

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

see some further M.S. notes in  
the small 4<sup>to</sup> edit of this Treatise  
pub. 1642.

## A SHORTE TREATISE

of politike pouer, and of the true Obedience  
which subiectes owe to kynges and other  
ciuile Gouvernours, with an Exhortacion  
to all true naturall Englishe  
men, Compyled  
by.

John ♦♦ Pommet D.D.

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

Printed by I. I. P. B. R. VV.

1556.

1642. reprinted in 2<sup>o</sup>.

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

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

## TO THE GENTIL READER.

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

Amen.

## VVHEROF POLITIKE

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



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

A ij      &over

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

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

In

In this lawe is comprehended all iustice, the perfite waye to serue and glorifie God, and the right meane to rule euery man particularly, and all men generally: and the only staye to mayntayne euery cōmō wealthe. This is the touchestone to trye euery mānes doinges (be he king or begger) whether they be good or euil. Bi this all mēnes lawes be discerned, whether they be iuste or uniuiste, godly or wicked. As for an example. Those that haue autoritie to make lawes in a common wealthe, make this lawe, that no pynnes shalbe made, but in their owne cōūtre. It semeth but a trifle. Yet if by this meanes the people maye be kept from idlenesse, it is a good and iuste lawe and pleaseth God. For idlenesse is a vice wherwith God is offēded: and the waye to offende him in breache of these commaundemētes: Thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not be a horeman, nor ger, &c. For all these euilles come of idlenesse. On the other syde, if the people be well occupied in other things, and the people of an other cōūtre lyue by pynnemaking, and uttring the same: thā if ther should be a lawe made, that they might not sell them to their neighbours of the other cōūtre, otherwise well occupied, it were a wicked and an uniuiste lawe. For taking awaye the meane, wherby they lyue, a meane is deuised, so kill them with famyne, and so is not onely this commaundement broken: Thou shalt not kill, but also the general lawe, that sayeth: Thou shalt

A iii loue

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For



6.  
For he that geueth man autoritie ouer the body and life of man, bicause he wolde haue man to lyue quietly with mā, that all might serue him quietly in holynes and righteousnes, all the dayes of their life, it can not be denyed, but he gaue him autoritie ouer goodes, landes, possessiones and all suche thinges as might bried controuersies and discordes, and so hyndre and let, that he might not be serued and glorified, as he requireth. This ordinaunce also teacheth makers of lawes, how they should behaue thē selues in making lawes: that is, to set aparte all affectiones, and to obserue an equalitie in paynes, that they be not greater or lesse, than the fault deserueth, and that they punish he not thinnocent or smal offendour for malice, and let the mightie and great these escape for affection. And out of this ordinaunce groweth and is grounded th autoritie for Magistrates to execute lawes: for lawes without execucion, be no more profitable, than belles without clappers. But whether this autoritie to make lawes, or the power to execute the same, shal be and remayne in one person alone, or in manie, it is not expressed, but leste to the discreciō of the people to make so many and so fewe, as they thinke necessarie for the mayntenaunce of the state. & wherupon in som places, they haue ben content to obey suche lawes, as were made by one, as the Israelites were with those that Moyse ordayned: the Lacedemones with those that Licurgus made, the Athenes

7.  
nes with those that Solon gaue them. And in some places with suche as & were made by certayn outchosen men, as in Rome by the ten men. And in some they receaued none, but suche as all the multitude agreed Vnto. Likewise in some countreyes they were cōtent to be gouerned, and the lawes executed by one king or iudge, in some places by many of the best sorte, in some places by the people of the lowest sorte, and in some places also by the king, nobilitie, and the people all together.

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

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

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

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

10.  
Romaynes, the Tribunes were ordayned to defende and mayntene the libertie of the people from the pride and iniurie of the nobles: so in all Christian realmes and dominiones God ordayned meanes, that the heads the princes and gouernours should not oppresse the poore people after their lustes, and make their willes their lawes. As in Germanye betwene the Emperor and the people, a Counsaile or diet: in Fraunce and Englande, parliaments, wherein they mette and assembled of all sortes of people, and nothing could be done without the knowlage and consent of all. But wher the people haue forsaken God, and contened utterly his worde, they haue the deuil by his ministers, occupied the hole countrey, and subuerted the good ordres, iustice and equalitie, that was in the common wealthe, and planted his unreasonable lustes for good lawes, as euery man may see by the Realme of Vngarie which the Turke in our tyme hath occupied. And wher the people haue not utterly forsaken God and his worde, but haue begonned to be weary of it: they haue not God suffred Tyrannes by and by to rush in, and to occupie the hole, and to suppress the good ordres of the common wealthe, but by litle and litle haue suffred them to crepe in, first with the head, than with an arme, and so after with a legge, and at length (were not the people penitent, and in tyme conuerted to God) to bring in the hole body, and to worke the seates of Tyrannes,

11.  
as hereafter it shalbe declared.

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

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

of

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

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

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

here

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

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

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

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

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

If any ſuche thing ſolowe , it is by reaſon that we  
were ignoraunt.

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

B tran

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

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

Others

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

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

B ij the

18.  
the furious enforcement of the brutishe commones or in pretense of obedience to the Quenes proceedinges in Englande: onles they spedily repent, and renounce their wicked doing, as Aaron did his.

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

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

19.  
**V V H E T H E R K I N G E S**  
princes, and other gouernours haue  
an obbsolute power and authoritie  
ouer their subiectes.

Forasmuche as those that be the Rulers in the worlde, and wolde be takē for Goddes (that is, the ministers and images of God here in earthe, the exāples and myrrours of all godlynesse, iustice, equitie, and other vertues) clayme and exercice an absolute power, which also they call a fulnesse of power, or prerogatiue to doo what they lust, and none maye gaine saye them: to dispense with the lawes as pleaseth them, and frely and without correction or offence doo contrary to the lawe of nature, and other Goddes lawes, and the positieue lawes and customes of their countreyes, or breake them: and vse their subiectes as men doo their beastes, and as lordes doo their vilians and bondemen, getting their goodes from them by hoke and by crooke, with Sic volo, Sic iubeo, and spending it to the destruction of their subiectes: the miserie of this tyme requireth to examyne, whether they doo it rightfully or wrōgfully, that if it be rightfull, the people maie the more willingly obeie and receaue the same: if it be wrongfull, that than those that vse it, maye the rather for the feare of God leaue it. For (no doubt) God will come, and iudge the worlde with equitie, and reuēge the cause of the oppressed. Of the popes power (who compteth him self one, yea the

B ij chief

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

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

(by

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

B iij and



and circumspecte than God, or knoweth what is better for the creature than the creatour himself (as it must needs be saied, that he dothe, that taketh vpon him to breake or dispenche with Goddes will and commaundementes) what an horrible blasphemie is it? what luciferous presumpcion is it?

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

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

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

men

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

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

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

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

B v which

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

True it is, that in maters indifferent, that is, that of them selues be neither good nor euil, hurtfull or profitable, but for a decent ordre: Kinges and Princes (to whom the people haue geuen their autoritie) maie make suche lawes, and dispense with them. But in maters not indifferent, but godly and profitably ordayned for the common wealthe, ther can they not (for all their autoritie) breake thē or dispense with them. For Princes are ordained to doo good, not to doo euil: to take awaie euil, not to increace it: to geue example of well doing, not to be procurers of euil: to procure the wealthe and benefite of their subiectes, and not to worke their hurt or vndoing. And in thempire wher (by the ciuile lawes) thempourours claime, that the people gaue them their autoritie to make lawes, albeit they haue ben willing, and ofte attēpted to execute their autoritie, which som Pikethākes (to please them) saie they haue by the lawes, yet haue they ben forced of them selues to leaue of their enterprise. But such as be indifferent expounders of the lawes, be of that minde that we before haue declared: and therefore  
make

make this a general conclusion, and as it werē a rule, that theperour willing any thing to be done, ther is no more to be done, than the lawes permit to be done. For (saie they) neither pope, Emperour, nor king may doo any thing to the hurt of his people without their cōsent. King Antigonus Chauncelour, saieing vnto him, that all thinges were honest ad lausfull to kinges: ye saie true (quod the king) but to suche kinges as be beastes, barbarous ad without humanitie: but to true ad good Princes, nothing is honest, but that is honest in dede, and nothing is iuste, but that is iuste in dede.

