dutifully conducted himself towards his teachers, lived well and soberly, and both at home and abroad, namely, at Geneva and Montpelier, diligently employed himself in the pursuit of useful learning and the liberal arts, by reason of which good qualities he was deservedly dear to all good men; we were unwilling to refuse compliance with his request.

Wherefore, O queen, we so entirely commend to your

[¹ Caspar Thoman or Toman, one of the pastors or teachers of the schools at Zurich, (of which city his grandfather by the male line had borne the office of prætor,) having been recommended by the professors, teachers, and ministers of the church and school there, to live among, and receive an exhibition from, the Oxonians, A. D. 1599, did spend several years there, and occurs one of the first persons that was entered a student in the public library, when first opened for use. He was a learned man, and read a lecture in the university; but, his education having been mostly at Geneva, did with other strangers of the like breeding so corrupt the students with their Calvinistical doctrine, that it was many years before it could be rooted out. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Ed. 1691, Vol. i. 786.]

serene majesty this excellent young man, now journeying into England, that we cannot possibly commend him with greater care, zeal, and diligence; to the end that he may be enabled to pursue the praiseworthy course of his studies in your majesty's most illustrious universities, and (if it can be done with propriety) in one of their colleges, to the honour and advantage of our country, and of that church of which we are respectively members most intimately connected with each other.

Should our Thoman be graciously favoured by your most serene majesty with this indulgence, it will not only be most gratifying to us, but we will omit no opportunity of returning it.

We should have written more fully upon this subject, only that we should thereby have appeared to doubt the kindness and good-will of your most serene majesty towards us, of which you have hitherto afforded such illustrious manifestations.

It only remains therefore that we pray and shall continue to pray God, that upon your most serene majesty, the most honourable nursing mother of the orthodox church, and most pious defender of the true faith, he will bestow every good, defend you from every evil, and especially from the arts of antichrist, and continue to bless your godly counsels, to the advancement of the glory of his name, and the maintenance of the security of that church of which the most flourishing kingdom of England is as it were the true Sarepta of this our age. Amen.

Written in our city, and confirmed by our usual seal.
Aug. 12, in the year of the last long-suffering of God 1600.

The Provost and Council
of the State of Zurich.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

CASPAR THOMAN TO CASPAR WASER¹.Dated at OXFORD, *Feb.* 1601.

PRAISE to God for evermore! In the year of the Saviour 1601. February. When I recall, my reverend patron, from time to time, with a most agreeable remembrance of them, the magnitude and extent of your favours, and acknowledge my too limited ability to return your kindness; I easily perceive that for such great deservings on your part I am unable to return any thanks, but that I do thank you in a very small degree, while I am indebted to you in the greatest. Since this is the case, I am under no slight apprehension lest you should think that I have not only let slip the remembrance of these things, but that also every thought about them has for ever escaped my memory; especially as so many days and months have passed since you have received any letter from me, by which I might at least testify my grateful inclination, though without the power of shewing my gratitude. But I hope that when you know the cause of my long silence, you will hold me excused.

You must know, first of all, my reverend patron, that I am in good health. I should be exceedingly glad to hear the like account of yourself. I will shortly state the situation in which my affairs are placed. When I arrived at Dieppe, I inquired after a vessel, and having met with one, I put out to sea, and reached Dover with a fair wind: from thence I proceeded straight to London, and there delivered your letter of recommendation to master Castoll², by whom I was courteously received. I then waited on the earl of Rutland³, who also read your letter, and promised me for your sake every

[¹ Caspar Waser was a minister at Zurich, and professor of Hebrew there in 1596. He married a daughter of Josiah Simler. In 1607 he was made a canon of Zurich, and professor of Greek, and in 1611 was appointed to the chair of theology. He died in 1625. Moreri.]

[² John Castoll was the minister of the French reformed church in London, "a discreet and learned man." Strype, *Whitgift*, II. 109.]

[³ Roger, fifth earl of Rutland, married the daughter of Sir Philip Sidney. He died in 1612.]

assistance: he told me, however, that he did not think that foreigners were admissible into our colleges, but he wrote to the queen's physician to advance my business at court. On the 7th of October I went to court, and meeting the physician as he was walking up and down before the palace, I gave him the earl's letter. When he had read it, he told me just as the earl had done, namely, that there were no colleges in which foreigners could be admitted. When I heard this, I lost all hope. I then waited upon Robert Cecil⁴, the principal secretary of England, (for every thing, as you know, intended for the queen passes through his hands,) with a petition that he would deign to present to the queen's majesty the letter of the senate of Zurich. This he promised to do, and I waited some days at court in the hope of soon receiving an answer. But when this did not arrive, I again called upon the secretary, an arrogant little fellow⁵ enough, to request him to intercede for me with the queen's majesty, that I might the more speedily obtain an answer. He at length told me to call again on the 15th of October, when he would give me the queen's answer. When therefore I returned to him on the day appointed, he harshly addressed me in this way, What do you want? I replied, The convenience of pursuing my studies in some college by the favour and liberality of the queen's majesty. He then said, What claims of merit do you possess, that you presume to make such a request? You do not know, he said, the constitution of this kingdom. The queen has read your letter; she will not do any thing thereupon: this was his official reply. Seeing myself disappointed of my hope, I took a journey to London, to complain to master Castoll, who condoled with me on the harsh conduct of the secretary. Meanwhile master James Meadows⁶, doctor in divinity, a man

[⁴ Sir Robert Cecil, the second son of lord Burghley, was lord privy seal and secretary of state in 1596, and on the accession of James I., he was created, 1603, Baron Cecil of Essington, in 1604 viscount Cranbourne, and in 1605 earl of Salisbury. He died in 1612 on his road from Bath; observing to Sir Walter Cope, "Ease and pleasure quake to hear of death; but my life, full of cares and miseries, desireth to be dissolved."]

[⁵ Sir Robert Cecil was somewhat deformed in his person.]

[⁶ James Meddows or Medowes D.D. in the university of Basle, was a Cheshire man, born, and had formerly studied arts and divinity at Heidelberg. He was in 1610 chaplain to Peregrine lord Willoughby,

illustrious both by nobility and learning, had heard that some persons from Zurich had lately arrived in London: he therefore sought us out with all diligence, and after having made a long search in all parts of the city, he found us out, and told us how exceedingly he was gratified by our coming. He gave Eppentianus and Werdmuller, who did not choose to remain in England any longer, money for their travelling expenses. I have not heard any thing from them since they returned to France. After their departure, doctor Meadows received me into his house, where I awaited the arrival of master Hungerford¹. In the meantime, with the aid of doctor Meadows, I visited every thing in London that was worth seeing. Hungerford came to London on the 24th of October: as soon as I knew it, I waited upon him with doctor Meadows; but he no longer recognized me: as soon, however, as I told him who I was, he embraced me with both arms. I then related to him the reason of my coming, and what had occurred to me at court. When he was made acquainted with the facts, he was moved with compassion, and comforted me, and begged me not to be cast down, for that in conjunction with doctor Meadows he would provide for me in another way. On the 30th of October I was forced to borrow from master Castoll twelve French crowns for my necessary expenses. While master Hungerford and doctor Meadows were deliberating about me, I fell into a most severe illness, in which doctor Meadows and his wife bestowed much kindness upon me, just as though I had been their own son. Christophel Schweitzer also came to see me at great expense. When God had restored my former health, masters Hungerford, Meadows, and Castoll determined among themselves that I should go to Oxford; for that the letter from the church at Zurich would probably have some weight there. On the 13th of December I again had recourse to master Castoll in great distress, imploring his assistance in lending me four French crowns more. My

and afterwards to king James I. He translated from High Dutch into English a sermon preached before Frederick V prince Elector Palatine and the princess Elizabeth, by Abraham Scultetus on Ps. 147. Lond. 1613. See Wood's Ath. Oxon. i. 809.]

[¹ Anthony Hungerford, son of Anthony Hungerford of Downe Ampney in Gloucestershire, was a Roman Catholic till 1588. He took the degree of M.A. in 1594, was knighted in 1607, and died 1627. Wood, as above, p. 436.]

illness cost me more money than I wished, so that I have now received from him sixteen crowns. I promised him, and confirmed it with my own signature, that I would repay it through you, my reverend patron, to Wolf at Frankfort. I have also fully written to my mother about this matter, and I earnestly request you, my reverend patron, to endeavour that master Castoll may receive the money he lent me, at the first opportunity; and that this may more easily be accomplished, I have been thinking about the exhibition of Funckius, which is at the disposal of my cousin Henry Thoman to bestow upon whomsoever he pleases. If I can obtain that, master Castoll can be paid with less inconvenience.

On the 14th of December I left London for Oxford, being supplied with letters of recommendation by masters Hungerford and Meadows. As soon as I arrived in Oxford, I delivered my private letter, and then the public one, to master Thomas Thornton², who is now vice-chancellor; and who, when he saw by whom the letter was written, expressed his gratification at receiving a letter from the famous church of Zurich, and moreover expressed his concern at not being able to assemble the university at that time; for that they were engaged in business of the greatest importance. I have been awaiting the reply of the university, and am expecting it up to this present day; for the vice-chancellor will give me an answer this week. I cannot be admitted into any college, but yet I think I shall obtain an honorary stipend³. But should I

[² July 12, 1583. Thomas Thornton, vice-chancellor of this university, canon of Christ Church, Worcester and Hereford, of which last place he was also chaunter, and about this time master of Ledbury Hospital in Herefordshire, was actually created D.D. He died Apr. 15, 1629, aged 88, and was buried in the parish church of Ledbury, where it is stated on his monument that he was born at Harrow on the Hill in Middlesex, that he was *purioris Latini sermonis author primarius*, that he was a benefactor to the poor people of Ledbury hospital, that he was a common refuge for young poor scholars of great hopes and parts, and tutor to sir Philip Sidney when he was at Christ Church. To which Wood adds, that he was also tutor to the learned William Camden, Clarencieux King of arms. See Wood's *Athen. Ox.* i. 754.]

[³ John Castoll writes to Waser, Feb. 11, 1600. "Since I wrote the above letter to you, doctor Gentile, the professor of Civil Law at Oxford, has informed me that the university has decreed, at a public meeting, to master Thoman a yearly stipend of twenty pounds."]

not receive any liberal assistance from the university, I shall return to London ; for there is a certain nobleman there who is very anxious for me to instruct his sons. I certainly experience the greatest kindness here from Dr Rainolds, the Phoenix of England. I pray you, if you think fit, to write to the following individuals, and thank them for their favours to me; masters Hungerford, Meadows, Castoll, Thomas Thornton, Rainolds, who is shortly about to publish his most learned works, and master Christophel Schweitzer.

It now remains for me to entreat that your dignity will at all times regard me with paternal love. I will take care that your dignity shall ever find me most grateful. Written in haste, at Oxford.

Your dignity's most devoted,

CASPAR THOMAN.

LETTER CXXXIX.

JOHN JOHNSTON¹ TO CASPAR WASER.

Dated at St Andrew's in SCOTLAND, *Aug. 1, 1601.*

GREETING. Your letter, my very learned and dear friend Waser, written on the 20th of last March, I received on the 20th of July ; and I am the more obliged to you for it, as I had not sent you a letter at the fair preceding. The reason of this was a most severe attack of splenitis, owing to which my immediate death was expected by every one. And the Lord had given me this disposition, that I was willing to depart. But my most merciful God has decreed it otherwise, and after this very severe winter has afforded me a farther breathing time ; but I cannot tell how long it may last. May the Lord grant that I may employ the remainder of this miserable life to the glory of his name !

Our country, by the divine blessing, is in the enjoyment

[¹ John Johnston was a native of Aberdeenshire: he studied for some years at the most celebrated universities on the continent, where he gained the friendship of the chief learned men. After some residence in England he returned to his native country, well reputed as a scholar, a poet, and a divine. Melville never ceased till he procured him to be associated in the work of theological instruction in the university of St Andrew's, where he was appointed professor of divinity in 1593. He died in October, 1611.]

of perfect tranquillity. After a most severe winter, such as was never known before, there succeeded a milder summer, whence there has arisen a better hope for the autumn, and a reduction in the price of wheat. Her most serene majesty brought forth her little son Charles² on the 19th of last November. Prince Henry³, who is flourishing, by God's blessing, both in mind and body, is educated with the greatest care at Stirling. His most serene majesty is now sojourning at Falkland in this neighbourhood. On the 12th of May last in the general assembly the solemn covenant⁴ with God was renewed by the most serene king in person, and the congregation of the whole church, respecting the advancement of the pure worship of God, the extirpation of popery, the rendering obedience agreeably to the law of God according to the calling of each individual, that piety and justice may flourish together. And certainly from that time the law has been strictly enforced against offenders. A certain notorious papist, son of the laird of Bondson⁵ near Montrose, was

[² Prince Charles, afterwards king Charles I. was born at Dunfermline, Nov. 19, 1600.]

[³ Henry, the eldest son of James I. was at this time about six years old. He was a youth of excellent promise, and died Nov. 6, 1613, to the universal grief of the English nation.]

[⁴ The general assembly met at Burntisland in May 1601. The conduct of James I. on this occasion is thus noticed by the writers of the time: "The king, as I heard, made a comfortable confession of his sins and his faith, and promised most weightily and solemnly to abhor all papistry, idolatry, and superstition, and to live and die in the true religion wherein he was brought up, and which was preached and professed within his realm of Scotland presently; also to execute justice and to do all duties of a godly and a christian king, better than ever before." *Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville*, Wodrow Society's edit. p. 494. See also M^c Crie's *Life of A. Melville*, Vol. II. p. 173, 4.]

[⁵ This name is incorrectly stated in the MS. It should have been written Bonytoun, of whom the following account is extracted from Calderwood's MS. Church History in the British Museum: "In the beginning of March [1601] mass was said in Edinburgh, in Andrew Naper's house, in Helene Sempill's chamber, at sundry times, by Mr Alexander Mackquhirrie. A little before this time, the young laird of Bonytoun and laird of Latoun, with their complices, brake up the old laird of Bonytoun's house in Angus, and took away all the evidences and other plenishing belonging to old Bonytoun, father to the said Bonytoun the younger; and within five or six days after resorted openly to Edinburgh, and were at the mass aforesaid. Bonytoun the

executed in the month of May for a most atrocious crime committed against his parents. Blessed be God, and may he give us grace both to will and to do well! John Erskine¹ together with Edward Bruce of Kinloss, having discharged a most honourable embassy to the English, shortly after the decease of the earl of Essex² so much lamented by all good men, and calamitous³ to the whole island, on his return appeared to renounce all cheerfulness. The rivalry of secretary Robert Cecil⁴ is said to have injured Essex much

younger and Latoun were apprehended, put in ward, presented to an inquest, and accused criminally for the said theft allaverlie [only]; were convicted thereof, and consequently of treason, and the doom given out upon them to be executed.—Upon Monday the 27th of April the laird of Bonytoun was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh, betwixt six and seven in the morning, by a commission from the king directed to the bailiffs of Edinburgh, timeously in the morning; for howbeit great intercession was made by Huntley, Errol, Hume, and others, yet the ministers were instant with the king to have a proof of his sincerity. He died an obstinate papist, ever looking for pardon till the last gasp. He pretended he suffered for the catholic Roman religion, but it was no point of his dittay. Only the stealing of his father's evidences and writs was laid to his charge."

There is in the same MS. a monitory letter of John Davidson to the assembly, in which, among other things, it is stated: "But Bonytoun is executed! A famous thief in the highest degree, for his vile theft is punished! What is that to the cause of religion, whereof was no question, as worthily might have been? Is there no papist, idolater, nor wilful favourer and maintainer of papists in Scotland but Bonytoun? Speer [inquire] and see."

[¹ As soon as James heard of Essex's ill success, he appointed the earl of Mar, and Bruce, abbot of Kinloss, to repair as his ambassadors to the court of England. The former of these was the person by whose means Essex had carried on his correspondence with the king. They were commanded to solicit in the warmest manner for the earl's life, but he had suffered before their arrival. Elizabeth, though no stranger to the king's correspondence with Essex, was not willing it should be known to the public; and in order to sooth James, and preserve the union between the two courts, increased his subsidy. Robertson, Scotland, III. 166. A somewhat different statement is given by Lingard, v. 593. See also Birch's Memoirs, II. 510.]

[² The earl of Essex was beheaded in the Tower, Feb. 25, 1601.]

[³ Lingard says of the ambassadors, that "they found the adherents of Essex plunged in the deepest despair, the people in a state of discontent, and Cecil possessing in reality the exercise of the sovereign power."]

[⁴ The behaviour of sir Robert Cecil on Essex's trial is related

more than the crimes laid to his charge. Affairs are now quiet, but it is to be feared lest the mass of discontent at the death of Essex and other noblemen should break out into open violence. The lord Lewis Stuart⁵, of royal blood, duke of Leven, embarked on the tenth of July on his way to France as ambassador with a noble and splendid retinue, to confirm the ancient and hitherto unviolated alliance between the two nations; and to congratulate the king of the French upon his kingdom being confirmed to him, upon his victories, and his late marriage. These are the ostensible grounds; the secret ones are not made known. Masters Melvin⁶, Murray, Moniepennie⁷, and your other friends are all well by God's blessing, and lovingly salute yourself and Howe. I most affectionately and dutifully salute all the pastors and professors, your most learned colleagues, whom I pray you to call upon individually, together with master Stuckius⁸, my friend Simler, and Erne. Most devoted as I am to you and your honourable city, I pray for you every happiness from God. I request you dutifully to salute for me by letter master Benedict Erlach the father, and Wolfgang his son, my pupil, together with the whole family. Illness has prevented my writing. Continue to refresh us all by writing on the state of your affairs and those of the Genevese and the neighbouring churches. Farewell, all of you, most happily. St Andrew's in Scotland, Aug. 1, 1601.

Yours wholly,

JOHN JOHNSTON.

in Camden, Eliz. 617. The French ambassador, Boissise, describes in a letter of March 26, 1601, how Essex and Cecil contended for the first place in the favour of Elizabeth. Raumer, 16th cent. II. 174. An account of the two factions is given in Robertson, Hist. Scotland, III. 161.]

[⁵ In July 1601, Lodowick, duke of *Lennox*, was sent in an embassy to France rather for confirming the old amity and friendship than for any business else. Spotswood, Hist. of church of Scotland, p. 465.]

[⁶ Andrew Melville is doubtless here intended.]

[⁷ David Moniepenmie was dean of Faculty at St Andrew's, and one of the high commission named in 1610.]

[⁸ John William Stuckius was the author of a treatise on the festivals of the ancients, and their sacrifices. He also wrote a commentary upon Arrian. See Melchior Adam.]

LETTER CXL.

JOHN JOHNSTON TO CASPAR WASER.

Dated at ST ANDREW'S, in Scotland, *Feb. 8, 1602.*

GREETING. At the end of last July, most excellent Waser, I prepared a letter to you, which I thought I had sent in time to be forwarded to Frankfort by the September fair; but our friend Hart has since informed me that it was not sent thither in time, owing to the loitering of the bearers. I am, nevertheless, surprised that your usual practice of so lovingly writing to me and your old friends in this neighbourhood, and which has always given the greatest pleasure to us all, was interrupted at the late fair. We therefore all of us entreat you constantly to continue to refresh us with the most agreeable gales breathing from your snowy Alps as far as ourselves. Even the shortest letter from you will delight us exceedingly. As to myself, you may be assured that as long as I have life and health, I will send a letter to you every fair. At present, however, want of time will excuse a brevity which is also imposed upon me by my state of health, which has for some days been rather unfavourable, in consequence of the return of that disease of the spleen which had almost killed me last year, and which, as far as I can see, my brother, will by degrees carry me off, or rather lead me away; for I shall most willingly and readily follow the guidance of my most merciful God, who very lately, on the 20th of December, has sent before me your acquaintance, Thomas Cargill, the schoolmaster of Aberdeen, and that too at a time when he was in excellent health. And it will not perhaps be long before I follow him. Meanwhile the Lord renews my hope of a better life, and has also renewed my hope of a longer life in this world, by having given me another little son, Edward, on the 15th of January. And about the same time, namely, on the 18th of January, a third son, who is not yet named, was born to our most serene king. The princes Henry and Charles, with the princess Elizabeth, are by God's blessing alive and well.

We are, by God's blessing, in the enjoyment of peace

both in church and state. But the plague is threatening us very sadly. For it has begun to shew itself at Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and Crail, a town about six miles from hence. England is at this time very much refreshed by the defeat of the whole Spanish army¹ in Ireland, by the mercy of God, and the valour of lord Mountjoy. The Spanish had formed a conspiracy in Ireland with the earl of Tyrone, an Irish rebel, and had been meditating to bring the war into England from the opposite coast. But the Lord dissipated these designs. Certain intelligence of this has, within these few days, been sent to our most serene king, and thanksgiving was publicly made in the churches.

With respect to French, and Spanish, and Flemish news, you are better informed than we are. The blockade of Ostend is continued, as it were by miracle, through the whole of this winter, nor have the enemy much hope of reducing it; for the English chiefly, together with some Scots and French, under colonel sir Francis Vere², a most valiant knight, are holding it for the Flemish. All your friends here, to whom I communicate your letters, entreat you, as I also do, to continue to give us information as to your own affairs, and those of the Genevese. They bear you in their remembrance, and most affectionately salute you, namely, the Melvins, Monie-pennie, Blake, Murray, and the rest.

I beg my dutiful and affectionate respects to masters Stuckius, Zuingle, Lavater, and your worthy colleagues, especially to my dear friends, masters Simler and Erne, to whom with yourself, your wife, and her father, I wish everlasting happiness.

St Andrew's, in Scotland, Feb. 8, 1602.

Yours wholly,

JOHN JOHNSTON.

[¹ This army consisted of four thousand men, under the command of Don Juan D'Aguilar. They landed at Kinsale, Sept. 21, and were joined by the earl of Tyrone and others some days after. The united forces were defeated by lord Mountjoy, on the 21st of December, with the loss of twelve hundred men. Camden, 643; Lingard, 598.]

[² An account of this siege is given by Camden, Eliz. 633, &c.]

LETTER CXLI.

THOMAS SAVILE¹ AND HENRY HAWKINS TO H. WOLFIUS.

[Without date or place.]

MOST excellent and much esteemed sir, and my very dear friend, it is very annoying to me, that my arrangements are so formed that a day or two is not left me for the inspection of your own and your father's labours: but what the pressure of time has deprived us of to our very great discomfort, your kindness, I hope, will sometime or other altogether replace and restore; and will at least favour us with the index of your father's lucubrations, by which we may be able in some measure to alleviate our extreme regret. That we may return the favour, we will diligently take care that the canon of Ptolemy shall be forwarded to you, and whatever else may be in our power. The book that you inquire after was published at Altorf with this title, "Gemini² *εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰ φαινόμενα.*" Farewell, most illustrious sir, and "go on, my friend, with prosperous foot, where virtue leads the way."

Your most devoted,

THOMAS SAVILE, } English
HENRY HAWKINS, } gentlemen.

[¹ Thomas Savile was a younger brother of sir Henry Savile. He was elected fellow of Merton, in the register of which college it is said of him: *Fuit sidus lucidissimum, qui apud suos et exteros literarum et virtutis fama ac morum urbanitate percelebris, &c.* Athen. Oxon.]

[² The title of this work is *Γεμίνου εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰ φαινόμενα*. Gemini probatissimi philosophi ac mathematici *Elementa Astronomiæ*, Græce ac Latine, interprete Edone Hilderico D. Altorfii, 1590. Geminus lived in the time of Sylla and Cicero.]

Lubetis nostro. Clusio. optimo Jordano. mesq. Advea.
et Beatorum omnium reverentem. doctoratissimo, et omnium doctoru
reuerentissimo (est uero nū fallor de Sacuola et Crasso.) ita
mea officia definas utilius qui eos omnes amat, et cupit eis
singulis gratificari et inseruire. Item uale mi Huberte
In Anb. Regia. 10^o Octobris 1500.

I mi Amantissimus.
Philippus Sidneus

H. C. S. A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. V. W. X. Y. Z.

W. C. S.

W. S. M. S.

F. Bedford

Letter to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy

Very Truly
Your Obedient Servant

Wm. S. M. S.

Wm. S. M. S. Secretary of the Navy

Wm. S. M. S. Secretary of the Navy

Wm. S. M. S.

S. F. D. Occupationibus est factu mens, et quidam
corporis impotentia (ut interim taceam rei familiaris inopiam)
ne una cum clavis: vixis D. Buelere, duogz Richardo, iter istu
mit facerem Quam agere autem vobis iam absim, paucis equis
dem non dicam Valde in cupio profens vestrum contemplari recessa.

Mib Tug Courduz

S. D. Vt p tuas litteras a meo regis Vir clavis, que de vobis An-
ghes labro, paucis idicabo, Edingiu rder Philippu regem Hispaniarum
et regina anglicis ia est imito, conditioas h r dicitur esse R. eignodiviz
anglicam Hispaniam admodu paucis comitatur Rex Martyr.

est Placitum est. Vbi nam. à lator. Vbi
tristitia vnguentis. Vbi creantur ca:
vntis. Vbi pfectiora pntia vbi
immediatij nisi boni. pte nteresse
iustis. tunc fuit digne. tanto pax
has est tunc tunc tunc

B—Wingery by

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I. HIEROME ZANCHIUS¹ TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Dated at HEIDELBERG, *Sept.* 10, 1571.

WE have been informed, most serene and most christian queen, to our exceeding grief, that the flame of discord respecting certain vestments, which we thought had been extinguished long since, has been stirred up afresh as though from hell, and rekindled, to the incredible offence of all godly persons, in your majesty's kingdom. And the occasion of this flame has originated from hence; forasmuch as your most serene majesty, at the persuasion of some individuals, excellent in other respects, and actuated by a zeal (though certainly not according to knowledge) for preserving uniformity in religion, has now more than ever formed the resolution, and decreed, willed, and commanded that all bishops and ministers of churches should be attired, during the performance of divine service, in the white linen garments that the mass-priests wear in the popish religion. And there is great reason to fear lest this fire be kindled, and send forth its flames far and wide; and that all the churches of that most flourishing and powerful kingdom be consumed, to the perpetual dishonour of your most serene majesty: for that the greater number of them are bishops, men distinguished both for learning and piety, who choose rather to give up their office and stations than to admit such vestments against their conscience, as being relics, or at least symbols, of idolatry and popish superstition, and to defile themselves therewith, and offend the weaker brethren by their example. But what else were this, than for the sake of those vestments to destroy the whole body of the church? For that doubtless is Satan's great object, by sowing the seeds of dissension among the bishops. This also was his aim in the early ages of the church, when he stirred up between the eastern and western churches the dispute respecting Easter², and other

[¹ The original Latin of this letter, from which the present translation is made, is printed in the *Epistolæ Zanchii*, Lib. I. p. 423, Hanoviæ, 1609. A translation of it will also be found in *A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies*, 1633.]

[² The Asiatic bishops commemorated Christ's death on the 14th of March, on whatever day of the week it happened, as being the day on which the Jews kept their passover. Hence it arose, for the most part, that the festival of Easter was held on other days of the week

ceremonies of the like kind. Wherefore it was not without reason that Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in a letter¹ sent from France to Rome, sharply rebuked pope Victor, who, through a strange kind of zeal, but certainly not according to knowledge, desired to excommunicate all the Asiatic churches, because they would not celebrate Easter at the same time as they did at Rome. For this was nothing else than, through an unseasonable desire of retaining the same ceremonies in every church, to divide and tear in pieces the unity of the churches. As soon therefore as I heard that so great a destruction was impending over the church of Christ in that kingdom, I forthwith, from the duty which I owe as well to the church of Christ as to your serene majesty, and in fine to your whole realm, determined to write to you, and to endeavour to the best of my power to find out a remedy for so great an evil; some persons who fear Christ, and are friendly to your most serene majesty, exhorting me to undertake this office. But I had scarcely begun to turn it over in my mind, when, lo! our most illustrious prince commanded me to put it into execution; by which command indeed he has not only added spurs to me who was already going on of my own accord, but has also imposed upon me the necessity of writing. Your most serene majesty, therefore, will be the less surprised at this my boldness, since I am writing, not so much of my own inclination, and by the advice of my friends, as at the command of my most illustrious sovereign and your most serene majesty's great friend. But in the first place I have thought it most expedient for me to advise your majesty of what is your duty under existing circumstances; and then humbly to pray you, through Jesus Christ our Lord, resolutely to perform it. And I entreat your most serene majesty to take in good part this my writing: for it proceeds from christian love towards the church, and from the singular respect which I so abundantly entertain towards your most serene majesty. The Lord knoweth all things. And now to the subject.

than the first. For an account of the controversy, which began in the time of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and was revived in the episcopate of Victor, towards the end of the second century, see Du Pin, i. 60. Mosheim, Cent. II. ii. ch. ix.]

[¹ The substance of that letter is in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. v. ch. 24.]

When the apostle, writing to Timothy², orders prayers to be made for kings, and for all that are in authority; and declares that the end of their being placed in authority is, that we may lead a quiet life in all, that is, in perfect, godliness and honesty; he teaches with sufficient clearness what is the duty of godly kings and princes: namely, that they should take care and provide above all, that true religion and the true worship of God, if it has been banished, should be restored; and when restored, preserved in all its integrity; all things which in any wise savour of impiety being driven away: in the next place, that men should live honestly and holily, all kind of impurity and licentiousness being put to flight: lastly, that a public peace and holy friendship be cultivated among the people, all occasions of discord being removed as far as possible. That these are the three principal parts of the kingly office, and of that of every godly magistrate, is not only, as we have seen, openly taught by the apostle, but all men of learning, and who entertain proper notions of the duty of a magistrate, with one consent and one mouth confirm the same. And this being the case, I do not see how your most serene majesty can, with a good conscience, propose to the consciences of godly bishops the resumption of the habits in question, and other things of that kind which still savour of popish superstition, and which have once been banished from the churches; and so propose them, as by your command to compel the adoption of them. For first of all, this is repugnant to the chief and principal part of the kingly office. For if the magistrate is especially to provide that the worship of God may be maintained in all its integrity; and if on this account all things are to be removed, which can any wise violate this worship either of their own nature or incidentally; and therefore all things are, as far as possible, to be restored according to the rule of God's word, and the ancient and apostolic, and consequently purer and more simple, form of religion; in fine, if, as the apostle enjoins, we are to abstain, not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil; how, I pray you, most serene and godly queen, can you introduce, by your royal mandate, into the church of God those things which are repugnant to the purity of apostolic worship; which savour of popish superstition; which neither

[² See 1 Tim. ii. 2.]

tend to the edification of the godly, nor to order, or ornament, except such as is meretricious; and which, lastly, can bring no advantage to the church, but on the contrary may occasion it much mischief? It is certain that by this law respecting the habits all godly persons will be offended; the ungodly will laugh in their sleeve, and hence hope for further concessions; while the middle sort, that is, those who have but lately turned from impiety to godliness, but are not yet sufficiently established, will be in danger; and, if we may speak from human judgment, will rather look back upon that ancient superstition to which we are inclined by nature, than fix their eyes firm and stedfast upon true religion: so that this decree will not in the least advance godliness, while it may probably tend very much to the advancement of ungodliness. For though these habits are not of themselves, that is, of their own nature, evil or unclean, yet they cannot be altogether free from impurity by reason of their having been previously and so recently abused. It certainly cannot be denied, but that they may at least afford occasion to much mischief and to the grossest superstitions. But we are to avoid even the occasions of evil. To what end then will you obtrude those things upon the church, from which no benefit, but very great harm, must be expected? for this is to tempt God.

Your most serene majesty should remember that it is not written without a cause, that "whoever touches pitch shall be defiled by it." Nor did the apostle command us without reason to purge away the old leaven, because "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Nor were the Jews unadvisedly rebuked by Hosea for having transplanted the shoots of superstition from Israel into their garden, that is, into the true church. It is most evident, most godly queen, that we ought to have no business whatever with the papists in matters of religion, except in such things as they have in common with the apostles. Wherefore, I pray you, are certain kings, although godly in other respects, rebuked in scripture, for not having taken away the high places in which Jehovah was wont to be worshipped before the building of the temple by their pious forefathers? Assuredly because, after the building and appointment of the temple, God would no longer permit any vestiges to remain of any

other place of worship. So also upon the manifestation of Christ's kingdom the Aaronic ceremonies and garments ought no longer to have any place. Wherefore the apostles very properly took care that they should be done away with after the ascension of Christ, so that not even any relics should remain. But if they piously removed them, the papists must impiously have restored them. And who is there so ignorant as not to know which it is best to follow, the godly simplicity of the apostles, or the ungodly pomp of the papists?

Your most gracious majesty may believe me, that the restoration of such popish vestments will be a far greater evil than may appear at the first glance, even to those who are most sharp-sighted. For I seem to see and hear the monks calling out from their pulpits, and confirming their people in this ungodly religion by your majesty's example, and saying, "What? why, the queen of England herself, most learned and prudent as she is, is beginning by degrees to return to the religion of the holy Roman church; for the most holy and consecrated vestments of the clergy are now resumed. It is to be hoped that she will also at length restore to their former position all the other doctrines, rites, and sacraments of the holy Roman church." This and similar language, most prudent queen, will the monks and Jesuits doubtless make use of from their pulpits; for they will let slip no occasion of establishing their superstitions. What else is it then, to re-introduce at this time these filthy vestments, and the other rubbish of the popish church into the church of Christ, than to afford an opportunity to the papists, and that a most excellent one, of confirming themselves and their people in their superstitions, and indeed to lend them, as it were, assistance towards this very object? But let us hear the prophet¹, who said to Jehoshaphat king of Judah, when he joined affinity with Ahab, "Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord." And what else would this thing be, than to turn away the weak from the love of pure religion, and tacitly to recommend them to look back upon and return into Egypt? For a falling back unto ungodliness is easy to weak men, inasmuch as we are all of us by our very nature inclined to superstitions. So far therefore ought we to

[¹ Jehu. See 2 Chron. xix. 2.]

be from affording any occasions of relapsing into ungodliness, that they should be altogether removed. What, I pray you, did God mean, when he forbade men “to plough with an ox and an ass together;” and provided that the same field should not be sown with divers seeds; and that men should not wear a garment of woollen and linen together¹? It is odious and abominable to God, that the same field of the Lord should be tilled by ungodly and godly bishops at the same time; that in the same church the doctrine of popery be taught at the same time with the doctrine of the gospel; that, lastly, sacraments, ceremonies and rites, made up of apostolic and popish ones, be brought into use; and the church be clothed with them, as it were with a garment made of woollen and linen together. For what agreement hath light with darkness? Such a mingling together, that is, one so abominable and wicked, should also be detested by ourselves. And therefore the things which are not of God, but of those who have defiled the worship of God, are to be altogether cast off: and this is what the Lord himself commanded to be done, when he ordered that all the property of those persons who should persuade the people to go after strange gods, should be entirely destroyed, and their raiment and all their goods burned with fire, and that in the middle of the market-place; namely, to shew his abomination of such seducers, and that they might be accursed of the Lord². And who does not know that these raiments are also included among the goods of the Roman deceiver? “And there shall cleave (he saith) nought of the cursed thing to thine hand, that the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger, and multiply thee, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers.” What else then is the introducing of these garments, the ornaments of antichrist, into the church of Christ, but provoking the Lord to anger, and kindling his wrath against us? We may be well assured that no true friend of Christ will ever entertain the ornaments of antichrist in his own house, much less bear them in the church of Christ. For who would endure his enemy’s coat of arms in his house, and especially in the most honourable place? And if God will have any thing to be destroyed and abolished, who are we, that we dare to set it up afresh?

[1 These prohibitions are recorded in Deut. xxii. 9—11.]

[2 See Deut. xiii. 12, &c.]

But God, after the death of Christ, would have all the Aaronic and Levitical vestments abolished: and in our time he has every where declared with sufficient clearness, that he would have all the ungodly and vain popish ceremonies, pomps, impostures, and trickeries chased away by the splendour of the gospel; inasmuch as they are of no avail towards the kindling of godliness, but tend very much to the extinguishing of it.

Nor indeed am I able to perceive what is the ultimate object proposed by these vestments, unless it be in fact (to come now to another head) to disgrace and dishonour the beautiful face, yea, the whole body of the church of England reformed according to the gospel: just as if a modest and honourable daughter of some king were to be clothed in the raiment wherewith some notorious and well-known harlot was wont to be attired, and, thus arrayed, compelled to go forth in public. But who would approve of this, or think such a thing to be endured? Wherefore, even if for no other reason, at least on this account, vestments of this kind ought not to be obtruded upon the church of Christ; because the Roman harlot has abused them, though they be not evil in their own nature, and still continues to abuse them to evil, and to conceal her harlotries, or rather to allure men to commit fornication. For all these pomps and popish ceremonies are nothing else but meretricious adornments, contrived for the purpose of alluring men to spiritual fornication. Is it not then a shameful thing to have them in the church of Christ? If the brasen serpent which had been ordained by God, and that too for the healing of the Israelites, was taken away by the godly king Hezekiah, because the Israelites abused it contrary to the word of God; and if Hezekiah was greatly commended for this act, namely, for having reduced that serpent to ashes, and commanding them to be cast into running water, that there might remain no vestige of it whatever; how much rather are these impure garments, which the apostles never used, but which are adopted by the Roman harlot in her idolatrous worship, and for the seduction of mankind, to be banished from the church of God! Nor indeed is it decent, that things which have been long made use of to the dishonour of God, even if they be in themselves indifferent, should be retained in the church to

the peril even of the salvation of godly persons. Much less then should this kind of vestment, which is nothing else than an invention of man, or rather of Satan, devised for the seduction of the simple.

There is none of us who is ignorant of the commendation deserved by those states which provide by law against their citizens wearing strange apparel, and will not introduce them into the commonwealth, because they are the corrupters of good and pure morals, and therefore of the commonwealths themselves. How then can the counsel which is given to your majesty ever be commended; namely, that vestments unknown to the christian commonwealth in the time of the apostles and their immediate successors should be introduced into the church of Christ? For if a strange mode of apparel be not tolerated in well constituted states, how much less are idolatrous and gentile garments to be endured in the church, where God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and where he requires but few ceremonies, and those of the most simple character? If too God has provided by law that the woman should not wear the garments of the man, nor, conversely, the man wear those of the woman, because both of these things are in themselves shameful and unseemly, and contrary to nature; why then must godly bishops and servants of Christ be attired, or rather degraded and deformed, in the habits of the ungodly mass-priests and bond-slaves of antichrist? Why should we not rather, as we are of a different religion, be distinguished from them also by external signs, such as the vestments are, at least in the performance of those duties which appertain to the worship of God? God certainly willed this, and required it of his people, that they should be distinguished from the profane gentiles even by a different kind of dress; and thus he declared by this public sign, that he would not let them have any thing in common with the gentiles. And why should not we also do the same? Are we not the people of God? Does not the justice of the same precept still remain? And if what is honest is so called from honour, what honour, I ask, would it be to the church of Christ to have their bishops in the ministry of the gospel and sacraments attired and masked in the disguise of popery, so as to be rather objects of ridicule to all, than of vene-

ration to the people? And in what kind of honour will your most serene majesty be held by true churches and true believers, when you allow such fooleries to be re-introduced into your church? It is not therefore becoming, that godly bishops should be compelled to take up such masks. Nor indeed is the thing itself either worthy of honour and commendation, nor does it deserve the name of virtue. For suppose your most serene majesty were to issue a decree, that every Englishman should lay aside his ancient dress, most grave and decent as it is, and put on the Turkish robe, or array himself in a military dress, as they call it: who, I ask, would commend such a decree as a proper one? Much less then is it to be commended, that godly bishops be required, having laid aside or at least altered that ancient and becoming attire, which was used even by the apostles, namely, a common dress, but decent and becoming, to put on the ridiculous and execrable garments of the ungodly mass-priests.

And as it respects the third branch of the kingly office, nothing can be better devised, than a plan of this kind, to disturb the public peace. For all novelties, in religion especially, either, if evil, disturb the peace of themselves; or, if harmless, afford accidental occasion for men to contend with each other, the evil namely with the good. But as in things which are good in themselves (as, for instance, in the reformation of the churches according to the will of God) the disturbing of an ungodly peace, that is, of the peace of the world, is to be disregarded, (for Christ came not by his preaching to preserve such a peace, but rather to destroy it, and send a sword;) so assuredly, to disturb the peace of the churches, and to set the good and bad, or even the good only, at variance with each other, by insisting upon things indifferent, is a thing so evidently unjust, as to admit of no defence: wherefore on this ground it was that Irenæus rebuked Victor the Roman bishop, as has been above stated. For in such cases the churches must of necessity be split into factions, than which what can be more injurious? The instances which every where occur in ecclesiastical histories confirm openly and clearly enough what I say. How many and how great disturbances, I pray, were stirred up in the primitive church between those who, in addition to the gospel, urged also the observance even of circumcision and of the law, and those

who very properly rejected them? And what mischiefs would this dispute have farther occasioned to the church of Christ, unless the apostles had met the evil in time, by assembling the synod at Jerusalem, and taking due cognizance and consideration of the matter by the plain testimony of the scriptures and by valid reasons? If your most serene majesty, as it is your duty, desires both to be and to appear apostolic, you must imitate the apostles in this matter: neither must you impose this yoke upon the necks of the disciples of Christ yourself, nor allow it to be imposed on them by others. And if you perceive that the bishops disagree among themselves upon this subject, you should call a synod, and take care that the controversy be determined and judged of by the scriptures; and then at length, whatever may have been proved upon clear evidence and solid grounds, you should set it forth for the observance of all parties, and order it to be observed by act of parliament, and so remove all contention from the church. For it is your most serene majesty's especial duty to provide, that no change or innovation shall be made in religion, except according to the word of God. By these means the true peace and concord and unity of the churches will be preserved. But should the contrary take place, what else will be the result than the destruction of unity, and the disturbance of christian peace?

Nor do I think that I ought to pass over in silence, that by this novelty not only will the public peace be disturbed in that kingdom, but also elsewhere out of the kingdom will an occasion be afforded to many persons of stirring up new contentions in the churches; and that not without great injury to godliness, and hinderance of the course of the gospel. For no one is ignorant, that almost all the churches which have deserted the Roman pontiff for the sake of the gospel, not only do not adopt such vestments, but even regard them with abomination. Not however but that there are others, though very few in comparison with the former, who still retain those vestments that were made use of in popery, just as they obstinately retain some other things; and that for this reason, because at the first the reformers of those churches, great men in other respects, and most faithful servants of God, did not dare (nor indeed did they judge it expedient) entirely to take away every thing that was papistical. But,

as is always the case, every one is in love with his own plans. And I call a man's own, not so much what each has devised of himself, as also what every one makes choice of, receives, retains, adopts for himself, when it has been devised by others. But when the examples of others are brought forward, they become more and more confirmed in those things; and not only confirmed, but also use all their endeavours, and by their speeches and writings, yea, their hands and feet, they leave no stone unturned so that they may bring every one else into their way of thinking. We easily perceive then what will be the consequence, if your most serene majesty should adopt that counsel, which is recommended to you by I know not whom, about the adoption of the vestments and other things pertaining to popery. For some evil disposed persons, stirred up by your majesty's example, will write and disperse throughout all Germany little treatises upon these things which they call indifferent; namely, that it is allowable to introduce them; yea, and that they must of necessity be admitted, to the end that the papists may be less estranged from us, and that we may thus come more nearly to an agreement with each other. As if the papists, even though we were to allow all these things for the sake of peace, would ever alter any doctrine, and banish from their churches, or by any other means lay aside their false and impious dogmas, their open and abominable superstitions and mad idolatries. Then there will not be wanting those who will reply to such books, should they be dispersed: so that from this flame, kindled in England, will arise also a new conflagration in Germany and France, on which the papists will sprinkle cold water. An excellent benefit in truth! Who then does not now perceive that this design has no other tendency than the general unsettling of the churches? On the whole, that golden saying of some learned man is most true and certain and confirmed by long experience, "that matters of indifference, that is, the question respecting matters of indifference, is the golden apple of discord."

And thus have I said enough with respect to the disturbance of the public peace. But what shall I say of the consciences of individual believers? The dispute itself teaches us, that they are disturbed beyond measure by the order about wearing the lincn surplice. For their complaints are

so vehement, that their querulous lamentations and groans penetrate into and are heard even in Germany. And holy scripture informs us how grievous an offence it is and hateful to God, to disquiet the consciences of the godly; partly, when it commands us not to grieve the Holy Spirit, nor to offend the weak; and partly, when it denounces heavy punishments upon those who make no scruple of doing these things; and partly too, when it proposes the examples of the saints, and of Paul especially, who thus speaks: "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend." (1 Cor. viii. 13.) For in these words he affords by his example a general rule taken from the doctrine of Christ; namely, that nothing indifferent is to be admitted, much less enforced upon others, and still less commanded by act of parliament, if in admitting, enforcing, or commanding it the consciences of the faithful are offended. For a tender and God-fearing conscience is a most precious thing, and very acceptable to God. How then can we approve the design of setting forth by royal mandate a law respecting wearing the sacerdotal vestments in the ministry? For, to comprehend many things in few words, if vestments of this kind are to be proposed to the faithful, they must either be proposed as indifferent, or essential. If the latter, we act ungodlily, in making those things necessary, that Christ would have free: if the former, they must then be left free to the churches. For by commanding and enforcing them we make them essential instead of free, and thus fall into the same offence. Then again, they are either instituted of God by Moses; or delivered by Christ, to wit, God manifest in the flesh; or ordained by the Holy Spirit acting and speaking in the apostles; or else by men, either godly or ungodly. The ceremonies and Levitical vestments, which were instituted of God by Moses, were all of them by the will of God to cease upon the death of Christ; as is every where evident from the scriptures, especially from the epistles of Paul to the Colossians and Hebrews. For which reason they cannot be restored without a transgression of the divine will. It cannot be said that they were delivered by Christ, since there is not a word extant upon this subject; but rather, on the contrary, he plainly taught more than once, that the end of all the Mosaic

ceremonies had arrived. I assert and affirm the same respecting the apostles. It remains therefore, that they must be allowed to have been ordained of men. If of godly men, they were either ordained by them to edification, or order, or decency. But now they neither tend to edification, that is, to the advancement of godliness, but rather on the contrary make for its overthrow, as we have before seen: neither do they tend to any good order, but rather to disorder; for by their means godly bishops are confounded with ungodly ones; whereas it is fitting that they should be distinguished from each other, even by their dress: nor lastly, do they add to the comeliness of the spouse of Christ; as has been proved by me a little before. They ought not therefore to be allowed by us. And as to what has been devised by men destitute of the Spirit of God, with that we have nothing to do. Lastly, the apostles did not use these vestments. For we have no authentic evidence that they did. But the church, as in doctrine, so also in ceremonies and vestments, is to be framed after the model of the apostolic church. To what end therefore are these vestments in the church? By whose authority can they be defended? What benefit or salutary use can accrue from them to the christian people? But it has been proved by us on the contrary, that godliness is weakened by them; the pure worship of God violated; popish superstition gradually restored; the godly offended; the ungodly confirmed in their ungodliness; the weak in faith thrown into peril of their salvation; occasions afforded of much mischief; monks and other popish preachers aided in confirming their people in superstition; God's wrath provoked against us; those things that God would have destroyed again set up amongst us; the whole face of the church defiled and disgraced; decent laws respecting the not wearing strange garments shamefully broken, and thus the whole church dishonoured. Besides this, the public peace of the church, yea, of many churches, is disturbed; bishops are brought into collision with each other; the consciences of the godly are burdened, and the feelings of excellent persons offended; the Holy Spirit in them is grieved, and lastly, the apple of discord is thrown, as it were, upon the table of the gods.

Since these things are so, most serene queen, not I only, but all my colleagues and all godly persons suppliantly entreat

your most serene majesty, and implore you by Jesus Christ, who we are persuaded is loved by your serene majesty from your heart, not to carry into effect that design respecting which so much has been said, nor lend your ears to such advisers. For indeed, most pious queen, these counsels are neither for the benefit of your church and kingdom, nor are they consistent with the honour of your majesty: since they neither tend to the advancement of godliness, nor to the preservation of ecclesiastical propriety, nor the maintenance of public peace; but rather weaken most exceedingly all these excellent things, which your majesty ought most especially to maintain. Your majesty should rather consider, and should employ all your consideration, authority, and influence to this end, that you may have in the first place bishops truly pious, and well instructed in sacred learning, as by the blessing of God you already possess very many, and should encourage and attend to them. You should then take care that they diligently perform their duty; watch over the flock; teach sound doctrine; refute heresies; drive away the wolves; keep every one to his duty, and exhort, incite, and stimulate all persons to a life becoming a christian man. The elders in like manner and deacons are to be admonished that every one be diligent in his office, and should there be occasion, they must be compelled by the authority of your serene majesty; that neither the former by their slumbering or connivance allow the reins of licentiousness and carnal desires to be relaxed; nor the latter, from a too great regard for their own concerns, neglect the poor members of the church, and omit other duties pertaining to their office. For these three orders of men are the nerves of the church, upon which its safety or downfall depends. Moreover, your most serene majesty must use your endeavours, and that most diligently, that the universities, and good and pious professors in them, may be encouraged, cherished, liberally maintained and provided for. For these are as the mothers and nurses of the churches, in which and by whom those persons are disciplined, taught, educated, and adorned, who shall be called forth some time hence as being qualified to govern and direct the churches. Lastly, as those things which will not admit of correction by the word and by ecclesiastical discipline, must necessarily be cut off and removed by the sword of the magistrate, according

to the word of God; provision must be made herein also by your most serene majesty, in case, for instance, of adulteries, blasphemies, and other capital offences of the like nature. For to this end is the sword committed to the magistrate by God, that ungodly deceivers, obscene profligates, and unquiet men, being restrained, the rest may be able to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. To this end, most serene queen, you must labour, to this end must your thoughts, your counsels, your strength and power, be directed; namely, to say all in one word, that we all, "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, may live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." For this is the true and most beautiful garment of all, respecting which every one ought to be anxious; namely, that having put off the old man with his deeds, we may put on the new man, that is, our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor are there any other true ornaments that become christian bishops than those which the apostle has blended together, writing and speaking to Timothy and even to Titus, that "a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife; vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity" [1 Tim. iii. 2—4]; "not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, just, holy," &c. [Tit. i. 7.] For the garments and ornaments of the Aaronic priest were types of these true ornaments: they were the shadow, these the substance. Let them therefore be removed, and let these be introduced; and we shall then at last have not only the bishops, but the whole church, truly adorned.

I again suppliantly entreat your most serene majesty, that altogether laying aside all this consideration about external garments, you will apply your mind to the retaining, putting on, defending, these true and spiritual ornaments in the churches. And may your most serene majesty, as I said at the beginning, pardon with your wonted clemency my boldness in writing. May our Lord Jesus Christ long preserve your most serene majesty in safety and happiness to us and to the whole church!

Heidelberg, Sept. 10, 1571.

[H. ZANCHIUS.]

II. BISHOP HORN TO HENRY BULLINGER¹.*The Order of Administration of Common Prayer and the Sacraments in the Church of England in the time of Edward VI.*

At morning prayer the minister, habited in a white linen surplice, and standing where he may best be heard of the whole congregation, first of all reads some sentences of holy scripture, such as, "At what time soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart," &c. Ezek. xviii. "Turn thy face away from our sins." Ps. li. "A sorrowful spirit is a sacrifice to God." Ps. li. "Rend your hearts, and not your garments." Joel ii.

He then moves the whole congregation to a public confession of their sins. The congregation confess their sins together. The minister repeats, instead of absolution, the promises of God respecting the remission of sins and the gift of the Spirit, to those namely, who truly and heartily repent of their sins. After this the minister and people repeat some of the psalms, so as that the whole psalter is read through once every month. When the psalms are ended, one chapter is read from the new Testament, and another from the old: which being finished, the morning service is concluded with prayers for Christ's universal church; for the king, the magistrates and people; and the Lord's prayer and the creed are repeated by the whole congregation. The like order is preserved in evening prayer.

On every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, the Litany is used, without any invocation of saints, or popish idolatry; and the whole congregation respond to each petition.

The order for the administration of the Lord's supper was as follows. First of all, the minister repeats the ten commandments, to each of which the people answer, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law;"

[¹ This document is here inserted, as illustrating the preceding correspondence. The original Latin is preserved, together with Bullinger's remarks upon it, in the archives of Zurich.]

and after the tenth they answer, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee." After this, the minister prays for the universal church, for peace, for the king and people, to each of which prayers the people add their Amen. The epistle and gospel are then read, after which the Nicene Creed is repeated by all the congregation. There then follows a homily upon faith, or good works, or the law, or gospel; or the epistle is explained. A collection is then made for the poor, and all persons are earnestly admonished not to come before the Lord with empty hands. An exhortation follows that they should draw near, and so eat of that bread and drink of that cup. All of them with one mouth make a general confession of their sins; after which the minister repeats some promises of scripture concerning the forgiveness of sins to those who truly acknowledge their sins and confess them to God. There then follows the preface, "Lift up your hearts." *People*: "We lift them up unto the Lord." *Priest*: "Let us give thanks to the Lord." *People*: "It is meet" [and right so to do²]. After the preface follows a prayer of the whole congregation, in which the minister and people openly confess before God that they do not come to the Lord's table trusting in their own righteousness. Then are repeated the words of the Lord's supper, to which the people answer, Amen. The distribution of the bread and cup then takes place, the minister saying to each individual to whom he breaks the bread, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful to God." There follows afterwards a general thanksgiving, and the hymn, "Glory be to God on high," which is repeated by all the people; after which the minister dismisses the people with the blessing of peace.

The bread which is used at the Lord's supper is of the usual kind, but the purest that may be gotten.

[² This sentence is defective in the original letter.]

The Ministration of Baptism.

If there are any infants to be baptized, they are brought on each Sunday, when the most people are come together to the morning or evening prayers. The minister reads an exhortation to the people, in which he teaches them what is the condition of those who are not born again in Christ, and what the sacrament of regeneration signifies. He adds with the church a prayer for the infants, rehearses the gospel from the tenth chapter of Mark, upon which he makes a brief exhortation, followed by a general giving of thanks. The godfathers and godmothers then approach, and demand the sacrament in the name of the infants. The minister examines them concerning their faith, and afterwards dips the infant in the water, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." He then makes the sign of the cross upon the child's forehead; after which the Lord's prayer and a general thanksgiving is repeated by all. These infants are brought to the bishop to be confirmed, as soon as they are old enough to repeat and make answer to the catechism in their mother-tongue.

Then follows the ministration of baptism in private houses by women in time of necessity, which is only ministered by the woman baptizing the infant who is like to die, with calling upon the name of God, and baptizing in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Matrimony.

The minister demands of the man, before the whole congregation, whether he be willing to take the woman to his wedded wife, and whether she be willing to take him for her husband. Their troth being given, the husband delivers unto his bride a ring by way of token. They afterwards receive the communion with the whole congregation.

In the Visitation of the Sick there are many godly prayers, together with the communion, should the sick person desire to receive it; in which is required a confession of sins, to which is added an absolution, which requires examination.

Whether should the office for the Churching of Women be retained?

III. BULLINGER'S REMARKS UPON THE PRECEDING.

THE most excellent master Horn presented the foregoing statements to me, Henry Bullinger, minister of the church at Zurich, requesting my opinion upon them. I replied in the following terms, and committed my answer to writing.

I do not approve of the linen surplice, as they call it, in the ministry of the gospel, inasmuch as these relics, copied from Judaism, savour of popery, and are introduced and established with injury to christian liberty. If it had seemed a thing of so great importance to the apostles, that the minister should be distinguished from the general body of Christians, why did they not retain the ephod, according to the Lord's institution? I wish, however, that the habit in which the minister performs divine service should be decent, according to the fashion of the country, and have nothing light or fantastic about it.

The lessons and prayers should be of moderate length, not too prolix and tedious; and should likewise be understood of all, and such as may edify the church. In the times of the apostles the greater part of the time was devoted to teaching. The ceremonies were very sober and concise. The sign of the cross indeed was usual among the early Christians, and they frequently marked it with the finger on their foreheads. When however we baptize infants in our churches, we do not sign them with the sign of the cross, partly because the practice is not derived from apostolic institution, and partly because the abuse of the cross is so implanted in all, as that it does not seem possible any longer to adopt that sign among the common people without superstition.

We altogether approve of catechizing¹, and use it in our churches; and we sometimes bring our children to church to receive confirmation. Respecting this, however, we have received no direction from the apostles.

We disapprove of baptism being administered in private houses by midwives or women in time of necessity, or in the prospect of death. Our reasons are elsewhere given in our

[¹ See the Confession of Helvetia in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum*, p. 55, Ed. Genev. 1654, and the *Harmony of Protestant Confessions*, p. 371. Ed. P. Hall, Lond. 1842.]

books¹. We approve of the Visitation of the sick, but do not practise in our churches the private celebration of the Lord's supper for the sake of any one sick person. The reasons are explained in our books. So also we do not use the service for the purification of women after childbirth, which seems evidently to be derived from the [Jewish] law.

IV. THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AS DESCRIBED BY PERCEVAL WIBURN².

1. THE English clergy consist, partly of the popish priests, who still retain their former office, and partly of ministers lately ordered and admitted by some bishop there, at his pleasure; but a certain form of ordering ministers by the bishop is drawn up by public authority.

2. The different orders of the clergy are still retained, as formerly in the papacy; namely, two archbishops, one of whom is primate; after them are the bishops; then deans and archdeacons; and last of all, rectors, vicars, curates, &c.

3. Whoever desires to serve a church there must previously obtain licence in writing from the lord bishop or his deputy.

4. No pastor is at liberty to expound the scriptures to his people, without an express appointment to that office by the bishop.

5. Few persons there are called to the ministry of the word by reason of any talents bestowed upon them; great numbers offer themselves; whence it comes to pass that not very many are found qualified for this function.

6. No one is admitted to any ecclesiastical function, unless he acknowledge the queen to be the supreme head of the Church of England upon earth. There is no great difficulty raised about any other points of doctrine, provided the party is willing to obey the laws and statutes of the realm.

7. Ministers now protest and promise that they will observe and maintain the laws of their country, as being

[¹ We teach that baptism should not be ministered in the church by women or midwives. For Paul secludeth women from ecclesiastical callings; but baptism belongeth to ecclesiastical offices. Later Confess. of Helvetia, ch. xx. Hall as above, p. 302.]

² From the archives of Zurich.]

good (as they are called) and wholesome, as well in matters external and political, as in the rites and ceremonies of the church, and all things which are there customary and in use; and this too they must attest by their manual subscription.

8. It is provided by the laws that no one shall impugn the English liturgy either by word or writing; and that no minister, by whatever name he may be called, may use in public any other mode or form either in the prayers or administration of the sacraments than what is there described.

9. This book of prayers is filled with many absurdities (to say no worse of them) and silly superfluities, and seems entirely to be composed after the model and in the manner of the papists; the grosser superstitions, however, being taken away.

10. The greater part of the Canon law is still in force there, and all ecclesiastical censures are principally taken from it.

11. Excommunication there depends upon the decision of a single individual, to wit, the bishop, his chancellor, the archdeacon, commissary, official, or any judge of the ecclesiastical court; and is for the most part inflicted for mere trifles, such as pecuniary matters and other suits of that nature.

12. The sentence of excommunication pronounced by the judge is forwarded to some pastor, who is required to read and pronounce it publicly in his church, before a full congregation.

13. The party excommunicated, when the judge is so inclined, and often too against his will, is absolved in private, and without any trouble, for a sum of money.

14. The marriage of priests was counted unlawful in the times of queen Mary, and was also forbidden by a public statute of the realm, which is also in force at this day; although by permission of queen Elizabeth clergymen may have their wives, provided only they marry by the advice and assent of the bishop and two justices of peace, as they call them.

15. The lords bishops are forbidden to have their wives with them in their palaces; as also are the deans, canons, presbyters, and other ministers of the church, within colleges, or the precincts of cathedral churches.

16. Many difficulties have to be encountered in respect to marriage and divorce, because the popish laws are retained there as heretofore.

17. In case of adultery even clergymen are not very severely punished; and it is compounded for by other parties with a sum of money, with the assent of the ecclesiastical judges, by whom the penalty is imposed. Some parties, clothed in a linen garment, acknowledge and deprecate their crime in the public congregation; and indeed the whole matter is altogether determined at the pleasure of the ecclesiastical judge.

18. The archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of all England, besides his episcopal court, has also his principal courts of arches and audience, as they call them, where ecclesiastical causes are determined. He has also the court of faculties, where, on the payment beforehand of a pretty large sum of money, licences are obtained for non-residence, plurality of benefices, dispensations for forbidden meats on the third, fifth, and sixth holiday, the vigils of the saints, Lent, and the ember days at the four seasons; for almost all these are seasons of abstinence from flesh: from hence, too, are obtained dispensations for solemnizing marriage at prohibited seasons; and that even boys, and others not in holy orders, may be capable of holding ecclesiastical preferment; with many other things of this kind.

19. Every bishop has his court for matters ecclesiastical, as has also every archdeacon, in which, as things are at present, there preside for the most part papists or despisers of all religion; and the other officers employed in these courts are of the same character: the consequence of which is, that religion itself is exposed to ridicule, the ministers of Christ are everywhere despised with impunity, loaded with abuse, and even sometimes beaten.

20. Besides the impropriations of benefices, there are also advowsons, by which, while the place is yet occupied, the next vacancies of the livings are gratuitously presented to others by the patrons, or else sold by them at a price agreed upon; for this too is permitted by the laws of the country. And the power of patronage still remains there, and institution, as it is called, and induction, as in the time of popery.

21. Many festivals are retained there, consecrated in the name of saints, with their vigils, as formerly; peram-

bulations on rogation-days; singing in parts in the churches, and with organs; the tolling of bells at funerals and on the vigils of saints; and especially on that of the feast of All Saints, when it continues during the whole night.

22. By the queen's command, all persons, both men and women, must reverently bow themselves in the churches at the name of Jesus.

23. That space which we call the chancel, by which in churches the laity are separated by the presbyter from the clergy, still remains in England; and prayers are said in the place accustomed in time of popery, unless the bishop should order it otherwise.

24. Baptism is administered, in time of necessity, as they call it, as is also the Lord's supper, to the sick in private houses; and the administration of private baptism is allowed even to women.

25. In the administration of baptism the infants are addressed respecting their renouncing the devil, the world, and the flesh; as also respecting their confession of faith; answer to all which things is made by the sponsors in their name.

26. The party baptized is signed with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed of the cross of Christ.

27. The confirmation too of boys and girls is there in use, and the purification of women after childbirth, which they call the thanksgiving.

28. In the administration of the [Lord's] supper, for the greater reverence of the sacrament, little round unleavened cakes are re-introduced by the queen, which had heretofore been removed by the public laws of the realm, for the taking away superstition. Every one too is obliged to communicate at the Lord's supper on his bended knees.

29. In every church throughout England, during prayers, the minister must wear a linen garment, which we call a surplice. And in the larger churches, at the administration of the Lord's supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment which they call a cope. And two other ministers, formerly called the deacon and subdeacon, must assist him to read the epistle and gospel.

30. The queen's majesty, with the advice of the arch-

bishop of Canterbury, may order, change, and remove anything in that church at her pleasure.

31. In their external dress the ministers of the word are at this time obliged to conform themselves to that of the popish priests; the square cap is imposed upon all, together with a gown as long and loose as conveniently may be, and to some also is added a silk hood.

V. TO THE VERY EMINENT SERVANT OF CHRIST,
 MASTER THEODORE BEZA, THE MOST LEARNED
 AND VIGILANT PASTOR OF THE
 GENEVAN CHURCH¹.

HEALTH and peace from the Lord! We have lately, most vigilant Christian pastor, read your letter sent to our very dear brother John Knox, and it has indeed affected us in various ways. For inasmuch as you state that your churches are in the enjoyment of great peace and tranquillity, this intelligence was very gratifying to us, as it ought to be. But whereas you inform us that some persons are found in the syncretism² of Augsburg, whom either ignorance or obstinacy may excite to raise disturbances among them, and for whose sake there has even been appointed a conference of the sovereigns, this is indeed painful and distressing news. But as we understood from that same letter, that you and your brethren earnestly request of us to signify our approbation of your confession, and simple exposition of the orthodox faith, and catholic doctrines of the pure Christian religion, recently set forth in the month of March, with the unanimous assent of the ministers of the church who are in Switzerland, namely, those of Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, St Gall, the Grisons, and their confederates Mulhausen and Bienne, to which the ministers of the church of Geneva have joined themselves; in this we acknowledge and declare the exceeding courtesy towards us, both of yourself and your brethren, who express so much esteem for the Scots, a people serving the Lord with the pure worship of religion in the farthest

[¹ The original letter is preserved in the archives at Zurich.]

[² Συγκρητισμός (σὺν and Κρήτες): when opponents are reconciled among themselves, and join their united forces against a third party. See Plut. de Frat. Carit.]

corners of the earth, as to consider that their agreement will add much light and splendour to the christian religion which you have embraced in that treatise. Wherefore, that our diligence might not be wanting to so great courtesy, and so just a request, as soon as we received your letter, we all of us, from every town in the neighbourhood, assembled at St Andrew's, the most flourishing city as to divine and human learning in all Scotland; and there, as speedily as we could, when we had read over the book, we considered each chapter by itself, and left nothing unexplored, and diligently examined everything respecting God, the sacred laws and rites of the church. And it is impossible to express the exceeding delight we derived from that work, when we clearly perceived that in your little book was most faithfully, holily, piously, and indeed divinely explained, and that briefly, whatever we have been constantly teaching these eight years, and still, by the grace of God, continue to teach, in our churches, in the schools, and in the pulpit.

We are therefore altogether compelled, as well by our consciences, as from a sense of duty, to undertake its patronage, and not only to express our approval, but also our exceeding commendation, of every chapter and every sentence. For that little treatise rests altogether upon the holy scriptures, which we both profess, and are prepared to defend at the risk of our lives, or even to the shedding of blood. And we have all of us, as many as by reason of the shortness of the time allowed us were able to be present, both subscribed our names, and sealed this letter with the common seal of this university. But if you should think that it would be of use to your churches at any future time, we will send you by the first opportunity both the public subscription of this church, and the formulary of our confession of faith, confirmed in the assembly of the three estates of the realm³. This one thing, however, we can scarcely refrain from mentioning, with regard to what is written in the 24th chapter

[³ The confession of Scotland was first exhibited to, and allowed by, the three estates in parliament, at Edinburgh, in the year 1560; again ratified at the same place, and on the same authority, in 1567; and finally, subscribed by the king's majesty and his household at Holyrood House, the 28th day of January, 1581. Harmony of Protestant Confessions, Hall's edit. Lond. 1842. p. xxxix.]

of the aforesaid confession¹, concerning the “festival of our Lord’s nativity, circumcision, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending the Holy Ghost upon his disciples,” that these festivals at the present time obtain no place among us; for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast-day than what the divine oracles have prescribed. Everything else, as we have said, we teach, approve, and most willingly embrace. We have written you this letter as briefly as possible, in consequence of the shortness of the time. But we earnestly request you not to allow the friendly correspondence now commenced between us to die away. If you will diligently do this, we will endeavour to return you the like favour. May the Lord Jesus prosper, as long as possible, the pious exertions of yourself and brethren for the increase of the church of Christ! Farewell. St Andrew’s, Sept. 4, 1566.

Your most loving brethren in Christ,

JOHN DOUGLAS, rector of the university of St Andrew’s,
and professor of St Mary’s college.

WILLIAM STRACHAN, dean of the faculty of arts there,
and ordinary professor of law in the same college.

JOHN RUTHERFORD, principal of St Salvator’s college.

WILLIAM RAMSAY, professor of humanity in the same
college.

DAVID GOULD, professor in the same.

JOHN DUNCANSON, principal of St Leonard’s college.

JAMES WYLKIE, in the same.

JOHN WYNRAM, superintendent² of Fife and St Andrew’s.

JOHN ERSKYNE, superintendent of Angus and Mearns.

JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, superintendent of Lothian.

JOHN KNOX, }
JOHN CRAIG, } ministers of Edinburgh.

JOHN ROW, minister of the town of Perth.

ROBERT HAMILTON, minister of St Andrew’s.

[¹ See the latter Confession of Helvetia, ch. xxiv, and Hall, as above, p. 382.]

[² In July, 1560, the committee of parliament had appointed ministers to most of the principal towns, and among the rest, Knox to Edinburgh, Row to Perth, Fergusson to Dunfermline, Goodman to St Andrew’s, Christison to Dundee, and Heriot to Aberdeen. Five persons were also nominated as superintendents, namely, John Carswell for Argyle and the isles; John Erskine of Dun, a layman, for Angus and Mearns; John Spottiswood, parson of Midcalders, for Lothian and Tweeddale; John Willock, for Glasgow and the west; John Winram, prior of Portmoak, for Fife. See Wodrow Society’s Misc. Vol. I. p. 321.]

DAVID FERGUSON, minister of Dunfermline.
 JOHN NORRIE, minister of [Lorn.]
 GEORGE SCOT, minister of Kirkcaldy.
 ANDREW FORRESTER³, minister of Dysart.
 WILLIAM CLERK, minister of Anstruther.
 ALEXANDER SPENS, minister of Kilconquhar.
 THOMAS JAMESON, minister of Largo.
 JOHN SYMSON, minister of Scoonie.
 THOMAS BIGGAR, minister of Kinhorne.
 DAVID SPENS, minister of Monimail.
 WILLIAM CHRISTISON, minister of the town of Dundee.
 JOHN HEPBURN, minister of Brechin.
 THOMAS ANDERSON, minister of Montrose.
 NINIAN CLEMENT⁴, minister of Aberbrothock.
 ADAM HERIOT, minister of Aberdeen.
 DAVID LYNDESAY, minister of Forfar.
 JAMES MELVIL, minister of Fernie.
 JAMES BALFOUR, minister of Guthrie.
 ROBERT PONT, minister of Elgin.
 DAVID LYNDESAY, minister of Leith.
 PATRICK KINLOCHY, minister of Linlithgow.
 JOHN DUNCAN⁵, minister of Stirling.
 R. WILSON, minister of Dalkeith.
 JO. BURN, minister of Musselburgh.
 ANDREW SYMPSON, minister of Dunbar.
 JOHN BRAND, minister of Holyrood.
 GEORGE SYLVIUS⁶.

[³ Or, FORSTAR.] [⁴ Or, CLEMETT.] [⁵ Or, DUNCANSON.]

[⁶ Or, WOOD. There has been considerable difficulty in clearly ascertaining some of the names affixed to this letter, but the editor believes they are correctly given as now printed: this has been effected by the valuable assistance of Robert Pitcairn, Esq., F.S.A. Sc. who has made out, by examining contemporary authorities, several signatures which the copyist could not decypher.

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EPISTOLA I.

ANTONIUS COOKUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

GRATISSIMAS attulit mihi literas tuas, Antistes eximie ac mihi merito plurimum observande, noster amicus, doctor Sandes, et frater in Christo dilectus; quibus non solum gratularis nobis Anglis, et nostro nomine lætaris, quod visitavit benignissimus Deus afflictionem nostram, et redemptionem fecerit populi sui, qui tuus affectus vere bono pioque pastore dignissimus est; verum etiam, ut nutrix quæ fovet alumnos suos, ita sollicitus es ne qua mala bestia noceat, neve calamitas aliqua lætitiā hanc oceptam interrumpat. Valde tu quidem prudenter et amanter mones, eaque commemoras a quibus maxime metuendum sit. Utinam hæc mala prævideant ac sedulo præcaveant qui reginæ nunc a consiliis erunt! Spes tamen bona est, maxime si vera sint quæ scribuntur Antwerpia, papistarum animos in pedes concidisse, neque vim ullam paraturos, nisi nostrorum discordia præbeat occasionem. Illud jam deprecandum est, ne de matrimonio dissensio et factiones oriantur; quod si bonis auspiciis evaluerit, reliqua longe melius tutiusque procedent. De Philippo, quod petat, non miror, præsertim cum exempla nova sint: at si rebus suis bene consulat, amicitiam reginæ magis optaret quam conjugium; et illa neque si posset nunc opinor externo nuberet, neque si vellet sine summo periculo video quæ possit. Sed hic humanis consiliis parum tribuo: verissima sunt enim quæ scribis, regnorum constitutionem in manu Dei sitam esse. Si regina tanti beneficii memor accepti Deo fidere voluerit; si Domino quotidie dicat, *Arx mea, rupes, et refugium tu es; nec ipsi deerit Judithæ aut Deborahæ spiritus, nec sapientia consiliariis, nec exercitui robur.* Contra hostium consilia irrita, gladii retusi erunt, et equus cum sessore corruet. Id ita sit per Christum Jesum Dominum nostrum! Amen. Post biduum aut triduum ex Anglia literas alias exspectamus, et vos, si quid boni secusve fuerit, certiores fieri curabimus, quos ut dominos et fratres optime de nobis meritos perpetuo venerabimur et agnoscemus. Bene vale. *Argentinae, 8 Decem. 1558.*

Tuæ præstantiæ devinctissimus,

ANTONIUS COOKUS.

EPISTOLA II.

JOHANNES HALLERUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

EXTRICAVI me per Domini gratiam a legatione Lausannensi mihi nuper commissa: nihil enim mihi gravius contingere posset. Mittuntur alii, qui rectius omnia expedient quam ego potuissem præstare. Interea quid adhuc futurum sit ignoro. Exspectamus eventum. Angli nostri Arovienses per Leverum harum latorem hodie dimissionem a senatu nostro petiverunt, gratiis actis pro hospitio ipsis concesso. Dimissi itaque sunt cum bona gratia, et cum magna omnium piorum congratulatione. Timemus quidem ne nimis cito: sed dum cogitamus eorum præsentiam fore necessariam, non possumus improbare eorum consilium. Literæ interea ipsis dantur testimoniales quomodo se gesserint. Et quoniam me interprete apud senatum usi sunt, proposui etiam ex consilio D. Cos. Negelini ea quæ nuper ad me de literis ad reginam scribendis scripseras. Placere ea senatui ita, ut literas ad reginam hisce ipsis dent deferendas. Non itaque necesse est ut vestri hac de re denuo ad nostros scribant, sed ut peculiare ipsi quoque ad reginam scribant: quod tu quoque apud tuos facile efficies. Alias nihil nunc habeo quod scribam. Festinant illi: itaque mihi quoque festinandum fuit. Salutant te nostri omnes, imprimis Musculus. Vale. Bernæ, 11 Januarii, 1559.

J. HALL. tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clariss. viro D. Heinricho Bullingero,
Tigurino ecclesiæ pastori fidelissi-
mo, domino et compatri suo cariss.
et observandissimo.*

EPISTOLA III.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD REGINAM ELIZABETHAM.

GRATIA et pax a Deo Patre per Jesum Christum. Gratulantur omnes pii regię tuæ majestati, Regina serenissima, quod ad regni paterni solium te evexerit Deus, qui solus regna conferre et transferre solet. At ego ipsi potius ecclesiæ Christi gratulandum esse censeo, cui Dominus hoc novissimo tempore, quo in extrema sua lucta antichristus omnes suas vires exerit, novum sidus oriri voluit; quando juxta prophetæ oraculum te illi nutricem dedit, quæ hactenus illius filia fidelis fuisti. Agnoscemus

in hoc admirabilem Dei bonitatem, qui, cum minime speres, ecclesiam suam respicit, et a persecutionum laboribus recreat. Tuæ vero majestati precamur spiritum fortitudinis et sapientiæ, quo duce facere pergat, quod jampridem facere cœpit. Nota est enim omnibus piis præclara tua fides, qua evangelicæ veritatis lumen, regnantibus Heinricho patre et Edouardo fratre, piæ et sanctæ memoriæ principibus, amplexa es, et illud ipsum inter omnis generis pericula constanter retinere studuisti. Et nunc de ecclesia repurganda et religione instauranda majestatem tuam serio cogitare multi boni passim prædicant, et mihi facile fidem faciunt, quia te a pueris (sicut de Timotheo suo Paulus scribit) sacras literas novisse ex fide dignis testibus compertum habeo. Quapropter tuæ majestatis clementia et pietate fretus meas hasce dare non dubitavi, quibus et regno tuo gratularer, et mei animi sententiam de religione instauranda, liberius fortasse quam hominem ignotum deceat, exponerem. Id enim ecclesiæ ministris licere puto, apud eos imprimis quibus ecclesiam suam Deus commendatam esse voluit, quando reges illius nutritios, reginas vero ejusdem nutrices fore prædixit. At hic, Regina serenissima, duo mihi potissimum observanda videntur: primum, ut juxta Dei verbum omnis ecclesiæ et religionis reformatio instituat; alterum, ne ulli ex consiliis locus detur, quorum omnes rationes eo tendunt, ut sanctissimum et omnium maxime necessarium opus aut omnino impediunt, aut saltem differendum adhuc esse persuadeant. Quoad primum enim scimus non paucos esse, qui si papatum totum nec honeste defendi nec commode retineri posse vident, mox religionis formam ex papatu et evangelio infeliciter mixtam ecclesiis obtrudere conantur, a qua tandem facilis sit ad avitam superstitionem transitus. At cum ex Dei verbo ecclesiam nasci apostolus testetur, nosque in Christo regenerari et novas creaturas fieri oporteat; una cum veteri Adamo exuendum et deponendum erit quicquid Christi doctrinæ ex aliqua parte repugnat: nec ulla ecclesiæ reformatio Deo revera placere poterit, nisi quæ cum ipsius verbo per omnia conveniat: et hoc nomine scriptura Davidis, Hezekiæ, et Josiæ fidem prædicat, quod juxta leges divinitus præscriptas ecclesiam reformarint; aliorum vero ignaviam non obscure perstringit, qui cum religionis instauratores et assertores haberi vellent, excelsa tamen relinquebant, in quibus contra¹ Dei præceptum populus immolare insueverat. Nec ignorat majestas tua Christi dictum, qui novum illud evangelicæ doctrinæ assumentum veteribus superstitionum pannis convenire posse negat; idemque graviter monet ne fervidum et salutare evangelii sui mustum vetustis utribus committatur, nisi et hos perire et illud simul effundi velimus. Nos certe non paucis nostræ Germaniæ exemplis edocti scimus nunquam vel ecclesiarum paci vel religionis puritati consuli posse, quoad aliquæ superstitionum reliquiæ servantur. Nam ut illis infirmi plus æquo tribuunt, ita iisdem rudes offenduntur, et simul

[¹ MS. *propter*.]

inde veritatis hostes superstitionis aliquando reducendæ et instaurandæ spem concipiunt. Neque hic carnis rationes audire convenit, quæ etsi manus aratro admovit, fere tamen a tergo respicere, et undiquaque cunctandi occasiones captare consuevit. Nam, apostolo teste, hic evangelicæ prædicationis finis et scopus est, ut per fidei obedientiam verbo Dei subjiciamur, qui solus rerum agendarum consilia saluberrima suggerit, et idem suo Spiritu iis adest, ut exitum felicem sortiantur. Exemplo nobis est David, qui etsi regni sui principia satis turbulenta videret, et hostes experiretur multos, quorum alii aperta vi, alii insidiosis machinationibus illi perniciem struerent, omnibus tamen illis per Dei gratiam superior factus, magna cum laude et incredibili successu rempublicam simul et religionem instauravit. Possem ejus generis multa exempla allegare, sed minime opus est apud majestatem tuam, quæ non ita pridem simile quid in sanctissimæ memoriæ rege Edouardo fratre vidit, qui, vixdum puerilem ætatem egressus, ob singulare pietatis et religionis instaurandæ studium omnibus regnis admirationi fuit, et antichristi tyrannidem in suo regno fortiter evertit. Quo exemplo testari voluit Deus, quod exiguas adeoque nullas vires ad regnum suum defendendum antichristus habeat, ut primum verbi divini lux tenebras discussit, quibus ille sese occultare solet. Quia tamen sic merebatur ingratitude nostra, piissimum regem (ut Josiam olim) in bona pace ad se transtulit justus Deus, ne horribilem religionis dissipationem videret, quæ illi procul dubio ipsa morte acerbius visa fuisset. At idem nunc Anglici regni et communis ecclesiæ denuo misertus, te suscitavit, ut quod frater rex sanctissimus pie et bene inchoaverat, tuæ majestatis studio et zelo feliciter absolvatur. Forti igitur animo, Regina serenissima, exsequere quod te jamdudum animo concepissem nemo pius dubitat; et de tua majestate veram doctrinæ et religionis assertionem avidè expectantem ecclesiam felix exhilara, et omnem moram illicitam puta quæ cum alicujus animæ periculo conjuncta est. Optant hoc omnes pii, et supplicibus votis Deum sollicitant, qui et populi tui animos in tuum obsequium flectet, et pro ipsius gloria laborantem adversus quævis pericula proteget. Paucis ista attingo, quia majestati tuæ nec judicium nec fidos et prudentes consiliarios deesse satis scio.

