

27. a

THE GENTLE READER

# A SHORTE TREA

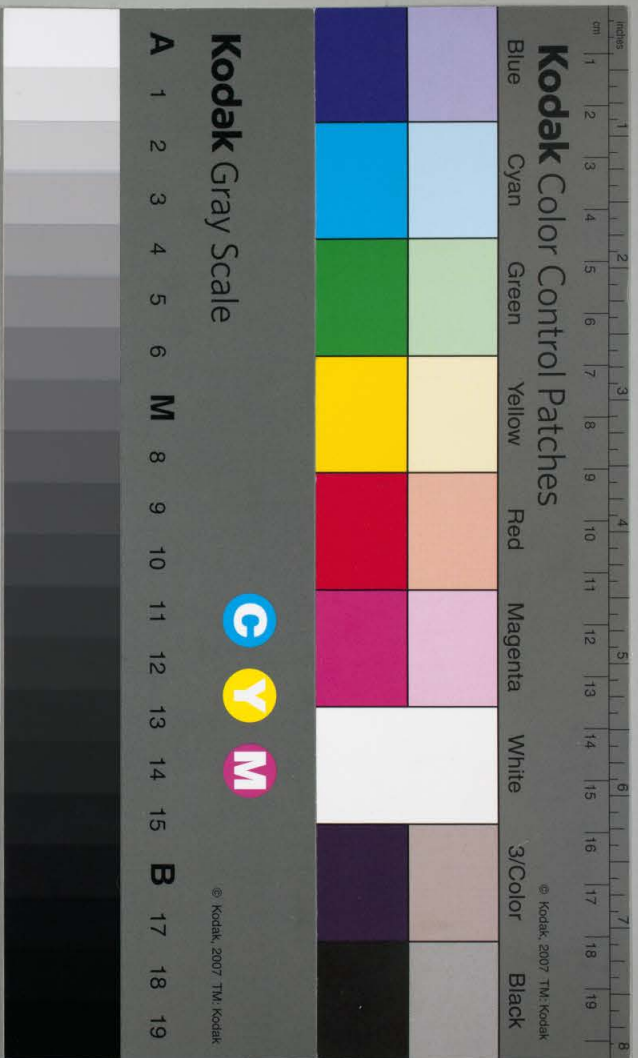
tise of politike pouuer, and of the true Obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile Gouvernours, with an Exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men, Compyled by.



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

1556.

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





名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284

C August  
Beckscher



名古屋大学図書  
洋 729284

*Coll.*

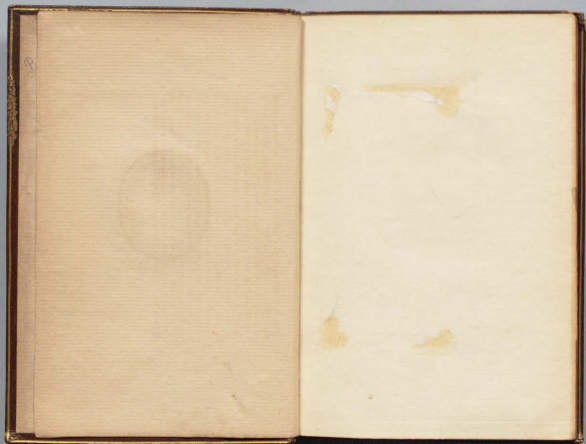
*By John Poynt*

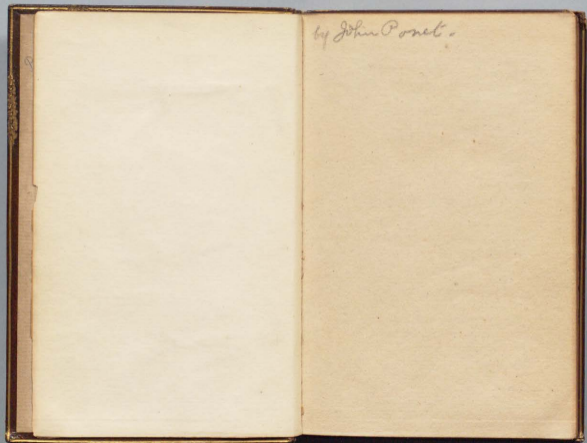


*Coll.*



名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284





by John Ponet.



名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284

TOTHE GENTLE

READER

A SHORTE TREA

ise of politike pouer, and of the true Obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile Gouvernours, with an Exhortacion to all true naturall Englishmen, Compyled

by.

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

1556.

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



TOTHE GENTIL  
READER.

**S**entent thy self to reade ouer this  
shorte treatise/wherin is neither  
heresie/selouge/ nor treasons/ but  
all that is written here in fewe/ is  
ment for thy pleyntfull benefite/  
necessary admonition/ and faithfull  
instruction. And albeit the Printour is not sure/  
whether the aurore be gone to God allready (as  
by the discourse of the mater he seemeth to be)  
yet still in this life/ yet forasmuche as the gratia  
tie of the Worke/ the sobrenesse of the stile / and  
the equitie of the cause ioynded with substantiall  
Professe/ importe a mightye zeale/ and a seruent  
care of the aurore for his countrey/ he is pleased  
to put furthe the Worke/ to intent the tranail  
of the doer be not lost/ neither true Englis he  
hates frust/ are of so worthe an instructio/ on-  
les they wil willingly neglecte their owne saue  
garde/ the state of their countrey/ and the Pre-  
seruation of theyr posteritie. God geue thee  
(good reader) a will to for see/ an heart to per-  
ceauce/ and a iudgement to discern  
thyne owne state in tyme/  
and in Christ hartily  
well to fare.

Amen.

VVHEROF POLITIKE

powver groweth, vverfore it was ord-  
dayned, and the right use and ductie  
of the same: &c.



**A**S OXEN, SHEPE, GOATES,  
and suche other unreasonable crea-  
tures cannot for lacke of reason rule  
them selues, but must be ruled by  
amore excellent creature, that is  
man: so mā, albeit he haue reason, yet because through  
the fall of the first 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, not onely in priuate thinges, but  
also in publike. Reason they thought to be the only  
cause, that men first assembled together in compan-  
ies, 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 doings and inuentiones (seemd  
they neuer so wise) were so easili and so sone (con-  
trary to their expectation) ouerthrowen.

A ij      Exbes



Sober is the wisdome of the Grecianes? Sober is the fortitude of the Asirianes? wher is bothe the wisdome and force of the Romanes become? All is vanishes away, nothing almost lesse to testifie that they were, but that which well declareth, that their reason was not hable to gouerne them. Therefore were suche as were desirous to knowe the perfitt and onely gouernour of all, constrained to seeke further than them selues, and so at length 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. Soe be his people, and the shepe of his pasture, He made all things for man: and man he made for him self, to serue and glorifie him. He hathe taken vpon him thordre and gouernement of man his chief creature, and prescribed him a rule, how he should behaue him self, what he should doo, and what he maye not doo.

This rule is the lawe of nature, first planted and grafted only in the mynde of mā, thā after for that his mynde was through synne defiled, filled with darknesse, and encobred with many doubttes; yett first in writing in the decalogue or ten commaundemētes: and after reduced by Christ our saecourer to these two wordes: Thou shalt loue thy lord: God about all thinges, and thy neighbour as thy self. The laster part vvhherof he also thus expoundeth: vvhath so euer ye vvhill that men doo vnto you, doo ye euen so to them.

In

In this lawe is comprehended all iustice, the perfitt waye to serue and glorifie God, and the right meane to rule every man particularly, and all men generally: and the only staye to maintayne every cōmō wealthe. This is the touchestone to trye every mānes doinges (be he king or begger) whether they be good or euil. By this all mānes lawes be discerned, whether they be iuste or uniuiste, godly or wicked. As for an example. Those that haue auctoritie to make lawes in a common wealthe, make this lawe, that no pynnes shalbe made, but in their owne cōuntry. It seemeth but a trifle. Yett if by this meane the people maye be kept from idleness, it is a good and iuste lawe and pleaseth God. For idleness is a vice wherewith God is offended: and the waye to offende him in breache of these commaundemētes: Thou shalt not steale; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not be a hoer monger, &c. For all these euilles come of idleness. On the other syde, if the people be well occupied in other things, and the people of an other cōuntry lyue by pynne making, and uttring them: thā if ther should be a lawe made, that they might not sell them to their neighbours of the other cōuntry, otherwise well occupied, it were a wicked and an uniuiste lawe. For taking awaye the meane, wherby they lyue, a meane is deuised to kill them with samyne, and so is not onely this commaundement broken: Thou shalt not kill; but also the general lawe, that sayeth: Thou shalt

A iiii loue

loue thy neighbour as thy self. And, what so euer ye vniill that men do vnto you, euen so do you vnto the. For you your selues vuold not be killed vwith 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 vther wwith marieng, he might auoide synne: he not marieng dothe committe horedome in acte or thought contrary to Goddes Will and commaundment: Thou shalt not committe horedome

Agayn, a prince forceth his subiectes (vnder the name of request) to lēde him that they haue, which they doo vniwillingly: and yet for feare of a worse tourne, they must seme to be content therwith. Afterwarde he causeth to be assembled in a Parliamēt such as perchance lent nothing, or elles such as dare not displeaue him. They to please him, remit this general debte. This is a wicked, vngodly, and vniust lawe. For they doo not, as they vuolde be done vnto, but be an occasion, that a great nombre be vndone, their children for lacke of sustenance periseth through samyne, and their seruantes forced to steale, and perchance to comyt murder. So that if men vuill vveigh well this ordre 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 euer ye will that men do vnto you, do ye euen the same vnto them:  
they

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 ignorance can or will excuse him that therein offendeth.

Against those offenders of this lawe, ther was no corporal punishment ordayned in this worlde, eil after the destruction of the vuorlde with the great flood. For albeie Cayn and lamech had committed horrible murders, yet vuere they not corporally punished, but had a protection of God, that none should lausfully hurt them. But after the flood, when God sawe his gentilnesse and pacience could not worke his creatures to doo their dueties vnforced, but iniquitie preuailed and mischief daily encreaced, and one murdered, and destroyed an other: than was he constrained to chaunge his lenitie into seueritie, and to adde corporal paynes to those that vould not sōlowe, but transgresse his ordinaunces. And so he made this lawe, which he declared to Noha: He that Sheddeth the bloud of man, his bloud Shall be Shedd by man. For man is made after the ymage of God.

By this ordinaunce and lawe he instituteth politike power and geueith authoritie to mē to make more lawes.

FOR

For he that geueth man autoritie ouer the body and life of man, because 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 goods, landes, possessiones and all suche thinges as might bried controuersies and discordes, and so byndre and let, that he might not be serued and glorified, as he requireth. This ordinance also teacheth makers of lawes, how they should behaue the selues in making lawes: that is, to set aparte all affectiones, and to obserue an equalitie in paynes, that they be not greater or lesse, than the fault deserueth, and that they punish be not thinnocent or smal offendour for malice, and let the mightie and great these escape for affection. And out of this ordinance groweth and is grounded th' autoritie for Magistrates to execute lawes: for lawes without execution, be no more profitable, than belles without clappers. But whether this autoritie to make lawes, or the power to execute the same, shall be and remayne in one person alone, or in manie, it is not expressed, but lesse to the discretio<sup>n</sup> of the people to make so many and so fewe, as they thinke necessarie for the mayntenance of the state. For upon in som places, they haue ben content to obey suche lawes, as were made by one, as the Israelites were with those that Moyles ordayned: the Lacedemonies with those that Licurgus made, the Athe-

nes

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 content to be gouerned, and the lawes executed by one king or Iudge, in some places by many of the best sorte, in some places by the people of the lowest sorte, and in some places also by the king, nobilitie, and the people all together.

And these diuerse kyndes of states or policies haue their distincte names, as wher one ruled, a Monarchie: wher many of the best, Aristocratie: wher the multitude, Democratie; and wher all together, that is, a king, the nobilitie, and cōmones, a mixte state: whiche men by long continuance haue iudged to be the best sort of all. For wher that mixte state was exercised, ther did the cōmon wealthe longest continue. But yet euery kynde of these states tended to one ende, that is, to the mayntenance of iustice, to the wealthe and benefite of the hote 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 Samuel thei iudged, from Iudges to kings: among the Romaynes; for the tyrannye and oppression that Tarquinius

Tarquinius used ouer the people (at the chief occasion) and after wards for his sonnes lewdnesse (at the outward occasion) from kinges to Consules, and so from Consules (for their euil demeanour) to Decem viri and Triumvir, that is, to ten rulers and three rulers: and so from change to change, tyll it came to the state Imperial: yet alwayes preserving and mayntening the authoritie, albeit they altered and changed the kinde of gouernement. For the Ethnikes themselves being leade onely by the lawe of nature and their owne reason, sawe that without politike power and authoritie, mankynde could not be preserved, 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 weak, and as Theodoretus sayeth, the great fish eat vpon the small, and the weak seke reuenge on the mightie: and so one seeking the others destruction, all at length should be vndone and come to destruction. And because this authoritie and power, bothe to make lawes, and execute lawes, proceeded 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 that authoritie and power which they receaue of God,  
to be

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

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

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

as hereafter it shalbe declared.

This is so manifest in most places, that it shall  
not nede any particular example. Soberfire it shalbe  
the parte of all Christian 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 ductie, or to deceaue the  
people of the trust and confidence, that was put in  
them. For it is no litle daunger that maye therby  
lowe 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 ne  
uer so litle of ualue) and therein did use him self either  
craftily, seking his owne gayne and profit, or shew  
him self not diligent, or not passing what beca  
me of the matter committed to his trust, our elders  
being men of honestie, iudged and condemned for  
a most vile warlet and dishonest persone: and being  
men of wisdomes, made a lawe (which continueth  
til this daye) not only that he should make recom  
pence for the hurt he did, but also that he should not  
be allowed afterwarde in the company or nombre of  
honest men, no more than an open thefe. And this  
they did not by will, but by reason, not rashly, but  
aduisedly, not by the moo voices, but by the more  
discrete headdes, because they sawe, that men could

not be alwayes present to doo their owne thin-  
ges; but of necessitie must use the helpe and trust  
of others. And again, nature hath not made every  
man apte for all things; but hath made one man mo-  
re mete for one purpose than another: so that one  
hauing neede of another, euery one should be glad to  
doe for another, and all be tyed together in an un-  
dissoluble strong bande of friendship. And therefore  
was suche false and unfrendly dealing taken to be  
most uile, because it did violate two the chiefest ue-  
tues and most necessary things, without which man-  
kynde coulde not contynue: faisthe, and frēdshipp.  
For noman requireth an other, to doo any thing  
for him, whom he taketh not to be his frende, nor  
trusteth him, whom he thinketh not faithfull. And  
therefore they thought him to be a very wicked and  
vile person, and not worthy the name of a man, that  
at one tyme and in one thing should thus undoe  
the knot of friendship, and deceaue him, whom he  
coulde not haue hated, onles he had trusted him.  
Now if nature, reason, honestie and lawe dothe  
so greuously punish him, and cast him out of all  
honest mennes companies, that is negligent in a  
trifle, how much more ought he to be punished  
and cast out of all mennes sight, that is negligent  
in the greatest matiers? If he ought so sharply  
to be vsed, that deceaueth one poore man: how  
much more sharply 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 hun-  
dred thousand persones? If he be thus to be abhor-  
red and punished, that is required to doo an other  
mannes busynesse, and deceaueth him: how much  
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 selfe:  
not prayed, but payeng, geuing many lyuereyes,  
procuring and making frendes to geue them their  
uoices, 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 streight, with tropes of horsemen,  
billes, bowes, pykes, gonnes, and suche like kynde of  
qualitie.

If this opinion be had, and iudgement be geuen  
against a man that seeketh his owne gayne with the  
losse of his frendes in small things: 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 bandes:

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

here

here in earth? If men doo thus abhorre and punish  
be such vnfaithfull and vnbonest persones: how  
much more will thalmightie God abhorre; con-  
demne, and exercise his seuerer iudgement on them,  
that thus abuse the autoritie geuen unto them by  
him; and deceaue and undoo those poore shepe of  
his, in whom (as his ministers) they put their  
trust?

Hearke, hearke (while tyme of repentance is)  
to the sentence of God, pronounced by the mouthe  
of his seruauent and Prophet Esaias. VVo be vnto  
you (sayeth he) that make vnrighthouse laues,  
and deuise thinges vvhich be to harde to be  
kept, vvhether by the poore are oppressed on eue-  
ry syde, and thinnocentes of my people are  
theruith robbed of iudgement; that vuy-  
doues maye be your praye, and that ye maye  
robbe the fatherles. VVhat vuyll ye doo in  
tyme of the visitation and destruction that  
shall come from farre? To vvhom vuyll ye  
runne for helpe? Or to vvhom vuyll ye geue  
your honour, that he maye keepe 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, France, Spayne, Englands, Scotlands, and  
all other countreyes and naciones, wher the like  
nices

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

But perchance some (that be put in trust and au-  
toritie to make statutes and lawes) will saye: Doe  
doo not willingly any thing against Goddes honour,  
or the wealth of our country, or deceaue any that  
put their trust in vs.

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

Tell me, If beseeche thee, if thou hadest hyred one  
to be thy shepheard, and thy shepe should vnder  
his hande by his ignorance mysarie: 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 ignorance excuse him? No, thou woldest  
saye, I hyred thee, and thou tokest it vpon thee.  
And so thou woldest not onely force bym to make sa-  
tisfaction, but also woldest thinke it iuste to haue him  
punished besydes to make himselfe no more conyng  
than

than the was, not to deceaue any that put their trust  
in him. Than thei are muche to blame, that being  
put in trust in Courtes and parliametes to make la-  
wes and statutes to the aduancement of Goddes glo-  
rie, and conseruation of the liberties and common  
wealthe of their country, neglecte their office and  
charge, being appointed to be not only keepers of  
Goddes people, not of hogges, neither of horses and  
mules which haue no vnderstanding, but of that deare  
flocke which Christ purchaced with the price of his  
hart blood: but also as phisicians and surgeons, to  
redresse, reforme and heale, if any thing be amysse.  
And if a phisitian for lucre or other mennes pleasure,  
would take vpon him the healing of a sore diseased per-  
sone, and for lacke of knowlage or vpo other euil pur-  
pose would minisre things 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  
deceaue 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 deceaue her)  
excuse her? Nothing lesse. She was not only her  
self therfore punished with suche paynes (as greater  
than deathe none could be deniued) but also all her  
posteritie.

Others

Other perhappes of you will saie: ye dare doo  
non other wise. If ye did, ye should be taken for ene-  
mies of the gouernour, runne in to indignation, and  
so lose your bodies and goodes, and vndoo your chil-  
dren. O saynt heartes, Thinke ye, that your paren-  
tes had lesse 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 fir-  
bidden apple, to saye, I durst not displease my wifer  
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 file, if we ha-  
ue any feare of God before our eyes.