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

Now if wher the people haue geuen their autoritie to their gouernour to make suche lawes, yet can he not breake or dispēse with the positiue lawes: how muche lesse maie suche gouernours, kinges, and princes to whō the people haue not geuen their autoritie (but they with the people, ad the people with thē make the lawes) breake them or dispēse with them? If this were tolerable, thā were it in vaine to make solēne assemblies of the hole state, long Parliaments &c? yea  
(I beseeche

(I beseeche the ) what certayntie should ther be in any thyng, wher all should depende on ones will and affection? But it wilbe saied, that albeit kinges and princes can not make lawes, but with the consent of the people, yet maie they dispense with any positieue lawe, by reason that of long tyme they haue vsed so to doo, and prescribe so to doo: for long custome maketh a lawe.

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

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

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

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

28.  
to rauinous beastes to be torne and deuoured in his  
sight, or to be sawed asondre in the middes. It was a  
pleasunt pastyme for him, to see the parentes stan-  
de by, lamenting and weping, whiles their children  
were tormented and killed. He vsed to complayne  
and lament, that no common calamitie and notable  
miseries happened in his time. He reioyced muche  
whan newes were brought him of the slaughters  
of hole armies of men, great hongre, pestilence,  
townes burnyng, and openynges of the earthe,  
wherin many people were swalowed vp. But the  
daye he sawe any of these him self, he neded neither  
meat nor drinke, he was so iocunde and merye. And  
being gluttid with the pastime of euery mannes dea-  
the, by him self (to procure a newe appetite) he deu-  
ised an other, if he could haue brought it to passe. But  
whan he could not haue it done, the memorie therof  
was so swete, that he ofte desired: that is, that all the  
headdes of the people of Rome stode on one mannes  
necke, that he might with one swashe cut it of. Ma-  
ny other noble actes by his absolute power he  
wrought: and at leynght he commaunded that his  
ymage should be set vp in the temple at Ierusalem, and  
ther worshipped: as not vnlike sait Gardiners (for  
he hathe done no smal thiges) shalbe shortly by Anti-  
cipaciō in Englā. But what was thende of Caligu-  
laes absolute power? whā he had reigned three yea-  
res and ten monethes, his owne householde seruaūtes  
conspired

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

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

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

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

his

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

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

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

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

C

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

32  
VVHETHER KINGES,  
princes, and other politike Gouer-  
nours be subiecte to Goddes lawes, and  
the positiue lawes of theyr  
countreyes.

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

C ij to

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

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

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

These saiences nede no particular examples to con- firme them, but loke on all gouernours and rulers named in the hole Bible, or in any other historie: and among all ye shall finde, that non hath escaped God- des punishment, but alwayes their iniquitie hath ben plaged in them selues or their posteritie.

The cause and maner of king Saules punishemēt  
and

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

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

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

C iij be



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

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

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

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

C v taken

taken for the ministerie and autoritie, that all officers of iustice doo execute: and so it maie appeare by Chriſtes owne wordes, wher he ſaieth: The kinges of the naciones rule ouer' ſhē, ād thoſe that exerciſe thautoritie or power, be called gracious Benefactors, or well doers. For as all mē and womē that ſeme to lye together in the holy ordinaunce of Matrimonie, be not mā and wiſe, for it maie be, that the man hathe an other wiſe liuing or the wiſe other an huſbande, or that they came not together, for the loue of God only, and to auoide ſinne, but for ſensualitie, and to get riches, and ſo thordinaunce it ſelf is one thing, and the perſones, that is, the mā ād womon an other: euē ſo is the politike power or autoritie beiḡ thordinaūce ād good giſte of God, one thiḡ, ād the pſone that executeth the ſame (be he king or kaiſer) an other thing. The ordinaūce being godly, the mā may be euil ād not of God, nor come therto by God, as the Prophet oſee ſaieth: They haue made them a king, and not through me: a prince, and not through my counſail and will,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who shalbe the kinges iudges, hereafter thou shalt heare.

IN

IN WHAT THINGES, AND  
how farre subiectes are bounden  
to obeie their princes and gouernours.

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

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

Others (as the englische papistes) racke and stretche out obedience to muche, and wil nedes haue ciuile power obeied in all thinges, and that  
what

16.  
what so euer it commaundeth , without respect it ought and must be done. But bothe of them be in great errorrs . For the anabaptistes mistake christian libertie, thinking that men maye liue without sinne, and forget the fall of man , wherby he was brought in to suche miserie , that he is no more hable to rule himself by him self , than one beast is hable to rule an other: and that therefore God ordained ciuile power (his ministre) to rule him, and to call him backe , whan so euer he should passe the limites of his duetie , and wold that an obedience should be geuen vnto him.

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

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

he be

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

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

D to bo=

40.  
to bothe : and he that is an heretike with Caiphas,  
must be a traitour to Herode:

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

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

40.  
stripped him self quite of all thautoritie, but also he  
hathe reserued to him self the power therof. For we  
reade, that whan ciuile power (his minister) hathe ben  
negligent in doing his duetie, or winked at the euil life  
of the people, God hathe not holden his hande, but  
hathe whipped and plagued suche people, as he did  
the Sodomites, Gomorrianes, and diuerse tymes the  
Iewes.

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

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

D ij haue

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

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

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

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

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

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

S. Paule (the true teacher of obediēce) teacheth, that ciuile power and princes be not ordayned to be a terror to those that doo wel but to those that doo euil, and will not that mē should do what so euer the power commaundeth, but sayeth, wilt thou not feare the power? doo that is good, and thou shalt haue praise of it: for it is the minister of God ordained for thy benefite, and not to thy destruction. But if thou doo that is euil, than feare: for it carieth not the sweorde in wayne: for it is the minister of God, a reuenger and execucionar, to punish him that shal doo euil. And therefore it is ordayned, that euil might be taken awaye. Men must be subiecte, not only for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake. For not to obeye the power, that defendeth the good and vertuous, and punisheth the euil and wicked, is deadly synne, And the self same also S. Petre teacheth. Wherefore the marke that all men ought to shoote at, is to doo good, and in no wise to doo euil, who so euer commaundeth it. If the ministers of the ciuile power commaunde thee to honour and glorifie God, as God wil be honoured, to defende (with thy persone and goodes) thy countreye against thenemies, to doo suche thinges as be for the wealth and benefite of thy countreye: thou art bounden to doo it: for it is good, and God will haue thee to doo it. And if thou doo it not, thou synnest against God,

55  
God, and iustly deseruest the punishment not only of the power, but of euerlasting damnacion. But if the ministers of the ciuile power commaunde thee to dishonour God, to committe idolatrie, to kill an innocent, to fight against thy countrey, to geue or lende that thou hast, to suche as mynde the subuersion and destruction of thy countrey, or to mayntene them in their wickednesse, thou oughtest not to doo it, but to leaue it vndone: for it is euil, and God (the supreme and highest power) will not that thou shouldest doo it. The apostles in tyme of persecution did not onely geue vs an example so to doo, when the worldly powers wolde haue had them to folowe their procedinges, but also lefte vs a lesse so to doo. God must be obeyed (saye they) rather than men. And this lesson euen from the begynning before it was written, was by the holy goost printed in mānes heart. When Pharao the tyranne commaunded the mydwyues of the Egipcianes, to kill all the male children that should be borne of the Israelites wyues: thinke ye, he did only commaunde them? No without doubt. Ye maye be sure, he commaunded not only vpo threatned paynes, but also promised them largely: and perchance as largely as those doo, that being desirous of chidren, procure the mydwyues to saye, they be with childe, when their bely is puffed vp with the dropsie or molle, and hauing bleared the cōmon peoples eies with processioning, Te deum singing, and bonfire banketting, vse all cere



54  
monies and cryeng out, whilest an other birdes egge is layed in the nest. But these good mydwiues faring God (the high power) who hadde commaunded them, not to kill, wolde not obeye this tyranne Pharaoes commaundement, but leste it vndone.