Atque imprudens (fateor) censi possim, qui non requisitus ista moneam. At imprudentiæ crimen lubens subeo, dummodo officium faciam, quod et publicum ecclesiæ ministerium exigit, et me Angliæ tuæ ob privata beneficia debere fateor: in qua olim prope puer humanissime exceptus sum, et ab eo tempore ex Anglis amicos habui non paucos, quos non postremo loco observandos esse putavi: inter quos facile primas tenet vir eruditione et fidei constantia eximius Johannes Parkhurstus, qui sinceram in Christum fidem, quam annis ab hinc retro viginti duobus, me Oxonii agente, profiteri cœpit, in hunc usque diem constanter retinuit; et eandem inter diuturni exilii graves molestias ita confirmavit, ut mihi

non semel admirationi fuerit, meque ejusmodi hospitem habere gauderem, in quo vivum fidei ac doctrinæ christianæ exemplar coram spectare possem. Quem si tua majestas favore aliquo singulari prosecuta fuerit, officium faciet, cujus remuneratorem fidelissimum Christum Jesum est habitura; et ipsum Parkhurstum non pœnitendum in vinea Domini operarium fore polliceri ausim. Mitto majestati tuæ meas in Johannis apostoli catholicam homilias, Edouardo regi sanctæ memoriæ dicatas, sed ab illo non lectas, quod aliter videretur Deo Patri, qui ingratum mundum tanto tamque raro ingenio diutius frui noluit. Tuam ergo majestatem rogo, ut vel ob jucundissimam fratris memoriam illas excipere et suo favore tueri dignetur, quoad occasio dabitur qua mei animi erga majestatem tuam studium luculentius testari possim. Deus Pater misericordiæ majestatem tuam suo Spiritu regat, suo favore protegat, et ecclesiæ suæ regnoque Angliæ in multos annos salvam et incolumem conservet! Amen. Datæ Tiguro primaria Helvetiorum urbe, anno salutis humanæ 1559.

Regiæ tuæ majestati deditissimus,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS,

Tigurinæ ecclesiæ quæ apud

D. Petrum est minister.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Serenissimæ Angliæ, Franciæ, et
Hiberniæ reginæ Elizabethæ,
dominæ suæ clementissimæ.*

EPISTOLA IV

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD D. FRANCISCUM RUSSELLUM.

GRATIA et pax a Deo Patre per Jesum Christum. Etsi meæ tenuitatis mihi probe sim conscius, illustrissime princeps, multis tamen causis me moveri et impelli sentio, ut animi mei voluntatem, qua erga regnum vestrum afficior, apud tuam clementiam exponam per literas. Cum enim pii omnes Angliæ totis animis gratulentur, quod reginam nacta sit, cujus pietas jam ante per totum orbem prædicabatur, et cujus zelo religionem veram, quæ annis aliquot misere collapsa erat, instaurandam esse omnes sperent; ingratus merito videri poteram, si solus ego in hac communi lætitia tacerem, qui ob multas causas me Angliæ obstrictum esse fateor. Nam ut humanitatem, quam in vestro illo regno olim incredibilem expertus sum, et privata beneficia omittam, publica ecclesiæ Christi causa hoc abs me summo jure postulat, ut si nec consilio nec auctoritate vos in reparanda religione

juvare possum, saltem animi mei studium aliquo indicio prodam. Et hæc mihi præcipua causa fuit, quæ ut ad regiam majestatem literas darem suavit; et eadem ut tuæ etiam clementiæ scribam, potissimum admonet. Simul vero animum mihi addit egregia tua virtus, quam amici multi apud nos sæpe prædicarunt, et cujus non obscura signa videre licuit, cum superiori anno per Tigurum in Italiam iter faciens de omnibus iis, quæ ad ecclesiæ et religionis causam faciunt, adeo diligenter inquirebas, ut facile pateret hanc tibi præ omnibus aliis rebus cumprimis cordi esse. Et sane jam tum gratulabar tibi tacitus, quod Dei gratiam in te non inanem aut otiosam viderem: nunc tamen magis et tibi et Angliæ gratulor, quod te a regia majestate in summum dignitatis locum subvectum esse intelligam, in quo et pietatem tuam publice testari, et de patria dulcissima optime mereri, et Deo officium cultumque præstare potes, quo illi nullus alius acceptior esse solet. Cum enim ille ecclesiam suam pupilla oculi sui (sicuti apud prophetam testatur) cariorem habeat, et eandem Filii sui unigeniti morte redemptam voluerit; eandem certe omnibus commendatissimam esse vult, imprimis tamen regibus et regum consiliariis, quos illius nutritios et tutores fore per Isaiam prædixit, quæ mihi omnium maxima principum dignitas esse videtur. Nam terris late patentibus dominari, per terras et maria imperium extendere, et subditos legibus coercere possunt et impii et Dei ignari homines, quales olim in omnibus prope regnis fuisse scimus. At Filium Dei exosculari (ut divinus et regius psaltes ait), et illius sponsam curare atque tueri, hoc demum insigne illud et incomparabile principum decus est; quod non nisi iis confertur, quos Deus ex peculiari gratia ut gloriæ suæ vasa sint elegit, et qui Spiritu suo illuminati se totos illi consecrarunt. Atqui talem te esse, illustrissime princeps, multi boni testantur, et multi hactenus experti sunt. Ego autem Deum assiduis precibus rogo, ut talem te semper conservet, et tam tua quam aliorum, qui modo rerum gerendarum curam vestræ fidei commissam habetis, consilia ad sui nominis gloriam et ecclesiæ propagationem et patriæ salutem dirigat; quem finem proculdubio assequi dabitur, si sincero Domini timore (quem sapientiæ principum sapientissimus Salomon esse dixit) animis vestris [ea, quæ ad] ecclesiam et religionem spectant, non aliunde quam ex sacræ scripturæ fontibus petenda esse memineritis. Neque hic nos ullis periculis terreri convenit, quando Dominus qui rerum agendarum consilia præscribit, idem consiliorum eventus sua manu dirigit, ut licet interdum parum progredi videantur, tandem tamen finem lætissimum attingant. Et ut omnia fallant, quando ob mundi ingratitude sanctissima consilia Deus suo effectu privat, attamen haud leve bonum est, si nos officio functos esse sciamus, sic ut eorum sanguis, quos sua ipsorum malitia perdidit, a nobis exigi non queat. Quod ista tam libere moneam, illustrissime princeps, non teme-

ritati, sed meo in Angliam studio, et tuæ clementiæ tribues, cujus consideratio mihi hæc scribendi fiduciam fecit. Dominum Johannem Parkhurstum tuæ clementiæ commendarem multis, nisi illum abs te amari et magni fieri scirem, id quod facile deprehendi, cum illum domi meæ tam amice et amanter inviseres. Et sane dignus est qui ametur, tum ob singularem pietatem, quam exilio testatus est, tum ob eruditionem sinceram et a contendendi studio alienissimam. Nec dubito magnum illius usum fore, si tuæ clementiæ auctoritas illum provehere dignetur. Dominus Jesus Christus clementiam tuam regat et tueatur ad ecclesiæ suæ et puræ religionis propagationem! Amen. Tiguri, 16 Januarii, anno salutis 1559.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Illustriss. principi, D. Francisco Russello,
Comiti Bedfordiensi, privati sigilli
custodi et regiæ majestatis consiliario,
domino suo clementissimo.*

 EPISTOLA V

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD RICARDUM MASTERUM.

S. GRATULABAR mihi non parum annis superioribus, quando regnante Edvardo sexto sanctæ memoriæ tu prior scribendi officium, quod multis annis intermissum fuerat, repetere cœpisti. At nunc multo magis et tibi et mihi gratulor, vir doctissime et frater in Christo observande, quod ea tempora Angliæ vestræ per Dei clementiam reducta esse audimus, quando sub reginæ piissimæ tutela pius hominibus Deum vere colendi libertas restituetur, et amicorum literæ tuto hinc inde ferri et referri poterunt. Agnoscimus in his admirabilem Dei sapientiam et bonitatem, qui ecclesiæ suæ ærumnas lætis vicibus temperare solet, ne tentationum fluctibus toti obruamur. Faxit idem ille, ut spei fidelium, quam de Angliæ regno jam omnes conceperunt, satisfiat. Quod eo magis futurum puto, si quotquot illic in aliquo dignitatis gradu collocati estis, ecclesiæ et religionis curam ad vos cumprimis pertinere memineritis, nec illorum admiseritis consilia, qui cum papatum nec honeste defendi nec totum retineri posse vident, ad artes convertuntur quibus religionis formam mixtam, incertam, et dubiam fingunt, et eandem sub evangelicæ reformationis prætextu ecclesiis obtrudunt, ex qua deinde facillimus est ad papisticam superstitionem et idolomaniam transitus. Quod non eo scribo, quod tales apud vos esse sciam, sed quod ne tales sint metuo. Jam enim annis aliquot in Germania magno ecclesiarum

malo experti sumus, quantum ejusmodi homines valeant, eo quod illorum consilia carnis judicio modestiæ plena, et [ad] alendam concordiam cumpri-
 mis idonea esse videantur; et credibile est, publicum illum humanæ sa-
 lutis hostem apud vos quoque sua flabella inventurum, quorum opera
 papatus semina retinere studeat; quibus scripturæ sanctæ et verbi divini
 armis constanter resistendum fuerit, ne dum circa prima initia aliquam
 mediocrem animorum offensionem declinare studemus, multa ad tempus
 duntaxat duratura admittantur, quæ postea vix ullo studio et non
 absque gravissimis contentionibus omnino tolli possint. Exempla hujus
 mali Germanicæ ecclesiæ multa viderunt; quorum consideratione edocti,
 suspecta habemus quæcumque cum sincera verbi doctrina aliqua ex
 parte pugnant. Nec me alia ratione ut hæc moneam adduci credas,
 quam quod Angliæ vestræ ob veterem consuetudinem, cujus vel sola
 recordatio mihi etiam hodie jucundissima est, mirifice faveo. De rebus
 nostris certiolem te reddet Parkhurstus noster, frater et hospes meus
 dilectissimus, quem tibi commendatissimum esse velim. Sustinuit ille
 jam toto quinquennio graves exilii molestias, inter quas tamen admira-
 bilem fidei constantiam et patientiam incredibilem conjunxit. Nunc spe
 læta plenus in patriam contendit, ut ecclesiæ renascentis causam pro
 talento suo adjuvet. Nec dubito, quin bonam operam præstiturus sit,
 cum scripturarum cognitionem habeat præclaram, et veritatis studiosis-
 simus sit, et a contentionibus abhorreat, quarum studiosi vix aliquem in
 ecclesia fructum faciunt. Optime ergo feceris, si tua auctoritate illum
 juves et pro virili provehas. Mihi vero nihil jucundius fuerit, quam
 si ex tuis literis intelligam nostræ amicitiae memoriam penes te adhuc
 salvam esse, quæ certe in animo meo nunquam intermori poterit. Vale,
 vir præstantissime. Tiguri, 16 Januarii, 1559.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Richardo Mastero, medico
 regio, amico veteri et fratri suo
 dilecto.*

EPISTOLA VI.

ANTONIUS COOKUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

LITERAS tuas, vir præstantissime, una cum literis D. Bullingeri reginæ
 nostræ in manus ipse tradidi. Quarum lectione quantopere affecta sit,
 testis est Cecilius, qui lacrymas ejus inter legendum obortas viderit.
 Rogabat an lubens Angliam repetere velles: nam tale quiddam audivisse
 videbatur. Ego de voluntate tua respondi me nihil dubitare, pro ardenti
 amore studioque tuo in regem illum Edvardum, in ipsam, et totam Angliam

republicam; sed eo tempore per literas a te nihil certi accepisse: optare tamen ut ex academiis alteram tua præstantia curaret ornandam. Qua de re scribet, uti spero, propediem, tum ad te ipsum, tum ad senatum Tigurinum. Nunc de papæ tyrannide in comitiis expellenda satagimus, et de regia potestate revocanda ac restituenda religione vera. Ἄλλὰ λίαν βραδέως σπεύδομεν. Neque desunt hoc tempore Sanaballæ et Tobiæ, qui muros ac ædificationem impediunt. Quo magis illud nobis cogitandum est, "Indesinenter orate." Magnus est reginæ zelus, magnum nobilitatis et populi studium; nimis tamen adhuc hæret opus. Non satis quorundam animis insedit, Confide Deo et prudentiæ tuæ ne innitaris: nec illud, ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφὸν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν. Sed exitus comitiorum spem meam confirmabit, quantum ipse judicare possum. Saluta, quæso, nomine meo multum D. Bullingerum et reliquos fratres. Da operam ut valeas et itineri sufficias. Vale. Londini, 12 Februarii, 1559.

ANTONIUS COOKUS,

Omnino tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Eximio viro D. Petro Martyri
τῷ θεολόγῳ. *Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA VII.

RICARDUS HILLES AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

S. P. LITERAS tuas 22 Decembris proxime elapsi, mi Domine colende, ad me datas lubenti animo accepi. In hiis tamen quod non libenter legeram accepi; hoc est, quod quidam tibi scripsere semel et iterum, me dedignatum esse tuas accipere literas. Quippe nullius dedignor literas legere unquam, tui quam maxime. Arrogantiæ esset enim (meo quidem iudicio) tam docti et gravis viri literas contemnere. Quamdiu tamen regnabat hic Maria nostra, regina satis truculenta ac superstitiosa, adeo mihi metuebam de bonis, de periculis, immo de vita etiam, ut vix qualibus tu sis, scribere audebam ipse, vel scripta recipere ab eis. Proclivis est, inquis, lapsus hominis, et in plurimis aberramus omnes. Mirum itaque non est, si et ego impegerim, hominesque plusquam decebat et revereri et timere cœperim, tum etiam quædam recipere, a quibus ante annos plurimos abhorrerem plurimum. Illuc me pertraxit sanctorum etiam Patrum quorundam lectio voluminum, in quibus ni fallor nonnulla sunt dogmata, quæ omnium fere illorum consensu traduntur, etiam quæ tui et similium doctrinæ minime sunt consentanea. De his autem plura scribere non libet, quia si tu ad hæc mea scripta respondere velles,

rescribere non mihi vacat fere, nec placet. Ita mihi est molestum Latine scribere, et jam ferme obsoletum. Inter doctos enim viros nunc non versor, qui sua Latina eloquuntur lingua. Gratias tibi permagnas certe habeo, quod meæ memoriæ dignatus fueris reducere, quomodo noverim gratiam et misericordiam esse copiosissimam apud Dominum, qui redeuntes ad se non rejicit, sed benigne recipit. Quod igitur per me peccatum est hactenus confiteor Domino; Domino do gloriam, Domini imploro misericordiam ut consulis: nec dubito quin ipsam sim consequuturus. Videbo autem ut in posterum fidelis sim, et veram religionem (cujus maxima pars in confessione fidei exhibita invictissimo Imp. Carolo V. in comitiis Augustæ, anno 1530, continetur) totis, ut mones, promovebo viribus. D. Petro Martyri, Julioque ejus famulo, et tuæ conjugii honestissimæ, habeas me commendatum oro. Salutatur te eosque omnes uxor mea ex animo, multamque vobis precatur salutem. Vale. Londini, ultima Februarii, 1559. Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES, Anglus.

Quod ad religionem attinet, per mandatum regium catholicis (ut dicuntur) concionatoribus impositum est silentium, et evangelicis concessa est libertas satis ampla—coram regina ipsa ter in singulis hujus quadragesimæ hebdomadis prædicare, et sua ex sacris probare scripturis. Ad publica etiam comitia, sive ad commune regni hujus concilium, seu (ut nostri illud nominant) parliamentum, jam per sex fere hebdomadas convenitur. Nihil tamen adhuc certi de abolenda superstitione papistica, et puriori religione christiana restituenda publice actum est. Spes tamen magna est omnibus nostris prædicti parlamenti civibus fidelibus, aliisque viris piis, omnia sacra vel ad formam quæ fuit nuper regis Edvardi sexti temporis, vel quæ est in prædicta confessione Augustæ, per principes protestantes Germaniæ exhibita, reformata fore brevi.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo et integerrimo viro D. Heinricho
Bullingero, amico mihi observando tra-
dentur literæ. Tiguri in Helvetia.*

EPISTOLA VIII.

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS AD CONRADUM HUBERTUM.

SALVE in Christo. Credo tibi satis notum esse Gulielmum Salkyns, famulum Ricardi Hilles, qui diu nobiscum Argentinæ vixit. Illi ego nuper scripta quædam Bucerii tradidi, ut ad te perferrentur. Unum

erat disputatio ipsius publice habita, quum in doctorem apud nos erat inauguratus: alterum fuit de tota controversia inter ipsum et Jungum, quem tu solebas fungum appellare. An hoc posterius etiam quædam alia contineat, nescio. Ita enim scriptum est, ut divinatore potius opus sit quam lectore, nisi quod tibi fortassis, in hujus viri scriptis exercitato, non adeo erit difficile omnia eruere et extricare. Doctor Parkerus, qui hæc ad me misit, scripsit se alia quædam fragmenta habuisse; sed quum ea nunc ex latebris eruisset, in quibus toto hoc tempore incendiario delituissent, invenisse corrosa a soricibus et prorsus corrupta. Quare si quam voluptatem ceperis ex istis, eam rursus statim amittes, quod omni spe in posterum plura accipiendi destitueris. Exemplar responsionis ad antididagma Latine versum a Martino Bremio dixisti te habere; apud nos nihil amplius est Buceri, quod ego sciam. In nundinis vestris Argentinensibus non dubito quin Salkynus omnia fideliter tradet.

De rebus nostris Anglicanis sic paucis accipe. Invenimus ecclesiam nostram miserrime laceratam ac tantum non oppressam. Urgebamus quidem statim ab initio, ut iniretur publica reformatio. Sed comitia regni diu rem distulerunt, neque quicquam immutarunt, donec inter principes, Philippum, Gallum, et nos de pace conclusum esset. At jam tandem, divino adspirante numine, in recessu comitorum promulgatum est edictum, ut papa cum sua jurisdictione prorsus exulet, et religio in eam formam restituatur, quam habuimus tempore Edwardi Sexti. Si qui episcopi aut alii prælati de renuncianda episcopi Romani potestate juramentum suscipere noluerint, illi omni functione ecclesiastica priventur et deponantur. Post festum S. Johannis Baptistæ proximum nemo missas faciat, nisi qui gravissimam mulctam subire velit. Itaque vulgo existimatur omnes fere episcopos, multos etiam alios prælatos, episcopatibus et functionibus suis renuntiuros, ut quos jam pudeat post tantam tyrannidem et crudelitatem sub papæ vexillis exercitam, et ipsi nuper juratam obedientiam, iterum ad palinodiam adigi et manifesto perjurio obstrictos teneri. Magna ministrorum bonorum penuria laboramus. Multi enim, qui in hac persecutione defecerunt, jam ex animo papistæ facti sunt; qui vero antea moderati (ut ita dicam) papistæ fuerant, jam sunt obstinatissimi. Sed nostrum est quod possumus præstare, cunctum Deo committere. Quod superest, oro ut nos et ecclesiam nostram in precibus tuis Deo commendes, et D. D. Marpachium ac D. D. Sealdum meo nomine diligenter salutes. Vale in Domino, vir humanissime ac frater in Christo carissime. Londini, 23 Maii, 1559.

Tui in Domino studiosissimus,

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS,

Anglus.

Dubito (ut sum satis obliviosus) egone an Lakinus in se susceperit

totam exhumati Bucerii et Fagii historiam transmittere. Sed tamen, ne tu voto tuo prorsus frustreris, omnino constitui ad Doct. Parkerum hujus rei gratia scribere, qui mihi (ut spero) veram ejus rei descriptionem concinnari curabit; quod si fecerit, curabo etiam ut transmittatur. Si Lakinus idem faciat, qui nunc Londino abest, poteris ex utroque, quod maxime ad rem fecerit, decerpere. Iterum vale. Non dubito quin literas istis inclusas primo quoque tempore pro tua humanitate tradendas curabis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Amico et fratri in Domino carissimo D. Conrado Huberto, verbi Dei apud Argentinenses ministro fidelissimo.

EPISTOLA IX.

LAURENTIUS HUMFREDUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

QUOD a me antehac officium jure exigere potuit, id nunc ut præstem, invitat occasio; quod tamen ut debui et ut vellem facere non patitur subitus adventus et discessus tabellarii, ac temporis angustia. Brevitatem ergo et in scribendo negligentiam pro tua paterna humanitate hoc tempore boni consules. Venit ad me fasciculus literarum meis inclusus a D. Abelo, quem per hunc Tigurinum et fidum hominem et tibi non ignotum ad pietatem tuam mitto. Alterum illum quem petebas adhuc videre non contigit; diligenter tamen et mea causa et tua aliorumque imprimis quæsi, et adhuc percontari non desino. Respondetur aurigam cuidam apud insigne hominis sylvestris spelunca tradidisse. Quid inde actum sit nescio. Si in manus meas inciderint, quod tamen despero post hoc intervallum tam longum, accuratius efficiam, ut ad te Deo volente perveniant. Atque hæc est prima occasio, quæ me ad scribendum, vir integerrime, impulit. Altera est Frenschami mei vel morbus vel mors: si vivat, ut pro tuo more consolando, hortando, juvando, hominem erigas jacentem; cujus consilium ille semper plurimi fecit, et ni fallor, jam semimortuus et animam agens audiet: si mortuus sit, ea cura hominem complectaris mortuum, quæ ei in sinu Abrahami vel Christi potius requiescenti convenit. Audire et ego et D. Foxus cupimus, quo in statu res ejus sint, id est, obieritne an superstes sit: ut vel vivo adsimus corpore, si opus sit, vel absentes precibus; sin minus, ut funus nostri amicissimi saltem pia lacrymula prosequamur. Tertium quod volebam, nimirum ut tibi gratias agerem de tuis in me aliosque (cum Tiguri cum meis vixeram) beneficiis, in aliam opportunitatem differam. Interim pietatem tuam et sanctos labores commendo Domino,

qui et nostram ecclesiam renascentem et vestram jam diu confirmatam suo sancto Spiritu dirigat, et ad omnia honesta, pia, sancta provehat. Amen. Junii 23.

Tibi deditissimus,

LAURENTIUS HUMFREDUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo et integerrimo viro,
Tigurinæ ecclesiæ antistiti,
Dom. Henrico Bullingero.
Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA X.

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS AD CONR. HUBERTUM.

S. D. QUEMADMODUM ante præsens solebam tua humanitate satis familiariter uti, carissime in Christo frater, ita etiam nunc absens operam tuam in re, ut spero, tibi non admodum difficili implorare non dubitabo. Opus enim mihi est amanuensi aliquo, qui mihi in gravioribus occupationibus et studiis, ad quæ quotidie vocor, ad manum sit. Nostris juvenibus, qui huic negotio apti esse possint, quia bonorum ministrorum maxima penuria laboramus, ad ecclesiæ ministeria uti cogimur. Peto igitur a tua pietate, ut si quem ex vestris adolescentibus invenire poteris, qui hoc laboris non illibenter subire velit, et mihi hac in re æquis conditionibus inservire (quarum te arbitrum constituo), illum ad me mitti cures, ac Johannis Abeli vel Gulielmi Salkyns opera hac in re utaris. In eo qui mittetur hæc requirerem, ut satis expedite Latine scriberet, und das die geschrift ziemlich gut wäre; præterea ut Græce, maxime vero ut Hebraice aliquantulum calleret, et a S. literarum studio non abhorreret. Quæ quidem omnia in vestris adolescentibus plerumque reperiuntur. Has vero condiciones ego vicissim offero. Primum, itineris ad nos sumptus ego perferam, et de pecunia numeranda Johanni Abelo scripsi: optarem etiam, si fieri posset, ut in ipsius comitatu veniret. Deinde utar eo non ad opera ulla laboriosa aut servilia, sed ad legendum, scribendum, et similia exercitia, nisi quod mensæ aliquando ministrare debeat, &c. Præterea in singulos annos, præter victum et duo Anglico more vestimenta, viginti aureos Rhenenses, aut (quod perinde est) viginti coronatos Anglicos ex pacto pro stipendio dabo, præter illud, quod ex mea liberalitate, prout occasio tulerit, adjicietur. Postremo, si aut propter valetudinem aut propter aliam justam causam (nimirum si Anglia illi non arriserit, aut

si a parentibus aut amicis avocatus fuerit), ego etiam pro reditu in patriam sumptus illi suppeditabo. Quod si nostram linguam, quæ non multum distat a Germanica, addiscere voluerit, non erit mihi difficile, uti spero, de conditione satis honesta illi prospicere. Quod si conditiones non satis æquas videar offerre, facile patiar, ut tua prudentia æquiores assignet. Eas ego, volente Domino, præstabo: tantum ut mihi probum ac pium adolescentem compares, quem ita tractare conabor, ut Angliam vidisse eum poenitere non possit. Oro ut D. Doct. Marchium meo nomine salutes, sine cuius ope atque auxilio hoc confici non posse satis scio, sed spero illum pro sua humanitate hanc petitionem satis æquis auribus accepturum. Neque enim vestris ecclesiis inutilior erit, quisquis fuerit, si post collectam ex aliquot annorum peregrinatione experientiam ad vos redierit.

Ecclesiæ nostræ status (ut ad eam rem veniam) fere idem est, qui ante fuit, quum proxime ad te scriberem, nisi quod jam in dies executioni mandantur, quæ antea de reformandis ecclesiis edictis ac legibus constabilita fuerunt. Episcopi papistici pene omnes depositi sunt, et si qui sunt reliqui, intra aliquot dies deponentur, quia nolunt papæ obedientiam abjurare. Sed tamen satis leniter, ne dicam nimium, cum illis agitur; permittitur enim illis privatam vitam vivere, et ecclesiarum spolia (ut D. Bucerus loqui solebat) devorare. Poenitet jam illos (ut multi existimant) suæ constantiæ, postquam Galliarum regem Henricum II. non sine manifesto divinæ vindictæ indicio e medio sublatum vident, in quo summa ipsorum spes collocata fuerat. Multi ex nostris, qui in Germania exulabant, jam sunt episcopi designati. Hæc fere habui de rebus nostris quæ scriberem. Buceri cremati historiam propediem missurum me confido. Oro ut Lutheri opera Germanica omnia, compacta a Christophoro vestro bibliopola, etiam mihi mittenda cures. Abelus aut Salkynus pecuniam numerabit. Hæc una causa est, cur Germanum amanuensem cuperem, quia vestram linguam prorsus dediscere nollem. Quod si apud vos neminem inveneris, scribe, quæso, ad amicos tuos Basilienses, ut vel inde mihi aliquem pares. Rescribe, quæso, tribus verbis, quid horum efficere poteris. Cetera fusius explicanda Jo. Abelo aut Gulielmo Salkyns relinquo. Opto te in Domino quam optime valere. Londini, 14 Julii, 1559.

Tuus totus in Domino,

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, Anglus.

*Amico et fratri in Christi carissimo
D. Conrado Huberto, fidelissimo
divini verbi ministro. Argentinæ.*

EPISTOLA XI.

PETRUS MARTYR AMICO CUIDAM IN ANGLIA.

TE totum, mi N., in tuis literis vidi. Utrinque times. Nam si rejicias ministerium, videris occasionem rei bene gerendæ corrumpere: sin vero functionem oblatam susceperis, jure meritoque vereris, ne iis institutis assentiri videaris, quæ purum Dei cultum non tantum imminuunt et diluunt, sed etiam corrumpunt, et mirum in modum labeffectant, etsi hominibus erga evangelium infirme animatis parum habere ponderis ac momenti videantur; nam ea omnia pro adiaphoris habent. At quis paulo rectius de religione institutus, videns te, Christi nuntium et strenuum evangelii buccinatorem, ad altare vestibus indutum coram imagine crucifixi precari, verba sacra recitare, distribuere sacramenta, non existimabit abs te quoque ritus istos non tantum ferri, sed etiam approbari? Unde tibi postea secus docenti fides minime habebitur. Qui enim aliter docet atque faciat, quæ destruit ædificat, et quæ ædificat vicissim evertit. Neque tali facto exemplum apostoli prætexi potest, qui Judaicas cæremonias aliquandiu integra conscientia retinuit: quoniam instituta Mosaica Dei auctoritate ac lege olim inducta fuerunt, non humano consilio reperta, neque damnata cultus gratia. At ista de quibus nunc agimus, et ab hominibus instituta sunt citra ullum divinum oraculum, et cultui, quem hodie quotquot pii sunt execrantur, splendide inservierunt. Utinam vidissent, qui hæc censuerunt conservanda, evangelium iis manentibus non satis esse firmum! Profecto si ex animo superstitiones odissemus, vel ipsa eorum vestigia omnibus modis curaremus extirpanda. Utinam hostium nostrorum perverso studio evasissemus aliquanto doctiores! Illi omnia sedulo evitant, quæcunque nostram religionem quocunque modo resipiunt, et data opera, quantum possunt, a simplici cultu Christi et apostolorum vetustissimo ritu descendunt. Cur nos vicissim non curamus ab illorum perniciosis institutis quam longissime abesse, atque simplicitatem apostolicam non tantum in doctrina, sed etiam in administratione sacramentorum æmulari? Non video qui hæc a vobis retenta possint recte adiaphora judicari. Certe spectatoribus quando referunt pestiferæ missæ expressam speciem, qua sibi ipsis impii homines admodum placebunt, missam quippe adeo rem sanctam fuisse dicent, ut ejus illustre simulacrum nec nobis quidem displicere potuerit; nam quamvis eam non retinemus, multis attamen et præclaris modis imitamur: quis ad hæc obstabit, quin ex adstantibus ii, quibus adhuc in præcordiis hæret papatus, imaginem crucifixi adorent? Facient porro, nec animi eorum motus prohiberi poterit. An dicent istorum consiliorum architecti non id suo, verum illorum vitio

feri, qui male sunt imbuti, et superstitionum suarum nimium tenaces? At se occasionem dare non poterunt inficiari: vae autem hominibus per quos venerit scandalum! Neque suae cogitationis ullum argumentum vel ex divinis literis vel ex ecclesiae primitivae institutis afferre poterunt. Quod si studium tantummodo faciendi novi foederis ad haec impellit; meminerimus pactum, inter nos et Deum sancitum olim, humanis foederibus praestare, ac videndum quam attentissime, ne dum civilia sectamur, coelestium jactura fiat. Quare, mi N. carissime in Christo frater, cum res hoc loco sint, duo tibi consulo: primum, ut concionandi functionem retineas, nec desinas publice ac privatim veritatem dogmatum propugnare, atque ritus offensionis et scandali plenos convellere; alterum, ut a ministerio sacramentorum tantisper abstineas, donec istae non ferendae maculae auferantur. Hac ratione rei bene gerendae occasio non amittetur, neque tuo exemplo alios in superstitionibus confirmabis. Atque hoc non mei unius consilium est: sed idem quoque reverendo atque viro clarissimo D. Bullingero videtur. De quaestione autem priori me rescripsisse memini: fortassis literae aut aberarunt, aut sunt interceptae. Atque nunc denuo respondi; verum ubi sint tuae literae ignoro, nec quaesitas reperire valui. Quod si ad eas rescribi optas, non graveris quae rogaveras iterum scribere. Salutes omnes amicos. Hic D. Bullingerus, uxor mea, et Julius cum sua et reliquis domesticis te salvere jubent. Ego vero tuae uxori ac Gianna privatim salutem dico. Decimo quinto Julii. Anno 1559.

EPISTOLA XII.

CONRADUS HUBERTUS AD THOMAM BLAURERUM.

SALUTEM in Servatore Christo. Triduum jam praeterfluxit, vir integerrime et mihi plurimum colende, ex quo literas ab amico mihi familiariter noto D. Edmundo Grindallo accepi. Is quum ob evangelii professionem cum aliquot aliis Anglis hic aliquandiu exulasset, mutata facie religionis, propter pietatem illius eximiam eruditioni conjunctam a regina revocatus in episcopum Londinensem nuper electus est. Quid vero inter alia istis literis a me petat, Diethelmus filius dabit descriptum, et meum amicorumque aliquot consilium simul aperiet. Tu quae es pietate et prudentia, huic (si approbaveris) calculum etiam tuum addere, occasionemque promovendi filium mihi carissimum, meo quidem iudicio haud vulgarem, vix negligere voles; praesertim in hac tua liberiorum benedictione. Equidem, ut verum fatear, institutum vestrum de abalienando quasi a studiis Diethelmo ad artem grammatisticam parum

mihi placuit, et nescio an fato impeditum hucusque fuerit, quemadmodum copiosius ipse referre tibi poterit. Paucis unum hoc tibi de me persuadeas velim, optime Blaurere, Hubertum tui tuorumque esse amantissimum, vestrarum etiam utilitatum percupidum. Brevior jam esse cogor partim propter ingredientis iter festinationem, partim vero propter negotia typographica, quibus tantum non obruor. Quare si quid aliud sit, quod tua scire referat, epistolam vivam eamque longe gratissimam hic habes. Vale in Christo cum omnibus tuis feliciter. Argentorati, 7 Augusti. Anno 1559.

Tuus CONRAD. HUBERTUS.

EPISTOLA XIII.

THOMAS LEVERUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

SALVE plurimum in Christo. Quoniam de multis majoribus negotiis nostræ reipublicæ et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ aliorum literis plenius et melius te doceri sciam, de minoribus paucis pro mea tenuitate nunc scribam. Inter redeundum a vobis versus Angliam, in itinere Argentorati vidi proclamationem, id est edictum literis editum auctoritate reginæ Elisabethæ severe prohibentis omnem prædicationem et sacræ scripturæ expositionem, aut ullam religionis immutationem per totam Angliam, donec summum concilium, quod nos vocamus parlamentum, postea convocandum, de religione concluderet. Sic ut in Angliam redii, juxta prædictam proclamationem vidi, imo videre nolui, missas et omnes papales nœnias atque abominationes ubique legum auctoritate munitas, atque evangelium ubique nullum, nisi inter quosdam Londini, qui aut coram regina in aula, solo quadragesimali tempore, pauculis consuetis diebus, admittebantur; aut in congregatione perseverante in latebris per totum tempus persecutionis, et tunc erumpente non ultra apertas privatas aedes, cessante persecutione per reginam Elisabetham, in privatis aedibus apertis, sed in nullis publicis templis mittebantur. Fuerat enim in tempore persecutionis sub Maria latitans congregatio fidelium Londini, inter quos semper prædicabatur evangelium cum sincera administratione sacramentorum; sed rigente persecutione sub Maria sese sedulo occultabant, atque cessante persecutione sub Elisabetha perseverabant in eadem congregatione etiam manifeste. Sed quia legibus regni damnata fuit illorum religio pia, magistratus, connivens ad frequentes conventus in privatis aedibus, noluit tamen permittere ut illa publica templa occuparent. Ad istos igitur non in publicis templis, sed in privatis aedibus, frequentes confluebant. Et quando inter illos celebrabatur

cœna Domini, non admittebantur extranei ulli, nisi qui a papismo et omnis infamiæ nota puri servabantur, aut qui, suam ipsorum defectio- nem et offensionem publicam ingenue agnoscentes, coram omnibus hu- militer veniam et reconciliationem peterent. Sic sane ego sæpius interfui, et vidi plurimos cum lacrymis redeuntes, et plures similiter cum lacry- mis recipientes tales ad communionem; ita ut nihil unquam potuerit esse suavius mutuis lacrymis illorum omnium sibi invicem condolentium peccata, et congratulantium reconciliationem atque societatem renovatam in Christo Jesu. Istis inflammati quidam concionatores e Germania in Angliam reversi, et intelligentes silentium mandatum usque ad tempus longum et incertum non convenire cum Paulino mandato et obstestatione prædicandi verbum Dei tempestive et intempestive, rogati statim in qui- busdam templis publicis prædicabamus evangelium, ad quod avide con- fluebat frequens auditorium. Atque cum de conversione ad Christum per veram pœnitentiam serio agebatur, tum multæ multorum lacrymæ abortæ testabantur prædicationem evangelii valere ad veram pœniten- tiam et salutarem resipiscentiam magis quam quicquid totus mundus excogitare aut probare possit. Nam dum ista inter privatos nulla pub- lica auctoritate probante gerebantur, ecce eodem tempore apud præcel- lentes potentia, opibus, et muneribus publicis, summa auctoritate legum, edictorum et consuetudinum, celebrabantur missæ cum omni papali idololatrica superstitione. Et jam tandem auctoritate parlamenti papismus abrogatur, atque vera religio Christi restituitur: hic mundus immundus, ut in illo, sic in ista non nisi turpe lucrum et foedam voluptatem sec- tatur. Convertuntur plurimi sic ab illo ad istam, ut nec illius fœces expurgare, nec istius puritatem amplecti, sed ad formam hujus seculi se fingere velint. Nam monumenta superstitionis, emolumenta lucri, liber- tatem, imo voluptatem carnis, magno cum scandalo et ignominia religionis quam profitentur, multi amant, habent, atque ostentant. Dabit tamen Deus tandem victoriam parvulis pusilli gregis Christi adversus potentes mundi tyrannos. Sanguinarii enim episcopi omnes hic apud nos depo- nuntur: docti, pii et prudentes ad visitandas omnes Angliæ regiones emittuntur. Zelosi prædicatores evangelii, qui primo contra edictum reginæ prædicabant, nunc in literis sigillo reginæ signatis habent libe- ram facultatem prædicandi per totam Angliam. Atque ego, qui diu in remotioribus partibus fui evangelizans inter imperitissimos, decrevi, Deo volente, cras e Londino revertere ad eosdem et similes, qui raro et nun- quam audire ullam evangelii Christi expositionem. Tales enim mihi videntur maxime desiderare et lubentissime excipere oblatam ædifica- tionem et consolationem in evangelio Christi. De me ipso non est quod amplius scribam, nisi quod nunc promittere velim per literas, quod pro occasione et facultate, quam Deus suppeditabit, semper fideliter præstabo; me omnem operam daturum, ut intelligatis tu et vestrates,

qui Anglos exulantes religionis causa benigne fovistis, nos tantæ beneficentiæ memores et non ingratos perpetuo perseveraturos. Commenda nos omnium piorum precibus. Saluta mihi uxorem tuam, optimam meam hospitem, cum liberis vestris, et totam familiam, quibus opto plurimas Dei benedictiones in Christo. Saluta ministros ecclesiæ apud vos, et seorsim præcipuas ejusdem columnas D. Bernardinum, D. Martyrem et D. Gualtherum. Dominus Jesus diu servet vos ad universæ ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem in Christo. Amen. Londini 8 Augusti, 1559.

Tuus tui semper studiosus fideliter in Christo,

TH. LEVERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo simul et sapientissimo patri,
D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori ec-
clesiæ vigilantissimo in Helvetia.
Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XIV.

PETRUS MARTYR AMICO CUËDAM IN ANGLIA.

QUAS literas ad me 27 Augusti dedisti, circa finem Octobris accepi: quare si respondeo tardius, culpa in me non hæret, præsertim cum tabelarios fidos Argentinam crebro non habeamus. Verum de tota ea re de qua nunc rogas, me scio ad te aliis meis literis luculenter scripsisse. Quare vel aberrarunt literæ, vel cum ista scriberes nondum acceperas. Attamen ut operam et consilium meum hic non desideres, quæ antea scripsi repeto. De impropiationibus nihil videtur esse laborandum: non enim in tua manu est, unde aut quomodo regina velit aut episcopo aut parochis victum seu stipendium persolvere. Quod si videantur illi esurire, pro eis vos ipsi precari ac intercedere poteritis; vel si abundantis, de vestro victu, si lautior fuerit, aliquid impertiri. De pileo quoque rotundo vel habitu extra sacra gestando, non arbitramur esse plus quam oporteat rixandum; non enim ibi superstitio videtur proprie locum habere. At de vestibus ut sacris in ministerio ipso adhibendis, cum speciem missæ referant, et sunt meræ papatus reliquiæ, Dominus Bullingerus censet non esse illis utendum, ne tuo exemplo res quæ scandalo est confirmetur. Ego vero etsi usui ejusmodi ornamentorum semper sum adversatus, quia tamen videbam esse præsens periculum, ne concionandi munere abdicaretis, et spem fortassis aliquam fore ut quemadmodum altaria et imagines ablatae sunt, ita etiam illæ species missæ auferantur, si tu et alii episcopatum adepti prorsus in id

incumberetis; quod minus forte procederet, si loco tuo alter successerit, qui non tantum illas reliquias repelli non curaret, sed potius defenderet, foveret, ac tueretur: idcirco tardior eram ad suadendum ut potius episcopatum recusares, quam ut illarum vestium usum reciperes. Attamen quia scandala ejus generis vidi prorsus evitanda, propterea in sententiam ejus facile cessi. Altaribus vero ac imaginibus conservatis, ego ipse ultro, quemadmodum aliis literis scripsi, nequaquam ministrandum censeo.

Hæc sunt quæ possum de re præsentī scribere. Tu vero id videto ne adversus conscientiam quicquam facias. Ceterum vereor ne literæ sero veniant; quam tamen culpam ego præstare non debeo, cum facultatem nullam scribendi omiserim. Ad extremum ego id te scire velim, quæstiones hujus generis nobis quoque duras esse; ideo consilium non tam facile dari potest. Ego cum essem Oxonii vestibis illis albis in choro nunquam uti volui, quamvis essem canonicus: mei facti ratio mihi constabat. Quare tibi quoque consulo, ut in arena consilium capias. Novi exemplum meum non debere tibi justam esse confirmationem: quod vero me movit et adhuc movet, et te fortasse movere poterit, nempe id non faciendum, quod ea confirmet, quæ conscientia mea non probet. Breviter jussisti ut scriberem, scripsi breviter. Tu boni consule, pro me ores, salutes amicos. Tibi salutem dicit D. Bullingerus, uxor mea, Julius cum sua. Plurimum vale, suavissime frater et domine in Christo colendissime. Tiguri, 4 Novembris, 1559.

EPISTOLA XV.

JOHANNES CALVINUS AD GULIELMUM CECILIUM.

REtulit mihi nuncius, cui meos in Isaiam commentarios serenissimæ reginæ offerendos dederam, quia mihi ob libellos quosdam hic editos offensa erat, officium meum ejus majestati non adeo fuisse gratum. Summam quoque mihi recitavit, clarissime vir, sermonis a te habiti, in quo mihi durior visus es, quam humanitas tua ferebat; præsertim quum jam tibi ex meis literis compertum esset, quantum mihi de tuo erga me amore promitterem. Etsi autem justæ causæ impediunt, quominus anxia disputatione me purgem, ne tamen silentio meo viderer malam conscientiam quodammodo fateri, paucis verbis ut res habeat duxi præstandum esse. Ante biennium Johannes Knoxus in privato colloquio quid de imperio muliebri sentirem me rogaverat. Respondi ingenue, quia a primo et genuino naturæ ordine deflecteret, mem randum esse inter homines desertione afflictos non minus quam servitutem; ceterum mulieres quasdam sic interdum fuisse donatas,

ut singularis benedictio, quæ in illis fulgebat, palam faceret cœlestibus auspiciis fuisse excitatas, sive quod virorum ignaviam damnare vellet Deus talibus exemplis, sive ut gloriam suam melius illustraret. Huldam produxi et Deborah: adjunxi non frustra Deum per os Isaïæ promittere reginas fore ecclesiæ nutrices, qua prærogativa a privatis fœminis discerni minime obscurum est. Tandem hæc fuit clausula, quoniam et more et publico consensu et longo temporis usu receptum foret, ut hæreditario jure ad fœminas regna et principatus venirent, hanc quæstionem non videri mihi movendam; non solum quia res odiosa esset, sed quia meo judicio fas non esset imperia quæ peculiari Dei providentia ordinantur convellere. De libro nihil sum suspicatus, ac toto anno editum esse nescivi: admonitus a quibusdam satis ostendi, quam mihi non placeret ejusmodi paradoxa vulgaris; sed quia secus erat remedium, putavi malum; quod jam corrigi non poterat, sepeliendum esse potius quam exagitandum. Inquire etiam ex socero tuo, cum me per Bezam commonefecisset, quid responderim. Et adhuc vivebat Maria, ut non debeat suspecta esse assentatio. Quid libri contineant, nescio; me vero non aliter locutum esse Knoxus quoque ipse fatebitur. Ceterum etsi querimoniis piorum hominum movebar, quia tamen non fueram in tempore edoctus, ne majores exorirentur turbæ, vehementer contendere ausus non sum. Si quem offendit mea facilitas, merito mihi timendum fuisse arbitror, ne re in judicium adducta, ob inconsideratum unius hominis fastum, misera exulum turba non tantum ex hac urbe, sed etiam ex toto fere orbe profligaretur; præsertim quia jam aliter malum sanari non poterat, quam mitigatione adhibita. Ultra quidem immerito gravor, quo magis sum miratus, ne liber meus admitteretur, quasi prætextu quæsito aliena deliria in me conferri. Poterat regina, si non placebat, oblatum munus uno verbo repudiare; idque erat magis ingenuum, mihi certe longe fuisset gratius, quam præter ignominiam repulsæ falsis criminibus onerari. Ego tamen serenissimam reginam semper venerabor, et te quoque, clarissime vir, ob præstantissimum ingenium aliasque virtutes amare et colere non desinam, quamvis minus amicum expertus sim quam speraveram, et mutuam quoque in posterum benevolentiam non referas; quod tamen ominari nolo. Vale, amantissime vir, et mihi observande. Dominus tibi semper adsit, te gubernet, tueatur, et donis suis locupletet. Genevæ. Quia dubito an tibi redditæ sint literæ meæ priores, exemplar tibi mittendum putavi.

JOHANNES CALVINUS.

EPISTOLA XVI.

FRANCISCUS COMES BEDFORDIENSIS AD RODOLPHUM
GUALTERUM.

SALUTEM in Christo. Literas tuas Januario ad me datas accepi: quibus hoc saltem Januario respondere malui, quam nunquam, ne non tardus modo in scribendo, sed omnino vel tui immemor vel officii hac in parte oblitus videar. Quod citius id factum non sit, in meliorem partem interpretaberis, si cogites nos longissimo intervallo locorum disjunctos esse, et non sæpe in fidos homines incidere, qui literas ad vos nostras perferant. Ut autem tandem aliquando rescribam, scias velim, literarum tuarum pietatem, consilii gravitatem, ecclesiæ nostræ singularem curam ac sinceram sollicitudinem, et benevolentiae erga me tuæ haud obscuram significationem valde placuisse; tibi que applaudenti et hortanti gratias habeo. Utinam applaudentis laudes mererer, quas tribuis! hortantis consilium utinam tam sequi possem, quam cupio, tam præstare, quam teneo memoria! Utinam ea nostra esset felicitas, ut res nostras sic esse cernere-mus, quemadmodum et ego opto et tu mones! longe tum melius ageretur nobiscum, tum præclarius. Sed non ignoras pro tua prudentia, rerum nascentium primordia difficiliora esse, nec consiliorum rationes subito sequi felicitatem successus, at sensim perfici; ac ut cetera omnia, sic religionem, cruda et infirma habere principia, habere auctus et progressus suos et maturitatem. Idque, spe bona fretus et misericordia Dei nostri clementissimi nixus, videor mihi vere posse polliceri, religionem hanc nostram, tyrannide temporis ceu turbine afflictam ac prostratam, divino beneficio nonnihil revirescentem magis ac magis radices acturam, et quæ nunc paulatim serpit et crescit, uberius et lætius florituram. Ego quoad possum in hoc versor pro virium mearum imbecillitate: contendunt eo et alii, ac imprimis huc collimat concionatorum quorundam pia sedulitas, nominatim vero Juellus episcopus nunc designatus, et Parkhurstus tuus; quibus ego, tum prædicatione tua tum commendatione virtutum ipsorum incensus, optime volo, ita uti debeo, et majoribus adeo fortunæ ornamentis dignos censeo. His aliisque fabris atque architectis opus est ad extruendam ecclesiam Dei. Opus est et opera vestra. Vobis ac piis precibus vestris commendamus nos et Angliam nostram. Orate ut hanc domum inchoatam in sanctum templum exædificet ad gloriam nominis sui et ad suorum consolationem. Is benedicat piis tuis laboribus. Vale, Gualtere, doctissime et humanissime vir. Salutabis mihi omnes in Domino fratres, quibus omnia fausta precor. Christus studia vestra fortunet, ut Satanæ regnum et mundi gloriam et antichristi potentiam indes magis ac magis

evertere studeatis et demoliri, quo Christi ecclesia apud vos et in omnibus locis salva et inconcussa conservetur.

Londini, 1560, Januar. 21.

Tuus ex animo,

F. BEDFORD.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Rodolpho Gualthero, Tigurinae ecclesiae, quae ad D. Petrum est, ministro dignissimo Tiguri.

EPISTOLA XVII.

PETRUS MARTYR AD THOMAM SAMPSONUM.

S. D. BINAS abs te literas, mi frater in Christo carissime, ac Domine magna reverentia suspiciende, unas Octobri mense datas, alteras vero Decembri, simul accepi, nempe 24 Januarii. Vides igitur quam tarde perferantur. Ad tuas interrogaciones jam antea bis respondi. Sed si literae intercipiuntur, aut quam tardissime redduntur, non sum accusandus negligentiae: quin potius literarum nostrarum dolenda est infelicitas, quam nos damnandi quasi officium scribendi intermisimus. Ceterum, missis querimoniis, ad ipsas res de quibus interrogas venio. Primum te hortor ne oblatae functioni te subducas, propter miram isthic ministrorum penuriam. Unde si vos, qui estis veluti columnae, detrectaveritis ecclesiastica munera obire, et pastoribus destituentur ecclesiae, et lupis et antichristis locum cedetis. Extra functionem permanentes non emendabitis quae displicent, imo concessa vix retinebitis. Quod si ad gubernacula ecclesiae sedeatis, spes est multa, etsi non omnia, posse corrigi. Abstulerunt, inquis, praedia: sed cogita vos non abalienasse. Inconsultis vobis haec facta sunt: nullam ergo culpam hic praestare tenemini. Parochis interea quid stipendii relinquitur? Ab episcopis pascendi erunt. Hic fidendum est Deo, qui aliquam viam patefaciet, et rationem eos alendi commonstrabit. Pascit volucres coeli, lilia vestit in agris, nec quemquam deserit recte in sua vocatione ambulantem. Cavendum vero ne judicemini ab his qui occasiones quaerunt, spectare vos scilicet commoda et opes. De pileo quadro et vestitu externo episcopali non arbitror multum disputandum; cum superstitione vacet, et rationem civilem in isto regno praesertim habere possit. De vestibis quas vocant sacras, fateor aliquid esse durius, et quod me ipsum non nihil perturbet, ut mirer illas adeo mordicus re-

tineri. Optarim enim omnia quam simplicissime fieri. Cum tamen cogito, si inter Saxonas et nostras ecclesias quoad dogmata pax obtinere posset, propter hujusmodi vestes haudquaquam separationem futuram; etsi enim illas minime probarem, ferremus tamen nobis gratulando quod eas abrogaverimus: vestibus ergo istis uti posses, vel in concione habenda vel in cœna Domini administranda, tamen ut dicere et docere contra earum usum pergeres. Nunquam vero consulam, ut vel concionaturus vel cœnam dominicam administraturus crucifixi imaginem super mensam habeas. De correctione papistarum quoad præterita, memineris pro pace non semel intermissam, et in ecclesia factam quandoque ἀμνηστίαν, hæreticosque receptos cum pristinis honoribus et gradibus, modo sanæ religioni subscriberent. Id vobis providendum est, ut in posterum nihil admittant, quod religioni modo receptæ adversetur. Illi vero qui vobis per advocaciones offeruntur promovendi a patronis, non debent a vobis institui, nisi religioni quæ modo viget subscripserint: quod si non fecerint, puto vobis relinqui liberum ut eos repudietis. De pane infermentato qui adhibetur cœnæ sacræ, tu ipse nosti omnes ecclesias nostras non litigare, imo omnes passim uti. Quod vero scribis permultos offendi vestitu illo episcopali et sacris vestibus, ut eas vocant, facile credo. At vos ibi culpam effugietis, si vestris concionibus ostenderitis eas vobis quoque displicere, atque omni studio conabimini ut aliquando tandem abrogentur. De illis autem ambulationibus in hebdomada Rogationum, quæ videntur ab ethnicorum Ambarvalibus defluxisse, quid recti consulere possim vix habeo. Id dico, superstitiones omnino vitandas. At si in ambulationibus iis Deus tantummodo oretur, ut novos fructus benigne suppeditet, et eorundem bonum usum largiatur, simulque gratiæ agantur de alimentis præteriti anni, videbuntur fortassis evitatae superstitiones. Quamvis et contra hujusmodi ritum sit et magistratus et populus edocendus, et pro viribus agendum ut explodantur seu reliquiæ Amorrhæorum.

Hæc habui, mi frater, in præsentia quæ scriberem. Deus aut hæc tibi persuadeat, aut meliora suggerat. Hac de re tota cum D. Bullingero contuli, qui et assentitur, et plurimam tibi salutem dicit. Mea quoque una cum Julio et Anna tibi ac tuis omnibus salutem volunt ascribi. Tiguri, Feb. 1560.

Tuus quantus quantus est,

PETRUS MARTYR.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

RICARDUS COXUS AD GEORGIUM CASSANDRUM.

Si omnia humanitatis tuæ officia erga me enumerare pergerem, frustra equidem laborarem, carissime in Christo Cassander. Intcrim in pectoris mei adyto reposita ea esse scias, utpote quorum nulla me unquam ceperit oblivio. Postquam visum fuit Domino nostro, de cujus providentia semper pendemus, nos in patriam revocare, cum primis ipse Wormatia discessi, et Coloniam veni, ibi Cassandrum Corneliumque salutaturus eisque valedicturus. Neutrum reperi. Illinc recta in Angliam. Ibi pacata omnia, (sit Deo gratia!) mortua Maria. Regnat Elizabetha, pietatis amatrix et fautrix: per hanc pulsa superstitio papistica, restauratum evangelium Christi, pulsati ministri papistici, restituti pastores Christi. Det Dominus ut evangelii Christi professionem vita evangelio digna exprimamus, ne scilicet posthac deterius nobis contingat. Non contentio est, sed neque integra inter nos consensus de imagine crucifixi in templis erigenda, quemadmodum hactenus usurpatum fuit. Alii existimant licere, modo absit cultus aut veneratio ipsi imagini exhibenda. Alii putant ita in universum omnes imagines prohibitas, ut nefas sit ullam omnino in templis perstare propter periculum ita inseparabiliter annexum. In hoc autem statu nunc sumus, ut nulla hodie in ecclesiis extare cernatur. Hac in re, quoniam iudicio tuo plurimum semper detuli, te vehementer rogatum velim, ut animi tui sententiam paucis mihi explicare digneris. Quod scribam ad te hoc tempore nihil relatu dignum habeo, nisi quod Scoti nobis vicini sibi nonnihil a Gallis metuant, præsertim qui evangelium amplectuntur, quæ pars illorum bene magna est. Rogandus Dominus ut ab illorum partibus stare dignetur. Libenter cognoscerem ducem vestrum, pro ea qua illum prosequor veneratione, veram Christi religionem propagare invitis papistis omnibus. Vale in Christo, carissime Cassander, salutemque dicito fidissimo Achatu tuo, dominisque meis dilectissimis Gerardo Mercatori, Johanni et Gualtero Gymnico et Ambrosio, Duisburgensibus. E civitate Londini in Anglia ex ædibus meis Holburnensibus. 4 Martii, 1560.

Tui studiosissimus,

RICARDUS COXUS,

Eliensis Episcopus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximie pietatis et eruditionis viro,
D. Georgio Cassandro, amico meo
longe carissimo, apud Coloniam
Agrippinam.*

EPISTOLA XIX.

GEORGIUS CASSANDER AD RICARDUM COXUM.

ACCEPI abs te, reverende Domine, literas 4 Martii Londini scriptas, quibus quod tardius et brevius respondeo, in causa fuit vehemens morbus, qui me paulo post acceptas tuas literas invasit, unde vixdum convalescere cepei. Evectum te ad dignitatem seu potius munus et officium episcopi libens intellexi, rogoque Deum ut suum tibi Spiritum impertiatur, ejus subsidio munus illud ad tuam salutem et gregis tibi crediti ædificationem impleas. Te autem in eo fastigio collocatum nostræ adhuc tenuitatis et humilitatis non immemorem fuisse habeo gratiam, ac munusculum illud duorum coronatorum, quod literis inclusum erat, pro symbolo pristinæ nostræ consuetudinis libenter accepi. Intellego de imagine crucis seu crucifixi in templo collocanda non per omnia inter vos convenire: nec satis tamen intellego, an de crucis tantum nuda figura, an de imagine Christi cruci quoque appendentis agatur. Vidimus hic figuram quandam typis expressam, quæ in medio crucem tantum continebat, testimoniis quibusdam scripturæ sacræ lingua Anglicana utrinque ascriptis, unde suspicor de crucis tantum figura quæri. Quod autem meam sententiam hic postulas, modestiam vestram agnosco: cur enim, cum tot uberrimis fontibus abundetis, tam exiguo et turbido fonticulo aquam potatis? Dicam tamen breviter quando ita vultis. Scit vestra excellentia, apud priscos Christianos quam frequenti in usu, et quanto in honore fuerit crucis character ut passim in ædibus sacris, profanis, publicis, privatis collocaretur et depingeretur, idque antequam consuetudo aliarum imaginum, vel Christi ipsius vel sanctorum, in templis constituendarum recepta esset; ut monumentis omnibus idololatriæ, quibus omnia contaminabantur, abolitis, in eorum locum crucis figura, quæ Christianismi tanquam sacrum quoddam symbolum erat, auspicio meliore succederet. Et quemadmodum in evangelicis et apostolicis literis crucis vocabulum mystice passionem, mortem, triumphum Christi et afflictiones sanctorum significat; ita figura quoque crucis passim constituta et in oculos incurrente, tanquam mystico quodam symbolo, hæc omnia designari et hominum animis infigi voluerunt: quare inter crucis figuram seu characterem, et reliquas imagines magnum discrimen posuerunt. Qua de re videre licet Carolum Magnum, L. II. c. xxviii. contra Synodum Græcorum: "In his enim simplicem et nudam esse significationem; in illa vero arcanam et mysticam repræsentationem." Quare non pro nudo signo, sed pro mysterio quodam habebatur, sic ut non tantum materia et coloribus in templis, ædibus, et parietibus exprimeretur, sed etiam manibus in fronte et pectore crebro deformaretur; cui rei antiquissimi scriptores ecclesiastici

Græci Latinique summa consensione testimonio sunt. Quæ observatio cum antiquissima sit per omnes ecclesias, nolim eam superstitionis argui : superstitionem vero populi, quæ optimis quibusque rebus et institutis agnoscitur, rescindi et caveri velim : quod in figura illa quam nos hic vidimus studio habuisse videmini. Sed boni consuletis, quæso, si, quid in ea desiderem, libere dixerem. Primum enim in hoc signo crucis efformando optarim ad ipsius archetypi (hoc est veræ crucis, in quo Servator noster oblatus est) speciem et ideam respectus haberetur ; quod in reliquis quoque imaginibus illustrium et sanctorum hominum si diligenter observaretur, minus esset incommodi ; videlicet ut ad solam memoriam conservarentur et inspicerentur, quomodo hodieque in numismatis Romanorum principum et aliorum insignium virorum effigies servari videmus. Porro crucis figura quæ fuerit, tum ex vetustis aliquot imaginibus et statuis, quarum aliquot vidimus, tum perspicue ex antiquissimo scriptore Irenæo et recentiore Gregorio Turonense apparet ; cui rei et ipsa quoque ratio suffragatur. Nam qui quæso fieri posset, ut humanum corpus jam morte quoque imminente ingravescens, et exporrectum dependens, non mole sua et pondere palmas affixas discerneret ? Cui rei ita prospectum erat, ut in medio fere stantis et erecti stipitis tabella immitteretur, cui plantæ hominis eo supplicio affecti insistebant et claves affigebantur, ita ut non tam pendentis quam stantis hominis speciem repræsentaret. Verba Irenæi perspicua sunt. “Ipse,” inquit, “habitus crucis fines et summitates habet quinque, duos in longitudine, et duos in latitudine, et unum in medio, ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur¹.” Iis plane consentit Gregorius Turonensis : “Clavorum ergo,” inquit, “dominorum gratia, quod quatuor fuerint, hæc est ratio : duo sunt affixi in palmis et duo in plantis ; et quæritur cur plantæ affixæ sint, quæ in cruce sancta dependere visæ sunt potius quam stare ? Sed in stipite erecto foramen factum manifestum est. Pes quoque parvulæ tabulæ in hoc foramen insertus est. Super hanc vero tabulam tanquam stantis hominis sacræ affixæ sunt plantæ².” Hujusmodi crucis figuras non parvas vidi, tum in his locis antiquitus expressas, tum unam insignem in ultima Armenia depictam, quam Armenius quidam sacerdos in libro sacrarum precum suæ gentis lingua et characteribus descriptam circumferebat ; in quibus omnibus figuris tabella hujusmodi ex descriptione Irenæi et Gregorii Turonensis manifeste imminebat. Quæ etsi minutiora quidam judicabunt, aliis tamen decori amantibus displicitura non puto.

Alterum est quod vobis exponendum propono, num convenientius esset, loco illorum testimoniorum scripturæ, quibus undique crucis illam figuram cinxistis et muniistis, ea testimonia adscribi, quæ crucis mysterium et arcanam significationem explicant ; quæ et satis multæ et ad institutionem populi aptissimæ in scriptis novi testamenti extant, atque totum et re-

¹ Lib. II. c. 42.² Lib. I. de Glor. Mart. c. vi.

demptionis nostræ per Christum et regenerationis nostræ in Christo mysterium continent: cujusmodi sunt Coloss. cap. ii.: "Et vos, cum mortui essetis in delictis et præputio carnis vestræ, convivicavit cum illo, donans vobis omnia delicta, delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio affigens illud cruci, et exspolians principatus et potestates traducit confidenter palam triumphans illos in semetipso." Et cap. i.: "Et ipse (scilicet Filius Dei) est caput corporis ecclesiæ, qui est principium, primogenitus ex mortuis, ut sit in omnibus ipse primatum tenens, quia in ipso complacuit omnem plenitudinem inhabitare, et per eum reconciliare omnia in ipsum, pacificans per sanguinem crucis ejus, sive quæ in terris, sive quæ in cœlis sunt." Et Gal. vi.: "Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quam mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo." I Cor. i.: "Ut non evacuetur crux Christi." Gal. ii.: "Ego enim per legem legi mortuus sum, ut Deo vivam: cum Christo confixus sum cruci." Et Matth. x.: "Qui non accipit crucem suam et sequitur me, non est me dignus." Et cap. xvi.: "Si quis venire vult post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me." Hæc et his similia testimonia populum de vero usu mysterii crucis edocerent: sed hoc vos pro vestra prudentia melius. Ego imprudens, qui "sus Minervam," nisi mihi non aliquo modo meam erga te observantiam declarare nefas duxissem.

Tu (non dubito) qua modestia et humanitate ad nos scripsisti, eadem hæc nostra rudia et inculta scripta suscipies.

Vale.

EPISTOLA XX.

PETRUS MARTYR AD THOMAM SAMPSONUM.

S. D. Ad eas literas quas me 6 Januarii scripsisti non antea respondi, quoniam Kalendis Martiis eas accepi, neque Tiguri tabellariorum copiam facilem habemus. Nunc id tibi persuadere debes, quæ tibi et tui similibus dolent, et mihi et fratribus vehementer dolere. Ut autem quæstionibus tuis denuo respondeam, non arbitror esse admodum operæ pretium, quia meas omnes existimo ad te pervenisse; quibus ut potui, non fortassis quantum res exigebat, quantumve ipse desiderabas, respondi: attamen ea dixi quæ tunc ad negotium facere videbantur. Quæ vos timetis, nos a vobis non possumus nisi precibus avertere, quod sedulo, mihi crede, facimus et faciemus. Denique, ut ad tuam postremam questionem veniam, crucifixi habere signum in sacra mensa, dum cœna

Domini administratur, ego inter adiaphora non habeo, neque consulerem cuiquam ut eo ritu sacramenta distribueret. Tu autem, qui es in ipso certamine, consilia hinc non exspectes, valde quippe sumus a vobis procul; in ipsa arena consultetis. Vocatio non est temere abjicienda, nec etiam cum veritatis injuria suscipienda. Summa est, imaginum cultus nullo modo toleretur. Nec vel D. Bullingerus vel ego talia pro adiaphoris habemus; imo tanquam prohibita repudiamus. Tu vero nisi ad hæc adigaris, quod offertur ministerium ne recuses. De scribendis literis ad reginam ista de causa, sic accipe. Tantis nunc obruor occupationibus, ut etiam si maxime velim non possim. Etenim a duobus propemodum mensibus in schola solus doceo, causam vero non est quod literis committam. Huc deinde accedit, quod meas literas non existimo habituras multum ponderis. Scripsi jam bis publice ac privatim; nec intelligere potui an ea quæ scripsi accepta fuerint. Præterea si, ut dicitur, consilium est vestratum, ut Augustanam confessionem amplectantur, et fœdus protestantium ambient, ipse cogitare potes quo loco meæ ac mei similibus literæ sint habendæ. Quod unum possum, non deero precibus, ut regnum et ecclesia vestra una cum serenissima regina quam felicissime vivant. Causam tamen egi ut volebas cum Domino Bernardino. Is est valetudinarius, cum senio tum recurrentibus senum morbis: at tamen scribendi provinciam non recusavit; imo se facturum pollicetur cum poterit. De Bullingero non dubito quin sit scripturus; est enim in hac causa quam optime animatus, quanquam lectis tuis literis nihil adhuc mihi indicaverit, quod queam tibi significare. Sed sane vos estis mirabiles homines. Publicis literis Helvetiorum nihil defertis, imo ne quidem respondetis: quantum privatae apud vos, obsecro, valebunt? Sed hæc apud te habeto, nec ad ea quicquam respondeas, ne literæ vel aberrant vel intercipientur. Vale. D. Bullingerus, omnes symmystæ, mea uxor, Julius cum sua tibi salutem dicunt. Mihi natus est filius 2 Martii, et 10 obiit. Omnes tuos meo nomine salvare jubeas, et Martyrem tuum amare non desinas. 20 Mart. 1560.

Tuus quantus est,

PETRUS MARTYR.

EPISTOLA XXI.

NICOLAS GALLASIUS AD JOHANNEM CALVINUM.

EPISCOPUM adii, a quo perhumaniter sum exceptus. Literas tuas, mi pater, ei obtuli, quas aperto et hilari vultu perlegit me præsentem, ac statim quid in iis contineretur paucis mihi retulit: gratias agens

tibi, quod tam familiariter ad eum scriberes, atque etiam de officio suo ipsum moneres. Accessit ad seniores qui mecum ad ædes venerant, quorum nonnullis parum gratus erat adventus meus; ipsosque admonuit ne ingrati essent Deo et vobis, quum plus obtinuissent quam ausi essent sperare; ut parerent adhortationibus meis, et omnia deinceps tractarent consilio meo; ut se mihi præberent humanos, totamque ecclesiam de officio erga me suo admonerent. Tum seorsim ad me conversus, se suaque omnia mihi obtulit, ut quoties vellem ad ipsum accederem familiariter. Petii ut ipsius auctoritate omnia in ecclesia nostra statuerentur, quo melius in officio continerentur nostri homines, et cum legerentur vestræ ad ipsos literæ, ipsi adesse vel potius præesse liberet. Respondit se omnem auctoritatem in hac re suam mihi resignare; si quid tamen prodesse possit, se libenter adfuturum. Addidit postea nonnihil de adlegendo collega Petro Alexandro, qui populo gratus erat, et colligere cœperat ecclesiam ante adventum meum; atque eo gratior quod nulla stipendia peteret, neque tenui nunc et inopi ecclesiæ oneri futurus esset: habet enim opimum sacerdotium Cantuariæ, cujus reditus absens hujus muneris prætextu facile perciperet. Dixi de hac re amplius deliberandum et communicandum esse, nihil vero me inconsulto ipso facturum. Londini, Prid. Cal. Jul. 1560.

EPISTOLA XXII.

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS AD CONRADUM HUBERTUM.

S. D. MITTO jam tandem, Conrade humanissime, promissam exhumati Buceri et Phagii historiam, quam a docto quodam viro, qui totius tragediæ spectator fuit, diligenter describendam curavi. Quod autem satis tarde promissam fidem exsolvo, multæ causæ fuerunt, quæ partim ex muneris mei occupationibus, quæ in ista evangelicæ doctrinæ restitutione, quam Domini benignitate per illustrissimæ reginæ nostræ ministerium dudum sumus assecuti, satis multæ et magnæ fuere, partim vero ex captata opportunitate restitutionis famæ (ut vocant) D. Buceri et Phagii per academiam Cantabrigiensem, publico et solenni decreto perficiendæ, ortæ sunt. Nolui enim ut patriæ nostræ (licet oppressum tum temporis tyrannide Romanensium) erga Buceri manes ingratitude atque immanitatis prius extaret testimonium, quam gratitudinis et pietatis. Habes igitur jam Bucerum non solum exhumatum, verum etiam restitutum et quodammodo redivivum. Mitto etiam auctarii vice quædam ipsius Buceri scripta, quæ hactenus inter reverendissimi D. Cantuarensis schedas delituerant, ab ipsomet mihi in hunc finem tradita. Salutes (quæso) meo nomine universum collegium, tum ministrorum, tum etiam Professorum

apud vos ; imprimis DD. Marpachium, Johan. Sturmium, D. Zanchum, DD. Andernachum et Sebaldum. Commendate Deo in precibus vestris ecclesias nostras, jam denuo in Christum caput suum coalescentes. Reipublicæ Argentinensi cum ego, tum ceteri omnes, exilii nostri tempore humanissime ibi hospitio suscepti, omnia fausta ac læta precamur ; parati etiam omnem gratitudinem vicissim exhibere, si qua in re usui illi esse possimus. Salutabis etiam hospitem meum humanissimum D. Jacobum Heldelinum, pastorem Wasselheimensem, una cum sua conjuge honestissima.

Dominus vos omnes conservet et Spiritu suo regat. Amen.

Datae Londini, 3 non. Octobris, anno M.D.LX.

Tui in Christo amantissimus,

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS,

Ep. Londinens.

Misi fere ipsa archetypa. Si in ordine aut orthographia quid peccatum fuerit, poteris in erratis corrigendis tuo iudicio uti.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Dem Ersamen wolgelerten Herren Conraden
Hubert diener der kirchen zu Strasburg
meinem insonders lieben und gutten
fründ zu handen. Straszburg.*

EPISTOLA XXIII.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD D. FRANCISCUM RUSSELLUM.

GRATIA et pax a Deo Patre per Jesum Christum. Redditæ sunt mihi, illustrissime princeps, literæ, quas tua clementia Januarii 21 anni superioris ad me dedit. Fuerunt illæ mihi multis modis gratissimæ. Nam et animi tui vere pii et christiani specimen luculentum exhibebant, et de communi apud vos religionis statu ea prædicabant, quæ non poterant non jucundissima esse omnibus, qui et Angliæ privatim et toti per orbem ecclesiæ publice consultum volunt. Etsi vero ad tuas respondendi animus semper mihi promptus esset, distuli tamen in hunc usque diem, quod indignum putabam, si clementiam tuam ; gravioribus negotiis occupatam, literis non usque adeo magni momenti inturbarem. Nunc vero scribendi occasionem mihi dedit Joannes Heinrichus Fabritius, qui has tibi reddet. Est is patricio genere natus, indolis bonæ et magnæ spei juvenis. Patrem habet summæ in nostra republica auctoritatis virum, et signiferum (uti vocant) supremum. Is cum filium primo domi meæ toto triennio educari

et institui curavisset, postea in Galliam ablegavit, ut illic studia bonarum literarum continuaret. Paulo post a rege Navarræ in aulam adoptatus est, ubi inter pueros nobiles primum reginæ, deinde ipsi regi inservivit; et tandem evoluta eo tempore, quo ejus ordinis pueri servire solent, honorifice dimissus est. Pater vero, quia filio propter ætatem minus adhuc consultum arbitratur, si illum domi apud se retineat, Germanorum vero principum aulas hominibus ebriosis et lascivis refertas esse novit, quorum commercio optimi quoque juvenes potius corrumpi possunt, quam in melius proficere, ex meo et imprimis D. Bullingeri consilio illum in Angliam ablegare voluit, si forte vel apud tuam clementiam vel apud serenissimæ reginæ majestatem, aut alium principem pium, locum inveniat. Linguam Latinam mediocriter tenet, in Gallica cum dicendo tum scribendo plus profecit, quam homo Germanus facile sperare queat. Aulicæ vitæ officia obire didicit: ingenio autem et industria sic valet, ut illius servitium nec ingratum nec inutile ei fore speremus, qui illum recipere dignabitur. Tuæ vero clementiæ potissimum illum voluimus commendare, quia de hac nobis spes magna est, et eandem apud regiam majestatem et alios regni proceres auctoritate plurimum valere scimus. Et si id nobis per tuam incredibilem humanitatem licet, etiam atque etiam rogamus, ut juvenem optimum tibi commendatum habeas. Ita enim et patri ejus, viro integerrimo, gratificaberis, et Tigurinam quoque rempublicam tibi beneficio non vulgari obstrings, in qua ille (si vixerit) aliquem locum non postremum est habiturus. Deus Pater misericordiæ tuam clementiam suo Spiritu regat, et in Filii sui Jesu Christi cognitione perpetuo servet atque confirmet. Amen. Datæ Tiguri, 16 Martii, anno Christi incarnati M.D.LXI.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Illustrissimo principi, Domino Francisco
Russello, Comiti Bedfordiensi.*

EPISTOLA XXIV

FRANCISCUS COMES BEDFORDIENSIS AD RODOLPHUM
GUALTERUM.

S. P. D. TANTA fuit vestrum omnium tuaque imprimis et D. Bullingeri erga me humanitas, quum isthic essem, ut non dedisse, sed accepisse beneficium existimem, quoties vobis ulla in re gratificari possum. Adolescentem per vos mihi commendatum promovi apud vice-camerarium serenissimæ reginæ, virum et pium et in summa auctoritate. Spero itaque illi honeste prospectum. Interim si quid illi acciderit, in quo mea opera prodesse poterit, non deero: eandem tibi et toti ecclesiæ vestræ paratissimam semper fore, ut persuasissimum habeas cupio.

Quo in statu sint res nostræ, ex Julio plene ac minutim intelliges: quare non ero prolixior in præsentia. Tu interea bene ac feliciter vale cum piis omnibus, meque familiariter utere quoties occasio dabitur. Londini, die 16 Junii, 1561.

Tuæ pietati ac eruditioni addictissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Egregia pietate ac eruditione præstanti,
D. Rodolpho Gualthero.*

EPISTOLA XXV

RICARDUS MASTERUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

STATIM post coronationem illustrissimæ nostræ reginæ literas tuas accepi, dulcissime Gualtere, per Parkhurstum nostrum in suo reditu ad nos a Tiguro traditas. Quibus non multo post respondi, sed Antwerpianam missæ: post unius anni spatium eas intercidisse intellexi, et una cum iis tabellarium in mari submersum. Quod mediusfidius non tam tuli graviter, quam vehementer timui ne me spretæ amicitiae reum argueres, quod ad tuas non responderim post longum inter nos habitum silentium; idque merito facere potuisses, nisi me tam justa excusationis ratio absolvisset. Hanc opinionem auxit Burcherus, confirmavit Julius, uterque a Tiguro ad nos sine literis. Sed noli, obsecro, mi Gualtere, tam sinistram de me opinionem concipere. Eo enim semper fui ingenio, ut in suspicionem neglectæ amicitiae alicui venire admodum reformidem, ut etiam in contrariam reprehensionem longe malim incurrere. Nec quenquam puto esse, qui de me hac maxime in parte possit juste conqueri. Quid enim eam fastidirem quæ honesta aliqua ratione conciliatur? Sed eam potius amplector, veneror, et tantum non superstitione colo, quam mihi cum tui similibus, id est, doctis et probis viris, studia literarum morumque integritas (quæ duo sunt amicitiae arctissima vincula) pariunt, augment, servantque constantissime. Tuum me esse, teque et quæ a te proficiuntur omnia esse gratissima mihi et carissima (ut digna sunt), obsecro ut existimes. Quod re ipsa experieris, si quavis in re tibi gratificari poterō. Alius enim non sum ab eo qui eram, cum dulcissima consuetudine colloquioque gratissimo Oxonii agens fruerer, dum religio vera in herba esset.