Whan the brutifhe commones of Israel were  
so importane vpon AARON, that he for feare  
was sayne to make them the golden calfe: wher-  
with whan MOSES sharply charged him he ex-  
cused him self, sayng: alas Sir, this sedicious and ra-  
ging brutifhe people would nedes haue me perforce  
to doo it. God knoweth, it was sore against my  
will: did this excuse acquite him, trowe you? No  
sarcely. 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 popys masse, at

B ij the



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

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

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

## VVHETHER KINGS 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 take for Goddes (that is, the mi-  
nisters and images of God here in earthe, the examples  
and myrroures of all godlynesse, iustice, equitie, and  
other vertues) claime and exercise an absolute po-  
wer, which also they call a fulnesse of power, or pre-  
rogatiue to doo what they lust, and none maye gay-  
nesaye them: to dispense with the lawes as pleaseth  
them, and frely and without correction or offence  
doo contrary to the lawe of nature, and other Goddes  
lawes, and the positive lawes and customes of their  
countreyes, or breake them: and vse their subiectes  
as men doo their bestes, and as lordes doo their vil-  
lanes and bondemen, getting their gooddes from them  
by hoke and by crooke, with sic volo, sic iubeo, and  
spending it to the destruction of their subiectes: the  
miserie of this tyme requireth to examine, whether  
they doo it rightfully or wrongfully, that if it be right-  
full, the people maie the more willingly obeie and re-  
ceauie 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 reuenge the cause of the oppressed. Of  
the popes power (who competeth him self one, yea the

B ij chief

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

Before ye haue heard, how for a great long tyme,  
that is vntil after the general flood, there was no ciuile  
or politike power, and how it was thā first ordain  
ed by God him self, and for what purpose he ordain  
ed it: that is (to comprehend all briefly) to mayntene  
iustice: for eury one doing his deuitie to God, and  
one to an other, is but iustice. Ye haue heard also,  
howe states, bodie politike, and common wealthes ha  
ue autoritie to make lawes for the mayntenance of  
the policie, so that they be not contrary to Goddes law  
we and the lawes of nature; which, if ye note well the  
question before propounded whether kynges and prin  
ces haue an absolute power, shall appere not doubt  
full, or if any wold affirm 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) kynges and princes are not ioyned makers he  
rof with God, so that therby of the 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 asonare:  
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  
leste. 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 usurpaciō: But what  
can reason saye? If it be not lausfull, by no lawes (no  
neither by honestie) for any mannes seruauant to al  
tre his maisters (a mortal mannes) commaundment:  
can reason saye, it is lausfull for any persone to altre  
Goddes cōmaundment, or breake it? That a mannes  
seruauant maye be wiser than his maister, that he maye  
be iuster than his maister, that he maye see what is mo  
re profitable and necessarie to be done thā his maister,  
cōmonly it happeneth: and therefore he maye haue som  
apparet cause, to altre or breake his maisters cōman  
dement. But to saye, that any creature is, or that any  
creature wold 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 him self (as it must needs be said, that he dothe, that talleth vpon him to breake or dispenche with Goddes will and commaundementes) what an horrible blasphemie is it? What luciferous presumption is it?

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

Goddes worde, will and commaundement is, that he that wilfully killeth a man, shall also be killed by man: that is, the Magistrate. But this lawe hath not ben obserued and all wayes executed, but kinges and princes vpon affection haue dispensed and broken it, granting life and libertie to traitours, robbers, murderers, &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 wealthe? No, God and the commonwealthe haue had no greater enemies. They haue added murder to murder, mischief to mischief, and of priuate malefactours, haue become publicke, and of men killers, they haue at length grow-

we

uen to be destroyers of their country, yea and many tymes of them that saued them from hanging and other iust paines of the lawe. And no maruail: for God dothe not onely punish the principall and authors of suche mischief, but also those that be accessaries and mayntenours of it, and plageth iniquitie with iniquitie. Ye mai likewise see, what frutes haue followed, when popes, haue dispensed, that mariages might be made contrarie to Goddes lawes. Soe shall not neede to rehearse any: thence will declare all. But let vs leaue to reason that, wherein nothing can be said for it. And let vs come to that, wherein somewhat maye be said: that is, whether kinges and princes maye doo things contrary to the positieue lawes of their country. 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 wealthe, to thintent that men leaning to excessse therof, wherof many occasions bothe to destroye nature and to offende God folowe, they might conuerte that they before euil spent, to the relief of the pouertie, or deserte of their country.

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

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

B v which

which neuertheless is rather to be compted a tiranna than a king, as Dionisius, Philippus and Alexander were, who saued whom they wold ad spilt whom they lusted. And thotber 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 matters 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 matters not indifferent, but godly and profitably ordayned for the common wealth, ther can they not (for all their autoritie) breake the or dispense with them. For Princes are ordained to doo good, not to doo euil: to take awaie euil, not to increase it; to geue example of well doing, not to be procurers of euil; to procure the wealth and benefite of their subiectes, and not to worke their hurt or vndoing. And in thempire wher (by the ciuile lawes) thempourours claime, that the people gaue them their autoritie to make lawes, albeit they haue ben willing, and ofte attempted to execute their autoritie, which som Pihethākes (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 were a rule, that theprouer willing any thing to be done, ther is no more to be done, than the lawes permit to be done. For (saie they) neither pope, Emperour, nor king may doo any thing to the hurt of his people without their 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 aboute the people, so the lawes were aboute him, wrote generallettres to all the cities of his countrey, that if they should perceauce, 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 obcie them.

Now if wher the people haue geuen their autoritie to their gouernour to make suche lawes, yet can he not breake or dispse with the positie 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 the maie the lawes) breake them or dispse with them: If this were tolerable, thā were it in vsaie to make solēne assembles of the hole state, long Parliaments & c<sup>o</sup> &c  
(1 bescehe

(As befeche the ) what certayntie should there be in any thing, when all should depende on ones will and affection? But it wilbe saied, that albeit Kinges and princes can not make lawes, but with the consent of the people, yet maie they dispense with any positive lawe, by reason that of long tyme they haue vsed so to doo, and prescribe so to doo: for long custome maketh a lawe.

To this it maye be answered, euil customes (be they neuer so olde) are not to be suffered, but utterly to be abolished: and non maie prescribe to doo euil, be he king or subiecte, if the lawes appoint thee the time of thirtie or fourtie yeares to claime a sure and a perfit interesse of that thou enioiest, yet if thou knowe, that either thy self or those by whom thou claimest, came wrongfully by it, thou 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 punishment, yet can they not quiet the conscience, but when thy conscience remembreth, that thou enioiest that is not thine, it will bite thee that thou hast done wrong: it will accuse thee before the iudgement seat of God, and condemne thee. And if princes and gouernours wolde shew themselves halfe wise, as they wolde men should take them to be, and by the example of others learne what mischief might happen to them selves, 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 consider their owne sauetie and felicitie in this life) wold not if they might, suffer their Prince to doo what him listeth.

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

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

10

to rauenous beastes to be torne and deuoured in his sight, or to be sawed asondre in the middes. It was a pleasunt pastyme for him, to see the parentes stande by, lamenting and weping, whiles their children were tormented and killed. He vsed to complayne and lament, that no common calamitie and notable miseries happened in his time. He reioyced muche when newes were brought him of the slaughters of hole armies of men, great hongre, pestilence, townes burnyng, and openynges of the earth, wherein 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 gluttet with the pastime of euery mannes deathe, by him self (to procure a newe appetite) he deuised an other, if he could haue brought it to passe. But when he could not haue it done, the memorie thereof was so swete, that he ofte desired: that is, that all the heades of the people of Rome shoue on one mannes necke, that he might with one swashe cut it of. Many other noble actes by his absolute power he wrought: and at leynght he commaunded that his ymage should be set vp in the temple at Ierusalem, and ther worshipped: as not unlike saie Gardiners (for he haie done no smal thinges) shalbe shortly by Anticipaciō in Englād. But what was thende of Caligulaes absolute power, whā he had reigned three yeares and ten monethes, his owne householde seruātes conspired

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

Nero theperour was of nature very modest, gentil, and mercifull, and the first five yeares of this reigne, he behaued him self very vertuously. After other counsaillours and maisters, than Seneca crept into his saour, who tolde him that he might doo what him lusted. He was sone perswaded therunto. And to shewe som profi 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 priue chābre. For he feared the hatred of the people, and knewe not what was best for hi to doo. He lacked no flattering Counsaillours. Ther were pleintie that sought their owne profit and gayne, and the satisfieng of their lustes, more than their princes honour and sauetie, and the cōmon wealthe of their cōūtrie. Saie they: Sir, whi should ye be thus amased with the deathe of this womā? She was of all people abhorred and hated: the people wōderfully reioyce in your doig, and cōmēde you aboue the moone for so noble an acte. They desire, that ye will returne in to the cite, that they maie wish triumphe expresse howe muche their ioie and gladnesse is, and how they loue you for so noble a feate. These craftie knaues seing how they might blinde their maisters eies, cōmaunded in theperours behalf, that all the people should come out of Rome,

Rome, to meete temperour. The Senate in their best apparail cometh out, alle other ordres likewise after their degrees folowe, and finally man, woman and child.

Temperour when he sawe them, thought all was done from the botome of their heart. The Senate shewed suche outward honour, the commones so great loue, each body pretended so great ioye and gladnesse. And thinke ye, they were not about him that said. Dothe not your Maiestie well finde all our sayenges true? maye ye not credite vs in that we counsaile and aduise you? what folowed? Temperour 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 Octavia, because she seemed to be baren. He marieth his harlot called Puppie. He sendeth his wife Octavia into an Island, 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 lye longer than he wolde, he setteth her in a bayne of hotte water, that her blood might the sooner come out. But what becometh of his deare dearling Puppie? he delicteth a while with his Puppie and at leyngh his bottelone being turned in to displeasur, he spurneth her (being with Child) on the belly, and so she dieth. To late he repented, but yet ceased 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 listeth, 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 vitre their dissembled hatred, slew him.

But what thinke you? who were to be blamed for these cruell actes? He for doing the, or others for flattring hi, or the Senate and people of Rome in suffring him? Surely there 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 citize in, that dothe not euil (saith a noble wiseman) but he is a better that letteth others, that they shall not doo hurt nor vnjustice to others. The blood of innocentes shalbe demaunded not only at the handes of the shedders of blood, but also of those that make or consent to wicked lawes, to condemn 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 misciefes maie folowe, wher such absolute and (in dede) tirānical power is vsurped: let vs praiſe,

C

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

VVHETHER KINGS,  
princes, and other politike Gouver-  
nours be subiecte to Goddes lawes, and  
the positine 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 necl-  
geēt they be to see their owne well gouerned, might thin-  
ke, hat they beleue, that either ther is no God, or that  
he bathe not care ouer the thinges of the worlde: or that  
they thinke themselues exempt frome Goddes lawes  
and power. But the wonderfull overthrowe 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 bathe care  
ouer the thinges of the worlde. And his worde is so  
playne, that non can gaynsaye, but that they be suba-  
iecte and ought to be obedient to Goddes lawes and  
woorde. For the hole decalog and euery part therof is  
aswell written to kings, princes, and other publike  
persones, as to priuate persones. A king maye no more  
committe Idolatrie, than a priuat man: he maye  
not take the name of God in vayne, he maye not brea-  
ke the Sabbat, no more than any priuate man. It is  
not lausfull for him to disobeye his parētes, to kill any  
persone contrary to the Lawes, to be an hooremōger,



to steale, to lye and beare false witnesse, to desire and  
couet any mannes house, wife, seruaunt, mayde, oxe,  
asse, or any thing that is an others, more than any  
other priuate man. No, he is bounden and charged  
vnder greater paines to kepe them than any other, be-  
cause 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 wbe  
of parte I will recite. The holy gost 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 reioi-  
ce with trembling. Kisse the sonne, that  
is, receaue with honour, least the Lorde be an-  
grie, and ye lose the waye, when his wrathe  
shall in a moment be kyndled. And in an  
other place thus: The Lorde vpon thy right  
hande shall smyte and breake in pieces euē  
kinges in the daye of his wrathe. *Esaïas also*  
*the prophet saith: The Lorde shal come to*  
*iudgemēt against the princes and elders*  
*of the people. Likewise saith the Prophet Mi-*  
*chaeas 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 go-*  
*uernours, saith Michaeas: Should ye not kno*  
*we what were lafull and right? But ye ha-*  
*te 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 we-  
re 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, bycau-  
se that through your owne ymaginatio-  
nes ye haue dealt so wickedly. And again he  
saith: O heare ye rulers and gouernours,  
ye that abhorre the thing that is laful,  
and wraite asyde the thing that is straight:  
ye that builde vp Sion with blood your  
magestie and tirannie with doing wrong.  
*For so saie Sion and Ierusalem be well expounded: O*  
*you iudges, ye geue sentence for giftes:*  
*O ye priestes, ye teache for lucre: O ye p-*  
*phetes, ye prophecie for money: yet shall*  
*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 chaurtries) shall be*  
*come an high woodde. The holy gost also by*  
*the mouthe of king Salomon, saith: Heare O ye*  
*kinges, and vnderstande. O learne ye that*

c iij be

be iudges of the eēdes of the earthe. Geue  
eare ye that rule the multitudcs, and dely-  
te in muche people. For the power is ge-  
uē unto you of the lorde, ad the strenght  
from the highest, who shall trye your wor-  
kes, and searche out your imaginaciones,  
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 be appeare vnto you, for vpo  
the most high, he will execute most seuer  
iudgement. Mercie is graunted vnto the  
simple, but they that be in autoritie, shall be  
fore punished. For God which is lorde  
ouer all, shall except no mannes person,  
neither shall he regarde any mannes great-  
nes 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 wisdom, and not offende.

*These sayenges 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 rehearsefall. Roboam  
because he wold reigne as a tyranne and not be subie-  
ct to lawe nor counsaill, hade ten tribes of his king-  
dome taken 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 inuenciones, and caused his subie-  
ctes to folowe his proceedinges: was so stripped from  
the enheritaunce of his crowne, that his sede was vt-  
terly rooted out.*

*The ende of Achab and Iesabel is well ynough  
vnderstanden. And kyng Ioram for his stout  
stryuing against Goddes lawes and the ordre of his  
countrie was so sore striken of the lorde with hor-  
rible diseases, that at leyngh his guttes for extreme  
anguishe slewe out of his bely. But wherto bring I  
out paticular examples of Goddes plagues and pun-  
ishementes vpon kings 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 kings, princes, and other gouernours ought to*

*C iij be*

be obedient and subiecte to the positive lawes of their country. To discusse this question, the right waye and meane is as in all other things, to resort to the fountaynes and rootes, and not to depende on the ryuers and branches. For as if men should admyt, that the church of Rome were the catholike church, 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 kings and princes vsurpe ouer their subiectes, and not seie from whence 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 term

me it) and not a spiritual man and a minister of the church. Sober vpon Antichrist, the bishop of Rome seeking for subiectes to be vnder his kingdome, hath 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 Christostome (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 destitroeth 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 wolde haue it interpreted for all those persones that execute iustice, be he kaiser, king, mayre, sherif, constable, borseholder, or neuer so lowe: and some wolde 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 Chri-  
 stes owne wordes, wher he saith: The kinges of  
 the naciones rule ouer thē, and those that ex-  
 ercise thauthoritie or power, be called gra-  
 cious Benefactours, or well doers. For as  
 all mā and womē that seme to lyue together in the ho-  
 ly ordinance of Matrimonie, be not mā and wife, for  
 it maie be, that the man hath an other wife  
 liuing or the wife other an husbāde, 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 thordinance it self is one thing, and the per-  
 sons, that is, the mā and womon an other: eue so is the  
 politike power or autoritie beig thordinance and good  
 giste of God, one thing, and the pson that executeth the  
 same (be he king or kaiser) an other thing. The ordi-  
 nance being godly, the mā may be euil and not of God,  
 nor come therto by God, as the Prophet osee saith:  
 They haue made them a king, and not  
 through me: a prince, and not through my  
 counsaile and will,

Neither is that power and autoritie which kin-  
 ges, princes, and other ministers of iustice exercise,  
 only called a power: but also thauthoritie that paren-  
 tes haue ouer their children, and maisters ouer their  
 seruauantes, is also called a power: and neither be the  
 parentes nor maisters the power it self, but they be  
 iustres and executours of the power, being geuen

vnto them by God: whiche also S. Paule in an other  
 place plainly sheweth, saing to Titus: warne them  
 to be subiecte to the principalities and po-  
 wers. whiche some interpret, princes and powers, to  
 make a distinction betwene the minister and the Mini-  
 sterie. And it foloweth: to obey thofficers, so that  
 alwayes the difference maie be perceaued. So than if  
 by this worde (Soule) is ment euery person spiri-  
 tual and temporal, man and woman: and by this wor-  
 de (power) thauthoritie that kinges and princes exe-  
 cute, than can not kinges and princes, but be contai-  
 ned vnder this general worde (Soule) as well as o-  
 thers. And they being but executours of Goddes la-  
 wes, and mannes iustordinaunces, be also not exem-  
 pted from them, but be bounden to be subiecte and obe-  
 dient vnto them. For good and iuste lawes of man be  
 Goddes power and ordinaunces, and they are but mi-  
 nisters of the lawes, and not the lawes self. And if they  
 were exempt from the lawes, and so it were lausfull for  
 them to doo what them lusteth, their autoritie beig of  
 God, it might be saied, that God allowed their tyrānic  
 robbery of their subiectes, killing thē without lawe, and  
 so God thautor of euil: which were a great blasphemie.  
 Iustiniā thēperour well considered, whan he ma-  
 de this saing to be put into the body of the lawes. It  
 is a worthy saing (saith he) for the Maiesie of him  
 that is i autoritie, to cōfesse that the price is subiecte  
 to the lawes, thauthoritie 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 principallitie vnto the lawes. For in dede lawes be made, that the wilfull self will of men should not rule, but that they should haue a line to leade them, as they might not goo out of the waie of iustice: and that (if any wolde saie, they did them wrong) they might alledge the Lawe for their warrant and autoritie. It is also a principle of all lawes grounded on the lawe of nature, that every 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 subiecte should doo to his ruler all the ruler wolde: and the ruler to the subiecte, 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 subiecte to the lawes, toke a sworde, and gaue it to the Captain of the horsemen, and saied: Take this sworde, 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, when he made this lawe, that an aduenteurour should be punished with the losse of bothe his eyes, 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 eyes, to fulfill and kepe the lawe, he suffred one of his owne eyes also to be pulled out.

But thou wilt saie: What haue we to doo with Ethnikes? Why should we be ordered by Ethnikes doings? I answer, that when 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 condemnation. The bishop of Romes lawes (which albeit he vse not in him self, yet will he haue them practiced in others) saie thus: It is requisite and iust, that a prince obeye his owne lawes. For than maie he loke that others shall kepe his lawes, when 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 doings condemne

ne those lawes which they prescribe unto others. Thauthoritie of their sayeng is fust and indifferent, if that they suffre not them selues to doo that they prohibite unto their people. This saiech the bishop of Rome 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 when kinges and princes that knowelaged 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 and 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 committed to the bishop of Rome? To that at this time we shall not neede to answer, for that we doo not seeke presertly 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 positive lawes of their country, 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.

So 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 every cōmū wealthe kept and maintained in good ordre by Obedience. But as if the sinowes be to muche racked and 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 disorder. For to muche maketh the gouernours to forget their uocation, and to usurpe vpon their subiectes: to litell briedeth a licentious libertie, and maketh the people to forget their duetie. And so bothe waies the common wealthe groweth out of ordre, and at leinght cometh to hauocke and vtter destruction,

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

Others (as the English papistes) rache and stretche out obedience to muche, and wil needes haue ciuile power obeyed in all thinges, and that  
what

what so euer it commaundeth, without respecte it ought and must be done, But bothe of them be in great errours. For thanabaptistes mistake christian libertie, thinking that men maye liue without sinne, and forget the fall of man; whereby 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 another: and that therefore God ordained ciuile power (his ministre) to rule him, and to call him backe; when so euer he should passe the limites of his ductie, and wold that an obedience should be geuen vnto him.

And the papistes neither consider 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, because it maketh against their purpose, that the truth should be disclosed.

If any christian prince should goe about to redresse the abuses of the Sacraments (brought in and deuised by the papistes to mainteene 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 booke, bell, and candle, as blacke as a potteside: no obedience of the subiectes ought to be geuen vnto him. But if  
he be

he be contented to wyne at their abominaciones, to runne with them, to dishonour God, to commit idolatry, to kill the true ministers and confessours of Christ, to destroye the poore innocents 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 defender of the faith, the fosterour of the churche, a confessor while he lyueth, after his deathe a saynt (yea a saint deuil) canonized with Ora pro nobis: when Beelzebub daunceth at his Dirige.