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

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

D v among

66  
amōg vs: let vs not sticke to doo it. & whan he is despe-  
ched out of the worlde, he can make no reuenge, for  
dead men doo no harme. No, no, cleane cōtrary. They  
knewe that innocent Abels bloud did crie to the  
lorde, Vengeaunce, uengeaunce, uengea-  
unce. And that albeit Cain hade a marke, that no  
man might lausfully kill him in this life, yet hangeth  
he now (as good writers saie) in chaines in hell. And  
thefore they wolde not obeie the wicked and cruel ti-  
rannes commaundement, but knowing that God  
will not haue innocentes blood shed, but innocentes  
against tyrannes defended, they toke vpon them the  
defense of the good sonne against the tyrannicall hi-  
pocrite and vnnatural father.

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

ten

ten them in their faithe? or whan they spake, did they  
cleaue their headdes in pieces with their halbeardes,  
or stoppe their mouthes with their billes? No, they  
confessed, that in that the mperour of heauen thal mi-  
ghtie God (and not thē mperour of the earthe a wicked  
mā, and a rebelle against God) was their emperour & d  
Captā: & therin they wolde not obeie Iuliā nor doo  
that he commaūded in that behalfe. And this answer  
bothe S. Ambrose and S. Augustine, yea & d  
the papistes (although they thē selues doo not so) pro-  
pounde and set furthe for a christē doctrine & a ca-  
tholike exāple, how christē & good subiectes shoulde  
behaue thē selues towarde wicked princes, & their wi-  
cked cōmaūdemētes: that is, in no wise to obeie thē,  
but to leaue thē undone. And as mē ought not to obeie  
their superiours, that shall cōmaūde thē to doo any  
thig against Goddes worde, or the lawes of nature: so  
maie they not doo that they shall cōmaūde thē cōtra-  
ry to ciuile iustice, or to the hurt of the hole state. Nei-  
ther will good princes attēpt or goo about any suche  
thing: for it is the next waie to bring thē out of their  
seates, and to make thē of kinges no kinges. How can  
that head liue & cōtinewe, wher the body is cōsumed  
& dissolued? And how cā that body be lustie, wher the  
sinowes (the lawes) are broken, and iustice (the marie  
that should nourishe it) vtterly wasted and decayed?

Antiochus the thrid, king of Siria wrote  
thws to all the cities of his dominion, that if he did cō-  
maūde

58  
maunde any thing that should be contrary to the lawes, they should not passe thereon, but that rather they should thinke, it was stollen or forged without his knowlage, considering that the prince or gouernour is nothing elles but the minister of the lawes. And this same saieng of this most noble king semed to be so iuste and reasonable, that it is taken for a common principle, how subiectes should knowe, when they should doo that they be commaunded, and when they ought not.

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

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

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

John the innocent Lady Iane contrary to her will, yea by force, with teares dropping downe her chekes, suffered her self to be called Quene of Englande

60  
glande: yet ye see, bicause she consented to that which was not by ciuile iustice lausfull, she ad her hus- bande for company suffred the paines of Traitours, bothe headles buried in one pitte.

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

61  
full that is not agreing to thy Canon lawes: I haue to saie to thee. Stāde stil a while, whilest I rubbe the. Tell me plainly, and face not out a lie, as thou arte wont: speake not one thing, and thinke an other, as thy na- ture is: ones in thy life tell the truthe, and shame thy maister the deuil. If thou were the sonne of the earthe by thy fathers side, and of an erraunt hoore by the mother, and so a bastarde: by what autoritie saiest thou thy masse, whan thy lawes suffre no bastardes to be priestes without dispensacion: how comest thou to be a bishop, whan thy lawes saie, thou maiest be no priest? How be thy iudgementes lausfull, whan thou by thy Canones maiest be no iudge? All men knowe, that thy mother whan thou wast begoten, was an hoore.

The common voice and fame saieth, and the truthe is, that albeit one Boner (a bare whippe iacke) for lucre of money toke vpon him to be thy father, and than to mary thy mother, yet thou wast persone! Sauages bastarde: and of that race come thy Cousins Swimmeslowe thy Archdiacon of lon- don (a mete eie for suche a grosse head) and Swims- lowe his brother, and a great meany moo notable. These thinges be so euidēt ad plaine, that thou can- nest not (without blushing) denie them: neither thou wilt (I knowe) denie thē. For thou boastest ad brag- gest muche, that thou comest of gentil blood.

But thou wilt saye, thou hast a bull of dispēfacion from

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

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

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

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

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

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

E serued

serued her with the like sawce: she reigned not long, but she was killed. All the miserie and mischief in the Realme of Naples came by a woman, called Quene Ioane (a woman of muckle lust) who after she had ben a while married to a noble gentelman, and waxed weary of his worke, caused him to be hanged out of an open galerie in the toppe of the house ( bicause no man should see him ) and not after the poore theues maner with an halter of hempe, but with a rope of golde wrought with her owne and her sisters Madam Mari malecasta her owne syngers. She triumpheth for a while, and after besides an vn= speakeable nombre of pryue mariages she made soure by daye in a litle space, but at leyngh t God pla= geth her, and she was hanged in that place, wher she before hanged her husbände.

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

and

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

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

E ij stande

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

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

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

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

with their blood ad noneie. Yea ad thine owne popes lawes (wherby thou measurest all thiges to be lauffull or not lauffull) saie, that if a kīg or gouernour of any realme goo about to diminishe the regalities ad rightes of his crowne, he ought to be deposed. Thus did Pope Honorius the thrid cōmaunde tharchebishop of Collossa ad his suffraganes to depriue a kīg of Vngarie, which wēt about to waste, sell ad geue awaye the Regalities ad rightes of his crowne, onles in tyme he ceassed ad called backe that he hade done. It is so plaine, thou canst not denie it. But I see, Boner, I haue chafed thee to muche: thi chekes blushe ad swell for very āgre. M. D. Cheadsei, M. D. Pēdletō, M. Cosins, or sō of you Chaplaines, get my lorde a cup of secke, to cōfort his spirites My lorde ad I agree almost like belles: we iarre sō what but not muche, his lordship meaneeth that mē ought to be alwaies but not at all tymes honest. But I saie, thei must be honest alwaies ad at all tymes. His lordship wolde fayne haue a placarde or prouiso for hī ad his, that they might sōtimes (that is frō the beginig to thēde of the weke) plaie their partes. But I saie, albeit his lordship haue suche a priuilege, yet maie no honest mā at any tyme doo that is not honest, iuste, ad lauffull, bi kaisers, kīges, Quenes no, neither his cōmaundement. For if those thinges which only in mennes opiniones seme to be vnlauffull maye by no autoritie be done, and those that doo thē, be no lesse to be punisshed, than if they had done them without autoritie: how muche lesse maye suche thin-

ges by any commaundement be committed, that are indeede vnlauffull: but shalbe punished according to the desertes, by what so euer power or autoritie they be executed? Men therefore ought to take hede, that by going about to come out of the smoke, they fall not in to the displeasure of God. If mennes ordinaunces and lawes, or the gouernours autoritie and commaundement were a sufficient discharge for men to doo what so euer were prescribed or cōmaunded vnto thē, tell me (I beseeche thee) why did Esaías the Prop het suffre rather to be sawed in peeces, than to folowe the procedinges of Manasses? why did Daniel not folowe king Darius and his counsailes commaundement, forbearing to worship the true God: but was content to be cast to the lyones? why did not the three children, Sadrach, Mefach, and Abednego obeye Nabuchadnefar in worshipping the golden idole, ad so auoide the hotte burnig fornace? why did Eleazarus submitte him self to deathe, and not dissemble? why did he not eate his owne meat, ad absteyne frō porke fleshe, that the king cōmaunded the Iewes to eat cōtrary to the lawes, ad saie that he hade eatē it, as his olde trustye frēdes of the court counsailed hī? why did he not sue for a bul or perđō of Antiochus, that he might vse his owne religiō, as our Englishe haltig gossellers doo of the pope, cōfessing his autoriti, which is the thig that he oly passeth vpō: ad



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

warant

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

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

E v and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



& WHETHER ALL THE SVB-  
 iectes goodes be the Kayfers and kin-  
 ges owne, and that they maie lausfully take  
 them as their owne?