Quod ad literas tuas pertinet, religiose tibi affirmo, easdem ipsas ostensas fuisse reginæ nostræ, ut quid inde caperet consilii in sincera religione stabilienda et mixta vitanda, aliorum docta malis, etiam atque

etiam videret; effecique ut optimatibus iis ostenderentur, quos sciebam promptos ad id quod tu pie exhortabar is promovendum. Sed quid factum est, quando vivam epistolam Julium habeo, non opus erit exponere. Non dubito Deum Opt. Max. quod feliciter inceptum est, ad maturam frugem perducturum; idque votis communibus comprecemur. Vale, ac tibi persuade, qui plura fausta feliciaque tibi ominetur, qui denique magis ex animo te amet ac diligat, quam Masterus esse neminem. Iterum ac millies vale. Ex aula Grenevichia prope Londinum, 16 Junii.

Tuus ex animo velut frater,

RICHARDUS MASTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Piüssimo ac omni virtutis genere ornatissimo viro D. Rodolpho Gualtero, divini verbi in ecclesia Tigurina concionatori. Hæ tradantur in Helvetia.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

PETRUS MARTYR ILLUSTRISSIMO PRINCIPI N. IN ANGLIAM.

PERMULTIS magnisque de causis, illustrissime princeps, tuæ celsitudini sum vehementer obstrictus. Etenim erga me, satis vilem et obscurum homuncionem, quem tantum semel et vix quidem in Anglia videris, ita es affectus, ut nunc Julium administrum meum humanitate atque benevolentia singulari exceperis, illumque prosequutus fueris favore non mediocri, sed maximo, in suo negotio exequendo. Quamobrem tuæ celsitudini gratias ingentes ago. Præterea id huc accedit, quod ad me literas dedisti: literas autem? imo laudes et præconia cum doctrinæ tum virtutum mearum; quas licet in me non agnoscam, attamen iudicio tuo non potui non oblectari, quod id amoris et benevolentiae tuæ in me testimonium certissimum intellexerim, neque alia de causa me sentiam abs te amari, quam pietatis ac religionis ergo. Mitto commemorare quam egregiam voluntatem ostendas mei reditus in Angliam, quam etiam tibi cum piis et doctis viris affirmas esse communem. Quanti vero id est, quod majestati reginæ suggesseris vocationis meæ rationem esse habendam, atque me apud illam in gratiam posueris! Denique pollicitus es omnia studia et commoda quibus me possis afficere, ac dixisti causas et quidem præclarissimas hujusmodi tui affectus, caritatem patriæ, et excellentem verbi Dei promovendi curam. Talem principem quis non amet? Porro mihi pietas, nedum humanitas defuerit,

si tantæ benevolentiaë totque beneficiorum oblivio animum meum unquam ceperit. Dabo itaque operam, et quidem maximopere, ut mihi nunquam excidant.

Quod autem superest de reditu meo in Angliam, etsi quod vehementer cuperem nequeo respondere, tu, illustrissime princeps, quæ tua clementia est, in bonam partem accipias quod rescribo. Primum, nolim putes a me quicquam vehementius expeti, quam Angliæ solidam firmamque in Domino salutem. Unde illius commodis et ædificationi, æque ac olim feci, optarim etiam nunc inservire, atque regno vestro et ecclesiæ tum gratificari cum prodesse. Verum in præsentia rationes meæ sic habent, ut civitati et ecclesiæ Tigurinæ sim addictus, et ideo non mei juris. Propterea tam magistratus quam symmystarum iudicium et voluntatem hac de re quæsivi. Et sane in eis reperi singulare studium propensissimumque animum satisfaciendi vestro desiderio. Etenim cave putes illis quicquam aut gratius aut antiquius esse, quam ut veritas evangelica latissime propagetur. Verum altera ex parte, quæ sit constitutio, status, ætasve mea, non minus prudenter quam amanter expendunt, et satis verentur, ne jam gravis annis et quodammodo fractus laborem itineris ferre nequeam, quod satis longum est, varium, et non ubique facile. Vident præterea in diversis locis pericula non levia imminere. Deinde considerant me ad labores multo graviores quam hic feram evocari. Quamobrem facile fore conjiciunt, ut neque sibi neque vobis possim inservire: judicant itaque multo satius esse, ut hic maneam, quo docendo, scribendo, ac edendo quæ fuerim commentatus, ipsis, vobis, et aliis pro mea virili sim adjumento.

In hoc vero bipartito responso, primum caput mihi similitudinem veri habere videtur; nam ipse quoque metuo ne sim ferendo itinera et labores. At in altero vereor ipsos falli, qui arbitrentur me hic manendo et quiescendo posse tam multis prodesse; meas quippe lucubrationes pluris faciunt quam mereantur. Ego vero, quem tenuitas, jejunitas, et exilitas meæ doctrinæ minime latet, solum prioris capituli ratione illis assentior ut maneam. Nam facile adducor ut credam, itinere ac laboribus me facile debilitandum ac labefactandum, ita ut inutilis prorsus reddar. Quamobrem tuam celsitudinem imprimis, deinde probos et doctos viros quæso, ut voluntatem accipiant, ubi rem ipsam, quam sibi optant impendi, ob meam imbecillitatem assequi non possunt. Durum quippe telum necessitas, contra quam luctari videtur nihil aliud esse quam Deum tentare. Sed illud interea te velim meminisse, illustrissime princeps, ubivis gentium me tuæ celsitudini semper fore deditissimum. Vicissim autem rogo, ut caritatem patriæ religionisque promovendæ studium non tantum retineas, verum indies cures etiam atque etiam in tuo christiano pectore augeri, quo pennæ olim evangelio Filii Dei præcisæ renascantur, et ita renascantur, ut celeri cursu omnes vestras provin-

cias, urbes et vicos, uberrimo fructu pervadat. Hoc utique duplici studio si ut ocepisti perpetuo inflammeris, et Deus Opt. Maxim. te probabit, et omnes cordati piique viri ut probum civem utilemque principem celebrabunt. Deus te per Christum incolumem ac felicem diu tueatur! Datum Tiguri, 22 Julii, 1561.

EPISTOLA XXVII.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD D. FRANCISCUM RUSSELLUM.

GRATAS fuisse clementiæ tuæ literas meas, quibus Johannem Heinrichum Fabricium commendavi, vehementer gaudeo. Is certe tuæ clementiæ studium erga se et egregiam erga nos omnes voluntatem mirifice prædicat: quo nomine dignus videtur, quem tua clementia amare et fovere pergat. Narravi patri ejus, viro apud nos summæ auctoritatis, quanto studio et favore illum complectaris; qui ut suo nomine tuæ clementiæ gratias quam maximas agerem præcepit. Curabimus omnes nos, sicubi dederit occasio, ne beneficium in ingratos contulisse videre. Angliam vestram tum in religione tum in aliis omnibus bene et feliciter habere, ex Julio nostro intelleximus. Rogamus autem Deum Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut quod bene cœptum est suo favore ad finem optatum et sui nominis gloriam deducere pergat. Urget concilii Tridentini continuationem Romanus antichristus, et ex suis partibus habet reges et principes non contemnendos. Sed fortior omnibus istis est Christus Dominus, cui omnis potestas in cœlo et in terris data est. Videt is contra se conjurantium conatus, et ex alto deridet, sicuti David in Psalmis testatur. Plura non scribo, ne clementiam tuam pluribus et gravioribus negotiis occupatam diutius detineam. Deus Pater misericordiæ illam suo Spiritu regat, et in Filii sui Jesu Christi cognitione perpetuo servet atque confirmet! Amen. Datæ Tiguri, 26 Augusti, 1561.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Illustrissimo principi D. Francisco
Russello, comiti Bedfordiensi.*

EPISTOLA XXVIII.

RICARDUS MASTERUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

S. in Domino semper. PRIUSQUAM literas tuas acceperam, doctissime Gualtere, in Henrici Fabricii optimi juvenis favorem scriptas, quid

illi tui et tuorum causa in primo suo ad nos adpulsu obtulerim, quando ego nunc non exponam, ille quum ad vos redierit palam referet; tametsi, ut verum fatear, tunc non intellexeram te ullam majorem curam illius recepisse, quam vel plebei cujusquam alterius Tigurini. Sed postquam per literas tuas perspexi quam esset tibi carus, rursus sedulo hominem adivi, omnia sciscitans quæ in rem suam fore arbitrabar; incitansque illum quam potui alacriter, ut ei quid esset quo opus haberet, et in quo illi gratificari poteram, id mihi exponeret, meque illi non defuturum quovis modo, adeo ut vel proprias ædes, vel quæcunque alia quæ eram præstando, haberet sibi paratissima. At ille profecto, ut est juvenis apprime modestus, omnia recusans, nullius se indigere profitebatur. Tum postea expiscari cœpi, quid causæ esset quod cum domino comite Bedfordiensi non degebat. Ille narrat D. comitem hanc ob causam locasse illum cum D. Knowles, vice-camerario, homine vere pio ac a secretiore concilio reginæ nostræ, ut melius sibi esset perspecta aula Anglica, et ea præcipue nostræ regionis pars quam regina nostra invisere decrevit eodem tempore, longa protectione suscepta, cum magna nobilium caterva comitante, comite tamen ipso interim domi suæ rure degente, ut sanitatis suæ melior ratio haberetur, quam æstate fervente in tam longinqua protectione ob illam quam habet corporis polysarciam, illam periclitari sinere. Statim post hanc protectionem finitam bonis avibus tuas literas acceperam, ex quibus occasionem arripiebam D. comitem conveniendi de nostri Fabricii statu. Ille hæc eadem retulit quæ antea Fabricius mihi, insuperque dedisse illi equum viginti coronatis emptum, et viginti solidos nostratis monetæ ad illam protectionem perficiendam; addidisseque se ut cum D. Knowles Fabricium locaret bonas rationes habere, quando præcipue ob hanc causam illum huc appulisse relictis Gallis sciverat, ut aulam et nostrorum populorum mores videret et urbes; velleque se adventante hyeme illum recipere in suam familiam usque ad principium veris, quo tempore, inquit, ad suos illum remittere decrevi, quum nulla spes sit illum cum regina in loco aliquo honesto locandi. Abelus tamen, quantum possum ex Fabricio colligere, scripsit ad suos Tiguri absolute, nullis circumscriptis limitationibus, D. comitem illum accepturum veluti in perpetuum famulitium; quum tum comes mihi constituerat tempus illi Tigurum revertendi, ad principium veris, neque decrevisse se illum detinere diutius apud se, quam donec hyems finiretur. Abelus Fabricium admodum anxium reddidit, ne pater ejus per illas literas putaret, aliquid vitio verti posse Fabricio, quod comes diutius illum non retineret quam ad principium veris. Sed, crede mihi, profecto nulla in juvenem transferenda est culpa; sed in Abeli potius credulitatem, qui D. comitis verba aliter quam ille protulit interpretatus est vobis per literas. Fabricius, ut bonus et pius filius, nihil magis in humanis timens quam patris sui erga illum alioqui amantissimi indigna-

tionem, me rogavit ut nudam et simplicem veritatem tibi exponerem, id quod, Deum Opt. Max. testor, facio. Hæc ad Fabricium. Quantum ad me ipsum, optime Gualtere, facilius erit profecto tibi mente concipere quam mihi verbis exprimere, quantum me tibi devinctum putem, cum ob illas quas misisti perdoctas homilias, tum ob amicissimas tuas literas: pro utrisque, ut debeo, gratias ago maximas. Abelus a me tibi vicissim reddet, pro aliquo mei erga te amoris specimine, sesquiuulnam nostratis panni, pro caligis conficiendis aptissimi, quem ut boni consulas etiam atque etiam oro. Fabricius quæ sunt apud nos nova de Scotis et Gallis melius quam ego scribet, scio. Faxit Deus ut omnes nos, quibus Christus nomen dedit, salutem in illo constanti fide amplectamur, et vitam vivamus illius professione dignam. Dominum Bullingerum, qui primus me Christo regenuit, papismumque relinquere fecit sua ope, rursus ex me saluta. Vale. Londini, 22 Februarii, 1562.

Tui observantissimus,

RICHARDUS MASTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eruditione et pietate præstantissimo viro
D. Rodolpho Gualtero, divini verbi
apud Tigurinos ministro eximio. Hæc
tradantur in Helvetia.*

EPISTOLA XXIX.

FRANCISCUS COMES BEDFORDIENSIS AD HENRICUM
BULLINGERUM ET RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

S. P. D. JOHANNEM Henricum, quem vestris mihi literis tantopere commendastis, cum vestra tum ejus causa lubenter vidi. Mansit circa septem menses cum vice-camerario serenissimæ reginæ, apud quem ego ad tempus locaram, ut nostram aulam et mores facilius cognosceret. Optassem equidem illum ad majora promotum, atque id efficere studui: sed doleo statum nostrarum rerum hujusmodi esse, ut hoc, his præsertim temporibus, magis optari quam sperari possit. Hæc autem cum plurimorum experientia satis et nimium vera esse animadverteret, ex aula discessit, suisque sumptibus Londini hucusque mansit. Hic se honeste gessit, summaque cum probitate atque modestia. Ceterum quod ejus rebus hic non melius consultum sit, potius temporum difficultati quam amicorum voluntati attribuendum.

Quod ad religionem regnique statum attinet, hic omnia Dei gratia quiete (ut antea) et pacate geruntur, semperque subinde meliora speramus. Idem quoque vobis et ecclesiis vestris ut perpetuo sit, Deum oro. Bene valete cum universa Dei ecclesia.

Londini, 16 die Martii, 1562.

Vestræ pietati addictissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimis viris D. Heinricho Bullingero, et D. Rodolpho Gualtero, fidelissimis ecclesiæ Tigurinæ ministris. Tiguri.

EPISTOLA XXX.

ROGERUS ASCHAMUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

S. P. QUID hoc est, mi Sturmi? Michaelis Toxites, tam communis amicus, tam optatus tabellarius, istinc huc sine tuis ad me? An Cokus, an Halesius, an quisquam Anglorum omnium aut tui studiosior aut tuarum literarum avidior quam ego sum? Ast videor audire te contra, Heu! mi Aschame! Tu mecum silentium scribendi expostules? qui ne γρῶ quidem literarum hoc triennium ad me. Verum, mechriste, dicis, mi optatissime Johann. St. Et tota hæc mea expostulatio non iracunda, non objurgatoria, sed insidiosa prorsus et a me, data opera, subornata est. Verebar enim, quod jure poteras, ne tu priores de taciturnitate expostulandi partes occupares. Sed valeant ista: jam vere et aperte scribam, mi Sturmi. Non voluntate mea, non oblivione tui, non neglectione officii factum est hoc tam longum scribendi intervallum. Non quia deerat mihi vel scribendi materies vel mittendi facultas, tamdiu nostræ conticuere literæ: sed cum justam causam a me audies, non iram tibi et stomachum contra me, sed dolorem et mœstitiam pro me, quem, scio, amas, commovebo. Hos quattuor proximos superiores annos ita continentibus febribus correptus sum, ut una vix me unquam reliquerit, quin eam altera statim sit consequuta. Atque sic rationes salutis meæ omnes istis nexis ac jugatis febribus sunt fractæ et convulsæ, ut jam corpus meum omne febris illa hectica occupaverit: cui medicorum filii allevamentum aliquando, remedium solidum nunquam pollicentur. Jam qui sunt veri amici mihi, et inter eos certissimus amicus meus Johannes Halesius, crebro occinunt mihi lugubre illud Thetidis ad filium apud

Homerum carmen, *ἐπεὶ νύ τοι αἴσα μίνυθά περ, οὔτι μάλα δὴν*. Et quamquam legimus clarissimos viros *ᾠκυμωρωτάτους* fuisse, quid hoc ad me, hominem non alti sed demissi animi? Istam consolandi rationem sive *ποιητικὴν* sive *ιστορικὴν* prorsus ego repudio. Sed quando refero me ad nostrum illum veræ integræque salutis præceptorem, qui affirmat tantum adjici homini interno quantum adimitur externo, non mœroribus me dedo, sed nova novæ quidem vitæ gaudia præcipio. At de his rebus plus alias: cupio enim hoc tempore longum tecum instituire sermonem, cum revera minimum otii ad id efficiendum in præsentem mihi suppetat; sic me meumque tempus omne his ipsis diebus serenissima regina ad scribendum tot literas distrahit.

Recentissimæ tuæ ad me literæ datæ sunt 15 Januarii 1560. Quarum literarum duo capita, alterum de negotio Scotico, alterum de reginæ connubio, me commovebant ut eas ipsi reginæ legendas darem. Illa in utroque singularem tuam erga ipsam observantiam et prudenter animadvertit, et amabiliter agnovit atque prædicavit. De rebus tum temporis Scoticis tuum valde probavit judicium, et te de tua pro nobis et nostris etiam nunc deamat sollicitudine. Locum de connubio ter, probe memini, perlegebat, suaviter quidem subinde *ὑπομειδιῶσα*, et pudice admōdum et verecunde conticescens. De illius connubio, mi optatissime Johan. St. certi quicquam nec ego quod scribam, nec quisquam alius (scio) apud nos, quod statuatur, habet. Non de nihilo, mi Sturmi, sed judicio olim in primis ego meis illis prolixis ad te literis scripsi, illam in omni vitæ suæ ratione Hippolytem, non Phædræ, referre. Quem locum ipse tum non ad corporis cultum, sed ad animi castitatem omnino referebam. Natura enim sua, non cujusquam consilio, a nuptiis tam aliena et abstinens existit. Cum sciam aliquid certi, primo quoque tempore scribam ad te. Interea de rege Succorum non habeo ullam quam tibi spem faciam.

Cupio ut aliquando scribas ad D. Ceciliam. Est enim et in religione integerrimus, et in republica prudentissimus, et utriusque sane post Deum et principem columnen firmissimum. Est etiam literarum et literatorum hominum amantissimus, et in utraque lingua ipse quoque pereruditus. De rebus nostris aves, scio, audire ex me. Neque ego habeo quod potius scribendum putem quam de ipsa regina. Complectar igitur breviter quam magnas ipsa atque præstantes res, ex quo gubernacula rerum suscepit, et prudenter molita est, et feliciter perfecit. Primum officium suum Deo dicavit. Nam religionem, quam misere fœdatam invenit, præclare perpurgavit; in qua re perficienda eam adhibuit commoderationem, ut ipsi papistæ non habeant dicere secum duriter actum fuisse. Hanc pacem cum Deo constitutam secuta est pax cum omnibus vicinis principibus; et tamen, cum ipsa ad summam rerum accessit, regnum hoc gemino implicatum bello, Scotico et Gallico, in-

venit. Deinde Guisianis, mira spirantibus contra nos, tam fortiter atque prudenter restitit in Scotia, ut jam inter utrumque regnum et inter utramque principem tam securo pax, tam arcta amicitia intercedat, quam inter duas vel quietissimas vicinias vel concordissimas sorores queat intercedere. Postquam religio primum, deinde respublica, tam optatæ tranquillitati fuerat restituta, animum appulit ad alia regni magis domestica ornamenta rite constituenda. Pecuniam depravatam universam, et totam factam æneam, argenteam puram putam effecit, opus arduum et regium, quod non Edvardus, non Henricus ipse vel aggredi unquam ausus est. Armamentarium exquisitissimo apparatu sic instruxit, ut nullus Europæus, scio, princeps par ostendere queat. Classem itidem ab omni apparatu, sive rerum copiam sive hominum facultatem spectes, ita ornavit atque munivit, ut opes opulenti alicujus regni in hanc unam rem erogari videri queant.

Hæc publica et totius regni sunt. Ipsius magis propria sive studia sive mores aspiciamus. Injuriam privatam facile obliviscens, justitiæ communis severe colens est. Sceleris gratiam nulli facit, impunitatis spem nemini relinquit, licentiam omnium omnibus præcidit. Res et opes subjectorum minime omnium principum appetit; suas ad privatam omnem voluptatem parce et frugaliter, ad publicum quenquam sive communis commoditatis usum, sive domesticæ magnificentiam splendorem, regifice et largiter attribui jubet. Quas vero laudes ex se habet, et quæ sunt in illa ingenii et doctrinæ ornamenta, in aliis literis ad te perscripsi: hoc nunc adjiciam, non esse in aula, in academiis, non inter eos qui vel religioni vel reipublicæ præsent, apud nos quattuor nostrates, qui melius intelligant Græcam linguam quam ipsa regina. Cum legit Demosthenem vel Æschinem, admirationem mihi ipsa sæpe numero movet, cum video illam tam scienter intelligere, non dico verborum potestatem, sententiarum structuram, proprietatem linguæ, orationis ornamenta, et totius sermonis numerosam ac concinnam comprehensionem, sed illa etiam quæ majora sunt, oratoris sensum atque stomachum, totius causæ contentionem, populi et scita et studia, urbis cujusque mores atque instituta, et quæ sunt hujus generis reliqua omnia. In aliis linguis quid et quantum potest, omnes domestici, plurimi exteri, testes existunt. Adfui ego quodam die, cum uno tempore tribus oratoribus, imperatoris, Gallico, et Suecico, triplici lingua, Italica uni, Gallica alteri, Latina tertio, facile, non hæsitanter, expedite, non perturbate, ad varias res tum illorum sermone, ut fit, jactatas respondebat. Ut ipse videas quam polite illa scribit, mitto ad te his literis inclusam schedulam in qua habes verbum, *quemadmodum*, propria reginæ manu conscriptum. Superius meum est, inferius reginæ. An jucundum tibi est spectaculum et gratum munus, proximis literis tuis significa.

Et hæc de nostra nobilissima regina, et mea seorsum munificentis-

sima domina, et Johannis Sturmii etiam perstudiosa. Atque si contigerit unquam tibi in Angliam venire, ex ipsius ore, credo, intelliges, Rogerum Aschamum Johannis Sturmii apud tantam principem memorem amicum fuisse. Hunc sermonem de hac præstantissima nostra regina et tu, credo, legis, et ego certe scribo, cum summa utriusque nostrum voluptate. Si nuberet, laudi ampliori locum non relinqueret: utinam tu, mi Sturmi, omnem illam, quam ex optimis et sapiendi et dicendi fontibus hausisti, sive *διάγνωση* ex Demosthene, sive eloquentiam ex Cicerone, ad hanc rem persuadendam adhiberes! Neque a te honestior causa suscipi, quam hæc est, nec a me major facultas optari, quam in te est, altera ulla potest. Ut ipsa delegat quem vult cupimus: ut alii quenquam ei designent, non cupimus, et nostratem potius quam ullum exterum omnes nos expectimus. Nolui te hæc nescire, si fortasse tu aliquid aliquando de hac re cogitare velis. Nam si ad tot illa ejus erga hoc regnum beneficia, quæ a me paulo ante commemorata sunt, hoc unum addat, nulla gens nobis beatior esse poterit. *Καὶ τῆδε ταῦτα.* De aliis rebus nostris alias; nunc venio ad te, mi Sturmi.

Gaudebam cum intellexi ex tuis ante annum literis ad Johannem Halesium scriptis, Aristotelem tuum Rhetoricum esse absolutum; et mirifice mihi placuit illud quod addidisti, "In illis vos omnes, etiam Morysinus et Checus." Cum intellexi ex sermone Toxitæ nostri, eos libros omnes Werteros fratres secum in Thuringiam deportasse, minime quidem gaudebam. Cavere debent illi fratres, ne non tam genere et doctrina nobiles, quam hoc facinore nobilitati sint. Injuriam faciunt tibi, ipsis literarum studiis, et multorum bonorum sollicitæ expectationi, et nisi de me ipse scriberem, imprimis etiam mihi; qui licet non auctor, hortator tamen tibi fui, ut hos præclaros labores, luce et immortalitate dignos, tenebris et sordida aliqua cistula indignissimos, susciperes. Si vero isti præstantes ingenii tui fructus per horum juvenum sordes atque avaritiam putrescant et intereant, ego ipse profecto experiar,—sed reprimam me, nec gravius aliquid in eos dicam, priusquam de hoc illorum facto sententiam tuam intellexero. Itaque si me amas, mi Sturmi, dum adhuc vivo, (nam, ut scripsi, hectica mea mihi *ἰκκμορίαν* minitatur,) ne permittas me fraudari suavissimo horum librorum fructu. Primum et alterum librum habui; sed primum, quem legendum commodabam Gualtero Haddon, supplicum libellorum magistro, negligentia famulorum ejus amisi. His libris sæpe perlectitandis me ipse delectavi. His superioribus nundinis reliquos omnes expectabam. Effice, quæso, ne diu frustretur hæc nostra expectatio, quæ cum tua tanta laude, cum studiosorum omnium tanta commoditate, conjuncta est.

Vehementer gaudeo te, quod scribis, ad Halesium scripsisse pro Philippo contra Staphylum sycophantam. Ex scriptis illius colligo cum esse non solum Gnathonem circumforaneum, sed Thrasonem etiam ali-

quem scilicet honorarium. Nam quam inepta sit ejus et insolens arrogantia, satis apparet ex subscriptione suarum literarum ad episcopum Æystatensem, ubi ait, "T. D., &c. Fredericus Staphylus Cæsareæ majestatis consiliarius;" id quod populus scire curat scilicet, nec puto ego hanc esse impressoris culpam, sed ipsius Staphyli projectam impudentiam: nam hoc idem ipse de se in libello Ἀπολογητικῶν contra Philippum scribit. Liber ad Æystatensem episcopum superiore anno ab eo scriptus est Germanice, versus Latine, opinor, per fratrem Carmelitanum, impressus Coloniae, totus virulentus atque διαβολικός. Rogo te, non per Sicelides musas, sed per ipsas sacras literas, ut librum tuum contra Staphylum in lucem exire primo quoque tempore permittas.

Mirifica perfundebar lætitia, cum legi in literis tuis impressis ad Cokum nostrum, te scripsisse de controversia eœnæ librum, ut ipse ais, minime iracundum, tamen ut tu speras argumentosum. Facile fidem tibi adhibeo, mi Sturmii. Novi enim naturam tuam ad quietem et pacem, non ad iracundiam et contentionem, totam propositam. Novi etiam doctrinam tuam, qua facile soles et probare quod suscipis, et vincere ubi pugnas, et ubi vires tuas exercendas jure esse censes. Gaudium mihi grandius non contigit hos multos annos, quam cum Toxites noster mihi narravit tua studia sacris literis mirifice esse addicta. Causa religionis plurimum quidem amisit discessu Philippi et Martini Buceri, sed plus profecto recuperabit accessu Johannis Sturmii ad illius propugnationem. Precor a Deo Patre, et Domino nostro ac Deo nostro Jesu Christo, ut cujus Spiritus accitu evocaris e latibulis Parnassi et Heliconis ad lætissima pascua montis Sionis, montis pinguis, in illius Spiritus ductum te totum ipse des. Et quanquam ipse tibi libenter concederem et hospitium Romæ et diversorium Athenis, ut ad utram velis urbem voluptatis causa et veteris necessitudinis atque familiaritatis recolendæ gratia aliquando divertas; assiduam tamen habitationem tuam, et tabernaculum non solum vitæ, sed studiorum tuorum omnium, in ipsa Hierusalem, civitate magni Dei, optarem perpetuo collocari. Et credo ego multa orationis et clariora lumina et grandiora fulmina posse abs te ostendi in nostris illis, Davide, Esaia, Johanne et Paulo, quam in omnibus Pindaris, Platonibus, Demosthenibus atque Ciceronibus unquam emicere. Oro Deum, si fas sit hoc petere, ut eam mihi hujus vitæ usuram concedat, aliquando ut videam aculeos styli tui vel tua sponte exteros, vel quovis alio elisu excussos, contra fucos pontificios qui cellas celatiores et nidos omnes fere molliores in ipso templo Dei occupant.

Vereor, mi Sturmii, ne plus te hac præsentis meae prolixitate offendam quam omni illa mea superiori ἀεισιγία καὶ ἐχέμυθία. Quanquam si partiri vis hanc loquacem in varias literas, dici non potest quin multas ad te jam scripserim. Sed ignosces meæ, uti spero, prolixitati; quam, si offensam tibi ullam pariat, ulciscere (quæso) prolixioribus tuis.

Rogo te, mi Sturni, quid sentias de Dionysio Halicarnassio? Credo ego illum fuisse ipsum Dionysium qui docuit in ædibus Cicconis, et cujus frequens mentio est in epistolis Ciceronis. Cicero ejus probat eruditionem plurimum, mores non item. Cum discesseris ab illa una urbe, et ab illa una Philippi et Alexandri ætate, non video quem Græcum (non Plutarchum ipsum excipio) cum hoc Dionysio Halicarnassio possis comparare. Cupio scire ex te, an hæc opinio mea judicio tuo sit aliqua, an prorsus inanis. Libellus ejus ad Tiberonem de judicio suo de historia Thucydidis mirifice mihi placet. Uxor mea quia scit te a me amari, ipsa etiam diligit tuam uxorem, et benevolentiaæ suæ *μνημόσυνον*, annulum aureum, in formam sagittæ redactum, ei mittit cum hac inscriptione, Donum fidelis amici. Toxites habet annulum. Ignosces literis; non enim vacabat describere, ita festinabat Toxites noster. Vale in Christo Jesu. Ex ædibus meis Londini, 11 Aprilis, 1562.

Tui studiosissimus,

R. ASCHAMUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro, eruditissimo homini,
D. Johanni Sturmio, amico meo
carissimo. Argentinae.*

EPISTOLA XXXI.

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS AD CONRADUM HUBERTUM.

SALUTEM in Christo. Carissime domine Conrade, multum laudo pietatem tuam erga Buceri manes, communis præceptoris nostri. Aliorum autem ingratitude non possum non accusare, qui vestrae urbis apostolum ac patrem, qui eam in Christo genuit, tanquam pravorum dogmatum auctorem aut hæreticum traducere conantur. Quid enim aliud faciunt, quoniam ipsius scripta quo minus publicari possint impediunt? Miror magistratum vestrum istis novis oratoribus tantum permittere, ac non plus apud eos valere Buceri mortui memoriam quam istorum clamores. Sed nolo esse in aliena republica curiosus. Sero jam supponunt humeros Atlantes vestri cœlo Saxonico jam ubique ruenti. Nuper vidi literas Brema missas, illius civitatis statum referentes. Post ejectionem doctoris Alberti gravissima edicta contra Zuinglianos, seu potius Albertinos, proposuerant, carceres, exilia, ac proscriptiones mini-

tantes. Clarissimum virum D. Danielem a Buren, quo minus consulatum, qui ad vices ejus ordine pervenerat, superiore Januario inire posset effecerant, quod nostræ sententiæ faveret, alium ipsius loco substituentes. Sed is summo civium consensu consulatum recuperavit, ac postea inquietos istos concionatores, seu potius coaxatores, ejecit. De prædestinatione vero mirum est eos tantas tragœdias excitare. Consulant saltem Lutherum suum in Servo Arbitrio. Quid aliud docent Bucerus, Calvinus, Martyr, quod Lutherus eo libello non docuit? Nisi forte ad aliquam Lutheri, quem tantum non pro Deo habent, palinodiam confugere velint. Optime quidem de ecclesiæ meritis est Lutherus, dignusque quem omnis posteritas celebret: esset autem mihi celebrior, si non isti Chanaani patris sui nuditatem, quam omnes pii obtectam cupiunt, perpetuo retegerent. Tu vero, Conrade doctissime, perge in Buceri fama tuenda, ac veritate propugnanda. Dominus non sinet hanc causam, quæ ipsius est, perpetuo supprimi. Non dubito quin apud omnes pios multum efficiet tua modestia ac constantia. Gratulor etiam tibi in hoc tam sancto negotio collegam et adiutorem D. Johan. Sturmium, quem ut meis verbis diligenter salutes oro. Ago gratias pro exemplaribus; sed ea nondum recipere potui: hærent fortassis alicubi in via. Accipies ab Abelo aut Salkyno (si is istas deferat) duos nummos aureos nostrates, nova arte ac quasi typographica excusos: eorum alterum D. Sturmio ex me dato, alterum tibi serves. D. doctorem Sebaldum quæso etiam ut ex me salutes, cui alterum etiam ejusdem monetæ misi, quem oro ut ipse illi tradas. Dithelmus meus patris jussu brevi in Gallias est profecturus. Opto te in Domino quam optime valere. Londini ex ædibus meis. 6 Junii, 1562.

Tuus in Christo,

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS,

Episc. Londinensis.

Tres illos nummos aureos, arte quam pretio spectabiliores, istis inclusi, ac una tabellam quandam, quam quidam ex nostris typographis nuper emisit, de secundo funere Buceri.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Amico et fratri in Domino carissimo
D. Conrado Huberto, Argentinensis
ecclesiæ ministro fidelissimo. Ar-
gentinæ.*

EPISTOLA XXXII.

COMES BEDFORDIENSIS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

S. P. D. REDIT ad vos Jo. Henricus, quem mihi vestris literis commendastis. Is sane apud nos honestissime se gessit. Equidem optassem illius et vestra causa plura efficere, sed non semper optatis successus respondent. Quod ad me attinet, nunquam sane isthinc aliquis veniet mihi per vos commendatus, quin sit futurus longe gratissimus. Quare de meo erga vos animo et voluntate nunquam addubitetis. Tibi et ecclesiis vestris ut omnia prospera et felicia succedant, cupio et exopto. Nec plura in præsentia. Vale et salve cum universo piorum cœtu. Londini, 10 die Junii, 1562.

Tuæ pietati addictissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Henricho Bullin-
gero, fidelissimo ecclesiæ Tigurinæ
ministro. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XXXIII.

COMES BEDFORDIENSIS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

S. P. D. JOHANNES Henricus Fabricius, qui ad vos revertitur, hic tam honeste se gessit in suis actionibus apud omnes, ut singulare et egregium testimonium suæ probitatis reliquerit. Equidem illi non defui, ubi aliquid ejus causa efficere potui; et plura etiam voluissem, si hic tam faciles quam alibi promotiones essent. Rogo itaque ut meum animum, qui alioqui semper in te vestramque ecclesiam propensissimus fuit, eritque in posterum, æqui bonique consulatis. Quid aliud in præsentia scribam non habeo. Bene ac feliciter valeas cum universa ecclesia. Londini, 10 die Junii, 1562.

Tuus longe amantissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Singulari pietate ac eruditione
præstantiss. viro, D. Rod.
Gualtero.*

EPISTOLA XXXIV.

ANTONIUS COOKUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

QUOD a me per literas et a D. Wrotho dudum petebas, clarissime D. Bullingere, ut hic juvenis in aula reginæ nostræ locum aliquem honestum haberet, id a nobis sedulo curatum est, si minus ex ejus animi sententia, saltem ut res et nostra tempora tulerunt. Nunc quum illum patriæ desiderium revocat, hæc ad te pauca scribere fuit consilium, ut intelligas et persuasum habeas, nullam neque temporis diuturnitatem neque locorum longinquitatem meum erga te studium, officium, observantiam imminuere, nedum expungere aut delere posse. D. Petrum Martyrem, D. Bernardinum et D. Gualterum, quos honoris causa nomino, quæso meis verbis plurimum salutes. Dominus noster Jesus Christus vos gregi suo quam diutissime salvos et superstites esse velit. Londini, 14 Junii, 1562.

Tuæ pietatis studiosiss.,

ANTONIUS COOKUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo doctissimoque viro, D.
Henrico Bullingero, Tigurinæ
ecclesiæ antistiti plurimum ob-
servando. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XXXV.

ANONYMUS QUIDAM AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

DOMINATIONEM tuam, pater in Christo colendiss. carissimeque¹... interpellandi occasionem aliam non habeo, quam ab inclusis literis dan... mihi amicus quidam tuus, ut ad te fideliter transmitterem, commisit... autem una coronatos aureos Gallicos triginta; quos ego tabellario huic una cum literis inclusis, ut ad te perferat, concedidi. Cum primum itaque literas has atque aureos, sive justum eorum pretium, receperis, roganda est dominatio tua, ut utrumque nostrum tum amicum² tum me per literas denuo certiores facere, utque meis quas ad amicum dabis literas includere digneris. Pauca hæc pro præsentī occasione, ne plu-

[¹ Epistola originalis defecta est.][² MS. *omnium*.]

ribus pia studia tua inturbentur, sufficient. Nostrates pii omnes paternitatem tuam supplices precantur, assiduo in orationibus tuis ecclesiarum nostrarum ut memor esse velis, deprecans Dominum, ne irreligiosam circa religionem tepiditatem Anglorum ad papismum, aut si quid pejus sit, relabi patiatur. Tuam autem paternitatem Dominus ecclesiae suae incolumem servet et benedicat imperpetuum. Amen. Londini, 26 Junii, 1562.

Tuae in Christo prosperitatis cupientissimus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximia doctrina ac pietate viro
D.D. Petro Martyri.
Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XXXVI.

MATTHÆUS PARKERUS AD MATTH. FLACIUM ILLYRICUM,
JO. WIGANDUM ET MATTH. JUDICEM.

PERQUAM mihi grata est, religiosi viri, hæc pia humanitas vestra, qua redditi mihi sunt nuper a vobis per fidum quendam nuntium commentarii vestri, unde faciliorem mihi vestro nomine dedistis defensionem, si qui posthac falso doctrinam, quam profitemini, calumniabuntur. Quam quidem doctrinam et fidem vestram, quomodocunque ex parte eunctis non placet; tamen aperte profiteor, ingenue vos sincereque fecisse, quod tam plene, tam cumulate, tam sine omni fuco et ambiguitate mentem et sententiam vestram indicastis. Quibus tamen opinionibus vestris diligenter consideratis, non possum non dolere, quod aliqua sit in præcipuis religionis controversiis inter nos dissensio, utrosque præsertim instructos una scripturæ regula, uno etiam ardore animi ductos, et restituendi veritatem, et e finibus Christi ecclesiae quam procul exterminandi omnem errorem et mendacium. O quanta hic occasio lapsus præbetur bonis! quantum hic probris et maledictis ab hostibus vexatur ipsa evangelii restitutio! Utinam quidem alter alteri, sedatis affectibus, patienter magis et attente auscultare vellet, et neuter ita faveret sententiæ, ut faceret hanc publicam religionis causam materiem gloriæ, ambitionis, dissensionis! Quod ad præcipuam illam causam attinet, ob quam venit domesticus vester tabellarius, ad vos scilicet deferendi causa ejusmodi veterum commentarios, quales obtinere a nobis speravistis; cognoscite,

quo diligentior fui, ut desiderio vestro hac ex parte plene satisfacerem, vel potius ut laborem, quem ad magnum universæ christianæ ecclesiæ commodum sumitis, juvarem; eo infelicius mihi res ex animi mei sententia adhuc successit: et ubi reposueram maximam spem nanciscendi quod cuperem, ibi jam omni prorsus spe privor. Atqui posteaquam plurimos plurimis et locis et viris frustra misissem nuntios, tandem animabar¹ ad recuperandum D. Balei libros, quos, ut dicebatur, spes esset acquirendi, si periculum ipse facerem. Didici igitur tandem inquisitione facta, ad cujus manus post ejus fugam ex Hibernia hi pervenere; quorum cum ingens acervus ad me perferebatur, reperi haud dubie nullos mea sententia vel dignos vetustate, vel argumenti ad vestrum institutum commodi ac utilis: quos tamen cum vidisset vester Nigerus, una cum meis et aliorum, complures multum juvare posse dicebat. Habet igitur hac conditione, ut intra annum transmittantur. Quod si sit apud vos nostræ nationis scriptorum tam locuples quasi instrumentum et apparatus, quam mentio fit in vestro catalogo, arbitror superesse vobis multo plures de nostris, quam sint rursus in toto Angliæ regno, quorum sit apud nos certa intelligentia atque cognitio: sive hoc sit, quod quidam nolunt gratificari vobis in hoc utili conatu, et ex privata quadam offensione non respiciunt publicum ecclesiæ bonum; sive quod quidam hæc se possidere neminem conscium esse velint. Atque ita, ut canis in præsepi, nec ipsi fruuntur, nec ex his fructus ad alios redire sinunt. Regineæ porro majestatis bibliotheca non ea possidet, per quæ hoc munus quod exigitur præstare queat: id quod mihi retulit is, qui illius curator et custos præficitur. Atque ita se res habet, ut vestræ petitioni, sicuti vellem, non satisfaciam; licet (priusquam experientia eram edoctus) certo credidi me vestram causam plus juvare potuisse. Certe academiæ et quæcunque fuerunt religiosorum ædificia prius diripiebantur, quam animadvertebatur, quantum incommodi redituum esset ecclesiæ Christi ex hac librorum clandestina direptione et jactura. Papistæ autem nihil exhibebunt, penes quos (fertur) cum essent hujusmodi monumenta, quæ vel maximam doctrinæ suæ partem labefactarent, bonos quosdam auctores commisere igni, invidentes mundo horum inspectionem: id quod mihi constat de Vigili libris, quibus sic abusi sunt.

Plura scripsissem de his rebus et de hoc tam molesto onere, attamen fructuoso, quod suscipitis in componenda hac historia, nisi quod partim morbo, partim aliis rebus sic impediatur, ut his cogitationibus libere, quod cuperem, vacare non concedatur. Sunt qui in historia vestra auctorum, quorum vos nudam tantum commemorationem facitis, ipsa verba recitata esse desiderant: quod etsi in historia tam grandi sit laboriosum, et viris multæ lectionis usum non præbet; tamen initiatis non-

[¹ MS. *animaver*]

nihil lucis sit allaturum, et contra maledicos magni etiam futurum momenti. Sed huic deinceps prospicere sit vestræ prudentiæ cogitatio.

Mitto vobis viginti angelatos, significationem grati mei erga vos animi, quam boni consulatis rogo. Interim precor, ut adsit vobis Sanctus Dei Spiritus, perpetuus adjutor conatus vestri. In Christo valete. 18 Julii, Croidoni.

Edidit hanc epistolam ex originali in conspectu supellectilis suæ librariæ p. 6, an. 1736, cl. Jo. Christoph. Wolfius Hamburg. eique sequentia subjicit :

“Hactenus epistola, librarii, ut puto, manu scripta, cui mox ipsius Parkeri manus hæc subscripsit :

‘Vestri studiosus,

MATTHÆUS PARKER.’

Ceterum mentio in his literis fit Commentariorum sibi transmissorum, qui deinde historiæ nomine appellantur: utramque vocem de Centuriis ecclesiasticis accipio, quas Flacium, Wigandum, et Judicem (quibus hæ literæ inscriptæ sunt) imprimis adornasse constat. Nec fallor fortasse, si dixero, commentarios illos ad Parkerum cum literis missos esse eo tempore, quo centuria iv., Elizabethæ Angliæ reginæ a. 1562. dedicata, eo mittebatur: hoc nempe tempore Parkerus primatem Angliæ agebat.

Quod vero ad monumenta veterum spectat, quæ Flacius cum sodalibus requisivit, ea puto ad adornandum vel perficiendum catalogum testium veritatis requisita fuisse. Jo. Strypius certe in vita et rebus gestis Parkeri Anglice editis, p. 31. Appendicis, adfert Flacii ad Parkerum epistolam, qua orat ut ad catalogum illum perficiendum opem sibi ferre velit. *Compara Acta eruditorum Lipsiensium, a. 1712, p. 442.*”

EPISTOLA XXXVII.

H. ZANCHIUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM.

S. QUOD mihi gratularis, Domine observande, illam qualemcunque constantiam, qua me donavit Dominus in defendenda causa bona, agnosco pietatem tuam: quod vero munusculo me ornaveris, sentio amorem et animum erga me tuum esse haud vulgarem. Pro hoc ago et habeo gratias: pro illa rogo me tuis precibus apud Dominum juves. Quæ enim res plurimum in civitatibus, præsertim apud ineruditos, possunt, hæ contra me faciunt hoc tempore in hac causa, auctoritas et loquentia ministrorum. Ii enim, tum privatim tum publice, ineruditæ plebi contra me quidquid volunt calumniarum facile persuadent; præsertim cum ego et exterus sim, et vulgarem linguam ignorem, et nullius sim auctoritatis apud hoc hominum genus. Hoc unum me cumprimis consolatur, quod veritas solita semper est vincere; deinde quod senatus est justus, nec quidpiam aget præcipitanter aut tyrannice. Accedit tertium, quod Sturmius noster et visitatores ac reliqui omnes fere professores atque collegæ

capituli nostri causam, quia noverunt esse bonam, pro sua virili tuentur, et sese in ea defendenda mihi adjunxerunt. Nemo vestrum posset imaginari, quantum ecclesiam et scholam hanc Satan annos jam duos vexarit, turbarit, labefactarit: defuncti sunt fere omnes senes, et illi etiam duo qui supersunt tolerari ab ista imperita juventute non possunt. Si mihi liceret, scriberem res quidem verissimas, atque hic omnibus notissimas, sed quas nullo modo credere vel tu vel quispiam alius vestrum posset. Ego ipse miror meam patientiam, sed multo magis patientiam senatus. Dominus adsit suæ ecclesiæ! Satan, qui nonnunquam se transfiguratur in angelum lucis, tandem quis sit agnoscatur et patefiat necesse est. Vobis vero vestram pacem atque in pura doctrina consensionem gratulor, et Dominum precor ut regnum Christi in isto regno conservet, tueatur, atque amplificet: reginam proceresque regni protegat, servet. Faxit autem Deus ut res succedant in Gallia ex voto atque ex sententia piorum. Video futurum ut totus orbis renovetur. Vale.

H. ZANCHIUS.

EPISTOLA XXXVIII.

RICARDUS HILLES AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

VENERABILIS et amantissime amice, accepisse quidem me literas tuas vicesimo secundo præteriti mensis Junii Tiguri conscriptas, hæc te certiore faciant. Et tibi maximas habeo gratias, propterea quod non solum ad me illas dare non graveris, verum etiam digneris mihi scribere, cum quid nunc apud vos novi geratur, tum (quantum audis) qui¹ rerum exitus dehinc esse possunt. De concilio vero Tridentino haud aliter sentiendum est, quam conjurationis sive conspirationis potius alicujus in protestantes esse indicium², quam synodi ullius causa fidelium catholicorum simpliciter in veritate convenientium, ut, qui¹ in ecclesia Christi abusus irreperint, pro viribus extirpent. Haud etiam parvo afficio dolore, cum audiam vos, qui in Helvetia evangelium profiterini, neque sana vestra doctrina nec bonis vivendi exemplis commilitones vestros confederatos posse ad evangelii cultum attrahere; qui adhuc etiam rebus vestris de religionis reformatione ita resistunt, ut nunc suspicari³ ad inimicitias aut bellum rem brevi perventuram. Quantum autem ad statum rerum Gallorum, et præcipue de iis quæ Parisiis et Rothomagi geruntur, certum est (uti affirmas) de iis posse nos tam cito hic certiores fieri, quam qui Tiguri habitant. De rerum autem gestarum veritate,

[¹ *Quæ*, MS.]

[² *Indictum*, MS.]

[³ Fors. *susplicere*.]

quæ in superioribus Galliæ provinciis aguntur (ut quæ Aureliis et Lugduni), non nisi longo temporis intervallo certo intelligimus. Nos autem Angli adhuc (Deo gratiæ!) quiete multaque in pace vitam degimus. Nihilominus tamen de malis quæ nobis possunt fortassis imminere, regina modo cogitare videtur et dubitare, ne quid infortunii per negligentiam aut socordiam regno accedere possit: hoc est, ne externus aliquis princeps (si forte tumultus, qui in Gallia etiamnum est, sedaretur) a pontifice Romano aut aliquibus extraneis pontificiis sibi adhærentibus excitaretur, ut aliquid inveniret, quo cum illa inimicitias exerceret, cum revera occasionem capiat, quod suæ majestatis auctoritate in concilio parlamenti, et regionis totius consensu, illius usurpatam potestatem, continuationem superstitionum, abusu, et idololatriæ quæ antea in ecclesiam catholicam irrepta sunt, explodit. Habet etenim regina magnum numerum tum militum tum navium jam nunc præparatum in defensionem regni sui, si opus fuerit. Uxor mea una cum liberis (Deo gratias!) bene valet, et tibi ob suæ¹ memoriam in literis tuis gratias agit, teque una cum uxore tua ex animo salutatur: quam quoque meo nomine salutes rogo; tum etiam Dominum Ludovicum Lavaterum. Vale ac saluti tuæ consule. Londini, ultimo Julii, anno 1562.

Tuus,

RICARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo theologo, mihiq̄ue amico carissimo, D. Heinricho Bullingero, tradantur hæc literæ. Tiguri.

EPISTOLA XXXIX.

HERMANNUS FOLKERZHEIMERUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

CEDO, mi Josia, quid in mentem venit, ut mihi, homini curiosissimo vestrarum rerum, postremis literis nihil magnopere scribendum duxeris? Quid ergo? Literulæ nostræ quid agant, quid amici valeant, qui floreat hortus, animo quidem tum et cogitatione tantum, sed tamen in quincuncem cœptus dirigi, nesciam? Sed mehercule mereris aliquam nihilominus (fateor) gratiam, quamvis epistola tua brevis, quamvis inauspicata sit, quod hoc tamen melioribus avibus, salutem patris non prætermiseris. Me Sarisberiensis episcopus amicissime cum rogasset ut se inviserem, civilibus autem discordiis ita viderem Galliam perturbatam, ut jam plane jacerent optima doctrinarum studia, relicto Pictavio me Ros-

[¹ Sic MS.]

chelam, Galliae portum non incelebrem, contuli. Salinas Bruagenses aliaque vicina loca per otium non sine periculo perlustravi: nactus autem sic satis commodam tempestatem (nam quamvis ἐξ οὐρίας minime contigisset, non aspernabar δεύτερον πλοῦν) tertio Cal. Sextil. Roschela solvi. Nihil erat molestius, quam quod comitem quicum loquerer non haberem: in mentem simul veniebant scopuli, tempestates, brevia, piratae, nauclerus improbus, atque adeo quid Arioni quondam contigisset. Sed Deus exercituum, qui mari, ventis, tempestatibus imperat, qui in omni anteacta vita fidissimus mihi semper fuisset comes, non verebar ne tum desereret, quod se cumprimis navigantium curam gerere profiteatur. Itaque invecti mare, quod Hispanicum vocant, ita constantem nocte dieque cursum tenuimus, ut quamvis procellae de more furerent, anchoram tamen nisi semel non jaceremus. Octo dierum spatio cum jactati sic fuisset, apparere nobis optatissima tandem terra coepit, relictaque ad dexteram Vecti insula appulimus Hamtonam. Hic egi² Deo magnas gratias, meque quod essem ex oceani jactatione debilior confirmavi. Triduo post, celerem forte nactus equum, perveni Sarisberiam. Episcopus ubi me conspexit, nonnulla cum suorum qui circumstiterent admiratione, festinantius accessit ingredientem, arctissimeque complexus, O mi, inquit, Hermanne, salve: venis hospes quo ego longo tempore majoris cum lætitia salutavi neminem. Tum studiose, Martyr, Julius, Bullingerus, Josias, Lavatherus, Zuinglius, ceterique communes nostri amici quid agerent? ecquid illis omnia pulchre? percontatus. Respondi me utique sic sperare; certi quidem propterea nihil scire, quod in Gallia commoratus tam dubiis temporibus, tam turbulentis, vestrarum rerum factus essem neque literis nec fama certior. Sermo deinde reliquus in commemoratione rerum Galliae consumebatur. Dedit comites gnaros linguae Gallicae duos ornatissimos juvenes, qui me quo vellem deducerent. Spectavimus urbem, templa, rivulos qui summa amœnitate singuli plateas omnes perfluunt. Me tamen, quamvis urbs ad episcopum tota pertineret, domestica magis delectabant. Ædes primum ea amplitudine et magnificentia, ut reges ipsi, si quando in hæc loca veniant, iis excipi recte et possint et soleant. Hortus deinde spatiosissimus cultus industria singulari, ut in æquitate, descriptione, varietate nihil prætermisum videatur. Decurrit per medium fluvius limpidissimus, qui cum per se voluptati sit, oloribus tamen innatantibus, pisciumque copia, quos jam cancellis ferreis includi curat, efficitur multo commendatior multoque amœnior. Humanissime cum postridie me salutasset, conversus ad suos, Cingantur, inquit, et frænentur equi, atque hunc hospitem in venationem deducite. Assumptis atque³ canibus, cum pervenissemus ubi feræ consuissent latitare, damas⁴ deprehensas insectati sumus, quas ambas, antequam fatigarentur, canes incredibili pernicitate celeriter sunt assecuti,

[² Ego, MS.][³ Sic. Qu. itaque.][⁴ Qu. duas.]

prehensasque facile prostraverunt. Vocibus autem quibus in venatione Xenophon suos incitat, εὕγε, εὕγε, καλῶς, ᾧ κύνες, καλῶς καλῶς, vix opus erat, quod officium nostri canes etiam non excitati facerent. Quæris venemurne sæpius? Equidem D. episcopum video non nimium hoc delectationis genere delectari. Quid, inquit, obsecro, voluptatis inde capitur, quod timidam feram, quæ resistit nemini, fugatur etiam strepitu, crudelissimis canibus fugientem persequamur? Ego vero mentiar, si me delectari negem. Sed si tamen sæpius idem faciam, vereor ne non æque sit voluptati. Sed quamvis episcopus in venationem probe nunquam, ego raro proficiscar, non tamen otiantur canes. Venatoribus pueris ea est commendata cura, ne ferinæ desint, ut semper mensa fidem faciat alacres fuisse canes, venantiumque studia non defuisse.

Sed quoniam nunc agere tecum iuvat more nostro, more inquam conjunctissimorum sodalium, dabo hanc mihi licentiam garriendi, et a minutissimis etiam rebus (quamvis tu quidem nihil vel hujusmodi mereare, qui tam præclare caves¹ ne mihi vel jocis vel seriis afferas unquam tædium) non abstinebo. Age, optime Josia, vide brevissimo tempore quam dispari in fortuna fuerim. Ego e Gallia solvens tacitus atque abditus, versatus in maxima solitudine, nihil habui præter libellum, quo mitigarem tædium: omnia squalida, tetra, horrida, ut movere nauseam navis etiam subducta posset; "extracta mensa," ut ait Cicero, "non conchyliis aut piscibus, sed multa carne subrancida; idem coquus, idem atriensis: pistor Pisoni nullus domi;" nobis ne foris quidem: illi "panis et vinum a propola atque de cupa²;" nobis miseris, cum lagunculas evacuassemus, a quo peteremus nullus propola, nulla cupa fuit, unde maximo pretio vel minimum quisquam promeret; ut cum quinto statim die vinum defecisset, aquam aceto misceremus, quæ tum plerisque nostrum sitibundis a vino differre non ita multum videbatur. Attigi fortunatam insulam, perveni Sarisberiam. Dii immortales! quantam repente mutationem sensi, quantam dari facultatem ex diuturno carcere libere respirandi! Deducor in amplissimam hominis fortunati domum, quicum summus usus ac domestica (nosti) consuetudo fuerat. Hic me sic excipit, memor pristinae familiaritatis, ut ne germanum quidem fratrem amantius potuisset: innuit suis, qui a nostra sordida nautarum turba permultum differebant, lectissimis e nobilitate juvenibus, ut afferatur vinum. Adest pincerna statim aureum craterem ferens maximum. Jam vero cum prandii tempus vel cœnæ venerit, quid ego tibi argenteum supellectilem, quid copiam, quid magnificentiam prædicem? quæ tametsi summa sunt, ipsum tamen, qui possidet, magnopere non delectant, ut hospitem potius quam sua gratia comparentur. Sed quamvis cetera non commemorem, facile tamen, qualia sint, suspicari potes, et judicare quantum navis ab aula differat. Equidem facile patior, quibus usque

[¹ *Canes*, MS.][² *Orat. in Pison. 67.*]

adeo philosophari placet, ut cum Xenophonte sic existiment nusquam rei familiaris curam diligentius geri, quam in navibus, utque patres familias eorum industriam jubeant imitari, dummodo mihi sit integrum sentire quæ sentio. Decimo tertio Cal. Augusti sic satis magno cum equitatu rus profecti sumus, quod se mihi episcopus demonstraturum diceret quæ mirarer. Hic in mediis campis intuens equitatum, Cur non, inquam, Josias horum spectator est? aut Bullingerus, aut omnino quisquam Tigurinorum? Nam P. quidem Martyri satis omnia vestra nota sunt. Utinam vero, ait, adessent optimi viri! Sed quid eos nunc putas agere? Prandium fortasse sumpserint, inquit, jamque mihi Martyrem videor in sua cella curuli sedentem. Paulo longius cum processissemus, omnem situm opportunitatemque regionis perhumaniter demonstravit. Ibi, inquit, exporrecto brachio, fuit antiqua quondam Sarisberia, ibi aggeres etiam nunc quos vides, ibi munitio. Atque alio deinde loco, Hic castra Romanorum veterum, quorum sunt hæc vestigia, quæ videmus. Pervenimus eo denique, quo me maxime Juellus evocarat, quo loci quid viderim scribere dubitasset, nisi gravissimis testibus possem confirmare; propterea quod ea ratio persæpe mea fuerit, ut si quid esse verum deprehendissem, quod fidem tamen prima facie superaret, non commemorare maluerim quam (ne forte vanus haberer) prædicare. Vidi in latissimis campis a mari remotissimis, in solo cui cum petrarum nihil ac rupium natura commune quidquam videretur, vidi, inquam, ingenti saxa magnitudine, quorum prope singula³, si ponderibus examines, elevarent vel domum tuam; saxa, quæ non congesta, non etiam collocata, sed ita sint erecta, ut bina³ tertium sustineant. Hic tu mihi ingenii tui vires explica: divina, si potes, quibus ea viribus, aut potius (quid enim vires?) machinis ea comportata, quibus erecta, quibus in altum sublevata fuerint; tum quid sibi omnis illa molitio tandem velit. D. quidem episcopus se videre negat, quo pacto convocatis omnibus suis municipibus vel unicum loco moveat; arbitrari vero Romanos ibi quondam hæc sibi trophæa constituisse: quod ipse saxorum positus jugi quandam speciem præ se ferat.

Sed scire cupias, quibus ego me tandem studiis usque adeo conficiam, ut mihi tot remissionis genera quæram, toties recreem. Crede mihi, prope nullis quæ quidem seria sint. Ex quo tempore Lutetiam profectus, Euclidi nostro, Archimedi, atque adeo Ptolemæo, multum per me fuit otii; nunquam gravissimos philosophos interpellavi. In jurisprudentia omnem laborem atque industriam, si qua fuit, consumpsimus. Interea cum nonnunquam tamen historias interponerem, diligenter quæ ad Arabiæ Felicis geographicam descriptionem pertinere possent annotavi; ut urbium fluviorumque situs, promontiorum, sinuum, fontium. Ab Arriano vero, qui mare rubrum et sinum Persicum

[³ MS. *singuli, bini.*]

perlustravit, quod his Arabia contineatur, oræ maritimæ descriptio peti poterat. Itaque hoc quidem tempore historiis maxime operam damus, quarum summam nobis copiam Juelli bibliotheca præstat. Gallicæ res me vehementer commovent. Imploro Dei optimi maximi misericordiam, ut gravissimorum scelerum quæ commisimus memoria posita, atque unico carissimoque Filio condonata, gloriæ suæ rationem habeat sui que nominis. Ipse noster dux et signifer velit esse; exercitum nostrum non muro, cancellis, fossa, sed, ut promissit, cohortibus angelorum sepiat. Filii sui sceptrum aureum, quod fortissimæ manui commendavit, aliquando proferatur, illamque fictilem testaceamque turmam confringat, atque ita dissipet, quo pulveres volitent illi quidem ut merentur, nec locum, ubi consistent, reperire possint; sed ita tamen ut nihil officiant laudi et gloriæ Christi sui, nullas offundant clarissimæ luci tenebras. Meo nomine plurimum salutis uxori tuæ dicito, carissimo meo patri atque optimo Petro Martyri, Julio, Bullingeris, Hallero, Lavathero, Zuinglio, Pellicano, Gualthero, Wolphio, Funckio, Gesnero, cui velim dices me de Phocæ pelle scripsisse fratri, qui si minus diligenter ut *νεόγαμος* eam curet, me promittes diligentior fore. Vale, suavissime mi Josia, vale. Idib. Sextil. an. MDLXII. Sarisberia.

EPISTOLA XL.

ROGERUS ASCHAMUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

S. P. In Christo Jesu. CUM nos inter nos eodem erga literas, religionem, rempublicam, et mutuam amicitiam, studio, iudicio, animo, atque sensu conjungimur, opto ego sæpe adeoque volo ut nostri itidem aliquo certe nexu nonnulloque paris inter se quoque amoris alendi incitamento contineantur. Et propterea, cum uxor mea ante octo dies me tertio jam patrem fecerit, filiolo meo in perpetuam meæ amicitiae memoriam nomen imposui, Sturmium Aschamus. Precor a Deo, inque dies singulos precaturus sum, ut is, perinde ut nominis, ita doctrinæ virtutisque tuæ aliquam similitudinem referat. Hunc ergo tuum tibi, licet non agnatione nec gente, ipsa tamen nominatione ac parentum voluntate conjunctum, quomodo fieri potest, tuæ fidei trado, tuæ tutelæ commendo; ut si quid humanitas mihi accidat, tu eum eadem humanitate, benevolentia καὶ στοργῇ complectare, qua me patrem ejus antea semper prosequi consuevisti. Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὠκυμορίας satis fuse lacrymis et nimis dolenter in prolixioribus illis meis literis, superiori Aprili per Toxitem nostrum ad te missis, ipse scripsi. Sollicitus sum et avidus sciendi, an illæ literæ ad manus tuas pervenerint. Scripsi etiam

ad te per Henricum Knolles, oratorem hoc tempore serenissimæ nostræ reginæ ad Germaniæ principes. Ab eo (est enim tui perstudiosus) commodissime intelliges omnem rerum nostrarum in Anglia statum. Serenissima regina est et optime animata, et ab omni re commodissime parata, ad frangendam vim illam et tyrannidem Guisianam, ad propugnandum pro incolumitate impuberis regis, pro salute innocentis populi, sine omni vel injuria in illum regem, vel detrimento in illud regnum ullo modo intentando. Hac credo die nostri milites ingressi sunt in Normaniam, quod tu prius ex ipso rumore quam ex his meis literis intelliges. Utinam, mi Sturmî, tu scribere velles separatam historiam hujus Guisianæ conjurationis! Nec tamen sum nescius, ut ille noster in simili causa ait, quantis indies susceptarum gravium rerum oneribus premeris. At sum ipse quidem cupidus non minus tuæ gloriæ quam mei commodi. Materies præclara est, digna tua doctrina, facultate, studio erga puram religionem, amore erga illam gentem, animo in ipsam causam, et stomacho etiam contra illos tam impiæ tyrannidis immanisque crudelitatis auctores. Sæpissime legi, meminero semper illius præclari loci, quem tu tractas de recta ratione scribendæ historiæ, in quadam tua epistola ad Erasmum episcopum vestrum Argentoratensem. Cum ad illam facultatem, quam in te esse is locus arguit, respicio, nescio quomodo ceteros omnes facile contemno; et ut tu aliquando tale munus suscipias, a Deo optimo maximo precibus et votis exposco. Hoc meum desiderium multum lenivit sermo huc e Germania elatus, tibi a principibus Germaniæ provinciam esse datam persecuendi stylo tuo τὰ παραλειπόμενα vestri Johannis Sleidani. Hoc ita esse ipse reginæ nostræ omni asseveratione affirmavi. An ita sit, quæso me certiore facias. De Rhetore tuo Aristotelico, de libris, altero contra Staphylum, altero de cœna Domini, aveo scire, de reliquis item studiis ac rebus tuis. Halesius noster ruri est: hodie ad illum scripsi. Cocus quoque ruri est. Cecillus studio, ingenio, prudentia et constantia, cum magna et ejus laude et nostrorum utilitate, et exterorum (uti spero) salute, primum illum versum secundi libri Epistolarum Horatii præclare sustinet. Ipse nunquam (Deo sint gratiæ!) in majori gratia fui apud serenissimam reginam. Aliquid Græce aut Latine mecum quotidie legit. Mea uxor tuam ac te salutat. Vale in Christo. Londini, 21 Octobris, 1562.

Tui studiosissimus,

R. ASCHAMUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Johanni Sturmio,
Argentoratensis academiae rectori,
amico meo carissimo.*

EPISTOLA XLI.

HERMANNUS FOLKERZHEIMERUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

QUÆ de felici proventu surculorum, quos insemi, scribis, Josia carissime, quamvis per se grata sint, meque in hac tenui saltem scientia non-nihil atque arte posse gaudeam; jucundiora tamen sunt, quod me ob eam causam tam amice ad nuptias cohorteris. Equidem naturæ ipsius blanda invitatione inductus, consilioque utriusque parentis mei, nimis a tua sententia non abhorreo. Sed perpetuæ de uxoribus et quotidianæ querelæ vestræ, quibus eas omnis injucunditatis in vita, molestiarum, tædii conciliatrices esse criminamini, vel optime sentientem commonere et ab instituto revocare possunt. Itaque ut M. Titurio, qui cum se vacuus omni cura recreandi causa abjecisset in herbam, *UTINAM HOC ESSET LABORARE*, diceret; ita mihi in mentem venit, cum navigo, vehor, equito, optare ut hoc esset rem domesticam gerere, et officio fungi boni patris-familias. In patriam certe jam diu, sollicitatus tot meorum parentum et necessariorum literis, rediissem, nisi in me singularis episcopi Sarisburiensis amor me rogare coegisset, ut mihi diutius abesse permitterent. Eum vero fructum absentiae meæ capio, ut cum domus nostra primariis viris frequentetur, graves eorum quotidie sermones audiam, non mehercule de luminum servitutibus aut jure stillicidiorum, sed de munitione, vectigalibus, commeatu, mercibus invehendis aut exportandis, et quæ sunt ejusdem generis. Sed quid ego tibi, mi Josia, de his plura? Certant inter se studio mei et amore duo amplissimi viri atque optimi, Sarisburiensis episcopus et Vigornensis. Vigornensis perpulchrum equum et præstantem dono mihi nuper dedit, meque rogat amicissime ut ad se quam primum veniam.

De D. Petro Martyre propterea scribere nihil statui, quod ejus viri desiderio ita commovear, ut sine lacrymis illius memoriam sermonibus vel etiam literis prosequi mihi quidem difficillimum videatur. O nonæ Februarii, quibus cum festinatione, lassis equis et ipsi defessi, Londinum ad comitia venimus, O! quam tristes (inquam) nobis, quam lugubres extitistis, quæ tanti viri obitum vel abitum potius ac digressum, sed tamen longum, nunciastis! Verum permulta sunt, quæ nos consolari possint ac dolorem nostrum luctumque minuunt. Ac inter cetera, si est gloriosa minimeque deploranda mors eorum hominum, qui aut scribenda, ut ille ait, egerint, aut facienda scripserint; utique D. Martyris contentiones et studia, quibus utrumque consecutus est, non satis grato animo interpretamur, si, quasi ante tempus discesserit, pergamus adeo moleste illius mortem graviterque ferre. Hæc et consimilia ab utroque nostrum cogitari facilius quam scribi possunt, quamvis a te quidem copiosius.

Ego, ut ante cognovisti meis literis, historia et antiquitatis cognitione mirifice capior, ita tamen ut ea minime deseram, quæ me scis ab aliquot annis instituisse. Animi causa superioribus mensibus Fl. Arriani περίπλουι τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης καὶ Εὐξείνου πόντου quam potui maxime propriis aptisque verbis in Latinam linguam transtuli; et quod esset obscurior¹, commentationibus, hoc est, locis ex annalium veterum libris et geographorum scriptis, paulo clariorem reddidisse videor. Mare rubrum præterea, Persicum, Barygazenum, Gangeticum, cum locis mediterraneis Arabia, Perside et India citeriore, descripsi ad Gangem fluvium. Secutus in eo sum Ptolemæi dimensiones primum, deinde quæ a ceteris geographis et historia sic traduntur, ut ad hanc diligentem certamque rationem longitudinis ac latitudinis revocari possint. Bene vale, mi dulcissime, et res Gallicas una mecum Deo nostro commendato. Salutem velim dices uxori tuæ plurimam, Bullingeris item patri et filiis, Lavathero, Gesnero, Julio, Pellicano, Zuinglio, Hallero, Funckio, Gualthero, Guldebecko, Collinis, atque omnibus in universum qui me noverint. Vale. Lundini, Idib. Martii anno 1563. Ignosce huic meæ festinationi, te precor, mi Josia, et si videtur sal¹. M. M.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Vitæ innocentia et literis præstanti
viro D. Josiæ Simlero, amico
suo cariss. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XLII.

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS AD JOHANNEM CALVINUM.

S. D. MULTUM tuæ pietati, clarissime D. Calvine, atque adeo uiversæ ecclesiæ vestræ debemus, qui D. Gallasii viri doctissimi copiam tam diu nobis fecistis: qui et ecclesiam suam, quam adveniens valde perturbatam invenit, D. Cognato successori suo pacatam ac bene institutam reliquit, et mihi nostrisque ecclesiis consilio ac prudentia magnopere profuit. Equidem non libenter illum dimissemus, nisi justiores discedendi causas haberet quam optamus. Cælum nostrum, ipsius constitutioni parum, ut videtur, conveniens, valetudinem ejus valde affixit, et conjugæ carissima (ut de liberis interim taceam) orbavit: adeo ut quem nunc reddimus valetudinarium, si alteram hyemem apud nos egisset, verendum esset ne non omnino redderemus. Valde igitur erat necessarium, ut ad pristinum aërem ad valetudinem recuperandam rediret.

[¹ Sic.]

Nihil autem magis in votis habemus quam ut uterque vestrum in communi patria evangelium libere annunciare possitis. Hoc etsi isto rerum statu, partim propter quorundam cunctationem vel potius tarditatem, partim propter aliorum præproperam (ne quid gravius dicam) transactionem, minime sperandum esse videatur; tamen non dubitamus quin Deus ipse rationibus nobis incognitis, ut non gloriemur in hominibus, hoc totum negotium feliciter sit confecturus. Doleo ex animo te ista ætate, et tam tenui corpore, in podagricos dolores (nam ita mihi retulit Gallasius) incidisse. Non dubito autem quin studiorum ac laborum intemperantia quadam hoc malum tibi contraxeris. Posthac igitur remittendum est tibi aliquid de pristinis laboribus et lucubrationibus intempestivis, ne, dum tibi non parcis, morbum in immensum augeas, et ecclesiæ minus prosis. Intuere in Nazianzenum, qui dum de vitæ austeritate, quam juvenis utcumque sustinebat, ætate proventus nihil remittit, perpetuo fere decumbere est coactus, et ista ratione ecclesiæ minus utilis redditus. Quia tu cum Bullingero ex primis illis columnis pene soli superestis, vobis quam diutissime (si ita Domino visum fuerit) frui cupimus. Brentium studio prætereo, qui nunc suscepto pessimæ causæ patrocínio, non videtur nos amplius pro fratribus agnoscere. De regni et ecclesiæ nostræ statu optime referre potest D. Gallasius, qui istas defert: ut his de rebus scribere hoc tempore opus non sit. Salutes, quæso, meo nomine D. Bezam ac ceteros symmystas tuos; D. Antonium etiam professorem Hebraicum. D. Jesus pietatem tuam nobis et ecclesiæ suæ quam diutissime incolumem conservet. Londini, 19 Junii, 1563.

Deditiss. tibi in Domino,

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS,

Episcop. Londinens.

INSCRIPTIO.

Do. Johanni Calvino, ecclesiæ Genevensis pastori fidelissimo, ac fratri suo in Christo carissimo. Genevæ.

EPISTOLA XLIII.

H. ZANCHIUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM.

TARDITATI meæ ignosces, observande Domine. Nuper enim redii ex finibus Italiæ, et prope infinitas reperi quibus respondendum sit literas.

Aves intelligere, quomodo compositum sit nostrum dissidium: dicam breviter. Propositum fuerat de principio dominis nostris, ut audio et video, ita in hac nostra controversia sese gerere, ut quoad ejus fieri posset, salva et sarta tectaue maneret utriusque partis dignitas: idque propter ministerium, tum concionatorum in ecclesia, tum nostrum in schola. Tametsi igitur per istud biennium, quo causa fuit apud dominos acta, optime ex perlectis actis, utriusque partis scriptis, et multarum ecclesiarum academiarumque de meis thesibus judiciis cognoverunt, actionem contra me ab adversariis institutam fuisse iniquam, et doctrinam meam, quæ accusata damnataque fuerat tum novitatis, tum hæreseos, neque novam neque hæreticam esse; noluerunt tamen vel pronuciare de causa, vel saltem ut disputatione decideretur permittere: sed accersitis quatuor theologis et aliquot jurisperitis, partim Tubinga, partim Biponte, partim Basilea, curarunt ut per istos dissidium componeretur. Isti, præsentibus etiam quatuor ex senatu, legerunt acta, et utriusque partis scripta: perspicue viderunt insignem et mihi et veritati factam fuisse injuriam: retulerunt ad senatum suum iudicium de scriptis et actis. Hic D. Petrus Sturmius scholarcha palam dixit, Ubi igitur nunc tot et tantæ hæreses quæ Zanchio objiciebantur?

Egerunt deinde seorsum cum utraque parte pro concordia. Cum ventum est ad me, primum disertis verbis dixerunt compositores, partem adversam idem quod et nos de prædestinatione sanctorum sentire; probare enim doctrinam Augustini, Lutheri, Bucer: iis autem tribus post scripturas totam meam doctrinam copiosissime confirmaveram in meis lectionibus et confessionibus: tantum superesse aliquid controversiæ de cœna: etsi igitur legerint meam confessionem de cœna, se tamen cupere adhuc clarius ex me audire quid sentiam de præsentia corporis Christi in cœna: in mea enim confessione nihil de præsentia disputaveram, sed tria tantum præcipua capita explicaveram; primum, non sola symbola percipi, sed etiam rem ipsam, verum corpus Christi et verum ejus sanguinem, hoc est, Christum ipsum; alterum, utrumque manducari ac bibi non ore corporis sed spiritus, hoc est, fide; tertium, idque a fidelibus tantum. Hic respondi, me de hac quæstione non libenter disputare, quod ne unum quidem verbum apertum de præsentia corporis Christi in cœna in scripturis reperiam: sed tamen, ne putent me subterfugere et non audere explicare etiam de hac quæstione meam sententiam, dicturum me quod sentiam. Principio, me nullo modo posse admittere præsens esse corpus Christi in cœna corporibus nostris; illam enim rem dici alicui esse præsentem, quæ se aliquo modo ei, cui dicitur esse præsens, communicet, et ab ipso percipiatur: illam vero dici esse absentem, quæ nullo modo sese communicet, et percipiatur ab eo cui dicitur esse absens; sive ea res, quantum ad localem vel longinquitatem vel propinquitatem attinet, sit propinquior vel remotior. Deambulabat ibi Sulcerus, cum Jacobus An-

dreæ assidens mecum ageret de cœna. Exemplum igitur ab ipsis desumptum attuli in hæc verba: Vos, Domini compositores, dicimini esse et vere estis mihi, hoc est, corpori meo præsentis, quia ipsi vos communicatis mihi et meis sensibus, et a me percipimini, dum ego meis oculis vos video et auribus audio; et tam mihi præsens est D. Sulcerus qui deambulat, quam vos reliqui qui assidetis: quanquam quod localem distantiam et propinquitatem attinet, ille remotior sit a me quam vos, et vos quam ille propinquiores. Qui vero foris sunt, extra hoc hypocaustum, (erant enim aliquot famuli Dominorum foris,) dicuntur abesse, quia illos nec audio nec video, nec ullo corporis sensu percipio. Manifestum est autem, verum et substantiale corpus Christi non communicari corpori meo in cœna: nullis enim sensibus corporis id percipio, cum nec oculis videam, nec auribus audiam, nec naribus olfaciam, nec manibus tangam, nec palato gustem: non possum igitur ullo modo dare, corpus Christi præsens corporibus nostris esse in cœna. Ceterum quin idem corpus Christi verum et substantiale præsens sit menti meæ in cœna, ubi maxime efficax est, inficiari non possum; cum extra controversiam sit, illud vere fidelium mentibus communicari, et ab ipsis vere percipi: oculo enim fidelis mentis seu interioris hominis videtur, ejusdemque manu capitur et ore comeditur; atque ita comeditur, ut illius virtutem et effecta salutaria in nobis ipsis sentiamus. Non possum igitur simpliciter negare veram et substantialem, hoc est, veri et substantialis corporis Christi in cœna præsentiam; sed in eum sensum, quem explicavi.

Hic Jacobus Andreæ cum admiratione, Profecto, inquit, vos idem sentitis quod et nos. Audivisti, inquam ego, sententiam meam, D.D. Si hæc est quoque vestra sententia, gaudeo mihi, gratulor vobis et ecclesiæ. Nunc, inquit ille, video cur tot argumentis confutes (nempe in mea confessione) id quod nos dicimus, "Corpus Christi ore etiam corporis manducari," quia putatis nos ita sentire, corpus Christi ore nostri corporis manducari, quasi corpus Christi nostrum os et corpus attingat. Omnino, inquam, ita e vestris scriptis judicavi vos sentire. Minime, minime, inquit ille, ita sentimus: sed nos ita loquimur propter unionem sacramentalem. Tum ego, Si non aliter sentitis, non damno istam locutionem; nam et ego admitto propter sacramentalem unionem id attribui corpori Christi, quod est proprium panis; et contra pani id quod proprium est corporis Christi. Sed de manducatione indignorum quid sentis? inquit ille. Si nomine indignorum, respondi, intelligatis homines plane impios, qui vera fide destituti sunt, non possum admittere ab illis corpus Christi manducari. Si vero homines fide quidem præditos, sed ea imbecilliori, et solutioris vitæ quam Christianum deceat, non refragor. Tales enim fuerunt illi Corinthii, quos Paulus dicebat, quia indigne manducarant corpus Domini, a Domino judicari, hoc est, castigari, ne cum hoc mundo damnarentur. Non potuit inter nos de

hoc articulo convenire. Sed ego non dubito, inquit ille, quin si diligentius hunc articulum examinaveris, sis in nostram sententiam venturus. Satis, inquam ego, diligenter examinavi, et aliter quam sentiam sentire non possum. Bene: satis est, inquit, de cœna dictum. Agimus gratias Deo, quod in hoc etiam articulo de cœna non est magna discrepantia inter vos; cum utrique fateamini veram et substantialem præsentiam. Ita discessum fuit.