Suche a one (saie they) must be obeyed in all thinges, none maye speake against his proceedinges, for he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and he that resisteth, purchaceth to him self damnacion: as though to leaue euill vndone, and to doo good, were to resist the power. And here also they wryng this sayeng of s. Petre (Seruauntes obeye your masters, although they be froward and churlishe) to free subiectes vnder a king: as if bond men and free men were all one, and kinges and bondemens lordes had like autoritie. So with violent wryng and false applyeng of Goddes healtie geuing worde, Caiphas and Herode ryde cheke by cheke, and walke arme in arme, with bothe the sweordes and crosse before them. Friends to the one, friends

D to bo-

to bothe : and he that is an heretike with Caiphas,  
must be attraitour to Herode:

Thus they goo about to bleare mennes eyes to con-  
firme and encrease their deuillish kingdome. But  
popishe prelates practices are no warrault to dis-  
charge a christian mannes conscience. He must seeke  
what God will haue him doo, and not what the sub-  
tiltie and violence 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 infi-  
riours commaundement, leaue the commaundement of  
the highest vndone. Yelde vnto Cesar, those  
things that be Cesares (sayeth Chriſt) and  
vnto God, those things that be Goddes.  
Ciuite power is a power and ordinance 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 thappurtenances  
hathe he not only not geuen man the hole power, and  
stripped

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

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

And contrary wise when 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: Sadrach, Mefach, and Abednego frõ  
the burning ouen; Daniel from the Lyons denne, Petre  
from Herode, and infinite other examples we  
D ij haue



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

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

What so euer God commaundeth man to doo, he 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, when 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) robb and spoile the Egipcians, by Goddes special commaundement. And so did Phineas, who albeit he  
were

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

But cōtrary in mānes cōmaundentes, men ought to considre the matier, and not the man. For all men what so euer mynisterie or vocatiō they exerce, are but mē, and so maye erre. See see coucelles against coucelles, parliamētes against parliamētes, cōmaundemēt against cōmaundemēt, this daye one thing to morrow an other. 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: when thou shalt come before the throne of the bi-ghost and cuerlasting power, when 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 commaundentes, before they be haste to doo them, to see if they be contrarie or repugnaunt to Goddes commaundentes and iustice: which if they be, they are cruell and euill, and ought not to be obeyed. See haue this special commaundement from God the highest power, ofte repeted by the holy goost. Forbear to doo euil, and doo that is good.

D ij Saint

S. Paule (the true teacher of obediēce) teacheth, that ciuile power and princes be not ordayned to be a serrou 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 punishe 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 punishe ment, 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. Wherfore the marke that all men ought to shoote at, is to doo good, and in no wise to doo euil, who so euer commaundeth it. If the 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 wealthe 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,

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 swickednesse, 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 shouldst doo it. The apostles in tyme of persecution did not only geue vs an example so to doo, when the worldly powers wolde haue had them to folowe their proceedinges, but also leste vs a lesse so to doo. God must be obeted (saye they) rather than men. And this lesson euen from the beginning before it was written, was by the holy goost printed in mānes heart. When Pharao the tyranne commaunded the mydwyues of the Egipcians, 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 thou se doo, that being desirous of children, procure the mydwyues to saye, they be with childe, when their bely is puffed vp with the dropse or molle, and hauing bleared the cōmon peoples eyes with procepsioning, Te deum singing, and bonfire bancketting, vse all cere

D iij monies

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

Sohan the Tailye 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 Abdiás the chief officer to the king her husbände saye, your grace dothe very well to riidde the worlde of the for those that worship the true liuing God, cannot be but traitours to my sowerayne lordé and maijre the king your husbände, and to your grace: and it is these heretikes, that bewiteche and coniure 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, Abdiás (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 housholde wayters and familiar seruantes to kill the priest Ahimelech and his children for hatred to David: did those his owne nereft wayting seruantes flatter 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 booke, 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 allegaunce, we shall some ease your highnesse of this grief: other of your graces chaplaynes be more mete for that rowme than this hypocrite traitour? No, they vsed no suche court crueltie, but considering God to be the supreme power, and seing Ahimelech (by his answeres) and his household to be gittles of suche mater in forme and intent as (by Doeges accusation) Saul charged him with all, they refused to kill any of them, or ones to laye violent handes vpon them, but playnly and vterly (being yet the kinges true seruantes and subiectes) denyed to obeye the kinges vnlawfull commaundement. And when the same hypocrite Saul commaunded his seruantes or souldiours to kill noble Ionathas his sonne, who for necessitie hadde taken a litel honie to recouer his strenght contrary to the king his fathers commaundement: did they saie, let vs kill him as we be willed, so shall some of vs be made the kinges lieutenant, we shall be an yuche nener to the succession, we shall haue his landes, possessiones, goodes and offices parted  
D v among

amb vs: let vs not sicke to doo it. When he is despe-  
ched out of the worlde, he can make no reuenge, for  
dead men doo no harme. No, no, cleane cōtrary. They  
knewe that innocent Abels blood did erie to the  
lorde, Vengeance, uengeance, uengea-  
unce. And that albeit Cain had 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  
therefore they wolde not obeie the wicked and cruel ti-  
rannes commaundement, but knowing that God  
will not haue innocentes blood shead, but innocentes  
against tyrannes defended, they toke vpon them the  
defense of the good sonne against the tyrannicall hi-  
pocrite and vnatural father.

Julian temperour, albeit he were an Apostata  
from Christ, and a great persecutour of Christs  
churche, yet had he vnder him souldiours that pro-  
fessed Christ. When he commaunded them to set fore-  
warde to fight for the defense of the common weal-  
th, 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 twentieth Commissiona-  
res, or to the bishoppes colchouset: or when he willed  
and commaūded them to destroye such as wold not  
denie Christ, and sollowe his proceedinges, worship-  
ping idoles: did they bring them to the fire, and stande  
about, that they should not speake and to see, that  
none should come nere the, to comfort and strenghten

ten

ten them in their faith: or when they spake, did they  
cleave their headdes in pieces with their halbeardes,  
or stoppe their mouthes with their billes? No, they  
confessed, that in that temperour of heauen thal-  
miche God (and not theperour of the earthe a wicked  
mā, and a rebelle against God) was their emperour and  
Captai: and therein they wolde not obeie iulian nor doo  
that he commaūded in that behalf. And this answer  
bothe S. Ambrose and S. Augustine, yea and  
the papistes (although they the selues doo not so) pro-  
pounde and set furthe for a christe doctrine and a ca-  
tholike exāple, how christe and good subiectes shoulde  
behaue the selues ward wicked princes, and their wi-  
cked commaūdemētes: that is, in no wise to obeie the,  
but to leaue the undone. And as me ought not to obeie  
their superiours, that shall commaūde the to doo any  
thing against Goddes worde, or the lawes of nature: so  
maie they not doo that they shall commaūde the cōtra-  
ry to ciuile iustice, or to the hurt of the hole state. Nei-  
ther will good princes attēpt or goo about any such  
thing: for it is the next waie to bring the out of their  
seates, and to make the of kinges no kinges. How can  
that head liue and cōtinewe, when the body is cōfumed  
and dissolued? And how can that body be lustie, when the  
finowes (the lawes) are broken, and iustice (the marie  
that should nourish it) utterly wasted and decayed?

Antiochus the thrid, king of Siria wrote  
thus to all the cities of his dominion, that if he did co-  
māūde

maūde

maunde any thing that should be contrary to the lawes, they should not passe thereon, but that rather they should thinke, it was stolen or forged without his knowlage, considering that the prince or gouernour is nothing elles but the minister of the lawes. And this same saieing of this most noble king semed to be so iust 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 that bishop 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 do that he required, he wolde aduertise him, and he therewith wolde be satisfied.

This is a popes saieing: which who is so hardy dar die to denie to be of lesse autoritie than a lawe? yea not s<sup>o</sup>lowe, but aboute Goddes worde? Sober vpon this is a general rule, that the pope is not to be obeyed, but in lausfull and honest things, And so by good Argument from the more to the lesse, that princes (being but foote stooles and stirrop holders to popes) commaunding their subiectes that is not godly, not iust, not lausfull, or hurtefull to their country, ought not to be

to be obeyed, but withstanden. For the subiectes ought not (against nature) to further their owne destruction, 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 wealthe, than to any one persone. For the countrey and common wealthe is a degree aboue the king. Next vnto God men ought to loue their countrey, and the hole common wealthe before any membre of it: as hinges and princes (be they neuer so great) are but membres: and common wealthes may stande well ynough and florish, albeit ther be no hinges, but contrary wise without a common wealthe ther can be no king. Common wealthes and realmes may liue, when the head is cut of, and may put on a newe head, that is, make them a newe gouernour, when they see their olde head seke to muche his owne will and not the wealthe of the hole body, for the which he was only ordained. And by that iustice and lawe, that lately hath ben executed in Englande (if it maie be called iustice and lawe) it should appeare, that the ministers of ciuile power doo sometimes commaunde that, that the subiectes ought not to doo.

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

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

Howan the blessed mā of God, Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorbury did what he might to resist 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 innocent 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 ludge Morgā (whom God not long after plagued with taking awaie his wittes that was a foole before) that he ought not to doo any thing unlausfull, bi commaudemēt 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. Heree not the ymages ad Roodelofes in Englande destroyed by autoritie of ciuile power? And dothe not Boner the Archbocher of londō for all that force them that obeyed the authoritie (bicause he saieth, it was not lausful) to make thē vp again at their owne charges? But BONER, thou that allowest nothing to be well done (by what so euer autoritie it be done) except it be lausfull, nor nothing to be lausfull,

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

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

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

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

Whan 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 lawfull 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 franks, than walke in a princes chambre; to weare a Tiburne tippet, than a graie amise. But what if thou haue no dispensacion? What a murtherour art thou of true English men? What a tormentour of the people of God? How hast thou deceaued the *Erles of Oxeforde* and *Suffex*, the *Lorde Riche*, the *Maires* and *Sheriffes of London*, and many other of the nobilitie, gentlemen, and Commones, forcing them to wash their handes in innocentes blood with thee? what confidences maie they haue through thee? How cannest thou salue their wounded soules? But thou wilt saie, it maketh no matter. The cleargie is faire ridde of a great many of enemies. A dead man can doo no hurt. But be thou certain, thou wilt be deceaued

deceued. What so euer becometh of thy bocherly body I wishe thy soule to be saued. Repent therfore in tyme; become *Paule of Saul*.

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

*King Abimelech* caused his thre score and tē brethren by the father side, to be all killed, because he might reigne alone; he thought all was Cocks, and so did they that holpe him to execute so horrible an acte. But what did they escape? No. God suffered the deuill to make discorde betwene the king and his deare dearlings, and first they were iustly destroyed by their king, and after he him self hauing his head broken with a peece of a stone lette fall out of a weake womans handes, for shame willed his seruant to kill him with a sworde, that it should not be reported, a woman hadde killed him. *King Achab* and *Queene Iezabel* thought non should reuenge poore *Naboths* death; but contrary to their expectation, by *Goddess* iustice, dogges sloped and licked vp the blood of them both. *Queene Athalia* thought her self saue when she had killed all the kinges progenie, but God

B served

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 muchle lust) who after she had  
ben a while married to a noble gentelman, and waxed  
rotary of his worke, caused him to be hanged out of  
an open galerie in the toppe of the house (because  
noman should see him) and not after the poore the  
uex 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 by sides an vn-  
speakeable nombre of pryue mariages she made sou-  
re by daye in a litle space, but at leynight God plaga  
geth her, and she was hanged in that place, wher she  
before hanged her husbande.

Whan those that conspired the death 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 leynight escape scotte free? No. Som of them by the  
iust iudgement of God were plaged with the like pu-  
nishment, with the same axe, vpon the selfsame bloc-  
ke and in the same place. And the rest hereafter are  
not vnlike without repentance (which they shew  
not) to receaue their rewards, either in them selues  
or their posteritie. O wonderfull workes, O iust  
iudgement of God, that hateth those that doo euil,  
and

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

But **Boner**, I maye not leaue thee thus. Geue me  
leau. (**Sauage Boner**) to dispute this mater of  
lawfull and not lawfull, a litle more with thee. If thou  
and the rest of the traitours thy Cōpanions should  
persuade the frēdeles **Quene of England** (who  
ye haue enchanted) to gene 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 hinges of England at their Coronacion in thy  
mes past made, and which she also made to her subie-  
ctes, Whan she was crowned before she was a perfit  
**Q. Gene**) she folowed your counsail, and som noble  
personage sent thider to deliuer the keyes, and the de-  
putie and garison did not strike of the messagiers  
head, and set it on the gates, but obeyed it, and not  
resisted it: wer not thou ad thi selowes traitours for  
psuading her so doothade not she broken her othe and  
promyse? were not thattourney a traitour for doing  
that he was commaunded? were not the deputie and  
garison traitours for suffering it to be done? An-  
swer. What cannest thou saie for thy self and thy  
folowest? Giltie, or not giltie? Thou standest mewet,  
Whan not a worde: Thou art sure, your good will, will

E ij stande



stande you in as good stede, as the dede done. Neither doo ye passe, though the crowes be sedde with your carion carcases, and the deuill with your soules, so ye maye leaue behinde you a fame, that by your traytourie, the laitie of Englad was destroyed, and the spiriualitie 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 long agoe their neighbour Monsieur Vertrin, Captain of Boloigne was punished as a traitour, for that by necessitie and extremitie of force he redred vp Boloigne to king Henry 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 commaundement of their maisters. But what if the commaundement be not lausfull? doest thou not saie thy self, it is not to be obeted. 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 listeth. What if it be denyed to be her owne? But thou wilt saie: she hathe the crowne by enberitaunce, and maie dispose of the realme, and euery parte of the Realme, as pleaseth her. But I answer: that albeit she haue it by enberitaunce, yet she hathe it with

it with an othe, laue and condicion to kepe and mayntene it, not to departe with it or diminish it. If she haue no more right to the Realme than her father had, and her father as muche as ever an king of Englande: what neded he to require the consent of the Nobillitie 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 parliament, he might doo with the Realme ad euery pte thereof, what it pleased him. Take hede what thou sayest. If that be true, that king Henry might do with it without cosent 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 thousand 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 bodi of free men and not of bondemen, he nor she can not geue or sell them as slaues and bondemen. No, they can not geue or sell awaye the holdes and fortres (as Caleise and Barwike, or suche like) without the consent of the Commons: for it was purchasid

with their blood ad moneie. Yea ad thine owne popes  
lawes (wherby thou meafurest all thiges to be lausfull  
or not lausfull) saie, that if a kīg or gouernour of any  
realme goo about to diminishe the regalities ad righ-  
tes of his crowne, he ought to be deposed. Thus did  
Pope Honorius the thrid cōmaunde thare bebisshop of  
Collosa ad his suffraganes to deprue a kīg of Vng-  
rie, which wēt about to waste, sell ad geue awaye the  
Regalities ad rightes of his crowne, onles in tyme he  
ceased ad called backe that he had done. It is so plain-  
te, thou canst not denie it. But I see, Boner, I haue cha-  
fed thee to muche: thi chekes blushe ad swell for very  
agre. M. D. Chadsel, M. D. Pēdletō, M. Cosins, or sō  
of you Chaplaines, get my lordē a cup of secke, to cō-  
fort his spirites My lordē ad I agree almost like bel-  
les: we iarre sō what but not muche, his lordship mea-  
neth that mē ought to be alwaies but not at all tymes  
honest. But I saie, thei must be honest alwaies ad at al-  
l tymes. His lordship wolde sayne haue a placarde or  
prouiso for hē ad his, that they might sōtimes (that is  
frō the begining to thēde of the weke) plaie their pa-  
rtes. But I saie, albeit his lordship haue suche a priuile-  
ge, yet maie no honest mā at any tyme doo that is not  
honest, iuste, ad lausfull, bi haifers, kīges, Qyenes no,  
neither his cōmaundement. For if those thinges which  
only in mennes opiniones seme to be vnlausfull maye  
by no autoritie be done, and those that doo thē, be no  
lesse to be punisshed, than if they had done them with-  
out autoritie: how muche lesse maye suche thin-

ges by any cōmaundement be committed, that are in-  
dede vnlausfull: but shalbe punished according to the  
desertes, by what so euer power or autoritie they be  
executed? Men therefore ought to take hede, that by  
going about to come out of the smoke, they fall not in  
to the fire: and by pleasing of men, they runne not in  
to the displeasure of God. If mennes ordinaunces and  
lawes, or the gouernours autoritie and cōmaunde-  
ment were a sufficient discharge for men to doo  
what so euer were prescribed or cōmaunded vnto thē,  
tell me (I beseeche thee) why did Esafas the Prop het  
suffre rather to be sawed in pieces, than to folowe the  
proceedings of Manasses? why did Daniel not  
folowe king Darius and his counsailes cōmaunde-  
ment, forbearing to worship the true God: but was  
content to be cast to the yones? why did not the three  
children, Sadrach, Mefach, and Abednego  
obeye Nabuchadnefar in worshipping the gold-  
den idole, ad so auoide the hotte burnig fornaices? why  
did Elazarus submitte him self to death, and not  
dissemble? why did he not eat his owne meat, ad ab-  
steyne frō porke fleshe, that the king cōmaunded the  
Iewes to eat cōtrary to the lawes, ad saye that he had  
eate it, as his olde trustye frēdes of the court coun-  
sailed hē? why did he not sue for a bul or perō of An-  
tiochus, that he might vse his owne religio, as our En-  
glish halīg gospellers doo of the pope, cōfessing his  
autoriti, which is the thig that he oly passeth vpō ad  
E iij caret

ereth not how many soules be ledde to the deuil?  
Goddy did not the Iewen brethre and their mother obeie  
the Iunges commaundement, and saue their lyues and  
goodes, as thau ancient Catharistes, and newe puri  
stes doo, saing: all thinges be pure to the pure, and  
no idolatrie nor filthyneffe can infecte him that is pu  
re and cleane? or why did they not saie, as the Pri  
scianistes and Papisstes did in tyme past, and as  
the marchauntes Hill and Petrefonne with their  
double tongued traine ad dissemblyng secte at this pre  
sent saie, that it is lawfull (and no synne) to saie one  
thing and meane another: to lye with the lypes, so  
they haue the truthe in the heart? to denye God in  
wordes and workes, so they cōfesse him in thought ad  
mynde? to daunce with the deuil all daye, and lodge  
with Christ at night? why did Paule suffre so many  
imprisonmētes, so much beating, scourgeing and tor  
menting? And why at leight did he not saue his life,  
and folowe Kaiser Neroes commaundement? Goddy  
did not the Prophetes, thapostles, and so many thou  
santes of martirs folowe the wicked tyrannes com  
maundemētes and procedinges, but resisted them, and  
with their blood testified, that they allowed thē not?  
But all these holy mēnes doo ges in confesig ad obeieg  
the highest power God, ad not thinsurious powers in  
wicked ad euil thiges, are cōmēded ad lēste bi the ho  
ly gooste to vs in holiſchristo folowe ad doo the like.  
If mēnes lawes ad cōmaundementes were a sufficient  
wraūt

wraūt to mē, to doo what so euer is cōmaūded thē; tell  
me (I praie thee) to what purpose is suffrig of persecu  
ciō so ofte repeted, so earnestly taught, so highly com  
mended in scripture? Christ saith: He that taketh not  
up his crosse and foloweth me, is not mete  
for me. And again; blessed be those that suffre  
persecution for righteousnesse sake,  
for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. Blef  
sed are ye, whan men shall curse you, and  
persecute you, and speake all euil against  
you, lieng for my sake; be glad and reioi  
ce, for your rewarde is pleintifull in hea  
uen. So did they persecute the prophetes  
that were before you. And thapostle saith:  
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 ha  
the ordained a meane, that is, the magistratē to re  
dresse them. But by persecution is ment the iniuries  
and tyrannie that the Magillrates and governours  
exercice ouer Goddes people. For they not contented  
to let a christian man haue iustice in ciuile thinges aga  
inst a papisst, nor an honest man against suche a one  
as fauoureth their procedinges, doo the selues spoile  
the christians and honest of their goodes: and not  
onely spoile them, but by all maner of force, violence,

E y and

and snares seke their life and blood, not onely in their owne country, but wher they haue non autoritie, because they will not obeie their commaundements, and solo we their wicked proceedinges.