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

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

But ther be some in these daies, not of the meaneft or poorest sorte, but of the chiefest and richest: that is, many wicked gouernours and rulers, who in this error excell the common Anabaptistes. For the common Anabaptistes doo not onely take other mens goodes as common, but are content to let their owne also be common, which hath som smacke of Charitie: for they them selues doo non other, but that they them selues are content to suffre.

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

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

Of the surst sort be those, that put great taxes and imposiciones on drinke for forasmuch as the people with ouermuch drinking become dronkerdes (and so sinne against God) they wolde seme by making the paye as muche or more to them as the drinke is worthe, they should force them the rather to absteyne frō ouermuche drinking, and so from sinne. But in this it maye appeare, they seke not abstinence frō synne, and the wealthe of the people, but their owne priuate profit. For if they had their eie to Goddes glorie and the benefite of the people, and the vice to be taken cleane awaie: they wold not crophe of the braunches of the tree, and let the roote growe, but they wold roote vp the roote that it should no more growe. And so of this sort do it to this ēde, to make thinges better cheape. For (thinke they) if ther were but littell money, thā must thinges be solde better cheape. As though it laye in them to make pleyntie and scarcitie, and as though thone were not the bounteous benefite of God sent to them thit feare and loue him: and the other his plage iustly powred on them that hate him.

F This

20  
This kinde of practice & was, if not first founde, yet  
vsed by Emperour Iulian thapostata, a tiranne  
ad persecutour of the Christianes (as before you haue  
hearde) who being a subtil man, and not hauing his  
Couñsailours, sould yours ad subiectes (at his deuaciõ)  
ready to kill whom he wolde of the Christianes (whõ  
he knewe for no priuate cause wolde rebelle) ment by  
policie to murther them, spoiling them of that they  
had, and so not leauing them wherwith to buye to re=  
leue their necessitie. Saieth thisemie of God: I will  
use you after your Christes gospel. For it saieth: bles=  
sen be ye pcore, for yours is the kingdome  
of God. And therefore I take from you all that ye ha  
ue presently, that ye maie the soner come by that is  
promised you. Doubtles if this waie were as good ad  
beneficial for the agentes and doers of it, as it maie be  
profitable for the subiectes and sufferers: no doubt it  
were to be desired that it were done out of hande,  
rather than one minute of an houre differred to be  
done. For the people from the lesse to the more, from  
toppe to too, all be geuen to couetousnesse, scraping,  
snatching and ketching.

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

21  
hope to saue their owne, are content either them sel=  
ues to betraie their countreie, or to suffre it to be be=  
traied of others, and one of them deuoureth ad eateth  
vp an other, that for a litel while he maie the more  
liue after his owne lust: & where contrarie wise, pouer=  
tie maketh men to remembre, seke, and call on God, to  
loue and defende their countreie, one to loue an other  
like brothrẽ, and finally deuise and worketh what so  
euer good is. But none maie pille or polle, robbe or  
spoil, or doo any mischief (saieth thapostle) that good  
maie therof folowe: and specially kinges and gouer=  
nours of people, whom bicause they be ordained to  
doo good, and should doo nothing but well, Christ  
called Benefactours and not Malefactours.  
If they doo it, whilest they pretende (but meane it  
not) to bring others to heauen, they maie be sure to  
bring them selues to hell.

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

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

people

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

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

F ij run=

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

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

But

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

F iiij . bun-



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

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

E v knowe

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

the lawes and duetic of a christen mā, which eueri one professeth in Baptisme: but as he is called and exalted aboue the rest of his brethren, so should he be an example to them of good lyuing and vertue, in obseruing the lawe, which saieth aswell to kinges as to beggers: Thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not couet any thing that is thy neighbours: and so it stablisseth and confirmeth, that euery one maie iustly kepe that is his owne, and none maie take it from him by any meane against his will, be it king or kaiser. And by the doinges of Samuel, who albeit he were not a king in name, yet hade he (being the lieutenant and viceroy to God the chief king) as great autoritie as any king in the earth: it maie appeare, that all thinges of the subiectes be not the kinges owne propre. For if they had ben his owne, what neded Samuel (at the surrendre of his office) to offere to make an accompt? And to whom, I praie you? To any bribing Auditour? No, he offred to make it to God, and to the king that succeeded him. Beholde (saieth the) I haue done all that ye desired me. I haue made you a king to rule you. My children yet shall be with you. But I am olde, and hore headed: that is, I cā not long continue. I haue bē amōg you frō a child to this daie. Lo, I ā ready to make mine accōpte before God and your kīg, for all thinges that cā be laicd to me by any of you, whose bullocke haue i take? whose  
asse

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

95  
must (because God hath saied it shalbe so) make accompt for all their doings, for all soules, men, women, and children: thinke their office and ministerie an heauye burthen, and so geue ouer seeking and hunting after their owne glorie, their pompe, their pride: and seke the glorie of God and the wealth (and not the destruction) of those that be committed to their charge, and tremble at this sayeng of Chriostome:

I maruail that any gouernour  
can be saued, which is not  
spoken in vayne.

ne.



96

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

**A**S ther is no better nor happier cōmon wealth  
nor no greater blessing of God, thā wher one ru-  
leth, if he be a good, iuste and godly mā : so is ther nō  
worse nor non more miserable, nor greater plague of  
God, thā wher one ruleth, that is euil, vniuste and vn-  
godly. A good man knowing that he or those by whō  
he claymeth was to suche officc called for his vertue,  
to see the hole state well gōuerned, and the people de-  
fended frō iniuries: neglecteth vtterly his owne pleasu-  
re and profit, and bestoweth all his studie and labour  
to see his office well discharged. And as a good phisi-  
cian earnestly seketh the health of his pacient and  
a Shipmaister the wealth and sauegarde of those he  
hathe in his ship, so dothe a good gouernour seke the  
wealth of those he ruleth. And therefore the people  
feling the benefit comyng by good gouernours, vsed  
in tyme past to call such good gouernours, fathers: ad  
gave thē no lesse honour, thā childrē owe to their pa-  
rentes. An euil persone comyng to the gouernemēt of  
any state, either by vsurpaciō, or by electiō or by suc-  
cessiō, vtterly neglectig the cause why kinges, princes  
ad other gouernours in cōmō wealthes be made (that  
is, the

97

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

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

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

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

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

G ij whan

whan they deprived Christiernes the tiranne, and committed him to perpetual prison.

Zacharias the pope that inuented first the lampes in the churche, deposed Chilperichus, king of Fraunce, bicause he was sayed to be a lecherous person, and an unprofitable gouernour of the realme: and forced him to be a monke, and made Pipine (father of Charles) king of Fraunce.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

and headdes of their gouernours. And forasmuche as ye haue already sene, wherof politike power and gouernement groweth, and thende wherunto it was ordained: and seing it is before manifestly and sufficiētly proued, that kinges and princes haue not an absolute power ouer their subiectes: that they are and ought to be subiecte to the lawe of God, and the holosome positive lawes of their countrey: and that they maie not lausfully take or vse their subiectes goods at their pleasure: the reasons, argumentes and lawe that serue for the deposing and displacing of an euil gouernour, will doo as muche for the prooffe, that it is lausfull to kill a tiranne, if they maie be indifferently hearde. As God hath ordained Magistrates to heare and determine priuate mennes matiers, and to punish their vices: so also will he, that the magistrates doinges be called to accompt and reckoning, and their vices corrected and punished by the body of the hole cōgregation or common wealthe.

As it is manifest by the memorie of the auncient office of the highe Constable of Englande, vnto whose autoritie it pertained, ont only to summe the king personally before the parliament or other courttes of iudgement (to answer and receaue according to iustice) but also vpon iuste occasion to committe him vnto warde.

Kinges, Princes and gouernours haue their autoritie

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

For in some places and countreies they haue more and greater autoritie, in some places lesse. And in some the people haue not geuen this autoritie to any other, but reteine and exercise it them selues. And is any man so vnreasonable to denie, that the hole maie doo as muche as they haue permitted one membre to doo? or those that haue appointed an office vpon trust, haue not autoritie vpon iuste occasion (as the abuse of it) to take awaie that they gaue? All lawes doo agree, that men maie reuoke their proxies and lettres of Attournaie, whan it pleaseth them: muche more whan they see their proctours and attournaies abuse it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

107  
pounded great rewardes to him that should destroie a tiranne. Nother thought they rewardes or giftes to be a sufficient recompence for so vertuous an acte, but they vsed also to make the ymage of him that killed a tiranne, in brasse: and to set it vpin the most solemne place of the citie, for a perpetual memorie of the acte, the commendacion of the doer, and thencouragement of others to doo the like. They dedicated to his praise and honour songes and verses, and wolde haue them taken of men as Goddes worthy immortalitie.