Conceperunt deinde articulos quosdam de prædestinatione: hos dederunt utrique parti inspiciendos. Sed mihi cum tanta festinatione exhibuerunt legendos, ut nollent eos vel unam noctem apud me pernoctare. Tandem ubi viderent me nolle illis subscribere, nisi prius a me diligenter domi examinarentur, permiserunt; sed hac lege, ut neque describerem neque curarem describendos. Adjecerunt illis, ut etiam de cœna aliquid statuerent saltem in genere, confessionem Augustanam et articulos concordie inter Lutherum et Bucerum. In articulis de prædestinatione nihil deprehendi aperte impium, et quod non posset bona conscientia admitti; quemadmodum et postea D. Calvinus tum ad me, tum ad pastorem nostrum scripsit. Tantum vidi, ita eos artificiose fuisse compositos, ut tamen liquido appareret, compositores magis curasse ut articuli controversi obductis quibusdam tenebris sepelirentur, quam ut veritas aperta luce explicaretur. Hæc fuit una, præter alias causas, cur diu, hoc est, ad extremum fere restiterim, ne subscriberem. Tandem cum viderem per me unum tantum stare, ne sublato tanto dissidio, quod erat non inter unum aut alterum, sed inter omnes ministros una ex parte, et omnes professores ex altera parte, pax et consensus fieret; et viderem me salva conscientia posse subscribere, præmissa præsertim protestatione; assensus sum. Cum igitur ventum esset ad locum, ubi erant domini nostri et compositores, omnesque professores et aliquot alii, post actas gratias iis quibus debebantur, dixi me subscripturum, sed præmissa prius hac protestatione, primum me nolle ut hac mea subscriptione aliquod fiat præjudicium aliis ecclesiis, academiis, et veritati; deinde nolle ut aliquid derogetur illi doctrinæ quam hic Argentinæ docui per octennium, et quæ continetur in meis prælectionibus, disputationibus, confessionibus; postremo ut mihi liceat, tam Augustanam confessionem, apologiam, et articulos concordie, quam hos præsentis articulos, interpretari juxta regulam verbi Dei, doctrinam Augustini, Lutheri et Bucerii. Deinde conditionaliter subscripsi in hæc verba: "Hanc doctrinæ formulam ut piam agnosco, ita etiam recipio. Ego H. Zanchius." Postridie, condonatis omnibus injuriis, datæ fuerunt dexteræ societatis et *φιλadelphίας*. Ita compositum fuit dissidium, ut nihil detractum sit de veritate doctrinæ.

Interim tamen non desunt qui improbent factum: sed isti non perpendunt, quid sit illud, "Christus non sibi placuit;" neque cogitant quanta

mala secum adferant dissidia. Cur propter pacem inter tot et ministros et professores unius civitatis non debuisssem Augustanæ confessioni et ejus apologiæ subscribere, eo præsertim modo quo subscripsi, et admissa mea a compositoribus explicatione, et deinde etiam protestatione? Offenduntur illis verbis apologiæ, “Corpus Christi adesse in cœna vere et substantialiter.” At ego explicavi quo pacto admitti possint, et illud dici præsens esse vere et substantialiter, quod vere et substantialiter participatur: cum sol est supra nostrum hemisphærium, et suum verum et substantiale corpus nobis visendum et per corpus calorem atque lucem participandam communicat, an non dicimus, et quidem recte, solem nobis esse præsentem vere et substantialiter? quemadmodum et contra, quum progressus ad aliud hemisphærium, quia non amplius sese videndum et participandum nobis communicat, dicimus abesse: quum tamen quoad localem propinquitatem aut longinquitatem tam procul distet a nobis, cum est supra nostrum, quam cum est supra aliud hemisphærium? Quid igitur prohibet quin etiam dicamus, corpus Christi adesse vere et substantialiter illis quibus vere et substantialiter se communicat?

At, inquiunt, alii non ita intelligunt et interpretantur ut tu. Neque ego subscripsi aliorum interpretationibus; sed tantum verbis Augustanæ confessionis, idque juxta illum sensum quem ego pium esse agnosco, et interpretatio mea fuit admissa. Aliter certe Calvinus judicat, cujus judicium longe pluris facio quam multorum aliorum, quia vere Spiritum Dei habet; et magis spectat ecclesiarum ædificationem, quam nescio quam gloriosam in nostris phrasibus, dictionibus, et syllabis pertinaciam. Is ad pastorem nostrum scribit, sibi non probari, ut simpliciter recuset subscribere; et consulit ut subscribat, modo addantur et admittantur exceptiones: et ad me scribit, ut tester magistratui, me serio pacis studio adductum subscripsisse, sed cum illis exceptionibus; et me idem etiam nunc profiteri et confirmare. Si spes ulla fuisset vel impetrandæ disputationis, in qua palam triumphasset veritas, vel audiendæ definitivæ (ut vocant) sententiæ de tota controversia, vel tollendi aliqua alia meliori ratione dissidii, ego nunquam subscripsissem. Sed cum nihil horum possemus sperare, quid, obsecro, agendum nobis erat? Credo te, quæ tua est pietas atque prudentia, non aliter quam nos fecimus facturum fuisse. Quod si fallor, ignosce huic meo de tua pietate judicio: ignosce etiam, rogo, non jam amplius brevitati, sed nimix meæ prolixitati: et vale meque in numero amicorum tuorum conserva. Jubeo vero salvere meos quatuor compadres generosos, D. Wrottum, Cocum, Henr. Knollum, et D. Hetonem; et cupio ut cum illis communices et aliis doctis hanc nostram compositionem, et quid de ea et tu et illi sentiant, ad me candide scribas. Dominus Jesus suo vos Spiritu semper regat ac protegat!

[H. ZANCHIUS.]

EPISTOLA XLIV

HERMANNUS FOLKERZHEIMERUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

PRÆTER omnem expectationem meam et (vereor) officium quoque tuum, Josia, factum fuit, quod literas a te Franckofordienti mercatu proximo non acceperim. Ac mehercle permoleste tuli summæ nostræ necessitudinis tam dulcem atque adeo solum fructum periisse, quem, negata domestica consuetudine, scribendis tamen literis caperemus. Quamvis in Anglia me diutius apud se retinere primarii illi viri atque optimi vehementer cuperent, permotus tamen meorum literis ac desiderio, in patriam redire malui. Itaque cum jam equum, quem Vigorniensis dono mihi dederat, acceperissem, ejusque educendi mihi esset literis Roberti magistri equitum facta copia, de navigatione cogitabam. Equum, cum mare refluxisset et navis in arena fluctibus destitueretur, trinis funibus ventre religatum in altum traximus, ut ita demissus in nave posset statui. In Belgicam recta navigare institueramus; sed passuum circiter quinque millium confecto spatio, Favonio in Galliam quamvis inviti rejecti sumus. Equitem nausea, equum fame confectum, cum nonnihil recreassem, lætus in Belgicam me statim contuli. Urbes celebriores occurrebant, Caletum, Gravelinga, Duukerkum, Brugæ, Gandavum; tum in Brabantia Bruxellæ, Lovanium, Mechlinia, Antverpia; in Geldria denique, relicta ad sinistram Hollandia, Hochostratum, Nemagum, Arnum, Daventria. Groninga conveni Ulricum fratrem una cum uxore et filiolo; magna utrinque gratulatio. Octiduum apud eum commoratus Emdam discessi. Multa mihi in vita acciderunt, quæ afferrent plurimum voluptatis; sed, O dii immortales! quid cum illa meorum parentum, sororum, fratrum salutatione, quid illis complexibus conferri potest? Ulyssis tantum desiderium non jam sum vehementius admiratus, cui tanti essent domus, uxor, liberi, ut si fumum patriæ videre contigisset, immortalitatem posset contemnerc. Dco Optimo Maximo nunquam debitas egero justasque gratias, quod ea tam cumulate præstitit, quæ frequenter soleo postulare.

Daniæ rex et Suetiæ bellum parant gravissimum. Dux Ericus Brunsvicensis magna contracta manu se ad regem Daniæ contulit. Dicitur pedestribus copiis et equitatu præstare Danus, classe Suedus. Semel atque iterum mari acerrime dimicatum fuit. Daniæ rex nihil existimatur in Suetia vel majoribus etiam copiis effecturus propter fluviorum et lacuum multitudinem, quibus ubique revulsis ac rescissis pontibus aditus intercludatur, ita ut hyems expectanda sit necessario, quæ glacie sternat fluvios atque aditum patefaciat. Est apud vos Egbertus quidam Brassius, concionatoris optimi viri filius. Hunc si opera et

consilio tuo juves in persequenda studiorum ratione, atque adolescentem pietatis ac literarum perstudiosum complectare, nihil alienum ab humanissimo Josia feceris. Una cum Froschovero constitueras ad nos et hinc in Angliam proficisci, quod ut faciatis, ego, frater, ceterique necessarii vehementer petimus atque obsecramus. Idque velim fieret dum ipse domi adhuc essem; nam in Italiam iter cogito. Vale, mi Josia, et uxorem tuam ἄμα τῇ γείτοινι, Bullingeros, Gualterum, Zuinglium, Lavatherum, Johannem Frisium, Hallerum, Julium, Pellicanum, Guldebeccum, Collinos, Funckium, Wolfium, Bibliandrum et quos præterea nosti, communes amicos nostros pervehementer salutes officiose meo nomine. Embdæ, 12 Cal. Septembr. anno 1563. Defholdium præterea nostratem juvenem cum pædagogo saluta quæso.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Literis et ingenio viro præstantissimo
D. Josiæ Simlero amico suo longe
certissimo. Tiguri.*

 EPISTOLA XLV

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS AD CONRADUM HUBERTUM.

S. D. DITHELMUS BLAURERUS, qui tuo hortatu ac suasu ad me in Angliam venit, jam redit in patriam, revocatus a patre. Non potui igitur committere ut sine literis meis ad te rediret, qui tuis mihi fuit commendatus. Æquum est etiam ut, quemadmodum est promeritus, de pie atque honeste apud me acta vita testimonium illi feram. In multis ipsius opera mihi usui fuit: in multo pluribus vero futura fuisset, nisi me infinitæ occupationes, quæ cum hoc munere meo sunt conjunctæ, varie distraxissent. Ne autem sis nescius quibus conditionibus illum dimiserim, numeravi in discessu integrum stipendium, quod ad Michaelis proxime sequentis pro quarta anni parte solvendum erat, coronatos videlicet Gallicos quatuor, et pro sumptibus itineris quatuor libras nostrates, quæ conficiunt 13 coronatos Gallicos et paulo plus. Addidi etiam quædam munuscula. Hæc non aliam ob causam scribo, quam ut ipsam rei veritatem cognoscas. Numeravi etiam Abelo pro expensis Dithelmi, quum primum ad me venit ex Germania, ultra 14 coronatos, quod hyeme adversis ventis in litore Flandriæ diutius paulo hæere sunt coacti. Audio vestra dissidia jam esse composita: faxit Deus ut sit pax firma ac sincera, minimeque fucata. De vobis nihil dubito; timeo ne altera pars novas aliquando turbas excitet. Tibi vero, carissime D.

Conrade, ex animo gratulor istam pietatem erga communem præceptorem, D. Bucerum felicis memoriæ, cujus famam tam constanter hactenus es tutatus. Opto te in Domino quam optime valere. Ex suburbano nostro Fulhamiensi ad ripam Thamesis, 23 Augusti, 1563.

Tuus in Christo,

EDM. GRINDALLUS,
Episc. Londinensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Domino Conrado Huberto Argentinensis ecclesiæ ministro fidelissimo et fratri suo in Christo carissimo. Argentinæ.

EPISTOLA XLVI.

H. ZANCHIUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM.

S. MITTO ad te, reverende episcope et Domine, iudicium de dissidio ecclesiarum in cœna Domini meum, quod generoso Domino Knollo, compatri meo, certis de causis dicavi. Non composueram quidem illud eo animo ut invulgaretur, quemadmodum tu ipse potes tum ex brevitate tum ex stylo conjicere: sed quoniam amici, inter quos Sturmius, ita probarunt, ut me coëgerint invulgare, malui morem gerendo amicis videri imperitus, quam reluctando in ecclesias ipsas esse ingratus. Tu igitur exemplum hoc accipies, ut testimonium observantiæ erga te meæ. Mittam brevi, ut spero, meliora et copiosiora. Dominus sicut antea vos, ita hoc anno nos, hoc est, ecclesiam meam Clavennensem, visitavit pestilentia. Meam dixi, ut intelligas me non amplius profiteri Argentinæ, sed ministrum agere Clavennæ, quæ est in foribus Italiæ, ac propterea Clavenna appellatur, quod ostii ex Italia in Germaniam, et vicissim e Germania in Italiam, sit clavis. Cur vero discesserim tandem Argentinæ, intelliges ex libro quem brevi ad vos etiam mittam. Tu nosti cur bonus Martyr piæ memoriæ non potuerit amplius esse Argentinæ; ac proinde ad Tigurinos concesserit. Ego præter illam ἀνθρωποδολείαν habui alias etiam graves causas. Qua de causa ego discessi, de eadem etiam Gallicana ecclesia, quæ Argentinæ erat, fuit dissipata: non amplius sunt contenti illi boni domini, ut si quis velit apud se vel profiteri vel ministrum agere, Augustanæ confessioni subscribat; sed volunt etiam ut in omnibus et per omnia, et quoad Augustanæ confessionis intelligentiam, et quoad scripturarum interpretationem, cum suis con-

cionatoribus sine ulla disceptatione consentiat. Auctorem nosti: Dominus misereatur illius urbis! Nihil non feci ut meam retinerem stationem, hac tantum de causa, ut veterem illius ecclesiae doctrinam, quam novi esse Christianam, in schola saltem retinerem. Sed quid agas, cum Dominus vult aliquem populum propter suas iniquitates punire? Negotium illud mei affinis Laurentii Limacii tibi commendo. Vale, optime pater et amice singularis. Mense Augusto, 1564. Ex montibus Claven.

H. ZANCHIUS.

EPISTOLA XLVII.

H. ZANCHIUS AD HENRICUM KNOLLUM.

S. MEUM de dissidio ecclesiarum in cœna Domini iudicium, quod tibi, observandissime compater, in eum finem dicavi, ut publicum sit idemque perpetuum grati mei erga te animi testimonium, dederam optimo et diligentissimo, adde et doctissimo omnium typographo, Johanni Oporino, pulchris typis excudendum. Sed quia, ut video, non potuit a censoribus facultatem hunc libellum imprimendi (causam tu ipse cogita) impetrare, eum dedit typographo Mylhusiano. At is, sive oscitantia, sive imperitia, plenum erratis in lucem misit: id quod vehementer mihi displicuit. Quare coactus fui, quotquot habui exemplaria, manu emendare. Emendatum igitur exemplum unum ad te mitto, et rogo ut boni consulas has paucas chartulas: misissem plura exemplaria ad reliquos amicos, si qui voluissent ferre nactus fuisssem. Cetera, valemus omnes Dei beneficio: et tua profilia jam ablactata garrit, discurrit, simiam agit. De discessu meo Argentina credo te ab aliis jam pridem intellexisse; sed causam fortassis minime. Ea fuit, ut uno verbo dicam, propter quam bonus quoque piæ memoriæ Petrus Martyr longe ante me Tigurum discesserat; indigna scilicet Christiano ac multo magis theologo ἀνθρωποδοουλεία. Cum igitur vidissem mihi non amplius licere libere docere, neque eam tueri doctrinam, quam ante me viri doctissimi Bucerus, Capito, Martyr, Calvinus, e fonte S. literarum haustam, in ea schola auditoribus multos annos propinaverant; imo quam ego etiam annos novem ibidem in lectionibus tradideram, et publicis disputationibus defenderam; renuntiavi priori conditioni, et novam, nimirum Clavennensis ecclesiae ministerium, amplexus sum. Dominus vero mirabiliter meam afflixit ecclesiam, imo totum oppidum, pestilentia, qua duas fere partes abstulit, una tantum relicta, ut etiam est apud Zachariam. Sed hæc pestis non tantum hic, sed alibi quoque multis in locis, tam in Germania, ut Basileæ, quam in Gallia, ut Lugduni, grassatur. Domi-

nus nostri omnium misereatur! Italia vacua est ab hoc malo: sed caritate annonæ laborat. Tua commater multam tibi salutem dicit. Ego vero salvere jubeo amicos, atque imprimis generosos Dom. Wrottum et Cookum, deinde etiam Hetonum, compatres meos. Vale.

EPISTOLA XLVIII.

RICARDUS MASTERUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

Ex quo ad te proxime scripseram, piissime vir, tres epistolas a te accepi amoris tui erga me plenissimas; quibus quod citius non responderim, neque negotia, quibus eram implicatus, neque oblivionem tui aut aliud quidpiam causari volo, præter pestem, quæ tam diu sæviebat apud nos, ut aula regia a Londino longo tum loci tum temporis intervallo abfuerat: quo tandem cum rediverimus Deo favente incolumes, has ad te mittere decrevi. Homilias tuas in prophetas minores accepi per manus Johannis Abeli concivis nostri amici mihi traditas, quas ab omnibus doctis et piis ita amplecti¹ intelligo, ut hodie in tota Europa vix unus aut alter habeatur, in sacris interpretandis, qui te illorum iudicio aut æquet aut superet; avideque expectant reliquas, quas promisisti in divum Johannem. Narravi præterea iis qui apud nos præstant maxime, quanto amore nos prosequaris nostrumque reipublicæ statum, dum tam anxie egisse te scribis, nostri et veræ religionis causa, cum iis qui de fœdere inter vos et Gallos sanciendo tam sedulo sategerunt. Guisiana factio in Galliis quotidie magis magisque infirmatur, adeo ut nuper parum abfuit, quin cardinalis ille Lotheringius una cum nepote suo duce Guisio interfecti fuissent, aggrediente illos in via publica Parisiis Momorentio, Parisianorum præfecto (mariscallum vocant) senioreque filio Annæ ducis Momorentii, summi Galliæ equitum magistri (constabularium vocant), in quo tumultu ceciderunt quinque ex armatis satellitibus cardinalis Lotheringii, isto et nepote suo vix se recipientibus in mercatoris cujusdam domum, velut in asylum pro tempore. Legati reginæ nostræ et regis Hispaniarum in principio hujus veris conveniunt in Flandria, pro commercio inter nostros mercatores et suos resarciendo, ut antea est consuetum, Antwerpia; quod duobus tribusve annis, cum utriusque nostro magno malo, discordia inter mercatores utrinque orta, interruptum fuit: alias, quantum ad politiam pertinet, omnia apud nos sunt pacata et tranquilla. In Scotia monasteria prosternuntur, monachusque et idololatria abolentur; regina solummodo ex familia Guisiana (filia enim sororis ducis interfecti est) adhuc retinente missam suam. Comes noster

[¹ Sic MS.]

Bedfordiensis ab aula abest, abfuitque per sesquianni spatium: praefectus enim factus est urbis Barwicensis in confinio Scotiæ, nosque ab illis determinantis: illi tamen absenti significavi quod memor esses illius, teque illi per meas literas commendavi. Vale. Dominus Deus te tueatur et regat ad nominis sui gloriam, et ut diu vivas laboresque in vinea sua. Londini, 4 Martii, 1565.

Tuus ex animo totus,
 RICHARDUS MASTER.

INSCRIPTIO.

Piissimo viro Domino Rodolpho Gualtero, verbi Dei apud Tigurinos in Helvetia ministro dignissimo, hæc tradantur literæ.

 EPISTOLA XLIX.

JOHANNES PARKHURSTUS AD JOHANNEM WOLFIIUM.

NON est, mi Wolfe, quod [in] re tantilla tantas agas gratias. Quæso boni consulas tenue munusculum, mei erga te amoris qualecunque mnemosynon. Accepi literas abs te ante biennium: et quia tum temporis infinitis oppressus eram negotiis, tibi seorsim non respondi; sed uno epistolio tibi et Lavatero vel Simlero satisfacere sum coactus. De rebus nostris et Scoticis ad alios scripsi: tu ex illis discito. Non possum singulis singula exponere. 19 Maii horreum meum longum pedes 215 corrui, nullo læso homine, nulla bestia. Maximis impensis fere reædificavi. Bene vale. Saluta uxorem tuam meo meæque nomine, ceterosque amicos omnes. Raptim. Ludhamiæ, 19 August. 1565.

Tuus,
 JOHANNES PARKHURSTUS,
 Nordovicensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Johanni Wolfio.
 Tiguri.*

 EPISTOLA L.

MILO COVERDALUS ET ALII AD GULIELMUM FARELLUM
 ET ALIOS.

Et molesti pietati vestræ videri possimus, honorandi domini et fratres, qui per amicos et literas sæpe interpellamus, et officii erga ecclesiam pa-

rum memores, qui gravioribus rebus districtos nugarum commemoratione obstrepamus. At enim temporum nostrorum infelix conditio et nova tempestas cogunt nos ad vos confugere; ut et vos statum rerum nostrarum, deinde et opinionem nostram plenius cognoscatis, et nos sententiam vestram plenius intelligamus. Res nostræ non in melius commutatæ, sed, proh dolor! in deterius prolapsæ sunt. Hæc enim acta et transacta sunt, ut loco panis vulgaris placentula azyma habeatur; ut communio genibus flexis a plebecula sumatur; ut foris pileum quadrum, collipendium, toga longa et lanea gestentur; in ministerio autem sacro vestis alba et capa retineantur. Qui his parere nolunt, hi fortunis, dignitatibus, omnique munere ecclesiastico spoliantur: fratres scilicet a fratribus et episcopis, quorum domus jam quorundam concionatorum carcer est; qui jam in viscera sua sæviunt; qui jam hæc onera non modo corporibus suis, sed aliorum etiam humeris imponunt; eo denique tempore, quando omnium doctorum judicio sublata et abrogata esse oportuerunt. En! habetis formam et imaginem qualemcunque nostræ ecclesiæ.

· Nunc quid nobis videatur, accipite. In hac quæstione sic statuendum censemus, religionem Judaicam, Turcicam, Christianam, papisticam sua quædam propria sacramenta et signa habere; et doctrinæ cujusquam externam professionem, testem, et tesseram esse debere; et exemplum nobis non e cisternis aut lacunis hostium, sed e fontibus scripturarum et ecclesiarum Dei petendum; ut a quorum religione toto pectore abhorremus, cum his nulla rituum similitudine conjungamur: quod in sabbato et paschate Judæorum, in jejuniis Manichæorum, in trina mersione hæreticorum, majores nostros diligenter observasse legimus. Neque vero prorsus *ἀδιάφορα* putamus, cum accedit coactio, cum etiam superstitionis macula inusta est: nec quicquam auctoritate principis obtrudendum, sine legitima in christiana synodo disceptatione: nec convenientia in ceremoniis ubique necessario exigenda, maxime si cum adversariis fidei communis sit: nec in Christi ecclesia vel Aaronico sacerdotio vel Pharisæicæ ambitioni locum esse, ut hodie in templo christiano sacræ vestes usurpentur, aut in communi usu habitus non communis, sed distinctus et singularis, præscribatur. Sed cum Celestino judicamus, discernendum esse clerum a plebe doctrina, non veste, conversatione, non habitu, mentis puritate, non cultu; ne studere novitati incipiamus, ne traditum a patribus ordinem calcemus, ne simpliciorum animis et oculis imponamus, ne locum supervacuis superstitionibus faciamus.

Præterea, quotquot ista ex ecclesiis nostræ fidei commissis ejecimus, sine grandi scandalo et nefario scelere revocare non possumus. Cum etiam aditus ad alia iniquitatis mysteria aperiatur, et caritas piorum offendatur, et cristæ animique impiorum erigantur, ædificatio autem nulla quæretur; cum non liceat juxta D. Pauli regulam in rebus indifferen-

tibus unumquemque in suo sensu acquiescere; sed quod certis quibusdam hominibus libitum est, id licitum existimetur: consultius ecclesiæ existimavimus in libertate cum accessione bonorum stare, quam cum offensione multorum et doctrinæ purioris titubatione a suscepta sententia et recepta consuetudine discedere. Hæc nostra opinio est, hæc etiam eximii viri. Nunc vos, clarissimi et carissimi domini et fratres, per arcissimam in Christo communionem rogamus, ut nobis fluctuantibus cynosuram ostendatis; ut vel errantibus viam meliorem commonstretis, vel dubitantes in sancto proposito confirmetis.

Difficilis, fatemur, et scrupulosa consultatio; cederene temporari discedere, reliquias Amorrhæorum admittere an stationem deserere, oporteat. Utrumque durum, utrumque grave, utrumque nobis et ecclesiæ incommodum. Utrum sit melius, vos pro sapientia vestra, quia nos ancipites inter sacrum et saxum hæremus, edisserite. Rogamus item vos et alios symmystas aliquem tractatum de natura rerum indifferentium, de ceremoniis, de vestitu sacerdotali primo quoque tempore emittere: unde ecclesia nostra et Saxonica erudiantur, et principum zelus ad omnia antichristianismi insignia demolienda accendatur. Ad extremum rogamus, ut literis episcopos nostros admoneatis, ne propter vestem Josephum persequantur, nec tantulam ob causam tali schismate ecclesiam lacerent; sed ut, etiam in dissimilitudine rituum, animorum suavissimam conpirationem et *φιλαδελφίαν* tueantur. Absit enim ut nos de illis aliter quam amicos, aliter quam fratres decet, sentiamus. Summa est: hæc tria petimus, respensionem vestram ad quæstiones hic a nobis propositas, et libellum aliquem ad omnes ecclesias generatim; literas ad episcopos privatim, et (si placet) ad vobis notos R. M. consiliarios: ut tota hæc controversia christiana pacificatione, non crudeli separatione, dirimatur. Literas hasce cum fratribus omnibus communicate, ut quid ore duorum aut trium testium Dominus loquatur, accipiamus. D. Jesus ecclesiam suam puram et inviolatam ad diem usque justi iudicii sui conservet. Julii, 1566.

Vobis deditissimi,

MILO COVERDALUS,
Quondam Exoniensis.

LAUR. HUMFREDUS.

TH. SAMPSON.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. G. Farello, P. Vireto, Th. Bezæ et
reliquis symmystis Genevæ et per
Sabaudiam, patribus ac dominis
in Christo observandissimis.*

EPISTOLA LI.

GULIELMUS TURNERUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

S. D. QUEMADMODUM de Christo Filio Dei, cum hic in terris inter mortales degeret, magna fuit inter Judæos opinionum varietas; ita ex occasione responsionis tuæ ad fratres nostros, quam Latine et Anglice, te inconsulto, superintendentes nostri, ut putamus, in lucem ediderunt, multæ de te, ejus jurato et fideli discipulo et ministro, inter eos qui repurgatorem religionem apud nos profitentur, opiniones nuper exortæ sunt, et de te varii varie sentiunt. Faxit Deus, ut tu nullam justam de te sinistre suspicandi ansam volens nostratibus porrexisti, ita ut omnes responsionem tuam eo animo interpretentur quo eam scripsisti. Utcunque alii de te sentiunt, hoc mihi persuasissimum habeo, si humano more in errorem aliquem imprudens incidisses, modo amice et humaniter esses admonitus, te errorem tuum haud gravatim velle agnoscere, et ejus occasionem velle libenter confiteri. Sed quo te melius et plenius defendere possis ab iis quæ tibi impinguntur, consueto tuo et omnibus notissimo candore fretus, pergam nostrorum hominum de te opiniones breviter referre.

Non desunt qui putant Samaritanos nostros utroque genu claudicantes (nam tales multo plures habemus quam sinceros evangelicos) multa tibi secus atque veritas habet suggestisse; atque adeo tibi auctores aut saltem suasores fuisse, ut omnia tua tela in nostros misellos concionatores torqueres, primariorum nostrorum ministrorum et aliorum vitiis dissimulatis, qui ob asini prospectum tot doctos et pios pastores dignitatibus omnibus exutos in carceres conjecerunt, et gregem Christi lupis, Papistis, Lutheranis, Sadducæis, et Herodianis inermes exposuerunt. Sunt nonnulli qui audacter affirmant, in responsione tua multa esse, quæ non solum cum tuis ipsius antea editis libris, sed cum scriptis omnium evangelicorum pastorum, manifeste pugnent. Reperiuntur etiam quidam e nostris qui de te, in tota Europa doctissimo et de universa doctrina christiana optime sentiente, idem sentiunt, quod de Philippo Melancthone præceptore suo Saxonici concionatores senserunt; qui, cum Carolus quintus interimisticas et adiaphoristicas impietates omnibus reformatis in Germania ecclesiis obtrudere tentaret, cum magna¹ libertatis christianæ et veritatis jactura non vulgari (ut ipsi scriptis editis

[¹ MS. *magno*. Forsan post *christianæ* excidit *detrimto* aut simile quid.]

testantur) ad interimistas et adiaphoristas defecit, posteaque omni metu deposito ad meliorem mentem rediit.

Qui de te etiam præclarissime sentiunt ita te propugnant. Dicunt te nihil minus cogitasse quam ut responsio tua Latine et Anglice excusa in vulgus spargeretur; illam non definiendi animo aut dogmata statuendi, sed exercitii literarii causa, ad fratres nostros doctissimos viros esse missam. Sed quum extra omnem controversiam sit, per illam jam evulgatam multos non malos viros graviter esse offensos, consilium esse judico, tam ad scandala tollenda quam ad veritatem, quam in tot libris editis fortiter, pie et diligenter tutatus esses, asserendam, et a falsitatis suspitione vindicandam, ut libello aliquo excuso ingenue et clare, omni metu excusso, testificeris, num sentias principes aut prælatos ecclesiasticos, quos tu vocas primarios ministros, vestes quasdam præscriptas et similes ceremonias, sive a paganis mutuo sumptas, sive a levitica lege translatas, aut a papa inventas sive approbatas, et ad idololatriam fovendam destinatas et usitatas, citra libertatis christianæ offensionem et manifestam ecclesiæ injuriam, pastoribus ecclesiarum sub pœna deprivationis et carceris invitis posse obtrudere.

Hæc ideo ad te audacius scripsi, qui animum in te meum exploratiorem habeas, dum nominis tui famam salvam et integram esse velim, et doctrinam tuam ab omni erroris suspitione liberam. 23 Julii, 1566. Vale.

Tuus,

GULIELMUS TURNERUS,

Medicus, a divinarum literarum
lectione non abhorrens.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eruditione et pietate clarissimo viro
D. Henrico Bullingero, amico
suo non vulgari.*

EPISTOLA LII.

JOHANNES PARKHURSTUS AD JOHANNEM WOLFIUM.

Pro doctissimis tuis et Martyris commentariis in duos libros Regum ago gratias, propediem relaturus. Bene feceris, si conciones tuas in Deuteronomium, Judices, Ruth, &c. divulgaveris: memini enim in musæo tuo quasdam legis quæ mihi valde placebant: placebunt et aliis, si hoc placeat tibi. Hæc paucula non sine molestia scripsi, utpote qui vix e

morbis convaluerim. Tu brevitatem boni consule. Cetera tibi Gualtherus. Dominus servet Tigurinos omnes. Raptim. Ludhamiæ, 21 Aug. 1566.

Tuus,

JOHANNES PARKHURSTUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Johanni Wolfio.

EPISTOLA LIII.

THEODORUS BEZA AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

MISSA huc sunt, mi Pater, exemplaria literarum utriusque principis Landgravii, quæ spem faciunt fore ut Erfurdiensia illa comitia non procedant; quod utinam eveniat! Quod autem addunt et nos satis sciebamus, cautum esse nimirum Augustæ de peregrinis ecclesiis non damnandis, quoniam video ab illis astute factum, qui sic effici posse putarunt, ut non interveniremus (id enim in primis norunt consiliis suis efficere), id, inquam, non multum me exhilarat. Obsecro enim, si damnabitur nostrarum ecclesiarum doctrina, idque sub Zuinglianismi et Calvinismi nominibus, et sive per nostrum sive per illustrissimi principis latus confodiatur veritas, nonne eodem res recidit? Sed age exspectemus quod dabit Dominus, qui utinam efficiat, ut ipsum pro nobis excubare hic quoque sentiamus!

De rebus nostris nihil prorsus habeo novi quod scribam. In Gallia videtur ecclesiarum pax a rerum Flandricarum exitu pendere; quod plane miserum est. Nam certe illam agendi rationem probare nullo modo possum; et quamvis laeta videantur initia, tamen tristissimum et funestissimum exitum videor mihi jam prospicere, nisi Dominus imprudentiæ quoque illorum benedicat. Quod ad te scriptum fuit de quibusdam ex magistratu cæsis et urbe occupata, commentitium est, si vera sunt quæ abhinc biduum accepimus literis 12mo hujus mensis scriptis, nempe nulli prorsus, ne sacrificio quidem adhuc factam injuriam, nullum idolum a nostris eversum; interesse tantum innumerabilem turbam concionibus quæ extra urbes sub dio habeantur, et incredibilem esse audiendi verbi sitim. Commendemus igitur hæc quoque Domini providentiæ.

Jam venio ad Anglicanum negotium, quod ut nobis tristissimum fuit audire, ita libenter optassem fieri posse, ut ista maxima molestia careres: sed quid agas? Miseri fratres consolationem, consilium, preces ab iis ecclesiis petunt, quarum olim caritate sunt recreati, et nunc

quoque se recreandos sperant. Morosuli sunt nonnulli, fateor; sed in tantis miseriis difficile est modum tenere, et quum scopus illorum sit optimus, condonandam arbitror hanc importunitatem. Ex iis quæ sigillatim ex hoc nostro fratre audies, quorum etiam exemplar hic apud me reliquit, cognosces, neque unquam illinc ejectum fuisse papatum, sed ad regiam majestatem potius translatum; neque nunc aliud captari, quam ut sensim restituantur quæ utcunque fuerant instaurata. Putavi aliquando de pileis tantum et nescio quibus externis agi; sed postea longe aliam esse controversiam intellexi, et nunc palam video, non sine incredibile animi dolore, qui utinam mihi uni proprius et peculiaris esset! Primum, quum externa vocatio, præeunte justo doctrinæ et morum examine, non ab uno aliquo, sed a fratrum saltem coetu facta, sit ecclesiastici ministerii velut basis et fundamentum, quid turpius, quid immoderatus ista episcoporum licentia, ut non vocatos sed ultro accedentes pro arbitrio immatriculent; mox nullo assignato loco tamquam idoneos vel ad inserviendum (ut vocant) vel ad docendum approbent; ac tandem, quum vacant ista ministeria, pro libitu hos vel illos, tradita certo pretio scheda et accepto duabus de rebus jurejurando, (una regiam majestatem pro supremo post Christum Anglicanæ ecclesiæ capite agnituros; altera leges regni et inprimis præclarum illum reformationis librum ritusque omnes ita secuturos, ut nihil prorsus improbent,) quibus libuit ecclesiis assignent? Si de disciplina ecclesiastica quæritur, quænam tandem illic est, ubi, non aliter quam sub papatu, loco presbyterii legitime delecti suos decanos, cancellarios, archidiaconos habent, qui pro arbitrio et ut in foro civili fieri solet, ex jure tamen canonico, excommunicationem pronuncient etiam ob pecuniarias et ejus generis lites; quam sententiam postea, ut judex suo apparitori, sic dominus episcopus vel ejus officialis ministro legendam in ecclesia transmittat, tantisper scilicet valituram, donec cum judice transegerint? Eadem enim est plerumque absolutionis quæ excommunicationis ratio. Quantulum autem absunt a lege coelibatus, qui uxores sine expressa reginæ venia et D. episcopi et duorum quorundam justitiariorum pacis assensu ducere, ductas autem vel in collegiis vel intra cathedralium ecclesiarum septa, ut impuras nimirum sive ut vitetur offendiculum, alere prohibentur? Quid quod papistis non tantum beneficiorum redditus, sed etiam ipsa ecclesiastica munera relicta sunt, præstito tantum reformationis servandæ jurejurando, adeo ut plerisque et indoctis et veræ religionis in corde infensissimis hostibus pii fratres plerumque subsint, eorumque jurisdictionem subire teneantur? Quid quod publice veneunt in metropolitani curia dispensationes nonresidentiæ, pluralitatis beneficiorum, ciborum delectus, matrimonii extra constituta tempora celebrandi, beneficii etiam in pueritiâ obtinendi, ceteraque id genus, quibus ne ipsa quidem Roma turpius et indignius quicquam habet? Quid quod baptismus ipsis mulierculis in

casu (quem vocant) necessitatis permittitur? Et quasi ista cum aliis quibusdam nihilo melioribus non sufficerent, ecce! jam pauculi illi puri evangelii doctores alii quidem exauctorantur, alii vero etiam in carceres detruduntur, nisi illa omnia se inviolabiliter approbaturus jurent, ut neque verbo neque scriptis contradicere liceat, ac tandem etiam pileis quadratis, collipendiis, superpelliciis, casulis et ceteris id genus sacerdotes Baalis referant. Neque hic est miseriarum finis, sed illud quoque expresse cautum est, ut quidquid regiae majestati, adhibito vel solo Cantuariensi, in ecclesia ritus instituere, mutare, tollere libuerit, firmum statim et ratum habeatur.

Hic est igitur Anglicanarum ecclesiarum status, valde, ut mihi videtur, miserabilis, atque adeo plane intolerabilis. Pauculi autem illi duplex consilium a nobis flagitant: unum, qua tandem ratione regina et episcopi possint officii admoneri? alterum, quid ipsis interea bona conscientia liceat? Quod ad prius illud attinet, videtur quidem hoc malum soli jam Deo medicabile; sed tamen experiendum aliquid arbitror potius, quam patiendum ut tantum ædificium silentio corruat. Duplicem autem viam hic invenio; unam quidem nobis asperiolem, illis vero multo (ut mihi quidem videtur) commodiorem; alteram vero leniorem, sed non ita compendiosam. Vestra una ecclesia est, mi pater, cujus auctoritate tum regina, tum episcopi illi permoveri posse videantur: illa quidem, ut secum expendat quatenus et quo sensu dicantur reginae nutrices ecclesiae; isti vero, ut sicut olim Augustus de reddenda republica cogitavit, ita ipsi ecclesiam a majoribus suis oppressam tandem restituant. Nam quod ad hanc ecclesiam attinet, velim scias ita esse illi reginae exosam, ut propterea ne levissimo quidem verbo sibi gratum esse earum annotationum munus significarit. Causa hujus odii duplex est: una, quod nimium severi et rigidi habeamur, quod iis maxime displicet, qui reprehendi metuunt; altera, quod olim, inscientibus tamen nobis, vivente adhuc Maria, editi sint duo libelli Anglicano sermone, unus adversus fœminarum imperium a D. Cnoxo, alter de jure magistratus a Godomanno scriptus. Uterque, quum quod continerent intellexissemus, nobis quoque displicuit, ac proinde prohibitus est venire. Sed illa nihilominus conceptam opinionem fovet. Itaque si dignam hanc causam status esse quæ a nobis suscipiatur, hæc commodissima et fratribus utilissima ratio esse videretur, ut magistratus vestri si non auctoritate, saltem permissu vel conniventia, deligeretur ex vestro cœtu, qui in Angliam hanc ipsam ob causam proficiscens omnibus istis malis coram remedium apud reginam et episcopos quæreret. Heroicum sane esset hoc factum, vestra civitate dignum et Deo longe, arbitror, gratissimum, etiamsi non succederet prorsus ex animi sententia. Via per Galliam plana est penitus et brevis, quum hinc usque in Dieppensem Normanniæ portum, unde secundo vento decem horis in Angliam trajiciunt, undecim diebus facil-

lime posset perveniri. Salutarentur et confirmarentur per vias Gallicæ ecclesiæ plurimæ. Inviseretur Amiralus cum Andeloto fratre, uterque in ipso itinere occurrens. Nec difficile esset fratrem unum et alterum ex doctioribus et cordatioribus legationis comites, si opus fuerit, impetrare, qui suam operam vestro legato adjungerent. Si et nos aliquid hic posse judicaveris, id est ecclesiæ literas, nulla erit in nobis mora. Nosti hunc fuisse veteris ecclesiæ morem, ut etiam non vocati accurrerent tamen ad incendia extinguenda, et multos exorientes tumultus hac ratione in plurimis provinciis fuisse compositos. Nec dubito, quin pia et caritatis plena hæc legatio sit reginæ et piis episcopis valde placitura, quos audio studiose idoneam occasionem captare, una cum magni sigilli custode, viro sincero et religioso. Favent etiam multi e nobilitate; multi ex reliquis ordinibus suspirant. Omnes istos probabile est, si externis quoque ecclesiis salutem suam tantæ curæ esse viderint, animum sumpturos, ut apud regiam majestatem fortius instent, donec illam flexerint. Tempus quoque valde opportunum est, quum illic instent comitia, in quibus certum est fore ut de his omnibus rebus agatur. Dicam etiam aliquid amplius bona cum tua venia, mi pater. Si non displicebit vobis hoc consilium, unus D. Gualtherus ad hoc curandum, administrandum, conficiendum negotium ita videtur modis omnibus appositus, ut pœne, si ipsum delegeritis, ipsa velut Dei voce illuc ad recreandos miserrimos fratres, denique ad servandum illud regnum, missus videatur.

Hæc una via est promptissima, quantum ego quidem judico, nec ita magni sumtus aut laboris. Sin vero hoc non placet, saltem literas graviter et copiose scribendas tum ad regiam majestatem, tum ad episcopos arbitror, ut sui muneris et officii commoneant, quum præsertim illos videas literis tuis contra voluntatem tuam ad augendum hoc malum abuti. Scripseram ego de hoc argumento ad Londinensem episcopum, quarum literarum exemplum tibi, si opus erit, frater hic noster suppeditabit. Audieram enim jam tum aliquid rerum istarum, ac proinde malui episcopos a quibus fovetur hoc malum urgere, quam fratribus quicquam consilii dare, quum præsertim hoc a vobis factum non dubitarem. Vestras autem literas, si vobis ita videbitur, vel signis nostris appositis comprobabimus, vel aliis ejusdem prorsus argumenti confirmabimus: adeo non dubitamus, quin sitis quod rectum et æquum est scripturi.

Venio ad alterum hujus consultationis caput: possintne fratres interea his legibus bona conscientia in ministerio perseverare? Quominus vero illos ad perseverandum exhorter, neque illæ omnes corruptelæ neque leges de pileis et vestibis faciunt, quum e contrario vel ob hoc ipsum oporteat sedulos ipsos esse in ejusmodi omnibus paulatim ex animis hominum evellendis et verbi divini gladio amputandis. Sed multa hic

me movent in contrariam partem, quamvis tristissimum sit in tanta desolatione, quanta jam illic est, miseras oviculas lupis mox ingressuris relinquere. Aliud enim est quædam tolerare quæ mutare non possis, aliud jam sublata resumere certo cum plurimorum offendiculo. Scis autem Petrum a Paulo non aliam ob causam coram reprehensum, quam quod unis infirmis sic consuleret, ut alios interea subverteret; nec mihi videtur hoc de quo nunc agimus dissimile. Imo existimo minus etiam multo habere istos legislatores quod prætexant, quam Petrum, non idcirco tantum quia traditiones humanas iniquum est cum divinis institutis comparare, sed multo magis quia nullus erat qui receptis ritibus offenderetur; puta quod communis panis in cœna adhiberetur, quod frangeretur panis, non autem placentula ori ingereretur, quod nulla esset genuflexio nec crucis consignatio, quod ad Jesu nomen non assurgeretur, quod denique ministri quamvis communi, decenti tamen pileo et veste uterentur. Fictitium ergo est offendiculum, cui remedium quæritur; quum contra innumerabilium conscientia ista mutatione offendatur, quorum tamen adeo ratio nulla habetur, ut etiam propterea bonis suis pastoribus priventur. Quid ergo hic agant pastores? Deinde quum ex illis quæ adeo urgentur, neglectis iis quæ præcipua sunt, multa sint quæ propter adjunctam opinionem cultus animis multorum adhuc insidentem potius abominanda sint, quam inter res medias numeranda, quæque adeo sint ad veteres superstitiones sine dubio populum revocatura; an hæc rursus in usum revocare ministri ipsi bona conscientia poterunt? Sed aliud est multo etiam his omnibus gravius. Quum teneantur ministri quoscunque episcopo vel ejus officiali libuerit excommunicare et rursus pro absolutis habere; quum ex aliorum nutu omnia cogantur administrare in suis ecclesiis, et, quod omnium gravissimum est, non alia lege ad ministerium docendi admittantur, quam si jurent se toti illi reformationi, id est intolerabilibus illis corruptelis, nec scriptis nec verbo repugnatos; adeoque se, quicquid reginæ et Cantuariensi placuerit mutare, tollere, addere, pro firmo et rato habituros,—quis hanc conditionem bona conscientia subierit? Quid igitur? Certe non deserunt ecclesias, qui vel ejiciuntur, vel, quod sese et greges suas perdere jubentur, parere nolunt.

Valde tamen optaverim, mi pater, hæc ceteraque omnia prius isthic expendi et sententiam vestram nobis significari, quam quicquam hac de re ad illos scribamus, quoniam utrinque periculosi sint abyssi. Si quid tamen medii consilii hic inveniri potest, est fortasse hujusmodi, ut qui jam sunt ejecti in proximis conitiis audientiam petant; qua impetrata quam humillime ostendant, se rebelles non esse, verum propter conscientiam ad tempus cedere maluisse, quam turbas excitare; et deinde quæ mala hinc consecutura sint, reverenter et placide ostendant. Si res bene cesserit, laudabunt Dominum: sin minus, excutiant pulverem pedum

suorum. Nam, ut dixi, qua conscientia possent illo jurejurando se obligare, nos quidem non videmus. Qui vero adhuc manent in ministerio, illis suaserim, ut adhibita protestatione modesta coram episcopo, et plebe diligenter præmonita, ne ista ad superstitionem rapiant, in ministerio perseverent tantisper dum res in comitiis decidatur. Si decisio tolerabilis erit, pergant in officio quamdiu licebit; sin pergant episcopi male agere vel male agentibus assentiri, tum ego suaderem, ut fortiter corripiant correptione dignos, et potius sese ad crucem comparent, quam vel contra officium faciant, vel ministerium deserant.

Hæc habui de his rebus longe molestissimis. Utinam mihi quidem liceret privato meo ministerio sic defungi, ut alius quivis ista curaret! Nec enim ignoro, qua jam pridem suspitione laborem apud eos qui me parum norunt. Sed tuebor me conscientia testimonio, et fratres Deo favente pergam, si non consilio, quod utinam nunquam quisquam requireret, saltem precibus juvare. Sollicitus responsum tuum exspecto. Bene vale, mi pater. Dominus Jesus te, si ullo unquam tempore, multis ecclesiis necessarium servet, et tibi magis et magis benedicat. Fratres omnes et collegas velim ut et meo et totius nostri cœtus nomine diligenter salutes. Iterum vale. Genevæ, 3 Septembris. (1566.)

Tuus,

BEZA.

Ecce! hoc momento literas accipimus Lugduno, quæ significant de acceptis per cursores literis Antwerpia datis 23 et 27 Augusti, tumultum a puerulis adversus sacrificulum quendam exortum eo usque efferbuisse, ut omnia idola eversa illic sint et missa proffigata, neminem tamen illo unico sacrificulo excepto cæsum. Ita jam tenetur urbs a nostris, si modo nostri sunt, occupata. Hæc sunt, nisi falsus sim vates, tantorum malorum initia, quanta nondum vidimus. Misereatur suorum Dominus!

EPISTOLA LIV

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS AD MILONEM COVERDALUM.

S. D. CREDAS sane, reverende mi in Christo Domine et frater carissime, literas illas nostras non in hoc a nobis esse scriptas, ut vulgarentur, neque ut iis incendium apud vos in re vestiaria exortum augeremus, sed, si fieri potuisset, extingueremus: id quod ex ipsis cuilibet patere, modo citra affectum candide legantur, arbitramur. Rem vestariam tractavimus solam; de aliis, de quibus nunc quæri et con-

tendi inter vos intelligimus, nullam disputationem instituimus. At huc unice spectavimus, ut illis quibus videbatur melius esse ecclesias Christi deserere, quam vestibus illis uti, persuaderemus consultius fore si vestibus illis uterentur, simul et cum ecclesiis suæ fidei creditis manerent, etc. Sed ne hoc quidem fratribus temere obtrudere volumus, sed tantum exponere quid nobis ea in re videatur fructuosius, ipsis interim liberum relinquentes sequi quod videatur optimum. Ceterum quando nunc intelligimus, literas nostras eo rapi a quibusdam, quasi omnes controversos inter vos articulos, (quos tamen quales fuerint, tunc cum literas nostras scriberemus ignorabamus,) scribimus ad viros aliquot pios atque prudentes, quorum auctoritatem in hac causa valituram speramus, rogantes in hoc sint toti, ne nostris ulli abutantur publicatis literis, neve in comitiis ipsarum prætextu sordes, ut ais, stabiliantur; sed fideliter potius laborent, sua ecclesiis libertas integra maneat, fidelesque ministri non vexentur, et ecclesia Anglicana ab iis repurgetur, quæ a veræ religionis puritate sunt aliena. Orabimus interim Dominum ut ipse res moderetur, et hasce turbas feliciter sopiat, dispulsisque contentionibus tranquillitatem ecclesiis reddat. Gratia Domini Jesu sit tecum! Salutante D. Gualtherus. Ora tu pro nobis Dominum. Datæ Tiguri, 10 Septembris, Anno Domini 1566.

HEINRYCHUS BULLINGERUS senior,
tuus ex animo totus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo viro D. Miloni Coverdalo
Anglo, domino meo colendissimo et
fratri carissimo.*

EPISTOLA LV

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS ET RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD
D. FRANCISCUM RUSSELLUM.

CUM anno superiori intellexissemus apud vos, illustrissime princeps, contentionem aliquam de habitu ministrorum exortam esse, vehementer timebamus, ne ea ulterius progressa aliquid majoris mali daret ecclesiæ: et ideo a viris piis et cordatis requisiti, consilium dedimus quod tunc nobis tutum et pium videbatur. Monuimus enim ecclesiarum ministros, ne ob rem non adeo magni momenti ab ecclesiis discederent, et eas lupis et superstitionis seductoribus vexandas relinquerent. At non fefellit

nos gravioris periculi metus, quem nos tunc concepisse diximus. Audimus enim jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendere, sed insuper multa alia obtrudi piis ministris, quæ merum papatum redolent, imo in antichristi schola primum fabricata sunt, et proinde salva pietate recipi aut dissimulari non possunt. Dolorem autem nobis non levem parit, quod epistolam, quam privatim ad amicos pauculos ea de re dedimus, typis excusam esse fertur, et quod multi nostrum de re illa vestiaria iudicium ad alia usque extendunt, quæ in controversia esse tunc nesciebamus, et quæ a nobis nunquam probari poterunt. Et sane justissimi doloris causa est, nostri nominis auctoritate pios fratres gravari, quibus consilium et consolationem afferre potius quam molestiam exhibere studuimus. Magis tamen urimur scandali consideratione, quod inde exortum esse non dubitamus. Auget præterea tristitiam nostram infelix ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conditio, quam cum semper amaverimus, non possumus non totis animis commoveri, quod quæ ex sanguinariis fidei purioris hostibus vixdum liberata nonnihil florere cœperat, nunc intestinæ dissidiis labefactatur. Et quia de tua virtute, illustrissime princeps, nobis satis constat, et non pauca exstant tuæ pietatis argumenta, ad tuam excellentiam literas dandas esse putavimus, de qua pii quamplurimi spem non mediocrem conceperunt. Rogamus autem, ut apud serenissimam reginam, et in comitiis (quæ brevi futura audimus) apud regni proceres, causam ecclesiæ pro more tueri pergat, neque suum patrocinium piis fratribus deneget; qui etsi aliqua in re peccarunt, veniam tamen merentur, quando illos ferventi pietatis zelo commotos fuisse constat, et hoc unum quærere, ut ecclesiam ab omnibus papisticis sordibus repurgatam habeant. Neque illi modo nobis digni videntur, quos pii principes propugnent; sed tota hæc causa ejusmodi est, ut qui in illa agenda studium et industriam adhibent, eo facto demum testentur, se principum nomine dignissimos esse. Dignatus est illustres viros eo honore Dominus, ut ecclesiæ ejus nutritii dicantur; quæ sane laus omnem hujus mundi gloriam atque dignitatem longe superat. Erunt autem fideles nutritii, si ecclesiam non modo ex hostium manibus eripiant, verbi prædicationem instaurent, et sacramentorum usum legitimum restituant; verum etiam caveant, ne quæ Christo adduci debet sponsa incontaminata, ullo superstitionum fuce defœdetur, aut ullis ritibus a simplicitate christiana alienis fidem suam suspectam reddat. Et notum est illud Hoseæ, qui ecclesiam Israeliticam monebat, ut scortationes suas non ab uberibus modo, verum etiam a facie removeret.

Quare etiam atque etiam excellentiam tuam rogamus, ut, quod hactenus fecit, nunc imprimis facere pergat, et sua auctoritate apud serenissimam reginam et regni proceres efficere studeat, ne cum magna totius orbis admiratione instituta ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformatio novis sordibus et postliminio reductis infelicis papatus reliquiis deformetur. Nam si id fiat, non

modo inconstantiae nota multis in regno vestro florentissimo inuretur, verum etiam infirmi offendentur, et vicinis Scotiae, Galliae, et Flandriae ecclesiis, sub cruce adhuc laborantibus, scandalum praebitur, cujus poenae in auctores ejus proculdubio redundabunt. Imo ex vobis exemplum sument vicini veritatis evangelicae hostes, ut ipsi quoque in suis locis liberiores veri Dei cultum novis tyrannicae superstitionis legibus circumscribant. Liberius haec dicimus, illustrissime princeps, non quod de tua pietate quicquam dubitemus; sed id partim tua humanitate incredibili freti facimus, partim rei necessitate adducti. Tuae excellentiae et multis aliis de hac causa cogitandi materiam et occasionem ampliores praebere cupimus. Precamur autem Deum Optimum Maximum, ut ecclesiae suae misertus pacem veram illi restituat, et tuam excellentiam tuique similes principes suo Spiritu regat, suo favore protegat, et potenti brachio servet ad sui nominis gloriam et ecclesiae suae conservationem. Amen. Tiguri, 11 Septembris, Anno 1566.

Tuae excellentiae deditissimi,

HEINRICHUS BULLINGERUS senior,
et ROD. GUALTHERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Illustrissimo principi D. Francisco
Russello, comiti Bedfordiensi, etc.*

EPISTOLA LVI.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD JOHANNEM PARKHURSTUM.

Cum primum apud vos, reverendi in Christo patres, controversiam de ministrorum vestitu exortam esse audiremus, vehementer ea res nos terruit, quia timebamus, ne ea longius progressa majus aliquod malum daret; et ideo, quantum in nobis fuit, studuimus aliquos placare, ne ob rem non adeo magni momenti tumultuarentur. Et certe non fefellit nos animi praesagium, si quidem vera sunt quae audimus; nimirum praeter vestes illas multa alia obtrudi ecclesiis, et ministros ab ecclesiis ejici, quod decretis quorundam subscribere nolunt, qui vel reginae nomine abutuntur, vel sua indulgentia illam in ejusmodi rebus audaciorum reddunt, ut quidvis ex suo arbitrio statuatur. Dolorem etiam nostrum auget, quod epistolam nostram, qua unum et alterum mitigare studuimus, excusam

esse videmus, et nostri nominis auctoritate pios fratres gravari, nosque apud multos in suspicionem venire, quasi sordes papisticas probemus. Suasimus quidem ministris, ne propter pileum et superpellicium ecclesias deserant, sed quoad salva pietate possint, gregem Domini pascant. Interim eorum sive superstitionem sive ineptias nunquam probavimus, qui piis ministris talia obtrudunt, et ex papæ schola, seu culina potius, sordes corradunt, quibus et pastoribus bonis negotium faciant et scandalum dent infirmis. Imprimis vero durum nobis videtur, episcopos executionis istius ministros se præbere, ut per ipsos ejiciantur, qui parere nolunt. Utinam illi expenderent, quod Dominus voluerit, quando de œconomo perfido loquitur, qui dum familiam ejus pascere debebat, cum ebriosis comessatur et ludit, conservos autem cædit! Quam procul enim ab hujus moribus absint non video, qui superstitiosorum aulicorum figmenta tam facile probant, et ministros pios tam inhumaniter tractant. Neque mihi unquam in mentem venire potuisset aliquem inter episcopos inveniri, qui se hujus temeritatis ministrum præbere, aut saltem ignava dissimulatione illam confirmare, voluisset. Putabamus enim hoc omne a quibusdam provenire, qui serenissimæ reginæ auctoritate abutuntur; episcopos autem sperabamus ministrorum causam defensuros, et rationes quæsituros esse quibus malo huic remedium afferretur.

Sunt, fateor, quidam ex fratribus istis morosuli, sed tamen causa illorum non mala, multo minus impia est: imo optandum foret, ut illorum sententia vinceret. Quod quia nunc nobis impossibile visum fuit, monuimus, ut rebus præsentibus se accommodarent, et spem haberent in Domino, qui aliquando daturus esset occasionem, qua omnia in melius restituerentur. Quia autem, mi pater, inter ceteros tuam pietatem imprimis prædicari audio, ut et D. Pilkintoni nostri, qui hactenus neminem ejicere volueritis; tu mihi pro veteris amicitiae jure admendus videbaris, ut in ea pietate constanter pergas, et memineris sat peccatorum unumquemque nostrum in semetipso habere, ut minime opus sit alienis communicare. Est Christus ecclesiae suæ sponsus et vindex acerrimus, et fidelissimis servis factam injuriam non sinet inultam. Huic olim ratio nostræ functionis reddenda erit, non reginæ, non papæ, aut illis, qui pontificiam tyranidem sibi in ecclesia vindicant. Hæc extempore quidem, non autem sine fraterni amoris sollicitudine scripta, tu pro tua suavitate boni consule. De rebus nostris plura scripsi in literis, quas ex nundinis accipies. Tiguri, 11 Septembris, 1566.

N. B. Epistolam hanc scripsi ex relatione Percivalli Viburni, Angli.

[ROD. GUALTERUS.]

EPISTOLA LVII.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD THEODORUM BEZAM.

JAM pridem veriti sumus, observande in Christo frater, contentiones ob rem vestiariam in Anglia exortas longius progressuras esse. Videbamus enim aliquos in re minoris momenti morosiores esse, quam quæ tum erat illic rerum conditio ferre posset: et ideo a viris bonis et piis, qui ecclesiarum vastitatem timebant requisiti, consilium dedimus, quod tunc necessarium et utile, neque a pietate alienum videbatur, et quod illos jam ante a D. Petro Martyre piæ memoriæ viro accepisse sciebamus. Quia enim de solo habitu ministrorum lis erat, quos regina a laicis distingui voluit, et in edicto regio conscientiiis infirmorum diserte cavebatur, ne quis in illo vel ministerii vel sacramentorum dignitatem sitam existimaret, simulque non obscura spes fieret, illa pro temporis mutatione mutari et corrigi posse; non potuimus illorum sententiæ accedere, qui propter pileum et togam ecclesias relinquendas esse censebant. Nam non ignorabamus in illorum locum successuros vel aperte papistas, vel Lutheranos, qui majores sordes inferrent, et simul doctrinam quoque corrumperent. Monuimus ergo, ut sancta et pia modestia rebus præsentibus se accommodarent, populum vero inter docendum diligenter admonerent, ne quis inde aliquam arriperet superstitiosi cultus aut veritatis abnegatæ suspicionem; ut denique occasionem prudenter captarent, qua regina et regni proceres sui in hac re officii commode admonerentur. Nec dubitamus ea ratione turbis illis primum gliscentibus occurri potuisse, cum mitius multo agerent consiliiarii, quam nunc, quum longiori contentione multorum animi exacerbati sunt, ut pauculis istis non contenti ea obtrudere conentur, quæ salva pietate admitti non possunt. Sed quo res devenerit, vides, mi frater, et nos non sine dolore videmus. Quia tamen scimus, fratres nostros pio zelo fecisse quicquid fecerunt, illos non accusamus, sed commiseratione dignos judicamus; et utinam eosdem consilio atque auxilio nostro possemus sublevare!

Equidem quod tibi remedium videtur in hac rerum necessitate præsentissimum, ut vel ego ipse vel alius ex nostris in Angliam profectus causam hanc coram agat, mihi minime molestum aut grave videretur; imo jucundum et volupe esset eadem opera et Gallicas ecclesias invisere, quas in Domino amo et exosculator, et in Anglia amicos veteres videre, rebusque ecclesiæ afflictissimis opem ferre: neque me ullius laboris aut periculi pigere posset in causa tam bona, tam sancta, tamque necessaria. Sed sat scio hoc nos a nostris nunquam impetraturos esse, ut non vocati eo proficiscamur. Neque videre possum, quæ istius profectionis, seu lega-

tionis, utilitas sperari possit. Nam regina, quæ potestate sua hucusque in multis pro suo arbitrio licenter nimis abusa est, et suorum consiliis atque admonitionibus moneri non potuit, multo minus ab homine externo admoneri vellet. Et periculum est, ne suspicione gravarentur pii fratres, quasi ab ipsis, illa inconsulta, vocatus essem, ut mea opera novos tumultus excitare, aut jam excitatos augere possint. Videmus præterea quorundam animos ita commotos esse, ut nisi illis per omnia assentirem, mihi cum illis rixandum esset, propter quos potissimum ego tantum laborem atque periculum subiissem. Accedunt his multæ aliæ rationes, quibus monemur, ne quid hujus a nobis tentetur. Et speramus nos ex nundinis Francfordianis literas accepturos esse, quæ nos de tota hac causa plenius instituant, et fortassis consilii quoque melioris materiam præbeant. Interea, ne cui occasione desimus, literis agere visum est apud utramque partem, id est, apud eos, qui ex parte utraque nobis noti et hucusque nostro consilio usi sunt. Monemus autem episcopos, ne in alicujus hominum gratiam aliquid faciant, quod cum veritate pugnet, et cum scandalo conjunctum sit: imprimis, ne quid durius statuunt in symmystas, verbi Dei administros; et ut de tollendis potius quam reducendis papisticis sordibus cogitent. Testamur item nobis non parum dolere, imo injuriam nobis fieri non levem, si nostra epistola abutantur ad eorum defensionem, quæ neque probavimus unquam, neque probaturi sumus, nisi mentem nobis meliorem Deus eripiat, de cujus bonitate meliora speramus. Et in quibusdam spes adhuc bona est. Constat enim, neque Parkhurstum meum, qui Nordovicensem episcopatum tenet, neque Pilkintonum, qui Dunelmensis antistes est, aliquem ministrorum adhuc eiecisse, nec etiam in posterum ejecturos esse. Veniet itaque res in deliberationem ampliolem, et spero aliquos in viam redituros esse, qui fortassis jam nunc vident, quantum mali ipsorum indulgentia dederit. Deinde quia illic auctoritate plurimum valet illustris vir, Bedfordi comes, qui nunc Varvici cum imperio est, ad illum quoque scripsimus, ut causam hanc suscipiat et in regni comitiis constanter tueatur; quod illum facturum non diffidimus. Nam non pauca egregiæ pietatis spccimina dedit, et ecclesiarum nostrarum observator est et præco diligentissimus. Et hoc quidem in præsentī sufficere putamus, quia cum aliis regni proceribus nulla nobis familiaritas intercedit: ad reginam vero scribere supervacaneum foret, cum quo animo illa erga nos sit affecta ignoremus; neque nobis multa possimus polliceri de ea, quæ nullis nostrorum literis unquam responderit. Nolumus etiam apud illam eos in suspensionem venire, de quorum voluntate nobis spes bona est, et quos nostri studiosissimos esse non ignoramus.

Quoad vero alterum tuæ epistolæ caput idem plane tecum sentimus, non ita consulendum esse infirmis, ut multorum aliorum fides evertatur. Neque eos probamus, qui humanas leges divinis æquant aut temere miscent.

Detestatione etiam dignas dicimus eas constitutiones, quas in ipsa antichristi schola fabricatas esse constat; et ipsi quidem centies moriendum potius nobis esse sentimus, quam illas vel subscriptione vel ignava et turpi dissimulatione confirmare. At si de solo ministrorum habitu ageretur, et omnes edicti regii super hac re facti verbis insisterent, quibus diserte negatur, neque eandem cum verbo Dei auctoritatem istis legibus tribuendam esse, neque alicujus conscientiam iisdem debere obstringi; non videmus, cur ob vestes solas ecclesiæ deserere, et lupinis dilaniandæ relinqui debeant. Sed difficile nobis est de causa non plene cognita pronuntiare, et quæ inter illos agitur, quos maxima animorum contentione inter se commissos esse constat. Imprimis autem nobis probatur, quod postremo de ministris, qui suum locum adhuc obtinent, scribis, ut officium faciant cum pia et modesta protestatione, et comitorum decretum expectent; et si quid statuatur a veritate et religionis puritate alienum, quidvis potius ferant, quam impiis aliorum decretis subscribant aut consentiant.

Hæc, mi frater observande, non tam meo quam D. Bullingeri patris mei colendi nomine, ad tuas literas modo respondere potuimus. Et quamvis periculum sit primis evidens, speramus tamen in Domino, qui in illo etiam regno reliquias suas servabit, ex quibus olim ecclesiam puriorem et sanctiorem instauret. Quæ de Antwerpia scribis, nos quoque admodum sollicitos habent. Faxit Deus, ut omnia cedant ad sui nominis gloriam et ecclesiæ ædificationem. Salutem tibi plurimam precantur symmystæ omnes, et inter hos præcipue D. Bullingerus, qui literis in Angliam scribendis occupatus, mihi tuis respondendi munus injunxit. Salutabis nostro nomine fratres, qui in vestra ecclesia ministrant, quorum labores utinam Deus benedicat! Vale. Tiguri, 11 Sept. 1566.

[ROD. GUALTERUS.]

EPISTOLA LVIII.

GEORGIUS WITHERUS ET JOHANNES BARTHELOTTUS AD BULLINGERUM ET GUALTERUM.

REVERENDI in Christo patres, quoniam vobis visum est epistolam episcoporum Londinensis et Wintoniensis coram nobis perlegere, qua sese apud vos ita purgare conantur, ut et veritatem obtenebrare, et causam pro qua contendimus levissimam maximeque frivolum facere studere videantur; nos necessarium duximus ad singula ejus capita hoc scripto respondere, ut vobis, qui humanissime omnem vestram operam polliciti estis, magis pateat et elucescat veritas. Sed si in capitibus recensendis

aliquid vel omittamus vel aberremus, dabitis veniam; tum quod non alibi hæc quam apud vos agimus, tum quod memoria parum valemus singula consequi.

Epistola.—Dicunt perpaucos tantum exauctoratos, et ut pios, neminem tamen doctum præter unum Sampsonem.

Responsio.—Respondemus multos eorum ita doctos, ut ab episcopo Londinensi digni reputati sint qui apud crucem Paulinam coram celeberrimis et doctissimis totius Angliæ concionibus prædicarent; utpote Leverus, Peneus, Gressopus, Crowleus, Goughus, Philpotus, Wiburnus. Reliqui aut in academiis gradibus insigniti, aut tempore persecutionis probati, post in ministerium cooptati, summa cum laude ecclesiis præfuerunt. Et quanquam eorum nonnulli Latinam linguam non callebant, tamen ope et adjumento librorum quorundam Calvinii, Musculi et aliorum, qui in Anglicum sermonem translati sunt, scripturas optime interpretari potuerunt.

Epistola.—Dicunt unam, solamque illam propositionem quam recitant, esse controversam; nempe de re vestiaria.

Responsio.—Vicesimo sexto die Martii, anno 1566, convocati omnes Londinenses ministri comparuerunt coram archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, episcopo Londinensi, decano Westmonasteriensi et nonnullis canonistis: ibique sunt rogati an acquiescere velint in progressibus regiis de rebus religionis, statutis et statuendis; nec erat de vestibus solis mentio. Qui recusarunt, sunt exauctorati. Archiepiscopus etiam cum concedat licentiam prædicandi alicui, alligat eum his verbis: *Proviso semper quod in concionibus tuis non suadebis populo ut alterationem, innovationem quamcunque in religione instituant, præter aut contra eam quam regia majestas fecit vel factura sit.* Si unquam ullis de re vestiaria propositio sit proposita sola, aut ulla disputatio habita, quemadmodum in libello ab episcopis edito in defensionem vestium patet, sic illi defenderunt ut tam sacramenta quam ministri ex his pristinam avitamque dignitatem æstimationemque jam pene amissam recuperarent; ut patet ex examinatione, figura prima, sectione prima.

Epistola.—Negant mulieres baptizare. Negant item sibi probari fidei ab infante extortionem et crucis obsessionem.

Responsio.—Quam vere hæc negant, apparet ex formula baptismi quam tradidimus vobis, et etiam patet ex monitis episcoporum articulo 16, ubi ipsi jubent ne infans baptizetur alio quam quo præscriptum est modo. Insuper fratres multos tulerunt episcopi commissarii carceribus puniri, tractarique minus pie et christiane, qui recusarunt paternos et maternos suis eligere infantibus.

Epistola.—Negant archiepiscopi esse curiam facultatum.

Responsio.—Omnia inde exeunt sub nomine archiepiscopi, regia suprema auctoritate mediante. Et quamvis hanc curiam facultatum episcopi

vocant in quodam loco epistolæ curiam fiscalem; nullo potest modo sic vocari, nisi forte concedas illam esse fiscalem curiam, ex qua etiam singuli episcopi concedunt licentiam matrimonii solemnizandi in loco quocunque, ac temporibus prohibitis; quæ tempora quoque manent eo modo apud nos, quomodo in papismo erant.

Præterea, si hæc curia non erat fiscalis, cum eam Romani pontificis legatus de latere (qui solebat tempore vigentis apud nos primatus moram trahere in Anglia) tenebat; nequitiam et nunc potest appellari fiscalis. Ratio est, quia cum primatus translatus est ad regem Henricum octavum piæ memoriæ, et omnia quæ de jure canonico ad pontificem Romanum tanquam ecclesiæ monarcham pertinebat, ei data sunt, tunc ille, rex et papa, constituit alterum archiepiscopum, quippe Cantuariensem, sibi legatum, ea tamen lege ut censum annuum penderet illi, quoniam et solebat legatus de latere Romano papæ. Et hic archiepiscopus Cantuariensis eam curiam habet ratione eadem, et modo simili.

Epistola.—Dicunt non probari sibi cantum tremulum puerorum, et organa musica.

Responsio.—Tamen omnes fovent in ecclesiis suis, et imprimis suis nummis curavit organa in ecclesia sua metropoli archiepiscopus Cantuariensis fabricari.

Epistola.—Multa dicunt de synodo, ubi ministri sunt triplo (ut aiunt) plures quam ipsi sunt, quibus liberum est cognoscere et statuere de quibuslibet.

Responsio.—Cognoscunt et statuunt, sed ita, ut nihil firmum ratumque habeatur nisi assentiente regina et archiepiscopo. Unde fiebat ut multa ad maximam ecclesiæ utilitatem, a penultima synodo conclusa, supprimerentur, neque in lucem exierunt. Causa vero nostra erat synodò proposita postremis comitiis a quodam doctissimo viro spectante ad Nordowicensem episcopum; sed episcopus quidam interpellabat hominem, dicens, Quid hæc ad vos? Nos cœpimus hanc rem, nosque ad exitum perducemus. Respondit ille, Nos reginam hujus rei auctorem existimavimus, at nunc vos esse perspiciamus: et ita non sunt passi hanc causam agi. Præterea superinducendi quas velint per universas regni ecclesias ceremonias reginæ et archiepiscopo potestas ex acto parlamenti data est.

Hæc, patres reverendissimi et domini in Christo plurimum observandi, freti solita vestra bonitate et pietate, cujus in ecclesiam Angliæ nos fecistis testes, scripsimus, et quod veritatem causæ vos latere nolumus, et ut potius vos scripta quam verba unde eam petatis habeatis. Nihil enim, nisi quod verissimum esse cognoscimus ac luce meridiana clarius, consentientes subscriptioni talionis scripsimus. Patent enim omnia quæ prius egimus, ex episcoporum monitis, ex quibusdam injunctionibus regiis, ex baptismatis utriusque formula, quæ omnia prius in Latinum

sermonem conversa vobis tradidimus. Prima ecclesiæ apud nos initia, ejus progressus variasque commutationes, controversiæ nostræ ortum, ecclesiam vero ministerio carentem, in epistola ad illustrissimum Heidelbergensem principem destinata perspicue descripta vobis intueri licet. Nunc, patres, illud petimus, et in Christo contendimus etiam atque etiam, (quod vos ultro benignissime polliciti estis,) ut Londinensis, Wintoniensis ac Cantuariensis episcoporum animos exacerbatos molliatis, et si non amplius aliquid potestis, saltum hoc tantum exoretis: ut et in fratres nostros adhuc in Anglia remanentes mitiores esse velint, et fæces ex suis ecclesiis removentes, si non adjuvare at saltem tolerare, et ipsorum factis connivere velint: utque vos reverendis Nordovicensi, Wigornienti et Dunelmensi episcopis, in vestris epistolis pollicitis, justas suæ pietatis laudes persolvatis; atque illis, simul et fratribus ministris studentibus repurgationi ecclesiarum, animos pergendi in proposito addatis. Hæc si pro vestra summa benignitate (ut confidimus) impetraverimus, non modo non fatigabimus alias ecclesias novis precibus, sed et nos omnesque vere pii omnia vobis ob pacem et concordiam vestra opera ecclesiæ partam debebimus, et Deus Optimus Maximus vobis per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum æternam coronam tribuet. Amen.

Vestræ dignitatis studiosissimi,

GEORGIUS WITHERUS,

JOANNES BARTHELOTTUS, *Angli.*

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendis in Christo patribus, ac dominis suis longe colendissimis, domino Henr. Bullingero et D. Rodolpho Gualtero, ecclesiæ christiæ Tiguri ministris fidissimis, etc.

EPISTOLA LIX.

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS AD THEODORUM BEZAM.

Hoc autem apud te libere fateor, ea quæ a D. Sampson scribuntur semper mihi esse suspecta. Vir alioqui est non malus, sed valde irrequietus. Dum apud nos Tiguri vixit, et dum rediit in Angliam, nunquam D. Petro Martyri beatæ memoriæ molestus esse desiit. Sæpe ille a me questus est, Nunquam Sampson literas scribit quas non sarciet querelis, nunquam homini huic satisfacit, semper ille quæstiones et actiones habet

imp...issimas. Quoties ille, cum adhuc hic esset, inciperet sua mihi proponere, ego amicis verbis illum a me dimittebam, ut cujus ingenium scrupulosum et inquietum mihi est notissimum. Habet Anglia hujusmodi ingenia plurima quæ quiescere non possunt, quibus nunquam fit satis, qui nunquam non habent quod conquerantur. Ego certi natura ab hujusmodi abhorreo.

[H. BULLINGERUS.]

EPISTOLA LX.

THEODORUS BEZA AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

...IN Anglia vero quid potest boni sperari rebus ita manentibus? Putavi de re vestiaria laborari: aliquos superesse nævos, in quibus tardi fortassis essent episcopi, aut, ut ubique usu venire solet, non impetrarent quod maxime volunt. Verum si ita se res habet ut audio (et sane con-
fingi ista vix possunt), quæ talis unquam Babylon exstitit? Quanquam autem solus Deus his malis alioqui insanabilibus mederi potest, tamen quum hi fratres isthuc ad vos ire per se decrevissent, nolui ab hoc consilio illos deterrere: etsi enim sunt vobis haud sane jucunda allaturi, tamen spero fore ut vos non pigeat de rebus istis plenius quam unquam antea certiores esse factos, et ipsi tum consilium tum consolationis aliquid a vobis reportantes, aliquatenus saltem miseriarum et dolorum suorum onere leventur. Rogo te igitur, mi pater, nec te solum, sed etiam reliquos fratres et dominos mihi plurimum observandos, ut quamvis tristissima narrantes tamen libenter audiatis, et consilii ac consolationis egentes commiseremini; quod etiam sponte facturos vos minime dubito pro vestra singulari *φιλαδελφία*. Ego quidem hanc rationem tenui, ut suspenso in rebus quoque, ut mihi videtur, manifestissimis judicio de fratribus absentibus, (quorum etiam non sum constitutus iudex,) ipsos ad animi lenitatem, et patientia potius quam ullis accusatoriis querelis lenienda hæc mala hortarer: qua in re mihi sum visus illos mansuetudinis spiritu præditos comperire. Ad hæc ubi vestra etiam auctoritas, quam, sicuti debent, plurimi faciunt, accesserit, revertentur animo pacatiore, et Dominus procul dubio tandem remedium inveniet.

Genevæ, 29 Julii, 1567.

Tuus,

BEZA.

EPISTOLA LXI.

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS ET RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD
THEODORUM BEZAM.

D. THEODORO Bezæ Bullingerus et Gualterus S. D. Excepimus quanta potuimus humanitate hos per te, carissime frater, commendatos nobis Anglos. Proposuerunt illi nobis scripta quædam, quæ tamen antea videramus, petentes nostrum, ut qui plurimum apud Angliæ episcopos possemus, consilium et auxilium. Respondimus id dudum præstitisse nos quod potuimus, ampliora nos non posse; sed et ipsos ita pro se respondere episcopos, ut videatur causa ipsorum non esse passiva. Recitavimus itaque illis epistolam nostram ad episcopos hoc de negotio scriptam, et responsionem episcoporum vicissim nobis datam. Illi vero causabantur illam non esse bona fide ab episcopis conscriptam; rem enim longe aliter habere. Nos qui omnem fidem episcopis, viris alioqui piis et integerrimis, omnino derogare non debuimus, cum his tam andabatarum more pugnare contendereque noluimus, ideoque causam hanc in medio reliquimus. Quid pluribus opus? Videtur mox ab initio peccatum ab his rigore nimio, et progressu increvisse, incaluisseque (ut fit) contendendo rixas, et animos utrinque exacerbatos, ut jam utrinque peccetur, et ægre ulla huic malo medela inveniatur. Certo ex horum sermonibus apparet animos eorum infensissimos esse episcopis, ut qui de ipsis nihil fere referant quod non sit atro sale conditum, odiumque redoleat Vatinianum. Orandus est itaque Dominus, ut ipse cordium moderator huic causæ miseræ medeatur. Vehementer nobis probaretur, si istis quoque probari posset, quod tu inter alia scribis, videri tibi patientia potius quam ullis accusatoriis querelis hoc malum esse leniendum. Et nos quidem episcopis ut non possumus præcipere, ita suam causam agentibus et se suaque probabiliter apud nos defendentibus, adversarii esse, et cum his ipsorum accusatoribus conjungi, adeoque et huic controversiæ immisceri, plane noluimus. Interim commiseratione pia polliciti sumus his nostris fratribus, scripturos nos ad episcopos et intercessuros apud illos pro eis: id quod, Deo volente, bona fide ad futuras Francofordienses nundinas præstabimus. Neque aliud in præsentī possumus. Ostenderunt illi nobis præterea supplicationem paratam et illustrissimo principi Palatino electori offerendam. A quo ipsorum consilio eos non deterruimus, si forte Dominus vel hac ratione turbas illas infelices componere velit. Hæc sunt quæ cum illis egimus, tametsi apud nos statueramus porro nihil prorsus cum quoquam hac in contentione amplius vel verbis vel scriptis agere velle; ut et nunc nobis firmiter

proposuimus: verum si qui alii huc venturi sunt, fac sciant se frustra huc venire.