God will haue his tried by persecucion, that the worlde maie see, who loue the chief power, more than the inferior powers: his commaundementes, more than mennes sonde proceedinges: the soule, more than the fleshe: the sure and euerlasting inheritance of heauen, more than the vncertain and temporal possessiones of this worlde. Yea he hathe non other waie to let the difference appeare to mennes eyes betwene his seruantes and princes Parasites, than only by persecucion. Papissts, Turkes, Jewes, gentiles can dissemble, they can seme to fast, to praie, to geue alms, to builde monastries, and chauntries, and to doo norwarde workes gaite to the cie, because they wold be accompted holy of men, but to refuse to doo that is euill for iustice sake, to be slaundred, spoken euill of, whipped, scourged, spoiled of their goodes, killed of the worldly princes and tirannes, rather than they wold disobieie God, and forsake Christ: this can neither papissts 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 straight offre them selues to the princes slaughterhouse, their neckes to the halter, their headdes

to the blocke, their blood to make princes puddings, their entrailles to make tripes, their quatrres to be boiled or roasted: but he hathe leste them a special rule and commaundement, wherby to guide them selues, that is, in all thinges to seke first the kingdome of God. If he that is persecuted, sele in his conscience, that he maie doo God greater seruice and glorie by suffring than by fleeing, he ought rather to suffre a thousand deathes, than to seee one foote. But if his conscience witnesseth with him that he maie doo God greater glorie by fleeing than by tarieng, he ought not to tempt God with tarieng, but is bounden by commaundement to depart. If they persecute you in one citie (saith Christ) flye in to another. And he did not only teache it, but did it him self, for saking Iewrie, and goig into Galile, wher he heard the lohn Baptist was laied bi the heles, because the time was not yet come, wherin he was appointed to glorifie God. And because God wolde haue a refuge place, and sanctuarie for his, wher he might escape tirannie and persecucion should be exercised, he wolde neuer suffre the power and ambitious tirannes, to make one perfite Monarchie of all, but whan they haue done their best to bring all together, and the string haue be almost in the nicke of the bowe (as the proverbe is) it hathe sodainly slipt, and not only deuioued the doer, but it hathe fallen in to a great meany moo shiuers than euery it was before. Thus God dalieth and plaieth with his puppettes the princelings of this worlde.

wherefore we be Goddes people and seruantes, and he our lord and the highest power: and the princes of the worlde be but his ministres and inferior powers, ordained to doo good and not euil: we ought to seke chiefly to doo Goddes 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 to ward their lord and maister God, as they ought. For as he can, so wolde he sone despeche the worlde of tyrants. But because many be open enemies of God, and many dissemblers with God, God sendeth ad suffreth euil gouernours (and will sende worse) to plague the people for their iniquitie, and to trie the faith of his electe, from whom not one heare of the head can be taken without Goddes wil. And therefore seking alwayes 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 obeye 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 furtherwith letted, will so daingly haue in all the body: or to the weasles, that conueith in his hole body, wher he hath one gotten in his head. So they if they be obeyed in any euil thing (be it neuer so litell) wil be obeyed in all at length. What letteth but that they maie not only sende for mennes goodes, but for their heades also, as the Turke doth to his best Basha, 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 strade of other meat: and for a seconde course bring in to them, the heades, fete, and handes, as King Astages did to Harpagus? All the papir of England wold not serue to set our the mischiefs, that might folowe, whā princes euil commaundements should be obeyed and fulfilled. But men that be wise, maie bi a litell, consiere the hole.

Seing therefore that God will not princes commaundementes should be obeyed in all thinges, but will haue his rather suffre a thousand deathes, than do any thing that is euil: and sence also so many euils and mischiefs may folowe in this life, wher wicked princes

princes willes maie stande for lawes; men ought bo-  
the for Goddes sake and commaundement abstine to  
obey suche commaundements, and cleave vnto this  
Maxime: we must obeye 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 habletõ recompence it, so will he  
(according to his promise) reward it. And besides  
also they ought to consider, that princes be ordained  
for the wealth and benefite of the people, and not to  
their destruction: to maintene common wealthes, and  
not to subuerge them: which rather than any man  
should consent vnto, he ought (being a faithfull  
man to his country) to abide all losses, bothe of his  
body and goodes. For next after God, men sh  
men be borne to loue, honour, and maintene their  
country.

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

**T**HE Anabaptistes wresting scripture to  
serue their madnesse, among other foule errorrs,  
haue this: that all things ought to be common, they  
image 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 things 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, much deceaith them.  
For by the fall, ad 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 ad prone to doo that is  
euil. And therefore as one meanes to be therather va-  
rombred of the heape of sinne, God ordained that mā  
should get his liuing by the swette of his browes;  
ad that he should be the more forced to labour, the di-  
stinction of things ad proprietie (mine, ad thine) was  
(cotrary to platoes opiniõ) ordained, as appeareth by  
these two lawes: Thou shalt not steale: Thou  
shalt not couet thy neighbours wife, nor his  
seruañt, nor his maide, nor his ox, nor his Ass, nor  
any

any thing that is his. Afterwarde in dede scriptu-  
re speaketh of communion of thinges, 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  
gave and sold all they had, to relieue the miserie of  
their poore brethren: who for impotentie, or for mul-  
titude of children, were not with their labour habile  
to get sufficient to relieue their necessitie. Nor of this  
so geuen might every man take as muche as him lu-  
sted, but to euery one (accordig to his necessitie) suffi-  
cient 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 pooreft sorte, but of the chiefest and richest: that  
is, many wicked governours and rulers, who in this  
errour excell the common Anabaptistes. For the  
common Anabaptistes doo not onely take other men-  
nes goodes as common, but are content to let their  
owne also be common, which hath the som smacke of  
Charitie: for they them selues doo non other, but  
that they them selues are content to suffre.

But the euil governours 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 to: not so muche as paie for those  
thinges, that in wordes they pretende to haue 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 suspecte  
God. For some doo it vnder pretise to doo the people  
good: some by craftie and subtil meanes, colour their  
doinges: and some of right (but without right) claime  
them for their owne.

Of the first sort be those, that put great taxes  
and impositions on drinke, for so muche as the peo-  
ple 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 wor-  
the, they should force them the rather to absteyne  
fro ouermuch drinking, ad so from sinne. But in this  
it maye appeare, they seke not abstynence fro synne, ad  
the wealth of the people, but their owne priuate pro-  
fit. 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 braiches of the  
tree, and let the roote growe, but they wold roote  
vp the roote that it should no more growe. And so of  
this sort do it to this ende, to make thinges better chea-  
pe. For (thinke they) if they were but littell money,  
that must thinges be sold better cheape. As though  
it laye in them to make plentyntie and scarcitie, and  
as though thone were not the bounteous benefite of  
God sent to them that feare and loue him: and the  
other his plage iustly powred on them that hate him.

¶ This

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

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

hope to saue their owne, are content either them sel-  
ues to betraie their countreie, or to suffre it to be be-  
traied of others, and one of them deuoureth ad eateth  
vp an other, that for a litle while he maie the more  
liue after his owne lust: *scobere* 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 brother, and finally deuifeth and worketh what so  
euer good is. But none maie pille or polle, robbe or  
spoil, or doo any mischief (saith thapostle) that good  
maie therof folowe; and specially kinges and gouer-  
nours of people, whom bicause they be ordained to  
doo good, and should doo nothing but well, Christ  
called Benefactours and not Malefactours.  
If they doo it, whilest they pretende (but meane it  
not) to bring others to heauen, they maie be sure to  
bring them selues to hell.

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

F ij Eirjt



First, the purenesse of the matier, that it be not corrupted or countrefaied. 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 luste; how might he not lightly spoyle his subiectes of all that they haue, or could come by, wchich thing the great deuil and cutthroate of Englande (the papistes God) in his Sermon that he made at Paules crosse, vpon this Theme (now is is the tyme to wake from slepe, my brethren, for now is our ioie and pompe more nye, than when we before dissembled to beleue in Christ. Be of good cheare, my disciples, our trouble is past, our ioie is at hande) letted not to blaste out. In this Sermon to bring the dead innocent and blessed king Edwarde (whom for his vertue he hated) in hatred of the people: for he imputed to him (a childe and a 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 pence to fixe pence, and not rise against the king to redresse their iniurie. He saue, that this and suche like iniuries were not tolerable in a prince, and wolde haue hade 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 sined to fauour. For at the beginning to mayntene Boloigne warres, which he deuide, to pull king Héries minde fro matiers of religio, or (as afterwarde good likely hood appeared) to haue hym taken in the warres, and caried to the bishop of Rome: the same deuil Gardynar was than the chief Counsaillour to haue the money abased, to maintene the same. And now lately (whan he hath brooken his chayne) deuised Rosemary pence, worfe 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 duetic, pike out onely a peece that maye mayntene their tyrannye. It is thus written, saye they in the first boke of kinges. This shal be the right or lawe of the king that shall rule ouer you: he will take your sonnes, and put them to his charettes, and make his horsemen of them, and they must

F iij run-

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

This peece of scripture is their clooke: but it serueth no more a kinges wicked doinges, than that of the wicked sonnes of Eli, and the sacrificers (whome men call priestes) to take out of mennes pottes, what peece they lusted, or to take their porcion rawe, contrary to Goddes ordinance. 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 appointed to kinges or priestes, which he set out in other places, but suche as they wolde vsurpe ouer the people. Nother will this maintene the purpose, that here he speaketh of a king and not of a tyranne, for at the first a kinges name was as odious, and as muche abhorred, as a tyrannes. But this was spoken of the prophet Samuel to feare the people, that they should not goo about to altre the ordre and policie that God had ordayned: which if they did, they should fele what a plague it were to haue a king geuen in Goddes furie. And if they had onely sought to be ruled by one (as partly in this, that one alone ruleth, a king dothe diffre from other gouernours) they wolde haue ben content with Samuel alone, who as he was appointed by God to rule alone ouer the Israelites, so did he exercite and vse his office most vprightly: but they wolde needes 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 euery one to fall flatte to the ground that should meete him, as the Gentiles haue, who were in dede tyrannes, as appeareth by the first called Nemrod, who for his rebellion against God, and deuourig of Goddes people, was called the stowte

F iij hun-

hantour before or against God. And in the same king  
dome of the Israelites God shewed by an evident ter-  
roure to all gouernours, that he did not allowe suche  
right, as the prophet sayed, the king wolde vse ouer  
his subiectes.

For when king Achab wolde haue  
bought of his subiecte Naboth his vineyorde  
(which he neded not to haue done, if the subiectes  
goods be the hinges) 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 bicau-  
se 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 vry opte and prone to those vertues, and within  
shorte space doo so therein excell, as fewe men can in  
long tyme matche them) taketh the matier in bande.  
What (sayeth she) be you a mete man to be a king  
ouer Israel, that will suffre suche dishonour at your  
slaves handes, one that bi your ancient prerogatiue  
which hathe continued thes hundred and three sco-  
re yeares, yea from the first king of Israel) ye maye  
vse in body and goodes, as please you. Ph) for shame,  
pull your courage to you, arise, eat your meat,  
be mery, I waraunt you the vineorde. Out goeth a Cō-  
mission in the kinges name, to certain Cōmissionares  
where Naboth dwelt, suche as the Quenes grace  
was sure, fauoured her proceedings.

Those she  
requi-

requireth to cause Naboth to be endyted and con-  
demned for an heretike and a traitour: and so to cau-  
se him to be stoned to death. Her will is furtherwith  
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 priso-  
ners 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 stete: no  
lawes, no equitie, no iustice might defende the poore  
innocent. So the vineyorde is the kinges by the ordre  
of lawe. Those newes be caried in post to Iesabel, she  
sheweth them to her husbunde, wherwith he (as sone  
as he hearde them) was recovered, and goeth to ta-  
ke possession of the vineyorde. But what foloweth this  
crueltie ad tiranie! Are not bothe the kinges Maiestie  
and the Quenes highnesse within while after killed,  
ad their blood licked vp of dogges, according as the  
Prophet declared to hi in the 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 lor-  
des and ladies that will haue their lusts a lawe,  
and their will to be folowed and obeyed of their subiectes  
as a right in dede. The true right and prerogatiue of  
a king was written in a particular boke by the Pro-  
phete Samuel, and laied vp by the Arke, which boke  
(among many other) was loste, yet who so lusteth to

F knowe

knowe it, maie see it set out by God i the boke of Deu-  
teronomie. After that God had preferred who shold  
be their king, that is, no aliene or straunger, but one  
of their owne brethren; for naturally straungers doo  
not fauour straungers. And a straunge prince 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. Sohä 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 altre his minde frö God:  
nother yet great treasure of siluer ad golde. But whā  
he is set in his throne, he shall cause a copie of these  
lawes and statutes to be written out of thoriginal re-  
mainning with the Leuites, and the same he shall haue  
with hi all the daies of his life, that he maie learne to  
fear the lorde his God, ad to kepe (not to breake) all  
the wordes and ceremonies that becomānded in the  
lawe, and also to fulfill thē in his doinges: And he shal  
not be prowde and haute ouer his brethren, neither  
shall he swaue from the lawe towarde the right han-  
de or lifte hande, that he and his children maie long  
reigne ouer Israell. 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 daetic of a christen mā, which euery one  
profisseth in Baptisme: but as he is called and exalted  
aboue the rest of his brethren, so should he be an ex-  
ample to them of good lyuing and vertue, in obseruing  
the lawe, which saith as well to kinges as to beggers:  
Thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not couet any thing  
that is thy neighbours; and so it stablisseth and con-  
firmeth, that euery one maie iustly kepe that is his  
owne, and none maie take it from him by any meane  
against his will, be it king or haifer.

And by the doinges of Samuel, who albeit he were  
not a king in name, yet had he ( being the lieute-  
nant and viceroie to God the chief king ) as great  
authoritie as any king in the earth: it maie appeare,  
that all thinges of the subiectes be not the kinges ow-  
ne propre. For if they had ben his owne, what need  
Samuel (at the surrendre of his office) to offre to ma-  
ke an accompt? And to whom, I praye you? To any  
bribing Auditor? No, he offred to make it to God,  
and to the king that succeeded him. Beholde (saith  
the) I haue done all that ye desired me. I ha-  
ue made you a king to rule you. My chil-  
dren yet shall be with you. But I am olde,  
and bore headed: that is, I cā not long cōti-  
nue. I haue bē amōg you frö a child to this  
daie. Lo, I ā ready to make mine accōpte  
before God and your hig, for all thinges that cā be laied  
to me by any of you, whose bullocke haue i takē? 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 sin-gres, but I am habile to laie ynough agaiſt you wicked people, &c.

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

the Tailour of gehenna (to be chained in the ward of eternal paine) and saie: A waie 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 subiectes goodes were the princes, and that he might take them at his pleasure. Let vs ymagine, that the subiectes were only carnall men without the knowlage ad feare of God. Yea ad let it be graunted also, that they were spoiled of all their armour, and great garisones set in euery place to kepe them in obeisance, so that they had not wherewith 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 mouth? 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 sweet Indies, now called newe Spain: who knewe of Christ nothing at all, and of God no more than nature taught them. The people of that countreie whan the catholike Spaniards came thider, were simple and plaine men, and liued without great labour, the lande was naturally so pleintifull of all thinges, and  
continually

continually the trees had ripe frute on them. Whan  
the Spaniards 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 la-  
bour) to stande all the daie in the hotte sunne gather-  
ing 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 (seeing them selues  
brought from so quiet a life to suche miserie and sla-  
uerie) of desperacion killed them selues. And many  
wolde not mary, because they wolde not haue their  
children slaues to the Spaniards. The women whan  
they felte them self with childe, wolde eat a certain  
herbe to destroye the childe in the wombe. So that  
wher at the coming thider of the Spaniards, there  
were accounted to be in that countrey nine hundred  
thousant persones, there were in short time by this  
meanes so fewe lefte, as Petre martir (who was  
one of the temperour Charles the fiftes counsaill the-  
re, and wrote this historie to the perour) saieith, it was  
a shame for him to name.

This is the frute, wher Princes take all their sub-  
iectes things as their owne. And wherunto at leight  
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 saied,  
ye see that every mā maie kepe his owne, and none maie  
take it frō him, so that it cā not be interpreted, that all  
things be the kaisers or kinges, as his owne propre,  
or that they maie take the frō their subiectes at their  
pleasure, but thus it is to be expouided, that they ought  
to defende, that every man hathe, that he maie quietly  
enioie his owne, and to see that they be not robbed or  
spoiled therof. For as in a great mānes house, all thiges  
be saied to be the Stuardes, because it is committed to  
his charge, to see that every 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 no-  
thing awaie from any man, nor mispend or waste,  
and of his doinges he must rendre account to his lorde  
for all: so in a Realme or other dominion, the realme  
and countreie are Goddes, he is the lorde, the peo-  
ple are his seruauntes, and the king or governour is  
but Goddes minister or stuarde, ordaincd not to mis-  
use the seruauntes, 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 maïtenaïce and definsē of the cōmon wealthe, and  
not to the destructiō of it. The princes watche ought  
to defende the poore mannes house, his labour the sub-  
iectes ease, his diligēce the subiectes pleasure, his trou-  
ble the subiectes quietnesse. And as the sunne neuer  
standeth

standeth still but continually goeth about the worlde, doing his office: with his beate refreshing and cōfortig all naturall thinges in the worlde: so ought a good prince to be continually occupied in his ministrie, 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 duetic of a king, none would 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 cōntrey 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 off 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 kings (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 pretend to be christianes, that knowe them selues mortal men, no Goddes: seruauantes, no maisters: and who must

must (bicause God hathe saied it shalbe so) make accompt for all their doings, for all soules, men, women, and children: thinke their office and ministerie an heauye burthen, and so geue ouer seeking and hunting after their owne glorie, their pompe, their pride: and seeke 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 marvel that any gouernour  
can be saued, which is not

spoken in vayne

ne.

G

♦ ♦

♦

VVETHER IT BE  
lawfull to depose an euil gouer-  
nour, and kill a ty-  
rante.