Wherof came the name of Nobilitie, or how were those that be called heroical or noble personages diuided from others, and had in suche honour and reuerence, seing all men came of one man and one womans was it for their lustie hauking and hunting? for their nimble diceing and cōing carding? for their fine singeing and daunceing: for their open bragging and swearing? for their false stiering and flattering? for their subtil piking and stealing? for their cruel polling and pilling? for their merciles man murtherings? for their vnnatural destroieng of their natural countrey men, and traiterous betraieng of their countrey? No, no, ther was no suche thing. The respecte only of their vertue ad loue to their cōutrey brought them therto. Bicause they reuenged and deliuered the oppressed people out of the handes of their gouernours, who abused their autoritie, ad wickedly, cruelly and tyrannously ruled ouer them: the people of a  
grate

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God him self gaue the example of punishment of

H                      cuid

euil governours. For whan the children of Israel hadde committed idolatrie, he commaunded moyses to take the Princes of the people, and to hang them up against the Sunne, that his wraethe and furie might be turned from Israel.

Whan that doughtie dame Quene Athalia, the woman tyranne (seing after her sonne Ahaziah was dead, that she was childles, and past hope to haue any childre) hadde killed all the kynges progenye (sauing Ioas, whom Iehosaba Iorams daughter hid and get with his nource out of the waye) purposing to reigne therby in securitie, and to transpose the right of the crowne to straungers or som other fauourer of her cruell proceedinges at her pleasur by the helpe and subtilti of her traiterous Counsaillours, and so went on in all abominacion and crueltie without comptrolling a great space: Did her subiectes suffre her in her wickednesse still unpunished though she was the vndoubted Quene and chief governour of the lande? No, no. But as sone as Ioas was a littell nourced vp, and crept somewhat out of the shell being a childe of seuen yeeres olde: the nobilitie and commones feling by experience what miserie it was to lyue vnder the gouernement of a mischieuous woman, not only garded Ioas with me and all decent regal ceremonies vnto the house of God (by thaduise and appoyntement of Ieoiada the

the high priest) and ther crowned him solemnely: but also whan Athalia the Quenes highnesse cam in, maunailing what adoo that was, and perceaung the matter, rent her clothes howling and crieng, as the manner of madde women is, specially in the hotte seasones of the yeare: they layed handes on her (for all her crieng, Treason, treason) and whan they hade caried her out of the house of God, they slewe her. And so was the realme ridde of a tyranne, the right entour possessed in his regal astate, the people made a newe bade with God to serue him syncerely accordig to his worde, and banished all idolatrie and false religion (which the Quene had set vp and vsed) and the common wealthe florished afreshe in her former peace and libertie.

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

H ij cast

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

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

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

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

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

H iij klll

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

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



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

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

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

H v for

120  
for preferment wold be traitours to their natural countrey, and specially in bringing in a great power of Ammonites and Amalekites (two kinds of people in beggerly pride and filthincsse of life muche like to the common nature of Italianes and Spaniardes) aswell to garde his pson, as to fortifie the strög holdes and municions: that by and by seig himself strög ynough with his straungers and Inborne traitours, he brought the countrey and people vnder his subiection by fine force, so that he continued their ordinary Prince and chief ruler xvij. years long. What oppressing of the poore, what robbing of the riche, what taking vp of corne and vitail for the king and his straungers, and no money paid for it, what taxes and paiementes the people were yowked withall, what rauishing of mennes wiues, daughters and seruauntes, what heading and hanging of the natural Israelites to make the straungers lordes and gentilmen, what common miseries and continual calamities ther were during that space, no doubt it is vspeakeable.

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

tie

121  
tie secretly from God. And whan the king hade commaunded all his seruauntes awaie, so that Ahud and the king were alone in his somer parlour, Ahud thrust his dagger so harde in to the kinges fatte paunche, that ther laie king Eglon dead, and Ahud fled awaie.

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

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

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

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

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

Mattathias

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

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

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

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

127  
Emperour. And in like maner not long sith whan that tiranne Duke George of Saxonie persecuted all suche as professed the worde of God, reuiued and pulled out of purgatorie, by the worthy instrument of God D. Luther: and at leynght threatned, that he wolde burne and destroye the vniuersitie of wittenberg, which whan Luther hearde, he went in to the pulpit, and exhorted euery man to put on his armour: that is, Penance and prayer. And sone after, God rid the worlde of that tiranne, and so not only deliuered his church, but also augmented it with an other vniuersitie, called Lipsia, and all the hole countrey of this cruel duke was conuerted to Christes Gossell.

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

uer them.



Beha

128  
**WHAT CONFIDENCE**  
is to be geuen to princes and  
potentates.

**W**HAN the King of Macedonia, Alexander the great, bearde the philosopher Anaxagoras saye ther were many worldes, the worme of ambition so tickled and troubled his harte, that the water gushed out of his eies. And whan he was asked, what made him to wepe: haue I not iuste occasion to wepe (saieth he) that hearing of so many worldes, I am not yet lorde of one? This worme with- out faille was the deuil, who not contented that kinges (the ministers of God) should serue God in their vocation (to haue them the soner fall from God, and serue him) putteth them in hope they shalbe lordes of all the worlde, if they will take him for their chief lorde and soueraigne. But bicause he seeth the inconstauncie of kinges, that they no longer abyde by their othes and promises than they maie therby haue profit, gayne, and their desire, he dothe not furthewith put them in possession, but to trye their fidelitie, he sheweth them bi what meanes they shall come to it, putting to their good will, helpe, and industrie. He doubteth not, but if he maye bring them ones in to the puddle ouer the shoen, they will through thicke ad thine whatsoeuer cometh of it, to come to that thei looked for. These waiies of the Deuil pccde out of his schole of practices  
and

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

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

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

to their native countrey: in the defense wherof all honest men be bounden, and be content to bestowe their life, their blood, their goodes, and what so euer they haue? Doo not princes vse traitours, as men vse Colloquintes, Turbith, Elleborum, and such like poisons? that is, to serue their purpose, when they haue nede of them, and after can not abyde their sight, nor, not their sauour, but cast them out on the dong hill?

Yes doubtles it is most certain. & when one had betrayed in to Cefars handes certain townes: what saied Cesar? I loue treason (sayeth he) but traitours I doo abhorre. So saied also king Antigonus. I loue traitours (sayeth he) whilest they betraye, but when they haue betrayed, and serued my purpose, I vtterly hate and abhorre them,

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

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

abyde

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

It is writen of one called Cacanus king in Baierland in Germanie, that he inuaded a countrey some tyme called Carnia, now called Frioly in Italie, and other places belonging to the Venecianes with a great power: and at the furst meting of him and the enemies, he ouercame and killed one Gifulfus a Lombarde, Duke of that countrey. After that he besieged a citie, wherin Romilda the Dukes wife was.

She desiring to see this king what maner man he was, neded not to haue his ymage pourtred vnto her, but loked ouer the walles aduisedly vpon him. & when she sawe he was a goodly and faire persone, she was by and by in loue with him. She wisheth, that she might fele him entre in to her owne holde. Meate nor drinke could do her good, she could not sleape, she sobbeth she howleth, she souedeth, she teareth her heare, and is more than halfe madde, for lacke of her lust.

To be shorte, contrary to all honestie and womanly shamefastenesse, she woeth him to be her husbande: and hauing no regarde of the loue

I ij that

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

And according to his promise he married her, and  
one night toke paynes to shake vp her lecherous rot-  
ten ribbes. In the next morning he leaueth his cham-  
bre, and her gates open free to euery man: and (as so-  
me, God geue them grace to repent in tyme, did to the  
wicked woman of Feuersham in Kent, that not  
long since killed her husbände) he gaue euery man  
libertie that wolde, to offre his deuocion in to her  
corporeffe. So at leyngh tyme when he thought her tyred,  
and her vsfaciable luste somewhat stauched (for by li-  
ke it wolde neuer haue ben fully gluttred) he caused  
her to be thrust on a stake naked, that all mē might see  
those vgli partes, which to satisfie she was content to  
betraye her natural countreic: and that it should be  
an example to all others, to take hede to doo the like,  
he causeth the hole citie to be cleane ouerthrowen.