Rem feceris nobis longe gratissimam, si diligenter scripseris de rebus Gallicis, de quibus et regina maxime mirifici sparguntur rumores. Nos hæremus in his dubiis, ideoque oramus Dominum ut evertat impiorum arguta ac truculenta consilia, et ecclesias non tam servet a malo quam vera fide vitæque emendatione sibi conciliet. Alioqui enim gravia nobis impendere non abs re metuimus. Zanchò inscriptas per te literas propediem curabo fideliter. Baldvinus, de quo tu scribis, Lutetiæ in lectione publica, quod ad me scribit Lutetia studiosus quidam, me reprehendit propter traditiones humanas, citans locum ex Apocalypsi mea ex cap. 2. Affinxit quoque reprehensioni suæ putidum mendacium, quod ea de re mecum contulerit, nec tunc habuisse me quod fere responderem: cum ille semel me duntaxat et quidem obiter salutarit, nulla de re unquam mecum contulerit. Sed non procedent amplius hi homines, quod ait apostolus, nam damnatio illorum evidens erit omnibus. Bene vale. Salutatur te D. Gualterus. Salutant et fratres reliqui omnes. Saluta tu quoque fratres nostros qui apud te sunt.

Tiguri, 3 Augusti, 1567.

H. BULLINGERUS senior,
GUALTERI

Et suo nomine.

EPISTOLA LXII.

GEORGIUS WITHERUS AD PRINCIPEM PALATINUM ELECTOREM.

NON nostra culpa ad te oratum mittimus, princeps amplissime; sed cogit vis, impellit pietas, flagitat patria, denique Anglicana ecclesia jam jacens, et mox (si aliquo modo ei subventum non sit) peritura, nos quasi præcipites agit. Ac si non in ecclesiam pietas et in omnes pios amor singularis, quæ te ceteris omnibus principibus præluere faciunt, satis nobis innotescerent, nunquam ad tuum præsidium confugere fuisset ausi. Nunc vero cum ea nos non latent (quomodo enim latere possint, quæ omnibus manifesta sunt?) non est mirum si nobis facile persuasum sit te eundem miseris laturum opem, qui spem dedisti. Quare, princeps optime, si nos domibus ignobiles et tibi ignoti, variis calamitatibus pressi, ecclesiæ nunc laboranti a te subsidium petimus, non est a nobis impudenter factum; et quamvis audacius fortasse facere videbimur, tantum tamen nobis concedas questus, quantum pio dolori concedendum esse putaveris. Sathan enim quoniam aperto Marte

nihil officere valuit, ex insidiis ecclesiam Anglicanam adoritur: et quoniam integrum papismum restituere non valet, ad Lutheranismum, sed sensim et gradatim, nos reducere conatur. In quo cum multa tristitia sunt, tum nihil magis est dolendum, quam quod jam non per papistas suos, non per homines sanguine sanctorum saginatos, non per perditissimos, sed per nos nobis, per eos qui aliquando optimi habebantur optimis viris periculum inferre conatur; et quos vi, ferro, face delere non potuit, hos nostrorum auctoritate, evangelicorum sententiis et religione opprimere se posse sperat.

Sed ut causam nostram planius et melius perspicias et intelligas, prima exordia et ipsa veluti cunabula ecclesiæ apud nos nascentis, et primo exorientis, deinde ipsius progressus et varias temporum commutationes, tibi demonstrare necesse est; ut inde scias et quam procul a perfectione semper fuimus, et tamen ab ea libertate, in quam beneficio Christi semel perveneramus, recessimus. Anglia auspiciis Henrici ejus nominis octavi Romanum antichristum totius regni finibus expulit, sed ita ut ipsius auctoritas non tam suppressa quam ad regem translata videretur. Missa reliquæque papisticæ spurcitiæ pristinum locum gradumque retinuerunt. Post ejectum pontificem monasteria ubique diruuntur. Monachi, fratres, nonnæ, nomen et vestem deponere et mutare coguntur; postea peregrinationes vetitæ sunt, imagines vero apud quas tam horrenda committebatur idololatria, sublata et contractæ sunt; deinde sub ipso fine ipsius regni biblia vernacula lingua impressa omnibus permissa sunt, et in omnibus templis dominicam orationem, symbolum fidei, decem Dei præcepta, et epistolam et evangelium diei Anglico sermone recitare sacerdotes jussi sunt. Atque hæc sub regno Henrici initia jacta sunt, cui defuncto Edwardus piæ memoriæ princeps in regno successit; qui convocatis totius regni nobilissimis et doctissimis viris ex ipsorum consilio ecclesiam reformare cœpit. Statuas et simulacra omnia omnibus in locis dirui et confringi jussit. Deinde missam precesque peregrina lingua ubique abolevit. Populo calicis pariter ac panis in communicanda cœna accipiendi potestatem dedit. Formulam publicarum precum Anglice conscriptarum edidit; quæ ab Latinis (nisi quod spurcissima quæque abolebantur) fere nihil diferebant. Administratio sacramentorum Lutheranismum prorsus sapit. Ministris venia uxores ducendi data, eorum filii lege ad hoc lata legitimati sunt. Altaria, organa, theatricæ papistarum vestes, et hujus generis alia sub nomine ornamentorum templi et ministrorum retenta sunt. Postea pius iste rex, animadvertens adhuc quam procul ab meta abesset, denuo rem suscepit, novam precum formulam edidit, superstitionis monumenta omnia quæ prius reliquerat (excepto superpellicio et genuflexione in cœna dominica, mulierum baptisate ac fidei ab infante extortione) sustulit et prohibuit. Quæ vero reliquit ita libera crant, ut nemo qui

est reluctatus ad ea adigeretur. Rex vero vere Dominum timens, his progressibus non adhuc contentus, extremam huic operi erat admoturus manum: comitiis totius regni publicis diem indixit: omnes optima spe et exspectatione pleni erant: at interea rex optimus immatura morte ereptus est. Successit soror Maria regni (utinam et pietatis!) hæres. Omnia tum repente commutata, papatus in integrum restitutus est.

Sed quid notissima commemoro? accedam ad ea quæ fortasse tibi incognita sunt. Quamvis primo ecclesia videbatur funditus eversa, et pii ubique terrarum dispersi, tamen haud contemnenda piorum manus sese collegit Londini, communi consensu ministros elegit, diaconos constituit, atque inter medios hostes, Argo oculatiores et Nerone crudeliores, ecclesia Dei denuo renovatur omnibus suis numeris (ut uno verbo dicam) absoluta et perfectissima. Et quamvis sæpe hostium incursu dissipata sit, maximusque numerus ignibus crudelibus absumptus esset, tamen quotidie crescit et indies augetur. Interim Maria moritur. Elizabetha soror omnibus præ gaudio gestientibus regnare cœpit. Tum reginæ mandato qui carcere et vinculis religionis causa detenti erant, libertate donati sunt; qui exilio solum verterant, in patriam reversi sunt. Ecclesia vero quæ in mediis permanserat flammis, edicto nescio quo sublata est. Quod difficile factum non fuit, cum omnes exspectarent, ut non minus pura reginæ auctoritate et regni legibus restitueretur. Senatus summus totius regni est convocatus, papatus denuo ejectus, et secunda precum formula, quam moriens Edouardus reliquit, ecclesiæ est restituta. Ceremoniæ vero, quæ prima reformatione Edouardi (quemadmodum prius dictum est) relictae in ecclesia sunt, sub eodem nomine restituuntur. Reginæ præterea et archiepiscopo superinducendi quas velint ceremonias potestas data est, qui statim postea et panem communem prius ad celebrandam cœnam constitutum aboleverunt, et novioris renovationis causa placentulam rotundam, ad formam ejus qua papistæ utebantur, constituerunt. Ad prolationem autem nominis Jesu omnes pileos exuere et genua flectere jusserunt. Tum papisticis expulsis episcopis novi erant subrogandi, et plerique ex eorum numero qui exules erant. Hi primo ceremoniis resistere cœperunt; postea vero, quum aliter spes nulla esset episcopandi, cesserunt et susceperunt, quemadmodum aliquis illorum palam fassus est, contra conscientiam suam. Interim fratres, quos adhuc reluctari videbant, consolabantur, pollicentes iis administrandi ecclesias suas facultatem liberam, quod et per aliquot annos præstiterunt. Qua libertate nacta, purgabant illi sedulo ecclesias suas omnibus nævis et spurcitiis papisticis. Quorum exemplo commoti alii, qui ab initio cesserant, similiter ecclesias reformare incipiunt. Quorum ut numerum et auctoritatem crescere apud plebem viderent episcopi, putabant de gloria sua actum esse, si non inferiores ministros ad ea suscipienda quibus ipsi utebantur adigerent. Rem itaque reginæ mandato suscipiunt. Sampsonem, virum doctissimum et maximæ apud

ecclesiam auctoritatis, exauctorant. Hujus rei metu sperant facile reliquos fore deterritos. Sed cum præter opinionem omnes viderent ad resistendum magis paratos, denuo rem aggrediuntur, et convocatis omnibus ecclesiæ Londinensis ministris rogant, ut polliceantur se parituros omnibus reginæ decretis jam tum in religione factis et fiendis. Quod cum negarent se salva conscientia facere posse, prout tum res sese habebant, uno eodemque die plures triginta exauctorati sunt. Sed cum hæc non succedere, sed omnium odia et præsertim piorum in sese concitasse viderent, alia via rem aggressi sunt. Prohibent ne quisquam in sua parochia scripturas interpretetur, sine speciali episcopi venia sigillo ipsius signata. Revocant præterea omnes ante certum diem concessas licentias: nemini vero denuo concedunt, nisi qui prius iis quæ ipsi volunt consenserit. Si quis sine ipsorum venia interpretari scripturas ausus fuerit, rapitur in iudicium, contemptus nimirum reus. Quod si tum non ipsis consenserit, carcere vel exilio multant.

Vides igitur, princeps optime, miserandam ecclesiæ Anglicanæ faciem, vides quam deformis jacet. Cum enim tres sunt præcipuæ ecclesiæ partes, doctrina salubris, pura sacramentorum administratio, et ministerium rite institutum, quæ pars etiam continet disciplinam nervosam: doctrinam ecclesiæ nostræ non attingam, quæ quamvis in plurimis sana est, in nonnullis tamen claudicat. Sacramenta quomodo deformata humanis inventis sunt, ex publica precum formula, ex regiis injunctionibus et ex episcoporum monitis (quæ advertisamenta vocant) facile patebit. Ministerium vero prorsus nullum, nulla disciplina. Non enim ministri Christi, sed servi hominum dicendi sunt, quibus nihil ad præscriptum verbi, sed omnia ad reginæ et episcoporum nutum sunt facienda. Quid, quod plerique sunt papistarum sacrificuli, missæ consecrati, reliquorum maxima multitudo homines imperitissimi, ex sententia plebis creati, non ad verbi ministerium, sed ad officium diei sive festi perlegendum, quæ puer fere quivis non incommode facere posset? Quid [quod] qui ecclesiis præsent, studii vel famulatus causa ab ipsis abesse possunt? Quid quod innumera multitudo eorum sit, qui nullam habent ecclesiam neque consistendi locum? Quid quod verbum prædicare episcoporum privilegium est, qui tamen raro huic negotio vacant? Quid denique quod excommunicationis gladius, ministris præreptus, jurisperitis traditur? Qualem putas eam esse ecclesiam, princeps illustrissime, in qua nec sacramenta pure administrata, nec ministerium nisi hujusmodi audivisti ullum? Quare si quid gratia vel auctoritate apud serenissimam reginam nostram vales, id in tam pia causa ad medendum tantis ecclesiæ malis, ad papismi memoriam omnem ad æternum damnandam, experiare quæsumus et rogamus: sed ita ut si non possis (quod optamus) pleniorum ecclesiæ totius reformationem obtinere, tamen (quod te consecuturum speramus) his qui antichristi reliquias detestantur libertatem (id est, ne contra conscientias suas velut

has usurpent nec ministerium deserant cogantur¹⁾ exores impetresque. Et si nobis et ecclesiæ nostræ, quod nos certo nobis persuademus, consultum esse cupis, princeps optime, summopere cavendum est ut ab regina omnem culpam in episcopos amoveas, qui apud ipsam monitorum officium, prout decet parque est, satis libere non faciunt. Quod enim tam apud nos quam apud exteros sese non probare, sed regina impellente facere dicunt, id libris publice ad hoc editis et ipsi jubent, et bono pioque consilio et cum totius ecclesiæ commodo a regina factum esse scribunt. Unde non est mirum, si ipsa illorum blanditiis et assentationibus decepta in nos tamquam in rebelles et contumaces severi aliquid statuatur. Sed quod et scimus te per te satis ad nobis opitulandum proclivem, et ab gravissimis tuæ reipublicæ negotiis diutius a nobis impediri par non est, non longius evagabitur oratio nostra, cui hic finem imponimus.

EPISTOLA LXIII.

[RICARDUS HILLES] AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

SALUTEM precor tibi, vir colendissime carissimeque amicè, plurimam. Magnum librum, Esaiam tuum, tuis videlicet expositum homiliis, una cum literis tuis mihi gratissimis 25 Februarii proxime præteriti datis, a domino Johanne Abelo (qui te etiam salvare jubet plurimum) ante quatuor menses accepi. Quo me volumine dono dedisti, sicuti fiet volente Deo, ut hoc muneris a te habeam in perpetuæ amicitiae symbolum. Daniele[m] etiam cum epitome, homiliis tuis LXVI expositum, mihi a prædicto domino Johanne Abelo fratre carissimo comparavi. Utrique mihi quam maxime complacent libri; speroque homilias illas voluminis utriusque non parum utilitatis allaturas fidelibus et diligentibus lectoribus. Quantum ad hoc attinet, quod cupias de rebus Brabanticis certo cdoceri, et me rogas, ne hic te negligam, quantum quidem mihi licuerit per otium et negotium; certio[re]m te nunc facio, carissime domine, me jam de iisdem rebus, quantum certi ipsemet novi, vel per amicos scire potui, literis commisisse, et quasi historiolum perbreve[m] inde scripsisse. Quam quidem si Latine transferri procurare possim (sicuti pædagogus quidam mihi amicus promisit se facturum), mittam ad te, vel saltem Francofordiæ pro te, ad nundinas proximas quadragesimales, si tandiu mihi Deus concesserit vivere. Gaudeo certe tuas illas duas natu minimas

[¹ Omnia sic MS.]

filias nobiles ita rem domesticam tam prudenter et egregie tibi administrare, ut commode poteris vivere viduus. Fertur hic pro certo, ducem de Alva, qui cum regiis Hispaniæ copiis jam nunc Lovanæ aut Gandavo venit, atque ibi in inferiore Germania et Antverpiæ copias illas collocavit, nomine regiæ illius majestatis, velle omnibus illius patriæ civitatibus, quæ prædicationem protestantium proxime elapso anno admiserunt, seu libere permiserunt, libertates et privilegia adimere, et inferiorem Germaniam in justam monarchiam redigere. Domini voluntas fiat, absque cujus permissione nihil faciet. Precemur ex animo ut nobis pacem dare dignetur in diebus nostris: quæ adhuc perseverat integra per Dei gratiam hic in regno Angliæ; præterquam quod adhuc aliqui ex concionatoribus nostris (quamvis non ex doctissimis), scrupulositate magna detentis, seu inani quadam gloria, vel vulgi aliquibus applausibus devictis, deturbant quandoque eam, propterea quod repugnant seu contradicunt reginæ et regni totius ordinationi de lineis vestibus utendis vel gestandis, dum psalmi in ecclesia canuntur, lectiones sacræ leguntur, et sacramenta administrantur. Ego autem sentio cum beato Hieronymo (libro primo adversus Pelagianos), non esse “inimicitias contra Deum, si episcopus, presbyter et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint.” “Porro religio alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu et vita communi: vestibus autem lineis utebantur Ægyptii sacerdotes” (qui etiam, ut optime nosti, tempore Hieronymi christiani fuerunt) “non solum intrinsecus, sed et extrinsecus.” (In commentario in Ezechielem, lib. XIII. cap. 44). Et vere Christi discipuli, quantum in illis est, pacem colebunt¹ cum omnibus hominibus; neque offendiculo erunt incredulis neque ecclesiis Dei. Orandus est Dominus, ut unanimes nos faciat habitare in Dei domo, quæ est ecclesia, et ut omnes contentiones supervacaneas et mala tollat omnia offendicula. Dominus servet te. Londini, 23 Augustii, anno 1567.

Tuus ex animo, etc.

[RICARDUS HILLES.]

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro domino Henrico
Bullingero, amico mihi caris-
simo dentur literæ. Tiguri.*

[¹ Sic MS.]

EPISTOLA LXIV

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS ET RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM, EDWINUM SANDUM, ET JOHANNEM PARKHURSTUM.

REVERENDI viri, domini colendissimi, et fratres in Domino carissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis, et servet vos ab omni malo!

Quo vehementius favemus vobis, reverendi domini et fratres carissimi, eo dolemus gravius dissidere vos a fratribus aliquot, viris doctis, in Anglia gradu suo dejectis. Atque ideo dilectioni nostræ dabitur sinceræ, quod frequentius eadem de re aures vestras obtundimus. Vidimus et accepimus vestram in hac causa excusationem: interim Angli exules ad nos veniunt, qui affirmant Londinensis ecclesiæ doctores, nec non aliarum in Anglia ecclesiarum, in Mariana persecutione probatos homines, quorum fide et diligentia ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in sævissimis istis tempestatibus conservatæ sint, nunc pelli; nec pelli tantum, sed gravi etiam persecutione premi, adeoque et in tetros retrudi carceres. Addunt plures esse in Hibernia ecclesiarum ministros, qui non aliter sentiant aut faciant quam illi ipsi qui in Anglia sustinent persecutionem; illos autem episcopi sui beneficio et apud regiam majestatem interventu agere in summa tranquillitate. Unde isti colligunt, si episcopi qui in Anglia sunt apud regiam majestatem etiam intercederent, fore ut et ipsi tranquille sibi commissas possint retinere et gubernare ecclesias: et, quod hac in causa præcipuum est, episcopos non diffiteri meliorem habere causam afflictos et dejectos: nam agnoscere eos ecclesiam rectius constitui et constitutam gubernari sine illis ceremoniis ritibusve et institutis, quam cum illis; adeo ut si ipsismet offeratur optio, malint ipsi sibi ecclesiam deligere sine illis, quam illis oneratam sibi dari. Id quod inde quoque colliquescat manifestissime, quod in regni comitiis non semel episcopi petierint a regia majestate ut tollerantur illa, et purgator ornatioque aut minus saltem onerata fiat ecclesia.

Quæ cum ita sint, reverendi domini et fratres carissimi, incitabit vos ipsos haud dubie vestra pietas ad consultandum quomodo fieri possit commode et mature, ut fratribus istis afflictis consulatur, et ne ita gravi persecutione premantur; quin potius regiae majestatis clementia in regno tolerentur, donaque in ipsis utilia ecclesiæ per abdicationem non extinguantur. Non est autem quod multis rationibus aut exemplis vos alioqui peritissimos omnis pietatis et æquitatis urgeamus: tantum hoc oramus per Dominum, ut si apud regiam majestatem afflictis afflictionem vel imminuere vel prorsus adimere potestis, pro christiana caritate illis omnem vestram fidelem impendatis operam; et nostram hanc admonitionem fraternam boni con-

sulatis, solitoque amore nos vestri amantissimos prosequi pergatis. Valetc, honorandi domini. Tiguri, 26 Augusti, 1567.

BULLINGERUS ET GUALTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Londinen. Wigornien. et Norvicen.
episcopis in Anglia.*

EPISTOLA LXV

CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

VICESIMA septima Septembris D. Funckius hinc mane abiit; in vespera ejusdem diei allatæ sunt ad me literæ ex Anglia a Rev. episcopo Londinensi ad magnitudinem tuam transmittendæ, quas nolui sine meis ad magnitudinem tuam ablegare. Puto episcopum parricidium reginæ Scotiæ ad dominationem tuam scribere, et meritissimam ejusdem pœnam; nempe quod capta sit, tum quod se regno abdicare coacta sit, confessa sua ope et consilio maritum sublatum esse; mœchum quoque sceleratissimum aufugisse in quandam arcem maritimam in rupe sitam: laudabile est hujus ignobilis gentis in vindicandis sceleribus exemplum et studium, quod docta Italia cupidinis impetu et furore excusasset. Mirabilis apud Belgas laniena vobis ignorata esse non potest: nescio si ii, quibus jus gladii a Domino commissum est, in tanta innoxii sanguinis profusione otiosi spectatores et dissimulatores excusati sint. Si bellum gerere contra Turcas omnibus seculis et ab omnibus pontificibus, cardinalibus, monachis, clericis, scholasticis scriptoribus permissum et comprobatum est, quia in veram religionem arma inferant, et in eo bello mortuis gloria et immortalis honos attributus sit; an scditiosus et perduellis habendus sit, qui necessaria et justa arma induat pro foecis et aris tuendis, ad injustam vim repellendam, ad veram religionem conservandam et ad posteros transmittendam? Quid si legitimus rex in tyrannum degeneret? an is Dei minister dici possit? Pax colenda, obedientia præstanda, simul quoque naturalia jura, leges et consuetudines regnorum, dominiorum, et ditionum servandæ sunt, et imprimis Deo quæ Dei sunt danda. Præclara constitutio est imperatorum Theodosii et Valentiniani, digna vox majestatis regnantis, legibus alligatum se principem profiteri; adeo de auctoritate juris nostra pendet auctoritas. Nec principes ideo soluti sunt legibus, ut omnia pro libidine eis liceant; sed, auctore Aristotele, tanta virtutis exuperantia ceteris præstare debet, ut universorum virtus cum hoc non sit comparabilis, et qui ipsa justitia et æquitate tam ceteris præstet, quam sol elementis informibus et rudibus. In talem nulla prorsus legislatio est, quippe qui ipse lex viva et animata sit. Laude

digni sunt Helvetii, qui ex impotenti dominatu et tyrannide se in libertatem asseruerunt. Non vclim classicum cani contra legitimos et juste imperantes principes, sed contra Vejoves, qui ex libidine, avaritia, crudelitate, fastu, quoquo se verterunt, omnia corrumpunt, commiscent, conturbant, contaminant omnia solo nutu circumagentes et quatientes, dignissimi qui censoribus Helvetiis et Scotis in ordinem cogantur. Ut genero tuo R. G. ex me salutem dicas rogo. Equidem vobis omnia mea officia defero. Argentinæ, 11 Octobr. 1567.

Quem nosti,

[CHRISTOPH. MONTIUS.]

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo et doctissimo domino Henrico
Bullingero, meo faventi Domino.
Turici.*

EPISTOLA LXVI.

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS AD THEODORUM BEZAM, ETC.

SAL. in Christo. D. Joannes Cognatus, Gallicæ ecclesiæ, quæ apud nos est, minister fidelissimus, et frater meus in Domino carissimus, hodie mihi ostendit literas suas quas ad vos in causa ecclesiæ Londino-Belgicæ conscripsit, atque una cum istis mittit. In illis literis origo et summa omnium controversiarum dictæ ecclesiæ simplicissime et verissime explicantur. Oro igitur, carissimi fratres, ut illis literis fidem habeatis, et vestro consilio non solum Londino-Belgicam, sed et alias ejus linguæ ecclesias, juvetis et ad pacis unitatisque studium amplectendum serio cohortemini. Non dubito quin vestræ exhortationes atque admonitiones plurimum apud illos efficient. Scripsissem hac de re, atque adeo de nostrarum ecclesiarum statu, paulo copiosius, nisi me oculorum dolores, qui tertianæ feбри successerunt, impedivissent. Sed dabit Dominus, uti spero, posthac meliorem opportunitatem. Dominus vos conservet et ministerio vestro benedicat, carissimi fratres! Londini, 17 Aprilis, 1568.

Vester in Christo,

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS,
Episcopus Londinensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Carissimis in Christo fratribus D. Theodoro Bezæ ceterisque ministris Genevensis ecclesiæ.

EPISTOLA LXVII.

CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

BINAS nuper ex te accepi literas, alteras scriptas 13 Decembris, alteras 16, quas ad me pertulit D. Antonius Franciscus; cui tum ob eruditionem, tum ob pietatem libenter gratificatus fuissem, si qua ratione potuissem. Literas quæstoris vestri filio ejus inscriptas, quandoquidem citius mittere non potui, dedi D. Antonio perferendas, qui cras hinc Heidelbergam iter ingredietur. Ex Gallia nihil certi ad dominationem tuam adscribere possum: tam enim omnia istinc ad nos incerta adferuntur, ut paucis admodum narratis fidere audeamus. Hoc unum indicium rerum Hugenottorum nondum desperatarum habemus, quod regii alioqui vani et inflatissimi novitatum suarum amplificatores tacent, et moderatiores facti sunt. Credo Italos probe et pro merito exceptos non temere in Galliam decursuros¹. Hispanorum crudelitas et impia tyrannis Turcarum armis ultricibus retaliabitur.

Scripsit ad me episcopus Londinensis 10 Octobris, quas literas ad vicesimam Decembris tandem accepi. Cum enim destituti modo simus commoditate Belgica in transferendis literis, et mare Germanicum modo clausum sit, facilitate et transmittendi et accipiendi invicem orbatī sumus. Episcopus in suis literis voluit ut dominationem tuam suis verbis salutarerem. Equidem quæ illinc accepi, tibi ut fautori et cupido rerum Anglicarum communicanda judicavi. Norfolciæ Dux, qui hactenus obedienter et pacifice in Anglia, prout nobilem virum decuit, se gessit, is tumidis et ambitiosis promissis inflatus, infelicissimas nuptias contrahere in animum induxit cum Medea parricida et sanguisuga, et hac deliberatione inflammatus se ab aula subduxit in avita prædia. Hac ejus præsumptione compta, per caduceatorem in aulam citatus fuit, qua vocatione neglecta in paternis agris substitit. Regina, his principiis obstandum pro sua prudentia intelligens, præfectum stipatorum regionum cum una centuria misit ad eum adducendum; quod is intelligens ultro ad aulam iter ingressus est, in quo itinere substitit mandato reginæ, neque ei copia facta est accedendi ad aulam. Post tridui moram Londinum in arcem abductus est, ubi asservatur. Duo alii comites jussi sunt se intra suas domus continere, quī ut ejus consilii conscii suspicionibus gravati sunt. Duce capto et aliis in ordinem redactis totum regnum quietum et tranquillum est. Nisi illa serpens sublata fuerit, suis gentilitiis artibus et dolis plurimam perniciem parturiet, ut illa quæ ardentem facem sibi gignere visa est. Hæc serenissima regina hactenus sine ullius sanguinis effusione pacifice regnum administravit; qua felicitate ut porro fruatur Deus det et concedat.

[¹ MS. *decursores.*]

Nuper legatus quidam a rege Hispaniæ ad serenissimam Angliæ reginam missus est, qui regis nomine petiit comteatum pro tribus legionibus vel regimentis Belgarum peditum in Hispaniam transfretandorum, ut eorum opera rex utatur contra rebelles Mauros. Reginam ex tempore respondisse fertur, tantorum militum secundum Angliæ litora navigare multitudinem periculosum posse esse; nam cum venti mutabiles et instabiles sint, et navigantibus multa evenire possint secus quam putarent, si hic miles, necessitate aliqua oborta, in Angliæ portus appellere cogatur, tantorum militum adventum sine maleficio fieri non posse, adeoque opus fore ut regina litora et portus suos præsiario milite armet et muniat: quod si rex hos sumptus ferre velit, et obsides dare quod non in alium usum Germanici militis opera uti quam contra Mauros velit, se regi gratificaturam. Sed considerandum est hæreticis non esse fidem, et si [violandum est] jusjurandum, regni causa violandum. Julius Papa dicere solebat, mercatores fide obstringi, non principes.

Ex Saxonia nihil audimus. Aúraicus adhucdum apud Saxonem moratur. Elector ipse adfuturus nuptiis filiæ suæ dicitur, quæ adducetur Heidelbergam, ubi nuptiæ peragentur ad quintum diem Februarii. De militibus in Galliam adducendis nihil apud nos constat: exiguæ copiæ penetrare non possunt: magnæ maximi constabunt, et pietatis ergo sumptus facere et discrimina subire Sampsonis opus est. Ego mea officia dominationi tuæ defero. Argentinæ, 7 Cal. Jan. Anno 69. Instantis anni ut feliciores successus divina clementia consequamur precandam est. Rogo ut Anglicos titulos in literarum inscriptionibus omittas. *Qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.*

C. M.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo D. Bullingero,
patrono colendissimo.
Zeuric.*

EPISTOLA LXVIII.

REGINA ELIZABETHA AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defensor, &c. Johanni Sturmio amico nobis sincere dilecto salutem. Accepimus literas tuas decimo nono Martii ad nos scriptas, ab illis quibus tu eas referendas dedisti ad nos allatas. Ac ipsis quidem hominibus eam quam literæ tuæ expetiverunt, et fidem præbuimus, et quæ illi in mandatis habebant accurate omnia intelleximus. Ex quibus pristinam tuam erga

nos voluntatem, et de statu nostro curam ac solitudinem multis rerum notis jam olim nobis perspectam recognoscentes, nec multum sane mirabamur pro veteri tua in nos observantia, et multum tamen gaudebamus, atque etiam magnas nunc gratias agimus.

De rebus vero per illos ad nos relatis sic statuendum esse duximus: ut quoniam quidem fidelem nostrum servitorem Henricum Killigrew istuc nuper cum mandatis misimus, cui una cum doctore Montio, homine nobis fideli, tibi familiariter cognito, fidem in rebus nostris haberi volumus, ea omnia illis libere patefacias, et cum utrisque aut illorum altero integre communices. Nos vero de tali vestro inter vos colloquio ab illis certiores factæ, de rerum summa quod et causa et nobis dignum erit Deo approbante statuemus. Bene valeas. Dat. ex regia nostra Westmonasterii. Calend. Maii, Anno Dom. 1569, regni vero nostri undecimo.

ELIZABETH. R.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Spectabili et erudito viro Johanni
Sturmio, amico nostro caris-
simo.*

EPISTOLA LXIX.

JOHANNES STURMIUS AD REGINAM ELIZABETHAM.

QUI sacra biblia sermone convertit Hispanico, unus est, serenissima Regina, ex eorum numero, qui improborum hominum calumniis circumventi eas sedes retinere non possunt, in quibus quasi collocati a Deo videntur. Invidit serpens ille omnium bonorum hostis hunc virum et opus istud Angliæ, imo ecclesiæ Christi invidit; et coactus fuit optimus vir insidiis inimicorum ex Anglia discedere. Sed neque studium suum erga religionem, neque benevolentiam suam erga Angliæ regnum, neque observantiam erga majestatem deposuit; et superavit diaboli vim, opusque perfecit, quod libenter auspiciis majestatis vestræ divulgasset, si id ferre posse Hispanos arbitraretur, et si dignum putasset vestræ majestatis patrocinio; non quod ipse dignus non sit optimorum et potentissimorum propter virtutem et doctrinam propugnatione, sed quia de se nimis judicat humiliter. Optat tamen probari majestati vestræ opus hoc suamque operam, et a me postulavit commendari utrumque, ut si ipse in Angliam non veniat, habeant tamen biblia locum in quo¹ diu multumque cum ipso auctore jactati queant quiescere. Commendo igitur majestati vestræ et virum et labores ejus contra malevolorum calumnias. Sed hi suas magnas

[¹ *Quibus*, MS.]

pœnas dederunt; quorum vitæ exitus, qualis vitæ eorum cursus fuerat, magnis argumentis comprobavit. Verum ita ego pro auctore intercedo, ut pro me etiam deprecet, quod in hac tanta mole rerum gerendarum, præsertim his orbis terrarum tumultibus, molestus sim: cogitans tamen et sperans, ut Deo, sic magnis hominibus et principibus imperiorum atque regnorum non ingratas esse humilium hominum preces atque supplicationes. Deum oro ut majestatem vestram sanam, salvam, felicem et prosperam conservet. Argentorati, 8 Id. Septembris, 1569.

Serenissimæ majestatis vestræ
fidelis famulus et servus,

JOH. STURMIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Serenissimæ principi et dominæ
Elizabethæ, Angliæ, Franciæ
et Hiberniæ Reginæ, dominæ
sucæ clementissimæ.*

EPISTOLA LXX.

JOHANNES STURMIUS AD GULIELMUM CECILIUM.

SCRIPSI serenissimæ reginæ de bibliis Hispanicis, atque ea majestati ejus commendavi. Sed opus hic habeo etiam patrocínio auctoritatis tuæ, ut si hæc mea deprecatio aliquid dubitationis habeat, adsis nobis; ut ne plus valeat Hispanorum pontificiorum calumnia, quam evangelicorum qui in illis partibus sunt desideria. Fideliter, ut audio, translata sunt, et vir ipse qui vertit ita mihi probatur, ut de illius fide et innocentia vel jurare non dubitem. Judicio certe acutulo et erudito est præditus. Petimus solum ut istius majestas patiatur istic in officinis librariorum prostare, si quæ forte istuc exemplaria deportentur. Majora ausi estis et audetis facere; et istud etiam pietatis est officium, dare hospitium Spiritui sancto.

De rebus Gallicis hic nos nihil audimus, usque adeo omnia sunt occupata itinera. De vobis tamen magna exspectatio, et item de conventu Neuburgensi nostrorum principum. Cæsaris legati commissarii jam multas hebdomadas in hac urbe nostra frustra exspectant legatos electoris Saxonici, et electoris Brandeburgii, ignari quid sibi velit hæc mora. Vale, vir clarissimè. Argentorati, octava Septembris, 1569.

Tuæ dignitatis observantissimus,

JOH. STURMIUS.

EPISTOLA LXXI.

JOHANNES PARKHURSTUS AD JOHANNEM WOLFIIUM.

SALVUS sis in Christo, humanissime Wolfi. I Julii literas tuas una cum doctissimis tuis Commentariis in Nehemiam accepi: pro quibus ingentes ago gratias, relaturus cum primum alterum Abelum nactus fuero. Omnes tuum Nehemiam plurimi faciunt et certatim emunt. Bene feceris, si Estheram item tuis lucubrationibus illustraveris. Memini me in tuo musæo semel vidisse homilias tuas in Deut. Jos. et lib. Judicum, quæ mihi adeo placebant, ut curaverim aliquot mihi exscribendas. Quæso, mi Wolfi, ne sinas eas diutius cum blattis et tineis rixari; sed quamprimum in publicum prodeant ad gloriam Dei, ad utilitatem multorum, et ad non vulgarem tui ipsius laudem. Quæcunque habui nova, ex literis D. Bullingeri et Gualteri discere potes. Saluta meo nomine optimam tuam uxorem et carissimum fratrem tuum Gasparem Wolfium, medicum (ut audio) insignem et novum calendariorum concinnatorem; quem, cum Gualterum et me ad cœnam humaniter invitaveris, mensæ adsidentem vidi, et adhuc ejus vultum mihi videre videor. Saluta præterea optimos viros Simlerum, Vonlichium, Hallerum, Lavaterum, Wickium, Zuinglium, Froshoverum, Julium, et omnes alios, quos in Domino diligo. Dominus servet Tigurum et Tigurinos omnes. Amen. Vale. Raptim. Nordovici, 16 Januarii, 1571.

Tuus ex animo,

JO. PARKHURSTUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Johan. Wolfio.**Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LXXII.

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM
ET ALIOS.

REVERENDISSIMI in Christo patres, domini honorandi et fratres carissimi. Multum me pietati vestræ debere fateor, qui cum tanto invicem intervallo simus disjuncti, (vos quidem trans mare habitetis in Anglia, ego

vero non procul ab Alpibus vivam in Helvetia,) nihilominus pietas vestra frequentibus literis amicitiam fraternitatemque nostram olim contractam tam studiose colat, conservet, atque magis et magis in diem augendo provehat. Unde merito me gratum pietati vestræ obsequiosumque modis omnibus exhibere debeo. Cumque submissa superioribus diebus bulla Pii V episcopi Romani, quam antea non videram, neque de ea quicquam audieram, occasionem mihi suppeditastis agendi aut conandi saltem aliquid pro gloria Christi Redemptoris nostri unici, et pro salute ejus, quæ apud vos est in Anglia, ecclesiæ contra antichristum Romanum; en! pietati vestræ refutationem hanc meam bullæ oppositam dedico, et exactissimis vestris judiciis subjicio, ut pro pietatis vestræ beneplacito stetque cadatque tota. Oro autem ut hunc meum conatum, animumque causæ bonæ vestræque pietati devotissimum, benigne accipiatis. Alioqui fateor libere facultates meas admodum esse exiguas, vestram vero eruditionem amplissimam, ut me hanc causam longe feliciter potuissetis, si quidem ita libuisset, pertractare. At cum intellexerim hoc meo labore qualicumque me pietati vestræ gratificaturum, nolui illa in me desideraret quicquam. Faxit Christus Dominus, ut uberrimo cum fructu multorum disseram. Salutare quæso dignemini reverendos meos dominos et fratres carissimos, D. Robertum Hornum, Wintoniensem episcopum; D. Edwinum Sandum, Londoniensem episcopum; D. Johannem Parkhurstum, Nordovicensem episcopum; D. Jacobum Pilkintonum, Dunelmensem episcopum; D. item Joan. Almerum, Samsonem, Humfredum, Leverum, Foxum, et reliquos exilii quondam vestri in Helvetia et per Germaniam socios, quorum omnium precibus me commendo. Sed et omnes ministri et fratres, qui hic sunt, vobis omnibus omnia felicia in Christo Jesu Domino nostro precantur. Dominus Jesus benedicat ministerio pietatis vestræ, et servet ab omni malo. Tiguri, mense Febr. anno salutis nostræ 1571.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ad reverendissimos piissimosque et vigilantissimos incltyti regni Angliæ episcopos, D. Edmundum Gryndallum, archiepiscopum Eboracensem, D. Richardum Coxum, episcopum Eliensem, et D. Joannem Juellum, episcopum Sarisberiensem, dominos meos honorandos et fratres in Christo carissimos.

EPISTOLA LXXIII.

RICARDUS HILLES AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

SALUTEM plurimam in Domino. Sicuti filius meus Barnabas Hilles per literas suas ad fratrem in Christo dilectum, Julium Sancterentianum, 26 die Novembris proxime elapsi datas, illum certiore fecit, domine et amice colendissime; egomet tuas literas, 27 Augusti proxime elapsi scriptas, hic Londini accepi per eruditum et pium juvenem Henricum Butlerum: quem post unam atque alteram hebdomadam, postquam prædictas literas acceperim, ad Dunstanum quendam Feltonum, domini Johannis Butleri defuncti filium, una cum fidelibus comitibus equitare curavi, ad vicum quendam Anglicum Chilton nuncupatum, in comitatu Suffolciæ. Unde a prædicto Henrico literas accepi scriptas ex ædibus amitæ suæ, viduæ, matronæ valde piæ. Ego etiam ex animo quam diligentissime curabo omnia illa negotia quæ tu per tuas prædictas literas exequi cupiebas. Literas autem quasdam, quas filio meo Barnabæ prædicto Francfordiæ tradidit D. Christophorus Froschoverus, per fidelem nuncium ad prædictum Henricum Butlerum 26 die Novembris transmisi. Accepit etiam filius meus Barnabas Hilles, a prædicto D. Froschovero, una cum prædictis literis quatuor libros Germanicos, quos, quibus inscripti erant, fideliter reddi curavit: habemusque tibi, ego et uxor mea, ingentes gratias, quod illorum librorum duos nobis dono miseras.

Doleo equidem, quod non adhuc, cum prædictas tuas literas scripseras ad me, a morbo tuo plene convaluisti. Spero tamen quod ante hunc diem multo melius te habeas, quod faxit Deus. Nullas nuper accepi literas ab episcopis nostratibus sive dominis hic in Anglia commorantibus, ad te transferendas. Si tamen posthac in illum finem literas ullas accepero, summa diligentia ad te transmitti curabo. Dominus Edmundus Grindallus, qui nunc (ut audivisti) archiepiscopus est Eboracensis, circa Eboracum sive in civitate ipsa Eboraco, ut audio, continuo manet. Brevi autem arbitror huc Londinum veniet, sicuti ceteri fere episcopi omnes venient; quia nunc, mandante regia majestate, indictum est celebre concilium totius Angliæ, quod apud nos parlamentum vulgo dicitur: apud vos autem comitia imperialia Latine, si bene memini, dicuntur, et Germanice Reichstag. Dominus Edvinus Sandus, episcopus qui nuper fuit Wigorniensis, jam noster est episcopus Londinensis; mihi vero non admodum notus, præterquam ex facie: veluti fere ceteri omnes episcopi sunt mihi fere ignoti, præterquam doctissimus et humanissimus, imo potius divinus episcopus, dominus Juellus Sarisburiensis. Vereor namque (quanquam nunquam sum expertus ipsemet) ne eorum aliqui (ut scripsit crudelissimus Hieronymus de episcopis aliquibus sui temporis), velut in aliqua sublimi specula constituti, vix dignentur mortales videre et alloqui conservos suos. Domi-

nus Coccius episcopus Eliensis, amicus tuus, qui ante annum duxit viduam juvenem domini Doctoris Turneri medici, vivit adhuc et per gratiam Dei bene valet. Sed prædecessor ejus dominus Thirlbeius¹, qui regnante hic Maria regina episcopus fuit Eliensis, et apud reverendissimum Matthæum Parkerum, archiepiscopum Cantuarensis, (sed in ædibus ejus detentus), propter papisticæ doctrinæ protestationem vitam agebat, nuper ante sex aut septem menses obiit Lambethi in palatio dicti archiepiscopi Cantuarensis. Nonnulli vero ceterorum episcoporum sive prælatorum, qui libertate restricti erant propter obstinam² suam, vivunt adhuc: sed nullum fere perpessi sunt cruciatum, præterquam fortassis animi aliquam mœstitionem propter desideratam libertatem et refrænata licentiam maledicendi et malefaciendi. De hiis omnibus Nicolaus Hethus, qui sub Maria regina archiepiscopus fuit Eboracensis, minus sævus vir fuit, atque ideo forsitan majorem invenit gratiam apud serenissimam nostram reginam Elizabetham: nullam enim aliam habet carcerem, præterquam in rure suas proprias ædes, satis commodas et salubri in loco sitas.

Hic apud nos per Dei gratiam in ecclesia et republica omnia sunt pacata. Dominus hoc nobis diu concedat. Audio etiam regem Galliæ pacem illam, quam mihi scripsisti fuisse confectam, prudenter colere; gaudeoque multum ac Deo habeo gratias maximas, quod in conclusione illius pacis salutis fidelium satis cautum erat, utpote scripsisti et jam videmus. Dolco tamen admodum sectam illam Arianorum pestiferam multis in locis extra Helvetiam repullulare. Verumtamen quum venerit Dominus Jesus ad judicium, num inveniet fidem in terra? Julium Sancterentianum prædictum meo et uxoris meæ nomine salutare digneris precor. Adhuc inter serenissimam nostram reginam et ducem de Alva non adeo bene conventum est de relaxatione personarum et bonorum sive mercium utriusque arrestatorum vel detentorum per biennium. Attamen quamvis concordiæ jam non sit res, est autem spes aliqua. Sed de futuro brevi commercio, quale per nonnullos, imo complures, annos continuatum est inter reges Angliæ et archiduces Austriæ et Burgundiæ, nec superest, quantum ego video aut conjicere possum, ulla res aut etiam spes. Tertio hujus mensis die obiit etiam alius quidam papista, vel (ut ipse sibi videbatur) catholicus magnus, cognomine Boxallus, qui prædictæ reginæ Mariæ secretarius fuit præcipuus; vir multum continens (ut præ se ferebat) et humanus; qui etiam per aliquot annos in ædibus reverendissimi archiepiscopi Cantuarensis vixit, libertatem eundi quo voluerit desiderans. Dominus Jesus te tuosque conservet in æternum! Londini, 8^o die Martii, anno salutis nostræ 1570, secundum supputationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Tuus ex animo,

RICARDUS HILLES.

[¹ *Thurlstonus*, MS.]

[² Sic MS.]

EPISTOLA LXXIV

JOHANNES DAIUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

SALUTEM tibi, reverende in Christo pater, exopto. Postquam finem libri tui imprimendi fecerim, quod secundum exemplar mihi a reverendo in Christo patre doctore Coxo traditum, et ab eo prius summa diligentia emendatum, et vere et fideliter confectum esse confido; idem, fidelissime pastor, voluit ut sex vel plures ex iisdem libris tibi mittendos (si commode fieri posset) curarem: quod ut facerem opportunum inveni tempus. Præterea propter operam tuam in illo libro conficiendo positam (maximum voluntatis tuæ in Angliam, tanto intervallo a te disjunctam, indicium) ipsi reverendi patres suis proximis ad te literis dignissimas acturi sunt gratias. Te interea et universam suam ecclesiam ita Dominus gloriæ suo sanctissimo consoletur Spiritu, ut ejus veritas promoveatur, et antichristi regnum confundatur et prorsus evertatur. Faxitque Christus Dominus ut plures ex omni terrarum orbe in hanc curam, summo reipublicæ christianæ commodo, tota mente incumbant omnemque adhibeant operam. Meum quæso in hoc opere laborem qualemcunque æqui bonique consulas. Vale, vigilantissime pastor. Londini, mense [Augusti, 1571.]

Tui observantissimus,
JOHANNES DAIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo in Christo patri D.
Henrycho Bullingero seniori.
Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LXXV

H. ZANCHIUS AD JOHANNEM JUELLUM.

Est verum, doctissime Præsul Juelle, me, licet te semper, jam inde ab eo tempore quo eramus Argentinæ, propter tuam singularem tum pietatem tum virtutem observaverim, nunquam tamen ad te scripsisse, et, ut debebam, istam tibi dignitatem, ad quam tua te virtus evexit, gratulatum fuisse. Fateor totum hoc esse verum. Sed si quis inde vellet inferre, me igitur parum erga te fuisse et esse affectum, negarem sequelam, et dicerem ab hoc tali homine paralogismum admitti, qui "non causa ut causa" dicitur. Aliæ enim sunt causæ cur hoc officium a me fuerit,

non dicam, neglectum sed omissum; quas si vellem recensere et explicare, longior foret excusatio mea, quam ut ferre posset patientia tua. Unam tamen non possum silentio præterire. Ea est quod post vestrum in Angliam patriam vestram carissimam reditum ego mirum in modum fui et *terris jactatus et alto*, cum maxima rerum mearum jactura, partim ab hostibus veritatis Argentinæ, partim ab inimicis disciplinæ, quibuscum conjungebant copias suas Servetiani Clavennæ, supra fidem vexatus. In iis autem tam magnis tempestatibus, quis omnium et singulorum meminisse posset amicorum? Primis vero gratulandi vel de aliqua re scribendi occasionibus neglectis, res est omnino supervacanea et intemptiva illis de rebus aliquid porro scribere. Mihi autem nullum scribendi ad te argumentum deinceps datum fuit, tua virtute et dignitate dignum, nisi in præsentia. Non defuit quidem mihi causa aliqua necessaria, sed mea privata, quæ ad te quoque ut scriberem me non tam commonefaciebat, quam quasi compellebat: verum, ut ingenue fatear, non id apud te ausus fui quod apud quosdam alios, quippe quibus, licet maximis viris, familiarius tamen, Argentinæ cum essem, usus sum quam te. Tu enim discesseras cum Martyre Tigurum, nos manseramus Argentinæ. Inde factum fuit, ut amicitia et familiaritas inter me et reliquos nobiles ac doctos viros magis ac magis creverit, non autem inter nos potuerit tam facile coalescere. En causam unam cur nullas antehac a me acceperis literas. Nunc non potui ulla ratione prætermittere, quin ad te scriberem. Res enim gravis et te dignissima offertur, quæ me ad scribendum cogit.

Cum D. Montius ex Anglia mense Junio rediisset, indicavit mihi præter alios denuo excitatum esse dissidium in istis ecclesiis, de nescio quibus vestibus, quibus velit serenissima regina indui episcopos et ministros, cum verbum aut sacramenta administrant: esse autem non paucos vestri ordinis homines, qui malint et officium resignare, et loco etiam cedere, quam tales admittere vestes. Hinc vero maximam ecclesiarum istarum metuendam esse ruinam. Se itaque rogare me ut tum ad serenissimam reginam scriberem, eamque sui monerem officii, tum etiam ad illos episcopos, qui mihi noti sunt, et quibuscum aliqua intercedit familiaritas; ac te cum primis nominabat: te enim propter virtutem et propter auctoritatem ex virtute comparatam plurimum posse. Excusavi quidem me, et meas extenuavi vires: sed nulla valuit excusatio. Fui itaque tandem, post multorum amicorum persuasiones, etiam ab illustrissimo principe meo id facere officii jussus. Quare coactus scripsi primum ad serenissimam reginam literas, ut confido, non malas, quibus hortor et supplico, ut ne talia audiat consilia, quæ certe cum officio boni principis pugnant. Nihil magis est in votis, quam ut serenissima ipsius majestas non tam meum quam omnium meorum collegarum virorumque piorum, quam illustrissimi ipsius principis nostri, consilium audiat. Quod ut

faciat, non tam ipsam quam Deum rogamus. Verum quoniam quid factura sit ignoramus, et fieri poterit ut in sua persistat sententia; interim vero si ipsi etiam episcopi nolint ulla ratione mutare sententiam, periclitabitur ecclesia; idcirco judicarunt fratres scribendum quoque esse ad aliquot præcipuos et prudentiores episcopos, et rogandos ut reliquis sint auctores, ne, si regina amoveri nullo modo possit a sententia, ipsi propterea suas deserere malint stationes quam edicto regio obtemperare: non enim videri cur liceat pastori suum deserere gregem, quoties ei licet libere docere, et sacramenta ex verbo Dei administrare, tametsi aliquid agere cogatur, quod usquequaque non probetur, modo non sit ex tali rerum genere, quæ per se et sua natura malæ sint. Si enim talia mandentur, dicendum esse cum apostolis, Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus: et interim in sua pergendum esse vocatione, suumque sibi curandum esse gregem. Si vero res sua natura adiaphoræ lege mandatoque regio præcipiantur, quando alterutrum necesse sit, ut aut cedatur loco aut tali mandato obtemperetur, obtemperandum potius esse, sed cum legitima protestatione, et docendum esse populum, cur et qua lege tali sit a se obtemperatum mandato, quam exspectandum dum pastor exauctoretur, et gregem alteri cedere cogatur. Esse vero hanc sententiam ita certam et perspicuam, tum in sacris literis, tum apud patres et in historiis ecclesiasticis, ut supervacancum omnino sit ullam adferre probationem apud illos, qui vel mediocriter in scripturis sint exercitati. Nunquam enim propter res sua natura adiaphoras deserenda est vocatio legitima et necessaria.

Hæc tibi, doctissime Juelle, nota esse non dubitamus. Rogamus itaque te, ut tuam interponas auctoritatem, et pro tua eruditione atque prudentia ita cum aliis reverendissimis et colendissimis fratribus episcopis agas, ut in sua quisque se contineat vocatione atque statione. Nam certe nihil aliud molitur Satan, quam ut quo jure quave injuria veris episcopis a suo grege avulsis, tota ecclesia dissipetur. Est igitur resistendum, ne ille sui fiat impii et sceleratissimi voti compos. Dominus et te et reliquos omnes pios ac sanctos episcopos ecclesiæ suæ servet, suo regat Spiritu, et vestra opera promoveat regnum suum! Vicissim ut pro nobis, atque imprimis pro nostro illustrissimo principe, Dominum rogetis, etiam atque etiam oramus. Ego vero speciatim me tibi, piissime et doctissime præsul, commendo. Commendo item Rudolphum Gualterum, et Rudolphum Zuinglium, Zuinglii illius magni nepotem, utrumque studiosum et pium adolescentem. De statu rerum nostrarum ab ipsis poteris intelligere.

Heidelbergæ, 2 Sept. 1571.

H. ZANCHIUS,
Suo et collegarum nomine.

EPISTOLA LXXVI.

RODOLPHUS ZUINGLIUS AD EDVINUM SANDUM.

CUM dignissimus nostri collegii præfectus, D. Mag. Shepherd, ad vos iter facere constituisset, non committendum putavi, reverende in Christo pater, quin aliquid ad amplitudinem tuam literarum darem, quibus amplitudini tuæ pro singulari in me meosque benevolentia summaque liberalitate gratias agerem, eidemque tuæ amplitudini statum mearum rerum significarem, idque paucis. Neque enim te gravioribus curis et negotiis occupatum multum tædii atque temporis in legendis hisce meis consumere par est; neque hoc meæ sortis, vel potius tenuitatis, ratio postulat ut pluribus verbis amplitudinem tuam suspensam detineam. Quare ut paucis rem absolvam, tibi, Rev. D. episcopo, gratias quas possum habeo maximas pro singulari tua in me benevolentia et favore, imprimisque pro piis tuis curis atque laboribus, quos in promovendis meis studiis adhibuisti, quibusque effecisti, ut non solum in florentissima Cantabrigiensi academia locum haberem, verum etiam in collegium celeberrimum inter studiosos honestos reciperer procurasti; pro quo singulari tuo in me studio gratias tuæ amplitudini quas possum habeo maximas, vicissimque quod mei officii est polliceor me non ingratum aut immemorem tantorum beneficiorum futurum, tantamque tuam in nos liberalitatem semper nostris hominibus et imprimis parentibus nostris prædicaturum; talemque me semper erga amplitudinem tuam exhibiturum, qualem pium juvenem et a piis ortum parentibus decet.

Interim vero de statu rerum mearum hæc amplitudini tuæ nota et cognita esse velim, me in collegio, in quod ab amplitudine tua constitutus sum, locum nactum esse satis idoneum atque commodum ad studia mea persequenda. Prospexit enim mihi D. præfectus pro singulari suo in me amore, non tam de habitatione satis commoda, victuque utcunq̄ sufficiente, quam de tutore fidelissimo, cujus consilio et opera liberrime utor, tam in expediendis meis studiis, quam aliis rebus necessariis procurandis; adeo ut mihi parum ad persequenda mea studia defuturum putem. Gaudeo autem non tam mea quam studiorum meorum causa, mihi occasionem et facultatem oblatam esse audiendi clarissimum illum et doctissimum virum D. Antonium Cevalerium, cui vix Germania nostra in Hebraicæ linguæ cognitione parem habet, qui cum eo comparandus sit, excepto Immanuele Tremellio, quem Heidelbergæ Palatinatûs doctissime profitentem audiavi, ex cujus quoque lectionibus non parum, ut opinor, profeci; neque minus ex hujus lectionibus profecturum puto, Domino mihi suam gratiam dante. Tuæ autem ampli-

tudini, quicquid ex his atque aliorum lectionibus utilitatis capio, acceptum fero, utpote cujus singulari liberalitate effectum prospectumque est, ut mihi non solum in celeberrima Cantabrigiensi academia vivendi locus relictus, verum etiam commoditas facultasque oblata sit optimos quosque audiendi professores, quorum opera adjutus me non exiguos in studiis progressus facturum spero. Interim vero, ne prolixius quam par est progrediar, amplitudini tuæ me commendo, eamque rogatam volo ut me suæ tutelæ et patrocinio commendatum habeat semper, atque hæc pauca boni consulat, tanquam tenuem meæ erga amplitudinem tuam observantiæ significationem. Deus Opt. Max. amplitudinem tuam quam diutissime salvam et incolumem servet, et ecclesiæ suæ superstitem esse dignetur!

Cantabrigiæ, 26 Januarii, 1572.

Tuæ amplitudinis observantissimus,

RODOLPHUS ZUINGLIUS,

Tigurinus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo in Christo patri et domino
D. Edvino Sando, episcopo Lon-
dinensi dignissimo, D. suo summa
reverentia colendo. Londini.*

EPISTOLA LXXVII.

HENRICUS BUTLERUS AD EDVINUM SANDUM.

CUM primum, reverendissime Domine, tuæ humanitatis liberalitate atque benevolentia musis fui restitutus, nihil prius faciendum putavi, quam inquirere, cui ad te literas grati animi indicia continentes darem. Percontanti vero diu obtulit suam in scriptis perferendis operam observandissimus Dominus Shepherd, Johannis collegii præfectus. Quem tam opportune nactum nequaquam absque memoris tuorum in me beneficiorum voluntatis significatione dimittendum censi. Ac licet pro tuis amplissimis in me officiis, nullis non laudibus dignissimis, gratias agendi rationem instituere in animo habuerim; tamen ob eorum magnitudinem omnem non solum orationis vim, sed gratias etiam universas, excellunt atque vincunt. Nam si reliquis et familiarium¹ et consanguineorum tua conferantur bene-

[¹ *Familiaris*, MS.]

merita, tanquam lucifer suo splendore, omnia illorum antecellent eaque obscurabunt: cum præsertim corpori tantum, idque maximis adducti precibus, alimenta isti præbuerint; a te vero non corpus solummodo, servitute oppressum, pristinae libertati sit restitutum, sed et animæ mærore prope emortuæ medicina sit allata ultro saluberrima. Quo enim pharmaco afflictus perturbatione animus citius salute donari potest, quam præstanti et morum integritate et pietatis studio viro, D. magistro Allin, tutoris vice tam uti humaniter? Quapropter, domine ac patrone omni observantia dignissime, cum hisce tuis cumulatissimis in me officiis dignas nequaquam agere gratias, multo minus referre queam; ut animi gratitudine², quam inviolatam semper et integram reservare constitui, contentum te reddere digneris etiam atque etiam peto; promittens insuper eam me, quam mihi tuo adjumento ac divina etiam providentia obtigisse video, Spartam non modo nunquam deserturum, sed nullis non diligentia³ et virtutis floribus exornaturum. Hisce tuam committo humanitatem bonitati divinæ, optans ex animo Nestoream tibi tuisque omnibus ætatem.

Data in collegio Christi 27 Januarii.

HENRICUS BUTLERUS,

Tigurinus, Anglogena,
tuæ dignitatis observantissimus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo præstantissimoque viro D.
episcopo Londinensi, domino ac
patrono suo omni honore et obser-
vantia reverendissimo. London.*

EPISTOLA LXXVIII.

RICARDUS COXUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

LITERÆ tuæ 20 Aug. 1571 scriptæ mihi fuerunt traditæ mense Januario proxime elapso per tres illos adolescentes, quorum in ipsis literis mentionem feceras, dilectissime in Christo frater. Equidem superiori ætate mittebantur ad te literæ nostræ cum aliquot libris tuo nomine impressis contra bullatas illas papæ nugas. Imo liber tuus, absolutissime et verissime dictatus, atque emendatissime scriptus, non potuit nobis et piis omnibus non esse gratissimus. Ob quod munus merito fatemur, nos

[² MS. gratitudinem.]

[³ MS. d. ligen ia.]

tibi plurimum devinciri: imo ipsa regina librum tuum legit, non sine gratulatione. Spero te longe antehac et literas et libros et exigua munuscula a nobis accepisse¹: unde abunde intelliges, quid egerimus in libro tuo edendo. Jam ad literas, quas misisti. Quod ad adolescentes vestros attinet, bono sis animo; nam quibus commendati sunt, amico animo et pietatis affectu illis sedulo prospicient. Et hoc quidem merentur et D. Zuinglii, et D. Bullingeri, et Rodolphi Gualteri zelus, studium, et infiniti labores in propaganda religione sincera et subdolis falsæ religionis machinis evertendis. Tui vero filii, quoniam eum inprimis Eboracensi, Sarisburgensi et mihi commisisti, curam suscipiemus, ut tu omnino sis sine cura: quam Sarisburgensis (quod sine gemitu narrare nequeo, erat enim ecclesiæ Anglicæ thesaurus) diocesin suam visitando animam exhalavit, et ad cælum hinc emigravit, suo quidem commodo, at nostro incommodo maximo et intolerabili. Neque vero interim vel Gualteri filium vel Butlerum, quem mihi etiam atque etiam commendas, negligemus. Ut autem voto tuo satisfiat, duo vestri in academia Cantabrigiensi, sed in diversis collegiis sedes habent, et cœtu numeroso versantur et docto.

Res nostræ ingenti Dei beneficio, ne dicam miraculo, satis commodo loco sunt. Nuper apud nos dux Norfolcensis clam cum papistis atque adeo cum papa ipso conspiravit in perniciem serenissimæ nostræ reginæ atque regni, imo in subversionem sacrosancti Dei evangelii. Sed suis semper adest benignus Dominus. Diu non sine suspicione mali inclusus fuit in carcere. Tandem prodita est ipsius perdita nequitia. Productus est in iudicium et, jure condemnatus, morti adjudicatur. Erupit tandem papistarum conspirantium foetida sentina. Benedictus Dominus Deus, qui tempestive tanta scelera produxit in lucem! Jam (uti speramus) pacata sunt omnia, nisi quod non cessat Satan circumire et rugire, quærens quem devoret. Hic mutuis nos juvemus precibus.

D. Gualterus superiori (opinor) anno literas dedit ad fratrem nostrum Parkhurstum, Nordovicensem episcopum: quæ quia nonnihil turbarum excitarent in hominibus suæ sententiæ, qui innovationes semper moliuntur, neque ordinationibus in ecclesia nostra constitutis subdi volunt, putavi monendum esse fratrem nostrum D. Gualterum, ut cautior sit, ne suis scriptis contentiones vel ignarus vel invitus fovere videatur. Si acerbior adpareat oratio mea, cogitet a quo animo sit profecta, certe a benevolo ejusque amantissimo. Dominus Jesus ecclesiæ suæ te diutissime servet incolumem! Ex Insula Eliensi in Anglia, duodecimo Februarii, 1571.

Pene præterieram libellum, quem ad me misisti de auctoritate scripturæ et ecclesiæ. Vere aureus est libellus, et dignus qui piorum omnium manibus teratur. Papistæ tamen obgannire non cessant. Multa (inquiunt) sunt dogmata, quæ patrum ecclesiæque consensu nituntur, non autem scripturæ, cujusmodi sunt ista.

[¹ Manu Bullingeri: "Nihil allatum est, nihil accepi, nec quicquam hujus vidi."]

Multa creditu necessaria, quæ non sunt in scripturis :

Perpetua virginitas Mariæ.	Utimur suffocato et sanguine.
Pater est ingenuus.	Christus descendit ad inferna.
Filius est consubstantialis.	Aqua miscenda est vino in calice.
Spiritus a Patre Filioque procedit.	Martyrium supplet locum baptis- tismi.
Infantes sunt baptizandi.	Orationes, oblationes et eleemo- synæ prosunt defunctis.
Baptizatus ab hæreticis in forma ecclesiæ est vere baptizatus.	Nemo admittitur ad eucharistiam priusquam baptizetur.
Deus est tres personæ.	
Apostoli fuerunt baptizati.	

Tuus in Christo frater,

RICARDUS COX,
Eliensis Episcopus.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Viro eximia doctrina et pietate prædito,
et fratri meo carissimo D. Henrico
Bullingero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ pas-
tori dignissimo.*

EPISTOLA LXXIX.

RICARDUS HILLES AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

S. P. LITERAS tuas, amice colendissime, 23 die Augusti proxime elapsi ad me datas, ante menses duos accepi per nepotem tuum Rodolphum Zuinglium, qui jam ut audio [Cantabrigiæ] studet. Rodolphus Gualterus [Cantabrigiæ] sectatur studia: fuerunt ambo hic Londini 15 die Decembris proxime præteriti, non longe postquam Nordovico ab Embdena in Frisia Orientali sita appulerunt in Anglia. Literas vero tuas, de quibus mentionem facis, ad reverendissimos quosdam nostrates episcopos ipsi tradi curaverunt: videlicet, prius domino Johanni Parkhursto suas reddiderunt Nordovico, et Londinensi episcopo suas deinde, postea autem reliquas omnes reddi curaverunt iis quibus tu ipse inscripsisti episcopis. Utrum autem Rodolphus tuus episcopum accesserit Eliensem necne, eique tuas literas præsentaverit, equidem ignoro. Porro decimo sexto die Decembris prædicti, Rodolphus tuus et Rodolphus Gualterus valorem undecim florenorum et undecim batzionum Germanicæ monetæ pro floreno ad quindccim batziones computatorum a me hic Londini ad usus necessarios acceperunt mutuo, in proximis nundinis

Frankfordiensibus per amicum tuum D. Christoferum Froshoverum reddendum. Filius etiam meus Gerson Hilles, qui una cum illis a Francoforto Embdonam usque venit, valorem triginta florenorum et * batzionum Germanicæ monetæ illis mutuo dedit. Quam quidem summam in prædictis nundinis quadragesimalibus filio meo Barnabæ Hilles, vel famulo meo Roberto Mascallo, per eundem dominum Froshoverum reddendum promiserunt; de qua etiam solutione (sicuti quoque de solutione prædictorum illorum undecim florenorum et undecim batzionum) minime dubito. Attamen certe, quemadmodum in proximis, quas a me in mense Octobri accepisti, literis intelligere poteris (sicuti nuper ex literis domini Rodulphi Gualteri, Tiguri, 16 ejusdem mensis ad me datis intelligo), tuæ pietati scripsi, magis fore in rem vestram, tuam dico et D. Gualteri, si prius pecunias vestras quas cupitis hic in Anglia duobus juvenibus prædictis solutas esse, Francoforti numerari procurare velitis, ut postea possum hic illis valorem earundem persolvere.

Libellum illum pulcherrimum de auctoritate scripturæ et ecclesiæ, quem mihi misisti, accepi, habeoque pro eo humanitati tuæ gratias. Salutem meo nomine D. Rodolpho Gualtero seniori precare quæso: habeoque illi gratias (dicas), quod mihi de signo quod in sole fuit apud vos penultima Septembris visum scripsit: potest autem fieri, sicuti ipse existimabat, ut tandem secuturum sit mundo infelici et pœnitere nescio vindictæ divinæ exemplum non vulgare. Doleo quidem dominum Rodolphum Gualterum proxima æstate febri acuta et ardenti correptum fuisse, quæ eum ita afflixit, ut de vita dubitare inciperet. Sed gaudeo sic illius misertum Deum, ut valetudini et ecclesiæ simul restituit, ita ut cum sancto propheta Davide post infirmitatem poterit recte dicere, Vivam et non moriar, narrabo opera Domini. Nec certe dubito quominus ille, quicquid pecuniarum jam nunc in prædictum suum filium Rodolphum contuli, summam videlicet prædictam florenorum undecim et totidem batzionum, bona fide mihi ad proxime futuras nundinas Frankfordienses reddi curabit. Rogo autem te, domine Bullingere, per Dominum, ne indignius feras quod tuæ caritati et D. Gualtero ita conjunctim literas meas ad vos nunc scribo; ac non divisim ad vestrum alterutrum. Est enim mihi nunc dierum (cujus certe mei multum pudet) permolestum Latine literas dare, ut quas valde lente scribo; ita ut tot literas jam hodie vix duabus horis possum scribere, quot olim in juventute mea semihora expedire potui. Benedictus autem Dominus Deus meus in omnibus et in omni tempore—omni tempore et semper, sive in prosperis, sive in adversis! Amen.

Æquum quidem foret, si aliquid saltem paternarum opum cederet justis hæredibus Johannis Butleri. Sed quum ipsemet vendidit hic omne suum patrimonium, et juxta legem atque commune jus regni Angliæ idem emptori nostrati et hæredibus suis concessit et affirmavit, sive (ut nostri juris-

consulti seu legisperiti barbare loqui solent) assuravit et seisinam, id est legitimam possessionem, dedit, nulla restat spes, quod dicti domini Butleri hæredes (maxime autem qui ex muliere non Angla extra regnum Angliæ nati sunt) patrimonium illud venditum, aut ejusdem aliquam partem, jure Anglico recuperare (ut nostri jurisconsulti loquuntur) vel repossidere poterint, quantum ego saltem intelligere vel discere possim. Patientiam ergo oportet Henricum Butlerum habere, et in ista causa spem contra spem non habere.

Posteaquam tibi proxime scripsi in mense Augusto, nullas accepi literas ad te, neque ad D. Rodolphum Gualterum, a reverendis dominis episcopis, neque ab ullis aliis (quod memini) viris doctis. Si autem nunc ad te volunt scribere per meum prædictum famulum Robertum, qui hoc mense Februario hinc Hamburgum versus, Deo volente, navigio profecturus sit, spero meum filium Barnabam literas illas Hamburgo Frankfurtum optime posse perferre pro te ad D. Froschoverum prædictum.

Puto te audivisse ducem Norfolciæ nostratem nuper de crimine læsæ majestatis accusatum fuisse; 16 autem die Januarii publice a proceribus regni Angliæ, juxta consuetudinem ejusdem regni in cognoscendis hujusmodi criminibus, morti adjudicatus est. Inter cetera crimina, quæ (ut audio) perpetratus est, hoc erat unum de pluribus: quod uni duorum comitum, qui ante biennium in boreali Angliæ parte rebellis fuit, et contra reginam nostram serenissimam arma gessit, magnam pecuniarum summam misit. Brevi, ut fertur, decollabitur hic Londini, prout meritus est. Det illi Deus gratiam, ut eum poeniteat ex animo suæ ingratitude et iniquitatis multæ, quam contra Deum Opt. Max. atque contra regiam majestatem commisit! Nuper hic duo viri morte plectebantur propter sua impia facinora, qui inter alia etiam in necem D. Wilhelmi Cecillii, baronis de Burghley, præcipui secretarii regis majestatis, conspirarunt: prout unus illorum ad furcas confessus est. Deus per providentiam suam rem omnem in lucem protulit, antequam facinus illud nefandum opere fuit impletum. Vale, Deusque Optimus Maximus te ad gloriam suam promovendam atque ad ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem quam diutissime conservet! Londini, 18 Februarii, anno 1571.

Tuus quem nosti,

HILLES, *Mercator.*

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro D. Henrico Bullin-
gero amico suo colendissimo red-
dentur hæc. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LXXX.

 JOHANNES PARKHURSTUS AD JOHANNEM WOLFIIUM.

SALVE, mi Wolfi. Gaudeo te in explicando Esdra pergere. Si tuas conciones et commentarios in Hesteræ librum edideris, rem facies tuis studiis dignam et piis studiosisque utilem. Quod serenissimæ nostræ reginæ dedicare velis, ego valde probo. Nolo te in epistola nuncupatoria nimis esse prolixum. Non possum non improbare tam pertinax Horni et Juelli silentium. Nam vel illi ingrati fuerunt, si ad te non rescripserint; vel tabellarii perfidi, si literas tibi tradendas non curarint. De filio tuo alias. Nunc non vacat plura scribere, ita variis occupationibus distineor. Saluta meo nomine uxorem tuam, fratrem Casparem et amicos omnes. Raptim Ludhamiæ. Mea vos omnes. Martii 10, 1572.

Tuus,

 JOHANNES PARKHURSTUS,
 Nordovicensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Johanni Wolfio.
 Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LXXXI.

 MALLIETUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM JUNIOREM.

CUM ante quadriduum D. Rudolphus affinis tuus, D. Gualteri filius, literas mihi Cantabrigia a D. Petro Chevalerio Genevensi cognato meo, illic Hebraicæ linguæ professore, attulisset una cum D. Zuinglii filio, qui jam per aliquot dies ægrotus Londini in hospitio decubuit; ex eoque tabellarium, qui ad te has commode perferre posset, sciscitatus essem, meque meas ad te dari posse certiozem fecisset; nolui datam occasionem prætermittere, ne ei ingratus viderer a quo tot et tanta accepi beneficia: cum

præsertim ex quo e Germania in Gallias, inde in Angliam migrassem, nulla scribendi ad te sese obtulisset occasio. Mihi enim tam carus cum sis, vestraque patria tam dulcis, non possum quin dies et noctes recollectione tui sæpissime transigam, et maximo ardeam desiderio (si mihi in patriam redeundum sit, aut iter in Italiam suscipiendum) invisendi vos iterum, dummodo meis votis Deus favere velit. Dominus Carolus Liffortius Biturigibus doctor juris creatus est ante tres menses: ejus enim rei gratia Lutetiam venerat, ubi una per menses septem viximus; inde se Aureliæ et Biturigibus contulerat, ego vero ab ejus a me discessu in Angliam: ubi comitis de Lennox fratrem, interfecti Scotorum regis et hujus patru, curam docendi et administrandi ei suscepi, non sane sine magno meo labore et studiorum meorum impedimento. Verum magnatum hujus regni et precibus et pollicitationibus adductus, id onus ad aliquod tempus detrectare non potui, cum mihi hinc discedendi quotiescunque libuerit libertas relicta sit. Agit juvenis ille decimum sextum jamprimum annum, qui magnam de se spem in posterum pollicetur. Solus enim jure hæreditario coronæ Scotorum post mortem hujus regis nepotis sui sine liberis legitimis succedit, et regno et imperio præfici debet. Sic matre ejus sanguini regio Anglico post mortem hujus reginæ nullus propinquior, cui pariter filius, quem unigenitum habet, fit hæres; quamvis conventus fiat omnium statuum, quod lingua vulgari parlamentum dicitur, ut certus hæres regni communi omnium suffragio designetur, ne posthac, si forte fortuna regina obiret, ullus tumultus oriatur. Quid sit futurum nescio. Aliquid certi potero rescribere post peractum parlamentum, si Deus faveat. Audio tamen inter cetera de capite reginæ Scotorum agi. Dux Norfolk condemnatus adhuc in turri jacet. Legati reginæ in Galliam triduo abhinc sunt profecturi, ad pacem inter utrumque regnum stabiliendam. Rex Galliæ ob eam rem ducem de Momorancio huc missurus est, qui hic etiam magno cum apparatu exspectatur. Quæ scribam plura in præsentia non habeo: tantum te oratum velim, ut pro benignitate et clementia tua ad me de tua tuorumque bona valetudine scribere non dedigneris, quæque istic fiant certiore facere. Audio enim Genevenses in numerum confæderatorum Helvetiorum ascribi, quos vulgo Cantonos vocant; an verum sit, adhuc ignoro. Ad dominum Urbanum Lowenberger rescripsissem, itemque ad D. Schneberger, si ubi degant rescirem; eosque me ut excusatum habeant, orabis, meoque nomine plurimum salutabis. Vale. Datum 26 Maii, 1572. Londini ex hospitio Graiorum, vulgo *Grais inne*.

Dominam meam uxorem tuam salutabis pariter plurimum in eo nomine totamque familiam. Parentem, quem honoris causa nomino, nolim oblivisci, quem animi integritate, morum probitate, doctrina atque eruditione nulli postponendum scio. Sic salutem meam imperties D. Gualtero, D. Simlero, D. Lavatero, dominæ Veritati atque Dorotheæ sororibus carissimis, uxori

D. Simleri, ceterisque omnibus quos mihi bene cupere scis. Vale etiam atque etiam.

Tuus in æternum,
MALLIETUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Domino Henrico Bullingero, domino
suo colendissimo.*

*Domino Bullingero juniore, prope
cedem Petri. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA LXXXII.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD PATREM SUUM RODOLPHUM
GUALTERUM.

S. Si quid in præsentibus omissum fuerit, observande pater, non mihi sed animo mœsto et perturbato attribuas velim. Accidit enim nobis casus tristis admodum, quem etsi mihi grave sit tibi indicare, tamen necesse est ut id faciam, cum præcipue vestrum intersit rem cognoscere. Facile autem te cum D. Bullingero propter summam constantiam animi hunc casum laturum puto, quo Rodolphus Zuinglius consobrinus meus suavissimus a Deo optimo maximo ex mortali vita et hujus seculi miseriis ad cœlestem vitam evocatus est. Quod quia prolixius significandum est quam ego possim tam brevi tempore ad te perscribere, cum et filius Hillæi Hamburgum properet, et funeris Zuinglii curandi onus in nos jam impendeat, pauca tantum de ipso scribam, ad nundinas proximas omnia ordine ad D. Bullingerum perscripturus. Cantabrigiæ cum essemus ad 12 Maii diem, Londinum cupiebat proficisci Henricus Butlerus ob negotia quædam: ei sese adjungere voluit Zuinglius noster, si forte posset Londini pecunias ab episcopis aut aliunde ab Hillæo accipere, quia præcipue tum pecunia laborabat. Habebam ego in animo Cantabrigiæ manere, partim quod non magna haberem negotia, partim quod si quæ essent mihi agenda, per literas possem expedire. Tandem me quoque in sententiam suam pertraxerunt, ut facile iter mihi nec incommodum nec admodum commodum ingrederer. Causa quoque præcipua erat, ut comitia generalia reginæ serenissimæ principum et episcoporum viseremus. Profecti itaque fuimus 12 Maii, vehementissimo flante vento, ut non eundem sed obnitendum esset contra ventum, ut toto illo die vix 12 miliaria Anglica, quæ 2 nostratia conficiunt, perficeremus. Erat tum (more isto Anglico) dies jejunii, ut nihil in hospitiiis præter salsos pisces et alia

similis farinæ possemus nancisci. Crastino die, qui fuit 13, confecimus 32 Anglica milliaria, et Londinum pervenimus, quod 44 milliariis tantum Cantabria distat. Erat vehementissimus æstus. In itinere nunquam conquestus fuit, nisi cum abessemus 8 circiter milliariis Londino; et tamen strenue pergebat, ut circiter horam 8 in hospitium optatum pervenerimus. Eo die nihil fere comedit, ut nec tribus sequentibus. Cum itaque 17 Maii apud Eliensem episcopum pranderemus, post prandium statim decubuit, et per 8 dies fere ægrotavit, de calore interno conquestus, qui tamen nec in urina nec in pulsibus poterat deprehendi. Aderant medici D. Turnerus et D. Pennius, Anglorum iudicio totius fere Angliæ peritissimus; qui nihil potuerunt deprehendere, ex quo qualisnam esset morbus possent judicare. Suspicati sunt aliquantulum melancholicos humores in venas diaphragmatis influxisse, qui sitim excitent et calorem augeant. Tandem accessit morbus et dolor lateris sinistri, quem emplastris, etc. sustulerunt. Itaque intra 9 vel 10 diem convalescebat. Sed statim sequenti die ad pristinum dolorem relapsus est, videlicet calorem inextinguibilem, qui nec tribus venæ sectionibus nec ullis potationibus refrigerantibus potuit restingui. Accedebant strepitus supra cubiculum nullius plane animalis: videbantur potius trunci seu homines ingentes procumbere; quæ statim mihi de aliis similibus cogitanti spem omnem exemerunt. Tandem cum nulla spes esset melioris valetudinis, cupiebat ex diversorio publico eum transferre in ædes proprias D. Eliensis cum uxore sua matre Turneri. Eo quia non poterat proficisci nec pedes nec eques, nec ulla ratione uti cogitabamus propter imbecillitatem, retinuimus in diversorio ad 4 usque Junii, quo die, suadente Turnero et Pennio, et summopere flagitante episcopo Eliense, in ædes ipsius lectica portatus est. Sed mihi jam pridem imaginem mortis in vultu videbar conspiceri: itaque, faustissima precatus a Deo optimo maximo, in ædibus episcopi eum ad summum, si posset, dormire cohortati sumus, non dissimulantes interim (quod mihi quoque velim fieri) periculum, et medicos fere desperasse, cohortati ut in Deo fiduciam collocaret. Butlerus, quia præcedentibus quoque noctibus mecum vigilaverat, cœpit prima vigilia, quæ mihi indicta erat, dormire: cum vero viderem eum angustos spiritus ducere, veritus ne imparatus suffocaretur, advocavi ministrum episcopi, qui ipsum cohortatus et cum illo precatus jussit bene in Deum sperare. Media circiter nocte, cum solus adessem ipsi, cœpit bis adeo longum ducere anhelitum et oculos invertere, ut animam videretur agere: itaque alte in aures inclamans ut animam Deo committeret, repetii verba, *singultu crebros impediante sonos*. Aspersi aquam rosaceam et acetum rosaceum ori et labiis, ut ad sese rediret, quod factum est; et libro precum accepto, cum ipso alta voce cœpi Deum invocare, et rursus appellato ministro cum Butlero singulis momentis ultimum exspectabamus spiritum. Interea tam cordate, tam ardentem Deum invocabat, ut nobis esset ad-

mirationi. Quinquies videbatur animam agere, quinquies refocillavimus jam expirantem. Hora circiter tertia matutina nos non amplius nosse inceperat, et aliquantillum delirare: tandem a quarta ad quintam, ardentissimis precibus ad Deum fuis, cœpit tranquillius agere, et ante 6 circiter dimidiam horam neque audivit nos, neque vidit, neque sensit: in solo spiritu videbamus adhuc vivere ipsum, qui tamen angustius cœpit meare, et ad sextam horam omnino deficere; et tandem signo summæ constantiæ ad cœlum erectis palmis dato, nobis ipsi acclamantibus verbis Christi, "DEUS, suscipe animam meam," et precationem Dominicam in aurem occidentibus, expiravit, et vitam hanc mortalem cum immortali et inenarrabili gaudio cœlestis vitæ commutavit.