**A**s ther is no better nor happier cōmon wealthe  
nor no greater blessing of God, thā wher one ra-  
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 office called for his vertue,  
to see the hole state well gouerned, and the people de-  
fended frō iniuries: neglecteth vterly his owne pleasu-  
re and profit, and besoweth all his studie and labour  
to see his office well discharged. And as a good phisi-  
cian earnestly secheth 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  
felng the benefit comyng by good gouernours, vsed  
in tyme past to call such good gouernours, fathers: and  
gaue thē no lesse honour, thā childrē owe to their pa-  
rentes. An euil persone comyng to the gouernemēt of  
any state, either by vsurpaciō, or by electiō or by suc-  
cessiō, vterly neglecteth the cause why hinges, princes  
and other gouernours in cōmō wealthes be made (that  
is, the

is, the wealth of the people) secheth onli or chiefly his  
owne profit and pleasure. And as a sowe comyng in to  
a faire garden, roteth vp all the faire and sweet flow-  
res and holsome simples, leauing nothing behinde, but  
her owne siltheie dirte : so dothe an euil gouernour  
subuerte the lawes and ordres, or maketh them to be  
wrenched or racked to serue his affectiōnes, 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  
therefore, or promising and neuer payng : or  
craftily vnder the name of loanes, beneuolences, con-  
tribucionnes, and suchelike gaye paynted wordes, or  
for feare he getteth 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 wealthe, but on hoores, hooremongers,  
dycing, carding, bancketting, vniust warres, and such  
like euilles and mischieues, wherin he delyteth. 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) secheth and taketh all occasiōnes 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



further with it is taken for a iuste conspiciacē. If he  
saye nothing, and shewe a mery countenance, it is  
a token, that he despiseth the government. If he loke  
sorrowfully, than he lamenteth the state of his coun-  
treie, how many so euer be for any cause committed  
to prison, are not only asked, but be racked also to  
shewe whether he be pruyie of their doinges. If he de-  
parte, because he wold lye quietly, than is he proclai-  
med on open enemye. To be shorte, there is no doing,  
no gesture, no behauiour, no place can preferue or  
defende innocency against suche a gouernours cruel-  
tie: but as an hantour maketh wilde bestes his praie,  
and vseth toiles, nettes, snares, trappes, dogges, firret-  
tes, mynyng and digging the grounde, gōnes, bowes,  
speares, and all other instrumentes, engynes, deu-  
ises subtilities and meanes, wherby he maie come by his  
praie: so dothe a wicked gouernour make the peo-  
ple his game and praie, and vseth all kindes of sub-  
tilties, deceates, craftes, policies, force, violence,  
crueltye, and suche like deuillish wayes, to spoyle  
and destroye the people, that be comitted to his char-  
ge. And when he is not habile without most manifest  
crueltye to doo by him self that he desireth, than saye  
th 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 curres, so he kepeth them in chaines,

whi

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

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

And first for the better and more playne profe of  
this mater, the manifolde and continuall examples  
that haue ben from tyme to tyme of the depoying of  
kinges, and killing of tyrānes, doo most certainly con-  
firme it to be most true, iust and cōsonaunt to Goddes  
iudgement. The historie of kinges in the olde testa-  
ment is full of it. And as Carnal Phooole truly citeth,  
England lacketh not the practice and experience of  
the same. For they deprived king Edward the secon-  
de, because without lawe he killed his subiectes, spoile-  
d them of their goodes, and wasted the treasure of  
the Realme. And upon what iust causes Richard the  
the secōde was thrust out, and Hery 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

when they deprived Christiern the tiranne, and committed him to perpetual prison.

Zacharias the pope that inuented first the lances 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 Honourius (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. Wherefore Pope inoēt the fourth made the kings brother therle of Bolone coadiuour 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 counsaill saied, that he ought to haue bē utterly deposed of the Crowne. These doinges of Popes I rehearse not, as though their usurped autoritie were to be allowed, but for that ye may see, that it is no newe thing to depose euil kings and gouernours: and that those that haue the iust autoritie, maie and ought for the like causes, doo as they did. For albeit the autoritie of the pope be not lawfull, yet is the reason that moued them so to doo,

honest and iust, and mete to be receued and execut among reasonable creatures. And this lawe of nature to depose and punishe wicked gouernours, hath not bē only receued 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 w<sup>o</sup> maye be dede (by their saienz) the lieutenantes of the deuil, albeit they call the selues the vicars of God, maie be depriued by the body of the churche. And so at one clappe, in the counsaill holdē at Cōstaūce 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 sixth) excofens. A fierwarde in the Counsaill of Basil was Pope Eugeniū serued with that seruice. For the unlikelnesse of the countrey the rest of Popes haue sith refused that any general counsaill should be kept in Germany, fearing least they all hauing deserued as muche as the other soure deposed, should haue the like punis hemēt. And thus they cōfirme their doinges. If (saye they) the Pope hadē not a superiour, he might beīg suffred in his euil, brig the churche to destruction. And therefore if he cā not otherwise be brought to amende him self, it is lawfull to use the lawe of nature, that is, to remoue him from his office: for he is no bishop or pope, that abuseth his Popedom and bishopriche. An euil prelate ad unreformable semeth not to be ordayned by the will of God, saie the Canonistes, alledging the wordes of S. Ierome, upon

the saye 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 counsaill: ad yet God had chosen Saul. But yet because he was not chosen according to the will of God, but according to the mynd and desertes of the synfull people, God denyed him to be ordayned by his will or counsaill. The Canonistes also saie, that albeit the Popedome be by the lawe of God (as it is not in dede, sayeth the truthe) yet that this man or that, Paule or Iulie is pope, it cometh by the acte of man. For the Cardinales representing the uniuersal church, chose him. And therefore if he be not according to the will of God, and for the wealth of the uniuersal church, that is: if he be not one that seeketh Goddes glorie, ad the wealth of christies church, he maye be iustly depryued, because they erred in choosing him. And God semeth not to be against the putting out of suche an euil persone, but to sauaour and further it. For he sayed: if the salt be unfaurie, it is good for no use, but to be cast out, and troden under foote of all me. And again: if thi right eie be a let unto thee, pul it out, ad cast it fro thee. For it is better that one membre perish, thā that the hole bodi should be cast in to hell. And againe saie the Canonistes (the popes lawers in rehearce of Christies words: if our eie, foote, or hande offēde vs, let it be takē fro the rest of the bodi: for it is better to lache membres i this woorld, thā that

thei should eate the rest of the body in to hell. By salt, eie, foote, and hande, is vnderstande the headdes and rulers, and not the other membres and subiectes. And not only the headdes and rulers in the church, but also in all policie and common wealthes.

Now if it be lawfull for the body of the church to depose and punish 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 authority than kinges haue: nor crowned with a simple crowne, as Emperours ad kinges be, but with a triple crowne, to shewe his Regalitie and power above all others: how muche more by the like argumentes, reasons and authority, maie Emperours, kinges, princes and other gouernours abusing their office, be deposed and removed out of their places and offices, by the body or state of the Realme or common wealth.

By this lawe and argumentes of the Canonistes and example of deprivation of a Pope, are all shotes (wherwith Popes, bishoppes, priests, kaisers and kinges vse to defende their iniquitie) utterly taken awaie. Saie they: we are anointed; ye maie not touche vs: we are only subiecte to God, and euery man to vs. God will haue vs (O most wicked popes, bishoppes, priests, cruell and euil priuces) reigne to plague 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

G v and

and heades of their gouernours. And forasmuche as  
ye haue already sene, wherof politike power and go-  
uernement groweth, and thence wherunto it was or-  
dained: and seeing it is before manifestly and sufficiētly  
proued, that kinges and princes haue not an absolute  
power ouer their subiectes: that they are and ought to  
be subiecte to the lawe of God, and the holosome po-  
sitiue lawes of their countrey: and that they maie not  
lawfully take or vse their subiectes goods at their plea-  
sure: the reasones, argumentes and lawe that serue for  
the deposing and displacēg of an euil gouernour, will  
doo as muche for the prooffe, that it is lawfull to kill a  
tiranne, if they maie be indifferently hearde. As God  
haue 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 who-  
se autoritie it pertained, not only to summonne the  
king personally before the parliament or other cour-  
tes of iudgement (to answer and receaue according  
to iustice) but also vpon iuste occasion to committe  
him vnto warde.

Kinges, Princes and gouernours haue their auto-  
ritie

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vpō this lawe of nature, ad to cōserue the hole body the Ethnikes not knowing that the soule is immortall, 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 betwene a brute beast and mannes life: thought it reasonable, and made it lawfull (by their positiuē 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 reward, that they thought him worthy pardone that killed a tiranne, though he had killed his owne naturall father before. And besides this, when they sawe, that tirannes vsed to haue their bodies defended with great garisones and gardes of forain people, or kept them selues in strong holdes and secret chambres, so as none without great hasard and peril might come nere them: they pronounced

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

Wherof came the name of Nobilitie, or how were those that be called heroical or noble personages diuided from others, and had in suche honour and reuerence, seeing all men came of one man and one womans was it for their lustie hawking and hunting: for their nimble diceing and cōing carding: for their fine singing and daunceing: for their open bragging and swearing: for their false flatering and flattereing: for their subtil piking and staling: for their cruel polling and pilling: for their merciles man murthering: for their vnnatural destroyeing of their natural countrey men, and traiterous betraieing of their countrey: No, no, ther was no suche thing. The respecte only of their vertue ad loue to their countrey brought them therto. Because they reneged 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 thankfull minde, gaue them that estimation and honour. Of this kinde of nobilitie was Hercules, Theseus, and such like.

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

of the middes of the congregation, that the rest which beare of it, maie be afraied. and not entreprife 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 bringeth furthe euil frute. And albeit some doo holde, that the maner and meane to punish euil ad euil doers, is not all one amōg Christians (which be in dede that they professe i worde) ad Ethnikes, which thinke it lausful for euery priuate mā (without respecte of ordre ad time) to punish the euil: yet the lawes of many christiane regiones doo permitte, that priuate mē maie kil malefactours, yea though they were magistrates, in some cases: as whā a gouernour shall sodailly with his sworde rene vpō an innocēt, or goo about to shoote him through with a gōne, or if he should be soide in bedde with a mānes wife, or goo about to desloure ad rauishe a mānes daughter: muche more if goo about to betraye ad make awaie his cōitrey to foraiers, &c. Neuertheless forasmuche as all thigēs i euery christē cōmō wealthe ought to be done decētly ad accordīg to ordre ad charitie: I thinke it cā not be maintened by Goddes worde, that any priuate mā maie kill, except (wher executiō of iuste pūisshemēt vpō tirānes, idolaters, ad traiterous gouernours is either by the hole state vterly neglected, or the price with the nobilitie ad cōsail cōspire the subuersiō or alteraciō of their cōitrey ad people)

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

But now perchance thou wilt demaunde, why christen mē neuer made expresse positieue 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 earth, 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 champions 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 habile to take it from them.

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

ment of euery one of them particularly. If a prince robbe and spoile his subiectes, it is theste, and as a thefe 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 aduourtie, he is an aduourter 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 betraye 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 crimes, 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 nedey out of the handes of the wicked. When ye sitte to iudge, ye shal 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 outward appearance of men, but iudge rightly: sayeth Christ.

God him self gaue the example of punishment of

H cuil

euil gouernours. For when the children of Israel ha-  
de committed Idolatrie, he commaunded moſes to take  
the Princes of the people, and to hang them up aga-  
inſt the Sunne, that his wrathe and furie might be tur-  
ned from Iſrael.

When that doughtie dame **Queene Athalia**, the  
woman tyranne (ſeing after her ſonne **Ahaziahu** was  
dead, that ſhe was childles, and paſt hope to haue any  
childrē) had killed all the kynges progenye (ſaving  
**Ioas**, whom **Iehofaba** **Iorams** daughter hid and get  
with his nource out of the waye) purpoſing to reigne  
zberby in ſecuritie, and to tranſpoſe the right of the  
crowne to ſtraungers or ſom other fauourer of her  
cruel proceedings at her pleaſur by the helpe and ſub-  
tillty of her traitorous Counſailours, and ſo went on in  
all abominacion and crueltie without comptrolling a  
great ſpace: Did her ſubiectes ſuffre her in her wic-  
kedneſſe ſtill unpuniſhed though ſhe was the vndoubt-  
ed **Queene** and chief gouernour 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 ſeuē) ca-  
res olde: the nobilitie and commones ſeling by experi-  
ence what miſeric it was to lye vnder the gouerna-  
ment of a miſchicuous woman, not only garded **Ioas**  
with mē and all decent regal ceremonies vnto the houſe  
of God (by thādūiſe and appoyntement of **Ieoiada**)  
the

the high prieſt) and ther crowned him ſolemnelly: but  
alſo when **Athalia** the **Queene** highneſſe cam in, mar-  
uailing what adoo that was, and perceaing the ma-  
ter, rent her clothes howling and crieng, as the ma-  
ner of madde women is, ſpecially in the hotte ſeaſons  
of the year: they layed handes on her (for all her  
crieng, Treason, treſon) and when they had caried  
her out of the houſe of God, they ſlewe her. And ſo  
was the realme ridde of a tyranne, the right enheri-  
tour poſſeſſed in his regal aſtate, the people made a  
newe bāde with God to ſerue him ſyncerely accordig  
to his worde, and baniſhed all idolatrie and falſe reli-  
gion (which the **Queene** had ſet vp and vſed) and the  
common wealthe flouriſhed a freſhe in her former pea-  
ce and libertie.

The prophet **Elias** being no ciuile magiſtrate, cau-  
ſed the kyng and **Queene** highneſſe chaplaynes **Baals**  
prieſtes to be killed before **Achabs** face, bicauſe they  
were idolaters, and taught and mayntened falſe reli-  
gion, though ſcarce ſo falſe and idolatrous, as the po-  
pes maſſe and religion is. And when the **Queene** maie-  
ſtie dame **Ieſabel** (that ſhe deuill) ſaw **Iehu** cō to her pa-  
lace, cried and reuiled hi as a traitour. **Iehu** not paſſing  
vpō her wordes (though ſhe was his ſoueraigne lady and  
maiſtres) cried aloude: who is on my ſide, who? As  
though he had ſaid, if ther be any among you, that  
ſetteth more by Goddes true religio and their natural  
countre than by that idolatrous witche the **Queene**:

H ij caſt



cast her out at the wyndow. And so two or three of her pruiic Chambré threwe her out to him, bursting her necke and bones against the walles. And as sone as Iehu hade trodē her vnder his fete, dogges (as ye hearde before) eat vp her fleshe, and stoffed vp her blood,

Ioram was knowne the king and right inheritor of the crowne of Israel. And yet when he sawe Iehu and his cōpanie come towarde him, he asked him whether he came in peace. Iehu said: what peace should ther be, as long as the horedomes of thy mother Iesabel and her witchcraftes be so great? And so for his idolatrous tyrannie and euil gouernement Iehu slewe him. And many moo suche examples in scriptures we haue, which (as the rest of the Bibleis) he lefte 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 alteration of the common wealthes in Schwüzerlande and certain other places in high Almayne, now in our tyme is not very pleasant, 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 vniuersally 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 tyrannye he vsed among them?

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

And on the other side, wher the nobilitie and people loke diligently and earnestly upon their authorities, and doo see the same executed on their headdes and gouernours, making them to yelde account of their doinges: than without faile will the princes and gouernours be as diligent to see the people doo their dutie. And so shall the common wealthes be godly, and prospre, and God shalbe glorified in all. But thou wilt saye, what if the nobilitie, and those that be called to cōmon Cōsilles, and should be the defendours of the people, will not or dare not execute their authority: what is than to be done? The people be not so destitute of remedie, but God hathe provided an other meane, that is, to complayne to som minister of the worde of God, to whō the keyes be geuen to excommunicate not only common people for all notorious and open euilles: but also haifers, kinges, princes, and all other gouernours, when they spoile, robbe, undoo and

kill their poore subiects without iustice and good lawes. And what so euer suche minister of Goddes worde byndeth vpon those occasions here in earthe, it is fast bounden in heauen before the face of God. And no meane to vndo it, by any good worde (much lesse by popes pardone or friers prayers) without repentaunte of the partie offending, and satisfactiō made to the partie offended for the iniustice and iniuries committed: and the mercie of God through the only merites of our saucour Iesus Christ. Exāple we haue of S. Ambrose, who being no pope, nor popes Comishary, but bishop of Millane excommunicated the Emperour Theodosius, whose doinges, because thou maiest the better knowe, I will in fewe wordes expresse the effecte of the historie. This Theodosius, albeit he were an Emperour, and a Christen man, yet was he of nature colerike, and muche disposed to be a grie. and as it semeth, without consideration. It chanced that in a sediciō at Theſalonica, ſoō of his officers were stoned to death, and some very euil intreated. He in a rage sendeth thider a nōbre of merceiles 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 child. Afterwarde thēperour after his accustomed maner, came to warde the church, and S. Ambrose mette him at the church dore, and wolde not suffre him to entre: but not only tolde him, it was no place for murderers, but also did excommunicate him out of all christen com-

panie, til he repented and made satisfactiō for the horrible murther cōmitted by his souldiours. Theperour 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 weping and crieng to his palace. Eight monets after, came the feast of the natiuitie of Christ: and Ruffinus lorde great maister or stuarde of his house came to thēperour, who he founde very heauie, weping and sobbing. He beig familiar with him, desired to knowe the cause of his sorowe. Ah Ruffinus (saie thēperour) thou art mery, for thou seest not mi paines. I la mēt and mourne for my calamitie. It is free for slaues and beggers to goo to the church, and ther to praye to God, but I maie not come ther: no, heauē gats be shut to me. Christes words goo not out of my hart: what so euer ye binde on earthe, shalbe bounde also in heauē. At leyngh t beig encouraged by Ruffinus, that he might be absouled 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 thēperour cometh, but durst not entre in to the church, but without the dores fell on his knees to S. Ambrose, and desired absolution. S. Ambrose saied, he was not mete to be absouled, for his comyng was more like a tiranne, one that wolde by force be absouled, than a christen man that shewd  
R iij him

him self penitēt and sory. No (sayeth thēperour) I wil  
not presume against the orāre of the church to entre  
in by force, but I hūbly besuche thee to lufe me out of  
these bōdes of ex cōmunicatiō, ād that thou wilt remē  
bre 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  
penaſſe he had shewed ſy th 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 re  
ceiue and use it. At leyngh t s. Ambrose required ther  
might be a lawe ordayned, that the execution of reuēge  
should not be done so dainly but delaicd, so as it should  
not proced of angre, and thēperour made that lawe.  
Afterwarde he was releasſed of the cōmunicatiō; ād  
commynyng in to the church, he made his praiers, not  
standing nor haeling, but lyeng flatte on the grounde,  
pulling his heare, beating his browe, weping, lamenting  
and cryeng with Dauid: My soule cleaueh to the pa  
uement, quichen mee (O lorde) according to thy wor  
de; ād asked mercie ād forgeuēse. Thus ye see, what  
any minister of the church maie doo upō the greatest  
prince, if he will execute his office ād the power that  
Christ geueh him. But thou wilt saie, what if the mi  
nister passe not on his duetie, but be contēt to winke  
at all the vices of the gouernours, be thei neuer so vic  
ked, so he maie haue a bishopriche, a deārie, a prebēde,  
or a good satte benefice, ād liue unpunished in all abomi

naciō? Yea ād what if ther be suche special grūdges be  
twene the nobilitie and commones, that the one sorte  
neither trusteth nor loueth the other, so as the one  
dare not open the necessitie ād meane of suche correc  
tion and redresse of the euil gouernours vices, for  
feare least if the purpose come to light before hande,  
the mater be dasbed, and the mocionar leape head  
les for his labour, as it is in these daies of senes  
what listeth than? In dede ther be certain examples  
and paternes in the holy Bible, which I will not sic  
ke to rehearse, though not expounde, but holly refer  
re them to the further debating and iudgemēt of thi  
ne owne conscience, through the holy goost, by whom  
se prouidence they are enrolled for our learning.

So we reade that after the lorde God hadē sondry  
times deliuered his people of Israel from wicked tin  
rānes, with whom he hadē plagued them for their vic  
kednesse and idolatrie: at leinght whan through a  
boundaunce of wealthie 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 (saieh the scripture) be streynghte  
ned a straunge prince among them, an idolatrous  
person and a wicked, called Eglon. This Eglon  
used the matier so with bribing those israelites, t. at  
H v for

for preferment wold be traitours to their natural  
countrie, and specially in bringing in a great power  
of Ammonites ad Amalekites (two kinds of people in  
beggerly pride and filthinesse of life muche like to the  
common nature of Italianes and Spaniards) of wll  
to garde his pson, as to fortifie the strög holles ad mu-  
nicions: that by ad by seig him self strög ynough with  
his straungers and Inborne traitours, he brought the  
countrie and people vnder his subiection by fine for-  
ce, 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 straügers, and  
no money paid for it, what taxes and paimentes the  
people were yowked withall, what rauishing of men-  
nes wiues, daughters and seruantes, what heading  
and hanging of the natural Israelites to make the  
straungers lordes and gentilmen, what common misfe-  
ries and continual calamities there were during that  
space, no doubt it is vnspheakeable.