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

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

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

Whan wriothesley, Arundell and South-  
well conspired with thambitious and subtil Alcibia-  
des of England, the Erle of warwike (afterwar-  
de duke of Northumberland) to pull the good duke  
of Somerset king Edwardes vncler and protectour  
out of his authoritie, and by forgeing a great meany  
of false lettres ad lies to make the Protectour hated,  
brought to passe warwikes purpose: who than for a  
while, but they three? wriothesley that before was  
banished the Court, is lodged with his wife and son-  
ne next to the king.

Euery man repairerth to

I ij wrioc

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

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

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

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

it

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

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

This doctour to geue some significatiō of his nature and cōing to come alofte, that he might doo the more mischief, betrayeth his M. Carnall wolfei: and more

I iij

thad



124  
than any other labourer the diuorse betwene king Henry and the dowager. And by and by he earnestly sought to haue riddē in the kīges bootes; worse could not content him. But whan he sawe that wold not be, and considred it better to haue stoare than one only paire (for so perchance he might haue founde them somtymes not all cleane whan he wolde haue vsed thē, and also it should be a let to bring to passe that he purposed) he chaungeth his purpose: and bycause none shoulde remembre his practises before, nor suspecte the rest to come, he shaueth his crowne as broade as a sawcer, and decketh him self with a white smocke like a portour of the Stiliarde. But what nedeth suche circumlocucion, whan euery body knoweth this doctour of practises was called D. Stephan Gardiner? After this, his lucke was to be committed to the towre, whan Tyburne had ben a place more worthy his desertes. His scholar the maister or proctour of practises, remembering how muche he had prospred by the meanes of the doctour, and bending his disposition to make thankfull requital of parte of his receaued benefites, putteth the doctour in memorie of an olde lesson he had taught him: that is, to geue backe twoo sote with the ramme, that he might winne the thrid. But whether this D. Gardiner was offended with his scholar the proctour, for his ouerranke practicing, or how it happened, I can not tell, I am sure that in this one, he answered hone-  
stly:

125  
stly: let my scholar goo on as he hath begunne (saieth he) for Gardiner can not plaie the knaue so. Wordes of Gardier: but he was not vnskilled (I saie) in the arte of practises. No in dede, he was excellent in that state, as it well appeared. For whan he had wrought and made sure the great mariage to auoide the hatred of the people, he made his scholar to father it, and to haue the outward thanks. And no maruail of his conning. For he was his maister, and had studied longer the arte, than the proctour, and had a better witte, and spent yearly the halfe of his bishopricke in bribing, or elles he had lost his head long before: for his treasons were not altogether vnknowen, albeit they were couered and hidden.

But what dothe this maister or proctour of practises? Dothe he not dissemble with the erle of warwike, serueth his turne in al that his wittes wold serue?

But what at leinght becometh of our practicing P.? He is committed to warde, his garter with shame pulled from his legge, his robe fro his backe, his coate armour pulled downe, spurned out of Windfore churche, troden vnder fote, and he him self at leinght with great sauour obtaineth, that he might redeme the rest of his corporal paines with open confession at the barre in the Starre chambre on his knees of his bribery, extorcion, dissimulacion, ambicion, robbing of the king, and suche like vertues, wherby he became noble.

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

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

locked

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

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

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

sondry

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

But forasmuche as all these fitches and practices be only made and lied to disceauie those that be honest, faithfull, true, and natural to their countreie; it is requisite to treat how they maie be auoided. Deceat wold not be knocked out with deceat, if it might so be, but honest men should alwaies and at all times  
deale

deale plainly and honestly. And therefore the honestest meane before thinges be done, is to be wise and circumspect: and to foresee thende, what mischief maie folowe, before they sodainly, rashely and vnaduisedly consent to any thing. To vse suche honest wisdom and foresight, is permitted bothe by Goddes worde and nature. Yea Goddes worde and nature commaunde honest men to vse it. For those thinges that can but ones be done, and wheron so great weigh thangeth, ought to be well done. Therefore men ought not to geue credite to faire wordes, large promises, and great othes (for these are the instrumentes to deceaue the honest and well meaning) but the fairer the wordes be, the larger the promises, ad the greater the othes, the more to suspecte. For godly and honest thinges maie be well ynough done without painted and smothe wordes, faire promises and othes. Ther ought to be such equalitie in doing of thinges, that such deceates nede not. Only subtiltie and craste deuised long writings, great promises, and many solempne ceremonies. Whā the great mariage was treated in the priuie Counsaile ad so great promises made, the olde Duke of Norfolk saied, they were golden wordes, but how shall they be persourmed, saied he? Afterwarde whan it was propounded to the lordes in the parliament to be ratified, the Lord Windfor in like maner asked who should be suertie for the persourmaunce therof, ad who should sue the forfaiture? Neither of thē lacked  
wisdom

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

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

K theus.

144  
thus. Remembre that our countrey man Adam  
Afterwitte hathe a great while ben the lorde For  
rewittes foole. Be taught therefore in tyme, before  
thou be taken. Saye not to late: Hade I wist.  
Thou hast sufficient warning, God geue  
thee grace to confidre it  
and vse it.

A N

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

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

K ij tokē

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

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

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

For

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

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

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

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

K ij vnto

unto them their captiuities and viter destruction : so ye laughed and iested at your preachers wordes, nothing regarding the threattes of God, but contēnyng thē, yea increaceig in your wickednesse, ad now at leyn ght murthering most cruelly the ministers of God.

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

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

149  
goodes, no, not of their liues, all thigs were so in bōdd ge of the cruel Romaynes pleasur : ther were of our cōtreymē slayne at one tyme threcscore ad ten thousand mē, ad at an other tyme thrittie thousand. Before which slaughters ther were many wōders sene in Eng lād. Thimage of the Idole which the Romaines had in their tēple called Victorie was turned backe, as though she gaue place to thenenies. The sea was like blood, ymages of mēnes bodyes founde on the sea syde. And womē were out of their wittes, ad cried: destructiō at hāde, destructiō at hāde: so that the Britaynes were in great hope, ad the Romaynes in great feare. Before Britayn (now called Englād) came in to the full power of the Danes, kīg Edmūde the sōne of Ethelberce beig slayne, ther were diuerse straūge thinges, wherby all men gessed, that an alteration of the Realme was towarde: but chiefly they gessed the great calamitie by the sodain swelling of the sea without any euidēt cause, which so brake in to the lande, that it destroyed many townes and people. Before that great slaughter of Englishe men and Normādes which was by reason of the warres that were in Normandie, betwene king Hēri the furst, king of Englāde, and Robert Duke of Normandie hīs brother (at which tyme Normandie was ioyned to Englande) the ryuer of Trent did not runne one hole daye together, but was so emptie, that men passed oucr on fōte : and at that tyme a sowe brought furthe a monstre with the face of a man, and  
K iij a henne

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Before the dissension and deadly warres that was betwene the brethren of Lotarius thempour, sonne of Lodouicus Pius, for the diuision of thinheritance (wherby suche slaughter grewe in Fraunce, that the Frenchemen were neuer after hable to recouer perfectly their force) ther were many Cometes sene.

About the yeare of Christ M.I. ther was an horrible Comete sene, and than folowed wonderfull famines and pestilence?

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

west.

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

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

can

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

and

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

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

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

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

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

158  
gouernours durst not pepe out of their priuie cham-  
bres: nor one neighbour seme to talke with an other,  
for feare to be noted and accused of conspiracie. Yea  
and that (that is worst of all, and to be lamented of  
all englishe men) ther is inwarde grudge, and secret  
malice betwene the membres, that is, the Nobilitie ad  
Commones.