De aliis accidentibus scribam proximis nundinis ad Bullingerum, quomodo ubiquitarios insectatus fuerit, etc. quia jam non vacat, partim quod infirmior sum, cum quatuor vel quinque noctibus continuis vix somnum ceperim, partim etiam quod intra duas horas curatio funeris instet. Sepelietur in templo D. Andreae Londini e regione ædium episcopi Eliensis in vico dicto *Howbrun*. Sunt omnia satis sumptuosa. Accepi dum ipse ægrotaret ab episcopo Dunelmensi (qui ad parlamentum morbo impeditus non venit) 12 angelottos inter nos ambos ex æquo dividendos: dederat ipsi angelottum unum et mihi quoque episcopus Vintoniensis, Parkhurstus unum, quæ omnia proximis nundinis supputabo. Debentur pharmacopolis angelotti quinque, non multo minus, si modo sufficient, propter clysteres, decocta, medicamenta, epithemata, et alia ejus generis innumera insumpta. Supellectilem omnem, quamprimum Cantabrigiam reversus fuero, ad me recipiam, et catalogum ad vos transmittam: commodum enim arbitror ut cum meis rebus ex Anglia iterum vehantur, si mihi Deus ad vos concesserit redditum, quod spero: sed fiat voluntas ejus. In sepultura si non sufficient ejus pecuniæ, addam de meis, et omnia significabo proxime: simul ad tuas respondebo literas, quas hic accepi cum quatuor libellis quos transmisi et tradidi. Juellus mortuus est, ut jam seis proculdubio. Plura si scriberem, et funus et literas has negligerem: itaque his eris contentus, et D. Bullingerum de omnibus facies certiozem. Vale, mi pater, et me invitum fere hic versantem amore paterno prosequere, ut aliquid habeam consolationis: vale rursus. Datæ Londini 5 Junii, quo die Zuinglius obiit, 1572. Revertemur intra triduum Cantabrigiam.

Tui observantissimus filius,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Erudito et pio viro D. Rodolpho Gualtero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ ministro fidelissimo, patri suo plurimum observando.

EPISTOLA LXXXIII.

CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

LITERÆ tuæ scriptæ 22 Junii ad me allatæ sunt, vir clarissime, opera filii Lavateri, adolescentis bona spe et exspectatione decorati. Jam varia incertis et levibus auctoribus hic vulgantur de belligeris actionibus, et multo feliciora quidem quam ut ea credere ausim. Classem Lusitanam opulentis mercibus oneratam Geusii ceperunt, tribus tantum navibus inter pugnandum elapsis: multæ civitates Belgicæ, fastu, insolentia, libidine fœda, et prædandi et expilandi inexplebili avaritia Hispanorum pressæ, Hispanos intra mœnia recipere pernegant; quare ut rebelles regi ab Albano declaratæ sunt. Una Flessinga, oppidulum parvum, Hispanos aliquot nobiles captos in mari suspensio occidit. Nisi Galliæ rex, Angliæ regina, et Germaniæ principes hanc telam exorsam perficiant, horribilis laniena et concisio miseros manet. Albanus Bruxellis pro more præsidet et mandata edicit, et quatuor peditum legiones recenset in Luccenbergensi et Treverensi agro. Duo loca delectuum ab Auraicis disturbata sunt. Ipse dux induratus magna pervicacia bellum molitur, capitaneis et ductoribus, Bulwilero, Fronsbergio, Schaumbergio, Eberstenio comitibus, et aliis plerisque impia arma molientibus. Otto comes ab Eberstein ante dies octo per Rhenum descendere voluit in inferiorem Germaniam nave armis onerata; verum infra Wormatiam coactus est appellere in littus, ubi ab electoris Palatini sclopetariis interceptus et in Alsheim abductus est. Principum protestantium conventus brevi habebitur Naumburgi in Saxonia. Princeps Auraicus egressus ex arce Dillenburg 23 Junii dicitur in inferiorem Germaniam, comitatus sexcentis equitibus et mille sclopetariis, ad loca delectibus et lustrationibus militum destinata. In Anglia modo omnia quieta sunt, et omnium ordinum regni modo comitia habentur, quorum decreto et censura Norfolciæ dux secundo die Junii decapitatus est: de reliquorum conjuratorum fortuna nihildum accepi.

Has quaternas literas ex Anglia ad me in præsentibus nostras nundinas Hamburgo allatas, domino T. et clarissimo tuo genero D. Rodolpho G. inscriptas, vobis una cum obsequiorum meorum addictione transmittito. Argentina, 8 Julii, anno 1572.

CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo et doctissimo viro D. Henrico
Bullingero, pastori ecclesie Tigurinae,
patrono colendissimo.*

EPISTOLA LXXXIV

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS F. AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

S. NEQUE negligentia, neque offensione aliqua, aut oblivione tui, observande affinis, factum est ut rarius ad te scriberem; sed quod ipse mihi displicens et Francofurti et Emdæ in hospitio publico vix ad amicos scribere potuerim. Accedebat, quod literas illas scribebam æquo animo laturus sive perderem sive traderem; ignoto enim tabellario tradebamus. Quod autem ne salutem quidem tibi in literis ascripserim, id imprudentiæ meæ tribuas velim, qui, etsi raro tui et omnium vestrum obliviscar, tum temporis tamen mihi excideras. Quod siquidem non malo animo factum est, mihi condonabis. An enim arbitraris me cuiquam plus placere cupere quam tibi? Quæ opinio etsi firma mihi inhæreret, tamen juvenibus, præsertim minus circumspectis, non ubique præsens est animus ubi oportebat. Sed cesso me excusare apud te, qui jam ignovisti, quod testantur literæ tuæ, alioquin ad me nullæ scribendæ. Vellem autem, ut hoc tempore levius aliquid tibi significarem potius, quam tristissimum hoc mihi peræque atque tibi. Nam 5to Junii superioris mensis mortuus est pie admodum et fideliter R. Zuinglius, consobrinus meus, quem nobis hoc tempore creptum doleo, quo omnia fere ruunt in pejus. Sepultus fuit honorifice, præsentibus episcopis Eliense et Londinense, quorum hic publice habuit funebrem concionem. Sed nolo de his ad te scribere pluribus; quandoquidem, si quid desideras, id a clari viri D. Bullingeri literis potes petere, ad quem fuse omnia perscripsi. Supervacaneum ergo esset te onerare inutilibus scriptionibus, et me singulis fere momentis dolorem refricare.

Etsi autem ego me in manu Domini esse sciam, nec sine ejus voluntate quisquam mori possit, aliquantulum tamen me terruit, præsertim cum videam et sentiam hanc regionem nostræ valetudini adversari. Testatur mors Zuinglii, testatur Butlerus eodem fere morbo quoque sublatus; testatur denique corpus meum, quod etsi (Deo sit laus!) sit firmæ adhuc valetudinis, tamen minus vegetum, imo singulis fere diebus decrescit, et ego plane macresco. Suasit D. Turnerus, qui Zuinglii medicus fuit, ut in aliam regionem me conferam: sed quia, si quid sinisterius accidat, pater adeo in me invehitur, malo hic finem vitæ reportare, vel ejus venia aliquando discedere. Nihil posthac ab illo petam: si quid studiis meis prodesse potest, viderit ipse; dummodo ego non cessem ubique locorum graviter incumbere libris et officio fungi, puto me erga Deum esse excusatum. Nuper *με ἐς κόρακας* abire et alium quærere jubebat, cui famularer: et si quid leviusculum in literis meis omissum aut præter-

missum est, puta aliquarum literarum quas miserit redditionem, (nam silentio meo testor ea quæ volebat esse transacta,) statim clamat, fulminat, num eum adeo futilem et vecordem esse existimem, ut de rebus necessariis non commonefaciam. Sed cesso questibus te quoque obtundere. Interea ames tu me, et, etsi vivo patre, te quoque mihi patrem præstes; consilio juves et foveas. Ego faxo, ut neque observantiam neque officium neglectum requiras aut desideres. Nova nulla sunt, aut tibi ex aliorum literis nota. Literas tuas episcopo Londinensi ipse tradidi, ut et Parkhursto Nordovicensi. Juellus incommodum et patriæ et nobis pridem mortuus est. Plura non scribo, sed his brevibus contentus ignosces mihi aliis literis scribendis plus æquo occupato. Salutem dic omnibus amicis, præsertim sorori uxori tuæ, quam pro auctoritate tua ad mei amorem mutuum magis et magis excitabis. Vale in Christo, affinis observande. Data Cantabrigiæ, 29 Julii, anno 1572.

Tui observantissimus affinis,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS.

Nuper Oxonii fui deambulandi gratia profectus: allocutus sum Humfredum, qui tibi jussit salutem renuntiari, si quando scriberem. Statui ego, Deo favente, brevi, hac academia relicta, in illam commigrare.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximie eruditionis et pietatis viro D. Josie
Simlero, in schola Tigurina theologiæ
professori doctissimo, domino et affini
suo plurimum colendo.*

EPISTOLA LXXXV

GULIELMUS CECILIUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

TRADITÆ sunt mihi literæ tuæ, ornatissime Sturmi, et quæ ad me privatim conscriptæ sunt, et quæ datæ sunt ad majestatem reginæ nostræ: quibus certiores nos facis de obitu D. Montii, hominis propter illius summam in procurandis hujus regni negotiis, et multorum annorum usu testificatam, diligentiam et fidem et suæ majestati et nobis omnibus commendatissimi. Cujus tamen desiderio non magis afficimur, quam ista significatione benevolentiaæ atque officii tui, quasi æqua quadam compensatione, levamur. Quæ sane propter opinionem religionis, sapientiaæ,

integritatis tuæ peropportune accidit, his præsertim temporibus, in quibus, ad exploranda hominum consilia et facta, propter recentes Galliarum calamitates et totius fere Europæ turbulentos motus, magna tum prudentia tum fide opus est. Quare sua majestas istam officii tui tam diligenter et propense oblatam observantiam ita uti par est amplectitur, teque perlibenter in Montii locum surrogatum eodem stipendio donabit. Quod etsi pro tua sive humanitate sive facultate parum sit, tamen arbitramur te id potius ipsius majestatis amplitudine et voluntate quam magnitudine sua metiri velle, teque totum, si quid hac in parte defuerit, in illius benevolentia beneficentiaque positurum esse. Hoc ego ad te stipendium ex voluntate reginæ, literasque a majestate sua misissem, si aut nuncium istum satis idoneum existimassem, aut quicquam huic itineri, quod illi propter novas has et locorum et temporum et rerum asperitates videtur fore impeditissimum, præter has literas, testes voluntatis majestatis suæ, et meæ etiam privatim erga te benevolentia, credere voluissem. Quocirca nihil interea a nobis amplius expectabis, qui in istorum incendiolorum tam vicinorum flamma a nostris finibus prohibenda occupatissimi sumus. Quorum quum furor divina bonitate restinctus vel sedatus fuerit, tum tu ipse commodius et literarum tuarum ad nos transmittendarum, et stipendii hujus ad te transferendi, rationem reperies. Vale. Dat. Woodstoci, 15 Sept. 1572.

Tui benevolentissimus,

GULIELMUS CECILIUS BARO BURGHLEIENSIS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo amico meo D. Johanni
Sturmio.*

EPISTOLA LXXXVI.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS F. AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

S. Ex iis, quas pater ad me 28 Augusti dedit, intellexi te adversa valetudine premi, ideoque ad me nullas literas te dedisse puto. Doluit mihi et semper dolebit, quod te, observande affinis, tua ista podagra nunquam liberari audio; præsertim cum rariores eam ob causam a te accipiam literas. Ego quidem, etsi a te nunquam ne verbum quidem acciperem, tamen puto mei officii esse et observantiæ te de meis rebus certiores facere. Et quod ad studiorum meorum statum pertinet, sunt in pristino

statu. Versor adhuc Cantabrigiæ, brevi Oxoniam profecturus: exspecto enim in singulos dies literas commendatitias a Parkhursto ad D. Humphredum, quas ubi accepero quamprimum hinc migrabo. Jam pridem tædebat mansionis, cum omnia hic videam strepere litibus. Boni et pii verbi Dei ministri in carcerem detruduntur, quod adversus otiosos ventres concionentur. Alii alio modo vexantur, partim verbis partim factis, prout occasio sese istis tyrannis offert: et ita ἄλλον μιλίχιοις, ἄλλον στερεοῖς ἐπέεσσι Νείκειον. Ego tamen ea ad me nihil pertinere puto, utcumque animum discrucient, quod molesta gravius sit videre quam audire. Domum aliquando reversus plenius narrabo ut hic res gerantur. Interea a te peto, ut me tibi habeas commendatum, et ut studia mea bene se habeant, quantum in te est, cures. Ego vicissim pro virili operam dabo, ne tam mihi professores quam ego ipsis defuisse videar. Saluta omnes amicos rogo. Vale in Christo, affinis observande, quem precor ut te diu incolumem conservet.

Data Cantabrigiæ, 4 Februarii, 1573.

Tui observantissimus,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS F.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Erudito et pio viro D. Josiæ Simlero,
S. theologiæ in schola Tigurina
professori, doctissimo domino et
affini suo observando.*

EPISTOLA LXXXVII.

LUCAS CLAYSONUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM F.

TAMETSİ bene sero ex Chestertonensi navigatione domum reversus eram, committere tamen non potui, mi Gualtere, quin pro nostra familiaritate ac consuetudine in sinistro oculo, culi mundi¹, contracta salutem saltem tibi scriberem; et quoniam te scio certiozem fieri velle, quis fuerit controversiæ inter nos et subulcum nostrum eventus, id quoque paucis significabo. Ego fide Punica meorum sociorum usus, eo fui redactus, ut nondum productis testibus arbitrorum iudicio collegii causam committerem. Itaque decretum est, ut ego cum altero socio exacto restituamur, et statuta collegii depravata corrigantur restaurenturque. Quod quidem si ea qua spero fide agetur, neque sumtus neque laboris me pœnitet. Sin minus, ad rastros mihi haud dubie res rediit, et quærenda melior conditio est, quo in genere

[¹ Sic MS.]

tua mihi fortassis erit opus industria. Plura ut scribam tempus non patitur. Jam enim *nox humida cælo Præcipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*. Vale, et de statu rerum tuarum fac nos certiores. Ego vicissim nullum scribendi officium prætermittam. Raptim. Jacobus te salutat millies, Gallice *millefois*. Nono cal. Julii, 1573.

Tui studiosissimus,
LUCAS CLAYSONE.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Summæ spei adolescenti Rodolpho
Gualtero, amico suo singulari.
Oxoniam.*

EPISTOLA LXXXVIII.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD COMITEM BEDFORDIENSEM.

S. VEREOR equidem, illustrissime princeps, ne tuæ clementiæ molestæ essent literæ nostræ, quibus modo hunc modo illum commendamus, nisi jampridem perspectam haberemus tuam humanitatem, et pium in bonis promovendis studium.

Ea etiam est interdum hominum nobis amicissimorum conditio, ut hoc officium illis negare non possimus, quod et per se pium est, et illis aliquam utilitatem afferre potest. Id vero imprimis intelligi velim de eo, qui has tibi literas reddet. Est is generosi et amplissimi viri, baronis ab Alto Saxo, filius, bonæ indolis et maximæ spei adolescens, qui cum aliquamdiu Heidelbergæ vixisset, inde ad illustrissimum principem Megaloburgensem profectus est. Nunc autem ex patris voluntate in Angliam venit, ut locum aliquem apud reginam serenissimam inveniatis suis natalibus dignum. Audio illum ab illustrissimo principe palatino electore reginæ commendatum esse, cujus commendationem tanti ponderis fore non dubito, ut nostra hæc prorsus supervacanea videri possit. Quia tamen pater adolescentis eum nostris etiam amicis commendari volebat, non potuimus ejus petitioni deesse. Est enim ille vir piissimus, Dei cultor eximius, et in provehendo Christi regno non minus constans quam diligens. Etenim paucis abhinc annis e sua ditione, quæ papistis undique cingitur, omnes cultus illicitos ejecit, puriorem verbi doctrinam reduxit, et verum sacramentorum usum cum disciplina morum christianis hominibus digna instituit. Conflavit sibi eo facto multorum odia, et aliquamdiu adversarios habuit potentes, qui nihil non adversus illum conati sunt. At servavit illum Deus Opt. Max. ut nunc in ejus terris Christus prædicetur, quas prius papistica superstitio totas occuparat. Habet is filios complures, quos in principum christianorum

aulis educari et institui cupit, ut generis sui, quod apud nos antiquissimum et illustre est, dignitatem tueri possint, et simul ea addiscant, quorum cognitio et ipsis ornamento sit, et communi patriæ aliquod emolumentum ferat. Decet quoque christianos principes optimi et piissimi herois vota juvare; quod tuam clementiam eo libentius facturam puto, quod ipse jam pridem senseris, qui labores et quæ pericula illis subeunda sint, qui Christum Jesum vera fide amplexi, ejusdem gloriam provehere student. Facies ergo, illustrissime princeps, quod sæpe jam fecisti, et adolescentem generosissimum juvabis, ut sua familia et genere dignam conditionem vel apud reginam serenissimam vel apud alium principem illustrem obtineat. Quod si tua clementia effecerit, opus faciet Deo gratissimum, et heroem piissimum sibi perpetuo devinciet, seque ipsam nostris hominibus novo hoc beneficiæ exemplo ut plurimum commendabit. Deus Opt. Max. tuam clementiam benigne servet, ac suo Spiritu regat ad sui nominis gloriam! Amen. Tiguri, 17 Julii, anno 1573.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Illustrissimo principi et domino, D.
Francisco Russello comiti Bedfordiensi.*

Testimonium baronis de Alto Saxo.

Universis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentis literæ testimoniales pervenerint, Laurentius Humfredus, illustrissimi comitis Leicestriensis vicecancellarius sive commissarius in alma academia Oxoniensi, salutem in Auctore salutis. Cum ante paucos menses ad istam academiam accesserit nobilis ac illustris vir dominus Joannes Philippus ab Alto Saxo liber baro in Sax. et Forsteck, etc., in Helvetia, etc., et per quatuor menses cum doctissimis viris in ista academia familiariter conversatus, quamplurima ediderit sua rari ac singularis ingenii specimina, ut non solum ob illustrem familiam, sed propter eruditionem et eximias ejus ingenii dotes vere nobilis haberi possit: visum est universitati nostræ, in testificationem sui in eum non solum amoris sed potius judicii, decimo octavo die mensis Maii anno Domini mill^{mo} quingen^{mo} septuag^{mo} quarto eundem titulo magistri in artibus insignire et decorare, ut deinceps nostræ in eum benevolentiae non obliviscatur, et nos ejus notitiæ recordatione perpetuo fruamur. Et quia jam tandem desiderio teneatur invisendi patriam, nos eum caritate prosequentes, eundem sine testimonio nostro non dimittendum duximus. Hæc igitur omnia et singula vobis bona fide significamus per præsentis, sigillo officii cancellariatus Oxon. in testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum communitas. Dat. 30 die mensis Julii, anno Domini mill^{mo} quingen^{mo} septuag^{mo} quarto.

EPISTOLA LXXXIX.

GULIELMUS BURGHLEIUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

ACCEPI tuas literas, Sturmī, quas ad regiam majestatem et ad me simul dedisti huic familiari Phil. Sidnei, qui has vicissim tibi a me reddet. Quibus non est in hoc tempore quod respondeam pluribus. Quod meum consilium secutus ad ipsius majestatem scripseris, valde probo; id enim ei gratum fore sciebam, sicuti sane fuit. Verum unum est quod te deinceps admonitum velim, ut cum denuo scribes ad suam majestatem, curam adhibeas cum in scribendis tum in perlegendis tuis literis paulo magis accuratiorē. Erat enim in utroque genere ea incuria, ut nec facile ab ea legi possent, nec propter verborum defectum satis intelligi. Quod ego tribuebam festinationi tuæ, et fortasse etiam occupationibus quæ te aliquæ premebant, quominus tuas literas licuit perlegere. Sed miror eas in rebus Germanicis tam breves fuisse. Quod Philippum Sidneium tanta humanitate accipis, habeo tibi multam gratiam, quam scio honoratissimos parentes ejus tibi reddituros multo cumulatiorem. Bene vale, Sturmī, et si quid erit quod nostri intererit, fac nos ut commode poteris certiores. Londini, 18 Julii, 1573.

Tuæ dignitatis semper amantissimus,

GUL. BURGHLEIUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Spectabili et illustri viro Johanni
Sturmio, serenissimæ reginæ
Angliæ procuratori in Ger-
mania.*

EPISTOLA XC.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS F. AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

S. LITERAS tuas, observande affinis, reddidit mihi D. Wilhelmus Barlo, quo jamdudum Heidelbergæ usus fueram familiariter. Ex iis intellexi te merito commotum fuisse ob quorundam sciorum, qui hic sunt, calumnias, quibus, licet imperitissimis, nihil nisi comtum et politum omnibusque numeris absolutissimum probari potest. Verum quando-

quidem omnibus istis satisfieri non potest, nobis existimandum erit, nos officio nostro probe defunctos, si optimis quibusque conatus nostros et desiderium in republica literaria promovenda probemus. Inter Oxonienses, ad quos mense Junio me contuli, pauciores sunt ex ipsorum numero, partim quia integriores sunt, partim quia hic papistarum omnia plena, paucique sese puriori religioni addicunt; unde neque libros nostrorum inspiciunt, qua ratione ejusmodi calumniandi in specie fiducia et ansa ipsis præripitur.

Sed de his nimis multa apud te præsertim, affinis doctissime, quem scio et hic et ubique terrarum bonis omnibus esse carissimum. Paucis post diebus aliæ tuæ mihi redduntur, in quibus me negligentia accusas, quod neque pannum emerim, neque aliquid literarum ad te dederim. De posteriori facile me negligentia accusari scio, præsertim cum innocens sim. At jam te accepisse meas a Chevalerio arbitror, cui adversa tempestas obfuit, quominus citius ad vos perveniret. Quoad prius, parum equidem, cum primo in Angliam venissem, apud Hillæum efficere potui, qui cum hoc dieterium semper in ore habeat, pecunias mercatoribus idem esse quod rustico aratrum, nihil nisi præsentem pecunia facit. Cum vero in posterioribus ad me literis nullum ejus rei mentionem faceres, putavi te mutato consilio pannum non amplius magnopere desiderare. D. Gulielmus Barlo tamen, cum hac denuo transiret, totum istud onus in se recepit, et Londini se cum notis mercatoribus ea de re acturum pollicitus est. Si mihi Londinum proficiscendi occasio fuisset, libenter hac in parte omne officium tibi præstitissem. Sed Barloo rem procurante, arbitror meo consilio non admodum opus esse.

Quod ad res meas, in collegio Magdalenensi (cujus præses Humfredus est) Oxonii dego satis commode. Nam et hic doctorum virorum est copia, et me ipsis propter singularem erga me amorem plurimum debere fateor. Inter omnes tamen elucet singularis D. Humfredi et Coli benevolentia, quibus a D. Parkhursto fui commendatus. Et quia hæc academia præ Cantabrigiensi arrisit, ut hic commodius degerem et in majori honore, gradum magisterii petii, qui 6 Julii ab universitatis senatu unanimi consensu mihi fuit delatus; ad cujus gradus confirmationem proxima hebdomada lectiones publicas habebō tam in morali quam in naturali philosophia. Deus fortunet inceptum meum, et dirigat omnes meos conatus ad sui nominis gloriam! Cupio autem nunc hic diutius versari, quam statueram, partim propter gradum, partim propter summam commoditatem. D. Parkhurstus enim me ita Humfredo commendavit, ut omnes sumtus mihi conferat, ab ipso recepturus; unde sine ulla patris expensa hic posthac vivere possem, quod hactenus ob sumtuum incertudinem fieri non potuit. Rogo autem te, observande affinis, ut semper, quod studii meis commodum sit, suadeas et consulas, ne citius quam par sit domum revocer. Nam si citius opinione domum revocarer, fortasse pater ea in re obedientiam meam desideraret. Sed scio, tam patri quam tibi et omnibus

ista curæ esse, ut me de illis anxium esse minime sit opus. Plura igitur hoc præsertim tempore non scribam, rogaboque te ut his contentus me, quod facis, ames. Deus Opt. Max. te cum uxore et liberis diu incolumem conservet! Vale. Datæ Oxonii ex collegio Magdalenæ. Julii 20, 1573.

Tui observantissimus affinis,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS F.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eximie eruditionis et pietatis viro
D. Josiæ Simlero, sacre theologiæ
in schola Tigurina professori, doc-
tissimo domino et affini suo re-
verenter colendo.*

Testimonium Rodolphi Gualteri junioris.

Universis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentem literæ pervenerint, Laurentius Humfredus, illustrissimi comitis Leicestriæ vice-cancellarius sive commissarius in alma academia Oxoniensi, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quia nihil magis juri et æquitati convenit quam veritati testimonium perhibere, ob cujus defectum innocentum plerumque status per calumniatorum injurias falsis probris convellitur et labefactatur, hinc est quod nos, petitione dilecti nobis in Christo Rodolphi Gualteri Tigurini moti, ad universitatis vestræ notitiam deducimus, vosque certiores fieri volumus per præsentem, quod præfatus Rodolphus Gualterus nostræ academiæ alumnus exstitit per duos annos integros elapsos, et in collegio Magdalenensi operam literis dedit non minus feliciter quam diligenter, se interea laudabiliter gerens. Inde, meritis suis id exigentibus, 12^{mo} die Octobris, anno Domini 1573, in celeberrimis comitiis nostris inauguratus est artium magister: juvenis ob morum candorem amabilis, ob conditionem spectabilis, ut ornatissimi et singularis patris Dni. Rod. Gualteri Tigurini professoris non solum nomen, sed virtutis specimen facile referat et repræsentet. Et quia jam tandem desiderio tenetur invisendi patrem et patriam, nos eum caritate prosequentes, eundem sine testimonio nostro non dimittendum duximus. Hæc igitur omnia et singula vobis bona fide significamus per præsentem, sigillo officii cancellariatus Oxon. in testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum communitas. Dat. 30 die mensis Julii, A.D. 1574.

EPISTOLA XCI.

 JOHANNES WOLLEYUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

UT ad te hoc tempore scriberem, ornatissime Sturmi, Leicestriensis comitis patroni mei singularis voluntas fecit: qui cum ipse ad te aliis de rebus scriberet, voluit etiam me meis literis ad tuam amicitiam et familiaritatem aditum patefacere. Quod feci quidem cupidissime.

Nam cum Aschami tui in ejus apud regiam majestatem munere subeundo successor sim, ejus etiam amicitiarum et necessitudinum, tuæ præsertim, hæres esse pervelim. Recipe me igitur in Aschami locum, cujus quanquam facultate in optimis disciplinis sim inferior, at in te amando et colendo conabor esse superior. Voluit illustrissimus comes ut ad te (quanquam nunc ocreati et in procinctu simus) de re non magna, sed quæ magnas apud nos tragedias excitat, hoc tempore scriberem.

Magna apud nos jam diu (quod te ignorare non arbitrator) quæstio existit, debeantne ministri et verbi prædicatores certo vestitus generi, præsertim quo missatores sacrifici in papatu usi sunt, publica auctoritate alligari: quæ apud nos contentio ita est agitata, ut multi evangelii prædicationem potius relinquere voluerint, et quotidie etiam relinquunt, quam ut eo genere vestitus utantur astringi. Hæc certe res apud nos magnas turbas excitavit, et tractando adhuc lis crevit.

Optat igitur vehementer nobilissimus comes, aliquam a te iniri rationem, qua doctissimorum Germaniæ theologorum, Bezæ præsertim, Gualteri, et aliorum magni nominis censuris hac de re ad universitates nostras conscriptis hæc jam gliscens contentio sopiri possit. Qua de re ad te alias plura: nunc reginæ ab hoc loco demigratio festinationis plena vix hæc quidem me scribere permisit. Tu harum literarum festinationi (quæ jussu comitis scriptæ sunt) ignosces, et me inter tui amantissimos numerabis. Quod a te iterum atque iterum vehementer peto. Vale, ornatissime vir. Dat. Orpintoni, qui Cantii provinciæ pagus est. Die mensis Julii 24, A.D. 1573.

Tui observantissimus,

JOHANNES WOLLEYUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro Johanni Sturmi,
Angliæ reginæ in Germania
agenti.*

EPISTOLA XCII.

GULIELMUS COLUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

BENEVOLENTIA, quam apud vos præ ceteris omnibus Tiguri expertus sum, mihi e memoria excidere nunquam potest, ornatissime vir. Propterea sic tibi persuadeas volo, me animo et voluntate semper fore Tigurinum, tametsi corpore longe remotissimum. Et si omnes eo nomine, quod Tigurini sunt, mihi commendatissimi esse debeant, multo magis tuus filius est summo amore prosequendus. Nam, præterquam quod Tigurinus est, patris eum pietas et amicitia mihi, doctrina piis omnibus facit commendatiorem. Quoties enim opera tua piis ob oculos obversantur legenda, toties illis tanti patris filius commendatur. Anno jam elapso, cum tuus filius nostris comitiis interesset, non potui non præstare tibi officium qualecunque. Nam statim conspecto tuo filio, nescio quomodo mihi in mentem venit, quicquid in nos Anglos jam ante multos annos beneficiorum contuleris. Quocirca jam plane video inveterascere nunquam posse apud me tanta beneficia: ita recens et grata erat eorum recordatio. Scripsit ad me episcopus Nordovicensis, dominus mihi multis nominibus colendissimus. Ex illius literis intellexi, quam carus sit illi tuus filius, ita ut te absente in Helvetia, audeam affirmare, Nordovicensem dominum non minus tuo filio affuturum in omnibus, quam si tu præsens illi prospiceres ipse. Paucis ergo sic accipe, Gualterum tuum fore mihi semper intimum, me nunquam illius commodis defuturum. Novarum rerum fere nihil apud nos. Audio in Hollandia civitatem quandam nomine Harlem post longam obsidionem, tandem etiam vehementer Hispanis repugnantibus, intromisisse subsidiarios milites ex Anglia et Scotia, atque ea ratione bene Harlemensibus prospectum esse de rebus ad victum necessariis. Atque hoc factum est ante aliquot dies non sine aliqua strage utriusque partis. Parant aliquot nobiles nostrates expeditionem magnam in Hiberniam, et jam sunt in itinere omnes. Magna est animorum conjunctio inter nos et Scotos, et nostra ope hac æstate usi protestantes illius regionis in suam potestatem redegerunt arcem munitissimam Edenburgensem. Regina illorum est apud nos cum quodam comite, cujus fideli custodiæ committitur, ita ut egredi, nisi eo concedente, et sine satis justo satellitio non possit. De rebus Gallicis nihil habeo quod scribam. De Rupellanis omnia adhuc sunt incerta. Quæso, mi domine, velis reverendum illum patrem D. Bullingerum cum reliquis

symmystis et piis plurimum salutare meo nomine. Te Christus servet.
26 Julii, 1573.

Tuus tibi deditissimus,
GULIELMUS COLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro, D. Rodolpho Gualtero, ecclesie Tigurinae ministro
dentur hae literae. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XCIII.

GULIELMUS BARLOUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

S. P. Mirro ad te, praestantissime Simlere, pannum, sicut petiisti; sed hoc ego a te vicissim peto, ut in primis tuis ad me literis mihi rescribas, quomodo tibi et pannus et pretium placeat. Usus quidem sum in hac re illorum ope, quorum peritia aliqua saltem debebat esse; qui satis splendide pollicentur, sed, quia omnis fides e terra periit, te etiam atque etiam rogo, ut adhibito aliquo, qui in hac re iudicio valet, tute ad me rescribas quid sentias, antequam denariolum pecuniae mittas, quod facies absque omni meo aut incommodo aut molestia. Mercator, qui Deo favente his autumnalibus nundinis pannum D. Froschovero tradet, pecuniam ante proximas vernaes non accipiet; tunc demum vel huic vel alicui alii hoc dabo negotii, ut ista pecunia mihi quaedam Francofurti coemat: interim quid tibi videatur de panno, certiore, si placet, facies. Novi nihil habemus, nisi quod coloniae ducuntur ex Anglia in Hiberniam, ut istam partem insulae occupent, quae Scotiae est vicinior. Iis praeficitur comes Essexiae; magni sunt apparatus. Status civilis apud nos adhuc, Dei beneficio, est tranquillus; ecclesiae vero nostrae omnia plena turbarum et rixarum. Quamprimum aliquid otii nactus fuero (quod sane mihi ab eo tempore, quo in Angliam jam veni, quod fuit sub initium Junii, vix contigit) aliqua saltem expiscabor, quae hospiti D. Wiccio meo mittam: interim illi a me salutem dices. Saluta obsecro officiose meo nomine reverendos in Christo patres D. Bullingerum seniore, et D. Gualterum, etiam atque etiam D. Lavaterum, D. Stuccium, D. Bullingerum juniorem, D. Lemannum, D. Jac. Frisium. Conveni filium D. Gualteri affinem tuum (qui literas tuas mihi tradidit datas 5 calend. Maii) Oxoniae; obtuli illi meam opellam, si ulla in re illi grata esse poterit, quemadmodum ex officio debeo. Ille

jam tandem nactus est locum in collegio Magdalenensi studiis non incommodum. Londini, postridie calend. Augusti, anno, etc. 1573.

Tuus,

GULIELMUS BARLOW

Saluta etiam quæso nostrum Julium meo nomine, dicasque ei me nuper alloquutum esse illius nomine episcopum Londinensem, et literas illius omnes fideliter curasse.

Mitto ad te his literis inclusam particulam panni tui, quam integro aptare poteris, ne commutetur in itinere. Pretium panni septem libræ sunt Anglicanæ atque quatuor solidi Anglicani: unaquæque libra Anglicana facit batsiones octaginta.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo optimoque viro D. Josiæ
Simlero. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA XCIV

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD DOMINUM RICARDUM COXUM.

S. GRATUM tibi, pater in Christo reverende, tuisque collegis fuisse meum officium, quo meum erga vos et ecclesias Anglicanas studium mearum in priorem ad Corinthios homiliarum dedicatione publice testatus sum, magna cum voluptate ex tuis et aliorum, tum etiam filii mei literis intellexi, qui tuam erga se liberalitatem mihi diligenter prædicat; pro qua, ut etiam pro mnemosyno (ut tu scribis) ad me misso, gratias tuæ amplitudini ago, non quales illa meretur aut quales ego vellem, sed quas possum: simulque Deum Opt. Max. precor, ut aliqua mihi detur occasio qua demonstrare possim, me beneficiorum vestrorum, quæ in me et filium contulistis, non esse immemorem. Manebit hic in verum usque tempus apud vos, et ita fieri necesse est, quoniam meæ literæ, quibus de mea voluntate ad illum scribo, vix ante Novembrem ex nundinis ad illum perferri possunt: quo tempore navigatio minus commoda, nec etiam satis tuta est. Ineunte autem vere, si nihil incidat quod ejus institutum remoretur, in Daniam trajiciet, ubi eum commendavi amico singulari, D. Erasmo Læto, Hafniensis academix theologo, qui nuper Venetiis hac transiens, suam mihi operam in illo excipiendo et Rostochium transmittendo pollicitus est, ut inde, lustratis etiam Saxonix scholis, Vitemberga nimirum et Lipsia, tandem (si ita Domino visum

fuerit) domum ad me redeat. Interea, quod hactenus fecistis, ut porro faciatis rogo, et ipsum studiaque ejus habeatis commendata, ne tempus male perdat, aut moribus malis corrumpatur.

Ut vero ad literas tuas redeam, in quibus tu mearum quoque mentionem facis, quibus ego meæ epistolæ ad D. Parkhurstum Nordovicensem de vestris controversiis scriptæ rationem reddidi: vehementer mihi dolet, me per vestra certamina quasi in theatrum protrahi, dum utrinque meæ literæ typis vulgantur. Inique certe et inhumaniter ab adversariis vestris factum fuit, quod quas ego ad veterem amicum pro nostræ amicitiae et familiaritatis jure liberius scripseram, publicaverunt. Debebat illis sufficere, quod nostra credulitate abusi, admonitionem illam acriorem nobis extorserant. Quod vero alteram epistolam, quam eadem de re ad te dedi, D. Vuitgiftus libro suo, quo adversariis vestris respondit, inseruit, facilius ferre poteram, siquidem hoc causæ necessitas requirebat: molestum tamen mihi est, quod illos ex ea novam queritandi, vel etiam calumniandi occasionem arripere audio, quasi quod prius bene dixerim, nunc in vestram gratiam recantarem. Solatur me tamen mens bene sibi conscia, et spero cordatiores quosque intellecturos, me a levitatis crimine esse alienissimum. Videbunt enim me non absque causa apud hominem amicissimum conquestum fuisse de iis, quæ, si ita fierent sicuti ad aures nostras pervenerant, acriorem quoque correptionem merebantur. At cum nobis fucum factum fuisse audiam, cur non me excusent? Nolim certe aliorum levitate et petulantia a viris bonis et amicis alienari: sed quantum ex tuis literis conjicere possum, jam illi telam novam exorsi sunt, quo minus miror me ab illis in arenam protrahi. Petis tu, ut ad articulos novem respondeam, quorum assertione illi vobis negotium faciunt. At si hi soli apud vos controvertuntur, meo judicio vix digni sunt quibus confutandis aliquis divinus occupetur; cum præter novitatis studium nihil spirent, et utinam nulla invidiæ aut cæcæ æmulationis amaritudine essent aspersi!

I. Volunt e medio tolli archiepiscoporum et episcoporum aliorumque officiariorum nomina. At ego illos velim modestius agere, neque in mutanda reipublicæ aut ecclesiæ forma sibi ipsis pietatem majorem vindicare quam ipsis data sit. Non inficior sane in omnibus regnis multa esse, quæ ad veterem et apostolicæ simplicitatis regulam melius institui possint. At quum ea est nostri seculi calamitas, ut ne illi quidem principes, qui evangelio Christi portas suas aperuerunt, omnia mutari et corrigi sinant, multæ etiam remoræ aliunde accedunt; satius mihi esse videtur, ferre patienter regnorum hujus seculi incommoda, dummodo nobis doctrinæ puritas et conscientiarum libertas salva maneat, quam de externa ecclesiæ administratione litigando summam rerum in periculum adducere. Et miror illos tantopere ab episcoporum vocabulo abhorrire, quod apostolorum temporibus usurpatum, et postea quoque semper in ecclesiis servatum fuisse non ignorant. Sed et archiepiscopos olim fuisse scimus, quos alio nomine patriarchas dixe-

runt. Quod si posteris temporibus ambitione et tyrannide peccatum est, ut tituli isti non absque causa piis exosi facti sint, non video tamen quid obstat quominus sublato abusu episcopi sint et dicantur, qui certo ecclesiarum numero præfecti ea curent, quæ ad religionis et doctrinæ puritatem conservandam pertinent. Non possum tamen hoc loco dissimulare, inveniri passim extra Angliam vestram viros pios et probos, imo nobiles quoque, qui in episcoporum vestrorum moribus et pompa multa reprehendunt. Et qui nuper ex Anglia venerunt (ut ex amicorum literis intelleximus) conquesti sunt multa illic inhumanius designari in pios et doctos verbi ministros, qui aliquando non absque eximio fructu Christum prædicarunt, nunc autem propter causas non adeo usque graves, et tantum non indicta causa, vel saltem non legitime cognita, in carceres detrusi sint, episcopis ad id conniventibus, imo etiam consentientibus. Quod an vere de vobis dicatur nescio: meliora certe nobis de vobis omnibus pollicemur. At si quid hujus fiat, rogatos denuo vos velim, ut cogitetis quantopere vobis cavendum sit, ne contra Petri præceptum in clericos vobis dominium usurpetis, aut ex eorum numero sitis, qui conservos suos inhumaniter cædunt. Condonabis mihi, pater reverende, hanc dicendi libertatem, cujus mihi non alia causa est, quam quod vos amo, imo colo et observo, vestrique nominis honori simul et ecclesiis Anglicis optime consultum cupio. Vos quoque spero nihil eorum detrectaturos esse, quæ ad meliorem ecclesiæ statum facere videbuntur. Et si plerosque vestrum recte novi, puto malle vos onus istud, quod magno cum labore et tanta cum multorum invidia sustinetis, deponere, si liceret, quam reformationi meliori obstare. Quod si vero serenissima regina et regni proceres ecclesiæ formam, quæ nunc est, mutari nolunt, velim ego alteros illos fratres nostros eandem patienter ferre, neque vobis molestiam exhibere: vicissim autem vos cum episcopali dignitate modestiam et humilitatem conjungere, neque eos fastidire qui in eadem vobiscum Christi vinea laborant.

II. Electionem ministrorum verbi ad plebem revocari debere contendunt, et non ab episcopis fieri. At ego hic quoque prudentia et animi moderatione opus esse existimo, ne dum jus summum urgemus, multi de injuria sibi a nobis facta conquerendi occasionem habeant. Fateor equidem apostolorum tempore doctores publico totius ecclesiæ consensu, et non sine jejuniis et precibus, electos fuisse, ut in Matthiæ electione, Pauli item et Barnabæ ordinatione ad gentes apparet. Quem morem adhuc D. Augustini seculo in usu fuisse, ejus epistola testatur, qua Evodii successoris sui electionem describit. Verumtamen tunc quoque potiores partes eorum fuisse constat, qui vel apostolici nominis dignitate vel officii ratione et honorum prerogativa aliis præstabant. Et notum est Pauli factum, qui Titum ideo in Creta reliquit, ut oppidatim presbyteros atque doctores constitueret. Jubet idem ille, ut omnia decenter et ordinate fiant; quod quomodo absque certa officiorum ecclesiasticorum distinctione fieri possit, non

video. Ceterum turbatus est posteris temporibus universus ecclesiæ ordo sub antichristi tyrannide, quam regum et principum superstitione confirmavit. Cum enim hi, in fide Christi minus recte instituti, peccata sua externis sacris et conductitiis aliorum precibus expiari posse putarent, mox sacrificulorum, monachorum atque monialium collegia instituire, eademque annuorum redituum et decimarum proventibus ditare cœperunt. Qua occasione factum est, ut una cum decimis aliisque parochiarum (uti vocant) reditibus, jus electionis (quod illi patronatus dixerunt) ad collegiorum præfectos, episcopos et abbates, denique ad mulieres quoque abbatissas, sit devolutum; ut jam de aliis nihil dicam, qui illud aliis rationibus obtinuerunt. Apud nos certe (ut hoc exempli loco adducam), qui ex singulari Dei misericordia jam annis totis quinquaginta evangelii prædicatione libera fruimur, in multis parochiis ministrorum electio penes episcopum Constantiensem et abbates papisticos est, qui ex veterum regum donatione in agro Tigurino decimas et redditus habent maximos. Quos si suo jure et possessione longi temporis præscriptione jam confirmata spoliare velimus, Deum immortalem! quas turbas daremus! quantum periculi nostris accerseremus ecclesiis! Consultius quoque nobis esse videtur, ut illi suo jure cum decimis fruantur, nobis vero pacem et libertatem religionis concedant, seque ab amplissimo senatu nostro eo usque astringi sinant, ne quem ministrum ecclesiis præficiant, quam qui in nostra ecclesia educatus et legitimo examine probatus sit. Addo et hoc, nullam in urbe et agro Tigurino ecclesiam esse, quæ jus ministros eligendi retinuerit, præterquam eam quæ ad D. Petrum est, cujus me ministrum Deus esse voluit, et a qua ante annos 31, unanimi totius plebis consensu, cum annum ætatis vigesimum tertium nondum implevissem, electus sum. Et miraculo simile est, sub immani papatus tyrannide, cum partim Constantiensis episcopus et summi templi canonici, partim inferioris collegii abbatissa aliique abbates, omnibus ecclesiis dominarentur, et decimas circumquaquam omnes ad se pertraxissent, huic tamen ecclesiæ suam libertatem salvam mansisse: in quo singularem Dei curam agnosco, qua me non semel vehementer confirmatum esse sensi. Interim nemo est qui hoc exemplo sibi similem libertatem turbulenter vindicat; neque ego aliarum ecclesiarum ministros ut illegitime ordinatos pro me contemno, quod illis electionis ratio diversa obtigerit, quæ ad apostolicorum temporum consuetudinem non tam prope accedit. Cur enim illis fraudi sit temporis prioris iniquitas, quæ res eo adduxit unde non absque tumultu et publico periculo restitui possunt? Ferenda potius esse putamus, quæ pie et absque salutis æternæ jactura ferri possunt, mutari autem absque turba et periculo non possunt. Quod si vestri quoque diligentius observent, æmulationi minus locum dabunt, et pace optata brevi (ut spero) fruemini.

III. Quod præscriptis precibus neminem alligari debere dicunt, nescio quo sensu dicant. Si hoc volunt, ne vim precum verbis conceptis aut

certis formulis precandi superstitiose alligemus, idem ego quoque sentio: nam hoc exorcistarum est et magorum. At si certas precum publicarum formas in ecclesia damnant, ego illos cum ratione insanire dixero, et nimium rerum novandarum studio excæcatos, lividis oculis omnia notare, ut calumniandi occasionem invenient. Illas enim omnibus seculis in usu fuisse, nemo negare potest: et ut retineantur plusquam necesse est, quoniam plerique vel ita inepti, vel etiam animis perplexi sunt in periculis et tentationibus, ut preces vix animo, nedum verbis, concipere possint. Quæ causa est quod Spiritus sanctus multas servorum Dei preces conscribi et in sacrarum literarum codicem referri voluit. Et ipse Christus certam precandi formulam nobis tradidit, quod ante illum Johannes quoque Baptistes fecerat. Nec tamen hoc obstat, quominus singuli privatim pro ipsis et afflictionum suarum ratione preces suas instituunt, et verbis utantur quæ Spiritus suggerit; ministri item sub finem concionum suarum preces subjiciant ei argumento, quod tractarunt, convenientes: quod tamen ita fieri velim, ne eas negligant et prætermittant, quæ singulis ecclesiis quasi propriæ et longo usu jam confirmatæ sunt.

IV Sacramenta absque Dei verbo administrari debere, nemo sanus dixerit; quoniam nisi verbum accedat ad elementum, non erit sacramentum, ut Augustinus olim monuit. Et cœnam dominicam, quæ publica totius ecclesiæ actio est in memoriam et prædicationem mortis Christi instituta, non puto recte administrari posse, nisi concio sacra præcedat, qua de Christi beneficio et suo insuper officio singuli admoneantur. Baptismi tamen alia ratio est, quoniam per hunc infantes quoque in ecclesiæ societatem recipiuntur, quos doctrinæ nondum capaces esse constat, licet Dei fœdere comprehendantur, et regni cœlorum hæredes sint. Possunt ergo tunc sufficere lectiones et preces, quibus de suo officio admoneantur, qui baptismi testes adsunt, et Dei gratia impetretur. Interim nequaquam improbo earum ecclesiarum morem, in quibus certus in septimana dies baptismo constitutus est, et concio sacra habetur, qua finita, quotquot ea septimana nati sunt infantes ex ordine baptizantur. Et in nostro agro fere infantes tingi solent iis diebus, quibus conciones statæ fiunt. At quia hoc non omnibus in locis opportunum sive commodum est, ego nolim cuiquam temere negotium facessere, quominus ecclesiæ singulæ sua libertate absque scandalo fruuntur.

V Volunt præterea ut solus pater filium suum in baptismo suscipiat, et non alii susceptores adhibeantur: in quo rursus inutile et curiosum novitatis studium produnt. Quæ enim religio obstat, quominus alii a parentibus infantum rogati, hoc officium ipsis præsentent, quod olim, cum persecutiones adhuc passim ferverent, non minus necessarium quam utile erat; et quod hodie amicitia conciliandæ servit, denique jam adultis sæpe prodest, dum ab illis liberius admonentur et corripiuntur, qui fidem suam pro illis ecclesiæ obstrinxerunt?

VI. Quod de ministrorum æqualitate adjiciunt, recensione non opus habet, cum de eo supra dictum sit. Damnamus ipsi quoque primatum cum ambitione et dominandi studio conjunctum: at inter ministros ecclesiæ ordinem certum apostolus quoque esse docuit, dum alios apostolos, alios prophetas, alios pastores et doctores constitutos esse dicit: et idem, ut donorum et facultatum, ita ministeriorum quoque discrimina esse facit. Et miror istos homines non ad proprii corporis fabricam et membrorum suorum dispositionem respicere, quæ illos admonere poterat quid hic sit sentiendum: qua similitudine apostolus in hoc argumento utitur. Interim tamen meminerint ii quibus sublimior gradus contigit, se tunc demum supra alios recte eminere, si (ut Christus monuit) omnibus serviant.

VII. Quoad confirmationem, non puto vos ludum illum theatricum probare quem papistæ inter sacramenta retulerunt. Quod si qui in catechismo recte instituti sunt, cum publico testimonio et manuum impositione (qua Christum quoque in pueris usum fuisse scimus) ad cenam dominicam admittantur, non video cur de eo aliquis cum quoquam pugnare debeat.

VIII. Conciones funebres apud nos in usu non sunt; et quoniam homines ad superstitiones natura proclives sunt, et quidem eas imprimis, quæ defunctorum salutem juvare creduntur, præstat illis vel omnino abstinere, vel ita illas instituere ut omnes intelligant, quicquid illic fit, propter vivos qui auditores adsunt, non propter mortuos fieri, de quorum salute, siquidem in fide et nominis Dei invocatione per Christum decesserint, tam certo persuasi esse debemus, ut nemini de illa dubitandi occasio præbeatur. Ex concionibus ejusmodi, quas olim a piis patribus religiose institutas fuisse scimus, posteris temporibus in papatu quæstuosissime illud ignis purgatorii, missarum, et exequiarum aucupium enatum est. Et quid hodie fieri soleat in quibusdam ecclesiis reformatis, ubi illæ adhuc retinentur, satis notum est. Nec enim desunt qui, ut nobilioribus familiis gratificentur, vel etiam dona aut munera pretiosiora recipiant, conciones fere totas in defunctorum laudibus consumunt, fictis plerumque, aut saltem admodum suspectis, et proinde scandali plenis. Verumtamen si aliqui illis absque superstitionis et quæstus privati periculo cum auditorum ædificatione uti possunt, nolim ego illorum libertati aliquid derogare. Ne tamen quod verissimum est dissimulem, res ista periculi plena mihi esse videtur, partim propter vulgi ad superstitionem animos proclives, partim propter innatam plerisque quæstus cupiditatem, quam ego quam rarissimis occasionibus provocandam esse censeo; ne dum ministri *αἰσχροκερδεῖς* fiunt, doctrinam omnem una cum religione suspectam reddant. Et movit me, quod ut Deus olim nulla pro defunctis sacra instituit, ita sacerdotes a funeribus removit, ne his occupati polluerentur.

IX. Quæ lectiones apud vos in usu sint, nescio. Audio tamen sub initium reformationis per serenissimam reginam restitutæ illas ministrorum inopia fuisse institutas: et scimus olim quoque omnes sacræ scripturæ

libros populo christiano ex ordine prælectos fuisse. Nec video quid hoc incommodi ferat, si qui lectionibus ejusmodi delectentur, modo non negligatur concionandi munus, in quo episcopus et omnes ecclesiarum ministros frequentes esse convenit: ut Dei verbum non obiter modo recitatum, sed rite sectum, ut Paulus monet, omnium institutioni, consolationi, et ædificationi accommodetur.

Hæc breviter annotare libuit in adversariorum vestrorum articulos: non quod vos meis animadversionibus opus habere existimem, sed quia tu, pater in Christo reverende, meum de his judicium requiris. Quod si quid per ignorantiam minus dextre dictum mihi excidit, de eo admoneri cupio. Utinam vero omnes qui christianum nomen profitentur, pacem studerent, et regnum Dei conjunctis studiis propagare satagerent, alique aliorum onera patienter ferrent! Viderent utique, nunquam sibi tantum otii fore, ut, de alienis negotiis curiosi, contentiones de rebus vel non necessariis vel etiam noxiis cum publico scandalo susciperent. Enimvero vehementer metuo fore aliquando, ut qui nunc Christi ministros iniquius tractant, et purioris doctrinæ patronos episcopos ferre nolunt, utrinque lupos sentiant, qui ipsos novis certaminibus exerceant, et ecclesias horrendum in modum dissipent. Ita enim ministrorum dissensiones et ecclesiæ suæ distractiones Deus ulciscitur. Nicolai Sanderi librum de monarchia non vidi: si videam, et dignum putem cui respondeatur, faciam quod dederit Dominus; quem rogo ut te, pater in Christo reverende, cum collegis et omnibus apud Christi opus sedulo agentibus, servet, et studiis vestris sanctissimis benedicat. Amen. Tiguri, 26 Augusti, anni 1573.

Tuæ amplitudinis observantissimus,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS.

EPISTOLA XCV

ROBERTUS COOCHEUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

COACTUS sum, conscientia urgente, sensa mentis, idque in re gravissima et singulari mysterio aperire. De cœna Christi ultima instituitur oratio. In qua hodie et jam inde fere a Pauli ætate erratur: siquidem ipse cœnam proposuit Corinthiis vescendam, nos micam panis cœnæ ludibrium. Illi cibi potionisque varietatem atque copiam adhibuerunt, sic ut saturni discederent: nos famelici domum revertimur. Ut mensam nimium lautam, ita nimis tenuem et jejunam Paulus carpit. Modus optimus est. Neque majores nostri, qui ante natum Christum vixerunt, ea inedia, quæ

νηστεία potius est quam *δείπνον* aut *ἄριστον* usi sunt; siquidem agnum edebant. Non est credibile, Christum velle curare tam sedulo Hierosolymis cœnam in triclinio parari, et tot convivas invitare, nihilque apponere præter minutissimam partem panis et vini tres guttulas. Tuum est, qui tot egregia opuscula in lucem aspectumque hominum protulisti, ut erroris et religionis labes abstergas aut penitus tollas. Quod præclare fecisti explanans epistolas illas, quibus Paulus affatus est Corinthios; in quibus pontificum arrogantiam, fulminaque pontificiorum, et inusitatum Calvinianorum ἀποσυναγωγίαν καὶ ἀφορισμὸν castigasti.

Ut in cœnæ mensæque modo ac ratione tua sententia vel stem vel cadam, ita de die quo Christus cum suis cœnam capiebat a Beza et aliis plurimum dissentio. Nam illi cœnam assignant 14^o diei, ego 13^o, in qua vetus Pascha non erat immolandum ex lege. Ergo novum Pascha instituit Christus in suæ mortis recordationem, nec aliud illa nocte cum suis edit. De istis rebus scripsi aliquot paginas, quas excudi vellem, sed tuam antea sententiam interponi summe cuperem. Neque hic in Anglia absque pontificum licentia quicquam imprimitur. Quare rogo te, si fieri possit, ut rescribas certioreque facias quid mihi potissimum faciendum censeas. Vale. Ex aula reginali, 5 Idus Augusti, 1573.

Tui amantissimus,

ROBERTUS COOCHEUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo literis et pietate viro
D. D. Rodolpho Gualtero, Tigurino, tradantur hæc.*

EPISTOLA XCVI.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD EDWINUM SANDUM.

REDDITÆ sunt mihi, pater in Christo reverende, literæ tuæ, quæ mihi multis nominibus gratissimæ fuerunt: cum quod abs te profectæ essent, tum quod meas lucubrationes in Pauli ad Corinthios epistolas tibi probari significarunt, cujus iudicio ego semper multum tribui, ut et aliorum symmystarum tuorum; qui cum se idem tecum sentire tententur, aliorum sententias ego non multum moror, quibus nihil placere scio, quam quod omnia illorum statuta atque consuetudines probari, quas utinam ego quidem probare possem! quod sane libenter facerem, si illas cum scriptura per omnia convenire scirem. Urgent hodie multi

sub plausibili disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ titulo nescio quam *ἐνταξίαν*, sine qua ecclesias consistere posse negant. Sed ego vehementer metuo ne aristocratiam nobis pariant, quæ brevi in oligarchiam degeneret, et novi papatus sit initium. Nam de solo presbyterio passim instituendo laborant: in quod adoptantur quidem ex communi cœtu viri boni et pii, sed ita ut decernendi potestas fere penes solos ministros sit, quorum sententia valeat et rata sit oportet, licet numero suffragiorum vincantur. Nuper Heidelbergæ sancitum est, ut nemo ad cœnam admittatur, qui non prius se pastori suo stiterit: neque illis sufficit Pauli regula monentis ut unusquisquam seipsum probet. Non consenserunt in hoc decretum seniores ecclesiæ: nihilominus tamen illud totius presbyterii, imo totius ecclesiæ, nomine omnibus obtruditur. Quid denique obstabit quominus summa rerum ad unum aliquem deveniat, qui reliquos pecunia et auctoritate vincit, et a cujus favore reliqui pendent? Sed et novæ tyrannidis specimen illic editum est non ita pridem, quod merito terere debet omnes, qui ecclesiarum libertati consultum volunt. Est illic Helvetius quidam, collegii Sandionysiani præfectus, quo neminem illic hactenus (absit invidia dicto) innocentius et sanctius vixisse omnes testantur. Verumtamen huic per sui presbyterii præconem Olevianus, qui pastorem illic agit, omnium seniorum nomine denunciavit, ne ad cœnam Domini accedat: causa additur, quod non absque animi sui offensione ipsum possit admittere. Tulit is rem, ut par erat, indigne: quærit quid tanto supplicio dignum admiserit. At illi nil respondent, nisi quod in sententia persistunt. Offert ille supplices libellos illustrissimo principi electori, ut is illos apertius loqui, et culpam, si quam admiserit, eloqui cogat. At ne in hunc quidem usque diem aliquid ex illis extorqueri potuit. Hæc est jam illic *ἐνταξία*, hæc disciplina. Quare video nobis serio vigilandum esse, ne ex Romanæ Hydræ vix domitæ vulneribus nova capita pullulent. Sed plura de his alias, &c.

[Desunt cetera.]

EPISTOLA XCVII.

JOHANNES STURMIUS AD REGINAM ELIZABETHAM.

SERENISSIMA Regina, clementissima Domina: Christophorus Lantschadius toto imperio Germaniæ nobilissimus vir est, atque gratus atque acceptus prope omnibus principibus, in consiliis palatinorum comitum annos quadraginta amplius diligenter et assidue exercitatus. Prudens est præterea et pius vir, et puræ religionis cupidissimus simul et studiosissimus.

Is a me non excitatus, sed sua sponte motus atque affectus erga majestatem vestram, cupit unus esse in numero stipendiariorum vestræ majestatis. Princeps Suffolciana viri hujus novit virtutes atque honestatem; hospitalitatem etiam atque modestiam moderationemque cumprimis. Quoniam ego maxime illum appositum esse scio negotiis atque servitiis majestatis vestræ, non vereor ipsum et commendare et laudare. Ejus opera atque auctoritate, quæ in imperio et publice et privatim tractantur, facile possumus recognoscere; aditum etiam habere ad omnes principes.

Si ultro non peteret stipendium a majestate vestra, tamen ego illum conciliandum atque comparandum putarem: petit autem, quemadmodum majestas vestra iis literis intelliget, quas ad me hac de re scripsit. Ego quodcumque majestas vestra de hoc nobili et germano homine statuit, Deum precor ut felix faustumque sit majestati vestræ et regno Angliæ. Dat. Arg. 16 Nov. 1573.

Serenissimæ majestatis vestræ

Perpetuus et fidelis

Famulus et servus,

JOHAN. STURMIUS.

EPISTOLA XCVIII.

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS AD EDWINUM SANDUM.

S. Pro epistola illa tua, præterito anno Londini scripta, Augusti 15, et omni humanitate amoreque et studio erga me tuo singulari referta, gratias tibi domino meo honorando et fratri carissimo quas possum omnino maximas ago. Nec est quod de meo pari in te amore et studio addubites. Pergamus autem sic in Domino amare mutuuum, quando constat caritate fraterna singularique fratrum conjunctione delectari Deum singulariter, ecclesiæque Dei nihil esse utilius, nihil necessarium magis. Cernimus enim hodie dissociatione ac discordia docentium nihil magis disturbare¹ ecclesias Dei. Hodie enim Lutheranorum quorundam morosorum insolentium et pertinacium dissociatio, qua avulsi a nobis dogmata quædam sua parum solida tuentur et omnibus obtrudere conantur, facit ut multæ per Germaniam ecclesiæ quid sequantur ignorant, interim et cursus evangelii apud multos impediatur, et dissidia foveantur augeanturque, suaviter interim in sinum ridentibus communibus nostris adversariis. Utinam non cogamur videre aliquando odiosa

[¹ MS. *disturbari.*]

hæc certamina multos secum abstrahere in ruinam! Unde non vulgari-
 ter animo meo dolet, quod ex tuis intelligo literis, in Anglia quoque
 gliscere hujusmodi certamina. Astu Sathanæ hæc proculdubio fiunt,
 qui cum videt exterorum minis, vi, et persequutionibus ecclesias se non
 posse subvertere, ad alias se artes convertit, et domesticis odiis et fra-
 trum mutuis vulneribus ecclesiæ perniciem molitur. Dominus dejiciat
 Sathanam sub pedes sanctorum, et componat perniciose illa certamina
 sancta pace et concordia.

Quos tu tamen mihi describis juvenes, oratores novos, qui totam
 ecclesiæ vestræ faciem immutare, et novam ei formam inducere sata-
 gunt, projectis etiam bonis ecclesiasticis omnibus, mihi quidem imitari
 videntur Romanos illos tribunos seditiosos, qui agrariis legibus publica
 largiebantur, ut sibi privatim opes et honores compararent; hoc est,
 ut nobis ejectis ipsi succedant, etc. Sed et ecclesiam illi erigere co-
 nantur, quam nunquam eo quo volunt extollent, neque si erexerint
 eandem conservare poterunt. Capita extractionis illorum a te delineata
 vidi: de quibus quid sentiendum sit dudum est significatum. Pro-
 positionem primam, civilem magistratum nullum habere jus in res ec-
 clesiasticas; item secundam, ecclesiam nullam admittere gubernationem
 quam presbyterorum vel presbyterii; duas, inquam, has communes habent
 cum papistis, qui et ipsi magistratum a gubernatione ecclesiæ deturbant,
 et se ipsos solos substituunt. Quorum opinionem confutavi in refuta-
 tione bullæ pontificis Romani, et in defensione mea reginæ Angliæ et
 inelyti regni, etc., quam ante biennium ad vos misi. Utinam vero nulla
 sit in presbyterii hujus auctoribus libido dominandi! Imo maximopere
 cavendum arbitror, ne summa potestas sit apud hoc presbyterium, multo
 minus ut sit peculiaris magistratus. Forte presbyterium hoc in una et
 altera ecclesia locum habet, in omnibus non habet: de quo multa dici
 possent. Sed et tempus multa revelabit, quæ nunc sunt occulta.

De nominibus et auctoritate episcoporum, de electione item minis-
 trorum, Gualterus noster fuse scripsit ad reverendum dominum Eliensem,
 D. Coxum. Ab eo requiras, si libet, licet.

Bonorum ecclesiasticorum abusum sentimus esse tollendum, ne ser-
 viant idolis et superstitioni. Potest autem eorum usus esse bonus, si
 applicentur scholis, ministerio, ædificiis ecclesiæ, et sustentationi paupe-
 rum: de quo disserui in decadibus nostris, sub finem prope operis.
 Ecclesia non potest plane carere facultatibus. Eæ si non fuerint in
 promptu, certe a fidelibus colligendæ sunt. Quæ ergo vesania paratas
 abjicere, aut aliis cedere quibus non debentur, et novas de novo cum
 fidelium magno incommodo colligere! Non video quo homines illi respi-
 ciant. Metuo ne aliud quærant quam videri velint, etc. Si autem nemo
 in suo grege concionari debet nisi solus pastor, quid fiet si hic ægrotet,
 aut per alia negotia concionari non possit? An interea cœtibus eccle-

siasticis carebit ecclesia? Scio Chrysostomum durius excepisse Epiphanium, quod in aliena ecclesia sibi imperium usurpasset: sed longe alia est ea ratio. Apud nos evangelium tam late propagatum non fuisset, si pastores tantum in suis prædicassent ecclesiis.

Nolim sane ego quoque invitis parentibus papistarum infantes baptizari. Qui vero oblatos ecclesiæ rejiciunt, similes videntur esse apostolis, qui prohibebant infantulos offerri Christo Domino; quos ille acerbius increpavit.

De judicialibus Mosis legibus disserui in meis decadibus, Dec. III. Sermone 7 et 8. Videntur sane homines illi rerum novarum supra modum esse cupidi. Cuperem homines illos longius quam ad suas affectiones respicere. Dominus concedat ipsis spiritum pacis et quietis!

Pannus huc nullus est allatus. Dixit quidem Froschoverus noster, se aliquid audivisse de panno, sed nullum sibi fuisse datum; nec ullus huc a quoquam est missus. Nihilominus humanitati tuæ gratias ago maximas pro illa liberali tua beneficentia. Forte hæsit alicubi in itinere. Ego vero te rogo, ne posthac ullos propter me ejusmodi sumptus facias. Vidi literas a novatoribus illis scriptas, in quibus narratur episcopus doctis mittere munera, ut eos in suas attrahant partes. Mox quoque illi dicerent nos esse Balaamos. Scio sane bonos viros ab amicis suis honoraria et amica accipere posse munera. Verum scis quid Paulum moverit, quominus stipendium debitum sibi noluerit accipere. *Omnia, inquit, mihi licent, at non omnia conducunt.* Malo homines ad maledicendum calumniandumque expeditos ne modicam quidem nobis nostroque ministerio detrahendi habere occasionem. Hæc mea qualiacunque boni consulas rogo, et me tui aman- tissimum vicissim amare pergas oro. Dominus benedicat tibi, et servet te ab omni malo! Tiguri, 10 Martii, 1574. Obsecro reverendum dominum D. Hornum, episcopum Vintoniensem, meo nomine salutare digneris, eique et uxori ejus felicia imprecari omnia, et excusare quod peculiariter ei nunc non scribam. Scribam alias cum plus habuero otii.

Reverentiæ tuæ deditissimus,

H. BULLINGERUS.

EPISTOLA XCIX.

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM.

S. REVERENDE et summa mihi observantia colende domine: Literas tuas ultima Julii superioris anni a te datas mense Octobri accepi. Quo autem plus me oblectarunt, cupide diu expectatæ, eo gravius contristarunt quod ex iis intelligerem, certamina apud vos restaurari a quibusdam turbulentis hominibus, et quidem junioribus, qui totam ecclesiæ faciem, non sine magnis laboribus ab optimis viris comparatam, expungere, et novam ad ipsorum placitum compositam inducere conantur. Habentur ubique terrarum hujusmodi male feriati homines, qui cum in effectum producere non possunt quod instituunt, conatibus interim illis suis perturbant et vexant multos bonos, simpliciores offendunt, papistas in spem erigunt, sed et cursum evangelii vehementer impediunt. Conquestus est hac ipsa de re anno superiore reverendus dominus Eliensis et apud Gualterum nostrum, et apud me reverendus D. Londoniensis. Idcirco respondit ille ad quæstiones ejus aliquot, sicuti et ego paucula quædam nunc ad proposita hujus respondi. Vexamur et per Germaniam ab hujusmodi ingeniis. Nec video hac in re consilium salubrius, quam si ad Dominum conversi sedulo precemur, ut turbulenta et ad novationes prompta hujusmodi ingenia gratia sua coerceat, et ecclesias in pace conservet: deinde, ut amicis collationibus vel colloquiis reducantur in viam; qui vero pertinaces insolentesque non sustinent reduci, ita suis depingantur coloribus, quo minus auctoritatem habeant apud cordatos, et ita noceant minus. Sed non est quod ego vos in hac re instituam, cum ex diutino usu, et felici hactenus ecclesiarum gubernatione, quæ hic facienda aut omittenda sint, dudum didiceritis.

Sunt in Germania, qui se Lutheranos esse gloriantur, at revera rixatores, conviciatores, ac calumniatores sunt impudentissimi. Hi non desinunt oppugnare ecclesias nostras, nos, et nostram doctrinam de cœna Domini, quam prægravant odiose apud ipsos Zuingliano nomine. Et nunc de novo evulgarunt in nos et Heidelbergenses libros, quos si dissimulavissemus, videri jure poteramus proditores et doctrinæ sanæ ac sanctarum nostrarum ecclesiarum. Partiti itaque sumus laborem vel molestiam respondendi, dilectus meus gener D. Josias Simlerus, theologiæ in nostra schola professor, et ego; ut ille Latine et paulo copiosius adversariorum argumentis responderet, ego Germanice et breviter et populariter pro captu vulgi. Utriusque libri exempla mitto, et rogo ut benigne a me tui amatissimo accipias, et per occasionem legas. Scis ardore et studio vincendi et altercandi Brentium (cum quo, dum viveret, multa et longa mihi fuit disputatio,

id quod libelli editi testantur) immiscuisse negotio cœnæ multos fidei articulos, de quibus jam discipuli ejus altercari, eosque obscurare et in dubium vertere pleraque non desinunt: ut, de una persona et duabus Christi naturis, de omnipotentia et omnipræsentiâ (ut aiunt) humanitatis Christi, de ascensione ad cœlos et cœlo, etc. Coacti ergo sumus ad ea respondere capita. At tuum aliorumque virorum piorum erit de his nostris responsionibus judicare. Dominum oro ut multo cum fructu ecclesiæ de his disseruerimus. Respondimus potissimum ad res, non ad personas, abstinentes a conviciis, ne illis redderemur similes. Alioquin in nostris ecclesiis pacata sunt per Dei gratiam omnia. Vident adversarii potiorcm partem populi passim nostræ (quæ Christi est) doctrinæ et ecclesiæ se adjungere; furiunt ergo, etc. Dominus coerceat eos! Ceterum a sociis et vicinis papæ adhærentibus indesinenter vexamur, instinctu pontificis, cui vehementer dolet doctrinam Christi in vicinia Italiæ prædicari, et hanc plus quam velit serpere. Studet ergo nos inter nos ipsos committere bello. Dominus servet nos a malo!

Qui ex Italia veniunt dicunt Venetos incertos esse de pace cum Turcarum principe facta, ideoque classem misisse in Cretam, et armari de novo naves et militem conscribi. Legatum interim habent apud Turcam, qui ultimo nunciavit se non omnino desperare; prodesse vero reipublicæ Venetæ, si nihilominus rebus suis consulant, ne imparati, siquidem spes pacis diffluat, opprimantur. Præterea certum est nullum unquam Turcarum principem terra marique instructiorem fuisse quam hunc Selymum, ac certum esse quod verno hoc tempore omnes copias sit producturus in Hispanum et socios. Ideo Melitenses ex tota Germania Meliten vel Maltam festinanter contendunt. Ita se instruunt in Apulia, Calabria et Sicilia, etc. Quid futurum sit, novit Dominus, quem ex animo oro ut nostri misereatur. Sed et in Germania sub Moguntia et supra Coloniam conscribitur equestris et pedestris exercitus, qui sub ducibus Christophoro Palatino et Ludovico Nassovio dicitur ducendus in Lotharingiam, alii arbitrantur in Belgium, sunt qui dicunt in Galliam. Id tamen incertum est adhuc.

Dux Andium per Germaniam transivit in Poloniam. In itinere ubique ei exprobratum D. Admiralii et fidelium parricidium. A Polonis exceptus est magnifice. Præter hæc nihil præterea ea de re habemus. Et nunc rumor increbrescit, regem Galliæ petiturum a suis fœderatis Helvetiis duas legiones. Nihil tamen hic certi adfirmavero. Rogo excellentiam tuam ut hæc digneris habere communia, si ita placet, cum D. Pilkintono Dunelmensi, et me excusare quod privatim singulares ad ipsum literas non scribo. Cupio illum salvere et valere in Domino. Certe nisi scirem summam inter vos esse conjunctionem, utcunque plurimis oppressus sim negotiis, aliquid ad ipsum dedissem literarum. Habet is etiam his adjectum exemplum responsionis D. Josiæ Simleri de præsentia, etc.

Duo enim exempla jussi Froschoverum nostrum ad te mittere, ut alterum des Dunelmensi. Germanicum exemplum solum tibi misi, nullum Dunelmensi, quod sciam ipsum Germanica scripta legere non posse.

Sub finem literarum tuarum mentionem facis mnemosyni mittendi. Ego vero rogo ne ullos propter me sumptus facias. Quæ hactenus in te contuli et confero, sponte confero, non propter ulla munera. Interim non ingrata sunt fratrum amicorumque mnemosyna, amicitiae mutuae testimonia, sicuti ego hactenus apud te deposui labores nostros, in testimonium quod plane tuus sum, et in omnibus quibus possum tibi inservire gratificarique cupio, et quod sincere te diligo. Satis mihi est mutua tua amicitia, et si aliquando per otium scripseris, quod soles. Scio item amicos missis muneribus invicem contendere, et ejusmodi recipi posse a bonis: verum vidi literas novatorum vestrorum, quibus significant episcopos Angliæ doctis munera mittere, ut eos in suas partes reflectant. Hi videlicet pro sua virulentia possent et nos et ministerium nostrum infamare. Unde cum apostolo dico, *Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia conducunt*. Potuisset ipse stipendium accipere, sed non accepit propter adversarios. Nihilominus gratias tibi pro illa beneficentia ago quam possum maximas. Sed et pro carmine mihi misso, de liberata per reginam Angliæ serenissimam a civili bello Scotia, ago humanitati tuæ gratias. Perplacuit illud. Dominum oro ut reginam confirmet atque conservet. Tibi quoque benedicat et omnibus tuis, et servet a malo. Tiguri, 10 Martii, anno Domini 1574. Julium nostrum tibi commendo.

Reverentiæ tuæ addictissimus,

HENR. BULLINGERUS.

EPISTOLA C.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD RICARDUM COXUM.

QUAS 12 Junii mensis ad me literas dedisti, pater in Christo reverende, ego sub initium Octobris demum per nostros ex Francofordianis nundinis reversos accepi. Video autem te de illis prioribus tunc sollicitum fuisse, quas vere ineunte miseris, una cum articulis quos adversarii vestri propugnant. At spero te nunc omni ista sollicitudine liberatum esse per meas literas, quas Augusto mense scripsi, et quibus meum de illis articulis iudicium, pro gratia mihi a Domino concessa, exposui. Mirarer ego istorum hominum importunitatem, nisi scirem hoc esse ecclesiæ statum, quod aut

hostes habet apertos, qui veritatis doctrinam vi et armis opprimere conantur, aut falsorum fratrum insidiis petitur, aut quæstionibus supervacaneis sive inutilibus exercetur per eos, qui cum de summa doctrinæ recte sentiant, propter externam cæremoniam sive ritus turbas movent non necessarias. Passi estis vos jampridem sævissimorum hostium vim, qui multorum innoxio martyrum sanguine rabiem suam apud nos satiare conati sunt: et eodem tempore falsorum quoque fratrum insidiæ detectæ sunt: quæ omnia cum vos per Dei gratiam egregia virtute et animi constantia superaveritis, spero hic quoque Angliæ vestræ miserturum Deum, ut tandem pace optata frui, et ad ecclesiæ ædificationem vestras operas unanimi consensu conferre possitis. Quod ut magno studio faciamus omnes, quos Dominus suæ ecclesiæ ministros esse voluit, plusquam necessarium mihi esse videtur. Etenim satis constat Romanum antichristum omnes suas vires atque studia ad hoc conferre, ut Tridentini concilii executio tandem suum effectum habeat. Non dissimulant hoc vicini vestri, qui etsi per antiqua nostræ gentis fœdera et publicæ pacis conditiones, quibus cavetur ne quis propter religionis diversitatem alteri molestus sit, impediantur, multa tamen movent, ex quibus facile apparet illos occasionem tumultuandi quærere.