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

stie secretly from God. And when the king had com-  
manded all his seruantes awaie, so that Abud and  
the king were alone in his somer parlour, Abud thrust  
his dagger so harde in to the kinges fatte paunche,  
that ther laie king Eglon dead, and Abud fled awaie.

Now, was this well done or euill: Forsothe the de-  
de is so commended in scripture, that the holy goost  
reporteth Abud to be a saucour of Israel.

But note by the waie, the texte saieih nor, that  
Abud 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 wold haue betraied him, and so  
should he haue ben drawen, hanged and quartered for  
his entreprise, and all his conspirators haue lost  
bothe life, landes and goodes for their conspiracie.

Only the scripture saieih, that Abud (being a  
priuate person) was stered vp only by the spirite of  
God.

Likewise when Sisara lieutenant 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 cal-  
led him in to her house, and hidde him vnder a Couc-  
ring. He thought him selfe sure, and for wearienesse  
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 conformance him self to the kinges proceedings (which was to committe Idolatric) as all his countrey men the Iewes had done (and as the like case standeth now in Englande) not only refused to obey king Antiochus commaundement, or to solowe his proceedings in that behalfe, but also when he sawe a Iewe committe Idolatric before his face, he ranne upon the Iewe in a great zeale and slewe him, and fell also vpon the ordinary Commissioners sent from Antiochus the ordinary king of the Realme, and slewe them out of hande. These examples nede no further exposition, the scripture is plaine inough. But if neither the hole state nor the minister of Goddes worde wolde doo their common duetie, nor any other lawfull 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 unto them twoo weapones, hable to conquire and destroye the greatest Tirane that euer was: that is, Penauance and Praier. Penauance for their owne sinnes, which prouoche 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 when  
the

the Arke of God was taken awaie from the people of Israel by the Philistines in battail, 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 seeing no martial wepon, nor helpe of man hable to redresse their state, cried and continued in lamenting their thraldom and greuous condicion: at leynight by the aduise and commaundement of the good Prophet Samuel, the people fell to these two meanes; Penauance, and praier, with fasting: and the lord God not only deliuered them out of thoppression of the Philistines vnto their former libertie, but also gaue them suche victories, that the Philistines many yeares after, durst not ones moue warre against them.

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

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

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

So what

## VVHAT CONFIDENCE is to be geuen to princes and potentates,

WHAN the kyg of Macedonia, Alexander the great, hearde the philosopher Anaxagoras saye ther were many worldes, the worme of ambition so tickled and troubled his barte, that the water gushed out of his eies. And when he was asked, what made him to wepe: haue I not iustle occasion to wepe (saieth he) that hearing of so many worldes, I am not yet lorde of one! This worme without saile 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 soneraigne. But bicause he seeth the inconstauncie of kinges, that they no lōger abyde by their othes and promises than they maie ther by haue profit, gayne, and their desire, he dothe not fartherwith 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 ād thine whatfoeuer cometh of it, to come to that thei lohed for. These waies of the Deuil, peece out of his schole of practices and

and they be in a generalitie, two: that is, open force  
and secret subtiltie: the one wherof, that is, force  
and manhood, hauing ofte tried and most tymes it ha-  
the not succeeded after their minde, they haue not so  
much 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 strength  
of men, and with lesse perill of them selues. For when  
they goe about it by force, the deuill their maister is  
not hable to warruant them the successe. For all vi-  
glorie and good successe cometh of God, who when he  
seeth the people (against whom the deuill and his kin-  
ges worke) fall to repentaunce for their sinnes, he o-  
uertroweth his and their enemies with a fillip, as he  
did prowle Olofernes and Sennacherib: the one  
being slaine by the good and faithfull woman to God  
and her country Iudith: all his power being an  
hundred and twentie thousand souldiers, and twelue  
thousand archers on horsebacke destroyed by a fewe.  
And the others armie being an hundred foure score  
and five thousand persones was destroyed by the  
angel of God without the worke of man, and he for-  
ced 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 practi-  
ce: and therein daily do so proceede, 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 king-  
dome, to com 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 inward-  
ly: to saye one thing with the mouthe, and thinke an  
other in the hart: to smile vpon him, whose throte he  
wolde gladly see cutte: and so pretende to the eie all  
amic, beneuolence and loue, wher they beare great-  
test hatred, enuy, and malice, till conuenient tyme maie  
be had with least daungier, to execute their concea-  
ued mischief. And because they be not hable alone to  
doe their feates, looke wher they can vnderstande of  
any of their nature, them they reteyne, to them geue  
they great chaynes of golde, fede them with great  
pensions and fees promised. And yet they be not igno-  
raunt, that such vile men (as will for money betraye  
their owne countreye, and serue their wicked purpo-  
ses) are like vnto common souldiours and launce  
knights, who serue him that geueth a peny more: and  
will, when they maie haue greater bribes of an other,  
sone buye and sell their present maister. For how is it  
possible for any man to thinke, that he whom he ha-  
the corrupted with rewards to serue his purpose,  
will or can be faithfull to hi that is a stranger, that so  
well knoweth what they be, and iudgerh them false

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

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

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

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

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

It is written of one called Cakanus king in Ba-  
uerland in Germanie, that he invaded a country, som-  
tyme called Carnia, now called Frioly in Italie, and  
other places belonging to the Venecianes with a  
great power: and at the surst meting of him and the  
nemies, he overcame and killed one Gifulfus a Lom-  
barde, Duke of that country. After that he besieged a  
citie, wherein Romilda the Dukes wife was.

She desiring to see this king what maner man he  
was, neded not to haue his ymage poutrted vnto her,  
but looked ouer the walles aduisedly vpon him. Euen  
she sawe he was a goodly and faire persone, she was by  
and by in loue with him. She whisbeth, that she mi-  
ght seile him entire in to her owne holde. Meant nor drin-  
ke he could do her good, she could not sleepe, she sobbeth  
she howleth, she souideth, she teareth her heare, and is  
more than halfe madd, for lacke of her lust.

To be shorte, contrary to all honestie and  
womanly shamesfastenesse, she woerth him to be her  
husbande: and hauing no regarde of the loue  
I ij that



that euery 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  
wyttye counsaile) and knowing what peril might  
chaunce vnto him, if he should seke to winne it by for-  
ce, taketh the offere.

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 offere his deuocion in to her  
corporeffe. So at length when he thought her tyred,  
and her vnfaciable luste somewhat staunched (for by li-  
ke it wolde neuer haue ben fully glutted) he caused  
her to be thrust on a stake naked, that all mē might see  
those wgli 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 hinges spare neither male  
nor female, great nor small, that for any respecte be-  
traye their owne natural countrey: because they knowe,  
we, those can neuer be faithfull to straungers that be  
false

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

But what shall we ned 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 deuill hath alwayes ben, is and  
shalbe the deuill: and such fetches as he hath 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 length their maisters reward, worthy  
their desartes.

Robert wriothesley, Arundell and South-  
well conspired with thambicions and subtil Alcibi-  
ades of England, the Erle of warwike (afterwar-  
de duke of Northumberland) to pull the good duke  
of Somers set king Edwardes vncl and protectour  
out of his authoritie, and by forging 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.

Every man repaired to  
I iij wriote

Foriothesley, honoureth Foriothesley, sueth vnto Foriothesley (as the Assirians did to Ammon) and all things be done by his aduise: and who but Foriothesley? 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 thender? 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 handlet the matier, that Foriothesley is sayne in the night to get him out of the court to his owne house: wher vpon narowe examination, fearing least he should come to some open shamsfull ende, he either poisoned him self, or pynded a waye for thought,

Southwell is committed to the Flete, wher being examined, he confessed ynough to be hanged for, and had gone very nere it, had 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 Arundell had the his head with the axe diuided from the shoulders.

And how at leinght was P. the maister of practices handled, that will haue one parte in euery page, if he maye by praying or paicng put in his footes? But before I procede to speake of this maister of practices

it

it shall not be amysse, that I tell you somewhat of his maister the doctour of practices. For albeit this doctour be now (but to late) throughly knowen, yet it shall be requisite, that our posteritie knowe what he was, and by his description see, how nature had shaped the outwarde partes, to declare what was within. This doctour had a swart colour, an hanging loke, frowning browes, eies an ynche within the head, a nose hooked like a bussarde, wyde nose trilles like a horse, euer snuffing in to the wynde, a sparrowe mouthe, great pawes like the deuil, talsauetes on his fete like a grype, two ynches longer than the naturall toes, and so tyed to with sinowes, that he coule not abyde to be touchd, 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 had made a great deale worse, and brought vp many in that facultie; Foriothesley, Germaine Gardiner (whom he caused speedily to be hanged, least he should haue to much disclosed his maisters arte) and among many other, this maister or proctour of practices, whom we are now entred to speake of.

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

I iij thus

than any other labourer the diuorfe betwene king Henry and the dowager. And by and by he earnestly sought to haue riddē in the liēges bootes: worse could not content him. But when he sawe that wold not be, and considered it better to haue floare than one only paire (for so perchance he might haue founde them somtymes not all cleane when he wold haue vsed thē, and also it should be a let to bring to passe that he purposed) he chaungeth his purpose: and because none should remembre his practises before, nor suspecte the rest to come, he shaueth his crowne as broade as a sawer, and decketh himself with a white smocke like a portour of the Stiliarde. But what needeth suche circumlocucion, when euery body knoweth this doctour of practises was called D. Stephan Gardiner? After this, his lacke was to be committed to the towre, when Tyburne had ben a place more worthy his desertes. His scholar the maister or proctour of practises, remembering how much he had prospered by the meanes of the doctour, and bending his disposition to make thankefull 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 honestly:

fly:

fly: let my scholar go on as he hath begunne (saith he) for Gardiner can not plaie the knaue for wordes of Gardiner: but he was not vnshilled (saith) the arte of practises. No in dede, he was excellent in that sorte, as it well appeared. For when he had wrought and made sure the great mariage to auoide the hatred of the people, he made his scholar to sauer it, and to haue the outwarde thanks. And no marvail 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 vnknown, albeit they were couered and hidden.

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

But what at leight 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 Swinsefore church, troden vnder fote, and he him self at leight with great saueur 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, extortion, dissimulation, ambition, robbing of the king, and suche like vertues, whereby he became noble.

I v 1f

If we minded in this place to display the packing and practicing of the Nobilitie and counsaile of Englande in the sicknesse and at the death of King Edward the vi. for the pretended placing of the lady Iane in the regale seat, and their sodain slipping the color, and deceaving of one another: it were matter enough to teache men, how litle confidence and trust ought to be geuen either to the smoothe countenances, faire wordes, confident promises, bloody othes, or swearing vpon the holy Euangelies, either yet to the lettres ad hãde writings of the Princes ad potentates of the worlde. 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 threatned paines of Treason) to sweare and subscribe vnto their doinges, bewraied the matter them selues vnder hande by their wiuers ad 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, beasfarding and railing vpon the Quene, were not as named within fewe daies after (whan the same lorde was locked

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

But I knowe these practicers answer: that if they had not vsed that practice, they should not only haue standen in harsarde 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 thã he seeth and heareth them, and scarcely so farre.

And I praiſe you, hathe not the realme good cause to thanke and trust the potentates, Prelates and Parliament men for banishing the sacred testament and Gospell of God with the sincere administration of his holy Sacramentes, and for bringing the deuilishe power of the Romishe Antichrist in to Englande again with his miserable Masse and all popishe slavery: By the which they haue not only brokẽ their othe ad loyaltie to God, and to the imperial Crowne of Englande, pulling eternel cõdenaciõ vpon theselues, ad puokig the heauie hãd of Goddes wrath ad plage vpon their seide, ad vpon the hole realme, i cõpellig the people to sinne by fallig frõ the true seruice of the liuig God into most wicked supersticion and idolatrie (alas therefore) but also haue ben and are giltye of the innocent blood of sondry

sonary excellent and most godly learned men, and of many other true christen natural english men and women.

These practises nede no Paintour, the memorie ad sight therof is not only euident in mennes eyes (to their hartes sorowe) but also rawe in their stomaches, and not easie to be digested. God be mercifull vnto miserable Englande.

But lo, whiles I am thus occupied: a newe Pollicie, a newe, a newe, a newe. Foote ye what? Paget and Mason albeit they haue not one father and mother yet be they sworne brethren: and albeit they be of sondry vniuersities, yet be they bothe of one studie. What so euer Mason worketh, Paget vttreth: that thone imuteth, the other practiceth. By Masons working, and Pagettes deussing, Sir Petre Carowe went into Flanders, Mason pledging for his seruage king Philippes fidelitie, ad his owne honestie. Afterwarde he and Sir Iohan Cheke being entred bothe to come to Brusselles to see the Quenes Embassadors, and hauing brought Paget on his waie towarde Englande, be in their returne taken by the Prouost Marshall, spoiled of their horses, and clapped in to a carte, their legges, armes and bodies tied with halters to the body of the carte, and so caried to the sea side, and fro thence in to the towne of Londō. And before Paget came to Calise, Sir Petres man comming out of England meteth him, and asketh  
for

for his maister. Paget smileth and saith: nothing, but his maister was in health.

But how cometh this to passe? marke well. The Quene thought Paget a mete man for her in all thinges, sauing that without cause she suspected his religion: and at his comming ouer, she (like a woman) vttreth to him what she thought of him, and promiseth, if she maie perceaue his hart ad mouthe to agree together, she wold set hi alofte. He assureth her, that what so euer she should will him, should be done, yea he wold doo more than she should require him.

Coming ouer he bruted, that he liked not the state in England; for he is one of them, that hangeth now on prophecies (but on a wrong thing) and therefore wold be out of the waie in the heat of the mad month of Maie, and pretedeth to come to the baines to Acon. But in dede his intent was to see, if he coule practice with some of the Duke of Cleues men, to be traie the poore Duchesse of Suffolke, and som of the english congregation at Wesel, that he (to performe his promise) might present them to the Quene. But whan he saue, his purpose failed (God hauing better provided for his Duches, to kepe herself Traitors handes) he cometh not to the baines, he neded them not at that tyme. But than he causeth Carowe and Cheke (whom Mason had prepared ready to serue his turne) to be taken and caried awaie, as before ye haue hearde. And at his returne, had great  
thanks,

thanks, and the *Qyenes* fauour increed toward him. But his iust rewarde yet is not come, let bi not loke to speede any better than *Heracleo* if he continue *Iudas* still. I wolde wishe, he wolde in time become a *Petre*, I trust he is not so farre past, but he maie be praised for. He is my goodlorde, and *Mason* ones my great frende, ad nere neighbour. I wishe them bothe well. Thus ye see the final successe and rewarde of traitours. Forther it is to be wondred, that suche practicers which worke so muche mischief for others, can not take hede of the euil that is towardes them selues. But *Goddess* worde must be verified of the wicked. Beholde, the wicked traiaileth with mischief (saith the worthy prophet and King *Dauid*, a man of great experience) He hathe ceased 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 forsmuche as all these fetches and practices be only made and laied to disceane those that be honest, faithfull, true, and natural to their countreie: it is requisite to treat how they maie be auoided. Deceat wold not be knocked out with deceat, if it might so be, but honest men should alwayes and at all times  
deale

deale plainly and honestly. And therfore the honestest meane before thinges be done, is to be wise and circumspect: and to forsee thende, what mischief maie folowe, before they sodainly, rashly, and vnadvisedly consent to any thing. To vse suche honest wisdom and foresight, is permitted bothe by *Goddess* worde and nature. Yea *Goddess* worde and nature commaunde honest men to vse it. For those 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 crafte deuised long writings, great promises, and many solempne ceremonies. For the great marriage was treated in the priate Counsaill ad so great promises made, the olde Duke of *Norfolke* saied, they were golden wordes, but how shall they be performed, saied he? Afterwarde when it was propounded to the lordes in the parliament to be ratified, the Lord *Spindford* i like maner asked who should be suertie for the performaunce therof, ad who should sue the forsaitte? Neither of the lacked  
wisdome

wisdom and foresight, to see that vnder painted pa-  
pir, much mischief was hidde. Long experience had  
taught it the duke, being long trained in Princes  
practices: and nature suffred not the other, lorde to  
be utterly void of it. But bothe of them lacked that  
courage, magnanimitie, and fortitude, that ought to  
be in noble men. But it might be, that they had it;  
but durst not vtire it, partly for that thone was in  
hope to recouer that he had a time lacked, and the  
other for feare to lose that he had: but chiefly (as it  
maie be gathered) because they sawe their peeres mou-  
th stopped. But let them be sure, all will not serue, if  
practicers partes maie take place. For suche things  
would be all together ouertrowen, or not meddled  
with: for at leinght 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-  
se, 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 circumspecte who  
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 holt Realme, so their  
owne families maie stande still. He that maketh suee to  
be a deputie for a multitude, semeth to suee for his  
owne vainglorie or profit. Those that sende letters,  
not to chose this man, but to chose such a man; haue  
in their headdes more than the vniuersal wealthe of  
all.

all. He that bringeth letters to be preferred, meaneth  
not the benefite of them that he wolde serue. He that  
geneth moneye, and maketh great castles, thinketh  
som other fetch, than the seruice of his neighbours.  
He that refuseth or releaseth his ordinarie wages,  
lokethe for som greater extraordinarie rewarde. He  
that is alwayes or ofte at prices platters, or in practi-  
cers Palaces, ca not long continue the peoples true pro-  
fitour. And therefore in Venecy (as they write) none  
of the Senate and officers vpon payne of his head, da-  
re talke pryuiely with an other, nor take rewarde or  
fees of any forayn Prince. For they are so gelous of  
the holt state, bicause they haue ben so often decea-  
ued by practicers in their owne companies. Whiche  
lesson all wise men and honest men should learne, and  
by all meanes suspecte princes promyses and withstan-  
de practicers doinges, and not beleue one worde that  
they saye, be it neuer so gentil: nor yet their deles,  
what so euer shyne or pretense of loue they declare.  
Such a realme as Englad is, is well gottē, how so euer  
it is gotten. But thou that arte a true englishe man,  
seing the fetches ad 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 thei vse neuer so muche suering, though  
they sweare neuer so fast, though they speake neuer  
so faire, and though they geue thee their hande writ-  
ting. Be thou Prometheus and not Epime-  
theus.

them. Remembre that our country man Adam  
Afterwitte barbe a great while ben the lord For  
rewittes soole. Be taught therfore in tyme, before  
thou be taken. Saye not to late; Hade I wist.

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

A N

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

**T**HARTILY wishe (natural englishe  
men and good countrey men) that it had pleased  
God, to haue geuen som cause, wherby ye with me,  
and I with you might haue reioyced, and not to haue  
lamented one of vs to an other of our miserie. For so-  
rowfull thinges are neither grate to the bearer, nor  
pleasaut 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 went  
about to helpe him to cure his wounder, 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 selfe toto vnnatural and vna-  
kynde, I should but entreate (I thinke) your  
sorowes and paynes: but most certaynly I am  
sure myne owne. But as it is a most sure

K ij toke



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 trende of it is at hande. And therefore geue me leaue (I beseeche you) to open your woundes, and to searche the cause of your calamities, and than to ministrate and powre in to them some holsome bawme, and couer them with some comfortable plastre.