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

159  
might easily enioye all. This poicie haue all other  
ambitious monarchs hitherto in all places practiced.  
And as Gardyncr whan he should dye, did not lament  
his synnes, but sent for the Quene, and wept to her,  
that he could no longer lyue to serue her grace, that  
is, to vnloo the nobilitie and cōmons of the Realme:  
but he desired her to procede as he counsailed her by  
his worde and writing: so Granuell whan he should  
also dye, sent worde to thēperour Charles, and requi-  
red him, not to forget his counsaile, but still vse it, that  
is, to nourishe and mayntene dissension among the sta-  
tes of Germanie, and so he should at leynght easily  
come by the hole. In like maner if the traiterous bis-  
hoppes and priestes can ones set the cōmones against  
the nobilitie and gentilmen, they will sone (the nobili-  
tie being ones suppressed) sende the cōmones to clym-  
be a dawes nest, and vse them at their pleasur. But wi-  
se mē and suche as loued their countrey in tyme past,  
foresawe this mischief that came by inwarde grudge  
and ciuile discorde: and euer (as muche as in them laie)  
went about to let it. They thought it was most neces-  
sary to prouyde for the sauegarde of the hole by all  
meanes, and not for any particular parte: which maye  
wel appear by the wisdō of Thrasibulus, who beig dry-  
uen out of Athens (his countrey) by the xxx. tiran-  
nes, bicause he wolde not consent to their tyrannye, ad  
to see his countrey destroyed: at leynght gathered to-  
gether all those that were banished with him, and by  
L the

the helpe of the Thebanes their neighbours, toke a castle besides Athenes, and afterwarde in batail he ouercame the tirannes, and restored all those that wer banished, to their coūtrei, and their olde lawes that were take awaie by the tyrānes. And seig what mischief might folowe, if he did not tak awaie thi warde grudge that was among the people, and make an vnitie betwene thē, albeit the poore banished men were spoiled of all that they had, and their goodes in those handes, that hade no right therto, yet made he thē all to geue a promyse, that non should claime any thing of another, but that all should be forgeuen and forgotten. And the same wisdom did the Romaynes many tymes vse, to make quietnesse among the people, and to preserue the hole common wealthe. Yea the noble men of Rome, albeit they were as ambitious as others, and none enuied an others glorie, yet whan the common wealthe was in hasarde, and that their seruice must be used for the defense of their countrey, they did cleane forgeue and forget all priuate iniuries and inward grudge: yea it was the chief meane to reconcile enemies. And no maruail among wisemen, for they sawe, if the hole body of their countrey should perishe, they could not prospre. Ther can be no arme, wher ther is no body: and it is a feble body that lacketh the armes and legges. Yea it is a most miserable body wher the armes and legges beate the body, and the body goeth about to shake of tharms and legges.

And

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

L ij than

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

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

163  
myses and leagues that they had made, but reuued thē warres, killed, burned ād spoiled in euery place, til thei came to Excestre: the people and realme was most miserably tormented, and made tributarie to them. Diuerse of the nobilitie of England vpon light yea no occasiones, but only bicause they were thought not to fauour the Danes, were taken, their nose trilles most villanously slytted, their handes cut of. Ah good God, who can remembre these thinges without weeping? Who that feareth thy wrathe (lorde) will not amide his life, ād call to thee for mercie? What naughtie nobilitie were that, that wolde oppresse the commones, and afterward be vsed and oppressed them selues, by straungers, as their predecessours haue ben before tyme? What deuillishē Cōmones might that be called, that wolde repyne or rebelle against the nobilitie and gentilmen, and than to be ouerrunne them selues with priestes and forayners, and to be pyned with suche miserie, as ye heare that our auncettours were: and all bicause the gentilmen and cōmones agreed not among them selues? Who is a natural Englishe man, that will not in tyme forsee and considre the miserie towarde his countreye and him selfe, ād by all meanes seke to let it? who is it, that cā hope for quietnesse, peace, health, pleyntie, and such like gistes of God, without Goddes fauour and mercie. And how is it possible that God should vse mercie with them, that beare inwardē hatred and grudge one to an other, ād will vse

162  
no merci with others? if ye forgeue other mē their of-  
fenses that thei cōmitte agāist you (saieth Christ) your  
heauenly father will forgeue thoffenses that ye haue  
cōmitted against him. But if ye doo not forgeue other  
mē their faultes, neither will your father forgeue you  
your faultes. No whilest ye saye the lordes praier, ād  
be full of rācour, malice, hatred, ād ēuie towarde your  
neighbour, ye cōdemne your selues, and desire Goddes  
plages and vengeaunce to fall on your selues: for ye  
meane v̄geaūce to your neighbours, ād wishe all euill  
to fall on them. And so it dothe fall on you: as ye see by  
experiēce of the playes ād miseries that are ād shall  
come to you. But from inwarde sedicion and ciuile dif-  
corde, that briedeth so muche mischief, let vs come to  
outwarde warres and inuasions made by straūgers.  
But ye will saye, ye haue no warres with any forain  
prince. It is true: but shall ye haue none? yes, yes: the  
tyme is not yet come, all is not hatched that is vnder  
the henne. Your winges must be dubbed, your fethers  
must be pulled, your cōbes must be cut, you must be cle-  
ane piked, your substaunce shalbe gotten by littel and  
littell out of your handes, by taxes and subsidies, by be-  
neuolences and loanes, and so frō a litell to more, and  
frō more to more: and at leynght all the marchauntes  
goodes to be confiscate in Flaunders by an inquisitiō,  
and others in England by an opē excōmunicatiō. And  
whan ye be ones cleane stripped of your stoare, and  
thus weakened out of courage, ād your harte in your  
hose, as they saie: than shall your king returne to his

165  
welbeloued wife, England, with great pōpe ād power,  
and shall cōpell you (in despiight of your hartes) to rē-  
dre and deliuer her holly in to his handes. Than shall  
the easterlinges (vpon hope to recouer their olde and  
greater priuileges) aide him with mē, money and ship-  
pes: as allready they haue offred and promised, as di-  
uerse credible lettres haue declared. Thā shall they in-  
uade Englande, and shalke by shiploades (if no worse  
happē vnto you) caried in to newe Spaine, ād ther not  
lyue at libertie, but bicause ye are a stubburne and vn-  
faithfull generaciō, ye shalbe tyed in chaynes, forced  
to rowe in the galie, to digge in the mynes ād to pike  
vp the golde in the hotte sande. And so with sorowe to  
your soppes, your three mānes song shall be, Alas, and  
sweale awaye. Than shall ye knowe the pride ād lorde-  
lynnesse of the Spanyardes, though for a while til they  
maie get the ouer hande, they crepe and crouche, fe-  
de men with swete wordes (Basso las manos) and wo-  
men with confettes, swete wynes, pleasaunt pfumes,  
gaye apparail, and suche like wayne toyes: but whan  
they be ones alofte, ther is no naciō vnder the cope of  
Christ, like thē in pride, crueltie, vnmercifulnesse, nor  
so farre frō all humanitie as the Spanyardes be: which  
thig the realme of Naplcs, the Dukedome of Milane,  
the citie of Siena, many partes of Duchelande, and the  
lande of Iulike Cleuelande and Geldre lande can to  
theyr coste right well testifie.

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

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

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

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

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

L v made



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

re your

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

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

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

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

The

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

174  
to destroye you, and to bring you to naught, And among these naciones thou shalt finde non ease, neither shall the sole of thy foote haue rest. But the lorde shal geue the an vnquiet hart, and dasing eies, and sorowe of minde, &c. And in the ende of the xxix. Chap. of the same it foloweth. Than shall all naciones saie, wherfore hathe the lorde done on this facion vnto this lande? And men shall saie: because th y leste the Testamēt of their fathers, which he made with them, when he brought the out of the lāde of Egipt. For they went and serued straunge goddes, and worshipped the. Goddes which they knowe not, and which hade geuen them naught. And the wrathe of the lorde waxed hotte against this lāde, to bring vpo it all the curses that are writtē in this boke. &c. By this scripture ye are plainly tolde the vndeniable cause and mater, wherfore the lorde God threatneth and sendeth plages. Reade all the histories of the bible, and the pphesies of the Prophetes, and ye shal cuidētly see, how people and nacionns haue bē destroyed for maintenīg of suche idolaters and wicked liuers, as the papistes are, and wher suche wickednesse hathe bē vsed (as is among you) and not corrected, as I haue before declared. But thou wilt saie: what shall we doo, to auoide the calamitie and miserie that is bothe present and towards? wolde to God thou diddest aske it frō the botome of thy harte. But I feare thou doest dissimble and speake it with thy lippes only, as thou wast wont. *whā the great sweat was*