De Hispaniæ et Galliæ regibus nihil pacificum sperari potest: quando hic quidem neque Galliæ suæ ruinis, neque tot infandis fortissimorum virorum cædibus movetur, ut pacem inter suos stabilem faciat: ille vero florentissimam sibi que prius quæstuosissimam Belgici provinciam bello intestino potius eversam videre vult, quam illic Christo et evangelio ejus locum dare. Sed et Germaniæ episcopi, nescio quibus promissis confirmati, non parum ferociunt; et qui inter principes papisticos hactenus moderatius agebant, nunc ipsi quoque hostiliter fremere, et in Christi cultores, quos in suis terris dispersos habent, severius animadvertere incipiunt. Omnibus autem istis optatissimum accidit, quod ad Polonici regni solium evectus est Galli regis frater, qui a pueris sanctorum sanguini assuevit. Neque mihi illius causam Romanus pontifex tanto studio acturus fuisse videtur, nisi ejus opera in vexandis Germaniæ vicinæ ecclesiis uti vellet; quo facilius hæc aliis etiam in locis debellari possint. Quæ pericula cum in verbis nostris versentur, nos illis excitari convenit, ut conjunctis animis Christi causam agamus, neque foveamus barbarum auctores, quos vel ambitiosa emulatio vel etiam inscitia fascinat, ut quæ ad communis ecclesiæ conservationem faciunt videre non possint. Volunt illi antiquum illud presbyterium (ut tu scribis), quod in primitiva ecclesia fuit, revocare: sed utinam de revocanda fidei simplicitate et morum integritate, quæ olim floruit, cogitarent, neque rempublicam invaderent, cujus vetera jura atque formam non mutat Christus! Senatu proprio olim opus habuit ecclesia, quando sub ethnicis principibus fuit, qui christianam religionem et huic connexam morum disciplinam non modo

negligebant, verum etiam persequebantur. Quid vero istud ad eos, quibus Deus (sicuti per Esaiam pollicitus est) reges dedit nutritios et reginas nutrices, qui denique magistratus habent erga religionem bene affectos, qui morum disciplinam majori cum auctoritate et proinde fructu quoque uberiore instituere atque tueri possunt, quam si illi in singulis ecclesiis decem presbyteria constituent? At principes (inquiunt illi) non semper faciunt officium. Fateor: num vero illis propterea licet novum magistratum instituere? Non faciebat officium Saul: at non ideo senatum novum elegit Samuel: imo ne David quidem, qui quamvis se a Deo in regem unctum esse sciret, noluit tamen aliquid movere in republica, sed expectavit tempus illud, quo Deo placuit tyrannum e medio tollere, et regni faciem mutare. Hoc ipsum de omnibus prophetis dici potest, quos sub malis aut saltem negligentissimis regibus nihil hujus unquam tentavisse legimus.

Vehementer metuo ne sub presbyterio oligarchiæ affectatio lateat, quæ tandem in monarchiam, imo in apertam tyrannidem, degeneret. Neque hoc frustra metuo. Novi enim (ut unum e multis attingam) urbem non obscuram, in qua post introductam illam disciplinæ formam intra triennii spatium tyrannidis exempla sunt edita, quorum Romanenses puderet. Etenim virum optimum et spectatæ pietatis anno superiori per sui presbyterii ministrum publicum monuerunt, ne ad cœnam Domini accederet, eo quod ipsum sine gravi suo scandalo admittere non possint. Admiratus ille edictum hoc inexpectatum convenit Areopagitas illos, et “quidnam admisisset?” quæsivit. Tum illi tergiversari et moras nectere, causasque ex causis texere cœperunt. At ille bene sibi conscius ab ejus loci principe per supplices libellos postulavit, ut sua auctoritate illos cogeret rem edicere. Sed ne princeps quidem hoc a tantis disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ vindicibus impetrare potuit. Et cum tandem undique urgerentur, ad mendacia conversi, principi suaserunt illum sua sponte a cœnæ usu abstinuisse, nunc vero suæ voluntariæ emansionis causas ab ipsis velle extorquere. Facta sunt alia hujus generis multa, quæ commemorare longum foret. Cum vero hæc specimina edant, qui nondum in plenam hujus novi regni possessionem pervenerunt, quid illos facturos putabimus, si merum imperium obtineant? Vidit ista olim nostræ gentis apostolus Zuinglius, qui, cum Œcolampadius bono et sancto zelo excommunicationem in ecclesiam reducere vellet, vehementer sese opposuit. Œcolampadius vero, cum ejus admonitionibus non pareret, et Basileæ quod volebat obtinisset, non multo post telam vix inchoatam relinquere coactus fuit, et re ipsa didicit se rem tentasse quæ plus incommodi quam commodi ferat. Non ergo possum eos improbare, qui sese istorum consiliis opponunt, qui hodie causam hanc magna cum animorum contentione agunt. Ne tamen hi habeant plausibilem calumniandi occasionem, necesse fuerit disciplinam morum vere christianam ex summi magistratus auctoritate

instituere, qua et ecclesiarum ministri, si dissolutius vivant, et nobilium licentia nimia et vulgi mores corrupti coerceantur. Nam si id fiat, non habebunt illi quod querentur, nisi apertam imperii assestationem profiteri velint.

Quoad me, mihi quidem molestum fuit me in arenam protrahi apud eos, quos ut amicos intimos et ut dominos mihi observandos semper amavi et colui. At quia serenissimæ reginæ edicto hanc quidvis vulgandi licentiam repressam esse audio, non multum me movet porro istorum temeritas. Quin video mihi aliunde graviora certamina exoritura esse, nisi Deus hoc scandalum removerit. Sunt enim in Germania et alio quodam in loco, qui, nisi quam ipsi fabricarunt disciplinæ formulam, ubique locorum recipiatur, Christi regnum consistere posse negent. Contineo me adhuc, ne ipse pugnam cœpisse dicar. Sin illi classicum cecinerint, veritati¹ doctrinæ et ecclesiarum libertati deesse non potero, et spero non defuturos qui mecum hanc causam tueantur.

Hæc, pater in Christo reverende, modo tuæ amplitudini respondere libuit, quem rogo ut omnia boni consulas. Filium Octobri mense per literas monui, ut te frequentius invisat, aut suis literis salutet. Nescio tamen an adhuc illic sit, vel num in Daniam (sicuti nundinis autumnalibus jusseram) hoc vere jam trajecerit. Quod si adhuc in Anglia moratur, scio illum tibi et aliis amicis atque dominis mihi perpetuo honorandis commendatissimum fore. Volo tamen illum ante hiemem futuram ad me domum reverti, nisi conditio aliqua ei obtingat quæ ipsum detineat; de qua re ad veterem amicum D. Parkhurstum Nordovicensem scripsi. Sed oblitus eram scribere ubiquarios theologos magis quam unquam alias jam insanire, adeoque se ipsos effreni maledicentia et conviciandi libidine superare. Nec enim iis contenti quæ olim Lutherus adversus præceptores nostros immodestius scripsit, modo nos omnes Arianos et Mahomete deteriores esse clamant. Quis illos spiritus agat scio; sed ad quem finem tendant, nolo nunc dicere. Faxit Deus, ut mea opinione fallar. Hunc ipsum ex animo precor, ut te, pater reverende, servet et tuis tuorumque collegarum laboribus benedicat. Amen. Tiguri, 16 Martii, anno Christi nati 1574.

Tuæ amplitudinis observantissimus,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*D. Ricardo Coxo, episcopo Eliensi
in Anglia.*

[¹ MS. *veritatis.*]

EPISTOLA CI.

ANTONIUS CORRANUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

Ego ex eorum numero sum, vir eruditissime, qui tuis scriptis adjuti puriorem christianæ doctrinæ cognitionem acceperunt. Contigit enim mihi ante viginti annos, divini numinis providentia, idonea occasio evolendi tuos libros, etiam ab ipsis inquisitoribus Hispanicis subministratos: unde quia uberrimos fructus me percepisse sentio, tibi gratias agere, quando referre nequeo, ex debito gratitudinis officio cogor. Cujas sim, et ubi terrarum agam, filius Rodolphi Gualteri, qui has perfert, verbis exponet. Ei etiam dedi libellum quendam, quem hisce diebus in lucem emittere optabam; sed negligentia typographi, Latini sermonis ignari, uti sunt plerique omnes qui hic agunt, accidit ut tam multa obreperint errata, ut sane me pudeat lucubratiunculam hanc, alioquin nimis jejunam, tam negligenter excusam viris doctis obtrudere. Sed quia animus non est in hoc scripto ostentare quantum in me sit eruditionis (est enim parum aut nihil), sed quid sentiam de christiana pietate, ad diluendas quorundam calumnias, ecclesiis evangelicis ostendere; idcirco optarem ut alius aliquis typographus dialogum hunc typis exprimeret, et exemplaria ad summum trecenta, quæ hic depravatissime excusa sunt, supprimerentur. Articuli religionis, quos in calce libelli posui, ex vestra confessione descripti sunt, ad confutandam illorum malignitatem, qui ob privatum odium, quo me prosequuntur, hos eosdem articulos manu scriptos, et ad meam ostendendam innocentiam oblatos, summa cum impudentia damnarunt, existimantes foetum fuisse meum. Specimen hujus malignitatis perspicies in folio quodam hic Latino et Anglicano sermone excuso cum censuris cujusdam Aristarchi: ut ex unguibus, uti dici solet, possis dignoscere leonem. Folium tibi tradet ipse junior Gualterus, multoque plura narrabit de quorundam præpostera erga me agendi ratione. Interea, pastor vigilantissime, precor te, ut me habeas in eorum numero, quos tuis laboribus et vigiliis ad Christi cognitionem adduxisti; et si quid est quod tibi minus arrideat in hoc libello, pro tuo arbitrio insigni prudentia corrigas, et correctum typis tradi jubeas. Quod si feceris, majorem in modum me meumque obsequium tibi perpetuo devincies. Vale. Londino, nonis Julii, anno D. 1574.

Tui amantissimus et observantissimus,

ANTONIUS CORRANUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Eruditissimo viro D. Henrico Bullin-
gero, ecclesiæ Tigurinæ pastori
vigilantissimo, D. ac patri meo
unice colendo. Tiguri.*

EPISTOLA CII.

GULIELMUS COLUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

FILIUS tuus, ut video, doctissime vir, accinxit se ad reditum, Simleri literis de voluntate tua certissime persuasus. Quamvis erat mihi multis nominibus longe carissimus, non solum tuis, sed etiam episcopi Nordovicensis literis non semel commendatus; tamen, ut ingenue fatear, ita vixit apud nos hoc tantillo tempore, ut jure suo, licet uterque vestrum non fuisset mihi notus, nec scripsisset quicquam, debeat jam discedens cum aliquo amoris mei indicio ad suos proficisci. Atque doleo eum hinc tam cito avocari, cum per temporis brevitatem omnino mihi non licuerit illum ornare ut volebam. Nam quia spes erat eum apud nos victurum diutius, fateor me pro suo merito eum non tractasse. Et tamen quoties ad me venit, non potuit mihi non esse hospes gratissimus. Illo enim præsentem, in mentem mihi statim venit immensa beneficiorum multitudo, quibus nos Anglos Tiguri cumulastis exules. Si scire vis, quid de filio tuo ipse censeam, hoc habeo quod de illo affirmare audeam, esse juvenem probum moribus, religione pium, in bonis literis progressus fecisse non mediocres. Et si ipse hoc tacerem, nostra testaretur academia verum esse quod scribo. Nam tametsi natione est Helvetius, erit tamen etiam Tiguri, longissimo loci intervallo remotus a nobis, in artibus magister Oxoniensis, uno omnium consensu ad hunc apud nos dignitatis gradum evectus.

Dedit mihi Ds. Humphredus D. Simleri librum, ab illo editum adversus Brentianos. Est quod gratias tibi habeam propterea immortales, quia eum ad me miseris; illi, quia ecclesiam tueatur et defendat; utriusque vestrum, quia non patiamini hostem pro libidine grassari in ovile. Deus vos servet incolumes, et vitam largiatur longissimam ad communem piorum omnium utilitatem! Salutes, quæso, reverendum illum senem D. Bullingerum, duos præterea mihi multis de causis omni observantia honorandos, Lavaterum, Simlerum, et Froschoverum typographum, et illius correctorem, familiariter mihi notum Argentinæ apud Petrum Martyrem, meum Julium plurima salute impertiaris. Si qua ratione putas me tibi posse vel tuorum cuiquam usui esse hic in Britannia, invenies me ad quidvis esse paratissimum. Oxonii in collegio Corporis Christi pridie calendæ Augusti, 1574.

Tuus, quoad vixero,

GULIELMUS COLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro domino Rodolpho Gualtero, fidelissimo ecclesiæ Tigurinae pastori, amico suo reverendo hæc literæ dentur. Tiguri.

EPISTOLA CIII.

REGINA ELIZABETHA AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

ELIZABETH R.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regina, etc. Johanni Sturmio salutem.

Literas tuas, datas Northemio tertio Augusti, decimo octavo ejusdem mensis die accepimus. Ex quibus intelleximus quantum res nostræ tibi sint curæ, et quantum optes pacem quietemque inter christianos principes, et eorum regna constabiliri. Neque sane possumus non vehementer probare eorum studia, qui legationibus, aut aliis quibuscunque bonis rationibus¹, ut coeant et sopiantur in vicinis quibusque, præsertim quæ Christum profitentur, regionibus discordiæ. Est enim hoc nobile vicini principis et christiani officium. Quia tam paucas abs te literas accepimus, putamus non omnes ad nos fuisse perlatas. Et ad cetera mandavimus Thomæ Smitho, secretario nostro, ut particulatim tibi sententiam nostram rescribat.

Bene vale. E civitate nostra Thermarum 23 Augusti, 1574, regni autem nostri decimo sexto.

T. SMITH.

EPISTOLA CIV.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD RICARDUM COXUM.

S. SPERO, pater in Christo reverende, fideliter tibi redditas esse postremas meas literas, quas mense Martio dedi. Ego tuas, quas mense Februario scripsisti, per nostros ex nundinis vernalibus redeuntes accepi. Non puto autem prolixiori et operosa recensione mihi opus esse, cum quid de turbulentis istis rerum novatoribus sentiam in meis illis literis exposuerim, adeoque tuas prævenerim quibus tu de illis non absque causa quereris. Et sane ut in mea sententia persistam, exempla quæ in Germania similes novatores quotidie nova edunt, me vehementer confirmant. Video enim illis hominibus nihil ambitiosius, nihil insolentius, nihil ineptius fingi posse. Nam quum quotidie multa de ipsis fiant iniquissime, non tamen eos pudet zelum Dei prætexere iis, quæ contra Dei verbum impie et malitiose in Christi servos designant. Et quantum conjicere possim, jam illorum pudet multos, qui prius illis ad hujus disciplinæ fabricam consilia et arma sua ministrarunt. Et quis spiritus vestros illos agat, ex eo colligi

[¹ Sic MS. Deest verbum.]

potest, quod tanto studio in hoc sunt, ut bene de ecclesia meritos ex bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessione et administratione dejiciant, neque interea vident quid futurum sit si hoc assequantur; ut nimirum illa in aliorum manus deveniant, ex quibus postea nunquam extorqueri poterunt necessaria doctrinæ subsidia. Malunt quidem illa prorsus ab ecclesiis alienari, quam ea in illorum potestate videre quos semel cœperunt odisse. Sed est hoc proprium hominibus, ut præsentem felicitatem ferre non possint, et sibi ipsis sponte malum atque molestias accersant. Verumtamen vestrum fuerit cum importunis illis animi mansuetudine et prudentia contendere, ne quid gravioris periculi tandem ex hisce contentionibus exoriat; neve qui hostili adhuc sunt erga puriorem religionem animo, occasionem inveniant id perficiendi quod diu quæsierunt, etc.

[Cetera desunt.]

INSCRIPTIO.

Ex literis ad D. Coxum, Eliensem episcopum, datis 26 Aug. 1574.

EPISTOLA CV

GULIELMUS BARLOUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

S. P. LITERÆ tuæ datæ 10 Martii, 1574, quæ primæ post acceptum pannum ad manus meas pervenere, ejusque me fecerunt certiore, quinto demum kalendas Septembris, 1574, ad me sunt delatæ; in quibus mentio etiam fit aliarum literarum mense Decembri scriptarum, quæ (quamvis alius December jam præterierit) a me nondum sunt visæ: tu conjicito cetera, quam fideles ac certi nostri sint tabellarii. Imo, ut ingenue dicam quod sentiam, usque ad illum 28 Augusti diem non nihil dubitabam, utrum accepisses pannum cum literis necne. Longioris moræ causa erat non minima, præter longinquitatem itineris (veniunt enim per Hamburgam), quod non ita crebro fuerim Londini, neque Oxonii, sed in occidentali parte Angliæ, ubi tandem istæ tuæ literæ mihi traditæ fuerunt: tribus septimanis, postquam accepissem has literas, profectus sum Oxonii Rodolphi nostri Gualteri conveniendi causa, ut cum illo de toto hoc negotio agerem; sed is jam tum præter opinionem meam, ac meo magno dolore, navem conscenderat una cum præstantissimo et clarissimo juvene D. Philippo, barone ab Hohensaxen; quem officii causa in Angliam, si Deus voluisset, libentissime salutassem. Vides ergo, mi Simlere, quam non fit mea negligentia, quod hucusque tuis literis non responderim; neque alicui hoc negotii dederim, ut pecunias meo nomine a D. Froschovero peteret. Scio etiam, ni valde fallor, me disertis verbis ad te scripsisse, ne ullo modo pecuniam mitteres,

priusquam me fecisses certiolem, quid tibi de panno videretur, placeret necne; ac tunc demum me curaturum, ut aliquem haberem Francofurti, qui pecuniam hanc acciperet, eademque mihi quædam ibi coerneret: quod satis erat ad te levandum omni illa cura et anxietate, qua te in ultimis tuis literis datis 28 Augusti sollicitum esse video. Ideoque hæc tibi tam verbose exposui, ut curam tibi istam argentariam ex animo penitus excutiam. Nam et proximas tuas literas non nihil pertimesco, ne et illæ de hac re aliquid querelarum adferant: sed quamprimum hæc ad manus tuas devenerint (quod quam celerrime cupio) tibi abunde satisfactum fore plane confido.

Casus ille quem scribis Witebergensium me mire afficit; quid sperem, quidve metuum, incertum facit: equidem lugubrem fateor, ac etiam florentissimæ academix quasi funus et exitium minitari. Hoc sane mihi cum universo studiosorum grege condolendum puto: e contra tamen, cum Witeberga urbs illa sit, quæ quondam veritatis assertores habuerit fortissimos, quique magis Deum quam homines sunt reveriti; eam in hac re adhuc antiquum obtinere, hoc inquam ego illi cum omnibus piis congratulari debeo, atque Deum Opt. Maximum precari, ut viros hosce in omni doctrinarum genere præstantissimos ad finem usque constantes reddat, dona sua in illis augeat coronetque.

Statum nostræ ecclesiæ tibi diligentissime perscribam, Deo volente, cum mihi ipsimet fuerit cognitus; quod verissime adhuc non fit: quædam etenim sunt mysteria, quæ nondum valeo assequi. Londini profitentur duo theologi valde celebres, Gallus alter, alter Hispanus. Gallo nomen est Villerius, homo imprimis doctus et pius: Hispano nomen est Corranus; doctus et facundus, sed an pietate sit cum Villerio conferendus, homines quidam non mali multum ambigunt. Auctoritates nonnullorum optime de ecclesia meritorum non nihil extenuare solet; Castalionem ubique admiratur, de cuius translatione biblicorum hæc ejus est sententia: eum pessime quidem egisse interpretem, quod nihil minus quam verbum verbo reddiderit; sin autem de paraphrasi loquaris, inquit, tunc omnes alios multis parasangis excellit Castalio. Scio etiam illum a quodam mihi optime noto studiose quævisse, haberet necne dialogos quosdam de Trinitate, Basileæ impressos, anonymi cujusdam, eorum tamen auctor, inquit, putatur fuisse Castalio; illos se valde cupere. Ego illius lectioni unicæ interfui, in qua invectus est in nostri seculi homines, quorum aliqui volebant dici Lutherani, alii Calviniani, etc.: sed neque Calvinus pro nobis mortuus est, neque Lutherus; sed nos salvati sumus, inquit, sanguine occisi Agni pro peccatis mundi: cum in textu sit, ab initio mundi. Ne tamen videar culicem percolare ac fortasse camelum deglutire, hic finem faciam, quanquam sane camelo culicem esse metuo. Utinam mansisset Compostellæ!

Dicas (quæso) Julio nostro, mihi admodum dolere quod illius votis

nequeam satisfacere; me non posse adhuc expiscari, quinam fuerint D. Juelli exequitores, aut quomodo res suas reliquerit; neque mihi homini ignoto facile dari accessum ad comitem Bedfordiæ, ut causam illius apud eum agere possim: quamvis tamen literas, quas Julius mihi perferendas dedit, secretario illius tradiderim, qui mihi pollicitus est se illas summopere domino suo commendaturum. Te obnixè oro, ut meo nomine officiose salutes reverendissimos patres dominum Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, hospitem meum humanissimum D. Wickium, D. Lavaterum, D. Stuccium, D. Henricum Bullingerum juniorem, D. Lemannum, D. Hallerum, D. Jacobum Frisium, D. Gualterum juniorem, Julium, reliquosque omnes. Libellos quosdam in Anglia impressos, non tamen ita magni momenti, statueram tibi mittere optimoque viro D. Lavatero aliisque per manus Gualteri nostri: illumque plane onerasset mandatis, si illius discessus (quod ob mea negotia in occidentali parte Angliæ fieri non potuit) mihi cognitus fuisset. Novarum rerum nihil habemus, si novum non sit lupum auribus tenere, aut anguem sinu-alere, quæ apud nos desiere esse nova: nam adhuc apud nos detinetur regina aquilonis, pestis Britanniæ, princeps tenebrarum sub forma lupæ. Quod ad pecuniam attinet, scripsi D. Froscovo. Sed longior sum quam vellem, et vereor ne etiam tibi sim molestus; quod tamen nullo modo credam, si tu mihi epistolam longiorem remiseris: literæ etenim tuæ mihi gratæ admodum sunt et jucundæ. Maneo ut plurimum apud affinem mihi carissimum, D. Guil. Deium, præpositum collegii regii Etonensis, prope Windesoram, viginti miliaribus Londino; ubi sæpiuscule de vobis, tam ecclesiis vestris, quam rebus publicis magna cum delectatione sermones cædimus: hoc tamen nos accuratius facturos puta, si tu fortiter in instituto tuo perrexeris, neque hinc illinc coadjutores nescio quos aut vicarium præstolatus fueris. Hujus operis exspectati prodromon ad me misit Julius noster, quem quidem perlegere mihi nondum licuit propter quædam negotia atque molestias, quæ mihi acciderunt de morte alterius mei affinis, filii archiepiscopi Cantuariensis: is etiam unam ex meis sororibus in uxorem duxerat; qui nuper obiit. Saluta obsecro meo nomine omnes tuos. Etiam atque etiam vale. 25 Januarii, 1575.

Tuus totus,

GULIELM. BARLOUS.

Si aliquando per otium cures ad me mitti exemplar unum pugnæ Sem-pachi commissæ, nonnihil coloribus illustratum, præsertim signa militaria, mihi rem valde gratam facies. Iterum vale.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo optimoque viro D. Josiæ Simlero,
theologiæ in schola Tigurina professori
celeberrimo, domino et amico suo plu-
rimum colendo.*

EPISTOLA CVI.

NICOLAUS BERNIUS AD ROBERTUM HORNUM.

UT nobis nihil unquam fuit optatius nihilque jucundius, reverende, quam te de ecclesiarum nostrarum statu ac felicibus initiis certiorum faciendi, tibi que de nostro imprimis erga te officio vel potius observantia testificandi occasionem offerri; ita sane nihil gravius molestiusque fuit, quam nunc id nobis argumenti obtrudi, quo apud te patrem nostrum conqueri potius quam de prospero in Christi opere successu congratulari cogimur; minime quidem id facturi, nisi in eo negotio, quod ad tuum munus quoque spectat, opera potissimum tua atque auctoritate nobis opus esset; venia tamen digni, quod non ita jucundum nuntium coacti afferamus, de quo ut nobis pro christiana caritate pluribus tecum agere liceat rogamus, ut cum eo, de cujus sincero in ecclesiam Christi zelo non dubitamus.

Surrexit inter nostras incolas Elias quidam Bonamy, vir ἀτακτος, nec impietate et pertinacia minus nobilis, quam opibus et amicis potens. In cujus generationem patris capitali odio Christi ecclesiam igne ferroque ad extremum usque vitæ articulum ubique quondam persequentis iniquitatem justo suo judicio Deus visitare videtur. Is ante quinquennium in ecclesiæ cœtum adscitus data fide Dei verbo ac ejus ecclesiæ, ut Christi membrum verum decet, pro nostra consuetudine obsecuturum sancte suo pastori pollicetur, priorique triennio non alienum se ab religione animum habere simulavit: posteriori vero biennio, quod mœstum tristeque nobis fuit, detecta sua hypocrisi ita prædicationem Dei verbi neglexit, ut non nisi coactus et quam rarissime ad illud audiendum accingeret; et, quod longe gravius, a sancta Domini cœna non sine magna infirmorum offensione totos hos tres annos abhorruit, suoque exemplo a sacramentis multos abalienavit, qui tandem ab ecclesia defecissent, nisi Deus sua clementia eorum misertus in viam salutis, pastoris usus vigilantia, reduxisset. Minister interim probe suo defunctus munere hominem privatim sæpiusque amice præmonet, et aberrantem omnibus modis in viam revocare studet; sed frustra,—tanta est hominis istius pertinacia: nec desistit tamen, sed iterum coram uno et altero ecclesiæ senioribus christiane et moderate ipsum officii commonefacit, atque ut coram presbyterio sistat nonnihil ad Dei gloriam et animæ salutem auditorus, obnixè efflagitat: sed quanto moderatius cum eo agitur, tanto contumacior efficitur; nec pluris ecclesiastici senatus auctoritatem æstimat, quam Dei et sacramentorum majestatem fecit. In ecclesiæ syndrium dicteria prætereo, et hominis hujus in ministros Christi et ecclesiæ seniores sannas omitto. Itaque cum ejus pervicacia nullis humanis et

divinis legibus coerceri posse videretur, de hac re fratres suos pios et eruditos Christi servos consulit, quando ita negotium postulare putabat; tum ut huic tanto malo remedium opportunum afferatur, tum ut nihil nisi cum fructu et ædificatione in ecclesia statuatur. Hi rem tanti ponderis ad synodum referendam censent, in qua uno Dei verbo de negotio judicetur. Ideoque omnes hujus insulæ verbi Dei administri cum suarum ecclesiarum quibusdam senioribus et nonnullis piis magistratibus in colloquium convocantur, quod Eliam nostrum adesse jubet, qui acta et accusationes in se factas audiat, et si quam vel justificandi, vel defendendi, vel excusandi rationem habeat, libere respondeat. Is postquam nonnulla callide detorquere atque declinare conatus esset, ecclesiam hic collectam nescire se, et nullum hic presbyterium agnoscere dissimulat: tandem vero publicis actis atque sine ulla exceptione testibus convictus, tanquam sibi male conscius, culpam, scandalum et rebellionem suam confitetur, seque ecclesiastici cœtus judicio sine cujusquam suspitione sponte submittit. Itaque ne omnem ei resipiscentiæ spem præclusisse videremur, post institutam debitam delictorum et scandali cognitionem, unanimi omnium consensu atque sententiis statutum est, ipsum non modo coram synodo errorem suum cum precibus ad Deum confessurum; sed etiam, ut publico scandalo medeatur, publice coram omni ecclesia, die dominico 27 Novembris, rebellionem suam in ecclesiam agniturum; idque alterius ecclesiæ ministro concionante facturum, a quo tum suo pastori, tum ecclesiæ reconciliaretur. Ille audita ecclesiæ censura tergiversari cœpit, publicamque scelerum suorum confessionem facturum se plane negat. Sed hæ sunt Satanae artes tibi plusquam satis cognitæ, ut ejusmodi scandalis vulneratis infirmorum conscientiiis Domini ædificium vel impediat vel dirimat. Tandem vero precibus, vel ex Dei verbi admonitionibus, vel potius tremendi ejus judicii minis atque excommunicationis virga veluti quodam fulmine territus, ecclesiæ censuræ acquiescit, ac coram nostro cœtu suppliciter a Deo veniam postulans delictum atque contumaciam agnoscit; idemque in ecclesia publice facturum die sibi præscripto pollicetur.

Hactenus omnia satis feliciter, vir reverende; sed mirum et luctuosum est, hominem toties Dei verbo victum, toties a ministris, amicis, adeoque ab ipsa ecclesia commonefactum, serio non resipuisse: die siquidem præscripto, quo veræ resipiscentiæ fractique animi testimonium palam præbere, culpamque suam ad Dei gloriam, ecclesiæ ædificationem, suamque salutem publice confiteri sancte juraverat, et divini judicii et ecclesiasticæ auctoritatis, denique fidei promissæ immemor, nescio quo impulsore nisi Sathano, perfidiose nos potius lunam e cœlo dentibus apprehensuros, quam publicam a se flagitiorum suorum confessionem extorsuros, nec sine regiæ majestatis tuæque potestatis comminationibus respondet: nec ullis rationibus, (tanta est hominis istius cordis durities,) ut mutato pertinaci carnis seu potius diaboli consilio obsequium Deo et ecclesiæ præ-

staret, adduci poterit. Quapropter delato ad synodum iterum convocatam omni negotio, cui interfuit accersitus contumax iste, cujus cor induratum ad resipiscentiam cum flecti nullo modo posset, propter ejus perfidiam, contumaciam, et inpenitentiam ecclesiæ visum est in Jesu Christi verbique ipsius auctoritate eum tanquam putridum membrum ex ecclesiæ Dei ac sanctorum communione publice die cœnæ proximæ in omnibus ecclesiis nostris excommunicandum, atque Sathanæ, donec resipiscat, tradendum.

Rem istam tibi pluribus, observande pater, sicut a nobis gesta est, summa fide ac veritate, zelo tuo ad amplificandam et tuendam ecclesiam Christi confisi, significare non sumus veriti; tum ne excisi istius mendacibus imposturis, si forte ad te ierit, decipiaris; tum vero, ne nos ipsi ut calumniatores ab illo apud te sanctosque patres collegas tuos traducamur. Qua in re non modo iudicium tuum atque auctoritatem interponi obnixè omnes flagitamus, sed manum etiam adjutricem imploramus, ut (si quando opus sit) apud regiam ipsam majestatem, nostram, imo tuam ac ecclesiæ nascentis causam suscipias et fortiter tuearis: quam operam ut Christo præstare non recuses, vehementer etiam atque etiam rogamus, atque adeo per ipsius Christi nomen obtestamur, quem assidue precabimur, ut potente sua manu te custodiat, tuaque consilia in tanto tibi commisso munere suo Spiritu dirigat; nostramque aberrantem ovem (gravissima alioqui multa dignissimum, nisi resipuerit) veræ poenitentiae dono in viam salutis reducat. Bene vale, reverende vir, et nos fratresque nostros cum tota ecclesia et ama et tuere. Gerenesii, Idibus Decemb. 1575.

Tuus in Christo obsequentissimus,

N. BERNIUS,

hæc ad te ecclesiæ totius nomine scripsit.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino
Wintoniensi episcopo Gerenesien-
sis ecclesiæ nomine Nicolaus Berni-
us verbi Dei minister gratiam et
salutem a Domino.*

EPISTOLA CVII.

GULIELMUS BARLOUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

S. P. QUANTAM jacturam, mi Simlere, morte Bullingeri senioris felicissimæ memoriæ fecerit ecclesia vestra, imo etiam nostra, in quam animo vere paterno atque amanti semper fuisse intelleximus, atque adeo

omnes totius Europæ ecclesiæ Christi, citius quam velimus omnes experiemur. Deus Optimus Maximus, messis Dominus, in suam messem fidos ut mittat operarios orandus; utque gregis sui misertus, fideles ei atque zelo Dei, qui est secundum scientiam, flagrantes pastores præficiat, ac summi pastoris Jesu Christi adventum acceleret. Superioribus nundinis autumnalibus 1575, scripsi dominum meum episcopum Wintoniensem ad te aliosque dedisse literas; quas tamen incuria eorum, quibus hoc negotium commiserat, omissas et mercatori non traditas fuisse comperi: idem ne his nundinis accidat, in me provinciam accepi. Tertio itaque non. Feb. antequam Londinum ad parlamentum proficiscebatur, hominem compellavi (quod ut facerem mihi sæpius injunxerat), ne ad Tigurinos scribere intermitteret: ille vero, Imo, inquit, hoc tibi negotii mando, ut mercatori, qui tuas literas defert, scribas, ut meas etiam Londini a me petat, quæ mittentur una cum tuis: tuæ enim, aiebat, et quæ ad te scribuntur, sunt meis longe feliciores; quas etenim Tiguro novissime accepi, bienio antea scriptæ fuerunt; et quas ipsemet scripsi, an adhuc traditæ sint plurimum dubito. Hanc provinciam, inquam ego, in me libenter accipio, neque scribam alicui ut tuas a te petat; sed egomet ero, Deo volente, Londini, antequam proficiscantur ad nundinas, atque tuas ipse a te postulabo, ne in me tuæ intermissionis culpam aliquam derives; hocque me ad te jam scripsisse illi, cum ad eum venero, significabo.

Mitto ad te his literis inclusum exemplar duarum epistolarum, in quibus facile est videre (ut in palæstra nobili decertatum) quales quantasque vires habeat, in nebulone aliquo improbo coercendo, inermis illa quam tantopere jactitant nonnullorum disciplina: ex quibus etiam intelligas, omnes episcopos nostros non ita esse (ut quidam calumniantur) otio et ventri deditos, et omnem deposuisse humanitatem, quin ex iis sint, qui res fratrum diligenter curent; neque illorum invisam potestatem adeo exosam esse, quin ad eam tandem (quasi claudus ad equum) ultro confugiant. Gerenesia, ubi hæc gesta sunt, insula est in mare Britannico, regibus Angliæ subdita, Wintoniensis diceceseos. Anglus quidam, Laurentius Bodleus, amicus meus summus, mihi indicavit se circa hoc tempus Tigurum venturum: si is ad vos venerit, rogo ut illum comiter (hoc est, vestro more) excipiat: est homo parvæ staturæ, sed eruditionis et probitatis eximiæ, et vestræ ecclesiæ amantissimus. Ante duas menses obiit doctrina atque pietate (apud nostros) nemini secundus, D. Pilkingtonus, Dunelmensis episcopus. Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem habemus (Dei beneficio) multis nominibus præstantissimum, D. Grindallum: faxit Deus, ut illum diu habeamus: quis eum in Eboracensi archiepiscopatu succedet, nondum innotescit; plerique tamen arbitrantur Londinensem; atque vel in Londinensi, si is in Eboracum proficiscatur, vel Dunelmensi episcopatu affinem meum D. Gul. Deium successurum, quidam non infimæ sortis opinantur. Ego illum, sicut jusseras, tuo nomine salutavi, quod

illi gratum admodum fuit, meque rogavit, ut te denuo vosque omnes illius nomine resalutarem insuper orare, ut se quoque in numerum amicorum vestr. flagitabat. Saluta rener meo nomine reverendissimum in Christo patrem D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, hospitem meum D. Wiccium, D. Stuccium, D. Lemannum, D. Bullingerum, D. Jac. Frisium, D. Froscoverum, etiam atque etiam Gualterum juniorem ac Julium nostrum. Vale. Collegio Etonense, 5 non. Martii, anno, etc. 1576.

Tuus,

GULIELMUS BARLOW.

Triduo postquam hæc scripsissem, mi Simlere, præcedente nocte, qua præterita summo mane profecturus eram Londinum, ea inquam ipsa nocte febre correptus fui vehementer, sed his tribus novissimis diebus multum remisit, adeo ut sperem Dominum eam hoc tempore avertisse. Vale.

Collegio Etonense, 13 Martii.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro D. Josiæ Simlero,
theologiæ in schola Tigurina pro-
fessori celeberrimo, domino et amico
suo plurimum colendo.*

EPISTOLA CVIII.

H. ZANCHIUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM.

S. OBSERVANTIA qua te, reverendissime domine, semper sum persecutus propter tuam singularem pietatem, humanitatem, virtutem, facit ut non possum non gratulari tibi istam novam amplissimamque, de qua ad me scripsit communis amicus Knolles, dignitatem. Quid enim majus exspectari amplius in isto regno tibi poterat? Gratulor itaque ex animo, quoniam istæ divinæ benedictiones testimonia sunt, tum constantis in Deum pietatis tuæ, tum immutabilis erga te benevolentiae Dei. Sed non minus gratulor eandem rem toti isti regno, quod scilicet talem jam nactum sit a Deo primatem, cujus cura et diligentia magis ac magis in vera religione ac pietate promoveri possit. Neque enim dubito quin ista supremæ post regiam majestatem dignitatis accessio futura sit tibi perpetuus stimulus, quo ad faciendum officium diligentius quam unquam acriter exciteris. Precor Deum sua etiam in te dona augeat, firmaque et diuturna valetudine donare te velit, ad salutarem suæ ecclesiæ gubernationem. Vivo adhuc, et quidem bona valetudine, Dei beneficio, pro mea ætate, qui sexagesimum primum ago annum, cum uxore, liberis quin-

que, et qui brevi, ut spero, prodibit in lucem. Sunt autem et hæ magnæ Dei benedictiones, pro quibus ingentes illi ago gratias. Restat ut tum donis sui Spiritus eos repleat, tum quæ ad vitam hanc honeste transigendam necessaria sunt illis suppeditet; quod ut faxit toto pectore illum rogo per Jesum Christum; ac tibi etiam, amplissime archiepiscopo, aliisque amicis ac bonis viris commendo. Dominus Jesus te diu nobis ad ecclesiæ salutem conservet incolumem! Expectamus quotidie nostrum Casimirum.

Heidelbergæ, 22 Julii, 1576.

Tuæ amplitudinis, etc.

H. ZANCHIUS.

EPISTOLA CIX.

GULIELMUS BARLOUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

S. P. UTINAM, mi Simlere, si detur optio, interstitio tantum maris distaremus! sæpius sane et animo magis alacri Tigurum quam Londinum inviserem. Helvetiam tamen quamvis oculis contemplari non licet, mente saltem recolere, atque animo etiam totam, tuis jam adjutus laboribus, peragrarè potero. Bullingeri vitam, quamvis avide, difficulter tamen et voluptate amaritudine atque præsagio nescio quo (utinam nunquam sciamus!) mixta futurorum eventuum perlego: solidum tamen fundamentum Dei cum suo signaculo perpetuo et ubique gentium (etiam inter Suevos et Saxones) manet: *Novit Dominus qui sunt sui*, etc. Quæ apud nos aguntur, ex hisce literis episcopi Wintoniensis domini mei ad D. Gualterum accipies, quas tuis etiam adjunxi: cujus etiam nomine mitto summam quinque angelottorum D. Froscovo, ut tibi aut D. Gualtero munusculum hoc in usum communis vestri hypocausti tradat. Novi apud nos (Dei beneficio) nihil habemus; nisi quod hoc ipso tempore mittuntur aliquot naves bellicæ, quæ mare custodiant, et (uti aiunt) Flussingensium audaciam et aliorum etiam ferociam atque rapinas repriment. Nostros omnes rogo ut meo nomine reverenter salutes. Vale. Walthamiæ, 11 Augusti, anno, etc. 1576.

Tuus,

GULIELMUS BARLOW.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro D. Josiæ Simlero, theologici in schola Tigurina professori, D. et amico suo plurimum colendo.

EPISTOLA CX.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD EDMUNDUM GRINDALLUM.

S. QUAS Martio mense ad tuam amplitudinem, reverendissime in Christo pater, literas dedi per Laurentium Bodlæum, jampridem tibi redditas esse puto. Ab eo tempore etsi nihil scriptu dignum in Germania actum sit, adhuc tamen magno studio et contentione causam suam, de qua tum scripsi, Lutherani agunt: ut nimirum nos et ecclesias nostras opprimant. Et haud dubie jam aliquid effecissent, nisi res Polonica imperatori negotium facerent, cujus favore et consensu illis opus est. Indixit is comitia Ratisponam, et ante menses duos illuc ipse venit: sed solus fere illic sedens principes alios exspectat. Interea in Saxonia quidam horum convenerunt apud Augustum electorem, ad quos Bavarus quoque profectus est: quod multi mirantur, cum hactenus evangelicæ doctrinæ hostis fuerit acerrimus. Qui vero cordatiores sunt, adversus palatinum electorem illos aliquid moliri suspicantur, quod sine Bavari consensione perfici non possit, cum eadem principum Baviaræ et palatinorum stirps atque origo sit. Multis etiam suspecta est imperatoris excursio ad Ludovicum, electoris palatini filium, qui Ambergæ est cum imperio, et hactenus a patre in causa sacramentaria aperte dissensit. Metuunt ergo nonnulli ne hic quoque cum adversariis consilia sua comunicet, ut ipse patri dejecto aut expulso succedat. Certum est Augustum nobis infensissimum esse, et nova indes ab eo eduntur crudelitatis exempla in eos, quos nobiscum sentire intelligit. Faces huic incendio suggerit Jacobus Andrææ, homo ambitiosus et maledicus, qui cum non habeat quod Heidelbergensibus fratribus et nobis respondeat, principum auctoritate et potentia nos opprimere studet. Quod igitur nuper monui, adhuc ad communis causæ defensionem non tam utile quam necessarium esse videtur; ut nimirum serenissima regina vestra suam auctoritatem interponat. Etenim palatinus elector jampridem illis invisus est, et hunc ne a suis quidem omnibus, ut par erat, coli atque observari norunt. Helvetiorum nulla est apud principes auctoritas. Genevam non oderunt modo, verum etiam execrantur. At serenissimam Angliæ reginam non ita contemnere aut negligere possunt, quæ et regiæ majestatis nomine commendatur, et opibus valet; eo denique loco est, ut Germaniæ toti adversus communes hostes, papistas, utilem operam præstare possit. Faciet ergo revera piæ nutricis ecclesiæ officium, si causam hanc sibi curæ esse sinat; nec deerunt rationes quibus Scotiæ regem in societatem trahat, cujus accessio causæ huic plurimum commodare poterit. Audio

autem Scotiae ecclesias nobis conjunctissimas esse, et puto has nulli officio defuturas quod ab hominibus christianis requiri debet. Ex illis certe quidam pii et insignes viri mihi suasores fuerunt, ut Galatas meos (quorum exemplum ad te, pater reverendissime, mitto) Scotorum regi nuncuparem. De his vero rursus scribi volui, ut videas adhuc vobis occasionem offerri, quo communi ecclesiae officium praestetis: et illa quidem eo plausibilior offertur, quod vix puto imperatorem aliquorum animos temere abs se alienaturum esse hoc tempore, quo amicis et sociis plurimis opus habet, nisi omni spe regni Polonici excidere, et de Ungaria quoque sua periclitari velit. Neque parum momenti ad hanc causam conferet pax Gallica. Nam etsi de hac non eadem sit omnium sententia atque spes, certum tamen est ejus promulgatione consilia communium hostium vehementer esse perturbata. Hæc ut amplitudo tua, pater reverendissime, patienter legat et ferat oro. Ut enim ista scribam me publica cura movet, quam ecclesiae debeo, et quam tibi cumprimis cordi esse non dubito. Deus Optimus Maximus te servet, et studiis tuis sanctissimis benedicat. Idem ex animo precatur Julius noster Santerentianus, qui se tuæ amplitudini commendatissimum esse cupit. Vale. Tiguri, 24 Augusti, anno nati Christi 1576.

Tuæ amplitudinis observantissimus,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino Edmundo Gryndallo, archiepiscopo Cantuarensi, et totius Angliæ primati, domino suo cum omni reverentia observando.

EPISTOLA CXI.

LUINUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

CUM primum mihi traderentur literæ tuæ, quas ad reginam et dominum thesaurarium D. Walsinghamum dederas, deessetque exemplum literarum tuarum ad reginam, et res ipsæ incertæ essent de quibus scriberes; putavi consultius esse illas literas suppressere, teque iisdem de rebus paulo post, si videretur, certius et constantius scribere.

Cum autem postridie ad me perlatae essent aliæ literæ tuæ, abs te quidem multo ante perscriptæ, in quibus Lancadii ad te missa epistola

implicata esset; quoniam hac de re et admonitus ipse essem, teque eam ut mitteres, si qua ad te mitteretur, admonuissem; en! cepi novum consilium, omnia scripta tua ad dominum thesaurarium ut perferrem, eoque auctore uterer literarum tuarum ad reginam et ad D. Walsinghamum scriptarum aut tradendarum, si vellet, aut suppressendarum, si nollet.

Quantum hoc officium, tuum imprimis, deinde etiam meum, domino thesaurario placuerit, perscribere ad te vix possum: hoc unum scribo, summa humanitate et literas tuas perlegisse, et me ad intimum conclave suum admisisse. Huic visum est ut domino Walsinghamo et literæ tuæ ad eum perscriptæ traderentur, et epistola etiam Lanscadii. Sed reginæ epistolam tradendam esse non suavit, et quia exemplum defuit, et quia res in incerto loco positæ erant. Idque ut D. Walsinghamo significarem, admonuit. Domino Walsinghamo igitur et hæc ipse declaravi, et literas tuas tradidi ac epistolam etiam Lanscadii; quin et literas etiam ad reginam, quas tamen tradidisse non arbitror. Id autem ut scirem, monuit me D. thesaurarius, ut utriusque postridie in urbe Londinensi obviam facerem.

Ego cum in reditu essem, ac jam prope urbem attingerem, ecce, qui antea et oculis imprimis et reliquo corpore paulo infirmior essem, in itinere tertiana febris correptus sum. Hac ego duodecim dies laborans, dominum thesaurarium aut D. Walsinghamum adire non potui. Utrumque autem spero ad te per suos mercatores scripsisse; id ipsum enim se velle declarabant.

Fabricitans vero literas tuas ad D. archiepiscopum legendas misi: simulque rogavi ut causam tuam pecuniariam quantum posset apud proceres nostros promoveret; de qua ego et multa cum D. thesaurario, et pauca etiam cum D. Walsinghamo in curia reginali: multa enim tempus non sinebat. Tu autem vide, quantum domino archiepiscopo debeas: is enim, me etiamnum laborante, ita egit et adhuc agit causam tuam, ut sperem certe te pecuniam tuam ante multos menses recuperaturum.

Qua ratione vero id fieri possit, cupis profecto intelligere. Sic ergo habeto; novam legationem in Galliam a nostris decretam esse, hominis prudentissimi, fortissimi, generosissimi. Cum eo diligentissime egit D. archiepiscopus, ut causam tuam ipse suscipiat. Petit etiam a D. thesaurario et D. Walsinghamo, ut huic eam commendent: tractandam illam, non ut hominis peregrini, sed ut civis nostri; non ut privati, sed ut legati Anglicani, ejusdemque doctissimi, religiosissimi, de nobis, Gallisque qui religionem profitentur, optime meriti. Si possimus assequi ut reginæ etiam nomine eam agat, omnia videmur obtinuisse. Non dubito quin ita commendaturus sit Alanconio, ut dicat gratum id acceptumque reginæ fore, si efficiat Alanconius ut tibi quamprimum solvatur. Non possum nec licet omnia scribere, quibus in spem adducaris te isto modo ære alieno liberatum iri. Hoc unum scribo, gestivisse gaudio D. archiepiscopum cum cogitaret, quanta id te lætitia perfusurum esset, cum tibi omnis pecunia ad

denarium solveretur: quod ut quamprimum fiat, mi pater mique præceptor, ornatissime Sturmi, Deum Optimum Maximum precor.

Scito autem nullum in me officium aut studium hanc ad rem defuturum: nec defuisse sane, cujus gratia, cum essem infirmus, longum iter suscepi, ex eoque in febrem incidi: sed et jam convaluisse me intelligas velim, et in eandem rem tuam diligenter incumbere.

Autumnalem pensionem tuam nondum recepi, cum ante festum Michaelis nec debeatur, nec a quæstoribus solvatur. Ego autem cum Santrino egi, eoque nomine cautionem dedi, ut tibi his Francofordianis nundinis solvatur. Tu ergo a Berno tantundem et exspecta et pete, quantum tibi antea solvit: hoc enim mihi Santrinus noster effecturum se recepit. Ego autem scire cupio quot florenos Bernus numerarit, ut intelligam an ulla ratione commodius per alium mercatorem pecuniam ad te transferre possim.

Hæc raptim et festinanter, ut ex ipsa scriptione poteris conjicere. Tu vide, ne quid in commentariis tuis ad Demosthenem et Ciceronem desit, quod ab historicis scribatur aut geratur. Vale, vicesimo quinto Augusti.

Vide etiam ut D. archiepiscopo gratias agas, quod tam promptus et paratus sit ad te ex ære alieno redimendum.

Tuus quem nosti

Ex ipso argumento,

[LUINUS.]

EPISTOLA CXII.

JOHANNES RAINOLDUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM F.

Quo mihi minor tecum familiaritas intercessit, ornatissime Gualtere, cum apud nos ageres; non quod voluntas, sed occasio, vel tuæ necessitudinis fruendæ vel meæ benevolentiae testificandæ mihi deesset; eo me tibi magis esse devinctum et ingenue fateor et impense lætor, qui tanto terrarum intervallo disjunctus, curis qua publicis, qua domesticis, districtus, tamen ita gratam mei memoriam cum animo retineas, tum colas beneficio. Nam si rerum usus docuit Aristotelem, diurnam absentiam efficere videri, ut ipsam amicitiam inobscuret oblivio; notitiæ nostræ quasi florem, non amicitiae maturitatem, absentia diurna non exaruisse, sed excrevisse, quanto mihi minus fuit exspectandum, tanto nisi gratius videatur, ingratus sim. Me quidem in eo tua singularis docuit humanitas, quantum sit discrimen inter christianam et ethnicam amicitiam: quarum alteram apud Aristotelem propter diurnam disjunctionem corporum obscurat oblivio; alteram autem apud Gualterum propter sempiternam

conjunctionem animorum caritas illustrat. Ego vero etiamsi nunquam concedam, ut in amore sis superior, quo redamantem amas; tamen in eo priores tibi partes deferam necesse est, quod amantis animi testificatione me prævenisti. Poema tuum amo, vel quod tuum, vel quod tale, vel quod utrumque potius. Est enim insignibus, si quid ego judico, notis aspersum et ingenii in versibus limandis, et judicii in rebus persequendis, et pietatis in episcopum bene meritum, et caritatis in ecclesiam Anglicanam: cujus piam vindicem Elisabetham laudas; immanem carnificem Bonnerum saucias; infestos adversarios papistas exagitas; afflicta membra, christianos, consolaris; miserabilem statum languescentis deploras; denique Christum Jesum, ut divina misericordia propitius sit, obsecras. Academiam nostram ne laudibus ornares, impedivit pater tuus, qui prior antevertit, Oxonium nobile doctis Anglis, *Palladis et Phœbi Pieridumque domum*, prædicando, multo magis vereor quam meretur: sed amorem agnoscimus et gratiam habemus. Ecclesiæ tibi curam esse commendatam, et foeminam præstantissimam (sic enim mihi persuadeo, quia patri tuo tibi que probatam) matrimonio conjunctam, vehementer gratulor. Non canam carmen *ἐπιθαλάμιον*, ut tuum remunerer *ἐπικηδειον*. Veruntamen eam futuram talem conjugem et spero et opto, qualem scribit Gregorius Nazianzenus filius fuisse suam matrem Nazianzeno patri; non adjutricem modo, sed etiam quasi ducem, magistram pietatis, verbis et factis ad optima commoventem. D. Caius utriusque nostrum amatissimus, insigni pietate et doctrina juvenis, academiam reliquit, ut ecclesiam quandam ad quadragesimum ab urbe nostra lapidem, ipsius curæ commissam, pasceret. Peropportune vero contingit, ut eo ipso die, quo tuorum versuum exemplar mihi traditum est ad eum transmittendum, Oxonium vesperi veniret. Ceterum cum esset illinc postridie mane discedendum, a me contendit et impetravit, ut suis tibi verbis et gratias agerem et salutem dicerem. Utrumque facio. Collegæque quoque nostri, quos a D. Præsidente salutari voluisti, tibi vicissim omnia felicissima precantur. Deus Optimus Maximus te et patrem tuum vestrosque omnes ac universam ecclesiam Tigurinam suo semper illustret lumine, favore protegat, Spiritu moderetur. Vale. Dat. e collegio Corporis Christi, Oxonii, Idib. Augusti, 1576.

Tuus in Christo Jesu,

JOHANNES RAINOLDUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo juveni et mihi carissimo
in Christo fratri D. Rodolpho
Gualtero filio. Tiguri.
Tradantur Froschovero Francofurti
ad Mœnum.*

EPISTOLA CXIII.

LUINUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

SCRIPSI ad te superioribus hisce proximis diebus, ornatissime Sturmi, quo consilio et quibus potissimum rationibus adducerer, ut postquam abs te Lanscadii mihi literæ traditæ fuerunt, cum his illas etiam alteras ad reginam et D. thesaurarium et D. Walsinghamum perscriptas ad aulam regalem perferrem; quam gratæ etiam utræque utrisque illis heroibus fuerunt, et quibus de causis existimarim tertias illas ad reginam datas traditas non fuisse.

Scrpsi eodem tempore, ac id quidem fusius, de re tua pecuniaria ac Gallicana; de primato nostro imprimis et archiepiscopo Cantuarensi, tui sane tuæque salutis ac fortunarum omnium studiosissimo, quam ille rationem investigavit et te ex ære hoc alieno redimendi, et pristinae tuæ tranquillitatis atque otii, quo reliquum tempus ætatis cum mansuetioribus musis transigas, recuperandi.

Ex eo tempore scito dominum nostrum archipræsulem rebus tuis summam operam navasse; causam tuam egisse prudenter, diligenter, peramanter. Nam præterquam quod Pauleto nostro, homini generosissimo ac fortissimo, cui nova in Galliam decreta legatio est, te resque tuas iterum atque iterum commendaret; egit etiam ab eo tempore separatim, primum cum domino thesaurario, deinde cum D. Walsinghamo, ut eundem te fortunasque tuas pluribus nominibus eidem huic Pauleto cariores redderent. Summa autem fuit hujusce commendationis, ut duo illi magnates, qui auctoritate et gratia apud nos plurimum possunt, Pauletum et rogarent et orarent, ut causam illam tuam Gallicanam vel reginæ, vel publico saltem procerum nostrorum nomine tractet cum duce Alanconio et Condiano principe; id quod utrique, cum illius auctoritate, tum tua nonnihil conditione permoti, facturos se prolixè pollicebantur. Ego fecisse jam quod rogati sunt nec dubito, nec te, mi Sturmi, volo dubitare.

Pauletus, salutata jam nudius sextus regina, iter in Galliam adornat et propediem proficiscitur, vir summi ingenii et animi invicti atque excelsi. Quærere te video de D. comite Oxoniano, annon is etiam Pauleto causam tuam commendarit. Tu vero scito, me diligenter etiam cum D. comite egisse; respondisse illum, non modo se Sturmium suum Pauleto commendaturum, sed petiturum etiam a Leicestrense comite, ut ipse omnibus modis commendet: addidisse præterea, nisi e Gallia subleveris, facturum se ut ex Anglia auxilia tibi inveniantur: denique multa et præclare de te sensisse, et locutum esse honorifice, quæ me cum audirem summa lætitia afficiebant; ad te cum perscribuntur, debent profecto exhilarare. Tu vero senex, et

ætate; provectum archipræsulem nostrum, adeo firmum et constantem in amicitia, plurimi facito, et adolescentem comitem de te optime sentientem noli contemnere: de utroque omnia sperare, de altero omnia audeo polliceri.

Nunc autem te ipsum quid hortor, aut suadeam, exspectas fortasse, mi Sturmi. Primum certe illud, ut ad Amiamum Pauletum, equitem auratum, antequam hæ tibi literæ traduntur, legatum nostrum in Gallia futurum, quamprimum scribas: agnoscas quæ a me ex Anglia acceperis, præsertim de domini archiepiscopi erga te voluntate et studio; si placet, etiam D. thesaurarii et D. Walsinghami licet adjungere. Spero etiam Leicestrianum et Oxonianum comites te Pauleto commendaturos: sed id mihi adhuc exploratum non est: facturos ab Oxoniano audivi; fecisse autem nondum intelligo.

Præterea illud etiam fortasse optandum esset, ut si quem habeas in Gallia fidelem et constantem amicum, hunc ad Pauletum cum literis tuis alleges; qui eum aliquando admoneat tui; qui quid agatur, quidque abs te agendum sit, e Gallia rescribat. Talem autem virum si jam in Gallia non habeas, nec habiturus sis, qui suis sumptibus proficiscatur, non audeo suadere ut quenquam mittas tuis. Non est enim fortasse hominis prudentis, cum ære alieno implicatus sit, se magis magisque involvere. Spero literas tuas, si frequentes eas ad Pauletum dederis, cum rerum Germanicarum nuncias, tum studii etiam tui officiique plenas, satis illas diligentes Pauleto admonitores futuras: qui et ipse sua natura vir bonus est, et multum debet proceribus qui te illi commendarunt, et laborabit certe ut gratum se illis, tibi beneficum et liberalem ostendat. Unum illud omittendum non est, ut quantum tibi debeatur, tum propter pecuniam illam quam mutuo dedisti, tum propter usuras quas negotiatoribus eo nomine solvisti, ad Pauletum quamprimum perscribas: ego ex literis tuis totius debiti contracti brevem historiolum confeci; adhibui omnes *περιστάσεις* quæ proceres nostros ad causam tuam possent adjungere; quæ vero Gallos offendere, si forte viderent, eas D. archiepiscopus summa prudentia delevit: hujus exemplar unum D. thesaurario traditum est, alterum D. Walsinghamo; utrumque autem vidisse Pauletum non dubito. Tertium D. archiepiscopus apud se retinet, quo alios proceres in re tua possit instruere: ac ut ipse intelligas quomodo res a me descripta est, et addas si quid addendum sit; hujus historiolæ exemplum quartum ad te misi, idque ita ut a D. archiepiscopo interpolatum atque emendatum est. Nihil prætermittam quod ad rem tuam pertinere arbitrabor: tu si quid tibi in mentem venerit, fac ut sciam. Unum illud cogito, cum famulo aliquo Pauleti, honestioris apud eum loci, agere, ut rebus tuis faveat; ut dominum, quando opus est, tui memorem faciat; denique, si quid isthic amplius agendum est, ad me perscribat.

Mi pater, mi que præceptor, nullum officium prætermittam *φίλου*

κασιγνήτου, quandoquidem hujusmodi me esse judicas: exigua nostra facultas est, sed ad ea quæ possum, me tibi dedo. Bernus his Francfordianis nundinis autumnalem tibi pensionem solvet. Santrinus, mercator Anglus, quo antea usus sum, id etiam nunc se facturum esse ante quatuordecim dies promisit, qua de re superioribus etiam ad te literis scripsi. Vale, octavo Septembris.

Tuus,

LUINUS.

D. archiepiscopus me monuit ut hisce literis te illius nomine salutarem. Ego infirmitate oculorum adhuc laboro, quæ facit ut alterius chirographo utar. Iterum vale.

EPISTOLA CXIV

FRANCISCUS WALSINGHAMUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

DOCTISSIME Sturmi, cum legato majestatis suæ, qui nunc agit in Gallis apud regem, egi vehementer, ut negotium tuum pecuniarium, quod tibi cum illis intercedit qui a partibus veræ religionis stant, sibi esset quam commendatissimum; in quo mihi sancte pollicitus est suam fidem et operam cum hac exceptione, quantum valeret, quantumque posset. De cujus fide tantum abest ne dubitem, ut sciam planeque mihi persuadeam, non minori sibi curæ omnes res meas esse, in quibus tuas pono, quam suas; neque dubito quin si ejus virtuti illi pro sua pietate et religione respondebunt, propediem confectum ibit negotium pro voto et voluntate tua. De eo autem quod attinet, quod bonus ille vir D. Landeshafus suæ majestati commendatum voluit, in mandatis habet D. thesaurarius ab eadem, ut per D. Luinum tibi respondeat.

De ratione autem qua literas vestras ad nos curetis transmittendas, patefecit D. Ashbeyo mentem et voluntatem meam, quam ille tibi explicabit, scio, ne postmodum in eo quis vestrum laboret, quem ad nos scribendi, quavis data occasione, studium capiet. Quod ut pro tuo otio quam facias sæpius, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Bene et feliciter valeas.

Dat. e regia de Hampton Court, 27 Oct. 1576.

Tui amicissimus,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro et amico suo carissimo

D. Johanni Sturmio, Argentorati.

EPISTOLA CXV

FRANCISCUS WALSHINGHAMUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

DOCTISSIME Sturmi, unis meis literis cogor tuis pluribus respondere : non quod non velim pro tuis singulis, uti par est, meas singulas dare ; sed quia temporis usura, qua fruor exigua, et valetudine, quæ mihi jam aliquot menses adversa fuit, excludor. Sic autem velim existimes gratissimas quidem fuisse tuas literas, non mihi solum ceterisque tuis, qui te ut solent diligunt, sed etiam regiæ majestati, quæ suo Sturmio tantum tribuit, quantum tua virtus suis meritis sibi jure vindicat. Unum autem hoc in te desideratur, ut pro temporum ratione et hominum moribus pluribus verbis et plenius scribas ; eoque magis, quo sunt tempora nostra, in quibus vivimus, satis plena periculorum, et hominum ingenia, quibuscum conflictamur, non sine suis infinitis recessibus et profundis latebris. Quæ tamen nescio quomodo produnt sese, nostroque bono patefaciunt, quo observantur diligentius, et necessitudines quas indes novas faciunt animadvertimus. Habet Germania vestra plurimos principes, quorum amicitiam et conjunctionem exteri ambiunt, sibi magis quam vestris rem gratam facere cupientes : in quam quisque eorum partem propendet, quam de se spem præbet vel religionem faventibus vel a religione abhorrentibus, nec est inutile scire, nec erit ingratum ad nos perscribere. Imprimis autem, quid de Cæsare statuendum et existimandum judicas, quid de palatino Rheni, et Casimiro, velintne conjunctis animis in amore et benevolentia conquiescere, quam pius et nobilis parens moriens eis commendavit, ad propagationem evangelii et pacis publicæ, an suis dissensionibus et domesticis dissidiis tum sibi tum suis ruinam parere. Non deerunt forte qui nullum non movebunt lapidem, ut ignem hunc injiciant in præclaram illam palatinorum domum, eumque accendant ; eoque diligentius illis cavendum erit. Hisce de rebus si scripseris, et si quid tale suspicandum sit, et quibus modis ac viis præcaveri poterit monueris, gratissima officia tum nobis, tum orbi christiano universo feceris. Bene et feliciter valeas. Ex ædibus meis Londini, 23 Apr. 1577.

Tui studiosissimus,

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Ornatissimo viro D. doctori Sturmio,
amico suo carissimo.*

EPISTOLA CXVI.

FRANCISCUS WALSINGHAMUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

DOCTISSIME Sturmi, accepi literas tuas et librum quem meo nomini dicatum voluisti; pro quibus non vulgares humanitati tuæ et ago et habeo gratias. Quæ autem in iis tuis literis continebantur, et reginæ majestatis interesse putabam, ut ei nota ac comperta essent, ea ad majestatem suam retuli, quæ tam bonam in partem interpretatur, ac cetera omnia quæ a Sturmio suo, homine neque ingrato neque injucundo, proficiscuntur. Erunt autem tuæ literæ, ut sunt, eo gratiores, quo sunt frequentiores, et de rebus iis nos admonent, quæ (tanquam qui corpore valent et recte se habent, nullo sensu tanguntur eorum quæ male sani misere et cum dolore patiuntur) nihil nos movent et afficiunt. Unum hoc malum est, si non solum, at certe multum grave, rerum ad voluntatem nostram fluentium, quod oblivisci nos faciant aut saltem parum memores, non quidem natura sua sed nostro vitio, calamitatum et rerum malarum quibus alii premuntur. Hic si tu nos alte dormientes et improvide securos expergefeceris, et crebrioribus tuis literis admonueris nos imminentis periculi, honestissima studia et rectissima officia feceris. Hunc enim tibi morbum nostrum ut ægrotus indico; tu ut peritus et bonus medicus medicinam admoveto: si morbum sanaveris, non carebis fama honoratissimi medici; sin minus opera tua successerit, recte habet, liberasti fidem. Scribis metuere sibi Genevenses ab Hispanis: at si vera sunt quæ ad nos perferuntur, et crebro, magis metuendum est vicinis nostris Belgis et nobis ab illis; fertur enim, idque non per dubiæ fidei auctores, cogitare Austriacum, atque jam fecisse, de Hispanis suis in Belgium revocandis, parareque novas turbas contra Anriacum et meliores Belgas; magna sibi pollicitum de primoribus nonnullis ex ordinibus, quos suis corruptelis et blandis pollicitationibus in sua consilia, id est in patriæ suæ incendium et suam ipsorum præsentissimam ruinam et interneccionem, pellexit. Hæc, inquam, adferunt ii ad nos: tu plura deinceps intelliges; referet enim omnia ut sunt filia veritatis tempus. Tu interea fac ut valetudinem tuam cures, et quæ observaveris ad nos perscribas, et quo poteris crebrius. Ita magna et optima officia apud nos deposueris. Bene et feliciter valeas.

Dat. Londini, 22 Julii, 1577.

Tui amantissimus,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro, D. Johanni Sturmio,
amico meo carissimo. Argentorati.*

EPISTOLA CXVII.

PHILIPPUS SIDNEIUS AD HUBERTUM LANGUETUM.

MI carissime Languete! Ex ternis tuis quas literis 24 Augusti scriptis ad me misisse affirmas, binas tantum accepi, eas quidem omnium humanitatis veræque amicitiae plenas; sed quid hoc novum est? Itane putas exsolvi posse promissum, quod sancte fecisti de nobis invisendis? Hoc esset plane, domine Huberte, verba dare. Gaudeo sane te non longe abesse Spira, ubi jure tecum agi potest.

Nuper hic fuit nobilis vir nomine de Tamars, quocum notitiam contraxi, et eo quidem libentius, quia sæpenumero honorificam tui mentionem me præsentem fecerit. Sic et Aldegundus sæpe, ipseque princeps, cum apud illius celsitudinem diverterem, multa dixit, quibus intelligerem te summo opere illi esse carum. Quorsum hæc? Plane ut tibi persuadeam, ut illum, modo tuto possis, invisas; inde ad nos venias. Habebis ibi pulcherrimum campum exercendi ea in hac nova republica formanda, quæ per totum vitæ tempus tam sedulo didicisti. Et sane spero me, antequam multæ septimanæ elabantur, eo venturum: amo enim principem illum, et forsitan aliquo modo magis ei inservivi, quam ipse noverit. Ita sane nostri animi hoc tempore inclinantur, ut (si bella ex Belgio continentur) in aliquam spem adducar, vaticinium illud tuum, quod mihi de ipso aliquando Viennæ dixisti, felicem eventum habiturum. Marchio Hauræus auxilium flagitat, credoque, si ita res postulaverit, exoraturum fore. Pax Gallica aliquo modo nostram reginam perturbat; putat enim secum male agi. Causam nosti. Ego quidem hæc parvi momenti judico; semper enim et causam et animam habebunt hæc rumpendi, modo aliquid certi fundamenti, quo niti possint, videant.

Scripti tibi ante annum de Furbissero quodam, qui æmulus Magellani fretum, quod septentrionalem Americæ partem alluere existimatur, investigavit. Mira est historia. Is cum præterito anno tardius procederet, ita ut autumno Bauataos tantum insulamque, quam Frislandiam Zeno Veneto inventam esse judicat, præternavigaret, appulit insulam quandam, ut se suosque aliquo modo reficeret: ibique forte fortuna juvenis quidam ex sociis ipsius particulam terræ, quam resplendentem vidit, sustulit, monstravitque Furbissero. Ipse cum alia curaret, nec crederet in regione adeo septentrionali pretiosa metalla gigni, parvi ea pendit. Sed hieme jam incipiente rediit. Juvenis terram illam ut laboris sui signum, (nec enim alia conjectaverat,) secum retinuit donec Londinum rediret. Ibi primum quidam ex amicis juvenis cum animadverteret miro modo relucens, experimentum fecit, invenitque esse aurum purissimum,

nulloque alio metallo mixto: adeo ut Furbisserus vere proxime elapso eo remeaverit, jussus insulam illam perlustrare, nec ulterius progredi, si ea expectationi responderet; quod et fecit, jamque reversus est, naves, quas tres tantum easque parvas habuit, onustas referens; diciturque (namque adhuc non exportarunt) bis centum tonnas mineralis terræ tulisse: certum judicium tulit, insulam adeo metalliferam esse, ut Peruinæ regiones, saltem ut nunc sunt, longe superare videatur. Sunt et sex aliæ insulæ huic vicinæ, quæ videntur parum ei cedere. Hoc igitur tempore consilium initur, quomodo hi nostri hactenus sane fructuosi labores integri possint conservari contra injurias aliarum nationum, inter quas Hispani et Dani videntur præcipue considerandi; illi, quia Papaniano jure occidentalia omnia sibi vendicant, hi quo septentrionales eo propiores, et Islandia¹ freti aptius ad hoc iter accommodati. Necnon dicuntur navigandi arte satis valere. De hac igitur re tuum judicium pro amore nostro mihi mittas velim, simulque commodam viam describas illas mineras exercendi. Promisisti te Gutebergica jura mihi missurum fuisse. Hoc ut quam primum facias oro. Ex illis forsitan aliquid lucis erui potest. Nos enim hanc artem paulo melius scimus quam vindemiam. Itaque scribere memineris, ut famæ, quæ de te hic maxima est, respondeas: literas enim, nisi prohibeas, reginæ monstrabo. Res est profecto magni momenti, et quæ veram religionem profitentibus aliquando forsitan conducet. Scripsi tibi ter de illo nostro magno negotio: quare puto tibi ea de re satisfactum.

Oro ut diligenter ad me scribas, et pigritiam forsitan excutiam. Literas Fremingo nostro mittas. Taxius enim veloces suos equos nimium exercuit. Doleo sane casum illius viri. Belus noster tecum jam, ut credo, veteres amicitiae fructus suaviter in memoriam vocat. Amo illum, et tamen invideo. Lubetius noster mecum egit de pecunia quam rex Galliae debet liberis Germaniae civitatibus. Hic profecto video consiliarios libenter velle civitatibus Germanicis gratificari. Sed, ut nosti, vous autres francois nous devez il y a long temp toute L'Aquitaine et la Normandie, mais vous feres plus tost banquerouttes que les paier, et pourtant nous estimons peu tels debiteurs et moins si mauvais fermiers. Peto a te, ut mihi scribas, quo in statu res tuæ sint. Nisi persuasum habeas me, in quacunque re valeam, semper fore paratissimum tibi inservire, scelestum me judicas. Nec mihi absentem animum objicias: nunquam enim aliquid remisi ex illo vehementi amore, quo te semper prosequutus sum; sed potius Indies auxi, dulcedinemque tuæ consuetudinis absens vel maxime sensi. Sed tu vide, quid Aristoteles in Rhetoricis de senibus habeat: esse nimirum in amore frigidus, et nos irridere nostris spiritibus in amicitia colenda, quasi nihil aliud essent quam juvenilis ardoris fumi. Sed, Deus bone! quis jam audet me pigritiae nomine accusare, cum ita longas literas scribam? Vide ut mihi longiores rescribas; habebis enim mensis unius ad minimum usuram. Vale,

[¹ Omnia sic MS.]

et me optimo Bano commendes, Lubetio nostro, Clusio, optimo Jordano, meoque Andreae. Et Beuterichio, omnium reisterorum doctoratissimo et omnium doctorum reisteratissimo, (ut Cicero, ni fallor, de Scævola et Crasso,) ita mea officia deferas ut illius, qui eos omnes amat, et cupit eis singulis gratificari et inservire. Iterum vale, mi Huberte.

In aula regia, 1 Octobris, 1577.

Tui amantissimus,

PHILIPPUS SIDNEIUS.

Miror quod nihil de Wackero jam diu intellexerim. Fuit hic ilico post reditum meum ex Germania Henricus, baro a Lichtenstein, cui sane talem humanitatem non exhibui quam debui; ita fui plane implicitus negotiis, et præ absentia parentis et avunculorum, qui tunc temporis in Balneis erant, non bene instructus ad eum ut volui accipiendum. Oro ut, cum tibi idoneum tempus fuerit, me excuses. Est sane præclarus juvenis, et quem ego ex corde amo; et quodcumque aliquis ex ejus amicis huc venerit, conabor hanc culpam compensare. Consanguineus meus Grivellus te officiose salutat.

INSCRIPTIO.

. *mo viro domino Langueto,
domino meo carissimo. Fran-
cofurti ad Mœnum.*

EPISTOLA CXVIII.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD GEORGIUM BUCHANANUM.

CUM anno superiori meæ in D. Pauli ad Galatas epistolam homiliae, serenissimo Scotorum regi dicatæ, in publicum prodirent, pridie kal. Sept. ad te, vir præstantissime et domine mihi plurimum observande, literas dedi: et duo misi ejus libri exempla, quorum unum ut regiae majestati meo nomine offerres, alterum in mei amoris atque observantiae testimonium tibi retineres rogabam. Ab eo autem tempore nihil vel ex Anglia vel ex Scotia vestra literarum accepi, quibus docerer, quid de libris illis sit factum. Affirmavit quidem nostro typographo Londinensis mercator, cui ille fasciculum curandum dederat, hunc certo et tuto illuc transmissum fuisse. At mihi ejus fidem suspectam facit, partim tam diuturnum silentium, partim illius avaritia, quæ mihi plurimis aliis argumentis perspecta est, et hominem in iis curandis negligentem facit, quæ nullo cum lucro conjuncta esse videt. Et auxit mihi suspicionem hanc generosus juvenis D. Georgius Keith, comitis Marescalli Scotiæ filius, qui et ipse tale quid

factum existimat, cum te sciat in amicitii bonorum amplectendis facilem et cumprimis officiosum esse. Itaque cum Augusto mense de indigna fratris sui Gulielmi cæde ad me literas daret, et meum in ejus memoria ac morte celebranda officium requireret, atque insuper operam suam in meis curandis pro sua humanitate mihi offerret; ego occasionem tam optatam minime negligendam putavi, et fratris manibus officium præstiti quale potui inter occupationes et curas graves, quæ me a poetico studio, quo olim delectabar, avocant; et simul has literas ad illum Lausannam perferendas dedi, ut inde eas cum suis ad te mittat, quas ut ea fronte accipias oro, mi doctissime Buchanane, qua hominis tui nominis studiosissimi officia accipere soles; et me quæso hac cura libera, ut num mei Galatæ ad tuas manus pervenerint, et ut a regia majestate accepti sint, intelligam. Hoc tibi sancte affirmo, me non aliud meis lucubrationibus quærere, quam ut ecclesiæ prosim: quod si assequar aliqua ex parte, me nullius laboris aut molestiæ piget. Vale, vir præstantissime et mihi cum reverentia observande. Tiguri in die solstitii brumalis, anno nati Christi 1577.

Tuæ præstantiæ observantissimus,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Præstantissimo viro D. Georgio Buchanano, serenissimi Scotorum regis præceptori fidelissimo, domino suo plurimum observando.

EPISTOLA CXIX.

PHILIPPUS SIDNEIUS AD HUBERTUM LANGUETUM.

MI carissime Huberte! Simul et Robertus Belus et Rogerius et Buterichius tuus cum tuis optatissimis literis venere, ita ut eodem tempore mihi et audire te et videre summa mea cum voluptate viderer. Tu me pigritiæ nomine acriter accusas, et interea in eandem culpam impingis, imo ideo majorem, quia tuis ego fio melior, meæ tibi inaniter obstrepant necesse est. Et stili usus, ut videre est, plane mihi excidit; et ipse animus, si forsam unquam aliqua in re valuit, incipit jam pro ignavo nostro otio vires suas et sine sensu amittere et non illibenter remittere. Quem enim ad finem sunt nobis nostræ cogitationes ad variam cognitionem excitandæ, nisi locus illius exercendæ detur, ut inde publica utilitas redundet, quod

in corrupto seculo sperare non licet? Quis musicam nisi ad delectationem, architecturam nisi ad ædes fabricandas discit? Sed ipsa mens, inquires divinæ mentis particula, ita excolitur. Summus certe, si hoc fatemur fructus; sed videamus an non nostris splendidis erroribus pulchram, sed fucatam speciem induamus. Dum enim mens ita quasi sibi extrahitur, non potest aciem suam in se penitus intuendam convertere, cui operæ nulla quam homines navare possunt comparari potest. Nonne vides me eleganter stoicum agere? imo et cynicus ero, nisi tu me revoces. Quare, si velis, para te in me: campum jam monstravi, et aperte tibi denuncio bellum.

Sed miror, quid tibi in mentem venerit, mi carissime Languete, quod cum adhuc nihil me dignum egerim, velles me matrimonii vinculis obstringi; nec tamen aliquam denotas, sed potius ipsum statum, quem tamen tu tuo exemplo hactenus non confirmasti, extollere videris. De illa, qua quam indignus sim facile agnosco, jamdudum meas rationes breviter sane, sed ut poteram, tibi scripsi. Hoc quidem tempore credo te aliquid aliud sensisse, quod quicquid fuerit, ut ad me scribas vehementer oro: magni enim sunt ponderis apud me omnia, quæ a te proveniunt; et, ut ingenue fatear, aliquo modo dubito, ne aliquis suspicionibus magis quam sapientia validus aliquid sinistri de me tibi insusurraverit, quod tibi quamvis non fuerit persuasum, voluisti tamen caute et amice mihi considerandum præbere. Quod si ita fuerit, oro ut mihi rem ipsam manifesto scribas, ut me tibi, cui cupio esse probatissimus, purgare possim: sin tantum jocus aut amicum consilium fuerit, id quoque ut significes oro, cum omnia tua mihi, non minus quam quæ sunt carissima, semper grata veniant.

Novi hic nihil est, nisi quod novum in monarchia est et fere inauditum, quum nihil eveniat novum. Aurum nostrum Furbisserum jam liquefactum non ita magnas opes producit, ut primo ostentaverat: tamen non contemnendæ insulæ sunt ad sexagesimum secundum gradum, sed hoc inter maxime secreta tenent, ne ut scis præripiatur occasio. Imo et eodem gradu sperant se posse fretum transire: adeo sunt nugæ ille magnus mundus a cosmographis descriptus; si vero fretum tali temperaturæ cadat, vides fore magni momenti. Credo reginam id in gratiam principis Casimiri facturam, de quo mihi scripsisti; sed nolui hoc tempore multa de ea re tractare, cum sciam nostrum ingenium esse nihil celeriter perficere. Quid aliud jam plane dormituriens tibi scribam, nisi te a me ut cor meum amari, meque nulli rei magis intentum esse, quam ut possim hoc aliquando tibi demonstrare? Grivellus meus te salutatur. Saluta humiliter meo nomine Comitem et Comitissam Hannaviensem, et scribe mihi, quomodo canes, quos misi, ipsis arrideant. Scripsi ad Lubetium hoc tempore, Banesium, Andream Anselinum, Merellum: egone piger? Oro ut Clusium salutes, et Domino Salvato significes, me multum illi debere ob libellum, quem mihi in Gallicam linguam traductum misit: ego

cum mihi traderetur, fui occupatissimus, sed aliquando hanc illius humanitatem merebor. Domino Glauburgo quoque plurimam salutem dicas, cui ego libenter gratificabor. Vale, carissime Languete. Kalendis Martii, 1578.

Tuus,

PHILIPPUS SIDNEIUS.