And albeit I doo it not so finely as som others can, but boistously 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 be and healthe, as one brother ought of an other, that is borne of the same father and mother.

There was neuer great miserie, destruction, plague or visitation 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, wonderes, monstres in the earth, or to liens and signes in tholment.

For

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

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 admonicioncs 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 plagues should certainly come to you: the spoode of Goddes worde to be cleane taken away fro you, famine of the body, pestilence, warres, the losse of your goodes, the desflouring and rauishing of your wyues and daughters before your eyes, 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 condicioncs 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 hyues, 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 iij vnto

vnto them their captiuities and vtter destruction : so  
ye laughed and iſted at your preachers wordes, not  
thing regarding the threattes of God, but contēnyng  
thē, yea increaſeing in your wickedneſſe, ad now at leyn  
ght murdering 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 maruailen on the earth, and horri-  
ble wonders in thelement, to put you beſide all maner  
of excuſes. What wonderfull monſtres haue ther now  
lately ben borne in Englandes? What celeftial ſignes  
moſt horrible? Achilde borne beſides Oxforde in  
the yeaere, M. D. LII. with two heades and two  
partes of two euil ſhaped bodyes ioyned in one. A  
childe borne at Couentree, in the yeaere M. D. LV  
without armes or legges. A childe borne at Fulhā  
by Londō euen now this yeaere, with a great head, euil  
ſhaped, the armes with bagges hanging out at the  
Elbowes and heles, and ſete lame. A childe newe borne  
at Lōdō furthewith ſpeaking as a prophet and meſ-  
ſager of God. An horrible Comete this yeaere, beſides  
diuerſe eclipses, whiche ſolowe. But what were theſe?  
only bare ſignes? No certainly, they doo and muſt  
ſignifie the great wrathe and indignacion of God.

Not long after the paſſion of our ſauour Chriſt,  
when the Britaynes our cōtreymen went about to re-  
couer their libertie, and to be deſpeched of the moſt  
cruel ſeruitude and miſerie which the Romaines kept  
thē in, wherein no Britayn was certayn of wiſe, childre

goodes, no, not of their liues, all things were ſo in hōdā  
ge of the cruel Romaynes pleaſur: they were of our  
cōtreymē ſlayne at one tyme threſcore ad ten thou-  
ſant me, ad at an other tyme thrittie thouſant. 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 thou-  
gh ſhe gaue place to thenemies. 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 Englad) came in to the full power  
of the Danes, hīg Edmūde the ſone of Ethelberte being  
ſlayne, ther were diuerſe ſtraūge things, whereby all  
men geſſed, that an alteration of the Realme was to  
ward: but chiefly they geſſed the great calamitie by  
the ſodain ſwelling of the ſea without any euident cau-  
ſe, which ſo brake in to the lande, that it deſtroyed  
many townes and people. Before that great ſlaughter  
of Engliſhe men and Normādes which was by reaſon  
of the warres that were in Normandie, betwene hīg  
Hēri the firſt, hīg of Englad, and Robert Duke of  
Normandie his brother (at which tyme Normandie  
was ioyned to Englad) the ryuer of Trent did not  
runne one hole daye together, but was ſo emptie, that  
men paſſed ouer on ſote: and at that tyme a ſowe  
brought furthe a monſtre with the ſace of a man, and

K iij a henno

a hennē a foure footed monstre. So that by that that  
it poss, ye maye the boldier diuine of that that is to  
come.

The childe by Oxforde, what did it betoken, but  
that our one sweete head, King Edward should be ta-  
ken awaye (as he was in dede) and that ther should be  
in his place two headdes, diuerse gouernours, and a  
toward diuision of the people, but not all together;  
which so manifestly folowed, that no man can denye  
it; or two people should be knytte together, but not  
in god proporcion nor agreement. The childe of Co-  
uentric without the principal membes to helpe and  
defende the bodye, must needes signifie, that the natu-  
ral body, that is, the people of Englande shalbe helpe-  
les, ready to be troden vnder the fote of euery creatu-  
re, and non to relieue or succour it.

The childe of Fulham, what can it signifie, but  
that the natural body of England shalbe weake, the  
chief membes (sharres and legges) which is the nob-  
ilitie, so clogged with charynes of golde, and bagges  
of money, that the hande shall not be hable to drawe  
out the sword, 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 great-  
er than it ought to be, with to muche superflui-  
tie of that it should not haue, wherfore it must pull  
from the othr membes to consort it, and lacke of  
that

that good proporcion it ought to haue; so shall the  
gouernours and headdes of Englande, sucke out the  
wealth and substance of the people (the politike bo-  
dy) and kepe it bare, so that it shall not be hable to  
helpe it self, yet shall the head neuer come to that na-  
ture requireth, what is to be gathered of the yug childe,  
I doo not saie it is true, because the father was  
forced (onles he wold haue lost his life) to recant it;  
but might it not be true? Is ther not as muche to be  
saied for it, as for the popes trāsubstāciacion? Dothe  
not Eusebius Pamphili (a man of as good credite, as  
Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Gratianus, and suche othr  
the inuētours and maintainers of trāsubstāciacion)  
write, that a lambe contrary to nature and possibili-  
tie, did in plaine wordes before declare the nature  
and disposicion of Bechoris King of Egypt? They that  
write the cronicles of the Romanes saie, that a dog-  
ge, a serpent, and oxen did speake. But scripture plain-  
ly saierh, that Baalams asse (a creature vnreasonable,  
without possibilitie to speake) did saie to his maistr;  
why beatest thou me? And Iohn the baptist contrary  
to the common course of nature, lept and reioiced in  
his mothers wombe, when Christes mother being  
with childe came to see Elizabeth his mother.

If men that beleued not the miracles, which the  
gogle cied Rood of Boxley, the Adole of waltinghā,  
the bande of willefdō, which euery foole might see to  
be deceates and open illusions, were condemned and  
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 famine, pestilence, warrs, sedition, death of princes, inuasion of forain naciones, destruction of som or many cities and countreies, and the alteration and chaungeing of the state and gouernement? For if it be lawfull for man to diuine of Goddes wonderfull workes, and by the like things past, coniecture those that be to come: why should we not affirme, that these plagues will folowe? Before the great warrs made by Xerxes against the Grecians, and the ouertthrowing of the hole state of Greece, ther was a blasing starre sene of the shape of an horne, and an eclipse of the sunne.

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

After that folowed great sedition and alteration in the empire; and the kingdome of the Tewes (marke well) was vterly destroyed. Before the death of our countrey man Constantine the great, who was the first professor of the Gospell of Christ among all the Emperours: and no doubt a special fauourour and

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

Before the dissension and deadly warrs that was betwene the brethren of Lotarius the Emperour, sonne of Lodouicus Pius, for the diuision of thinheritaunce (wherby suche slaughter grewe in Fraunce, that the Frenchmen were neuer after habile to recouer persuity their force) ther were many Cometes sene.

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

In the yeare M. LXXI. before thinuasion of Willia Conquerour into England, and the conquest of the same, and in which Heralde king of England with twentie thousand true Englishmen in the defence of their countrey against the tirannes 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 warrs in Normandie (wherof ye haue hearde before) ther was sene in Normandie a great Comet, and two full moneths at one time shynning, thone in the east, thother in the west.

west. In the yeare M C C X X I. whilst the warres were in Asia betwene the christen men and the unchristen, wher vnto king Henry the third sent a power of Englishemen vnder therle of Chestre (for the maintenance wheros of the nobilitie first grauted theking the wardeship of their children, as Polidore writeth) before the Christen men lost the citie of Damiatra, and a great overthrow of them was in Egypt, many wonders were sene in diuerse places, and also in Englande a very great Comete, a wonderfull great earthquake, all the winter horrible thonders, which in Englande seldome in Sommer be hearde: suche great raines, and tempestes of windes, that it overthrowe 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. X X X I. ther was an horrible Comete. And what folowed of it? The Turke occupied a great parte of Vngarie: the king of Denmarke Christerne inuading his countrey with a great armie, and so minding to recouer his kingdome, was taken and his sonne. And why should not ye of Englande thinke, that these signes be only (or at the least chiefly) for you? Compare your selues, and your liues and doings with the Iewes, or the worst nation, if any

can be worse: ad see whether ye be not hable to matche them, yea to ouermatche them, and to droppe vie, thre for one? In what nation vnder the cope of heauen, hath the 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 hee ther? What distimulation with God? what hypocrisie? What swearing and forswearing? What traiterye to their countreye? What disobedience to the gouernours in good, goodly and necessary things? What ready obedience to their rulers in wicked and euill things? What vnnatural bitcherie vsed betwene the father and daughter, brother and sister? What abominable hooredome suffered unpunished? yea in many and the chiefest places the greatest hooremongers, the impudentest ribauldes, the peltingest bribbers, and the lewdest persons 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 honourable peeres and reuerende ministers of God? What bochering and burning of true Englishhe christians, yong and olde, hole and lame, seing and blynde, man, women, and childre, without respecte of age, sexe or estate? What pillig and polling, taking and snatching, stealing and robbing, not only among the meane sort, but among the greatest? What is so great hatred

and malice, so litle loue and charitie, as in Englande I should neuer make an enie, 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 retourn to the mater. Loke well England, loke well, whether this Comete paſt, and eclipses to come, touche thee? Art thou not all ready plagued with famine? Yes, and with ſuche a famine, as thou neuer before heardeſt of. It is true, ye had daribes in the time of kings Henry and Edwarde, but thoſe were dearthes without neede; only they were occaſioned by the greedineſſe and malice of naughtie men without ſcarcitic or lacke of things: ad for lacke of diligent ouerſeing and good gouernement, and not by the directe plague of God. But theſe two yeares ſince hig Edwardes death, from the reſtitucion of your curſed popiſh be maſſe, ye haue had ſcarcitic by the directe plague of God. The earthe not brought furthe ſuche plaintie as it cuſtomably did before. Whether before time the countrey ſedde London, London contrary wiſe was and is forced of her former prouiſion to ſede the countreie. Whether Dantiſhe ad other the north eaſt partes were the barnes and garneres of corne, for they had the prouiſion of corne for many yeares before hande, ad nourished all the lowe partes of Germanie, Denmarke Friſelande, holande, Zelande, Brabant, 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 famine. Whether were euer thinges ſo deare in Englande, as in this time of the popiſh maſſe ad other Idolatrie reſtorred? Whether euer hearde or redde before, that a pounce of beefe was at iij. d. A ſhepe xx. s. A poude of Cannelles at iij. d. A poude of Buttur at iij. d. ob. A poude of Cheſe at iij. d. two egges a penie, a quarter of wheat, lxiiij. s. A quartre of malt at l. s. or aboute: the people driuen of hongre to grinde accornes for bread meale, and to drinke water in ſtede of ale? And what? Shall this famine a waie, before his walking mate and ſlowe (peſtilence) come? No ſurely, without your earneſt ſpedy repentaunce, and Goddes exceeding miraculouſe 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 hangd vp by xx. and xl. in a plumpe (and a great nombre of them, becauſe they conſiſſed and profiſſed, that they ſhould be ſaued by thonky merites of Chriſtes paſſion) that the peſtilence ſhall haue litle matter among the meane ſorte to be occupied on: but therefore muſt be the more occupied with the great.

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

gouernours durst not peere out of their priuate chambers: nor one neighbour come to talke with an other, for feare to be noted and accused of conspiracie. Yea and that (that is worþ of all, and to be lamented of all englische men) ther is inuarde grudge, and secret malice betwene the members, that is, the Nobilitie and Commones.

The one hateth and contemneth the other, which is the worke of the deuil, and his ministers the poppish Prelates and priestes. They cast water in to the coles, to make the fire greater: for they knowe, onles such diuision and dissension be soted and nourished, their kingdome wolde soon lie in the dirt. This is the practice of suche as munde the conquest or viter destruction of any people, to maintene and pricke soe reuenge dissension, diuision and discorde among the people. For Christes wordes are true, who saith, that every kingdome diuided in it self shalbe desolate, and euery cite or house diuided against it self, shall not continue. The prophet propheteing of the destruction of the kingdome of the iewes, saied before, that ther should be ciuile and inuarde sedition, as ther was in dede in ierusalem, betwene thre presilent factions and partes, wherof symon, Ioannes, and Eleazarus were the autors and heades. This was Xerxes practice to set the Grecianes by the eares, to maintene Ciuile warres and dissension among them, that so when one had destroyed an other, he

might

might easily enioye all. This policie haue all other ambitious monarkes hitherto in all places practiced. And as Gardynere when he should dye, did not lament his synnes, but sent for the Queene, and wept to her, that he could no longer lyue to serue her grace, that is, to vnloo the nobilitie and commones of the Realme: but he desired her to proceede as he counsailed her by his worde and writing: so Granuell when he should also dye, sent worde to the perour Charles, and required him, not to forget his counsaile, but still vse it, that is, to nourishe and mayntene dissension among the states of Germanie, and so he should at leynghit easily come by the hole. In like maner if the traitorous bishops and priestes can ones set the commones against the nobilitie and gentlemen, they will soon (the nobilitie being ones suppressed) sende the commones to clymbe a dawes nest, and vse them at their pleasur. But wise men and suche as loued their country in tyme past, foresawe this mischief that came by inuarde grudge and ciuile discorde: and euer (as muche as in them lay) went about to let it. They thought it was most necessary to prouyde for the sauegarde of the hole by all means, and not for any particular parte: which may wel appear by the wisdome of Thrasibulus, who being driven out of Athens (his country) by the xxx. tyrannes, because he wolde not consent to their tyranny, ad to see his country destroyed: at leynghit gathered together all those that were banished with him, and by

the

the helpe of the Thebanes their neighbours, toke a castle besides Athens, and afterwarde in battail he ouercame the tirannes, and restored all those that wer banished, to their countrey, ad their olde lawes that we re 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 had no right therto, yet made he thē all to geue a promyse, that non should claime any thing of an other, but that all should be forgenen and forgotten. And the same wisdom did the Romaynes many times vse, to make quietnesse among the people, and to preserve the hole common wealthe. Yea the noble men of Rome, albeit they were as ambitious as others, and onenuied an others glorie, yet when the common wealthe was in hasarde, and that their seruice must be vsed for the defence of their countrey, they did cleane forgenen 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, when ther is no body: and it is a feble body that lacketh the armes and legges. Yea it is a most miserable body when the armes and legges beate the body, ad the body goeth about to shake of tharms and legges.

And

And albeit ther be no people, that haue ben more plagued by inward sedicion and ciuile discord, than Englishemen; yet is ther none that lesse consider it. I can not tell, where of it cometh, but commonly they neither remembre that is past, nor foresee that is to come, but only (as vnreasonable creatures) loke vpon those things that be present. The disension and discord that was in Britayne our countrey (which now is called England) and betwene our owne countrey mē, brought first the Romaynes in to England: who after they were entered, some toke all to thē selues: they murdered a great nombre of the Britaynes, of som they toke their childrē pledges, and sent thē to Rome: ad to ridde the Realme of strong ad lustie psones, that ther might be none to withstāde thē, they sent armies ad garijones of thē out of the realme, to serue in for ayen countreies. Those that were left at home, they spoiled of their goodes with great taxes and impositions: and a great nombre made slaues and bondemen, and glad was he, that could synde sauour to enioye any litle parte of his owne as long as he lyued. By this meanes was the realme almost made desolate, and than the Pictes (a barbarous and cruel uacion) inuaded Britayne, and destroyed 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 samyn came on them, and

L ij than



than wonderfull pestilence, as lightest 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 truth) who when they were come in to the Realme, and sawe the fertilitie of it, subtilly deuised, to marie Ronix daughter to their captayn Hengistus, to the king of Britayne called Vortiger. She being instructe what she should doo, founde the meanes, that her owne 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 length 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 Englad in the Northe, and made wōderfull cruell warres, they spared none, they burned and wasted Yorkeshire, Northumberlande, and all places, so that the inhabitants were forced to sue for peace at the Danes handes. Then built they the towne of Dancastrē (that is, the Castle of the Danes) and whiles they had peace, sent for moo Danes: and when they thought their force and power bigge ynough, they passed not vpon promises

myes and leagues that they had made, but reuened the warres, killed, burned and spoiled in euery place, til they came to Exceyre: 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 seareth thy wrathe (lorde) will not amēde his life, and call to thee for mercie? What naughtie nobilitie were that, that wolde oppresse the commones, and afterwarde 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 such miserie, as ye heare that our auncestours 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, and by all meanes selle to let it? who is it, that can hope for quietnesse, peace, healtie, 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 inwardly hatred and grudge one to an other, and will vse

no merci with others? If ye forgeue other mē their offenses that thei cōmittē agāinst you (saith Christ) your heauenly father will forgeue thoffenses that ye haue cōmitted agāinst him. But if ye doo not forgeue other mē their faultes, neither will your father forgeue you your faultes. No wilest ye saye the lordes praier, and be full of rācour, malice, hatred, and enie towarde your neighbour, ye cōdemne your selues, and desire Goddes plagēs and vengeance to fall on your selues: for ye meane vengeance to your neighbours, and wishe all euill to fall on them. And so it dothe fall on you: as ye see by experieñce of the playes and miseries that are and shall come to you. But from inwarde sedicion and ciuile discord, that briedeth so muche mischief, let vs come to outwarde warres and inuasions made by straungers. 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 heenne. Your winges must be dubbed, your fetters must be pulled, your cōbbs must be cut, you must be eleane pikēd, your substance shall be gotten by littel and littell out of your handes, by taxes and subsidies, by beneuolences and loanes, and so frō a littell to more, and frō more to more: and at leyngh all the marchaunces goodes to be confiscate in Flaunders by an inquisition, and others in England by an open excommunication. And when ye be ones cleane stripped of your soare, and thus weakened out of courage, and your harte in your bose, as they saie: than shall your king returne to his

welbeloued wife, England, with great pōpe and power, and shall cōpell you (in despyght of your hartes) to redre 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 shippes: as allready they haue offred and promised, as diuerse credible lettrcs haue declared. Thā shall they inuade Englande, and shalbe by shiploades (if no worse happē vnto you) caried in to newe Spaine, and ther not Lye at libertie, but bicause ye are a stubburne and vnfaithfull generaciō, ye shalbe tyed in chaynes, forced to rowe in the galie, to digge in the mynes and to pike vpon the golde in the hotte sande. And so with sorowe to your soppes, your three mānes song shall be, Alas, and woeale awaye. Than shall ye knowe the pride and lordelynesse of the Spanyardes, though for a while til they maie get the ouer hande, they cripe and crouche, sende men with swete wordes (Basso las manos) and women with consettes, swete wynes, plesaunt psumes, gaye apparail, and suche like wayne toyes: but when they be ones alofte, ther is no naciō vnder the cope of Christ, like the in pride, cruelitie, vnmereisulnesse, nor so farre frō all humanitie as the Spanyardes be: which thig the realme of Naples, the Dukedome of Milane, the citie of Siena, many partes of Duchelande, and the lande of Iulke Cleuelande and Gelāre lande can to theyr cosse right well testifie. And maie it not be thought, that the Frēche king (whā he seeth oportunitie) wil set in a sote, making clayme to

Englāde, in the right of the Quene of Scottes, as heire to hing Henry theight by his eldest syster? And maie it not be suspected, that the pope (to doo the Frenche hing a pleasure) shall saie the Dyuorce betwene hing Henry and the dowager was by the canon lawes lawfull: and shall excommunicate the realme, onles they reuoke thatte of parliament, wherby the Dyuorce of late was iudged vnlawfull?