in

175  
in England in the tyme of king Edward, a litle signification of a greater scourge foloweing: and many that were mery at dyner, were buried in the euenyng: som that went at night to slepe lustie, were founde in bedde dead in the morning: some that went not farre frō their owne house, neuer returned. Than as long as the seruētnesse of the plage lasted, ther was cryeng Peccauī, peccauī, peccauī: I haue synned, I haue synned, I haue sined, mercie good lorde, mercie, mercie, mercie. The ministers of Goddes worde were sought for in eueri corner, thei could not rest, they might not slepe: ye must come to my lorde, ye must come to my lady, my maister prayeth you to come straight vnto hi, my maistres must nedes speake with you. Come, if ye loue God: and if ye loue their saluaciō, tarye not. For Goddes sake, M. Minister (saye the sicke folkes) tell vs what we shall doo, to auoide Godds wrothe. Take these bagges, paye so muche to suche a man, for I deceaued him: geue him so muche, for I gate it of him by vsurie: I made a craftie bargain with suche a one, restore him so muche, and desyre him to forgeue me. I haue taken bribes of suche a one, I pray you geue him so muche more again. I haue spokē euil of suche a mā, God forgeue it me, I haue ben a hooremōgre, a barde, God perdone me. Dyuide this bagge among the poore, carie this to the hospital, pray for me for Goddes sake. Good lord forgeue me, I haue dissembled with thee: I pretended to loue thy worde with my lippes, but I thought

176  
thought it not with my hart: but now I see thou knowest the secretest secretes, and wilt not leaue euil unpunished. Haue mercie on me, and forgeue me good lord, I beseeche thee from the botome of my harte. This was the dissimulaciō of the people for three or foure daies whiles the execution was: but after whā the rage was somewhat swaged, than returne they to their vomite, worse than euer they were. Than that they had before caused to be restored and geuen in almose, they seeke to recouer by more euil fauoured Cheuisaunses. But God is not blynde, nother is his hande shortened: he hathe begonne to mete with you, and will paye you that he oweth you to thuttermost. But whether thou requirerest me vnfaynedly, to knowe how to auoide the plage to come, or doest disseble with me, I hade rather thou shouldest be founde in fault, than I not to doo that I before promised thee. Goddes worde requireth and commaundeth euery man to helpe his neighbour in worde and dede, as muche as in him lieth. I will therefore tell thee my best aduise, and hartily pray God thou maiest earnestly folowe it. All these plages that before thou hast hearde rehearced, famyn, pestilence, sediciō, warres, destructiones of countrayes, captiuitie of people, and alteraciones of states, are the instrumentes of God sent and powred on the people for their synnes, that they should be sorie and repēt thē of their former wicked life, call to God for mercie, and leade a newe life in holynesse and righteousnesse al the dayes of their life:

which

177  
which if ye will earnestly doo, no doubt but as God is mercifull, so will he vse mercie towards you. For God that neuer deceaued any, but abhorreth all practices, all deceit, and all practicers (the workers of deceit) promiseteth it by the mouthe of his prophet Ezechiel. If (sayeth he) the vngodly will turne awaye from all his sinnes that he hathe done, and will kepe all my commaundementes, and doo the thing that is iust and right, doubtles he shall lyue and not dye. For al the sines that he did before, shall not be thought vpon any more: but in his righteousnesse that he hathe done, he shall lyue. For I haue no pleasur in the death of a synner (saith God) but that he should repent him of his wicked lyfe and lyue &c. It foloweth in the prophet thus: wherfore repēt and returne frō your wickednesse, and your wickednesse shall not be your destructiō. Caste frō you all your vngodlynesse, make you a newe hart and a newe spirite: wherfore will ye dye, O you house of Israel (that is, all such as trust to be saued by christ) seing I haue no pleasur in the death of him that dieth, sayeth the lorde God. Turne therefore, and ye shall lyue.

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

which

178  
worshipping of the true God, be came Idolaters, and worshipped Baalim and Astaroth, and other Goddes as the Ethnikes did, wherfore God plaged them wonderfully with inuasions and ouerrunning of the Philistines by the space of xvij. yeares: they semed in wordes to doo penaunce, but god sawe they did but dissemble with him, and therfore he wold not heare thē. But after they hade done penaunce in dede, that is, destroyed the Idoles, and cast them out of their countrey, than God sent thē the noble captain Iepte, who defended them, and reuenged the malice of the philistines, Likewise wher the children of Israel had in the tyme of Hely the priest receaued by the Philistines many slaughters of the people, and had lost many cities and townes for the Idolatrie thei had committed, yet whan by thadmonicion of Samuel they repented (as ye heard before) and turned to God, God turned to them, and was mercifull. And whan the philistines had prepared a wondersfull great force against the children of Israel, God sent sodaynly such a terrible thondre and lightenyng, that they were dispersed and rāne awaye. The childrē of Israel psecuted thē and slewe thē, and recouered their citics, and all that they had lost. Whā the moabites, amonites and Idumites thought to haue ouerrūne Iuda in the tyme of king Iosaphat, yet whan the king and his people lamented to God and called for mercie, God turned awaie his wrathe, and poured it on their enemies, and madethem to fal out  
among

179  
among them selues, and so to kil one an other. Whan Benadab the king of Siria besieged Samaria, ther was so great a famē in the citie, that womē eate their owne children: but whan king Ioram and the people fel to repentaunce, and called to God for mercie, they had in one aiaie pleitie of al thinges. For God sent such a terrour among the Sirianes with the noise of armour, that they fled, and lefte all their vitaille bagge and baggage behinde them for those of Samaria. Ye haue hearde before also, how Olofernes and Sēnacherib that inuaded Israel, were with their holt armies destroyed of God, after the people repēted thē of their sinnes, and called for mercie. And so ye haue innumerable exaples of the great mercie of God towarde al that repented truly, and called for mercie. As of the citie of Ninieue, whom albeit God had threatened vtterly to destroye thē, yet whā God sawe they were penitēt for their former wicked life, and called vnto hi for mercie, he withdrewe his plague, and held out his mercifull hande ouer thē: euē so ye (good cōtrey mē an true englishe hartes) if ye wil in time earnestly repēt you of your sinnes, leaue your Idolatrie, and honour and worship God truly, as ye were taught in blessed kīg Edwardes time, abhorre the fōnde phātasies and solishe tradiciones of mē, and cleaue to the sincere worde of God, and be desirous of the knowlage of it: leaue your blasphemie and vaine swearing and horrible forswearing and periurie, no lōger hate your countreie, but be true and faith=

full to it, and by all godly meanes seeke the wealth and sauegarde of it: if ye wil obey Goddes cōmaūdcēmētes before your gouernours, and your gouernours in that is godly, honest, and iust, and not elles: if ye will leaue your bawdrie, horedome and bitcherye, and driue out of al places al hoeres, hooremōgers and stuehouses, and all suche as fauour and maïtēne thē: if ye will abstine frō cruel murthring of the Saintes of God and innocētes, and rather your selues be cōtēt to suffre all martirdome, thā ye wil embrewē your fingres i their blood, or cōsent to it: if ye wil leaue oppressing of your neighbours, your subiltie, craste and deceat, and your selues leaue to loue greedinesse, and inordinate desire of the trashe of this worlde: if you leaue your inwarde hate, reed, grudge and malice one to an other, if the nobilitie will loue and chearishē the cōmonaltie, and the cōmones honour and loue the nobilitie: if one wil shewe him self a brother and neighbour in dede to an other: thā no doubt if ye doo these shēges frō the botome of the harte, that the mouthe and harte agree together, your saingētes and doingētes be al one: than shall ye pceauē, that God wil be easily intreated to turne. Thā maie ye boldly aske of God in Christs name, and your desires shall be hearde and graūted. But ye maie i nowise dissemble with hī, as the Israelites did, whā they saied thei wold cōmitte no more Idolatrie, and yet kept their Idoles, as you pulled do wne your ymages, but yet kept them secretly in your chābres: nor yet as Iudas Iscarioth did,

who

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

Amen.