Ego Belo omnia amica, quæ potero, officia præstabo, tum ob sua merita, tum præcipue ob tuam commendationem.

EPISTOLA CXX.

LAURENTIUS HUMFREDUS AD [ABRAHAMUM MUSCULUM].

IMMANUEL. Discessit a nobis tuus filius, et ad aliquot menses hæsit Londini, ubi tamen et literis operam dedisse et conciones audivisse non dubito. Mihi et patris tui honorandi senis nomine et tua et sua ipsius causa fuit carissimus. Basileæ enim cum vixi, aliquot versiones D. Musculi apud Frobenium inspexi, et prælo præfui. Si quid latet, rogo ut in lucem prodeat: fuit enim variæ lectionis, limati iudicii, et indefessæ diligentia. Nec oblivisci possum quanta humanitate me et aliquot comites Bernæ exceperit. Itaque colo memoriam tanti viri, et rogo Deum ut tibi ejusque posteritati benedicat. Nonnihil vero animum meum angit, quod nos filius tuus tam cito reliquerit, et quod non licuerit illi prodesse ita uti volebam. Sed enim ardebat quodam studio videndi academiam Cantabrigiensem et alia loca Angliæ, quo doctior redeat, non nummator. Te vero, doctissime vir, rogo et hortor in Domino, ut pergas sequi patris vestigia, et nos Britannos, quantumvis longo intervallo disjunctos, literis invisere, imo et eruditus librorum monumentis juvare, ut in filio talem scriptorem revixisse intelligamus. Fruendum est enim hoc singulari beneficio pacis, et omnes labores ad utilitatem ecclesiæ conferendi, dum licet per hanc temporum serenitatem. Perge ut cœpisti, et D. Jesus te diu ecclesiæ catholicæ et patriæ et nobis valentem et florentem custodiat. Oxon. Mar. 3, anno 1578.

Tuus,

LAUR. HUMFREDUS.

EPISTOLA CXXI.

PHILIPPUS SIDNEIUS AD HUBERTUM LANGUETUM.

MI carissime Huberte! Scripsi tibi per Beuterichium nostrum, quid tum mihi in animum veniret. Hoc tempore D. Rogerio hæc ad te dedi, potius ut nullam intermittam occasionem te salutandi, quam ut ulla hic offeratur occasio vel cogitatione digna. Ita male satisfacimus Beuterichio ut credam, nisi quo minus fiat ipsius obstet humanitas, male nos in Germania audituros. Et tamen, ut ingenue et tibi soli dicam, non ita constanter visi [sunt] vestras res tractare, cum aliud princeps Aurangius, aliud illustrissimus Casimirus viderentur appetere. Unde regina arripuit occasionem defendendi tarditatem suam in exequendis consiliis contra Leycestrensem, Walsinghamum et alios, qui eam vehementius ad agendum persuaserant, quod maxime doleo. Plessius noster brevi, credo, hinc discedet, qui nec ea potuit obtinere, quæ sane Christianæ reipublicæ fuissent salutaria. Ego profecto, nisi Deus potenter resistat, videor mihi causam nostram arentem videre, et aliquid jam Indicum mecum meditor. Regina tibi favet, ut spero te brevi intellecturum: interea me, ut soles, vehementer ames velim; meque omnibus nostris communibus amicis commendes. Ex aula regia 10 Martii, 1578.

Tuus,

PHILIPPUS SIDNEIUS.

Swendianum scriptum accepi a Comite Hannaviense; a te nullum hactenus habui. Meum D. Rogerium oro ut in meam gratiam adhuc magis ames.

EPISTOLA CXXII.

LAURENTIUS HUMFREDUS AD ABRAHAMUM MUSCULUM.

IMMANUEL. Accepi tuas literas, doctissime vir: si quid feci gratum filio Wolphgango, aut quod esse possit a re tua, gaudeo. Peregrinus ipse, didici peregrinis succurrere. Hoc solum molestum est, quod voluntati facultates non respondeant. Deinde hoc tempore impositum mihi subito grave est onus cujusdam legationis in Germaniam ad synodum Smalcaldensem, ubi cum fratribus conferendum de Lutheranismo, quantum

intelligo, et de illa infausta cœnæ dominicæ controversia, quæ cum tamdiu tanto æstu et studio partium tractata fuerit, quomodo dirimi possit non video. Utinam alii legati ex Helvetia et Geneva adessent, ut possemus, invocato Dei nomine, et amice ac fraterne convenire! Regia majestas in id incumbit. Deus et a vobis et a nobis orandus, ut tantum negotium ad aliquem felicem exitum perducatur. Miselli sumus: itaque precamur, ut in infirmitate nostra ipsius virtus perficiatur. Reversus curabo filium et adjuvabo pro viribus: hactenus de illis duobus Anglis nihil certi cognovimus. Hæc raptim Londini. D. Jesus suæ ecclesiæ et vestræ misereatur, te conservet cum tua familia! Amen. Anno 1578, Junii 5°.

Tuus totus et patri tuo Wolphgango Musculo

plurimum devinctus,

LAUR. HUMFREDUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro, et fratri in Christo
observando, D. Abrahamo Mus-
culo, ecclesiæ Bernensis ministro
dignissimo. Bernæ.*

EPISTOLA CXXIII.

GEORGIUS BUCHANANUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

S. TUÆ literæ, vir præstantissime, Tiguri scriptæ prid. kal. Sept., octavo demum post mense, hoc est, ad kalendas Maias, sunt mihi perlatae. Ac a rege quidem tuum munus, ut erat amplum et honorificum, ita libenter et benevole est acceptum: spes vero de eo tuæ, et aliorum qui isthuc sunt bonorum, non modo ipsi, sed nobis quoque, qui ei instituendo sumus præfecti, longe gratissimæ acciderunt: nam si indoles quæ in eo nunc jucunde efflorescit, cum tempore maturuerit, et expectatione nostra dignos fructus ediderit, erit profecto quod et ille et nos plurimum tibi debeamus: ille, quod ingenium adhuc infirmum laudibus vestris sustentetis, et adhortationibus vestris labores pueris molestos, velut ostentatis victoriæ præmiis, allevetis: nobis, quod oneris impositi tales viri in partem ultro subeatis, non potest non esse jucundissimum, nisi nos ingratissimi esse velimus. Neque enim sola vox præceptoris studia discentium promovet; sed quæcunque etiam animum jacentem exsuscitant, et laborum tædia minuunt, et virtutis veræ speciem ob oculos proponunt, etiam præ-

ceptorum vice funguntur. Accedit ad hæc, quæ dixi mollius ad aures quam præcepta accidant: ut quæ non velut pro imperio jubeant, sed honoris et gloriæ blandissimis invitamentis illiciant. Habent etiam illa vestra munera, quæ ex locis magno intervallo dissitis adveniunt, longinquitatis gratiam, et adulandi suspicione carent: at domesticorum plerumque officia non ex horreo liberalitatis depromi, sed tanquam æs alienum exsolvi existimantes accipiunt. Sed hactenus de rege. Poemata mea quod probes, est mihi pergratum: nam sive in eo erras, non iudicii infirmitate falleris, sed benevolentia adductus minus errata perspicis; sive jure id facis, ego quoque jure gaudeo (ut apud Nævium Hector) a laudato viro laudari: sed ne id mihi solidum sincerumque sit gaudium, multa impediunt. Ætatis enim nostræ ea est ignavia, ut nemo in eo libenter magnum studio collocet laborem, unde aut minimum aut nullum speret operæ pretium. Nec desunt nec deerunt, qui non clari poetæ clarissimam sententiam, qua virtutem sui esse præmium contendit, contemnant; sed ut totum hoc scribendi genus, ut inutile et ad unam aurium voluptatem comparatum, abjiciant. Me vero hominem mediocri ingenio præditum, *vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere natum*, quæ potuerunt ullæ satis * * * * *

EPISTOLA CXXIV.

FRANCISCUS WALSHINGHAMUS AD JOHANNEM STURMIUM.

S. P. LITERIS tuis quas postremo accepi, nihil in præsens respondeo propter occupationes meas graviore quibus premor, et subitam discessionem latoris præsentium. Superioribus hisce diebus in aliqua spe eram de rebus Belgicis componendis; sed illa spes concidit propter literas quas accepit Austriacus, si ejus fidei credimus, a catholico rege, quibus significat universum istud negotium Belgicum componendum et definiendum demandatum esse et concreditum majestati imperatoriæ, quæ in se suscepit res eorum componere; sed quo tempore aut quibus conditionibus, aut quam feliciter, ignoramus. Alia sunt quæ libens ad te perscriberem, sed negotium et temporis brevitatis non sinunt: referam in aliud tempus, et me ut soles diliges. Raptim. Antwerpia, 5 Sept. 1578.

Tuus ex animo ut suus,

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro et amico suo carissimo D. Johanni Sturmio, Argentorati.

EPISTOLA CXXV.

RICARDUS HILLES AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

S. P. Ex literis tuis septimo Novembris proxime præteriti Tiguri datis, domine colendissime et in Christo Domino Servatore nostro carissime, intellexi te bene valere, et Deum Optimum Maximum precor, ut te quam diutissime in ejus gloriam et ecclesiæ suæ ædificationem conservet. Tuæ dictæ literæ profecto magnum mihi attulerunt consolationem, quod tuorum filiorum carissimorum et necessariorum amicorum obitum ita bono et constanti animo tuleris, quia *beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur: modo enim, dicit Spiritus, requiescunt a laboribus suis.* Si enim te ipsum diuturno mœrore conficeres, nil lucri aut commodi inde unquam exspectare poteris. Certissimum est enim, eos in hunc mundum non redituros: æque etiam certum est, te prius ad illos abiturum.

Literas, quas in tuis accepi pro D. Laurentio Humfredo, ultimo die mensis Decembris Oxonium misi, per tabellionem quendam fidum, qui singulis hebdomadis literas ab academia Oxoniensi defert; ita ut nullum sit dubium, quin literas tuas prædictas domino doctori Humfredo ante hunc diem certissime dederit. Precor autem te, ut si quas alias literas mihi inscriptas Argentinam mittas, D. Theobaldo Behem, mercatori Argentoratensi, qui eas mihi quam commodissime mittere poterit, ut non dedigneris una cum illis literis pecuniam pro vectura earundem mittere: vereor enim alias, ne non ipsas literas tam libenter per postam Spierensem mandare velit.

Habeo tibi gratias, quod ea nova, quæ tunc temporis audivisti de Alansonio principe (qui est frater regis Galliae, sicut ego intelligo), mihi scribere dignatus fueris; et ego vicissim nunc tibi rescribo, eundem principem Alansonium in fine mensis prædicti Decembris de oppido Belgico (quod Bergen Germanice et Mons Gallice vocatur) in Galliam cum omnibus suis militibus abiisse. Aiunt autem ipsi Belgici, quod eo modo illud oppidum contra regem Philippum animo habet defendere, sicut avus ejus urbem Mætensem contra Cæsarem Carolum quintum tutatus est. Amico meo veteri Julio Sancterentiano (in officina Froschoviana pro correctore ad typographiam suam servienti) habeas me commendatum precor; dicasque illi precor, me jamdudum literas suas benevolas 24 Augusti Tiguri datas ante duas menses accepisse; præcrea etiam ante mensem unam quinque illos libros in iisdem suis literis specificatos: quorum unum, sicuti cupiebat, mihi ipse servavi, reliquos autem domino Herberto Westphalingo, præbendario Oxoniensi, Oxonium per fidum tabellionem misi. Item quod secundum ejus desiderium, quod hactenus

præstiti officium in procuranda sua annuitate Oxoniensi, idem nunc etiam officium, Deo volente, ei impendam ad proxime præteritas nundinas Francofordienses autumnales literas meas, die mensis Augusti proxime præteriti datas, ad dominum Christoferum Froschoverum, Tigurinum misi, de quibus Julii Sancterentiani responsum brevi exspecto. Spero item eas ipsas fuisse literas meas, quas tu postremo a me scriptas ad Julium tuum intelligis, quemadmodum in initio tuarum literarum scripsisti.

Uxor mea, quæ nunc dierum subinde valde valetudinaria est, (quamvis jam, Deo gratias, utcunque valet,) quamplurimum te resalutat. Deum precor ut is pro sua bonitate te una cum uxore tuisque omnibus incolumem servet. Vale. Londini, 10 Januarii, anno nati Christi 1578, stilo Anglicano.

Tuus pro posse,

RICHARDUS HILLES.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Doctissimo viro domino Rodolpho
Gualtero amico mihi caris-
simo.*

EPISTOLA CXXVI.

FRANCISCUS COMES BEDFORDIENSIS AD RODOLPHUM GUAL-
TERUM.

LITERÆ tuæ, gravissime vir, quibus Johannem Rodolphum Ulmerum commendasti, mihi admodum gratæ fuere: et ipse quoque mihi carus est, non solum propter studium et voluntatem communiter in patriam, præcipue vero in te et in patrem ejus; sed etiam propter multiplices illius virtutes illum mirifice diligo. Est enim adolescens honestis moribus, talis nimirum, quem merito probi omnes et ament et commendent, et (quod ex iis intelligo, qui secum in Academia Oxoniensi versabantur) bonis literis non solum deditus, sed etiam summopere intentus, in quibus ita (Dei numine aspirante) profecit, ut non dubite illius studia in Dei gloriam et ecclesiæ ejus emolumentum brevi evasura Patriam vestram tum in religione tum in aliis omnibus bene et felicitate habere vehementer gaudeo; et te, doctissime vir et pater in Christo venerande, in sancto pietatis studio et gloriæ Dei promovendæ cursu non defatigari lætor. Ac Deum ex animo precor, ut te magis ac magis con-

firmet, suisque donis locupletet, ac præsidio tueatur. Vale, gravissime vir. Exoniæ, prid. Cal. Mart. 1579.

Tui in Domino studiosissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

Postscriptum. Gratias ingentes tibi ago, doctissime vir, pro humanitate tua in me singulari, cum essem vobiscum in patria vestra: atque ut idem meo nomine faceres toti Mæcenaticæ cohorti Tigurinæ precibus a te contendo.

EPISTOLA CXXVII.

GULIELMUS COLUS AD [RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM].

VENIT ad me, doctissime vir, juvenis quidam Tigurinus, Ulmeri filius, ut narrat, post dies aliquot hinc ad vos reversurus. Huic meas literas ad te denegare non potui, virum de me exule ante multos annos optime meritum, non quod quicquam habeam hoc tempore dignum quod tibi legendum offeratur, sed ne non scribendo beneficii accepti immemorem me esse judices. Filium tuum audio, alumnum non ita pridem Oxoniensem, summæ spei juvenem, præmatura morte esse sublatum: quod sane vehementer dolemus omnes, quibus erat, dum hic ageret, familiariter notus, non solum tua ipsius causa, quod filium tantæ exspectationis amiseris, sed multo magis, ut par est, quia sine magno damno ecclesia Christi carere tanto ingenio non possit. De nostris vero Anglis, qui Tiguri mecum exularunt, nihil est quod scribam, præterquam quod ex multis vix quinque jam esset reliquos. D. Hornus Vintoniensis episcopus dignissimus valetudine utitur valde infirma. D. Mullins est archidiaconus Londinensis: D. Renigerus archidiaconus Wintoniensis. D. Humfredus et ego præficimur duobus collegiis Oxonii, ille Magdalenensi, ego Somatochristiano. Ceteri omnes emigrarunt ex hac vita. Ex his vides ad magnam paucitatem eos esse redactos, qui vobiscum aliquando vixerunt exules; et vides, quo in statu res nostræ sint, qui adhuc sumus superstites. Quænam vero sit conditio religionis per universam Angliam, si scire cupias, eadem est prorsus, quæ fuit ab initio regni Elizabethæ serenissimæ reginæ nostræ: nulla est immutatio. Regina Scotiæ apud nos est, sed non est sui juris, nec licet illi evagari quo voluerit. In Scotia religionem veram acerrime tuentur et defendunt, atque omnia sunt illic quietata et tranquilla. Audio a principe Parmensi parari exercitum in Belgas. Casimirus honorifice acceptus est a regina nostra, nec scio an quis un-

quam fuerit illi hospes gratior. Dux Alanconius exspectatur in dies singulos; sperat, ut audio, se nuptias adepturum hic in Anglia. Hæc tibi impertienda existimavi hoc tempore, nuntium præsertim tam opportunum nactus. Salutabis amicos meos omnes, nominatim vero D. Lavaterum, D. Bullingerum, Froschoverum, meum Julium, etc. Vale, carissime vir, et amantem redama. Oxonii, pridie calendas Martias, 1579.

Tui studiosissimus,

GULIELMUS COLUS.

EPISTOLA CXXVIII.

HUBERTUS LANGUETUS AD PETRUM HUBNERUM.

S. P. D. MIROR te de studiis generosi nostri domini Sidnæi nihil ad me scribere: nam ut de iis aliquid scriberes, maxime a te exspectabam. Credo te esse memorem eorum quæ tibi dixi, cum de ejus institutione tecum agerem: nempe illustrissimum ejus parentem ac fratrem maxime cupere, ut veram cognitionem linguæ Germanicæ assequatur; quod puto non fore ipsi difficile, modo ingenii ipsius celeritas ac memoriæ felicitas a diligentia et industria non destituantur, et tu eum sui officii sæpius admoneas, et quæ sunt tui diligenter facias, non solum explicando ei Germanica, quæ in linguam Latinam postea convertat, sed præcipue loquendo cum eo Germanice, cum ipsius sermonis Germanici usus sit ei magis necessarius quam lectio scriptorum Germanicorum: nam quæcunque Germanica scripta aliquid continent, quo ipsius ingenium excoli possit, sunt fere omnia conversa in linguas ipsi notas. Ut autem expedite loquatur Germanice, nunquam lectione scriptorum Germanicorum assequatur, etiamsi totam vitam ei rei impenderet, nisi usum sermonis ad eam adjecerit. Erunt quidem ipsi insuavia ejus rei initia, sed dulcescent tempore; nam ubi sentiet se profecisse, capiet ex ea re voluptatem, et ad reliqua persequenda reddetur alacrior. Tu vero vide ne in ea re ipsi desis: nam non ignoras me id a te præcipue petivisse, teque mihi promississe; et si videas tuas admonitiones non esse ipsi admodum gratas, ne tamen propterea desistas, sed tuum institutum urge. Quod si feceris, non est quod dubites quin tibi tandem sit gratiam habiturus: intelliget enim te hæc agentem cupere ipsi consulere; et cum sit animo generoso,

pro beneficio nequaquam malam gratiam referet. Bene vale. Ex Thermis, 4 die Junii, 1579.

Tui studiosissimus,

HUBERTUS LANGUETUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Optimo ac doctissimo viro, domino
Petro Hubnero amico suo caris-
simo. Argentorati.*

EPISTOLA CXXIX.

GEORGIUS BUCHANANUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

TUAS priores literas una cum libris accepi, non paucis postquam a te missæ fuerant mensibus. Librum, ut voluisti, dedi regi, quem ille quo debuit, hoc est propensissimo in te, animo accepit. Rescripsit etiam pro tempore quæ visa sunt: illud videlicet imprimis, "Cum cives omnes mei tibi plurimum debeant, me non solum tibi obæratum, sed prope nexum esse volueris, ut qui in partem oneris gravissimi succedas, et nostrum laborem partim leves, partim animum adhuc rudem velut subigis, et ad semen doctrinæ accipiendum frugemque bonam proferendum paras." Et cum utriusque nostrum labor ad ingenii spectet cultum, nostræ partes agricularum industriæ, tuæ vero cœlesti illi vi, quæ labores omnes fæcundat, et salubri temperie dat segeti incrementum, posse comparari videntur. Posteriores vero tuæ literæ, Tiguri bruma datæ anno 1577, ad nos demum perlatae fuerunt ad Augustum anni 1579. Ego jam quadragesimum et eo amplius diem ob adversam valetudinem ab aula absum; sed cum primum eo rediero, dabo operam, ut rex ipse tantulum suis occupationibus suffuretur, ut ipse sui animi ad te testimonium sua manu det: sin minus id ipse præstare potero, curabo ut per collegam meum, virum pium et eruditum Petrum Junium (qui molles aditus et tempora observabit), id conficiatur. Interim ad te mitto commentarium nostrum de regno, scriptum quidem temporibus turbulentis, sed nunc demum emissum, spatio modico interjecto, mitescente tumultu, et auribus hominum ejuscemodi sermonibus assuefactis.

Potest fortasse noster labor supervacaneus videri, tot præsertim hominum doctissimorum jampridem ea de re lucubrationibus evulgatis. Sed cum illi sparsa quædam sed præclara in hoc genere præcepta collegissent,

mihī sum visus operam omnino non lusurus, si in methodum ea redigerem, et non temere, sed via et ratione, de re tota disquirerem. In hoc genere si operæ quid pretium viri probi et docti me fecisse existiment, multitudinis approbationem nihil moror.

9 kal. Aug. anno Christi nati 1579.

EPISTOLA CXXX.

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS AD GEORGIUM BUCHANANUM.

MIRABAR equidem, vir præstantissime et domine mihī plurimum observande, me de meis ad serenissimum regem et te toto triennio nullum responsum accipere. At nuper intellexi et tuarum literarum eandem sortem fuisse: nam quas tu ad 9 kal. Aug. anni proxime elapsi dedisti, ego ultimo id. Jan. accepi. Quæ quo tardiores ad me venerunt, eo plus voluptatis attulere, quod et librum meum propensissimo animo acceptum esse, et meum hoc officium tibi viro doctissimo, cujus iudicium innumeris aliis præfero, probari nuntiarent. Doleo tamen me interea caruisse eo gaudio, quod ex primis tuis literis percipere potueram. Sed cum eas in hanc usque diem non viderim, aut hominum malevolorum perfidia aut alia aliqua causa interciderint oportet. Sed sufficit, ut dixi, me serenissimo regi et tibi rem non ingratham fecisse. Quod si accedat regiæ erga me voluntatis indicium ejus manu scriptum, quod tua humanitas pollicetur, tunc me hac parte beatum prædicabo.

Literis tuis conjunctus erat libellus tuus, "de jure regni apud Scotos," quem non ipse modo legi, sed symmystis et collegis meis legendum et examinandum præbui: quorum omnium idem est de illo iudicium quod meum; librum videlicet [non] tam docte et graviter, quam pie scriptum. Et utinam quod in eo bene et pie dicis, omnibus regibus persuaderi posset! ita enim beatiorens essent qui illis subjecti sunt populi, et ipsi non in terris modo beati regnarent, verum etiam cum Rege regum et Domino dominantium Jesu Christo regni cœlestis consortio fruerentur. At quia pauci ita sentiunt, plerique autem adulatorum et perditissimorum lenociniis corrumpuntur; dum se reges esse putant, turpissimorum affectuum et scelerum mancipia fiunt: et insuper suæ fidei commissum populum, cujus ποιμένες esse debebant, deglubunt, et tandem una secum perdunt. Felicem ergo et beatum prædico serenissimum Scotiæ vestræ regem, cui hoc tam corrupto seculo talis institutor obtigit, qui animum juvenilem præceptis saluberrimis imbuere, et virtutum vere regiarum semina in illo plantare potest. Et spero Deum, qui hac gratia illum complexus est, daturum

etiam, ut præceptis salutaribus obediat, et cum populo suo felix et beatus vivat, et regnet ad sui nominis gloriam.

Hæc ad literas tuas respondere libuit, simulque monere ut si tibi nulla literas ad nos transmittendi via compendiosior offeratur, eas ad reverendissimum Eboracensem dominum Edvinum Sandium mittas, cum quo mihi aliquot annorum amicitia intercessit, qui eas per Londinenses suos ad nos perferri curabit. Vale, vir præstantissime. Tiguri, 8 Id. Mart. anno nati in carne æterni Filii Dei 1580.

Tui amantissimus,

RODOLPHUS GUALTERUS.

EPISTOLA CXXXI.

H. ZANCHIUS AD D. FRANCISCUM WALSINGHAMUM.

S. HERI cum a nobis discederet vir clarissimus D. Johannes Sturmus, jussit me ad te, vir magnifice, scribere de suo ad nos adventu, de causa adventus, deque etiam discessu. Dixi mihi nullam tecum intercedere amicitiam, nedum familiaritatem: respondit, se certo scire meas tibi futuras gratas, atque hanc meam scriptionem sperare se futuram aliquod amicitiae nostræ initium; te enim summopere erga literarum et pietatis professores affectum esse, ut me hujusce officii pœnitere non possit. Quod ergo ad te, magnifice domine, hasce literas dare ausus fuerim, non est cur causas explicem, cum jam breviter illas indicarim. Tantum rogo ut meam simplicem scribendi rationem, tanquam senis, qui studio ornate dicendi jam valedixit, pro tua prudentia atque humanitate boni consulas.

Multa passus est bonus senex propter liberam et apertam veritatis defensionem, quam ita constanter defendit, et defendendi animus illi est, ut coactus aliquid tempori dare (quidam enim minati ei sunt carcerem), calendis Augusti Argentina discedens, ad nos altero die pervenerit, ubi ab omnibus amicissime exceptus, atque inprimis ab illustrissimo principe, qui aurea etiam sui imagine illum honoris causa donavit; et ipse vicissim omnes sua veneranda præsentia, gravissimis et eruditis colloquiis, et, quod plus est, sua constanti pietatis testificatione, audiendis concionibus, participando sacræ cœnæ sacramento, mirifice recreavit, totamque urbem ædificavit.

Scriptis per hoc tempus (nunquam enim otiosus fuit) tres libros contra ubiquitatis apostolum, sed nondum in lucem prodierunt. Causa diu agitata in senatu, tandem per literas quindecimvirum revocatus fuit, data

fide publica securitatis. Heri igitur, quæ fuit 23 Sept. 1581, persolutis omnibus ex fisco illustrissimi principis, qui in hospitio facti fuerant, sumtibus, summo mane, aliquot comitatus fratribus, Argentinam versus discessit, sanus atque hilaris, summa diligentia mandatam mihi ad te scriptionem non semel atque iterum commendans.

Habes, magnifice vir, executionem mandati Sturmiani ad me, de te salutando, et per literas meas de ipsius adventu ad nos et discessu commonefaciendo: quod officium eo libentius feci, quod speravi id fore, quod Sturmius sine ulla dubitatione ausus est polliceri, nimirum futuras literas meas tibi haud ingratas, teque recepturum me in numerum amicorum tuorum: quod ut facias, non vulgariter rogo. Servet serenissimæ reginæ majestatem, omnes proceres, ecclesiam et regnum, te cum omnibus bonis Dominus Jesus Christus! per illum enim omnia consistere ait apostolus.

Ncustadio, 24 Sept. 81.

T. M.

H. ZANCHIUS.

EPISTOLA CXXXII.

REGINA ELIZABETHA AD DOMINOS CONFÆDERATOS HELVETIÆ.

Elizabetha Dei gratia regina Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, etc. potentibus et magnificis dominis, dominis confœderatis inclytæ Helvetiæ salutem et *εὐπραξίαν*.

COGITANTI mihi de rebus, quæ nuper mandato et, quemadmodum præ-tenditur, nomine ducis Sabaudie cognati mei peragebantur, et etiam nunc peraguntur, adversus urbem Genevensensem; cogitanti quinetiam de causis istiusmodi turbarum, et quem finem tandem sortiri possent, ut omittam florentissimas gentes et pulcherrimas urbes, quæ e primordiis longe abjectioribus promanarunt, nunc dirutas et prostratas jacere; tunc in mentem venit me operæ pretium facturam, si de iis quas vos scire, et quarum vestræ interesse mihi videatur, vos certiolem facerem. Earum autem duæ potissimum sunt; una quæ ad concordiam spectat et apud vos maximum pondus habeat, altera quæ postulat ut qui vestri corporis membra sunt, eos omni necessitate sublevetis et adjuvetis; præsertim cum quicquid in ipsos beneficii confretis, in vos redundabit. Non mihi dubium est autem, quin ista remedia, quæ a me vobis recensentur, ipsi satis animis perpendatis, nempe quam frugifera et necessaria sint vestræ libertati contra omnem vim hostium futura. Vestræ quandoque sapientiæ laudes jam pene omnium gentium sermonibus atque linguis celebrantur, ut nihil dicam

de eximia fortitudinis laude, de qua nulla unquam ætas conticescet: ob quam nemo unquam, quocunque genere copiarum abundarit, vestræ salutis et reipublicæ insidias struere est ausus, nisi qui callide in aliquorum animos et familiaritatem influxissent: cujus farinæ hominibus si locum detis, periculum est ne pestiferum venenum tandem in totum corpus diffundere conentur, idque cum commodo suo, tum vestro exitio et internecone. Recte igitur faciunt qui ejusmodi calliditates amoliuntur: ita enim salutis suæ vigilabunt, hostes autem etiam sine dispendio suo domabunt. Consilium siquidem malum consultori pessimum est, et artes Sinoniæ sponte collabuntur; vinculo interim pacis sese arctius quotidie constringente, cum nullis insidiis labefactari aut dissolvi possit.

Considerate, obsecro, Galliæ statum, intuemini Belgium: ex quibus Gallia jam aliquot annis intestinis bellis ardet, et pene ad vastitatem redigitur; Belgium autem dum¹ projectum et dirutum ante oculos jacet: defloruit utrumque, quod ipsis nunquam usu venisset, si vel tantillum paci et concordiæ studuissent. Nunc autem alter alterum enervavit, nec est qui alteri fidere ausit: amicis quandoque reconciliatis non facile fides adhibetur, illique perpetuo suspicionis nomine insimulant.

Ceterum quod ad Genevam attinet, fateor eam adeo potentem non esse: tamen est vestri corporis membrum, quod intelligo, ac proinde quanto majoribus damnis afficitur, tanto acrius vulneratur Helvetia vestra. De quo etsi aliqui vestrum, qui alia opinione induti sunt, non cogitent, videant tamen illi, ne tandem aliquo detrimento suo experiantur quid sit. Quod annis ante aliquot vobis cum urbe Genevensi familiaritas intercessit, cum bonis communibus, adduceremini equidem mutuis inter vos officiis, id quod vicinos decet, confirmata est²; siquidem ea adhuc constans est et manet, quidnam mali acciderit alterutri, quo non alteruter afficeretur?

His accedit quod Geneva emporium est, et transitus vestræ terræ, quo vestri hostes facile de vobis bellum inferendo retardantur. Capta igitur Geneva, ipsi jam cogitabitis quid vobis salutis restat. Sane illud ipsum, de quo nunc inter vos et istos, qui boni principis tenera ætate abutuntur, contenditur, causam præbuit, ut cum Genevensibus sese societate obstrinxerint vestri majores omnem in eventum. Quare si præclare ab illis factum est, ipsi facile animadvertitis, quo vestrum ipsius² commodo et laude apud omnes pene gentes in defensione negotii istius Genevensis præstituri sitis.

Oro igitur et clementer etiam atque etiam peto a vestra sapientia, ne dedignemini more et fortitudine Helvetica huic negotio, quod vobis cum Genevensibus commune est, strenue intendere et vestram operam navare: unanimes urbem hanc vobis vicinam ab omnibus insidiis et irruptionibus, quantum quidem in vobis est situm, tueri. Oro quinetiam non dedignemini malevolentiam, quam forte juvenis hic princeps contra vestros

[¹ Fors. *diu.*][² Omnia sic.]

confœderatos concepit, precibus et intercessione mitigare, orareque excellentiam ipsius, ut negotium juri commendet, et legitimis coram iudicibus illud civiliter prosequatur; vel porro omne cognoscat, nempe quomodo res omnes comparatæ sint, et ad quem finem spectant; nempe non cum Genevensibus tantum, sed tota cum Helvetia confœderata ipsi rem esse, vosque paratos esse quidvis pro istis, qui hactenus omnia sua officia et honores excellentiæ ipsius obtulerunt et detulerunt, perferre, quidquid, inquam, fides data vestræ societatis videbitur postulare. Quod si feceritis, cum apud omnes gentes vobis perpetuo honori et laudi erit, tum vero atque imprimis vestræ saluti consuletis. Valet.

Ex regia mea Ottlandia. Kal. Septembrib. 1583.

Vestræ confœderationis amantissima,

ELIZABETHA R.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Potentibus et magnificis dominis,
D. confœderatis inclytæ Helvetiæ,
amicis nostris carissimis.*

EPISTOLA CXXXIII.

REGINA ELIZABETHA AD QUATUOR CIVITATES IN HELVETIA
EVANGELIO CHRISTI REFORMATAS.

Elizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, etc. magnificis dominis et amplissimis coss. et senatoribus iv. civitatum, Tiguri, Bernæ, Basileæ atque Schaphusiæ, amicis nostris carissimis.

MAGNIFICI domini, amplissimi viri et amici carissimi. Apud P. V. pro sociis vestris intercedere, vel periculi vestri jam satis prævisi et præcauti vos admonere, esset in amicitiam nostram peccare, si non ex summo erga vos amore faceremus: sed cum et amari a nobis non inique feretis, et nos sollicitam esse de communi vestra pace plane cernetis, quin quod gratum vobis futurum sit nostrum studium non dubitamus.

Res est et causa Genevensium, quam vobis commendamus; neque aliena a consortio ejusdem Christi et evangelii, quod profitemini, nec secreta et disjuncta a communionem periculi vestri, utpote quæ eisdem habeat hostes, quos et vos; eos nimirum, qui propter eam, quam profiteamur, religionis reformatæ sinceritatem, in vitas omnium evangelium profitentium conjurarunt; qui quidem ad nos separatim opprimendos

variis artibus utuntur, idem tamen institutum et propositum ubique sequentes. Quod autem designant animis, quoniam apertis viribus assequi nequeunt, (vellent enim uno ictu nos universos pessundare,) distributum nos in partes secando, et a nobis invicem disjungendo, cuniculos agunt, fraudem nobis clam machinantes. Qui quo magis in hoc elaborant uno, ut nos videlicet in partes distrahant, eo nos reddunt ad concordiam inter nos alendam colendamque vigilantiores; et quo citius malum ex vicino malo percipimus, eo studiosiores esse debemus ad vicinum malum a vicinis nostris propulsandum, ne quæ nostra culpa semel grassari cœpit in unum membrum contagio, inevitabili fato per totum corpus diffundatur. Hæc nos parcius, ut vos ex re præsentis attentius, quid sit mature agendum, etiam atque etiam cogitetis. Id autem est, ut sociorum vestrorum curam habeatis; ipsorum, ut jam videtur proprium, vos vestrum commune periculum faciatis; quoad eos levandos omnem opem, omne auxilium, omne studium afferatis; et concordem inter vos ab eorum defensione nullo unquam tempore desistatis. Istud merito nos pro nostra amicitia rogamus, vobis nihil unquam denegatura, quod ad salutem vestram ornandam pertinere arbitrabimini. Bene et feliciter P. V. valeant. Datæ e regia nostra Othlandiæ, primo die mensis Septembris, anno Domini 1583, regni vero nostri vigesimo quinto.

Incolunitatis vestræ studiosissima,

ELIZABETHA R.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Magnificis dominis et amplissimis
coss. ac senatoribus civitatum IV
Tiguri, Bernæ, Basileæ atque
Schaffusicæ, amicis nostris caris-
simis.*

EPISTOLA CXXXIV.

MINISTRI ECCLESIAE LONDINO-GERMANICÆ AD DOMINUM
THESAURARIUM.

Honoratissimo domino thesaurario S. R. M.

SUPPLICES indicant ministri et seniores ecclesiæ Londino-Germanicæ, se nuper Dantisco a fratribus e Belgio profugis literas accepisse, ex quibus intelligunt, ecclesiam ibidem peregrinantem non sine difficultate et periculo

conventus suos et pietatis exercitia agere posse propter quosdam religioni infestos indigenas, qui peregrinos cœtus aliquoties turbare et seditiois accusare non dubitarint. Quoniam autem dicti peregrini, qui liberum et apertum in vernaculo sermone religionis exercitium requirunt, non facile sibi locum idoneum intra vel extra urbem a magistratu concessum iri sentiunt, nisi superioris alicujus, præsertim vero regis Poloniæ illius civitatis protectoris, intercesserit auctoritas; demisse rogant, ut ad alia in illud regnum collata beneficia serenissima regia majestas, pro sua erga pios omnes et afflictos peregrinos benevolentia, apud ipsam Poloniæ regiam majestatem Belgicis quoque peregrinis eam ad rem aliquid favoris conciliare clementer velit. Unde non solum obstringentur, ut pro regiæ majestatis diutina vita et prospera gubernatione preces assiduas apud Deum fundant; sed etiam, ut se gratos præbentes fidelem huic regno unitisque provinciis operam et officium præsent in iis, quæ de Hispanorum aut aliorum hostium conatibus et consiliis intellexerint, sedulo perscribendis.

Honoratissimæ vestræ dominationis addicti

MINISTRI ET SENIORES

Ecclesiæ Londino-Germanicæ.

EPISTOLA CXXXV.

REGINA ELIZABETHA AD REGEM POLONIÆ.

Elizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, etc. serenissimo principi ac domino Sigismundo D. G. regi Poloniæ, magno duci Lithuanæ, fratri et consanguineo nostro carissimo.

NON dubitamus, quin serenitas vestra et ceteri omnes christiani orbis principes bene intelligant, qualiter pertractatæ fuerimus ad subveniendum statibus inferioris Germaniæ jam pene ab Hispanorum tyrannide oppressis, cum antea crebris nostris et in Hispaniam et ad Belgii gubernatores legationibus et intercessionibus nullas æquas pacis condiciones poteramus illis procurare. Tria autem sunt, quæ nos maxime ad id faciendum permoverunt: primum, causa purioris religionis, quam ipsi nobiscum profitebantur; deinde, vetera cum vicina gente jura commerciorum et confœderationum; ac demum, multa et aperta indicia, quæ declararunt quasi subjugatos in nos et alios principes eandem religionem profitentes eosdem hostes arma sua conversuros, ut monarchiæ, quam injuste affectant,

limites possint extendere. Sic evenit, ut multi earum regionum incolæ in diversas provincias coacti sunt commigrare, et inter alias, in nonnullas Prussiæ civitates, quæ serenitati vestræ sunt subjectæ: in quibus multi nunc verentur, ne propter aliquam in quibusdam articulis religionis discrepantiam non sint tali immunitate ac religionis exercitio fruituri, quæ convenire possit ipsorum linguis ac prioribus ritibus, et quibus instituti hactenus fuerunt. Cum autem certiores facti simus, non esse illos Belgas, qui vel in civitate Gedanensi vel in aliis maritimis Prussiæ urbibus inhabitant, ex eo hominum genere, qui quærunt legitimum magistratum subvertere et anarchiam introducere, vel aliquem hæreticum vel impium errorem profiteantur: non potuimus, quin pro nostra erga totam nationem affectione eos serenitati vestræ commendarem; rogantes serenitatem vestram, ut cum regium plane sit bene mereri de iis, qui propter ejusmodi honestas causas exules sint, serenitas vestra velit pro sua auctoritate intercedere cum magistratibus Dantiscanis et aliis, si opus fuerit, ut qui isthuc ex Belgio commigrarunt, apud eos possint absque ulla difficultate aut periculo ejusmodi cœtus reformatæ religionis continuare, prout in patria consueverunt, atque iis aliquamdiu in illis urbibus fuit indultum; neque patiatu ullam injuriam iis inferri, quamdiu se honeste ibidem gesserint. Nam propter nonnullam malevolentiam peregrinos exigere et jura hospitalitatis ipsis denegare, neque serenitati vestræ neque ipsis urbibus poterit esse vel utile vel honorificum. Proinde subnixæ a serenitate vestra petimus, ut illud beneficium in eos velit nostra de causa conferre, quod nos pro summa benevolentia a vestra serenitate acceptabimus, et erga eos, qui a serenitate vestra nobis commendabuntur, vicissim rependemus, ubi occasio aliqua se obtulerit: sicque serenitati vestræ ac suo regno precamur a Deo Opt. Max. omnia felicissima. Ex regia nostra Grenowici, 16 Aprilis, 1591.

EPISTOLA CXXXVI.

COMES STAFFORDIÆ AD [WOLFGANGUM] MEYERUM.

DOMINE Meyere, libenter facerem quid pro te possem, et procuravi quid potui, et collegii seniores cum magna animi alacritate libentissime concesserunt ut victum in collegio inter socios habeas. Pro vestitu et libris ordinem dedi nomine reginæ eruditissimo et clarissimo domino doctori Nevillo, ut decem tibi det per annum libras nostras, quas sine dubio recipies singulis tribus mensibus divisim. Pro cubiculo, si possunt, hoc quoque

pro te facient, quamvis non sit res audita extraneis concedere quod patriotibus est per fundatores addictum. Consulo ergo tibi, ut si dant accipias gratissime; si non possunt, non multum queras¹; nam hoc quoque verum est, quod si cubiculum habes, oportet ut emas lectum et suppellectile, et pro anno vel biennio sumptus illos facere credo neque tibi utile esse nec necessarium; et minus constabit tibi parvum cubiculum prope collegium locare quam nummos tuos consumere in iis rebus quas non vendes pro dimidio, cum reditum in patriam cogere velis. Sic vale, et Deus te incolumem conservet! Grenvigia, 6 Aug. 1593.

Tui amantissimus,
E. STAFFORD.

EPISTOLA CXXXVII.

CIVITAS TIGURINA AD REGINAM ELIZABETHAM.

Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ reginæ D. Elizabethæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ et circumjacentium insularum reginæ, fidei christianæ defensatrici, dominæ nostræ clementissimæ.

S. LAUDABILE et pium studium, quo serenissima tua majestas, regina potentissima, cum omnes veræ pietatis atque optimarum artium studiosos peregrinos, tum vero atque imprimis eos qui ex nostra urbe ad celeberrimas tuæ majestatis academias proficiscuntur, hactenus complexa est atque fovit, facit ut pro conjunctione illa arctissima, quæ nobis est in Christo, nulli dubitemus hasce ad regiam tuam majestatem literas dare, eique studii ejusdem declarandi novam occasionem præbere. Quod ut ipsa in optimam partem accipiat rogamus, hancque ita facturam certo confidimus.

Comparuit coram nobis dilectus civis noster Caspar Tomannus, harum literarum exhibitor, nobisque humiliter supplicavit, quandoquidem ingenti florentissimas academias tuæ majestatis, Oxoniensem nempe et Cantabrigiensem, adeundi, inque harum collegio aliquo sua studia continuandi æstu ac desiderio flagret, si modo gratiam obtinere per tuam clementiam possit, ut nos ad laudabile istud propositum promovendum ipsi commendationem ad serenissimam tuam majestatem clementer concederemus, quam quidem pondus habituram maximum ipse non dubitet.

Igitur ejus petitionem honestissimam agnoscentes, et simul attendentes eum ab eo tempore, quo primum musis dicatus scholas adire cœpit, præceptores suos pie et perofficiose semper coluisse, bene et modeste

[¹ Sic.]

vixisse, inque optimarum literarum et liberalissimarum artium studiis, cum domi tum foris, Genevæ nimirum et Monspeliî operam sedulam posuisse, ob quas virtutes merito bonis omnibus carissimus fuit; nolimus non ejus petitioni satisfacere.

Quare istum ac talem juvenem, jam in Angliam proficiscentem, serenissimæ tuæ majestati, regina, sic commendamus, de meliore (quod aiunt) nota, ut majore cura, studio, ac diligentia non possimus; quo laudabilem cursum suorum studiorum in nobilissimis academiis tuæ majestatis, inque earum collegio aliquo, si ulla honesta ratione fieri potest, possit continuare, ad patriæ nostræ ecclesiæque, in qua utrinque membra simus conjunctissima, honorem atque utilitatem.

Isthoc beneficio si Thomannus noster a serenissima tua majestate clementissime affectus fuerit, erit id non solum nobis gratissimum, sed ejus etiam compensandi occasionem nullam prætermitemus.

Scriberemus in hanc sententiam pluribus, ni videremur voluntati et benevolentiae serenissimæ tuæ majestatis erga nos nostrosque, cujus hactenus illustria documenta dedit, diffidere.

Quod ergo reliquum est, Deum rogamus et rogabimus, ut serenissimam tuam majestatem, ecclesiæ orthodoxæ nutritiam laudatissimam et fidei veræ defensatricem fortissimam, omni bono cumulare, ab omni malo et præsertim antichristi technis defendere, ac piis vestris consiliis benedicere pergat, ad nominis sui gloriam propagandam, et ecclesiæ, cujus florentissimum Angliæ regnum ceu hujus nostri seculi vera Sarepta est, salutem tuendam. Amen.

Scriptum in urbe nostra, et sigillo solito communitum. Pridie Idus Sextilis, anno ultimæ Dei patientiæ 1600.

CONSUL ET SENATUS

Civitatis Tigurinæ.

EPISTOLA CXXXVIII.

CASPARUS THOMANNUS AD CASPARUM WASERUM.

Laus Deo semper! Anno Salvatoris 1601, Februarii.

CUM magnitudinem cumulumque beneficiorum tuorum, reverende domine Mæcenas, jucunda subinde recordatione repetam, et meam in referenda gratia nimis angustam facultatem agnoscam; facile quidem percipio gratias me pro tantis meritis nullas posse, agere vero perexiguas, et tamen debere longe maximas. His ita sese habentibus, non levis est

mihī incussus timor, ne putes harum rerum non solum commemorationem omnem mihī excidisse, sed universam etiam earundem vel cogitationem quidem perpetuo e memoria mea effugisse; cum tot præsertim dies mensesque præterierunt, ex quo nihil literarum a me accepisti, quibus vel beneficam saltem meam voluntatem, cum res non suppeteret, ostenderem. Sed spero cognita silentii diurni causa te me excusatum habiturum.

Primo scias, reverende domine Mæcenas, prosperam corporis valetudinem; idem si de te intelligerem, maxima afficerer lætitia. Quo in statu res versentur meæ, breviter dicam. Dieppam cum veneram, navem quærebam; ea inventa portu solvi, et secundo vento in Dover appuli: inde recta Londinum profectus ibi tradidi literas commendatitias D. Castollo, a quo fui humaniter acceptus. Postea adibam comitem Rutlandiæ, qui epistolam tuam quoque perlegit, et mihī omnem operam tui causa spondit; tamen se non putare dixit peregrinis locum in collegiis dari, sed scripsit medico regio, ut negotium meum in aula promoveat. Septimo Octobris ad aulam me contuli, et medico ante palatium deambulante invento, illi comitis literas dedi: medicus iis perlectis idem dixerat quod comes, nulla nimirum collegia esse peregrinorum capacia. His verbis auditis omnem amittebam spem. Deinde Robertum Cecilium, Angliæ secretarium primum, (per ejus enim manus, ut nosti, cuncta regiæ offeruntur,) supplex accessi ut senatus Tigurini literas regiæ majestati tradere dignetur. Ille hoc facturum promisit: commorabar aliquot dies in aula, spe fretus mox accipiendi responsum. Cum vero id non fieret, denuo secretarium, homunculum sane arrogantem, rogans conveni pro me intercedat apud regiam majestatem, quo citius responsum adipiscerem: tandem dixit ut redeam 15 Octobris, tunc se mihī regiæ responsum allaturum. Cum itaque die constituto ad illum redieram, duriter me allocutus est in hunc modum: Quid petis? Ego respondi, Commoditatem beneficio et liberalitate regiæ majestatis in collegio quodam studia continuandi. At ipse rursus, Quid meritis, ut hæc petere audeas? Tu nescis, inquit, constitutiones hujus regni. Regina legit tuas literas; nihil propterea vult facere: hæc sunt ipsius formalia verba. Spe me videns frustratum, Londinum iter feci, D. Castollo conquestus, qui condoluit secretarii inhumanitatem. Interea D. Jacobus Meddusius, theologiæ doctor, vir nobilitate et eruditione præstantissimus, audiebat Tigurinos quosdam nuper Londinum advolasse; summa igitur diligentia de nobis inquirebat. Diu hinc inde in urbe cursitando, nos invenit; sibi gratum nostrum adventum dixit. Eppentiano et Werdmullero diutius in Anglia manere nolentibus viaticum dedit. Ego ab eo tempore, quo in Galliam renavigarunt, nihil ab illis accepi. Post illorum abitum me doctor Meddusius in domum suam recepit, ubi exspectabam D. Hungerfordi adventum. Interim omnia visu digna, ope D. Meddusii, Londini videbam. 24 Octobris Hungerford Londinum venit: cum id cognovissem, una

cum D. Meddusio illum adivi: ille vero me non amplius noverat; sed cum illi dixissem cujus¹ sim, me ambabus ulnis amplexus est. Tum narrabam illi cur huc venerim, et quod mihi in aula acciderit. Ille hisce intellectis, misericordia commotus, me consolatus est, et ne animum abjicerem oravit; se velle enim cum D. Meddusio mihi de alia prospicere commoditate. 30 Octob. a D. Castollo ad vitæ necessaria 12 coronatos Gallicos mutuo petere coactus fui. Cum mei causa D. Hungerford et doctor Meddusius deliberarent, incidi in morbum gravissimum, in quo D. Meddusius et uxor ejus plura in me beneficia collocarunt, perinde si illorum proprius fuissem filius: Christophel Schweitzer me etiam magno cum sumptu visitavit. Deus cum mihi pristinam sanitatem restituisset, D. Hungerford, D. Meddusius, D. Castollus constituerunt inter se ut Oxoniam proficiscerer; forsitan ibi ecclesiæ Tigurinæ literas aliquod ponderis habituras: 13 Decembris ad D. Castollum cum maximo animi dolore confugi iterum, implorans ejus auxilium ut mihi adhuc 4 coronatos Gallicos mutuo daret. Ægritudo mea mihi plus quam malebam nummum absumpsit, ita ut nunc 16 coronatos ab illo acceperim. Illi pollicitus sum proprioque chirographo confirmavi, me illi per te, reverende Mæcenas, apud Wolfium Francofurti restitutum. Hac de re etiam fuse scripsi matri meæ. Te rogo etiam atque etiam, reverende domine Mæcenas, enitaris ut D. Castollus pecuniam mihi accommodatam prima commoditate recipiat: quo autem id facilius fieri possit, cogitavi de Funckii stipendio, quod penes est cognatum Henricum Thomannum dare cui velit; id si accipere queam, minore cum molestia D. Castollo satisfieri posset. Londino, 14 Decembris, Oxoniam abibam, munitus literis commendatitiis a D. Hungerfordo et D. Meddusio. Quamprimum Oxoniam perveni, particulares literas, post vero publicas, D. Thomæ Thorentono nunc vice-cancellario tradidi; qui cum viderat a quo literas esse scriptas, lætari dixerat quod a celeberrima ecclesia Tigurina literas accipiat, et insuper se dolere aiebat quod non tum universitatem convocare possit; nam illam gravissimis negotiis occupatam esse. Responsum academici exspectavi, et ad hunc usque diem exspecto; hac tamen septimana mihi vice-cancellarius respondebit. In collegium aliquod ascisci non potero: tamen accepturum stipendium honorificum puto. Si vero nihil omnino liberalitatis ab academia accepero, Londinum proficiscar: ibi enim nobilis est, qui libentissime vellet ut filios instruerem suos. Summam hic certe humanitatem experior a D. Rainoldo, Angliæ Phœnice: quæso, si libuerit, scribe ad illos sequentes viros, et illis gratias agas pro suis in me beneficiis; D. Hungerford, D. Meddusio, D. Castollo, D. Thomæ Thorentono, D. Rainoldo, brevi eruditissima opera in lucem emissuro, D. Christophel Sewheitzer.

[¹ Qu. cujas.]

Restat nunc ut tuæ dignitati supplicem me semper paterno amore prosequi velit. Videbo ego ut tua dignitas me subinde gratissimum reperiat.

Datum Oxonii festinanter.

Tuæ dignitatis studiosissimus,

CASPARUS THOMANNUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo, summa eruditione insigni viro D. Casparo Wasero, linguæ sanctæ professori, patrono et Mæcenati colendo. Tigurum.

(Scribit Joh. Castollus, 11 Feb. 1600: "Ab eo tempore quo superiores ad te scripsi literas affirmavit doctor Gentilis, qui jus civile Oxonii profitetur, publicis comitiis academicos viginti librarum stipendium domino Thomanno annuatim decrevisse.")

EPISTOLA CXXXIX.

JOHANNES JOHNSTONUS AD CASPARUM WASERUM.

S. D. LITERAS tuas, Vasere doctissime et amicissime, scriptas ad diem 20 Martii superioris, accepi ego ad diem 20 Julii; pro quibus eo majores tibi gratias debeo, quod antegressis nundinis nihil literarum abs me datum fuerit. In causa fuit gravissimus morbus meus ex vitio lienis, ex quo objecta mihi præsentissima mortis species fuit omnium judicio. Et Dominus mihi hanc mentem indiderat, ut libens mori cupiverim. Verum secus visum est benignissimo Deo meo, qui dedit post acrem hiemem respirandi adhuc tempus, haud scio quam diu duraturum. Det Dominus ut quod reliquum est miselli ævi, transmittam ad gloriam nominis ipsius!

Patria nostra fruitur Dei beneficio summa tranquillitate. Post asperriam hiemem, qualem nemo patrum vidit unquam, successit mitior æstus, unde melior spes autumnii et imminuta pretia frumenti. Serenissima regina enixa est filiolum Carolum 19 Nov. superioris. Princeps Henricus, animo et corpore vegetus per Dei gratiam, educatur summa diligentia Sterlini. Serenissimus rex hoc tempore agit in vicina Falcolandia. Ad 12 Maii superioris in generali synodo renovatum est solemne fœdus a serenissimo rege præsentem, et cœtu ecclesiæ totius cum Deo, de sincero Dei cultu pro-

movendo, de exstirpando papismo, de præstanda obedientia ex Dei præscripto, secundum uniuscujusque vocationem, ut pietas cum justitia floreat. Et certe ex eo tempore jus severiter exercitum est in facinorosos. Insignis quidam pontificius, Comarchi Bondsonii prope montem Rosarum filius, ob pudendum flagitium contra parentes patratum capite luit mense Maio. Benedictus est Deus, detque gratiam porro bene velle et agere! Johannes Areskinus cum Edouardo Brussio Kinlossio honorificentissima legatione apud Anglos defunctus paulo post exitum comitis Essexii, omnibus bonis lacrymabilem adeoque toti insulæ luctuosam, reversusque læta omnia visus est renunciare. Essexio æmulatio Roberti Cecilii secretarii plusquam objecta crimina nocuisse dicitur. Nunc res tranquillæ sunt, sed verendum ne maxima invidiæ moles et doloris ex Essexii morte et aliorum nobilium erumpat denique in nervum. Dominus Ludovicus Stuartus, regii sanguinis, dux Levinus, cum insigni et magnifico comitatu legationis nomine in Galliam iturus solvit ad 10 Julii, confirmaturus inter gentes antiquum et inviolatum hactenus foedus, gratulaturus regi Francorum de regno ei confirmato, de victoriis, de novo conjugio. Hæc in vulgo: arcana non divulgantur.

D. Melvinus, Moravius, Monipenius, et amici tui recte valent Dei beneficio, teque cum Hovæo amanter resalutant. Salutem amantissime et officiosissime adscribo omnibus D. D. pastoribus et professoribus, collegis tuis doctissimis, quos quæso nominatim adeas singulos, cum D. Stuckio, Simlero meo et Ernio. Ego vobis ac inclytæ urbi vestræ addictissimus precor vobis omne bonum a Deo. D. Benedictum Erlachium patrem, ac Wolfgangum filium discipulum meum, rogo ut per literas officiose salutes a me cum tota familia. Valetudo laborem scribendi impediabat. Perge porro scribendo de rebus vestris et Genevensium et vicinarum ecclesiarum nos omnes reficere. Valete omnes felicissime. Andrepoli in Scotia. Kal. Aug. 1601.

Totus vester,

JOH. JOHNSTONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo et doctissimo viro D. Casparo Vuasero, sacræ linguæ et literarum professori ordinario in inclyta Tigurinorum schola, amicissimo meo. Tigurum.

EPISTOLA CXL.

JOHANNES JOHNSTONUS AD CASPARUM WASERUM.

S. D. SUPERIORE Julio exeunte, clarissime Vuasere, literas ad te paravi, quas tempore visus sum dare Francofurtum perferendas ad nundinas Septembris; sed postea monuit me Hartius noster in tempore non fuisse eo delatas, perferentium cessatione. Miror tamen morem tibi solennem proximis nundinis fuisse intermissum, quo me pro amore tuo et veteres hic amicos salutare solitus es, quod nobis omnibus multo fuit jucundissimum. Itaque petimus omnes, ut constanter pergas nos recreare optatissima aura ex candidissimis vestris Alpibus ad nos usque spirante. Vel brevissimæ abs te literæ nos prolixè exhilarabunt. De me tibi persuasum esto, quamdiu vita est et valetudo, cum nundinis hoc iter literarum me perrecturum. Nunc autem brevitatem excusabit temporis angustia, quam et imperat mihi valetudo, per hosce aliquot dies minus commoda, recrudescente lienis morbo, qui me superiore anno pene confecerat, et si quid ego video, mi frater, trahet paulatim, imo ducet potius: sequar enim lubens volensque clementissimi Dei mei ductum, qui nuperrime 20 Decembris Thomam Cargillum, ludimagistrum Aberdonensem, valentissimum illum quidem, tibi notum, ante me præmisit. Et fortasse non erit diu cum ego sequar. Interea spem melioris vitæ renovat, et diuturnioris etiam inter mortales renovavit mihi Dominus, dato mihi altero filiolo Edovardo, ad diem 15 Januarii. Iisdem quoque diebus, nempe 18 Januarii, natus serenissimo nostro regi tertius est filius, cui nomen nondum impositum. Vivunt præterea et vigent, Dei gratia, Henricus princeps et Carolus cum Elizabetha filia.

Pace fruimur tranquilla, Dei beneficio, in ecclesia et republica. Verum pestis tristitia nobis minitatur. Scintillare enim cœpit Edinburgi, et Glascuæ, et Caralliæ, urbe sexto lapide hinc distante. Anglia plurimum recreata est his diebus, profligato omni milite Hispano ex Hibernia, Dei benignitate et virtute baronis de Montjoy. In Hibernia Hispanus conspiraverat cum comite Tyronensi Hiberno rebelle, atque inde ex vicino loco bellum trahere adversus Angliam cogitaverat. Sed hæc consilia dissipavit Dominus. Hujus rei nuncius certus ad serenissimum regem nostrum his diebus missus est, et gratiæ Deo publice in templis dictæ. De rebus Gallicis et Hispanicis et Belgicis certiora ad vos perferuntur. Obsidio Ostendensis ad miraculum usque continuatur tota hac hieme; nec magna spes est hosti de expugnanda: tenent enim pro Belgis sub præfecto Fr. Weer, equite fortissimo, Angli plurimum, et Scoti cum Gallis. De rebus vestris et Genevensium ut nos pergas certiores reddere rogamus ego et

omnes tui hic amici, quibus copiam facio literarum tuarum. Illi tui memores et studiosissimi te resalutant, D. Melvini, Monypenius, Blakius, Muravius, ceterique. Salutem officiose et amanter dico D. Stuckio, Zuinglio, Lavatero et collegisticis optimis, imprimis D. D. Simlero et Ernio nostri amantissimis, quos tecum cum conjugē et socero æternum valere jubeo. Andream in Scotia, ad diem 8 Feb. 1602.

Totus tuus,
JOH. JOHNSTONUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro D. Casparo Wasero,
linguæ sanctæ et scientiæ professori
in illustri Tig. schola, amico et
fratri conjunctissimo. Tigurum.*

EPISTOLA CXLI.

THOMAS SAVILIUS ET HENRICUS HAWKINS AD HENRICUM WOLFIIUM.

CLARISSIME vir, domine atque amice observantissime: Valde mihi molestum est res ac rationes meas ita esse constitutas, ut paternis tuisque laboribus inspiciendis dies unus atque alter non supersit: sed quod nobis magno nostro incommodo angustiae temporis eripuerunt, id totum tua, ut spero, aliquando humanitas reponet ac restituēt, communicabitque nobis indicem saltem paternarum vigiliarum, quo ingens nostrum desiderium aliqua ex parte lenire possimus. Nos quidem ut vices rependamus, canonem Ptolemæi diligenter tibi perferendum curabimus, ac si qua alia in nostra potestate sita fuerint. Liber autem quem quæris Altorfii editus est hoc nomine, Gemini *εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰ φαινόμενα*. Vale, vir clarissime, atque *I, bone, qua tua te virtus ducit, i pede fausto*.

Dominationis tuæ clementissimæ

Studiosissimi,

THOMAS SAVILIUS,
HENRICUS HAWKINS,

Angli barones.

INSCRIPTIO.

*Clarissimo viro Henrico Wolfio,
&c.*

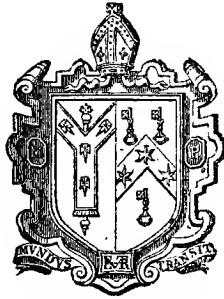
THE
FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT

[FOR THE YEAR 1844.]

OF

The Parker Society,

For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early
Writers of the Reformed English Church.



INSTITUTED A.D. MDCCCXII.

PROCEEDINGS
AT THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
The Parker Society,

HELD AT
THE FREEMASONS' TAVERN,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON,
ON THURSDAY, THE 29TH OF MAY, 1845.

SIR WALTER R. FARQUHAR, BART, IN THE CHAIR,
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ASHLEY, M.P., THE PRESIDENT, HAVING BEEN
UNAVOIDABLY DETAINED BY A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

COLLECTS suitable to the occasion were read by the Rev. M. M. PRESTON,
Vicar of Cheshunt.

The Report of the Council was read, whereupon

The following Resolutions were moved, seconded, and agreed to.

RESOLVED,

That the Report of the Council which has been read, be approved, and that it be received and adopted, and printed for the use of the Members; and also, that the thanks of the Society be given to the President and Council for their valuable services during the past year.

The Secretary for General Business then read the Report of the Auditors, and the Account of Receipts and Expenditure of the past year.—(See page 10).

RESOLVED,

That the statement of the Cash account be received, and that the same be printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors for their services during the past year.

RESOLVED,

That the following persons be the Council and Officers for the year ensuing, with power to fill up vacancies :—

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ASHLEY, M.P.,
was elected President.

SIR WALTER R. FARQUHAR, BART.,
was elected Honorary Treasurer.

GEORGE STOKES, Esq.,
was elected Honorary Librarian.

THE REV. R. G. BAKER,

REV. C. BENSON, Canon of Worcester.

REV. E. BICKERSTETH,

JOHN BRIDGES, Esq.,

JOHN BRUCE, Esq.,

REV. GUY BRYAN,

REV. RICHARD BURGESS,

REV. T. TOWNSON CHURTON, Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

HON. WILLIAM COWPER,

REV. W. H. COX, Vice-Principal of St Mary Hall, Oxford,

REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM,

REV. THOMAS DALE, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's,

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON DEALTRY,

REV. JOHN HARDING,

REV. EDWARD HOARE,

REV. T. H. HORNE, Canon of St. Paul's,

JOSEPH HOARE, Esq.,

HONOURABLE ARTHUR KINNAIRD,

REV. DR. MORTIMER, Head Master of the City of London School,

HON. AND REV. B. W. NOEL,

HENRY POWNALL, Esq.,

REV. JOSIAH PRATT,

REV. M. M. PRESTON,

REV. DANIEL WILSON,

With the REV. JAMES SCHOLEFIELD, Regius Professor of Greek in the
University of Cambridge,
Were elected as the COUNCIL; with power to fill up all vacancies occurring
during the year; and

THE HON. ARTHUR KINNAIRD,
HENRY POWNALL, Esq.,
REV. R. E. HANKINSON, and
FRANCIS LOWE, Esq., were elected Auditors.

RESOLVED,

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Local Correspondents and other friends of the Society, who have assisted the objects of the Institution during the past year.

RESOLVED,

That the thanks of the Society be recorded, acknowledging the important service to its proceedings afforded by the kind consent of Sir James Graham, Bart. Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for a regular examination of the State Paper Office, with permission for the Society to print such documents as may be found there, calculated to promote the objects of this Institution. And that the Council be empowered to make the arrangements in the publication of these documents which may be requisite to carry into effect the intentions and wishes of Her Majesty's Government with regard to such papers, by printing a certain number of copies for sale to the public, in addition to the regular publication for members, and in such form as the Council may deem to be expedient.

RESOLVED,

That the best thanks of the Meeting are due to the Right Honourable Lord ASHLEY for his constant attention to the interests of the Institution, and to Sir WALTER R. FARQUHAR, Bart. the Treasurer, for his kind services, and for his presiding on the present occasion, in the absence of the President who has been detained from the Meeting by his Parliamentary duties.



THE
FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF

The Parker Society,

INSTITUTED A.D. 1840,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE
REFORMED ENGLISH CHURCH.

PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL MEETING, MAY THE 29TH, 1845.

"He (*Archbishop Parker*) was a great collector of ancient and modern writings, and took especial care of the safe preservation of them for all succeeding times; as foreseeing undoubtedly what use might be made of them by posterity: that, by having recourse to such originals and precedents, the true knowledge of things might the better appear."

"As he was a great patron and promoter of good learning, so he took care of giving encouragement to printing—a great instrument of the increase thereof."

Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

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THE COUNCIL of the PARKER SOCIETY have much pleasure in being able to present a complete Report of the proceedings of the past year, to the General Meeting of the Members: the whole of the books for the year 1844 having been delivered, and the accounts for the year being closed. Thus the business of the Society has been brought into as advanced a state as is practicable.

The particulars of the Cash Account will be printed in the larger edition of this Report, to be delivered to the Subscribers with the first volume published for the year 1845. The Receipts were £7033 15s. 1d. and the expenditure £7018 2s. 8d. leaving a balance of £15 12s. 5d. to be carried forward to the account for 1845. The Cash Statement also contains further particulars relative to the reprints of 1841, and the account for the year 1843.

The number of Subscribers still continues to be fully Seven Thousand

Without any especial effort on the part of the Council, the new Subscriptions appear sufficient to fill the places of those discontinued from deaths or other causes. As some subscriptions remain unpaid from neglect or accidental oversight, the Council propose to pursue the plan found satisfactory last year, of requiring £1 5s. for all sets not paid for before the 1st of June, and to allot them so far as they extend, according to priority of application. This course seems to be required in justice to those who have paid at the proper time; and it enables the Council to proceed in printing the books, without the delay which would be occasioned by waiting until the decision of every member, in answer to the notice sent according to the second law of the Society, could be ascertained. They are glad to state that the Subscriptions for 1845 have been paid up much more promptly than in former years.

A list of all the Books printed by the Society is added to this Report. Those supplied for the subscription of the last year were—The Two Liturgies and Documents of the Reign of King Edward VI.; Sermons of Bishop Latimer; a volume of the Writings of Bishop Coverdale: and the Prayers and other Pieces of Thomas Becon.

It was estimated that the letter-press of the publications for 1844, would be equal to 181 sheets of demy octavo, to be bound in five volumes. But as the work progressed, each of the books exceeded the extent anticipated, and the Council deemed it advisable to make some changes in the arrangement, enlarging the books to a quantity of letter-press equal to 196 demy sheets, and delivering them in four volumes; leaving the Remains of Latimer to form a volume for 1845, and thus closing the transactions of 1844 earlier than otherwise would have been practicable.

The Council apprehend that the course thus pursued has been in every respect desirable, since the funds of the year enabled them to give the additional matter recommended by the Editors, and to return an increased quantity of letter-press. They consider, however, from past experience, that it will be desirable hereafter to notice the books intended to be printed, only in general terms. The proceedings always must be influenced by unavoidable contingencies, being liable to delay from the illness of Editors and other hindrances; but the four years' proceedings now closed have shown the Members the average return for their subscriptions, and it is hoped will also have satisfied them as to the probable stability of the Institution.

In reference to the Books for 1845, the Council will only state, that those most advanced, and which they expect to return for the present year, are, another volume of Letters from the Archives of Zurich; a volume of the Remains of Bishop Latimer, including some letters never before printed; a large volume of Bishop Jewel's works, containing the controversy with Cole and Harding; and a volume of Selections from the Devotional Poetry of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. The first two are so nearly completed that it is expected they will be ready in the month

of July; the printing of the other two has been commenced, but the volume of Jewel cannot be ready till after Christmas.

Many other Works are in preparation: among which may be mentioned, the completion of the Works of Archbishop Cranmer and of Bishop Jewel; the Liturgy and Forms of Prayer of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; a further portion of Bishop Coverdale; Letters from Zurich, written by the English Reformers during the Reigns of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Mary; the Writings of Bradford; those of Archbishop Whitgift; and the work of Calhill, in answer to Martial's Treatise on the Cross. The precise years and order of publication cannot be stated.

The Report of last year explained, that the additional letters found at Zurich included many written in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the dates of which supply several chasms in the volume previously printed; but it was not in the power of the Council to prevent the disadvantages of this separation. Some of the Members have recommended, that these letters should be re-printed in one volume, under a regular chronological arrangement, for those only who wish to obtain such a volume, the Latin originals being omitted. The circumstances are peculiar, and the Council propose to consider the question maturely before they decide upon it.

A distribution of books to Public Libraries destitute of funds for subscribing, from the surplus volumes of former years, and the copies of the volume of Liturgies and Documents of the Reign of King Edward VI. has been made to an amount exceeding the donations to the Society. The Council have to thank the Rev. M. S. Wall, of Madeira, for a further donation of Ten Pounds, to be applied toward this important object in the present year.

The Council can again state, that the business details have continued to improve by the experience acquired. These arrangements would be still further facilitated if the Members would always send fresh directions in cases of permanent change of residence. The trouble resulting from books, when once sent out, being returned, owing to removals or other causes, is considerable. The Council trust that the enquiries of Members have been promptly answered; but delays are sometimes unavoidable under the pressure of the very extensive correspondence of the Society.

It is desirable to remind the Members that the maintenance and efficiency of the Society materially depend upon its objects being extensively made known, so as to procure new Members every year, and thus to replace the subscriptions discontinued from death or other causes. The advantage of having each volume a separate publication, and of not requiring any engagement as to the continuance of subscriptions, or the purchase of preceding volumes, is now apparent. A charitable or eleemosynary contribution is not asked. All that is required is the payment in advance of One Pound, for which the return of four valuable

books on an average is guaranteed. The value and acceptableness of these works to the Clergy, and Students in general, have induced many to subscribe, in order that they may present the books to others, when they do not wish to retain the volumes themselves.

The communications received from the Members during the past year manifest increased satisfaction with the proceedings: this encourages the future operations. As the objects and proceedings of the Parker Society have become more fully known, they have been generally appreciated and approved. The Council can also express their belief that the books of future years will be found still more valuable than those that have already appeared. They have to express their thanks for kind aid by the loan of books and otherwise, from many of the possessors of highly-valuable collections of works of the sixteenth century, which will be specifically acknowledged by the Editors of the publications thus assisted. Here may be mentioned the kind permission from the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart. Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, allowing a full examination of the State Paper Office, in furtherance of the operations of the Institution, on the application of the President. This examination is now in progress, and its results, when ascertained, will be fully and fairly communicated to the members and to the public.

Thus the Council trust that the expectations held out in the early announcements are likely to be realised, and that "Students generally, those who have the care of public libraries, all who are interested in the best specimens of the English Literature of the Reformation, and readers of every class," have found, and will find, "the Parker Society well deserving of support."

The object which this Institution seeks to promote is indeed most important. It is to make known those works by which the Fathers of the Reformed English Church sought to diffuse scriptural truth. Their principles were clearly set forth in their writings, and their descendants are now called upon to manifest the same principles, with firmness and decision. One efficient means is the reprinting and circulating of their works; and while engaged in this effort, the Council would request all to unite in the aspiration with which the venerable martyred primate, Archbishop Cranmer, penned and sent forth one of the most important of these volumes:—

"Almighty God, the Father of light and truth, banish all such darkness and error out of His Church, with the authors and teachers thereof; or else convert their hearts unto Him, and give this light of faith to every man, that he may trust to have remission of his sins, and be delivered from eternal death and hell, by the merit only of the death and blood of Christ; and that by his own faith every man may apply the same unto himself, and not take it at the appointment of popish priests, by the merit of sacrifices and oblations!"—*Archbishop Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner. Parker Society Edition, p. 348.*



## LAWS OF THE PARKER SOCIETY

I.—That the Society shall be called **THE PARKER SOCIETY**, and that its objects shall be—first, the reprinting, without abridgment, alteration, or omission, of the best Works of the Fathers and early Writers of the Reformed English Church, published in the period between the accession of King Edward VI. and the death of Queen Elizabeth; secondly, the printing of such remains of other Writers of the Sixteenth Century as may appear desirable (including, under both classes, some of the early English Translations of the Foreign Reformers); and thirdly, the printing of some manuscripts of the same authors, hitherto unpublished.

II.—That the Society shall consist of such a number of members, being subscribers of at least One Pound each annually, as the Council may determine; the subscription to be considered due on the First day of January in each year, in advance, and to be paid on or before such a day as the Council may fix; sufficient notice being given of the day appointed.

III.—That the Management of the Society shall be vested in a President, a Treasurer, and Honorary Librarian, and a Council of twenty-four other subscribers, being members of the Established Church, and of whom not less than sixteen shall be Clergymen. The Council and Officers to be elected annually by the subscribers, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; and no persons shall then be proposed who are not already members of the Council, or Officers, unless their names shall have been transmitted to the Secretaries on or before the 15th of April in the current year, by nominations in writing, signed by at least five subscribers. And that there be two Secretaries appointed by the Council; also, that the Council have power to fill all vacancies during the year.

IV.—That the accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the Society shall be examined every year, previously to the General Meeting, by four Auditors, two of them selected from the Council, and two appointed by the preceding General Meeting.

V.—That the funds shall be expended in payment of the expenses incurred in producing the works published by the Society, so that every member not in arrear of his or her annual subscription shall receive a copy of every work published by the Society during the year, for each sum of One Pound subscribed, without any charge for the same; and that the number of copies printed in each year, shall be limited to the quantity required for the number actually subscribed for.

VI.—That every member of the Society who shall intimate to the Council a desire to withdraw, or who shall not pay the subscription by the time appointed, shall cease to be a member of the Society; and no member shall at any time incur any liability beyond the annual subscription.

VII.—That, after the commencement of the proceedings, no rule shall be made or altered excepting at a General Meeting, and after notice of the same has been communicated to the members by circulars, or by advertisement in two London daily newspapers, at least fourteen days before the General Meeting.

VIII.—Donations and Legacies will be thankfully received; the amount of which shall be expended by the Council in supplying copies of the publications to clerical, or other public libraries, destitute of funds to purchase the same, and for such other purposes, connected with the objects of the Society, as the Council may determine.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

The Auditors having examined the further Cash Account of the Parker Society for the year 1843, shewing the amount received and expended since the last Audit, find that the balance due to the Treasurer on the 24th July, 1844, of £511 12s. 3d. has been wholly liquidated, and that a balance in favor of the Society, of £2 11s. 9d. remains to be carried forward to the account for the year 1845.

The Auditors have also examined the Cash Account for the year 1844, exhibiting the whole receipt and expenditure for that year, and find the same to be correct, according to the annexed abstract, and that there is a balance of £15 12s. 5d. in favor of the Society, which has been carried forward to the account for the year 1845.

HENRY POWNALL, }  
FRANCIS LOWE, } *Auditors.*

*Abstract of the further Receipts and Expenditure of the Parker Society, on Account of the year 1843.*

| RECEIVED.                                             |       | £        | s. | d. | PAID.                                                              |         | £        | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|----|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------|----|----|
| Further amount received for the Reprints of 1841      | .. .. | 210      | 0  | 0  | Balance due to the Treasurer, July 24th, 1844, as per last Account | .. .. . | 511      | 12 | 3  |
| Further amount received for the Books of 1842         | ...   | 20       | 0  | 0  | Balance remaining to be carried forward to 1845                    | ..      | 2        | 11 | 9  |
| Further amount received for the Subscriptions of 1843 | ..    | 280      | 4  | 0  |                                                                    |         |          |    |    |
| Subscriptions for future years received in 1843       | ..    | 4        | 0  | 0  |                                                                    |         |          |    |    |
|                                                       |       | £514 4 0 |    |    |                                                                    |         | £514 4 0 |    |    |

**ABSTRACT OF THE CASH ACCOUNT OF THE PARKER SOCIETY,  
FOR THE YEAR 1844.**

|                                                                                                            | £     | s. | d. |                                                                                                     | £     | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| <b>RECEIVED.</b>                                                                                           |       |    |    | <b>PAID.</b>                                                                                        |       |    |    |
| Amount Received for the Subscriptions of Members for the Year 1844, to the present time (2nd April, 1845.) | 6894  | 0  | 0  | Paid for Printing and Paper of the books for 1844. . . . .                                          | 3995  | 17 | 0  |
| Amount Received for Separate Copies of the Liturgies of King Edward VI. . . . .                            | 23    | 12 | 7  | For Binding and Delivery . . . . .                                                                  | 1562  | 14 | 1  |
| Amount Received for Subscriptions for future years . . . . .                                               | 11    | 0  | 0  | For Volumes purchased to complete sets . . . . .                                                    | 10    | 1  | 3  |
| Dividend on Stock . . . . .                                                                                | 73    | 11 | 3  | For Editorial Expenses . . . . .                                                                    | 471   | 9  | 8  |
| From Exchequer Bill Account for 1844, being Balance of Premium and Interest . . . . .                      | 31    | 11 | 3  | For Insurance from Fire . . . . .                                                                   | 5     | 12 | 6  |
|                                                                                                            |       |    |    | For Books purchased for Library, Copy for Printing and use of Editors, and for Transcripts. . . . . | 139   | 6  | 0  |
|                                                                                                            |       |    |    | For Printing Plans, Reports and Circulars, and for Advertisements . . . . .                         | 124   | 8  | 8  |
|                                                                                                            |       |    |    | For Rent of Office, Salary of Secretary, and Wages of Clerks and Porters . . . . .                  | 477   | 5  | 6  |
|                                                                                                            |       |    |    | For Furniture and Fittings. . . . .                                                                 | 63    | 10 | 5  |
|                                                                                                            |       |    |    | For Stationery and Account Books . . . . .                                                          | 17    | 18 | 0  |
|                                                                                                            |       |    |    | For incidentals, including postage, carriage, coals, and various petty expenses. . . . .            | 149   | 19 | 7  |
|                                                                                                            |       |    |    | Balance carried to 1845. . . . .                                                                    | 15    | 12 | 5  |
| Total . . . . .                                                                                            | £7033 | 15 | 1  | Total. . . . .                                                                                      | £7033 | 15 | 1  |

HENRY POWNALL, }  
FRANCIS LOWE. } *Auditors.*

THE FOLLOWING NAMES, WITH OTHERS, IN THE WHOLE  
SEVEN THOUSAND,

ARE IN THE LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO

**The Parker Society.**

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HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY ADELAIDE, QUEEN DOWAGER.

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