Remēbre, remēbre (good countrey men, and true English hartes) the miserie that folowed in our poore countrey vpon the conquest made by thambitious William Duke of Normādie: vpon how small a title he entred, ād how tyrānously he vsed him self. His only colour was a bequest or promise made to him by king Edward, brother to Cauntus and Heraldus hinges 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 chofē king of Englād, ād slawe hi ād swētie thousand of our countrey mē, which put suche a feare in all men, the Nobilitie, the cleargie, the Lōdōwers, ād others the cōmons, that it made thēsue for peace, ād to geue pledges for their fidelitie, whom he sent in to Normandie. At the first he made thē many sayre promises of peace, quietnesse ād iustice, wherwith the folishe fōde people were sone begyled. They thought they had had God by the too, but they had the wolfe (yea the deuil) by the eares. He first fortified the holdes and portes by the sea side,

and in

ād in his absence (as many times he was forced vpo rebellions in Normādie, to tetourne) he maie a Cousail of his owne countrey mē, ād made the Bishop of Baton his brother, his lieutenānt in Englāde. But whā he was ones sated, ād thought him self strong ynough to kepe the Englishmē vnder: thā Fare well all faire promises, he begineth to plaie Rex, yea the deuil in dede.

He spoiled the nobilitie of their goodes ād possessiones, made thē slaues, ād his owne slaues Lordes: and vpo the Cōmōs he put wōderfull taxes ād impositiones. He toke frō the people their wezpones ād harnesse, ād made a lawe, that no mā should come out of his house after the bel rōg, which was at eight of the clocke, but to couer the fire ād to bedde. Soherfore untill this daie the bel that thā ringth, is called Couerfiewe. And thā he built at Notinghā, lyncolne, yorke, ād basting, ād set in thē garisons of Normādes. And not cōtented herewith, he executed many wonderfull cruell thigis, ād specially on the nobilitie, ād suche as he sawe to be stowte mē: som he caused to be murthered, som their noses to be slitte, and their handes cut of. Happie was he that could fite out of the Realme: he so spoiled yorke shire, ād durhā, ād all the north ptes, that tē yeares together it laie waste ād 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 ād .ustomes 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 catche the  
poore Englishe mā, whā it pleased him; ad wolde haue  
the lawes to be pleaded ad al thiges to be done in Frē  
che. And he was not takē to be the Normades frēde,  
nor no gentilman, that could not speake frenche. And  
therof cometh the olde puerbe: Lacke wōld be a gē  
tilmā, but he cā no frēche. He remoued then  
glishe bishoppes, and placed Normades by the aide of  
the bishop of Rome. He pulled downe townes, villa  
ges, and houses, and put out the poore people to make  
him sportig places, pricely pleasures, Forrests, ptes ad  
chaaces. O miserable Englade, that 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 papists bi  
shoppes, priests, friers, and suche like Antichristiā mō  
strcs saie, that these plagcs which haue fallen and shal  
come to England (for they knowe, they can not be a  
woided, no they are occasioned ad holpē forewarde by  
them) haue growne for thinges done in king Henry  
and king Edwardes time, for that their abominacion  
was disclosed, their buries and dēnes digged vp, their  
monasteries throwē downe, and the landes diuided ad  
solde to the laitie. Ah hypocrites, Ah subtil wolues, ah  
viperous generacion. Whan the foxe preacheth, bend  
re your

re your geefe. Eoher in scripture do they finde, that a  
ny suche bely Goddes as they are, should be maintened?  
No, scripture wōld haue such marchantes whipped out  
of the churche, such butiers ad sellers of mēs soules, wo  
be vnto you hypocrites (saiech Christ) for ye swalowe  
vp the houses of the poore and miserable, that is, that  
which should be couerted to the relief of the poore ad  
nedy; ad that vnder pretise of lōg prayers. Eoher be vnto  
you (ye masking Maboutnes) which goo frō place to  
place, by sea and by lande, to make a noice of your  
owne ordre, and whan ye haue him, ye make him the  
childe of hel fire two folde more thā your selfe. I kno  
we you not (saiech Christ) awaite frō me, ye workers  
of iniquitie. It is only their God the bely, that they se  
be to serue, they nother passe on the God in heauen,  
nor the deuil in hell, so they maie haue werwith to  
maintene them selues on earthe, in their hooredome,  
burgerie, pride and abominacion. And this that  
I saie, is not fined nor ymaged, but euident in all  
mennes eyes that will not be wilfully blinde.  
Those that be desirous to be rulers in monasteries, ab  
boites and priours before they come to it, they pine  
them selfe awaite with fasting, weare heare, and vse the  
rest of this trumētes of hypocrisie for a while; but whā  
they haue ones caught the fishe they cast for, they see  
we what they be plainly. Eoher so great bely Goddes?  
Eoher so great hooremongers? Eoher suche knauerie  
vsed? I am ashamed to tell it. In like maner plaie these  
Chaplaynes

Chaplaynes of honour, that seke for bishopriches: all  
sauing one M. doctour *woestō* (the cōmō bull of  
dissembled virginite, and the boare of olde rusted wi-  
dowhead) who before hād shewt what he wilbe. But  
as the worlde goeth, his plaine dealing hath not nor  
wil put hi to any afterdeale. *woher* is suche an hoore-  
mōger (yea worse thā an hooremōger) as this olde hi-  
pocrite Paule the fourthe now bishop of Rome?  
*woho* so great a gluttō? *woho* so *pwde* ād ambitious?  
*woho* so great a tirāne ād tormētour? *woho* so great a  
warriour? And yet before he came to that highe seat  
of antichrist, he wold seme a saint, no religio nor or-  
dre of hypocrites was strait ynough for him. He was  
a frier, a monke, a Capucine an anchorite, yea what  
was he not? But ye see the marke these hypocrites sho  
ot at. And I cā tel thee somewhat of mine owne know-  
lage, which maie not be denied: for the autor is a man  
of good credēce bothe abrode ād at home with the gre-  
atest ād meanest. After the beginig of the Quenes rei-  
gne, ād the sodain alteraciō of all things (cōtrary to  
othe ād promise) ther came one of mine ordre vnto me,  
as I walked in a garde, ād wēt about to psuade me to  
fcline to the Quenes pedigis: 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 felowe, 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. Tus he (said he) thou art a foole:  
if the Turke ruled in Englad, 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 hi 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. *wohat* saied  
*drōkē* doctour *woestō* in the middes of his cuppes (for  
wine will disclose secretes, if it be as well plied, as his  
maistership dothe) by the masse, saieth he, that bocher  
the bishop of Lōdō wil cut at the gētilmēs throtes in  
Englād, if he cā. Thus ye maie see the marche, wberat  
these hippocrites the papistes shoote. They make reli-  
giō ād Goddes worde nothing elles thā a colour to  
couer their wickednesse, ād to maintene their lewdnes-  
se. And therfore they wraste and wrythe scripture to  
serue their purpose, and so they haue nede to doo: for  
ther is not one worde in all the scripture for thē, but  
euery worde against thē. And bicause ye be returned  
to their deuociōnes, haue forsaken God ād his worde,  
ād cleaue to the pope and his tradiciōnes, ād maintene  
suche a sorte of hypocrites, dissemblers, and open ene-  
mies of God ād the Realme of Englād: therfore haue  
all these plags lighted on you, ād the rest will shortly  
folowe without faile. Loke vpon the xx viij. Chap. of  
deuteronomie, wher it is writē thus. If thou wilt not  
hearkē to the voice of the Lord thy God, to kepe and  
to doo all his cōmāndēmētēs ād his ordinaūces, which  
I com =

I cōmaūde the this daie, al these curses shal come vpon thee, and ouertake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the towne, and cursed i the fielde, cursed shal thy basket be and thy barre. Cursed shalbe the frute of thy body, and the frute of thy lande, and the frute of thine oxen, and the flockes of thy shepe. The lord shall sende vpon thee cursing, destruction and rebuke, to all that thou settest thy hand vnto, and that thou doest, vntil he destroye thee, and bring thee to naught quickly, because of the wickednesse of thine inuenciones, and because thou hast forsaken me. The lord shall smite thee with madnessse, blyndenesse, and dasing of heart. Thou shalt be oppressed with wrong, and be possed euermore, and no man shal succour thee. Thou shalt be betrothed to a wife, and an other man shall lie with her. Thou shalt builde an house, and not dwell therein. Thine oxen shalbe killed before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eate thereof. Thine asse shalbe violently taken from thee, and shall not be restored to the againe. Thy shepe shalbe geuen to thine enemies, and no man shall rescue thee. The frute of thy lande and all thy labours shall a nation which thou knowest not, eat: and thou shalt continually suffre violence, and be oppressed alwaies, so that thou shalt be cleane beside thy self, for the sight that thine eyes shall see. Thou shalt carry muche seede out into the felde, and shalt gather but a litle in, for the greesse hoppers shall destroye it. All thy trees and frute of thy lande shalbe marred with blasting.

The

The straunger that is among you, shall climb about thee on highe, and thou shalt come downe beneath a lowe. Moreover all these curses shall come vpon thee, and shal folowe thee, and ouertake thee, til thou be destroyed: because thou hearkenest not to the voice of the lord thy God, to kepe his cōmaūdemētes and ordinaūces, which he cōmaūded thee, and they shalbe vpon thee as miracles, and vpon thy sede for euer, because thou seruest not the lord thy God with ioyfulness and with a good heart, when thou hadest abouidaūce of all things: therefore thou shalt serue thine enemy, which the lord shall sende vpon thee, in hūgre and thirst, in nakednesse and in neede of all thing: and he shall put a yowke of Iron about thy necke, til he haue brought thee to naught. And the lord shall bring a nation vpon thee, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not vnderstande, a harde sauoured natiō, which shall not regarde the persone of the olde, nor haue cōpassion on the yong. The same shall eat the frute of thy cattail, and the frute of thy lande, til he haue destroyed thee: and shall leaue thee neither corne, wine nor oyle, neither the increase of thine oxen, nor the flockes of thy shepe, til he haue brought thee to naught. And the lord shall sende vpon thee and thy sede great plagues and of long continuance, euil sickeneses and of long durance. And it shall come to passe, that as the lord reioiced ouer you to doo you good, and to multiplie you: euen so he will reioyce ouer you,

10

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

in England in the tyme of king Edward, a litle signi-  
ficatiō of a greater scourge folowing: 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 fare  
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 lord, mercie, mercie,  
mercie. The ministers of Goddes worde were sought  
for in euery corner, thei could not rest, they might not  
slepe: ye must come to my lord, ye must come to my  
lady, my maister prayeth you to come straight vnto  
hī, 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. Tā  
ke 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 traficke bargain with suche a one,  
restore him so muche, and desyre him to forgene me. I  
haue taken bribes of suche a one, I pray you geue him  
so muche more again, I haue spokē eul of suche a mā,  
God forgene it me, I haue ben a booremōgre, a bawde,  
God perdone me. Dyuide this bagge among the poore,  
carie this to the hospital, pray for me for Goddes sa-  
ke. Good lord forgene me, I haue dissembled with thee:  
I pretended to loue thy worde with my lippes, but I  
thought

thought it not with my hart; but now I see thou knowest the secretest secretes, and wilt not leaue euil vnpunished. Haue mercie on me, and forgeue me good lord, I beseeche thee from the botome of my harte. This was the dissimulatio 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 almosse, they seke to recover by more euil fauoured Cheuisaunses. But God is not blinde, nother is his hand shortened: he hath begonne to mete with you, and will paye you that he oweth you to thuttermost. But whether thou requirest me vnfaignedly, to knowe how to auoide the plague to come, or doest disseble with me, I haue rather thou shouldst be founde in faulte, than I not to doe 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 plagues that before thou hast hearde rehearsed, famyn, pestilence, sedicio, warres, destructiones of countreyes, captiuitie of people, and alteraciones of states, are the instrumentes of God sent ad powred on the people for their synnes, that they should be sorie ad repēt thē of their former wicked life, call to God for mercie, ad leade a newe life in holynesse and righteousnesse al the dayes of their life:

Exhich

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

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

Exhich

1070



worshipping of the true God, he came Idolaters, and worshipped Baalim and Astaroth, and other Goddes as the Ethnikes did, wherfore God plagued them wonderfully with inuasions and ouerunning of the Philistines by the space of xviij. yeares: they semed in wordes to doo penance, but god sawe they did but dissemble with him, and therefore he wold not heare thē. But after they hade done penance 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 reneged the malice of the philistines, Likewise wher the children of Israel had in the tyme of Hely the priest receaued by the Philistines many slaughterers of the people, and had lost many cities and townes for the Idolatrie thei had committed, yet when by thadmonicion of Samuel they repented (as ye heard before) and turned to God, God turned to them, and was mercifull. And when the philistines had prepared a wonderfull great force against the children of Israel, God sent sodaynly such a terrible thondre and lightenyng, that they were dispersed and rāne awaie. The childre of Israel persecuted thē and slewe thē, and reconered their cities, and all that they had lost. Whā the moabites, amonites, and idumites thought to haue ouerrūne iuda in the tyme of king Iosaphat, yet when the king and his people lamented to God and called for mercie, God turned awaie his wrath, and poured it on their enemies, and made them to fall out  
among

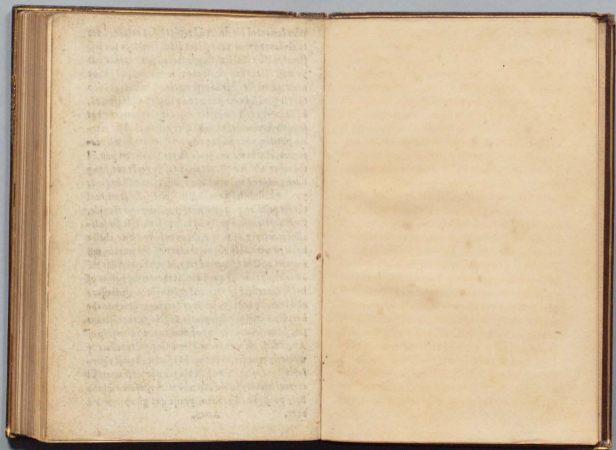
among them selues, and so to kil one an other. Whā Benadab the king of Siria besieged Samaria, ther was so great a fami in the citie, that womē ete their owne children; but when king Ioram and the people fel to repentance, and called to God for mercie, they had in one daie pleitie of al thinges. For 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 Olostrnes and Sinacherib that inuaded Israel, were with their hole armies destroyed of God, after the people repēted thē of their sinnes, and called for mercie. And so ye haue innumerable exāples of the great mercie of God towards al that repented truly, and called for mercie. As of the citie of Ninine, whom albeit God had threatened vtterly to destroe 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: cūe so ye (good countrey 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; i blessed king Edwardes time, abhorre the funde phantasies and folishe tradiciones of mē, and cleaue to thē 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 countrey, but be true and faitful  
among

full to it, ad by all godly meanes seke the wealth and  
sauegarde of it: if ye wil obey Goddes cōmandemētēs  
before your gouernours, ad your gouernours in that  
is godly, honest, and iust, and not elles: if ye will leaue  
your bawdrie, horedome ad bitsberye, ad drine out of  
al places al hoores, hoorenūgers ad suchoues, ad all  
suche as saour ad maltene thē: if ye will abstine frō  
cruel murdering of the Saines of God ad innocētes,  
ad rather your selues be cōtēt to suffre all martirdo-  
me, thā ye wil embrewe your fingres i their blood, or  
cōsent to it: if ye will leaue oppressing of your neigh-  
bours, your subtiltie, crafte and deceat, ad your selues  
leaue to loue gredinesse, and inordinate desire of the  
trafhe of this worlde: if you leaue your inwarde hat-  
red, grudge ad malice one to another, if the nobilitie  
will loue ad chearish the cōmonalitie, ad the cōmones  
honour ad loue the nobilitie: if one wil shewe him self  
a brother and neighbour in dede to another: thā no  
doubt if ye doo these shīges frō the botome of the har-  
te, that the mouthe ad harte agree together, your sai-  
enges ad doinges be al one: than shall ye pceauē, that  
God wil be easily intreated to turne. Thā maie ye bol-  
dly aske of God in Christes name, ad your desires shal  
be hearde ad graūted. But ye maie i nowise dissemble  
with hī, as the Israelites did, whā they saied thei wold  
cōmitte no more idolatrie, ad yet kept their idoles, as  
you pulled doōne your ymages, but yet kept them se-  
cretly in your chābres: nor yet as Iudas Iscarioth did,

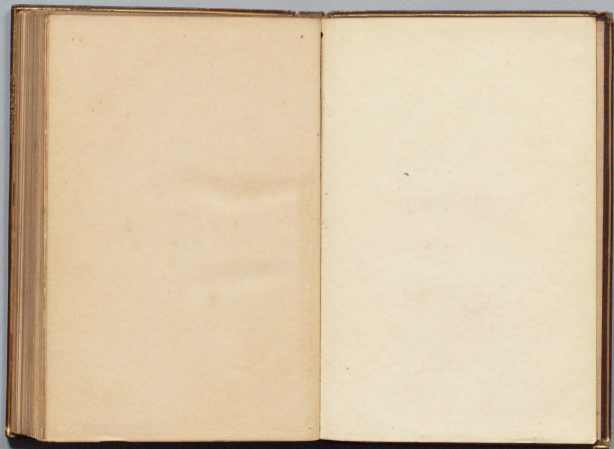
who

who lamented his sinnes ad repētēd, but returned not  
to God: nor yet as your selues did dissemble in the last  
sweat, whiles Goddes whippe was in your neckes, but  
ye must cleane doo awaie the olde mā and put on the  
newe: ye must refuse ad cast awaie all euilles, and doo  
that is good, ad euer studie to do that shal please God,  
ad in nowise loke (as lottes wife did) backward: but  
shall goo forward. And thā if ye call to God for mer-  
cie, putting your sul ad onely trust in him, he wil bea-  
re you, ad take frō you those plagis that lie on you, ad  
the other which most certainly (if ye repēt not, hang  
ouer you, and wil come vpon you. Than will he sende  
you his benedictiō for maledictiō, pleitic for sami, heal  
the for pestilēce, peace for warres, quietnes for trouble,  
for cruel tirānic, a godly ad iuste gouernemēt: for sedi-  
ciō, suchē force ad power, that you beig a frewe, shal be  
hable to withstāde all the tirannes of the worlde, and  
enemies of God ad our cōtrey, ad vterly cōsūde thē  
ad destrōic thē. Ye shall auoide the eternal paines of  
hel prepared for sinners: and at leight ye shal be sure  
also to make a chānge frō your earthly cōtrey, to the  
heauely Paradis: frō variable Englād, to the cōstānt  
Ierusalem: frō the cōpany of men, to the felowshipp of  
Angelles: from mutable and frowning cōitenaūces of  
worldely powers, to the vnchāngeable ad most cōfor-  
table sight of the hig of all kinges, our most merciful  
eternal heauely father. To whō with the sonne ad the  
holy goost, be all honour, praise and glory now and  
euer.

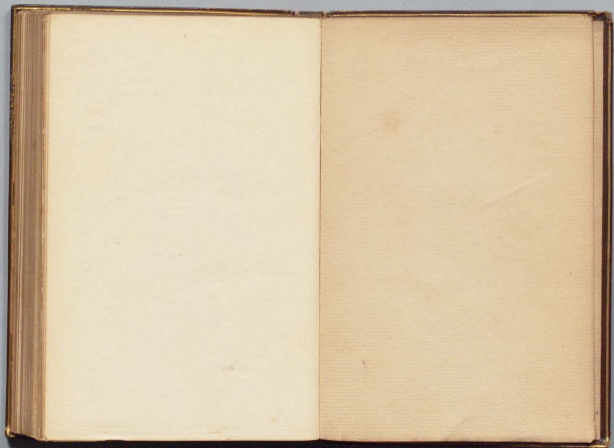
Amen,



名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284



名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284



名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284



名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284



名古屋大学附属図書館所蔵 Hobbes II 40729284  
Nagoya University Library, Hobbes II, 40729284